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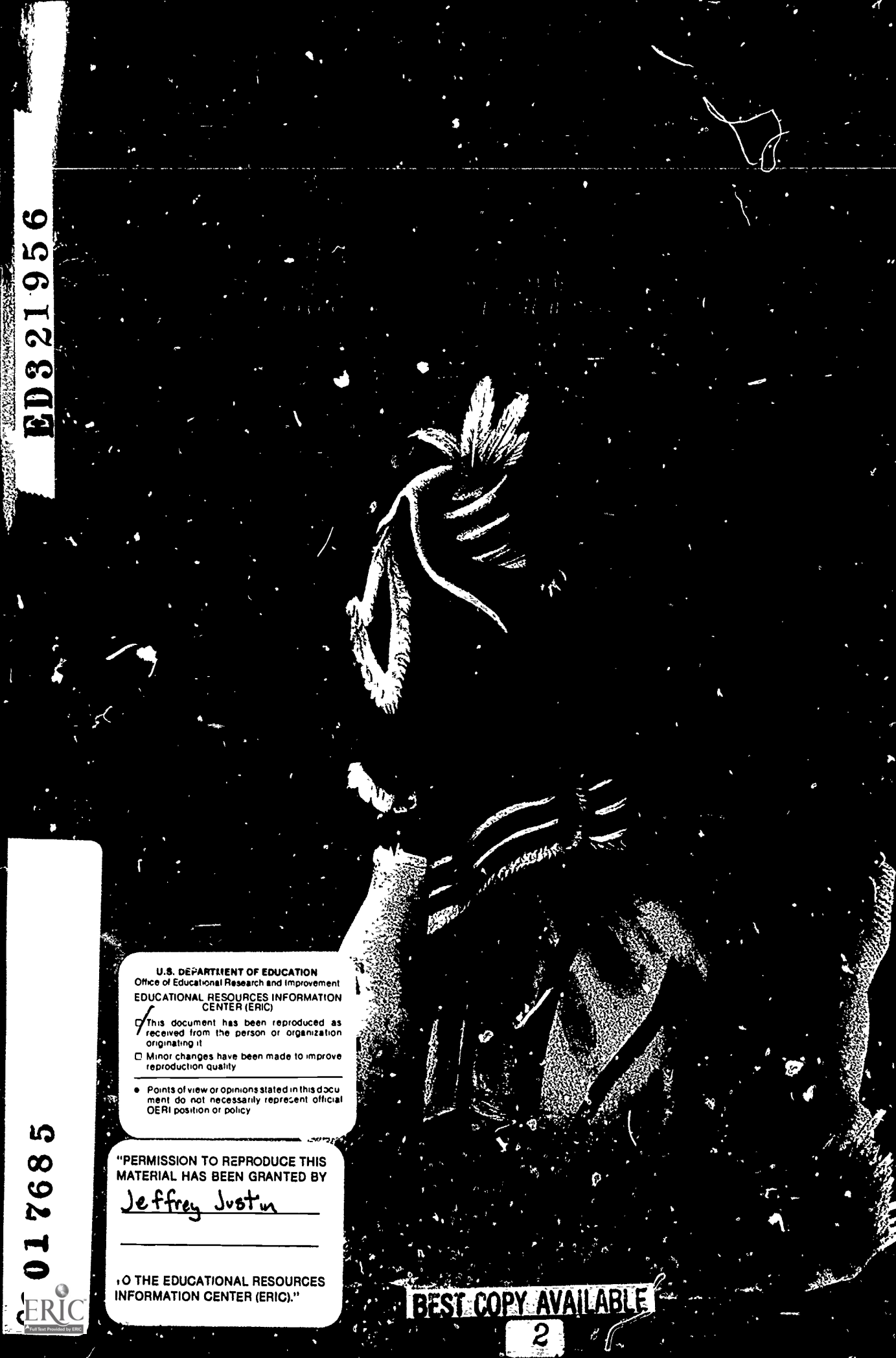
ABSTRACT

This book accompanied by a student workbook and teacher's guide, was written to help secondary school students to explore the history, culture, and dynamics of Michigan's indigenous peoples, the American Indians. Three chapters on the Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Ojibway (or Chippewa) peoples follow an introduction on the prehistoric roots of Michigan Indians. Each chapter reflects the integration of cultural and historical information about the Indians. The chapter on the Potawatomi stresses the political activities and economic forces affecting the tribe in southwestern Michigan. It includes biographical information on 19th century Potawatomi leaders. The second chapter focuses on the subsistence patterns and indigenous environmental relations of the Ojibway, while touching on the spiritual connotations of their existence. It is a generic treatment of Ojibway life, customs, beliefs, and the subsequent federal policies affecting them. The chapter on the Ottawa provides an extended discussion of their contact with European powers and explores the Indians' responses and adaptations to changing environmental and sociopolitical circumstances. This book contains many historical photographs and a five-page bibliography. (TES)



The portraits of Indians that appear throughout this book and on its cover were first published in three portfolios in 1836 by Thomas Loraine McKenney, Indian Superintendent under Presidents Madison, Monroe, Adams, and Jefferson. The original portraits, all painted during the 1830s by Charles Bird King, James Otto Lewis and other American artists, were exhibited at the Smithsonian Institution until a fire destroyed them in 1865.

Title page designs taken from Indian decorative art, and reproduced by Terri Bussey of the Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council.

Ottawa panther design on woven fiber bag. (Chandler-Pohrt Collection, Detroit Institute of Art)

Potawatomi geometric patterns and stylized maple leaves on woven beadwork sash. (Cranbrook Institute of Science Collection)

Ojibway fioral-pattern beadwork design on decorated saddle. (Science Museum of Minnesota Collection)

About the cover: This portrait is an artist's representation of a "Chippeway Widow." According to Thomas McKenney in ***The History of the Indian Tribes of North America*** (Washington, D.C.: Boston, Estes, Lauriat, 1868), "A Chippeway widow, on the death of her husband, selects from his scanty wardrobe, a complete suit of his best clothes, which she makes up into a bundle. This is...carried with her wherever she goes. She calls it her husband...and would be considered as disgracing herself and treating his memory with disrespect, if she was to part with it for even a moment." At the end of this period of mourning, which lasted for a year, the widow gave up the bundle and was free to remarry.

PEOPLE OF THE THREE FIRES

The Ottawa, Potawatomi and Ojibway of Michigan

by
James A. Clifton
George L. Cornell
James M. McClurken

published by
The Michigan Indian Press
Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council

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CONTENTS

MIGWETCH

Migwetch means "Thank You," and there are many people to whom we wish to say *"Migwetch"* for their help in producing this book. Most important are the members of the Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council's board of directors and their president, George Martin. They gave the project their enthusiastic support from the very beginning. For the Potawatomi chapter we received additional encouragement and advice from the Pokagon Band Council and the Huron Band Council; the Saginaw Band Council, the Grand Traverse Band Council and Joe "Buddy" Raphael did the same for the Ottawa.

Several people read the completed manuscripts and provided helpful suggestions. They are Catherine Baldwin; Philip Alexis; Sue Maturkanich, Julia Shananaquet, Dawn Anderson and Chris Shomin of the Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council staff; members of the Grand Rapids Public School's curriculum development staff; and Wes Andrews.

We would also like to thank the following individuals and institutions for providing historic photographs and drawings: Philip Alexis; Catherine Baldwin; Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan; British Library, London, England; Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library; Robert Bushewicz; Clarke Historical Library, Central Michigan University; Michigan and Family History Department, Grand Rapids Public Library; Holy Childhood Boarding School, Harbor Springs; Kingman Museum, Battle Creek; James Levandowski; Northern Indiana Historical Society, South Bend, Indiana; Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa; State Archives, Bureau of Michigan History, Department of State, Lansing.

Michael Connolly served as project coordinator during the initial research and writing stages, and Jeremy Thomas Connolly was responsible for taking most of the contemporary photographs and making copies of many of the historical photographs. Terri Bussey of the Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council produced the traditional designs that grace the title pages for each chapter. The maps in each chapter were produced by Nancy Tomboulian. The book was edited and designed by Ellen Arlinsky and MargEd Kwapil of Editorial Consultants. Grand Rapids City Historian Gordon Olson served as photograph editor for the book and guided it through the publication process. Skilled staff members at West Michigan Printing and Dekker Bookbinders completed the publication process.

Finally, we are pleased to state that *People of the Three Fires* is the first of a series of publications planned for the Michigan Indian Press. Thanks to a Community Business grant from the Michigan Commission on Indian Affairs, the Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council will be able to produce other books and audiovisual materials by and about Michigan's Indian people.

For this important financial assistance, and to all the people who worked so hard to make our first book a success, we humbly say, *"Migwetch."*

J. Wagner Wheeler
Executive Director
Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council

PREFACE

In the preparation and publication of any book, numerous people and organizations must cooperate. So it was in the development of this book on Michigan Indians. The project was initiated by the Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council, which sought and obtained funding from the Michigan Council for the Humanities. The collaboration of the three authors soon followed, and the document you hold in your hands is the result of research, administration, editorial comments, and most importantly, writing and continuous revision.

The text has been intentionally constructed and written in a manner which allows it to be used in Michigan's secondary schools. This is not a book which has been prepared for scholarly colleagues; rather it is a book for young readers who are just beginning to explore the history, culture, and dynamics of Michigan's indigenous peoples, the American Indians.

Each of the respective chapters on the Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Ojibway (also called Chippewa) reflects the integration of cultural and historical information pertaining to Michigan Indians. The chapters have been structured so that each of the units has a particular emphasis.

Dr. James A. Clifton has stressed in his chapter on the Potawatomi the political activities and economic forces which affected Potawatomi life in southwestern Michigan, and has included excellent biographical information on nineteenth-century Potawatomi leaders. Dr. Clifton, who received his Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Chicago, is currently the Frankenthal Professor of Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin, Green Bay. He has written extensively about the Potawatomi, has served as an expert witness on behalf of Michigan Potawatomi communities, and has long contributed to the scholarship on American Indian populations. Most recently, Professor Clifton testified in federal court on behalf of Michigan Indian tribes who were involved in the fishing rights litigation.

Dr. George L. Cornell, the author of the Ojibway chapter, is currently an assistant professor of English/American Studies at Michigan State University. He also serves as director of the Native American Institute, MSU, which is charged with providing technical assistance to Michigan Indian tribes and organizations. Professor Cornell has written numerous articles on Michigan Indians and has thoroughly researched the state's fishing controversy. His Ojibway chapter focuses on subsistence patterns and indigenous environmental relations, while touching on the spiritual connotations of Ojibway existence. This chapter is a generic treatment of Ojibway life, customs, and beliefs and the subsequent federal policies which had an impact on Ojibway life in lower Michigan.

James M. McClurken, currently a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Anthropology at Michigan State University, is in the process of completing his doctoral dissertation on the Ottawa of lower Michigan. Mr. McClurken has for some years been actively involved in research on Michigan Indians and has a particular interest in the environmental factors which shaped Ottawa life. His chapter provides an extended discussion of Ottawa contact with European powers and explores Ottawa responses and adaptations to changing environmental and socio-political circumstances.

All three authors have attempted, by cooperating and dividing the necessary labor, to reduce the duplication of effort. Each of the three chapters will overlap on certain historical events and policies, but the interpretation of these incidents rests upon how they affected each of the three tribes. The chapters complement each other, and the similarities among the tribes of the Three Fires Confederacy become clear as key points are reiterated from differing perspectives in each chapter.

The book contains an excellent bibliography which will assist those so inclined to pursue further study. Most of the resources are available in regional public and university libraries, and many

can be ordered directly from the publisher.

The photographs which grace the pages of this book also serve as resources and reminders to readers. All too frequently, people read and interpret history in the absence of the visual stimulation provided by pictures and graphics. The photographs will remind each and every one of you that cultural contact did not occur in a vacuum and that federal policy decisions had REAL implications for Michigan's Indian population. The range and diversity of the photographs will serve as a valuable aid to understanding the American Indian experience.

It is important to keep in mind that American Indian populations in Michigan are not relics of history; rather they are groups of citizens working together to insure their social and economic future. Currently, there are over sixty thousand American Indians living in Michigan, most of them either Ottawa Potawatomi, or Ojibway. Members of these groups are dispersed throughout the state, living on reservations and in urban and rural areas. They work in diverse professions and occupations and are joined through numerous tribes and organizations which are progressively helping to shape their future.

We hope that the young people who read this book will gain valuable insights into historical processes and particular events. They will, most assuredly, learn something which will enhance their perception of Michigan's indigenous peoples. They will also formulate personal judgments and draw their own conclusions about the course of history and the treatment of native peoples. All of these activities represent individual growth and the age-old process of reflection and contemplation. Aided by some interpretation from teachers, students will be allowed to draw their own conclusions regarding the experience of the Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Ojibway.

We encourage and challenge young people to continue exploring the culture, heritage, and history of Michigan's Indian populations. It is a vital process, and a great deal of work remains to be initiated in the field. The contributors to this book sincerely hope we have provided one vehicle to assist young learners in opening doors to the future while examining the past.

INTRODUCTION

The Prehistoric Roots of Michigan Indians

Like all other civilizations around the world, the Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Ojibway peoples of the Great Lakes represent a continuum of historical evolution and change. Relative latecomers to the Great Lakes region, the Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Ojibway were inheritors of the lands formerly occupied by obscure Native American civilizations about whom very little is known.

Because no written records exist, the story of these prehistoric ancestral populations has been pieced together by archeologists and anthropologists working with artifacts and other scientific findings. Their efforts have helped in dating the presence and describing the lifeways of the earliest known inhabitants of the Great Lakes. But the story of these people is still incomplete. Many interpretations of artifacts and cultural patterns continue to be seriously debated, and knowledge in the field is always expanding. The historic dates assigned to Native American civilizations are constantly being revised, and American Indian influence on the North American continent is now thought to have been more pervasive and much older than previously believed.

The Paleo-Indians

Paleo-Indians, the first identified group of indigenous peoples living in the Great Lakes basin, are believed to have migrated into the region from the south, following the recession of the great glaciers of the Ice Age, which had earlier covered much of what is now the state of Michigan. Paleo-Indian occupancy in the region has been dated from 12,000 B.C. to 8,000 B.C. At the time, the land was covered with spruce and fir forests, and the Paleo-Indians, organized in small, mobile groups of perhaps ten to twenty-five individuals, lived by hunting and gathering. Using spears which were tipped with fluted stone points, they hunted large mammals, including the mastodon, as well as the smaller game which was abundant in the area. The Paleo-Indians first occupied the southern areas of Michigan's lower peninsula and readily adapted

to the lands that were being naturally reclaimed as the glaciers moved north. As climatic conditions continued to change, the Paleo-Indian cultures gave rise to new environmental adaptations.

The Archaic Period

Over time, the climate of the Great Lakes region grew warmer and drier. New plants and animals became available as hardwood forests began to grow and mammal populations migrated into the area. Occurring over seven thousand years, these changes mark the Archaic period, which in turn is divided into three sub-periods.

In the Early Archaic period, from 8,000 B.C. until 6,000 B.C., the hardwood forests started to appear. With large game animals like the mastodon on their way to extinction, the native peoples of the Early Archaic period began to hunt moose, caribou, deer, and bear for subsistence. The refinement of hunting weapons reflects the changes that were taking place; projectile points became smaller and were designed to be more effective in killing smaller, faster-moving game.

During the Middle Archaic period, from 6,000 B.C. to 3,000 B.C., hardwood trees replaced the conifer (pine) forests of southern Michigan, and native peoples began to use acorns as a food source. They also gathered hickory nuts as well as other fruits and berries, and fish became an important part of their diet. Stone tools were made more efficient, and pestles for grinding plant foods came into use. It was also during the Middle Archaic period that groups of people became more settled and formed permanent villages along the shores of Lake Michigan. These groups increased in size and levels of technological sophistication, and eventually their contributions ushered in the Late Archaic period.

During the years of the Late Archaic period, from 3,000 B.C. to 1,000 B.C., important changes occurred. With the abundance of plant and animal foods, the size of communities increased, and villages became more stable. Extensive trade with other groups of native peoples became a way of life. Copper was mined and worked into tools and utensils. Manufactured copper implements from Michigan's Keewenaw Peninsula were traded throughout the midwest, and shell products from the Gulf of Mexico made their way into the Great Lakes region.

Scholars believe that the Late Archaic period also witnessed an increase in ritual and ceremonial activity. As group subsistence required less time and effort, more energy could be devoted to social interaction and group cohesiveness. The increase in the amount of "free time" also allowed for the growth of art and decorative adornment as people created personal ornaments and beautified everyday tools and implements.

It was also during the Late Archaic period that regional responses to environmental conditions began to occur. The native peoples of the northern areas, who occupied territories with a cold climate and a short growing season, continued to rely heavily on hunting and fishing for subsistence, while southern populations began to use more effectively for foodstuffs the local plants which were not numerous in the north. This reliance on plant foods eventually gave rise to the development of agriculture in the southern reaches of the Great Lakes.

The Woodland Indians

The Woodland period, which followed the Archaic period, lasted from 1,000 B.C. until European contact in A.D. 1650. It was during this period that new plant species made their appearance in the region and indigenous peoples began to grow plants for food. Native peoples in the southern Great Lakes cultivated squash and sunflowers and learned to make ceramic pots in which to store their food. Trade continued to increase, and sometime around 300 B.C. corn was introduced into the region. The new agricultural crops, along with pottery storage vessels that were more effective than the earlier baskets and animal-skin containers, provided a firm base for native population growth.

As populations increased, villages became larger, and new cultural patterns arose. During the Middle Woodland period, which lasted from 300 B.C. to A.D. 500, the culture of the mound builders became widespread. The mound builders, today known as the Hopewell, began moving into the southern reaches of lower Michigan from areas south of the Great Lakes in about 100 B.C. They brought their distinctive culture with them, and many of the earthen burial mounds they constructed over the graves of their honored dead are still preserved in southern Michigan.

Between A.D. 1000 and 1650, the influence of the Hopewell cultures seems to have diminished, and the cultural patterns characteristic of the Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Ojibway became firmly established. Northern populations, living in small, mobile villages, continued to rely on hunting and fishing for most of their food. They supplemented these food sources by gathering such naturally occurring plants as wild rice, one of the staples of their diet, and by growing produce in small garden plots.

In the south, on the other hand, agriculture was a primary source of food. Southern peoples lived in large villages and grew corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers on their nearby fields. They supplemented what they grew by hunting, fishing, and gathering wild plants.

The early native cultures in Michigan designed and manufactured whatever they needed for their own subsistence — pottery, baskets, ceramic pipes, snowshoes, toboggans, bows and arrows, rope, fish nets, harpoons, woodworking tools, and canoes. They lived in homes built of saplings, bark, and rush mats, and they were warm and secure in these dwellings.

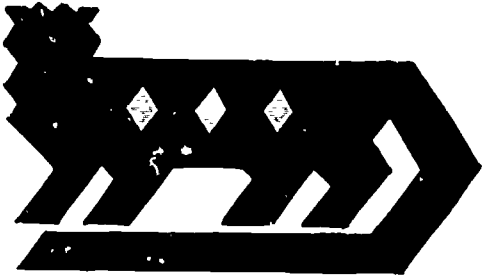
At some time in the distant past, according to their own oral traditions, the Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Ojibway were residents of lands on the Atlantic seaboard far to the east. In a journey that began nearly a thousand years ago, they migrated slowly toward the Great Lakes and eventually, during the Woodland period, settled in the upper and lower peninsulas of Michigan where they assumed the lifeways of earlier Native American civilizations. Referring to themselves collectively as the Anishnabeg, members of the Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Ojibway groups spoke similar dialects of the same Algonquian language and shared many cultural beliefs. Loosely organized as the Three Fires Confederacy, these three groups expressed their relationship to one another in family terms. The Ojibway were the elder brother, the Ottawa were the next older brother, and the Potawatomi were the younger brother and the "people of the place of the fire."

The cooperation and kin relationships among the Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Ojibway served them well in the years before the European powers began to explore the Great Lakes. The existence of the Three Fires Confederacy assured territorial control and protection from other groups of indigenous people who sought holdings in the region.

By 1620, the era of European contact was about to begin, setting the stage for the eventual changes which would occur in the Great Lakes region as the result of French, British, and, finally, American incursions. Those dramatic changes in the nature, and future of Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Ojibway life are the subject of the following chapters, which focus on the interaction of the Three Fires Confederacy with the European powers.

A Note on Indigenous Prehistory

The existence of Native American populations in the Americas has always been of interest to European and contemporary scholars. It should be clearly stated, however, that native peoples do not always subscribe to academic interpretations of their respective histories and beliefs. For centuries, scholars have been attempting to theoretically explain the origins of American Indians. In contrast, it should be remembered that native peoples have formalized traditions which describe their existence in diverse regions. American Indians explain their life and past as an act of creation rather than as a stage in evolutionary theory. All peoples have the undeniable right to spiritual interpretations of life and purpose. These beliefs are the very core of Native American societies and must be considered as viable alternatives to continuously changing "scientific" explanations.



The Great Lakes region has long been the home of the Ottawa people, its forests and waters providing ample resources for their sustenance. Centuries before the first Europeans came to North America, the ancestors of modern Ottawa people fished, raised crops, and hunted with specialized methods developed by the generations who came before them in the Paleolithic, Archaic, and Woodland cultures. The Ottawa lived directly from the resources of the land and developed special knowledge of the plants, animals, and landforms in their environment. Their religion invested the elements of their world with special meaning and powers, and they developed values which preserved the resources for future generations.

The Ottawa's lifestyle provided them with the surest chances of survival in an environment which could be unyielding and dangerous. Theirs was an intimate, personal knowledge of the environment which allowed them to maintain a balance between the number and kind of resources available and the number of people who used them, assuring all Ottawa people a share of food and material goods and minimizing the potential threat of starvation. Survival depended on precise knowledge of the ways of animals, the cycle of the seasons, the properties and uses of plants, and how to turn the resources of the land into useful tools, food, clothing, and shelter. Because the Ottawa relied so heavily on the land and its resources, it is difficult to understand their culture and history without first considering their relationship to the land as it was from the earliest days and how it changed after the Europeans became part of the social environment in the Great Lakes region.

Ottawa history since the coming of the Europeans is the tale of a native people adjusting to change in their social environment. It is the story of their attempt to hold onto their basic values and traditional ways despite the efforts of others to change their culture and separate them from their land. The land and its resources remained central to the Ottawa way of life until the 1930s when many Ottawa left rural homes for life in Michigan cities, learning new skills for survival in the land of their ancestors.

The Ottawa and Their Environment

When Europeans first came to the Great Lakes in the early 1600s, one of the first peoples they encountered were the ancestors of the modern Ottawa, who lived in what is now Ontario, Canada, along the Georgian Bay, on the Bruce Peninsula, and on Manitoulin Island. The Ottawa, who did not see themselves as a tribe or a nation as we use the terms today, were organized into four, or possibly more, large families (clans) who thought of each other as relatives. The four groups spoke a common language, held the same beliefs and customs, and made their living in similar ways. Their close cooperation in trade, rituals, and political activities led the French and others to view them as a single, politically united group.

The Ottawa and their neighbors, like all Native Americans who lived in the Great Lakes region before the coming of the Europeans, drew all their food and material goods directly from the resources of their own lands. The climate, soil conditions, vegetation, and animal life in the region played a major role in defining the shape of their society.

The importance of domesticated crops, especially corn, to the lifeways of the Ottawa, and their Chippewa and Huron neighbors, cannot be overstated. Life could be precarious when people relied for their food on hunting, fishing, and gathering wild plants alone. From late spring through early winter, a stable food supply was generally assured. But by late winter, game was not always available or easy to catch, and the plant and fish foods preserved earlier in the year were often spoiled or eaten before spring came. To avert possible starvation, Michigan Indians needed an abundant food source which could be preserved through the lean months of the year. Corn met the requirement.

As a result, the single most important environmental factor which shaped cultures in the

The Ottawa called their respected leaders Ogema. The portrait of these two Ogema from Mackinac, wearing clothing made from trade cloth, silver ornaments, and traditional hides, was painted about 1815 by Sir Joshua Jebb. Birch bark canoes, such as the one in the background, enabled the Ottawa to travel great distances. (G114384, Public Archives, Canada)

Great Lakes was the length of the growing season. Chippewa peoples, for example, who lived in Michigan's upper peninsula and northward, had a growing season of only 80 to 120 frost-free days. They could not be sure that the time and effort invested in planting would yield a harvest. Soils were rather infertile, and the conifer forests provided few food-yielding plants. Only sap from stands of maple trees added substantially to their food supplies. Like their Archaic and Woodland ancestors, the Chippewa lived by hunting and fishing.

The Chippewa way of life demanded mobility. To survive on their land, the people spent most of the year living in small family groups, hunting game and gathering wild plants. Only during the fishing season, late summer or early fall, was there enough food in one location to feed large numbers of people. During these months, the family groups lived together in large villages on the lakeshores near their fisheries. In the fall, when all the fish was stored, the large villages once again divided into smaller family groups for the winter hunt.

The Potawatomi and Iroquois-speaking Huron to the south of Ottawa territory lived in a region with 140 to 180 frost-free growing days. Their soils were rich, sandy loams well suited to crop production. The near certainty of a successful harvest encouraged these people to devote time and energy to cultivating crops. Food grown in the warmer months, along with the richer sources of wild foods provided by their prairies and hardwood forests, sustained large villages for the greater part of every year.

The Ottawa people in their Ontario home, on the other hand, lived in a transitional ecological zone between the mild climate and hardwood forests to the south and the colder conifer forests to the north. In this environment, they built a flexible culture which in some respects resembled the highly fluid ways of their Chippewa neighbors to the north and those of the more settled Potawatomi and Iroquois-speaking people to the south.

The Ottawa way of life was based on growing crops, fishing, and, to a lesser extent, gathering wild foods and hunting. Their Canadian home was too far north to assure a certain corn harvest, but they recognized the importance of corn as a storable food crop. The Ottawa located their villages and fields along the western shores of Lake Huron where the warmth of the water usually extended the growing season long enough for their crops to mature. Most years, a successful corn crop yielded a surplus to be stored for leaner times ahead. This pattern of corn growing and method of land use were so central to their lives that when the Ottawa moved into Michigan's lower peninsula in the 1700s, they again sought lakeshore lands, settling in areas where the warmth of Lake Michigan's waters would aid them in the raising of

their crops. Fish were also important in the Ottawa diet, and extensive fishing with nets and harpoons in the waters of Lake Huron and the Straits of Mackinac added still more storable food to the surplus. The Ottawa also tapped maple trees for sap in the early spring and gathered other wild foods in the summer and fall.

By relying on a variety of foods, Ottawa society would not be threatened as severely if one food source failed. When the corn crop was damaged by bad weather, they could rely on fishing and hunting. When those sources failed, the Ottawa had reserves of corn. It was this stability which the Ottawa sought to preserve and enhance throughout their history.

Ottawa Village Life

Much of Ottawa life centered around their semi-permanent villages. In the 1600s and early 1700s, each village was comprised of numerous long-houses, which were rectangular structures topped with barrel-shaped roofs. Constructed of wood frames covered with birch or elm bark, each building was large enough to house as many as nine families. At times, some Ottawa villages may have been home to as many as three hundred or four hundred people. But when the soil of the fields was exhausted or when there was danger of an enemy attack, the Ottawa abandoned their long-houses and built villages in new locations.

During their summers in northern Michigan, the Ottawa lived in temporary villages in conical, bark-covered tepees. (British Library)

Each family in the village was represented by a leader who was chosen by consent of all of his family members. Responsible for expressing the opinions and protecting the interests of their families, leaders were chosen for their ability to deal with outsiders and for their generosity to family members and friends. When several families lived in a village, the leaders appointed a head speaker to represent them in dealings with other outside groups. In matters of importance, such as warfare with a neighboring group, moving villages to new locations, or threats to peaceful relations within the village itself, the village leaders assembled in council to decide on a course of action. Decisions were not reached by majority vote, but by the agreement of all members of the council, and most often, by the agreement of the entire family who supported the leader.

Leaders did not rule the village. They could not command anyone to do their will. But since the proper course of action was determined by the agreement of all the people, the decisions of the councils were almost always carried out. Although every village, large or small, was a separate political unit, villages could and often did join together for mutual protection in times of trouble.

Villages served as bases for food gathering, hunting, fishing, and trade. Within the village each person had an important role in procuring food and assuring the well-being of the group. Even children assumed responsibility at an early age as they imitated their parents and learned the skills necessary for survival. Young boys learned how to hunt and fish and make tools; girls learned farming and how to make clothing and other material goods.

Women were responsible for all activities which directly affected the material well-being of their families. Ottawa women, along with men too old to hunt, planted and tended crops of squash, beans, and corn in the fields surrounding the village. They gathered and dried wild strawberries, blueberries, raspberries, and nuts. They harvested and dried the cultivated crops, processed them for storage, and prepared the daily meals. Along with clothing and other items essential for survival, they made many goods for trade. These included rush mats woven and dyed in symmetrical designs, baskets, birch bark boxes, and leather bags. Women worked hard at these tasks. By producing more than was required for immediate use, women could give the surplus to others and so gain respect and prestige for their families.

Men had different but equally important roles in providing for the village. As warriors they protected village territory and attacked the villages of their enemies. In summer they left the villages on long excursions to hunt, fish, and trade. The Straits of Mackinac were a favored fishing ground, and the lower peninsula, which became the Ottawa's permanent home in the mid-1700s, was a regularly used hunting territory. During the winter, groups of eight to ten men would travel long distances to hunt deer, bear, and beaver, using bows and arrows, wooden clubs, or complex traps of their own design. While the men were away, they lived in conical or dome-shaped temporary shelters covered with portable rush mats. Because the men were responsible for protecting the main village, not all of them were away at any one time.

Not all Ottawa families lived in the large central villages. Sometimes, extended families chose to live in smaller villages in other parts of Ottawa territory where there were better fields or richer fishing and hunting grounds. A family might also choose to live closer to relatives who had married into other villages. This gave them the opportunity to strengthen their alliances to people in more distant locations. It also helped assure their survival by allowing them to draw on the other village's resources when supplies in their own region were scarce.

Ottawa Values

The first rule in Ottawa society was respect for the individual. No one person could determine the fate of another. Each person was respected because of individual powers and achievements. Personal actions were the result of personal decisions, but proper behavior benefited all members of the village or family group. Decisions which affected the entire group were arrived at by mutual consent. Ottawa leaders did not command; they represented.

The second rule was that all members of the group must share their material wealth, labor, and food. The natural forces of the Ottawa world were uncertain, and survival depended on supporting and being supported by kin. Any number of natural events could disrupt the process of getting food. Yet when food was scarce, the more freely it was given. Sharing was the social security of the day.

The value of trading and gift giving was not only in acquiring goods for oneself, but in the social act of giving. By giving, individuals and families gained prestige and respect. A rich person did not have any more goods than his kinsmen; he simply gave more of what he had. The exchange of gifts was governed by a set of rules which bound giver and receiver. Each gift required some form of return and extended obligations of reciprocity across family lines to other tribes as well. The emphasis on sharing was so strong in Ottawa society that almost no interaction could be carried on without it.

The third concept was the interconnected relationship of human beings with their natural world. All things and beings in the world were created for a special purpose in the cycle of life and nature. Humans took from the animals and plants of the earth what they needed for survival and observed the required ceremonial obligations in return. Every being in the Ottawa world possessed an unseen power or spirit (*manitou*) which was separate from its physical form, and life depended on a proper relationship with all the powers of the natural environment. Every being was treated as though it were a member of the family, and the Ottawa even addressed the more important animals and resources as "mother," "father," "brother," or "sister."

These principles were taught to children from their earliest years by the example of people around them and in the tales of Nanabozho. Nanabozho was a legendary being who was both a buffoon and a hero, and whose actions, like the forces of nature, might help or harm the Ottawa. Nanabozho's pranks — making rivers flow in the wrong direction, for example — caused great harm. Yet his actions could also be noble as they were when he created the earth and everything on it.

Some tales of Nanabozho begin with his birth on Mackinac Island. Like human children, Nanabozho began his life as an uneducated being. He made every possible mistake and broke every rule of behavior until, in the end, he learned what it meant to be human and to be Ottawa. He passed this knowledge on to the Ottawa people. To be Ottawa did not depend on the accident of birth alone. Many people born outside of Ottawa families were adopted into their society. To be an Ottawa meant behaving in accordance with traditional Ottawa principles.

In the small society of the Ottawa, violence was an ever-present danger to the well-being of the group. Because each person was so important in producing food, shelter, and clothing, the Ottawa system depended on cooperation, not competition. If one person or family attempted to assume too much power or wealth, there was a danger for the whole village. Families whose goals conflicted with those of their fellow Ottawa sometimes moved away and formed their own centers of operation. Individuals who violated the rules faced exile; in extreme cases, such as murder, those who broke the rules risked execution.

Ottawa Kinship

No person could survive alone in the Ottawa world; survival depended on belonging to a larger family group whose members worked cooperatively to meet each other's needs. The family was the most important social and political unit in Ottawa culture. But the family was more than mother, father, and children. Family relationships were defined by a complex set of rules which, when extended to their farthest conceptual limits, linked all people in terms of kinship. To the Ottawa, for example, the Chippewa were known as "older brother," a term which recognized the common origins of both groups and the special responsibility which existed between them to share and to protect each other in times of war. The Potawatomi were the "younger brother" and shared in the same familial duties as did the Ottawa and the Chippewa.

In Ottawa society, a person was linked to a family by birth, and families were joined together by ritual beliefs. According to the Ottawa version of the creation, the earth was once covered by the Great Water. Nanabozho created the land from a grain of sand brought by Otter from the bottom of the Great Water to make more room for the animals to multiply and spread. When the first animals died, Nanabozho created human beings from their bodies.

Human groups who claimed descent from the same animal were seen as being related by kinship, and they demonstrated their shared relationship through use of a common *Ododem*, an Ottawa word which means "I have him for my family mark." The Ododem (totem mark) was a representation of the animal from which each Ottawa group was descended. This method of counting kinship assured that all people in a village were linked in meaningful ways.

The use of totem marks by the Ottawa may have indicated the existence of a formal clan system. Many different Indian groups had clans, but their importance and form varied from group to group. In some societies, such as the Potawatomi and the Huron, the clan controlled hunting territories, property, or ritual knowledge. Out of such control grew the clan's power to regulate day-to-day interpersonal relationships and to decide, for example, whom individuals might marry, where married couples could live, and who performed the essen-

tial tasks in everyday life. In other societies, like the Chippewa, clans were less formal. Members were simply obliged to offer hospitality to their kin, and clan membership defined who could be called upon for aid in times of crisis such as war or famine.

Indian groups in the Great Lakes traced their clan relationships and descent in two ways — through the mother (matrilineal) or through the father (patrilineal). Matrilineal kinship systems usually operated in agricultural societies like that of the Ottawa's southern neighbors, the Huron. In Huron society, men were traders who spent much of the year away from their large home villages. Women were the main food producers, and Huron kinship ties linked them with strong bonds. Huron women owned the houses, and property was handed down through the wife's rather than the husband's family. Newlyweds lived with the bride's family so that the wife could continue working in the fields with her female relatives. This matrilineal kinship system and strong clan organization gave Huron society stability. Even in villages with populations of hundreds, all persons knew their proper relationship to the other people around them and the behavior that was expected of them.

The Chippewa peoples to the north were a patrilineal society. Men were the important food producers in a hunting and fishing economy. Their clans were not as strong as those of the Huron because Chippewa villages were smaller and less permanent, and Chippewa lifeways did not require strong clans as a means of binding individual families into larger groupings. Families had to be small and mobile to hunt successfully in the hard, cold, northern winters. When the fall fishery at Sault Ste. Marie ended, two or more nuclear families (mother, father, and children), often headed by brothers, would strike out on their own for the winter hunt and would not rejoin the larger group until maple sugar time in the spring.

The Ottawa, before their contact with Euro-

Flexible and easy to repair, birch bark canoes, like the one under construction here, were the perfect vehicle for traveling Michigan's streams and lakes. The Ottawa used them to transport hundreds of tons of furs to the British and French colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. (Michigan State Archives)

This family scene, photographed about 1860, illustrates a traditional Ottawa bark-housing style. (Michigan State Archives)

peans, were probably flexible in the way they reckoned their kinship and clan identification. As farmers who lived in large, year-round villages, they may have tended toward a stronger social system like that of the Huron. An early report of Antoine de La Mothe Cadillac, founder of Detroit in 1701, went so far as to say that the Ottawa, like the Huron, had a matrilineal clan organization. But unlike the Huron, the Ottawa could easily live in the fashion of their Chippewa "big brother" — breaking villages down into their constituent families, living in small groups, and emphasizing the male line in determining kinship — all without destroying their Ottawa group identity. In their central location between matrilineal and patrilineal peoples, and with their emphasis upon trade along lines of kinship created by intermarriage with their trade partners, the Ottawa probably maintained a set of social rules which accommodated any situation they encountered, allowing them comfortably to marry into both of their neighboring groups.

In some Indian societies, every village was a separate clan. In other societies, several clans lived in the same village. Each Chippewa village was originally composed of a single clan; large Huron villages were made up of several clans. In the case of the Ottawa, the families living in each large village could have been loosely linked into clans. Two of the four major villages which formed the Ottawa Confederacy — the Kiskakon, or cut tails, a name which refers to the bear, and the Sinago, or black squirrels — were identified by the animals from which their inhabitants claimed descent. Other family groups took their names from a geographic feature of their home territory. The name Sable, for example, meant sand, and Naussaukeuton meant river fork, a reference perhaps to a river fork near their major village or to a homeland along Green Bay. It is also possible that other groups associated with the four main Ottawa divisions in the late 1600s and early 1700s, including the Keinouche, Kinouchepirini, and Amikwa, may have been separate clans who had married into the larger Ottawa confederation. By the late 1700s there were many Ottawa clan symbols created as small family groups split from larger villages and adopted new animals as their totems.

Manitos

The religious beliefs of the Ottawa centered about the natural world, the universal supernatural power which shaped it, and their relationship to its forms and forces. Ottawa beliefs defined the acceptable ways to interact with the elements of their world, and worship was not separated from daily life. Everywhere the Ottawa went, and each task they performed, required an understanding of a realm beyond their physical surroundings.

Every element in the Ottawa world, from rocks and trees to animals and human beings, was made up of two basic parts, the body and the *manitou* (spirit). *Manitos* were spirit beings who inhabited the Ottawa world and directly influenced many of the events that took place there. Because the body and spirit were never permanently linked in any being, manitos could change form. Animals could become human and humans could become animals. Forces for good when they were treated respectfully, manitos were capable of doing harm if not dealt with in the proper manner. They required the same respect accorded to the humans in one's own family. Not every tiny pebble, blade of grass, or stick thrown on the fire embodied a manitou, but each one carried the potential. The wise person took no chances and tried to treat all beings in the land, living or otherwise, as though they were kin. The Ottawa used the resources around them and in return offered songs and prayers and other gifts to perpetuate their close personal relationship with the spirit beings.

Some manitos were more powerful than others and played a more prominent role in daily Ottawa

life. The sun and the moon were always good. Their power was essential if the corn was to grow. Thunder and lightning had the power to bring the rain vital for a successful crop. But should thunder and lightning send destruction instead of rain, there would be no food in late winter. Deer, beaver, bear, and fish were essential to Ottawa survival. But these animals could change their forms, or worse, could refuse to give themselves to the hunters. And the underwater serpent who lived in the lakes was capable of capsizing the canoes of Ottawa fishermen and traders. Because all such misfortunes arose from a disruption in the relations between manitos and humans, the manitos had to be honored with their own songs and dances or appeased with the proper offerings.

Powers

Daily life held many dangers, and every Ottawa, beginning in childhood, needed a manitou who would be a special, personal protector and lend its power to help control the uncertain forces of nature. After each Ottawa child of the proper age observed a special ceremony of fasting and prayer, his or her manitou appeared in a vision in the form of an animal or bird. From then on, the manitou could be summoned to give extra strength in times of crisis or danger, to show the hunter where to find game, or to protect against the hazards of everyday existence.

The power of the manitou who had appeared in the vision was often embodied in a special object carried as an amulet to ward off evil or to bring good fortune. The amulet could be a bird's feather (if the manitou had taken the form of a bird), a squirrel's paw, a stone which resembled the manitou's animal shape, an image etched in birch bark, or even herb medicines. The Ottawa often kept these powerful objects in what are today called medicine bundles, animal pelts taken in a single piece so that they formed a bag.

The Ottawa believed that some individuals were endowed with special powers such as the power to heal or the power to foresee the future. A *Jessakid* had the power to summon spirits to a special lodge in order to determine the source of the problems which had befallen individuals or the village as a whole. The lodge shook when the spirits entered, and the Jessakid waited to hear which feasts, rituals, or ceremonies should be performed to restore proper relations between the Ottawa and the spirit world.

The *Wabano* (fire walkers) were men with the power to walk on hot coals or handle burning torches with their bare hands. The Wabano could heal sickness, make hunting magic and love charms, and influence manitos. They displayed

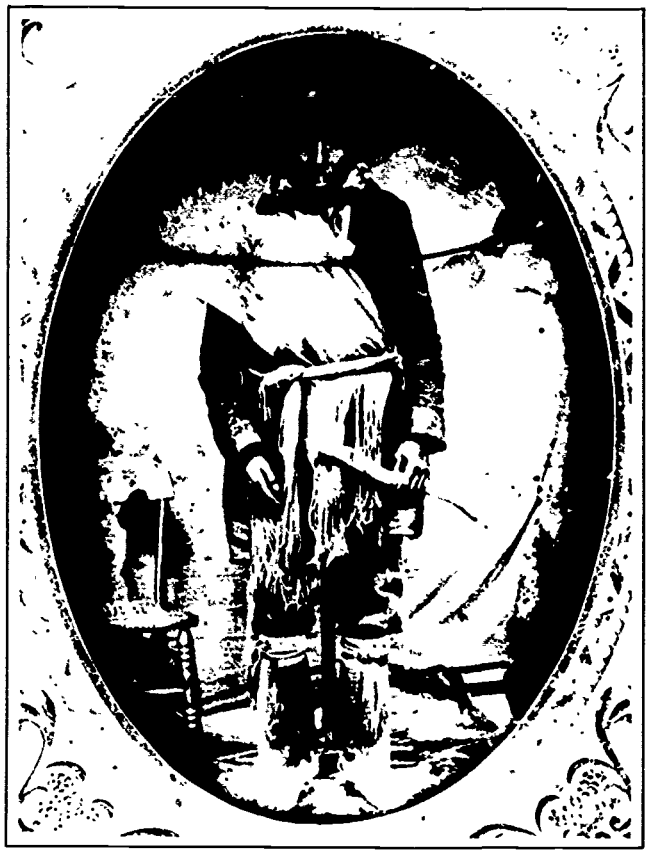
In the late nineteenth century, many Ottawa men earned needed income by spending their winters cutting timber in a logging camp (Catherine Baldwin Collection)

their powers at ceremonies of feasting, singing, and dancing. Little is known about Wabanos, their power and how it was used, but their ceremonies were usually held in conjunction with a third kind of ceremony, the *Midewiwin*.

The Midewiwin priesthood was the most important of the special forms of power, and members of the Midewiwin lodge held extremely prestigious positions in Ottawa society. Those already initiated into the lodge's secrets carefully selected new members to join and learn the songs, dances, stories, and herbal treatments that would enable them to become priests and share in the powers of the lodge. Each member paid a fee to learn the secrets of the society, and the process of learning was long and expensive. The Midewiwin was important in unifying the Ottawa throughout their territory. Because men and women from all Ottawa villages could participate in the meetings, the Midewiwin tended to draw them together into a single group.

The Ottawa had many ceremonies before the French and the Jesuit priests arrived in the Great Lakes region. But during the seventeenth century, the Ottawa created formal societies, like the Midewiwin, which borrowed some of the trappings of the missionary priesthood and some of the rituals of Catholic religious services. The Midewiwin society incorporated a larger body of native beliefs into a single ritual which reenacted the Ottawa story of creation and Nanabozho's gift of the megis shell with its power to combat the evil forces of the world. Through song and ritual, the ceremony portrayed Midewiwin priests journeying through a world of evil manitos who tempted them to stray from the proper path. "Shot" with the sacred shell, they died, were reborn, and reached a new level of power with greater gifts given by the sacred manitos.

The Ottawa believed that the ceremony renewed and increased the powers of all who participated. But even in this complex ceremonial setting, power remained an individual matter. Each participant received only as much power as the manitos



Naumke-Ching-Um-Ie, born along the Grand River around 1800, was one of the first Michigan Indians to pose for a photographer. His clothing demonstrates Indian wiiiingness to incorporate American and European styles while retaining pieces of native dress. (Grand Rapids Public Museum)

allowed. The power itself was neither good nor evil but could be used for both. There were four levels of priesthood, each with its own knowledge and power. Priests at the fourth and highest level had so much power that they could become dangerous. Able to change their forms to *Windigos* (bearwalkers), they could misuse their gifts to harm rather than help others. Individuals suspected of using their power to harm their kin broke Ottawa rules of respect for others and disturbed the balance of proper relationships. They were ostracized from the village or even executed.

Ceremonies and the Cycle of Seasons

Ottawa life depended directly on the forces of nature, and each ceremony had to be held at its proper time in the seasonal cycle. Ceremonies were intended to influence the manitos, but they also helped to draw the Ottawa together and unite their society. Ceremonies and religion were not marginal to Ottawa life; they were essential parts

Mitchell Wagigekik at his house in Middle Village near Good Heart in Emmet County. (Grand Rapids Public Library)

of all activities. It is impossible to identify all of the ceremonies connected with everyday Ottawa life before the Europeans came to the Great Lakes. We do, however, have some idea of their probable timing in the seasonal cycle.

In the spring, when the maple trees were ready to be tapped, the Ottawa, dressed in their best garments, gathered for feasting, dancing, and singing. Spring was also the occasion for the Wabano, Jessakid, and Midewiwin priests to reestablish the strength of their powers and deal with the problems of their people.

With the coming of warmer weather, Ottawa men were free to travel for hunting, trading, and warfare. Elaborate ceremonies were held throughout the warm season to recruit and prepare warriors, to inspire them to success, and to celebrate their victories.

The sun ceremony took place during the summer when food was most plentiful. The largest feast of the year, the summer ceremonial was held to give thanks for what had been received from the manitos and to enlist the spirits' continued blessings. There may also have been smaller ceremonies of thanksgiving for the harvest of the first fruits of important foods.

The Ottawa gathered for the Feast of the Dead, in the fall, every three years. This was a long ceremony, complete with athletic contests, songs, dances, feasts, and offerings. At its end, the bones of those who had died since the last feast were buried with elaborate ceremonies in a common grave. The ritual united the spirits of the dead and symbolized the friendship of the living. In the years between these larger feasts, Midewiwin lodge ceremonies may have been held before the coming of the winter. In the winter, no large group ceremonies occurred.

Like the seasons, human life was conceived of as a cycle, and each important division of that cycle was marked with special observances by family members. Ceremonies took place at the naming of a child, after the manitos revealed the child's special power, at a boy's first killing of game, during courtship, and at times of illness and curing. Death was likewise a ceremonial occasion, bringing friends and relatives to a funeral gathering that lasted for days. At its conclusion, the body of the deceased was buried in a temporary grave to await final interment at the Feast of the Dead. At these critical times in an Ottawa's life, as in all other activities, reliance on close personal and family relationships was of primary importance.

The French and the Fur Trade

Trading relationships were also essential to the Ottawa way of life, and the word "Ota'wa'," in fact, means "to trade." Ottawa men traveled the entire Great Lakes region in birch bark canoes, acting as middlemen for the Chippewa to the north and the Huron to the south. The Ottawa supplied the Chippewa with their own and the Huron's surplus corn and received in return the furs that they traded to the Huron. Each Ottawa family owned its own trade route, which was both a geographical path or waterway and a set of relationships with trading partners along the way. So important were these trade relationships that marriages were often arranged to turn trading partners into family members and so extend kinship ties. The trade routes could be used only by the family who pioneered them and who maintained the gift-exchange and kinship ties which assured safe passage for the traders and a supply of goods when they reached their destination. Members of the kin group who owned the route used it only with the permission of the family leader, usually the same man who represented them in council and was respected for his personal powers.

Trespassers along the trade route could be charged a toll of furs, grain, or other native trade goods, or might even be killed for their trespass.

In the 1600s a new element was added to the Ottawa's social environment: the French. The French had come to North America as early as 1523 when Giovanni de Verrazano, in the employ of the king of France, explored the land stretching from Newfoundland to Virginia. French interests in the New World at the time were singularly narrow, concentrated solely upon finding a water route across North America to reach the riches of the Orient. The discovery of such an all-water route, so the French hoped, would fill the royal coffers with precious metals just as Hernando Cortes' expedition to Mexico, culminating in the conquest of Mexico City in 1521, had done for Spain.

In 1534, Jacques Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence River and visited the Iroquois village of Stadocona near modern-day Quebec. He attempted to build a fort there, but the deaths of many of his men from starvation, scurvy, and exposure forced him to return to France. His second attempt to plant a colony in the same location in 1541 was no more successful than the first. A harsh winter and Iroquois harassment persuaded him to return to France, a failure in his attempts to find great riches.

Samuel de Champlain was the next explorer to reach the St. Lawrence valley and the first Frenchman to have direct contact with the Ottawa. He came to North America as a cartographer, but was later commissioned to explore the St. Lawrence. Champlain and other early French explorers began laying the groundwork for what they hoped would become a powerful French colony in the New World, and they named the territory New France.

In 1608, Champlain founded a settlement near Cartier's deserted outpost, and from there began establishing trade relations with the native peoples along the water routes to the Great Lakes. His earliest trading partners were the Huron, whose territory, called Huronia, was a forty-by-twenty-mile section of Ontario that lay between Lake Simcoe and Matchedash and Nottawasaga bays near the Bruce Peninsula. The Huron had moved to this territory after raids by the Iroquois had driven them from their previous home in the St. Lawrence valley.

The Huron and the Iroquois remained enemies, and Champlain involved himself in the conflict on the Huron side, deciding that if he was to maintain a profitable trade with the Huron and their allies, he would have to aid them in their raids against the Iroquois. In 1609 and again in 1610, Champlain joined the Huron alliance to defeat Iroquois forces. In 1615, on his way to Huronia to plan another offensive, he met a party of three hundred Ottawa men near the French River. Told the unlikely story that the men were on a blueberry-picking expedition, Champlain continued on his way. For the next twenty-five years the French continued to concentrate on trade with the Huron to support their new colony, and no further mention of the Ottawa was made in French documents of the time.

The paths which eventually brought the Ottawa and the French together in a permanent relationship were the routes of the trade. The French came to the Great Lakes region seeking great riches in gold, silver, and spices from the Orient, but they soon came to realize that the most immediate source of wealth was to be found in something the Ottawa had traded for centuries — beaver pelts.

Felt hats were the height of fashion in Europe at the time, and the beaver pelts were needed to produce the felt. Because the French were too few in number and too weak militarily to take control of the fur trade, they had established trading partnerships with the Huron who lived southeast of Ottawa territory. These partnerships, however, did not interfere with the long-established Ottawa-Chippewa-Huron trade relationships. The Ottawa continued to exchange their corn and other goods for Chippewa furs and to trade the furs for Huron goods. The Huron, in turn, brought the furs to the French on the St. Lawrence River.

Although the Ottawa had little direct contact with the French in those early years, they did see evidence of the European presence. When the Huron traded north, their native crops and crafts were accompanied by metal tools, kettles, beads, and other European manufactured goods. These new goods were highly prized by the Ottawa and their neighbors, but had little impact on the way people lived.

For twenty years, the Huron greatly benefited from the trade in fur and European goods. Their towns grew in size, wealth, and prestige. As trading partners of the Huron, the Ottawa no doubt benefited, too.

The Iroquois Wars

As more and more Europeans came to the New World during the early decades of the seventeenth century, trade in furs assumed increasing importance to North America's native peoples. The Iroquois of New York and Pennsylvania traded first with the Dutch and then the British, offering furs in exchange for European knives, kettles, axes, and guns. Needing greater access to the northern furs with which they could purchase European goods, the Iroquois found themselves in competition with the Huron and their allies in southern Ontario. Encouraged by European traders who stood to gain or lose fortunes, the Iroquois went to war in the 1640s to destroy the trading networks of their Huron rivals.

At first, the Iroquois were content just to raid Huron villages for furs, corn, and trade goods. But as the Iroquois Wars progressed, the goal became the destruction of the Huron. Over the years between 1640 and 1649, Iroquois war parties destroyed Huron fields and kept the Huron on the move with continuous raids in Huronia. At the same time, a series of smallpox epidemics drastically reduced the Huron population. These disasters, along with the activities of French missionaries, raised Huron doubts about their traditional values, created divisions in their political organization, and sowed the seeds of conflict and dissension among them. Divided, demoralized, and weakened, the Huron were forced to flee their Canadian home.

The Iroquois Wars severely disrupted the northern trading networks. By 1650, Huron society was destroyed, and Huron trading partnerships were broken. But the French traders still sought their fortunes in furs, and the Ottawa and their Huron neighbors had new needs that could be satisfied only through trade.

European manufactured goods had begun to have an impact on the Ottawa way of life. European hoes, knives, axes, sewing needles, and metal kettles were sturdier than the traditional tools of bone, flint, wood, and clay, and made lighter work of daily chores. Without guns and ammunition, the Ottawa were easy prey for enemies such as the Iroquois, and over time, they came to value the gun over the bow and arrow for hunting as well. But the Ottawa had no gunsmiths to repair their weapons, nor did they manufacture their own powder or shot. Increasing Ottawa reliance on European goods and firearms meant increased dependence on European trade.

In 1650, a large group of Huron who had escaped the Iroquois took advantage of their trading-partner relationship with the Ottawa and moved to Ottawa villages for protection. But with the Huron destroyed as a military power, the Ottawa themselves were no longer safe in their Canadian home. Seeking to avoid their Iroquois enemies, whom they called *Nadowe* (the snakes), the Ottawa and Huron moved into northern Michigan and Wisconsin. In 1653, the Ottawa and Chippewa united to defeat their enemy in a battle near Sault Ste. Marie, at a place called Iroquois Point, and so secured a place to live in the northern Great Lakes while the Iroquois Wars dragged on.

The Huron were without their own crops to trade for northern furs and had too few men to transport the furs to French towns on the St. Lawrence. They could no longer trade with the French by themselves. The Ottawa, however, already owned their own northern trade routes and had many other trading partners with whom to exchange goods. The Huron introduced the Ottawa to the French, and for the next fifty years Ottawa men traded directly with the French. They brought furs into Quebec and Montreal and took back the European manufactured goods that their Native American neighbors were so eager to have. Between 1650 and 1700 the Ottawa became the best known and most successful traders in the Great Lakes region, possessing greater wealth and prestige than they'd ever had before.

During the years of the Iroquois threat, the Ottawa were dispersed but not destroyed. Some Ottawa families moved briefly into their old hunting and fishing territories at Mackinac, Saginaw Bay, and Thunder Bay. The Kiskakon and Sinago clans, along with some Huron, went to Green Bay, Wisconsin. In the 1650s, they moved as far west as Lake Pepin near the Mississippi River, only to be driven back east by the Sioux who lived there. By 1660, Ottawa groups were living at Chequamegon Bay on Lake Superior and the Keewenaw Peninsula near the present-day L'Ance reservation.

Wherever they moved, the Ottawa had trading partners who willingly shared their hospitality and who, in many cases, were kinsmen related by marriage. The flexibility of their political organization and their varied subsistence techniques allowed the Ottawa to live in small groups or large villages, hunting and fishing in the northern climates, and farming in the warmer regions to the south. Although the times were not easy for them, the Ottawa adapted to a variety of new locations without sacrificing their cultural identity or losing their strength.

In the 1670s, after peace was finally made with the Iroquois, the Ottawa once again formed their large villages near the Straits of Mackinac. Seeking soil, climate, plants, and game similar to those they had left behind in Canada, the Ottawa built their villages on the banks of rivers flowing into Lake Michigan and Lake Huron, and on the

lakeshores as well. In 1670 and 1671, some Ottawa people, primarily the Sables, returned from western locations to settle on Manitoulin Island. By 1695, the Kiskakons and members of the Sinago, Sable, and Naussaukeuton clans had settled with the Huron at Father Marquette's St. Ignace mission at the Straits of Mackinac, a location which helped secure Ottawa control over their expanded trade networks. In those days, the best way to travel north was by canoe. All Ottawa trade routes passed through the straits, and no one could reach the rich, fur-producing grounds north and west of the Great Lakes without traveling Ottawa routes. Because the Ottawa charged a toll for the use of their waterways, other Great Lakes Indians were discouraged from trading directly with the French. Control of the straits gave the Ottawa a virtual monopoly over the profitable fur trade.

The Ottawa-French Partnership

The French population in North America grew slowly between 1615 and 1763. In 1666, only 3,200 Frenchmen lived in New France; by 1673 there were 6,700; by 1759 the number had grown to 76,000. In the opening years of the fur trade, few Ottawa ever saw a Frenchman, but when the Ottawa became leading traders, direct contact inevitably increased.

Late nineteenth-century Ottawa village in northern Michigan. (Grand Rapids Public Library)

In the seventeenth century, the French were clearly outnumbered by the native peoples in North America. They could not force the Indians to adopt French customs, but carried on the essential business of the fur trade on native terms. The French learned that the first rule in trade and in all social relationships was gift giving between kin, and they carefully followed the custom. Many French traders learned the Ottawa language, and some even became family members by marriage, further cementing the trading relationship. This was trade on Ottawa terms, a personal relationship governed by rules of gift giving and kinship.

As more Europeans made their way to the New World and the Great Lakes, European conflicts over territory and colonial empires spilled over into North America, and the relationship between the French and the Ottawa slowly changed. The British, who were competing with France for power and territory on other continents, were intent on extending their influence in North America, seeking territory that the French controlled. French and British competition for a North American empire intensified, and the Ottawa found themselves in continually shifting political relationships with the European powers and the native peoples around them, affected by events of which they had no knowledge and decisions in which they had little say.

The fur trade was important to both the French and the British as a principal means of supporting their empires. Both sides wished to expand their share of the income and strengthen their claim to their New World territories. Until the late 1600s, the French relied heavily on the Ottawa to bring them furs. But from the French perspective, such reliance was potentially dangerous; the Ottawa could shift their loyalties at any time, sell their furs to the British, and cripple the French economy in North America.

The French wanted to assume direct control over the fur supply. Instead of using the Ottawa as middlemen, they sent their own traders to exchange goods with the Great Lakes Indians. As the number of French in the region increased, the Ottawa's importance as fur traders declined. By 1700, the Ottawa no longer controlled French access to furs and were no longer the sole suppliers of French manufactured goods to their Native American neighbors.

Ottawa women at Petoskey, Michigan, washing clothes and grinding corn in the late nineteenth century. (Michigan State Archives)

The change in trade relations did not mean that the French dominated the Ottawa socially, politically, or culturally. The Ottawa-French partnership, in fact, remained important to both sides. The Ottawa were able to create wealth and convert it to prestige by growing corn, fishing, cutting wood, and doing other jobs that the French did not do for themselves. They also began to hunt and trap more than they had before so that they could continue to buy the European tools, guns, and other goods that had become important to their way of life.

The French and Indian Wars

The Ottawa and the French also had a military partnership. The Ottawa fought in many of the war parties led by the French against the British and their allies in a long series of conflicts now known as the French and Indian Wars. Throughout the late 1600s and well into the 1700s, the European powers were locked in a struggle for empire and for political and economic control of North America. The French and Indian Wars is the general name for this 80-year conflict which included a series of skirmishes in the 1680s; King William's War, from 1689 to 1697; Queen Anne's War, 1702-1713; King George's War, 1740-1748; and the French and Indian War, 1754-1763.

Although there was never a complete peace during the long years of conflict, the Ottawa did not live in a constant state of war. Recruited by the French for guerrilla warfare, the Ottawa struck against the British and their Indian allies in a series of hit-and-run raids. The main strategy of Indian warfare was to surprise the enemy, do as much damage as possible, take hostages and goods, and then quickly slip away. For the most part, fighting took place in summer when the men could be spared from their other responsibilities. At other times of the year, Ottawa men were needed by their villages to hunt, fish, and engage in trade.

Despite their military alliance with the Ottawa, the French were more determined than ever to assume direct control of the fur trade. In the 1700s, the rulers of France and the officials of New France tried to persuade the Great Lakes Indians not to trade with the independent French traders who either visited or lived in Indian villages. What the French wanted instead was for the Indians to live together near French towns and to trade only with individuals who were licensed by the French government, an arrangement designed to create trading monopolies which would greatly enrich a few government officials. In 1701, Antoine Cadillac, French colonial governor, founded a French town at what is now Detroit, and he invited the Ottawa, Huron, Potawatomi, Chippewa, and other Indian groups to live there.

The Ottawa saw the benefits of moving their villages into the lower peninsula of Michigan. Being near the Detroit settlement would allow them to continue their comfortable life as traders, supplying corn, meat, canoes, and other needed goods to the French. Moving into their old hunting grounds, they thought, would strengthen their claim to the territory. Some Ottawa moved to Detroit in 1701. By 1712 there were again Ottawa villages on Saginaw Bay, and by 1730 Ottawa families were living on the St. Joseph River. The 1740s saw Ottawa villages on the Grand River and at Grand Traverse Bay. Some Ottawa made L'Arbre Croche on Little Traverse Bay a permanent home in 1742, and Ottawa settled on Beaver Island shortly thereafter.

The relationship between the Ottawa and the French was not always harmonious. As traders, both sides competed for profits. The French sought to limit the Ottawa's contact with British traders and to create a monopoly over Great Lakes furs. For the most part, the Ottawa limited their trade to the French. Shrewd Ottawa traders, however, were not always willing to pass up the opportunity to get better goods at lower prices. In the 1740s and 1750s, some Ottawa settled on the Maumee and Cuyahoga rivers in Ohio to be nearer the British. Ottawa leaders used their traditional skills in dealing with outsiders to make the best possible deals for themselves and their people. Courted by both the French and the British for their ability to sway the balance of power in the Great Lakes, Ottawa leaders chose to support those who met Ottawa interests.

Ottawa Culture in the French Era

As a result of their century-long partnership with the French, the Ottawa greatly expanded their territory, power, and prestige, moving south and occupying much of Michigan's lower peninsula. There were other, more subtle changes as well.

In almost all of their moves, the Ottawa chose to live in places that closely resembled their original Canadian home. The only exceptions were those

Ottawa who moved to Ohio to be near the English traders, and another group who settled with the Potawatomi south and west of Lake Michigan. Living in their traditional, mixed-resource environment allowed the Ottawa to continue a traditional way of life based on agriculture, fishing, hunting, and trade. The primary difference in the French era was an increased use of European manufactured goods.

The village continued to be the center of Ottawa life. Over the years, the Ottawa's many moves and shifting alliances among families brought Sinago, Kiskakon, Sable, and Naussaukueton clans together in the Ottawa villages or in pan-tribal settlements around French missions and trading posts. By 1760, with political and economic interests linking these groups more closely than before, the separate Ottawa families and villages began thinking of themselves as members of the Ottawa tribe At the same time there was a proliferation of new villages as families separated from larger settlements to form new homes along waterways in the lower peninsula.

Kinship remained important to the Ottawa, and persons of the same totem, as always, were obliged to provide each other with food, aid, shelter, and hospitality when they met. As the Ottawa traveled and hunted throughout their large Michigan territory, they could be sure that hospitality would be offered whenever a kinsman was found.

Marriage remained an important way of forming kinship and political ties, and the Ottawa extended this practice by marrying French as well as Indian neighbors. When the number of marriages outside their own group increased, the Ottawa revised their criteria for determining who was and was not Ottawa. With the older political order changing, being Ottawa depended more heavily on speaking the Ottawa language and behaving in accord with Ottawa values than upon position by birth. Being Ottawa also included having a sense of shared identity from the time of the creation. At the end of the French period, the Ottawa traced their descent through the father's family as did the Chippewa. Despite the efforts of French missionaries, the Ottawa retained their traditional values and their relationship with the manitos. Strong family ties and the sharing of resources to assure the survival of the group remained the most important aspect of their daily lives.

Gift giving, in the Ottawa tradition, bound giver and receiver into a relationship of personal obligations. Trade with the French did not affect that tradition, but it did alter the Ottawa view of exchange. The Ottawa began to recognize goods as having value in themselves apart from the relationship formed by their exchange They knew what their own goods were worth and what they should receive in return, and they sought the best possible deals when trading with outsiders. They did not, however, become a people of unlimited wants. They worked only hard enough and long enough to meet the needs of their kin groups. Within their own families goods were still given freely, shared to help all family members survive.

The British

The French and Indian War of 1754 to 1763 marked the end of France's North American empire and a turning point in Ottawa history. Michigan Indians had fought well in actions against the British in Pennsylvania and New York. Charles de Langlade, for example, whose mother was an Ottawa, led Ottawa warriors against the British General Braddock and his aide, George Washington, at Fort Duquesne, later named Fort Pitt. Braddock was defeated and more than a hundred British soldiers died in the battle, while the French and Indians lost fewer than thirty men. Despite Ottawa support, France lost the war when Quebec fell to the British in 1759 and Montreal surrendered in 1760. The Treaty of Paris, signed in 1763, placed all of French Canada and the strategic western forts under British control.

British victory in the French and Indian War ushered in a period of crisis for the Ottawa and put Indian leadership to a severe test. Accustomed to being treated as allies and kin by the French, the Ottawa expected similar consideration from the British. The British, however, had other ideas.

Each year the French had given to the Ottawa gifts of clothing, goods, weapons, and ammunition on which they had come to rely for their own provision and which they demanded as a symbol of alliance. The British, however, who were trying to cut the cost of colonial administration, saw no need for the Ottawa to have weapons, and they discontinued the practice of annual gifts. Not only were arms and ammunition soon in short supply as a result, but without the customary annual gifts, the Ottawa were forced to trade for all their needs. Trade rates rose under the British, and higher prices took an increasing portion of the Ottawa's valuable furs.

To the British, the Indians were a conquered people, an obstacle to be overcome before control of the Great Lakes could be secured. The Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi, however, did not consider themselves defeated. All of the battles had been fought outside their territory, and unlike their former French allies, they had not been beaten. The land, they believed, was still theirs, and they had no intention of surrendering their independence to British rule.

Kanipima (Augustin Hamelin, Jr.), Ottawa leader from northern Michigan, pictured here with his wife, was the nephew of Apakosigan (a name which means a smoking mixture made of the inner bark of the red dogwood), the most important Ogema on Little Traverse Bay in the 1830s. Educated in non-Indian schools in Cincinnati, Ohio, and Rome, Italy, Kanipima served as spokesman for his people on many occasions. (Burton Collection, Detroit Public Library)

Pontiac's Rebellion

In the summer of 1763, heeding the call of the Ottawa leader Pontiac, the Indians rebelled against British policies. Insisting that the Indians must give up European-made goods and return to their self-sufficient native ways, Pontiac recruited warriors to take up arms against the British. The Ottawa and members of other tribes — including the Chippewa, Potawatomi, Seneca, Delaware, Shawnee, and Wyandot — pledged to strike the British and drive them out of the Great Lakes and the Ohio valley. Pontiac's strategy was to take British strongholds in Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Michigan by surprise.

At Michilimackinac, the Chippewa under Minevavana set the stage for a surprise attack by engaging the British stationed at the fort in a game of *baggatiway*, a form of lacrosse. On signal, one of the Indian players hurled the ball into the fort. As the players rushed into the fort to retrieve it, they were handed guns by their women who were standing near the palisade with the weapons concealed under their blankets. The Chippewa killed half of the garrison that day and took the rest hostage. It was only through the intercession of the Ottawa of L'Arbre Croche on Little Traverse Bay that any British soldiers survived. The Ottawa were angry that they had not been invited to take part in the attack. As restitution for this Chippewa oversight, the Ottawa demanded the remaining prisoners as part of the spoils and ransomed them at Montreal.

Forts St. Joseph, Miami, and Ouiatenon were also taken by ruse, but the remaining forts in the Northwest Territory were overcome by direct attack. Between May 16 and June 26, Pontiac's warriors captured Forts Sandusky in Ohio, St. Joseph and Michilimackinac in Michigan, Miami and Ouiatenon in Indiana, and Presque Isle, Venago, and LeBoeuf in Pennsylvania. In all these places they killed troops and took hostages. In less than six weeks, the British had suffered a stunning defeat; of all the western strongholds, only Fort Pitt in Pennsylvania and Fort Detroit in Michigan remained in British hands.

On May 7, Pontiac and his men had attempted to enter Fort Detroit by ruse. He armed his warriors with sawed-off muskets which they hid under their blankets, and then asked Major Gladwyn, the fort's commanding officer, for a conference. But Gladwyn had been forewarned. When Pontiac entered the fort, he and his men faced a fully armed garrison ready for the attack.

Unable to surprise the Detroit garrison, the Indians held it under siege. But by November 1, with their supply of ammunition dwindling, the Indians were becoming weary and disillusioned. The

Shawnee and Delaware in Pennsylvania, who had been deliberately infected with smallpox from blankets sent to them by the commanding officer at Fort Pitt, were unable to fight. Men had to return home for the winter hunt or their families would be left without food. A rumor was circulating in the Indian camps that a large contingent of British reinforcements would soon arrive. Finally, no military aid was forthcoming from the French. Although the rebellion had been encouraged by the French civilians still living in Michigan, the French and British governments were officially at peace. Without guns and ammunition, the Indians could not continue their efforts. Betrayed by his old allies, Pontiac had no option but to end both the siege of Fort Detroit and the war.

The New Alliance

Although Pontiac's rebellion failed, the uprising drastically changed Indian and British relations. The Indians' victories had demonstrated their real power in the Great Lakes, and British policies became less overtly arrogant and more conciliatory. To keep settlers out of Indian territory, King George III of England closed all lands west of the Allegheny Mountains to settlement. Only agents of the British government were allowed to purchase land, a licensed trading system was established, and the practice of giving annual gifts was resumed. The former enemies had become allies of convenience, one supporting the other so long as each side's own best interests were served.

During the American Revolution, 1776-1783, many Ottawa regarded the British as the lesser of two evils because British government policy restricted European settlement on Indian land. The American colonists, on the other hand, wanted unchecked settlement west of the Alleghenies. But because the Ottawa, in their northern location, had not yet felt the pressure of settlers on their land, they saw little reason to fight on the British side. Sympathetic to the British who were supplying them with goods, they nevertheless maintained ties to their French relatives and traders who supported the American cause.

With wartime provisions in short supply, the Ottawa protected their own interests by diplomacy and by trading with both the British and the resident French supporters of the Americans. Ottawa policy throughout the American Revolution was one of ambiguous neutrality. When the British governor of Detroit called upon the Ottawa of the Grand River in 1778 to help stop General George Rogers Clark's advance through Illinois, they excused themselves, saying that they could not leave their women and children without provisions in their winter camp. The governor sent Charles de Langlade with gifts to persuade the Ottawa to help, but again the chiefs said they could not be ready until spring. When they heard that Clark had defeated the British in Illinois, they decided not to fight at all.

By 1783, the Americans had won their fight for independence, and a peace agreement, the Treaty of Paris, was signed. Although the British lost their jurisdiction over Ottawa land in Michigan, they retained their forts at Detroit and Mackinac. Still in control of Canada, they continued to maintain a weak alliance with the Ottawa well after Americans has assumed control of Michigan territory.

Meeting the Americans

The American government in 1784 was an institution with big ideas and little power. The new nation, made up of thirteen former colonies perched on the edge of North America, had little money, no strong standing army, and a vast new territory north of the Ohio River and west of the Allegheny Mountains to assert its claim over. The Americans had won nominal control over this western land at the Treaty of Paris in 1783, but they did not have the power to enforce that control. The British continued to hold the major military positions in the territory, including Detroit and Mackinac. The Indians, meanwhile, disputed not only American ownership of the western lands, but the right of the British to have transferred that ownership at all. From the Indians' perspective, they had never been defeated in battle nor had they ever transferred the land or the right to it to the British.

For the next twenty-five years the dispute over the land was the key issue in relations between the Indians and the American government. Some Americans wanted the territory open to settlement despite Indian opposition and British possession of important military posts in the area. But the new federal government realized that the United States could not afford war with the Indians living west of its borders, and Congress passed the Ordinance of 1785. Pledging fair treatment of the Indians, the ordinance gave the federal government the right to buy, but not to seize, Indian land. It promised to set up a boundary line between American land and Indian territory which no settlers could cross. Hoping to weaken Indian trading alliances with the British, the ordinance also allowed Americans and Indians to trade.

The Ottawa and their neighbors saw clearly that the American desire for their land and resources was a threat to their way of life. At the Treaty of Fort Stanwick in 1784, the Americans had attempted to establish a boundary between Indian lands and

their own by persuading the Iroquois to deny their previous claims to land south and west of the Ohio River and to reduce their holdings in New York. In 1785, some groups of Chippewa, Ottawa, Delaware, and Wyandot signed the Treaty of Fort McIntosh, giving up the land they occupied in eastern Ohio. These two treaties were disputed by Indians in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. The Fort Stanwick treaty deprived the Shawnee and Delaware of lands in New York and Kentucky that they had used for many years and spurred their hostilities. The Fort McIntosh treaty was not recognized as valid by most groups because it was not negotiated by authorized Indian leaders.

Despite agreements with the Indians, the government could not stop the flow of illegal settlers, land speculators, and traders across the boundary into Indian land in southern and eastern Ohio. For five years following the treaties, the frontier was in a perpetual state of tension which threatened to erupt in renewed warfare between the Indians and the American government. Americans who settled the frontier had little respect for Indian property rights and settled wherever they wished. They drove off game, manufactured and sold alcohol to Indians for high prices, causing many deaths from brawls, and in some instances took it upon themselves to kill Indians directly. The Indians, on the other hand, did not distinguish between those settlers who actually did them harm and those who did not. The Indians raided any settlements on land which they considered theirs and took the lives of innocent people. Each side sought revenge for wrongs committed and perpetuated the bloody cycle of raids and retaliation.

By 1790, the tension on the frontier had grown unbearable for the Indians. In 1791, the Shawnee war chief, Blue Jacket, and the Miami war chief, Little Turtle, led a group of warriors from the Great Lakes tribes, including the Ottawa, against the American General Josiah Harmar. Sent by George Washington to punish the Indians for raids they had made two years earlier, Harmar lost 183 men in battle. In 1792, General Arthur St. Clair did battle with Ohio valley and Great Lakes Indians. Out of 2,000 soldiers, he lost 683, nearly a third of his total force. After these defeats the untrained, undisciplined American troops retreated from the frontier. Settlers continued moving onto Indian lands, and the Indians continued to fight to hold onto their territory.

Three years later, Indians faced Americans at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in Ohio, south of Toledo. Commanded by General Anthony Wayne, the American troops were carefully trained for frontier fighting. The Indian forces, on the other hand, were heavily outnumbered and lacked a good source of supply. Wayne bided his time, waiting before launching his attack until five hundred Indians left the battlefield in search of supplies. Outnumbered and with no reserve troops, the remaining Indians were forced to flee to Fort Miami, but the British, unwilling to provoke the Americans, refused their old allies entrance and locked the gates. The battle was over, and Wayne claimed victory.

Although casualties on either side were relatively few, the battle was a turning point in American-Indian relations. Having lost faith in their British allies and having been defeated on the field of battle, the Indians had no choice but to submit to American peace demands.

The Treaty of Greenville, signed in 1795, established the terms of the peace. In this treaty, which became the pattern for subsequent treaties with the Michigan tribes, the Indians accepted American control over their territories by acknowledging the United States as the soverign power in the Great Lakes. In return for ceded Indian lands, the United States recognized tribal ownership of the remaining lands and agreed to pay for land cessions with cash or services. The treaty defined the land left for Indian habitation and allowed Indians to continue using ceded land until it was needed by the United States. Representatives of all the Michigan tribes, including the Ottawa, signed this document.

The Treaty of Greenville, which established American political power over Indian territory, did not end indian resistance to American occupation of their lands. Following the example set by Pontiac in 1763, the Shawnee chief, Tecumseh, attempted to unite Indians from all over the United States and its territories to stop the violation of agreements and the trespasses on Indian land. In 1807, he began building an alliance of Indian tribes from Michigan to the Gulf of Mexico. Tecumseh's military movement was built around the teachings of his half-brother, Tenskwatawa, the Shawnee Prophet. Tenskwatawa had received a vision which foretold the future. He taught that only those peo-

ple who gave up the ways of the Americans, including guns and other trade goods, all forms of Christianity, and even hunting dogs, could be content in the future world. To a people who were suffering privation as the result of American usurpation of game and other resources, the spiritual component of Tecumseh's movement was a powerful incentive to restore a world in which the Indian fully controlled his own destiny.

The British also encouraged Tecumseh's efforts. With the surrender of military posts in Detroit, Mackinac, and Sault Ste. Marie to the Americans in 1796, British influence in the United States and its territories was waning. But the British wanted the Indians as allies who could help protect Canada if the need arose, and so sought to maintain friendly relations by supporting Tecumseh and his cause with supplies of food and ammunition as well as military advice.

Tecumseh's large following, including many Ottawa, camped at Prophetstown on the Tippecanoe River in Indiana. The number of warriors gathered there at any one time varied from fewer than one thousand to more than three thousand, and the town was a thorn in the Americans' side. In 1811, with Tecumseh away from Prophetstown seeking to win additional support, Governor William Henry Harrison of Indiana decided to march troops and break up the settlement with a show of force. Tecumseh had left Tenskwatawa in charge of Prophetstown and specifically instructed him not to fight the Americans, but the Potawatomi and Winnebago persuaded their fellow warriors to attack. Harrison counterattacked, destroying Prophetstown and driving the Indians away.

Scattered but not beaten, Michigan Indians once again rallied around Tecumseh to join the War of 1812 on the British side. Relations between the United States and Britain, which had never been any more than lukewarm, had seriously deteriorated in the early years of the nineteenth century. Following the revolution, the United States was continually angered by the British refusal to place the western forts under American control, by their continued dealings with the tribes of the Great Lakes region, and by their general unwillingness to treat United States citizens in a manner befitting America's status as an independent nation.

The opening of the nineteenth century was a time of war in Europe as Britain and France contested for the expansion of their empires and trade. To man their seven hundred-ship navy, the British stopped American ships on the sea and impressed (kidnapped) American sailors for their fleet. Between 1809 and 1812 some 6,057 instances of man stealing were recorded. The American government was also convinced that the British were the sole cause behind the Indian problems in the Great Lakes and that Tecumseh was merely one of their agents. These irritations, along with the desire of some Americans to capture Canada and add it to the Union, led Congress to declare war against Great Britain in 1812.

Tecumseh and the Great Lakes Indians fought on the British side to defend Canada from American invasion and to disrupt American supply lines. Indian forces took Detroit, Mackinac, and Fort Dearborn from the Americans and for a time controlled the upper Great Lakes. Through much of 1813, the Michigan Indians fought successfully in raids and major battles, but on September 10 of that year, Lieutenant Oliver Perry defeated a British fleet on Lake Erie and cut the supply routes to Detroit. Knowing they could not hold Michigan, the British retreated to Canada.

Protecting the withdrawing British forces were Tecumseh and some of his staunchest supporters — among them the Ottawa Chiefs Nawequageezhig (Noonday), and Sagima, from the Grand River; and Kewaycooshcum, who lived on Little Traverse Bay at the time and later settled near the present-day city of Lowell. On October 5, Tecumseh shamed the fleeing British into making a final stand at Moraviantown, Ontario. He was killed in the ensuing battle, taking Indian hopes of military resistance with him. Noonday said that Tecumseh was killed by a bullet wound in the chest and was carried from the field by his followers. When he fell, the Indians stopped fighting, and the battle ended as they mourned his death. With Tecumseh dead and the British defeated, the Ottawa would never again be able to protect their interests by military force.

Facing American Rule

Victorious in the War of 1812, the Americans moved to strengthen their hold on Indian land and establish policies for governing Indian peoples. As it had done since 1783, the federal government sought to purchase tribal lands through the standard mechanism for dealing with foreign nations — treaties. The treaties, on paper at least, recognized the Indians' claim to ownership of the land and stipulated that the government must acquire Indian land by purchase rather than conquest. These documents demonstrated, in the government's point of view, its own just treatment of American's native peoples. And, when the Indians were still a military force to be reckoned with, official policy was to prevent settlers from moving onto unceded Indian lands. But high ideals often took second place to economic interests; settlers and government alike wanted Indian lands open to

settlement, and one by one the treaty agreements were broken.

Indian land cessions created another dilemma for the government: what to do with the Indians who were being displaced. Americans saw Indians in general as a problem, an obstacle standing in the way of settlement. Americans also believed that their own way of life was the finest ever conceived; if cultural changes were to be made, it was the Indians who must make them.

In the early 1800s, the Americans attempted to solve the Indian problem with what was called the "civilization" policy. This policy was based on the premise that once the Indians were made aware that their own culture was inferior, they would willingly adopt a new way of life, becoming Christian farmers, blacksmiths, and craftsmen, even marrying Americans and blending into American society. The work of civilizing the Indians was usually financed by the federal government and assigned to missionaries who soon learned that Indians did not want to give up their identity or change their traditional ways. The plan was destined to fail.

While some Americans were trying to civilize the Indians, others wholeheartedly supported the removal of Indians from settled lands. In some cases, the desire for removal stemmed from racist attitudes and the belief that Indians were a mentally and physically inferior people who could never be part of American society because of their limited capacity to learn American ways. Others argued that unless Indians were moved away from Americans who robbed, killed, cheated, or corrupted them, they would vanish as a people. Still others simply coveted Indian land. Whatever the justification, the desire for Indian removal was ultimately enacted into law.

The idea of moving Indians away from settlers was not new. Thomas Jefferson suggested it, in fact, as early as 1803. In 1825, President James Monroe encouraged the Indians living east of the Mississippi to move voluntarily to lands west of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. Despite conflicts with their American neighbors and the growing difficulty in making a living as game disappeared from their diminishing estates, the Indians, with few exceptions, chose to stay. Five years later, with Andrew Jackson in the White House, that choice was no longer legally theirs to make.

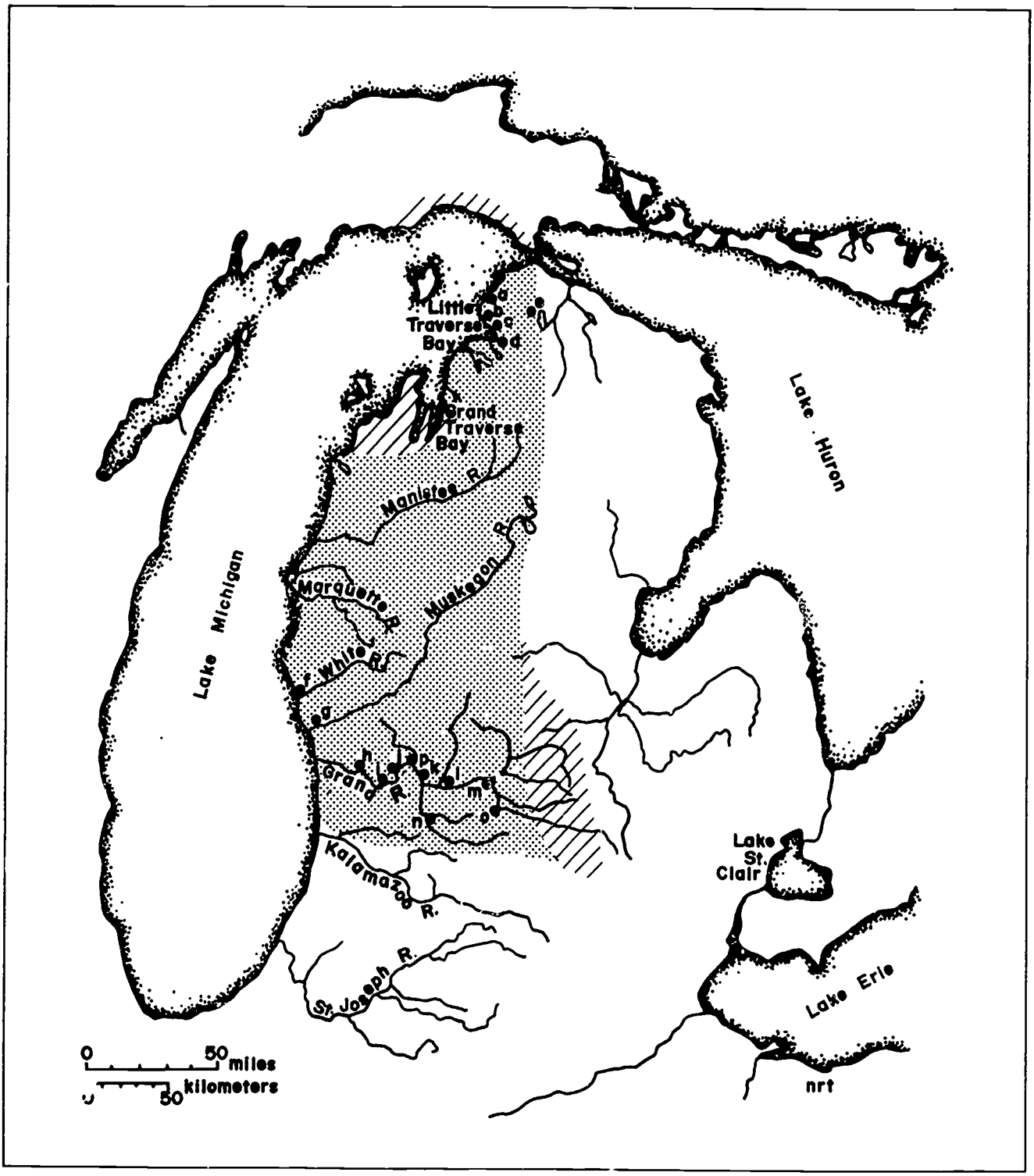
In Jackson's view, the Indians were conquered, dependent peoples fully subject to regulations imposed by Congress. In 1830, at Jackson's urging, Congress passed the Indian Removal Act. The new law required Indians to leave their lands in the east and remove to territory west of the Mississippi. In the west, they would be protected from undesirable settlers and encouraged to form their own self-governing Indian territory. This policy effectively removed almost all Indians from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. It also posed a great potential danger to the Ottawa.

The Treaty Era — Meeting the Challenge

The years of the treaty era were difficult for the Ottawa people. One by one, a series of treaties marked the cession of their lands, concentrating them in progressively smaller territories, limiting access to the natural resources on which their way of life depended, and bringing them one step closer to removal. For the Ottawa, the treaty era began with the Treaty of Greenville in 1795 and ended with the Treaty of Detroit in 1855. The challenge of the treaty era was to maintain use of a sufficient portion of land and resources to provide them a living, to remain in Michigan despite the government's removal policy, and to retain their cultural identity while Americans deliberately sought to alter their way of life.

By 1820 the Ottawa lived in four major concentrations — on the Maumee River in Ohio; on the Grand River and between Little Traverse Bay and Mackinac in Michigan; and on Manitoulin Island in Canada. Small Ottawa villages were also located between the Grand River and Grand Traverse Bay, as well as among the Potawatomi and Chippewa of Illinois and Wisconsin. The latter groups were politically linked by kinship and joint interests and became known as the United Bands of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi.

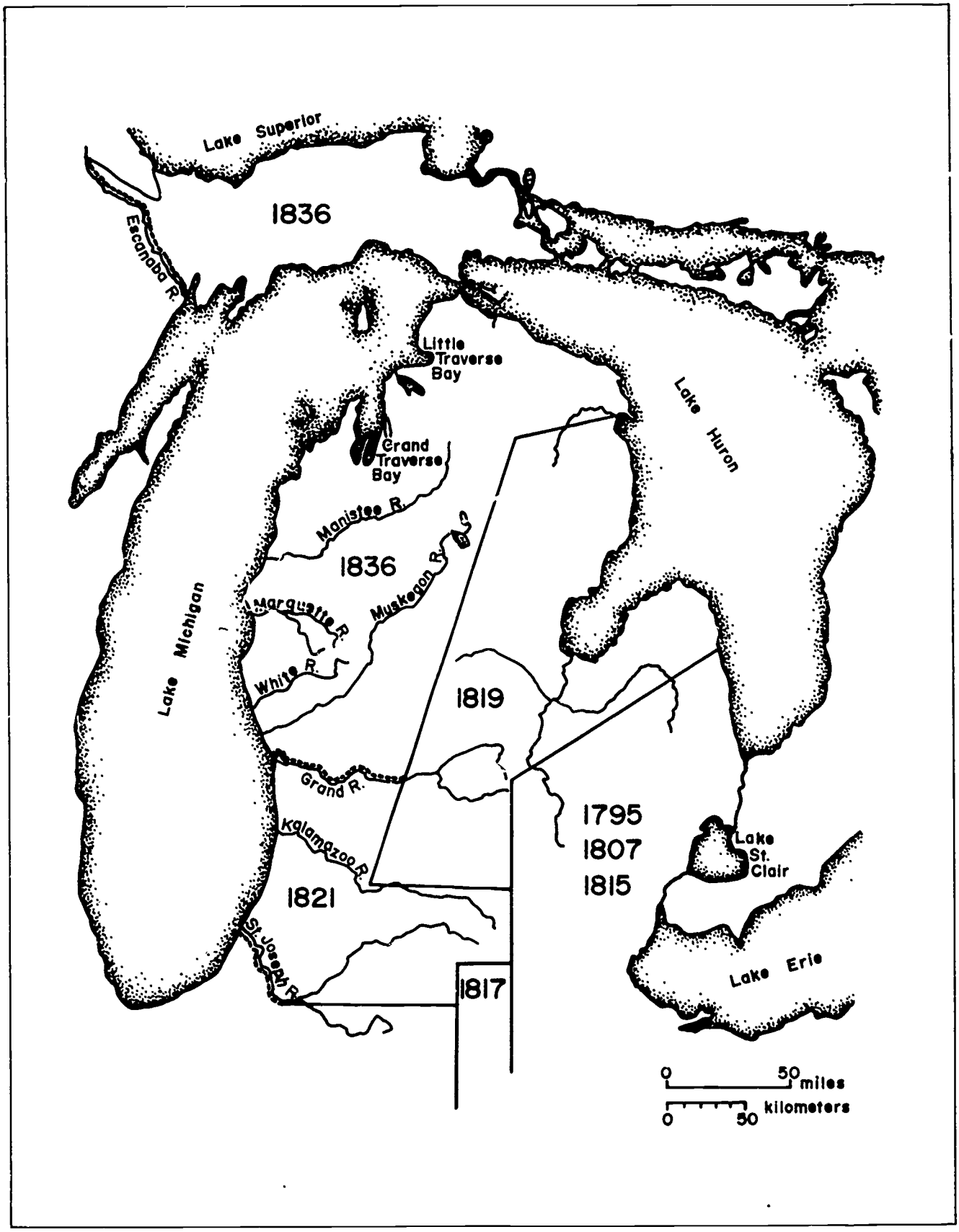
The Ottawa in southern locations were the first to come under intense pressure to remove. Theirs was rich land with a growing season well suited to intensive agriculture and was more highly valued by American farmers than was the land of the more northerly Ottawa. The treaties of 1817 and 1831 had reduced the lands of the Ottawa of the Maumee to only a few small reservations and eve these were coveted by American settlers. For many years the Ottawa of the Maumee had lived separately from the Michigan Ottawa. The political and social bonds of kinship between the two groups were weak, and when their land was sold the Ohio



Michigan Ottawa villages. *Shaded area indicates the range of Ottawa territory after the War of 1812. Cross-hatched areas are hunting and fishing territories shared with the Chippewa.*

Between 1812 and 1836, the Ottawa inhabited the following large, permanent villages between Mackinac and the south shore of Little Traverse Bay: a. Cross Village (Ah-numa-wau-tink-unmig, or Pray Tree Place); b. Middle Village (Ahp-tun-wa-ing, or Half Way Place) c. Harbor Springs (Wee-kwi-on-sing, or Bay Place); d. Petoskey (Bee-dahss-ah-ga-ing, or Approaching Light Place); e. Cheboygan Village, later called Burt Lake Village. Southern Ottawa villages were: f. White River Village; g. Muskegon River Village; h. Fort Village; i. Mackatosha's (Blackskin's) Village; j. Bowting (Rapids); k. Nongee's (or Thornapple River) Village; l. Cobmoosa's (or Flat River) Village; m. Maple River Village; n. Middle Village (also called Shingobeeng); o. Misheminikoning (Apple Place or Orchard); p. Prairie Village.

The above villages were places of permanent residence. The Ottawa inhabited many other seasonal sites for collecting maple sugar, fishing, and hunting. (After McClurken 1986: 50. Ottawa names and translations by Wesley Andrews.)



Michigan treaties. *Between 1795 and 1836, treaties with the United States government opened Michigan to American settlement and restricted its Indian population to a few special reservations.*

Ottawa could not rely upon the hospitality of the Michigan Ottawa. They had no choice but to move west. In 1833 they made a final treaty with the United States and agreed to move to Kansas. The Ottawa of Illinois and Wisconsin, along with their Chippewa and Potawatomi kinsmen, negotiated treaties which removed them first to a reservation at Council Bluffs, Iowa, and later to Kansas.

The Ottawa of Manitoulin Island lived in British territory and were in no danger of removal. Maintaining their old policy of friendship with the Michigan Indians, the British continued the practice of annual gifts as payment for the Indians' part in the War of 1812 and invited their old allies to move permanently to Canada. Manitoulin remained a refuge for those southern Ottawa and Potawatomi who wished to leave American territory rather than move west.

The many treaties concluded between 1795 and 1833 with other Indian groups did not seriously disrupt the daily lives of the Michigan Ottawa. Although the Chicago Treaty of 1821 had taken the hunting grounds between the Kalamazoo and Grand rivers that they had shared with the Potawatomi, the Ottawa still held important fishing grounds, fields, and hunting territories north of the Grand River. Their traditional tasks and skills provided them with an adequate living, while their annuities (yearly cash payments from the federal government for ceded lands) gave them another source of income. Treaties with other tribes in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois had given the United States enough land to satisfy temporarily the settlers' demands, and the government did not move quickly to treat with the Michigan Ottawa. But the government policy of removal was a continuing threat, and the economic and cultural pressures against the Ottawa intensified.

The Ottawa were in frequent contact with American traders. Years of hunting had taken their toll on Michigan's animal populations, but in the early 1800s there was still a profit to be made in furs. The traders knew that overhunting would drive many animals to extinction, but profit was a more important consideration than the preservation of the Ottawa's food sources. The Ottawa needed and wanted the goods the traders offered. Requiring furs as commodities for trade, they had no choice but to hunt and trap. As the fur supply dwindled, the Ottawa were largely without the means of paying for the goods the traders supplied. The traders, however, allowed or encouraged them to run up large debts, expecting to be paid when the Ottawa sold their land.

Government officials attached to the Office of Indian Affairs, a federal agency, were charged with protecting the Ottawa and their neighbors from abuse by traders and with keeping settlers from taking unceded Indian lands. At the same time, however, these agents often sought to purchase as much land as the Indians were willing to sell. Such purchases would give the United States room to grow and would force the Indians to become Christian farmers by reducing the number of resources they could use to make a living. This policy and course of action were designed to completely transform Ottawa culture as quickly as possible by upsetting the Ottawa's relationship with the environment and by teaching them to live as other Americans did.

Traditional religious beliefs and values were also vulnerable to the pressures of missionaries intent on converting the Ottawa to Christianity and to a new way of life as well. Missionaries wanted the men to give up hunting and to live on individually owned family farms, doing the work that women had done for centuries. They wanted the Ottawa to send their children to school to be taught a new language and jobs that were foreign to Ottawa culture. Although the missionaries had little success in changing Ottawa beliefs, their activities often caused divisions in Ottawa villages. Many Ottawa, who did not wish to change their way of life, opposed the missionaries. Others adopted Christian religious practices in exchange for the material goods the missionaries offered.

Every Ottawa band faced unique pressures for change. However, the story of the Grand River Ottawa illustrates the way innovations were accepted or rejected and their impact on Ottawa culture. In 1821, the United States government hired the Baptist missionary Isaac McCoy to establish permanent relations with the Ottawa of the Grand River and to open a combined mission, school, model farm, and blacksmith shop somewhere near present-day Grand Haven. Before McCoy could launch his operation, he received an invitation from the powerful Ottawa leader Nawequageezhik to locate his proposed mission among the Ottawa at the rapids of the Grand River. Opposition from a neighboring Ottawa village led by Blackskin put a halt to these plans, but Nawequageezhik persisted.

Three years later, McCoy visited the rapids at Nawequageezhik's invitation and was again urged to establish a mission there despite Blackskin's opposition. Nawequageezhik probably saw the mission as a way of increasing his own prestige. Missionaries brought with them not only religion, but cattle, metal tools, oxen and plows to clear the land, government-supplied provisions, and other material goods. The prestige of an Ottawa chief rested on the resources at his disposal and the generous redistribution of this wealth among his people. To Nawequageezhik, the coming of the

missionaries may have represented an opportunity to gain access to and control over mission and government resources while preparing for a future dominated by Americans.

What Nawequageezhik saw as a benefit, Blackskin's band read as trouble. For one thing, a rise in Nawequageezhik's prestige would limit the influence of neighboring leaders. Moreover, these opponents of McCoy's mission had been affiliated for years with the French Catholics and did not wish to invite the Baptists into their lands. Many of them, in fact, did not want any contact with Americans at all. Nor did the French traders in the area support the coming of Protestant missionaries who opposed their primary means of making a profit—the sale of whiskey to the Indians.

In 1826, McCoy finally succeeded — despite the opposition and a failed attempt on his life — in establishing a Baptist mission on the west bank of the Grand River near the rapids. The new mission made an impressive start By 1827, the 160-acre compound boasted several log houses, some with plank floors and glass windows, a sawmill financed with treaty funds, a farm, agricultural tools, and fenced pastures for the fifty-five head of cattle supplied by the government to begin Ottawa herds. Living on the premises were farmers to teach the Ottawa American-style agriculture, carpenters to build their houses, and a missionary, Leonard Slater, to minister to their spiritual needs and supervise mission operations.

In the eyes of the American government, the Ottawa were making significant strides toward the American ideal of civilization. The Ottawa, for their part, accepted the changes, but on their own terms. Many Ottawa liked the goods offered by the missionaries and had no objection to using them. The Americans interpreted the wearing of European-style clothing as a sign of civilization; the Ottawa saw it as adjusting to fashion. Long accustomed to living in large, stable, agricultural villages, they had little difficulty in adjusting to mission life. The government-built log houses required less maintenance than their traditional birch bark and cattail lodges, and agricultural tools made women's work lighter.

To receive these benefits, the Ottawa had to profess Christian beliefs. Since all church services were held in English, with occasional crude translation into Ottawa, the concepts of Christianity remained vague. Compliance meant attending chapel and receiving a good dunking at the pond of baptism, acts the Catholics had introduced in the mid-1600s with little impact. To a people whose own religious ceremonies involved dancing, singing, and feasting, church services were often boring and tiresome. But they were a time of social gathering, and most Ottawa could tolerate them in return for the goods and services the missionaries supplied. The Ottawa, however, did not accept Christian teachings. They incorporated Ottawa meaning into Christian forms, and they preserved the essential concepts of their own religion.

While the Ottawa were adjusting to mission life, the population around the mission grew. Trader Louis Campau and several other French-speaking individuals moved to land on the east side of the river opposite the mission in 1827. Their relations with the Ottawa were not always harmonious. The Ottawa expected these newcomers to share their wealth in the Ottawa tradition. But what the Ottawa saw as sharing the French regarded as stealing, and violence occasionally ensued. The new settlers also aggravated an already tense situation by supporting one side or the other in factional disputes.

The Baptist mission itself was a continuing source of friction among the Grand River Ottawa. Some Ottawa were dissatisfied at the way Slater divided their government-provided goods and services. Some opposed Nawequageezhik, and others preferred the less dictatorial Catholic way of life. Then, in 1833, the French-speaking inhabitants of the area invited Father Frederic Baraga to found a Catholic mission in the Ottawa village just south of the Baptist mission. By 1835, Baraga had constructed a church, houses, and other buildings on the site and had begun ministering to the Ottawa who lived in the village of Kewaycooshcum and Megisinini. Resulting tensions between Catholic and Protestant Ottawa weakened the bonds of traditional Ottawa cooperation and lessened their ability to deal with other problems as a unified group.

Baptist mission founder Isaac McCoy himself came to regard his work as a failure. McCoy had hoped to turn the Indians into carbon copies of virtuous Americans. Instead, he had challenged traditional cultural values and helped to open the frontier to less-than-righteous individuals who made their livings selling whiskey to the Indians. The combination of alcohol dependency and fac-

tional strife tore at the fabric of Ottawa society. Without realizing his own role in creating serious divisions in the Ottawa community, McCoy blamed traders and frontier ruffians for hindering Indian advancement toward "civilization." He came to believe that the only way to save the Indians was to remove them from evil influences by resettling them west of the Mississippi River.

A Divided Society

By 1833, as the result of government treaties with the Chippewa and Potawatomi, the Ottawa were surrounded on the south and east by settlers eager for more Indian land. When steamboats began making trips across Lake Huron and Lake Michigan, a good deal of the wood burned to produce the steam was cut from Ottawa land. In time, Americans and their boats began competing for lake fish, another major Ottawa resource. The Ottawa on the Grand River had the most trouble with settlers who cut their forests, drove away their game, and even robbed them of their personal possessions.

Solutions to these problems did not come easily to the Ottawa. Politically dominated by the powerful institutions of the United States government, the various bands were often unable to agree among themselves which course of action best suited their needs. Traditionally, each Ottawa family and each Ottawa village acted in its own best interests, arriving at decisions by consensus. Family and village leaders, in turn, carried out the wishes of their people. Although every Ottawa village was a separate political unit, villages did often act in concert when their interests coincided.

In the centuries before the Europeans arrived, traditional Ottawa political organization worked well. Its flexibility allowed the Ottawa to make good use of the resources in their environment. But by the nineteenth century the problems facing the Ottawa were becoming more and more complex. Consensus within families and villages was increasingly difficult to reach, and individual villages were no longer as closely allied as they had been in the days of the French. The interference of missionaries and traders, with their own interests to protect, combined with an assortment of economic problems to create serious divisions among the several Ottawa factions. Some Ottawa living around L'Arbre Croche, for example, were willing to cede land in exchange for annuities; the Grand River Ottawa were not. Beset by a wide range of economic problems, divided as to the solutions, the Ottawa found it difficult to act as a united political force to meet the challenge of the Americans and their policies.

In 1835 a smallpox epidemic swept through the Grand River valley. The Ottawa had no immunity to this often-fatal European disease. Some fled in its wake, abandoning whole villages to the sick and dying, and carrying the devastating virus to others of their kinfolk who took them in. There are no accurate counts of how many Ottawa died in the epidemic, but the Chippewa of Saginaw were reduced by more than one-third as the disease spread west in 1837.

In a society where each person had a specific and important role in food production, losses of this kind could cripple an entire population. Since infectious diseases take a higher toll on children

Land cession treaties, beginning with the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, called for Indians to receive annuity payments for many years in return for the land they gave up. Although their final annuity payment was made in 1870, this group of Ottawa and Chippewa gathered in Traverse City in 1910 to receive one last payment due them from the 1855 Treaty of Detroit. (Catherine Baldwin Collection)

and the aged, the Ottawa no doubt lost many of their most influential leaders, the very leaders they needed to unite them politically and pass the traditional values on to the young. Native healers, whose power was the basis of their influence in social and political matters, were unable to cure or protect their people against the ravages of the disease. Their loss of credibility and respect represented another serious challenge to fundamental Ottawa lifeways.

When it came to dealing with the Americans, however, the Ottawa possessed several important advantages that other native peoples did not have. For one thing, the traditional Ottawa homeland in the northern transition forest was not the most favorable place for farming and American settlement. Because lands in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were preferred by farmers for their rich soils and long growing season, the Ottawa were able to hold onto their territories longer than were the Potawatomi, Wyandot, Shawnee, Delaware, and other Indian groups. The Michigan Ottawa used the additional time to develop strategies for coping with the Americans.

Also in their favor was the fact that, unlike their northern Chippewa neighbors, the Ottawa never lived strictly by hunting. Relying as they did on a combination of fishing, hunting, and crop raising for food and trade, the Ottawa did not require as much territory or mobility as the Chippewa did. By the 1820s, many of the game animals used for food were depleted, and hunting peoples often starved. The Ottawa's mixed economy did not totally prevent hunger and hardship, but it did provide a source of food when other peoples were without. Because the Michigan Ottawa maintained major features of their traditional way of life in a familiar environment, their cultural beliefs retained more integrity and force in their daily lives than did the beliefs of those many peoples who left their woodland homes for the prairies of Kansas, Iowa, and Oklahoma. The Ottawa's successful use of their environment provided a way to make a living and the basis for a changing but continuing sense of distinct Ottawa cultural values. It was those values which united the Ottawa against the American policy of removal from their Michigan homes.

The Treaty of 1836

By the mid-1830s, pressure on the Ottawa to cede their land was mounting from all sides. Many traders were anxious to recoup their cash for Indian debts and wanted a treaty which would pay them. Settlers were pouring into southern Michigan, encroaching on Ottawa fields and destroying Ottawa forests. The Territory of Michigan was about to become a state and wanted clear title to Ottawa land so that settlement could continue. In 1835, the Ottawa met in councils to consider a land sale. Tempted to sell their lands and use the cash to purchase needed food and clothing, they were nevertheless united in their opposition to removal west of the Mississippi.

In the winter of 1835, a delegation of Ottawa from L'Arbre Croche went to Washington prepared to sell only their title to Drummond Island and some upper peninsula land they claimed jointly with the Chippewa. The annuities received from the sale of these marginal lands, they hoped, would see them through hard times.

Michigan Indian agent Henry Schoolcraft saw the proposed sale as an ideal opportunity to approach the rest of the Michigan Ottawa about selling their lands and moving west, but the Grand River Ottawa rejected his offer of a treaty. Instead, they sent to Washington a delegation charged with stopping the L'Arbre Croche Ottawa from selling their lands. Although the young men chosen for the delegation had no authority to act as treaty negotiators, their trip to Washington played right into Schoolcraft's hands.

Schoolcraft told Secretary of War Lewis Cass that the Ottawa had come to Washington to sell much of their Michigan land. Cass ordered him to assemble as soon as possible a delegation of chiefs authorized to negotiate a treaty and to purchase for a just price as much land as the Indians were willing to sell. Because the Chippewa were recognized as joint owners of land at such places as Grand Traverse and the eastern part of the upper peninsula, they were to be invited as well.

Schoolcraft, who had underestimated the strength of the Ottawa's desire to remain in their homes, had a difficult time gathering enough Ottawa leaders to make a treaty. He even enlisted the aid of traders in persuading the chiefs to attend the treaty negotiations. It took weeks of considerable pressure before the delegation was formed. Even then, for those leaders who finally did join the delegation and go to Washington, the purpose was less to sell land than it was to avoid

the possibility of being moved west. The Ottawa were not anxious to sell their land in the first place, and they were encouraged both by missionaries and traders not to do so until the agreement included terms which provided funds for future mission work and generous payments for Ottawa trading debts.

The treaty negotiations lasted for weeks as the delegates were wined, dined, and counseled in the nation's capital. Every gracious effort was made by Lewis Cass, his friend Henry Schoolcraft, and President Andrew Jackson's representatives to persuade the Ottawa to cede all of their land in the lower peninsula and the land in the upper peninsula east of the Chocolate River. Only twenty-one of the more than one hundred recognized Ottawa and Chippewa chiefs signed the treaty.

The Treaty of 1836, as it was originally negotiated, made the best possible agreement under the circumstances. Lands north of the Grand River and along the Manistee River and Little Traverse Bay were set aside as Indian reservations, and the Ottawa retained the right to continue using ceded land until it was needed by the Americans. The treaty paid Ottawa debts and gave them yearly annuities along with agricultural equipment, missions, schools, blacksmiths, fish barrels and other needed goods. Most important of all, the agreement preserved their fields and fishing grounds and did not require them to move west.

The United States Senate did not approve the treaty until a provision was added stipulating that the Ottawa and Chippewa could remain on their reservations for only five years. At the end of that period, the reservations were to be sold to the United States unless the government gave the Indians permission to stay longer. The Senate also added a provision calling for Ottawa and Chippewa removal to land west of the Mississippi when and if they chose to go.

After many councils the Ottawa reluctantly decided to sign the treaty. Anticipating that American settlers would not want their northern lands for farming, they believed that the ceded territory would be theirs to use for many years to come. The wording of the removal clause said they were to move west only as they desired, and they did not. Government annuities would supply them with needed cash, and the five-year clause would give them time to make new plans and adjustments.

Immediate adjustments were necessary for the Grand River Ottawa. Because their lands were too close to the settlement line to have been reserved by the 1836 treaty, the Ottawa of the rapids were promptly required to leave their homes and improvements behind. A number of Grand Rapids settlers inherited ready-made houses, farms, and a working sawmill, all at Ottawa expense.

Other Ottawa from other locations had to make adjustments, too. Those who chose to live in their old manner moved to Manitoulin Island in Canada. The rest would stay to form a new relationship with their environment and the Americans in it.

Shaping the Future

After the Treaty of 1836 was signed, the Ottawa did not sit idly by and allow others to run their affairs. Instead, they actively worked to make a place for themselves in Michigan and to prevent, once and for all, the possibility of removal. Their first tactic was to adapt their skills in crop growing, fishing, food gathering, and crafts to the American economy, producing goods to sell to the Americans who were moving into the state. They also used their annuity money to purchase land in the vicinity of their villages as it came on the market for public sale. As Indians they were still subject to treaty provisions, including the removal clause, but as landowners they also had inviolable rights to enjoy the use of their property. That implied the right to remain in Michigan.

Ottawa people understood very well the process of making allies for their own benefit. As part of their campaign to remain in Michigan, they made allies of those missionaries who opposed removal and supported Ottawa efforts to purchase land. In the process, they learned that so long as they attended church services, the missionaries would help them build farms and supply them with food, clothing, and medicine. Some Ottawa adults even went to the missionary schools to learn to read and write so they could conduct their own affairs in American society.

The Ottawa also developed friendships and business relationships with people who could help them transact their land purchases. Some of these allies were Americans married to Ottawa and so obligated by bonds of kinship. Others aided the Ottawa because they were opposed to the policy of removal or because they perceived the injustice of taking Indian land without helping the Ottawa adjust to a new way of life. Traders aided the Ottawa, often because of the annuities paid by the government in return for ceded land. The Ottawa had become valuable cash customers whom the traders did not want to lose. The Ottawa, in turn, needed the traders' political connections to help them stay in Michigan.

Some of the first Ottawa land purchases were transacted by missionaries for the people who attended their church services or who lived in villages near the mission stations. The Ottawa provided the missionaries with cash from their an-

Many Ottawa elders living today were educated — and schooled in Catholicism — at Holy Childhood School in Harbor Springs. (Holy Childhood School)

nuities and the missionaries registered their claims at the Ionia land office. Several Ottawa families from the Grand Rapids area who had no reservations in the south and did not wish to move to the northern reservations gave the Baptist missionary Leonard Slater cash to buy land on their behalf in Barry County near Bradley. Others settled on the Black River near Lake Macatawa in Allegan County on land purchased for them by a Congregational missionary named George Smith. Purchases of land near missions were also made by the Presbyterians at Grand Traverse Bay and by the Catholics at L'Arbre Croche.

Family groups from the Grand River to L'Arbre Croche who were not connected to missions frequently pooled their annuity payments and purchased land, often in the names of their leaders. Some of these groups lived as extended families, sharing the land and its resources much as they had always done. Others chose to conform to the American system, living in small, immediate-family groups made up of husband, wife, and children. Some Ottawa congregated on reservations on Grand Traverse and Little Traverse bays. Still others remained on ceded lands without making purchases. These people were most vulnerable to the pressures of settlers and to the threat of removal.

The government's first serious attempt to remove the Ottawa from Michigan came in 1838 when Henry Schoolcraft sought to begin the removal process. Schoolcraft's plan was to assemble an exploring party made up of Indian leaders most likely to approve the plans of government officials. The delegates were to visit Kansas in the spring when the prairie plants were green, return with a favorable report, and urge their people to remove there. Schoolcraft, however, was barely able to assemble a delegation. He finally persuaded twenty-four men to go. Of this group,

there were only five chiefs, and then only one who had signed the 1836 treaty. The Chippewa refused to send any representatives at all, and the Ottawa of L'Arbre Croche consented only after Schoolcraft applied considerable pressure.

Those who went to view the Kansas lands were not impressed. They reported that there were no streams good for fishing, no sugar maples, and the climate was unhealthy — bitter cold in winter and too hot in summer. Nor were they anxious to engage plains tribes like the Sioux in warfare as the Potawatomi who had gone west were forced to do.

A nearly united front against the initial exploring party gave the Ottawa more time to purchase land and remain in their Michigan homes. Some Ottawa, however, panicked by the very rumor of planned removals, fled to Canada in 1839 and 1840, and for good reason. Removal to Kansas was a very real possibility. In 1840, acting under federal orders, General Hugh Brady attempted a round up of the Ottawa's near neighbors, the Potawatomi in southern Michigan. He captured several families and sent them to Kansas under armed guard. The Pokagon band of Potawatomi hired an attorney who successfully sought a court injunction which put a halt to the removal attempt.

Henry Schoolcraft never completed his plans to remove the Ottawa west. In 1841, Robert Stuart became the new Indian agent in Michigan. Unlike his predecessor, Stuart was opposed to removal and favored Ottawa attempts to become farmers in the American fashion. Some Ottawa made rapid progress toward Stuart's goal, building log houses and barns, raising livestock, and expanding their fields to grow new crops including potatoes, turnips, and wheat. The natural environment continued to supply them with fish and maple sugar, two commodities which found ready markets among the Americans.

The one remaining problem for many Ottawa was their uncertain political status in Michigan and their tenure on the reservations. According to the terms of the Treaty of 1836, the Ottawa could not remain on their reservations after 1841 without the permission of the government. If they invested time and effort in turning their reservation lands on Grand Traverse and Little Traverse bays into farms, they had no guarantees that the farms would not be placed on the market by the government to be claimed and purchased by squatters. The Ottawa continued to purchase smaller parcels of their ceded homelands as they were surveyed and released to the land office, but they took another approach as well, turning to the Michigan legislature for support.

Eighteen forty-one was an important year in American national politics. The Whig party, which had long opposed the policies of Andrew Jackson and his successor, Martin Van Buren, saw its candidate Zachary Taylor elected president. With the Whigs in power, Michigan legislators who supported Ottawa efforts to remain in the state could voice that support without offending party leaders and jeopardizing their own positions.

In 1841 the Ottawa petitioned the Michigan legislature to aid them in their attempts to remain in the state and grant them citizenship status. Citizenship, they argued, would give them stronger legal rights and guarantee that they could not be forcibly removed. The legislature, in turn, petitioned the United States government to grant citizenship to Indians who had farms, saying that the state had joined the Ottawa and Chippewa in opposition to removal.

The Ottawa petitioned again for citizenship in 1843 and 1844. The Michigan legislature unanimously supported their efforts as did many American settlers who had come to recognize the benefits in having the Ottawa remain. Many Ottawa were now farmers, and others were becoming wage laborers in commercial fishing enterprises which operated throughout the Great Lakes in the 1840s. With a support group among the Michigan citizenry, the Ottawa were finally immune to removal pressure.

In 1850, the Michigan constitution granted the Ottawa citizenship and the right to vote, but only on condition that they renounce their tribal affiliation. This was another effort to turn the Ottawa into Christian farmers, and in effect called on them to give up their cultural and political identity.

Changing Values

The period between 1836 and 1855 was a time of difficult choices for the Ottawa. Basic cultural values and traditional practices which had been handed down since prehistoric times were being challenged and subject to change. Individuals and families had to choose between the old ways and the new, keeping the traditional ways they valued most and adjusting their way of life to fit into American society.

American-style farming was something new for the Ottawa. Growing crops was certainly basic to the traditional Ottawa way of life, but farming had always been primarily the work of women. While the women worked in the fields and gathered wild foods, the men spent much of the year away from the main villages, hunting, fishing, and trading over a large territory and maintaining contact with kinsmen in other locales. The American way of farming and keeping livestock demanded that men give up their role as traveling hunters and fishermen to become tillers of the earth who re-

mained in one place all year long. Some Ottawa found this adjustment difficult. Even more difficult was the change from sharing among kin to the individual accumulation of wealth necessary to build successful farms. This change was one most Ottawa were unwilling or unable to make. Families most often continued to live near each other and work cooperatively on their properties.

The Ottawa's religious beliefs had long served them well, explaining the forces of the natural world around them and establishing a pattern for their relationship to that world. But even these most fundamental beliefs were shaken — by the epidemics that reduced the Ottawa's numbers, by the economic and political problems with which they were ill equipped to deal, and by the attempts of missionaries to convert them to Christianity.

Some Ottawa did indeed accept the teachings of the missionaries; others simply attended church services and accepted goods from the missionaries along with help in building farms, buying land, and dealing with the Americans. Christianity, by demanding the surrender of the traditional religious beliefs, ceremonies, dances, and rituals which helped to unite the Ottawa, introduced a disruptive element to Ottawa society, creating divisions among those who accepted the teachings and others who remained traditionalists.

Ottawa parents also had to decide whether or not to send their children to the mission schools. Sending children to learn to read and write was a more difficult decision than it appeared on the surface. Traditionally, teaching was the responsibility of every family member. Children hunted, fished, and farmed alongside their elders, acquiring the skills they would need as adults and learning the values that had been handed down through generations. Rarely subject to physical punishment, Ottawa children had the freedom to learn by experience. But formal schooling made it necessary for children to spend time away from their families, often with missionaries who did not understand their beliefs and who disparaged the ways of the r ancestors.

As long as the Ottawa were secure on their land and could practice their traditional lifeways, they chose to keep their old culture and ways of doing things. But by the end of the treaty era, the extent to which Ottawa people could maintain their previous way of life and values was severely limited. On a political level, they were merged into a broader American system as voting citizens. Reduction of their land base required them to make a living in much the same fashion as did the Americans who came to their land. Culturally, however, the Ottawa remained ethnically distinct. They were separated from their neighbors by their skin color, their language, and, in many instances, by their continued belief in the virtue of reciprocity among kin at the expense of individually accumulated wealth. The old value of personal ties and relationships continued to unite a dispersing population. Those Ottawa people who sought to break away from this traditional value system found the task difficult if not impossible.

The Treaty of 1855

In 1855, the Ottawa made their final treaty with the United States. The treaty legally ended the threat of removal and made provisions for the allotment of land. First, reservations were established in Mason and Oceana counties and on Grand Traverse and Little Traverse bays. Next, the reserved land was to be divided among individual Ottawa. Each head of a family was entitled to receive eighty acres; each person over the age of twenty-one but not the head of a family received forty acres; and each family of orphaned children under the age of twenty-one also received forty acres. The Indians had five years in which to select their individual parcels and file their claims. The land would then be held in trust by the federal government for ten years. During that time it could not be taxed; nor could it be sold without the permission of the President of the United States. When the ten years were up, the deeds would pass from the government to the individual Ottawa landholders.

Under this and other treaties negotiated between 1854 and 1855 by the United States with the Ottawa and Chippewa of Michigan, 776,320 acres of land near their homes on Lakes Michigan and Superior were set aside to be divided among Indian people. Eligibility to receive this land under the articles of the treaties was determined by the Indian agent, who was to submit a list of prospective landholders to the newly formed federal Bureau of Indian Affairs no later than July 1, 1856. Anybody not recorded by that time was not entitled to patent (register) a claim at the government land office. When the Indian agent completed his list, the Indians were to select the lands of their

Now prized by collectors, baskets were woven from black ash wood splints and sold to supplement meager family incomes. (Catherine Baldwin Collection)

choice, provided there were no Americans already living on them, and that the land was not included in any federally protected areas.

The location, quality, and resources of the lands were important factors in the Ottawa's selections. They chose locations well timbered with pine, oak, ash, and, especially, sugar maple. The importance of the natural resources to the Ottawa is illustrated by the case of the Ottawa of the Grand River. In 1856, two factions of Ottawa disputed the wisdom of moving to the lands their treaty makers had reserved in Oceana County. One group refused to move there, giving as a reason the lack of hardwoods and the poor, sandy soil, and stating its desire to live instead among the Chippewa at Saginaw. Although the Commissioner of Indian Affairs refused their request, many Grand River families did settle, against his orders, on the Chippewa reservation in Isabella County.

In the fall of 1857 some eight hundred Ottawa and Chippewa from the Grand River valley moved to their Oceana County reserves near the present-day town of Pentwater. Lacking the financial resources to pay for the move, they had petitioned the government to hire transportation for themselves, their possessions, and their livestock. The government agreed to provide steamboats at Grand Haven. Indians today still recall stories of their grandparents and great-grandparents loading their belongings in canoes or driving their livestock along the banks of the Grand River to assemble at Grand Haven and board the steamboats for the journey to their new homes.

The Treaty of 1855, like the Treaty of 1836, was a crucial document for the Ottawa. While the Treaty of 1836 took from them almost all their lands, the agreement averted removal and preserved Ottawa rights to hunt and fish on ceded territory, legal rights which the Treaty of 1855 did not set aside. The Treaty of 1855 protected Ottawa ownership of individual parcels of land but divided tribal holdings. Earlier treaties had recognized Indian tribes as politically sovereign, independent groups, but the Treaty of 1855 dissolved Ottawa tribal status. No longer would land be held under tribal ownership, and no longer would tribal leaders be able to negotiate with the government on behalf of their people as a single political entity. Each person was expected to present his own case and represent his own best interests in dealing with neighbors and with the federal and state governments. This loss of

political status made it difficult for the Ottawa to defend themselves against those Americans who sought to abuse them.

Loss of the Land

Much of the land set aside for the Ottawa under the Treaty of 1855 never made its way into Indian hands. At Grand Traverse, for example, more than 25,640 acres of the 87,000 reserved acres were excluded from Indian settlement by federal laws before the Indians began to select land. Selections made between 1856 and 1857 were not registered with the federal government because of bureaucratic mix-ups. When they finally were registered with the proper office, many of the better parcels chosen by the Ottawa were no longer available, having been claimed by American settlers under preemption laws. These laws basically said that any settler who had moved onto Indian land and made "improvements" by clearing the land for farming and constructing buildings had first claim on that parcel when it was placed on the open market for sale. Eleven percent of the selections registered by Indians were declared invalid because of errors in the certificates. In the end, only 23 percent of the reserved area at Grand Traverse was in Indian possession.

Even when the Ottawa did receive title, they often did not hold onto it for long. The average Ottawa family at Grand Traverse retained title for just 6.3 years, and by 1880, two-thirds of the allotted land at Grand Traverse had passed through Indian hands. The reserved land at Little Traverse Bay and in Oceana and Mason counties was lost by at least the same rate and probably faster.

Traditional lifeways had not prepared the majority of Ottawa people for participation in the American land-tenure system. Nor did the agricultural skills and education they had received in the 1830s and 1840s prepare them for life in a society which valued individual accumulation of wealth, competition, and physical labor beyond the limits necessary to meet the immediate needs of one's kin.

Quite simply, the Ottawa were neither ready nor completely willing to accept American styles of life. Accustomed to living as extended families whose members worked cooperatively to support one another, they did not know what to do with the small parcels of land which were often located some distance apart from the land of other family members. As a result, they sold the land — some 75 percent of it — freely and for less than it was worth. On the average, the Ottawa received $3.53 per acre for the sale of their land; Americans selling similar land received $6.95 per acre.

Some Ottawa fell prey to land speculators, merchants, and settlers who used a host of deceitful and illegal means to separate them from their land at low prices. A few Ottawa themselves were involved in fraudulent dealings. More interested in private gain than group welfare, these Ottawa acted as middlemen, buying land cheaply from their elderly and disabled kinsmen and selling it at a profit to speculators.

Unskilled in protecting their own interests against sharp operators, some Ottawa were easily taken advantage of. Dishonest speculators, for example, arranged to buy the timber on Ottawa land for what appeared to be a fair price. After the Indians signed the documents allowing the timber sales, however, they found that they had actually signed quit-claim deeds relinquishing all title to the land, again, for far less than its actual worth.

Government officials did little to remedy the situation, and even their own government representatives took part in defrauding the Ottawa. In Mason County, for example, the tax rate was set at twice the amount paid by American settlers, a price the Ottawa could not always pay. Because of such practices, more Indian land was confiscated for back taxes after the ten-year tax-exemption period than was lost by Americans for nonpayment.

This is not to say that all Americans mistreated or took advantage of the Ottawa at that time or at any other. The Ottawa still had friends and allies who did all they could to protect Indian property and rights, but their efforts were often thwarted by more powerful political and economic interests. By the 1860s, for example, Michigan's increasingly powerful lumber companies and railroads had established working relationships with state officials who turned their heads as Ottawa land and timber were taken.

Losing the land and its resources had an impact on Ottawa economies. Located on land of limited quality, most Ottawa never succeeded in building farms large enough to earn their livings from agriculture alone. They continued to raise gardens for family use and earned only small incomes from the sale of their crops. To supplement their cash

supply, many adapted their traditional skills for living in the forest to lumbering. Although cutting vast quantities of timber was alien to traditional Ottawa practices, lumbering provided the Ottawa with desperately needed cash, and it was work at which the men excelled. Their families accompanied them to the areas marked for cutting, and there in the forest they lived something of a traditional life. Until the great virgin stands of trees were gone at the turn of the century, logging provided some degree of prosperity for Ottawa families.

As early as the 1830s the Ottawa had begun selling fish to American settlers. In the 1850s many Ottawa men continued to use their maritime skills to harvest this resource. Fishing remained a profitable occupation until the supply of lake fish became severely depleted around 1910.

Participation in these two early Michigan industries changed the Ottawa from near self-sufficient workers to people who labored for others to earn wages. This made them still more dependent upon the Americans around them than they had been at any time in their past. As lumbering and fishing employment declined, the Ottawa could not go back to their former way of life any more than their eighteenth-century leader Pontiac was able, by rebellion, to turn the clock back to the days before the arrival of the French traders. The Ottawa did farm work and took on odd jobs for local farmers, merchants, and anyone else who could afford to pay. They continued to pick berries and to make and sell baskets and quill boxes. These job earned income, but even by the standards of that day, the pay was low.

During World War I, many young men like Eno McSawby (Amiksuabi, or "underwater beaver"), shown here on the right, volunteered for U.S. military service even though their status as U.S. citizens was called into question by some Michigan residents and government officials. (Catherine Baldwin Collection)

Preparing for the Future

The Americans and the Ottawa both came to see education as the key to Indian survival in the future. In the second half of the nineteenth century no one knew better the value of writing and arithmetic than the Ottawa whose land was being taken. They saw education as a means of increasing their chances of survival and bettering their economic and political position in the state. Education, to their way of thinking, would provide them with the skills needed to supplement and support the ways of their own culture. The Americans, however, saw education as a means of replacing Ottawa culture by instilling Christian values and the ideals of individual enterprise and hard labor, and even by changing the students' physical appearance. At school boys were forced to cut their long hair, and only American-style clothing could be worn.

Ottawa leaders were dissatisfied with the missionary boarding school education their children

received in the late 1830s and 1840s. They argued convincingly with federal officials that for all the thousands of dollars reserved for Indian education in the Treaty of 1836, few if any children could read or write, and that the money was actually used to train American students and *metis* children (of mixed American and Indian parentage) who had closer ties to their American kin than to the Ottawa.

The Ottawa argument prevailed. As a result, the Treaty of 1855 removed control of Indian schools from the missionaries and placed the responsibility for Ottawa education firmly in the nands of the federal government.

In 1857, the government agreed to close all mission boarding schools and open day schools near Ottawa villages. The children attended school on weekdays to learn basic reading, writing, and arithmetic, then returned home on the weekends to their parents and their own cultural environment, an arrangement which pleased parents and children alike. The Mackinac Agency, which served the Ottawa and Chippewa living in Michigan, was singled out as a model for other Indian education programs in the United States. The agency chose to invest large sums of cash in Ottawa and Chippewa schools because of the great progress — compared with many other Native American groups — that the Michigan Indians had made towards living in a manner similar to that of their American neighbors. The investment was also made because the Ottawa and Chippewa themselves saw education as a means of reaching economic self-sufficiency in American society and had requested such schools.

Of the country's forty-eight federally supported Indian schools, twenty were in Michigan, located at Onawmeceeneville, Eagletown, Grove Hill, Pine River, Bear River, Little Traverse, Middle Village, Cross Village, Cheboygan, Iroquois Point, Sugar Island, Garden Island, and in Isabella, Mason, and Oceana counties. Schools were staffed with the best people available because teachers were paid high salaries and competition for teaching positions was strong. By the time of the Civil War, in the 1860s, the Michigan Indian school system was one of the finest in the country, surpassing the quality of most public schools. Some schools even provided free lunches, books, and school supplies. More than one thousand Ottawa children were enrolled in 1863, and 45 percent attended regularly, about the same percentage as American students attending public schools at that time. The Ottawa believed these schools were a great success.

The government, however, thought otherwise. Indian agents complained that students attended too irregularly, that their parents kept them out of school for planting, trapping, harvesting, and berry picking. Public schools did not show as high a rate of absenteeism primarily because they were open only between October and March, while the Indian schools operated from September through June. According to American officials, the Ottawa, despite the education they were receiving, remained only partially civilized, continuing to hold onto their core values and to speak their own language. This was another indication to Americans that the school system they had created was a failure.

The 1880s brought a change in government policy on Indian education. To remove Ottawa children from the influence of their parents and to promote their adoption of American culture, the government closed most day schools and opened boarding schools where all aspects of the children's lives could be strictly supervised. Federal officials contracted the services of Holy Childhood School and its staff at Harbor Springs, and founded the Indian industrial school at Mount Pleasant in 1893 to train Ottawa children in American values, academic skills, and manual labor. Perhaps no single effort to change Ottawa culture had as much impact as did the boarding schools.

Parents knew that the aim of the schools and their staffs was to change the values of their children. They disapproved of the methods and they objected to the aim, but they had no other way to teach their children the academic skills necessary to live in American society. Young people were sent to the boarding schools at an early age. Away from their parents, verbally abused and physically punished, they lived a life of military regimentation. Ottawa elders who attended these schools have vivid memories of the loneliness they felt and the mistreatment they received. Although many of the students knew no other language but Ottawa, they were not allowed to speak it and were punished when they were caught. Since all teaching was done in English, many students had a difficult time with their studies. When some of those same students became parents, they spoke

English at home rather than Ottawa to spare their children the unhappy school experience they had undergone. At school, the children were taught that Indian ways were inferior to those of Americans, and some never again lived in traditional Ottawa fashion. The majority, however, drew comfort from knowing that they were Indians going through the ordeal with other Indians. No matter how bad Indian schools were, they were better than facing the discrimination so widespread in the public schools. When the Mount Pleasant school closed in 1933, some Ottawa people regretted the loss of its services.

Industrial boarding schools often prepared students for nonexistent jobs in a society which did not allow them to participate equally in the job market. Boys were taught such trades as carpentry, mechanics, sign making, painting, and farming, but rarely did they get jobs for which they were qualified, and when they did they were often paid less than they deserved. Girls spent much time learning social and technical skills that were drawn from and were more appropriate to middle-class American lives th n to the lives they led.

The upward mobility enjoyed by their American neighbors was often denied to Indian graduates throughout the second half of the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century. And when Indians could no longer earn a living by lumbering and fishing, there were few other occupations open to them. Stereotypes of drunken Indians and lazy Indians blocked the Ottawa from many good-paying positions and forced their continued reliance on harvesting and selling the natural resources in areas where the vegetation and animal populations had not been destroyed.

Although their way of life changed in the twentieth century, the Ottawa accepted American ways on their own terms, infusing American institutions with their own ideas and meanings. They listened to Christian teaching, but interpreted the messages in terms of Ottawa beliefs in the cycle of life. By 1910, probably less than 10 percent of all Ottawa people accepted the Christian belief in a single God. The Ottawa replaced their summer ceremonial with camp meetings which allowed the Indians to come together, renew family ties, and emphasize their own identity. Other ceremonials were replaced by pageants and powwows, where songs and dances which were once obligations were reenacted as customs to be preserved and taught to new generations.

Teaching the young and handing down traditional beliefs and values remained the responsibility of elders. As the elders repeated the tales of Nanabozho, the young learned proper Ottawa behavior and were encouraged to act accordingly. More important, they learned that being Indian was something to be proud of and that the past continued to link all Ottawa with the bonds of a shared heritage.

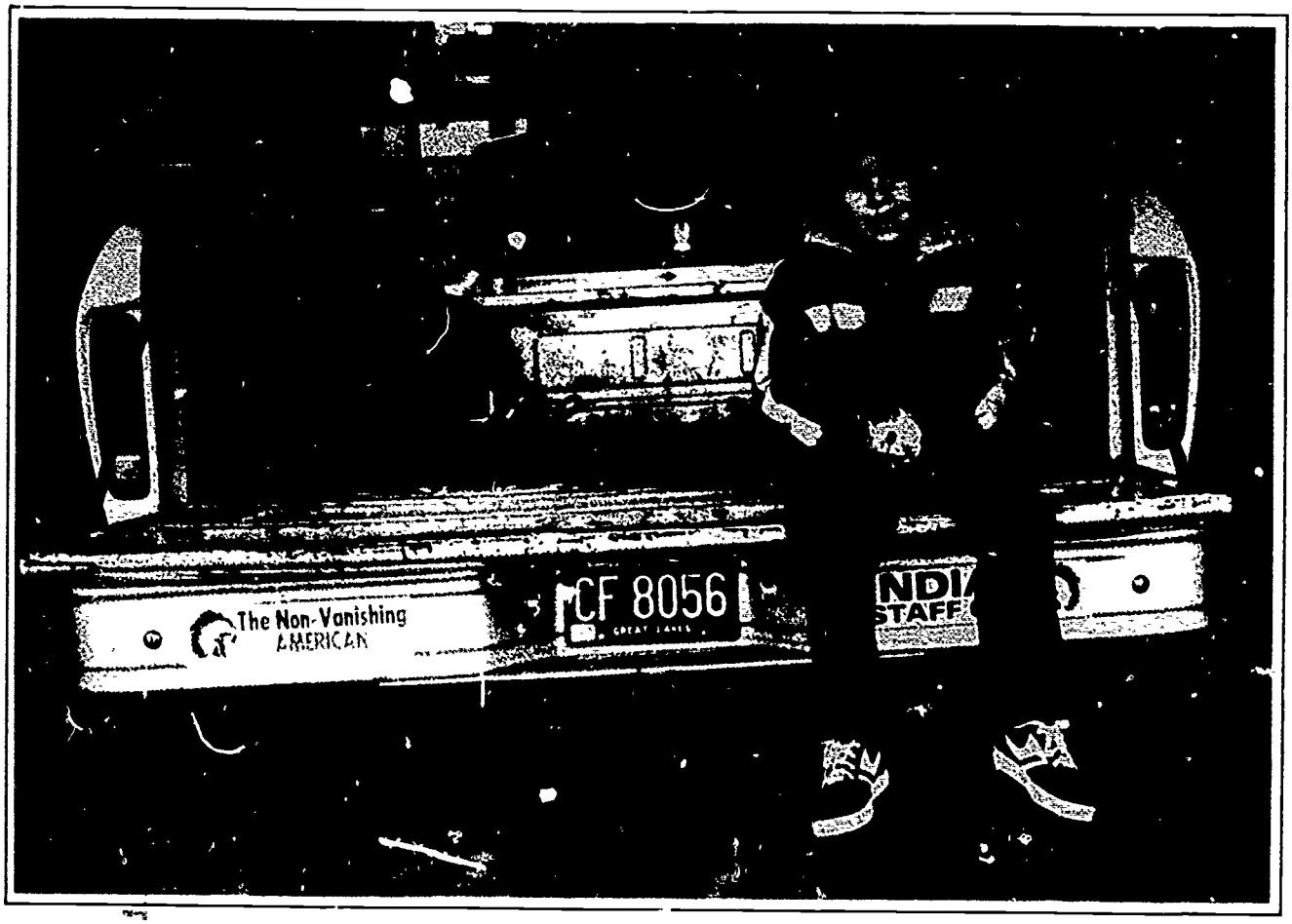
Until the 1930s, most Michigan Ottawa continued to live on small pieces of land around Indian settlements at such places as Peshawbestown in Leelanau County, Harbor Springs, Cross Village, and Elbridge. But with the Great Depression, jobs were increasingly difficult to find in rural areas, and many Ottawa began moving to larger cities — Detroit, Grand Rapids, Lansing, Muskegon, Saginaw, and Traverse City among them. Lacking experience and education, the Ottawa were unable to find good-paying jobs in the cities. Discrimination by teachers and students in city schools prompted many Ottawa teenagers to drop out without learning the skills they needed if they were to compete successfully in the job market. Even where discrimination was not a problem, the lack of programs which understood or met Indian needs also led many students to leave school. Many Ottawa continued to work at jobs which paid far less than they needed to live comfortably.

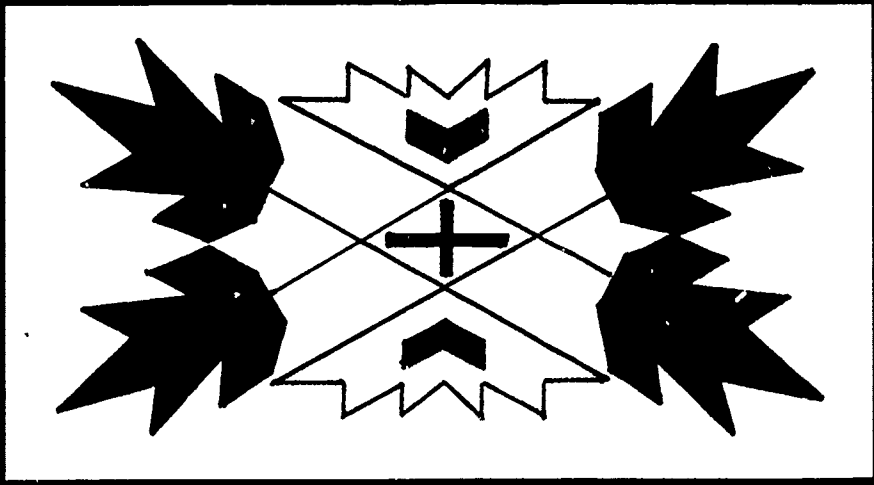
Until the 1940s, few efforts were made to improve Indian living conditions, and these were begun at the initiative of the Indian people themselves. Working first in urban centers, they began organizing into a political force to press their demands for a greater share of the benefits of American society. In 1941, the Detroit North American Indian Center was founded to provide a social center for Indian people in the city. Since this beginning, the number of Michigan organizations working directly to benefit Indian people has grown to more than thirty-eight. Those serving the Ottawa include the Northern Michigan Ottawa Association, the Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council, the Leelanau Indians, Inc., and various other urban centers throughout the state.

Over thousands of years, the ancestors of today's Ottawa adjusted to changes in their social and natural environment, preparing a future for each

new generation. Today, the Ottawa are working to make a living in a new environment and to pass the legacy of their ancestors on to their children. Some descendants of the ancient Ottawa now use their skills to work in factories, offices, schools, and in many other modern occupations. Others continue to farm and fish, using the skills of their ancestors daily and preserving a part of their inheritance from the past. They still face the pressures of poverty, discrimination, and the ignorance of others, but the descendants of the Sinago, Kiskakon, Sable, and Naussaukueton continue to face the world in a manner distinct from that of their neighbors while preparing the way for the next generation in the cycle of life.

Michigan's Indian population is growing. As with all state residents, the Indians' greatest assets are their dreams for their children. (Jeremy Thomas Connolly, Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council)





When the French first explored the western Great Lakes in the 1630s, they had already been dealing for some years with the Ottawa, those famed long-distance traders whose homeland lay along the shores of Lake Huron. But as they traveled the region, the French came upon other Indian societies previously unknown to them. These included the many small bands of hunters and fishermen, later collectively known as the Chippewa, who lived on both sides of the Sault Ste. Marie rapids in the upper peninsula, and four tribes in the lower peninsula, the Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, and Mascouten.

Also living in the lower peninsula, on lands that stretched along the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, from about Ludington to the St. Joseph River, was an Indian society which Jean Nicolet, the first French visitor to the western Great Lakes, learned to call Potawatomi. After the Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, and Mascouten, who figured large in Michigan's early history, eventually migrated to resettle west of Lake Michigan by the 1750s, only the Ottawa, the Chippewa, and the Potawatomi remained as permanent inhabitants of the state, always influential in the history of its development down to the present day.

Centuries before Nicolet arrived in the area, the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi had inhabited a region north of Lakes Huron and Superior. In this prehistoric era they lived as tiny bands of hunters and fishermen, speaking dialects of one language, very much alike in their cultural patterns and social life. But about A.D. 1450 the Potawatomi bands migrated south, moving into an area with a different climate and an environment that offered them new opportunities. Once settled along the streams draining into the lake they called *Mitchigami* (Great Lake), they began changing their ways. Their language, while remaining similar to the single language spoken by the Chippewa and the Ottawa, eventually became unintelligible to their northern kinfolk. For example, while the Potawatomi called themselves *Neshnabek*, the Ottawa and Chippewa used the word *Anishinabeg*. In time, some of the basic patterns of Potawatomi life were transformed. But the Potawatomi never abandoned all of the skills and knowledge they had amassed in the north, and they have always maintained a tradition of relationship and alliance with their old neighbors there.

The Potawatomi Pattern: A Cultural Advantage

The changes in their way of life incorporated old customs with some features that were new and some that were borrowed. The combination gave the Potawatomi a technological edge over both the Ottawa and the Chippewa as well as their new neighbors in lower Michigan. The Potawatomi, for example, retained their old skills at birch-bark canoe construction and use. As we will see, once the French introduced the fur trade, the Potawatomi's bark canoes would give them a distinct advantage over the Sauk, Fox, Mascouten, and Kickapoo tribes, who, lacking the technology, traveled long distances on foot, carrying their goods on their backs.

Once settled in their new environment with its warmer climate, the Potawatomi soon learned from their new neighbors the skills of growing crops, enabling them to improve the quality of their subsistence economy. Indeed, this possibility may well have encouraged them to move south in the first place. In any regard, they quickly became what anthropologists call a horticultural society. Like other horticultural societies in Michigan and elsewhere, they grew corn, beans, and squash, crops anthropologists call the "Mexican Trinity," after the place where they were first cultivated.

Horticulturalists use simple hand tools in large garden plots that have been cleared and fertilized by burning off the trees and brush. Because they have no domesticated animals strong enough to move their farming equipment, horticulturalists have to rely on human muscle power to till the soil and plant and harvest crops. Among the Potawatomi, as in other horticultural societies, farming (actually large-scale, human-muscle-powered gardening) became the work of women. Tilling the sandy loam soils they cultivated along the river banks where the Potawatomi lived increased the importance of women and enlarged their roles in the Potawatomi economy and society.

As older cultural elements, especially bark canoe use, combined with newer ones, particularly horticulture, the Potawatomi economy expanded, and the quality of their life was enriched. Few other

Indian tribes in the region possessed this exact combination of elements which gave the Potawatomi their cultural advantage. And it was because of this cultural advantage that the Potawatomi population and territory increased so dramatically during the next 150 years. For, while farming gave the Potawatomi a larger and more secure food supply than fishing or foraging, as well as foods that could be readily stored for long periods of time, their canoe-using technology gave them the capacity to transport large quantities of goods over very long distances.

In addition, their new, more southerly landscape provided access to the large herds of buffalo and elk that grazed the prairie lands of Indiana and Illinois. Soon, the Potawatomi were not satisified unless their platters were heaped with red meat. The great numbers of large game animals enabled the Potawatomi to move even further away from dependence on fish and wild plant foods, although these remained in their inventory as useful supplements.

Their new economic circumstances allowed the Potawatomi to establish larger, more permanent villages, to expand their population, and to develop new and more complex types of social institutions which contributed to their later success. In the process, their social customs became more like those of the Sauk, Kickapoo, Fox, and Mascouten, and less like those of their old neighbors and kin, the Ottawa and Chippewa. While they, too, expanded their population and territories, the Ottawa and Chippewa remained organized as sets of small, independent bands who never developed the kinds of social organization that promoted coordination among their widely scattered villages.

The Potawatomi, in contrast, organized their villages into a larger whole, a single, cooperating tribal society. This meant that in their dealings with allies and rivals, the Potawatomi villages could often present a well-united front, whether in negotiating trade relationships with the French, for instance, or in mobilizing warriors from many villages for their own defense or for offensive action against enemies.

Moreover, from the earliest contacts with the French through the end of the French regime and into the American era, the leaders of the Potawatomi villages displayed remarkable political skills and steadfastness. Once the leaders of the several villages had met in council, debated whatever issues were before them, and achieved a consensus position on some policy, they adhered to their positions and agreements in a way that made their alliances reliable and durable. The French found the Potawatomi firm, highly valued allies, and by the 1680s recognized them as their strongest friends—the most favored tribe in the western Great Lakes region. And their rivals and enemies knew the Potawatomi to be formidable, dangerous adversaries.

Michigan Indians in the 1600s

When the French, who founded their first permanent North American settlement in 1608, began exploring the western Great Lakes, they had already met the Ottawa and some of the scattered Chippewa bands, but their knowledge of the tribes then living on Michigan's lower peninsula was both faulty and scanty. Their Iroquoian allies at the time—the Huron, Neutrals, and Petuns of western Ontario—had informed them that the land west of Lake Huron (present-day Michigan) was inhabited by Indians called *Asistagueronon*, a term the French translated as "Gens de Feu," the Fire People. The French did not realize, however that the Iroquois applied the word Asistagueronon not to a single tribe, but to all the tribes in Michigan. For many years thereafter, the French continued to search unsuccessfully for the Indians who called themselves the Fire People. Their quest created a historical mystery, with first one and then another of the Michigan tribes wrongly identified as the elusive—and nonexistent—Gens de Feu.

Further confusing the French (and later map makers and historians) was the fact that during the 1600s all of the Michigan tribes, including the Potawatomi, became refugees. These were the years of fur-trading wars during which the powerful Iroquois from th invaded the western Great Lakes in an attempt to gain control of the region's beaver territories. Large war parties of Neutrals and Petuns from Ontario, along with warriors from the New York Iroquois tribes known as the Five Nations, rampaged through Michigan, attacking any tribe that stood in their way.

Defeated in battle and demoralized, their very existence threatened, the Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, Mascouten, Miami, and Potawatomi took flight from Michigan, seeking protection by placing more distance between themselves and the invaders from the east. By the late 1650s, only weeds grew in the large, once-populous villages of the Michigan tribes, and the entire lower peninsula was completely depopulated.

For decades thereafter, these refugee tribes mingled and divided. Caught up in the fur-trade wars and the rivalries between France and Great Britain that extended to North America, each tribe attempted to carve out its own place in the changing political map of the Great Lakes region.

The refugee Indians fled their Michigan territories in two directions. The Potawatomi, like

This drawing, based on archaeological evidence, reconstructs the appearance of a Potawatomi man of Dumaw Creek, Central Michigan, about 1600 (Chicago Natural History Museum)

the Ottawa and Chippewa, were master builders and navigators of framed-up bark canoes. They migrated north across the Straits of Mackinac and then west into northeastern Wisconsin. In 1641, near Mackinac, the French first met large numbers of Potawatomi who were on their way to safety further west.

Lacking the bark-canoe technology of the Potawatomi and equipped only with unwieldy dugouts that were unsafe in open water, the Miami, Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, and Mascouten fled by land. Traveling on foot, these "great pedestrians," as they were called by the French, escaped the Iroquois threat by moving south around the lower tip of Lake Michigan and then north into central Wisconsin.

Once resettled in Wisconsin, the refugees began banding together to face the Iroquois who had continued to pursue them. They also began forming alliances with the French, who desperately needed trading partners and allies in the Great Lakes now that the Iroquois and other eastern tribes had allied themselves with the British. Both France and Britain were seeking to expand their influence in North America, and alliances with the French would ultimately involve the Michigan tribes in wars against the English.

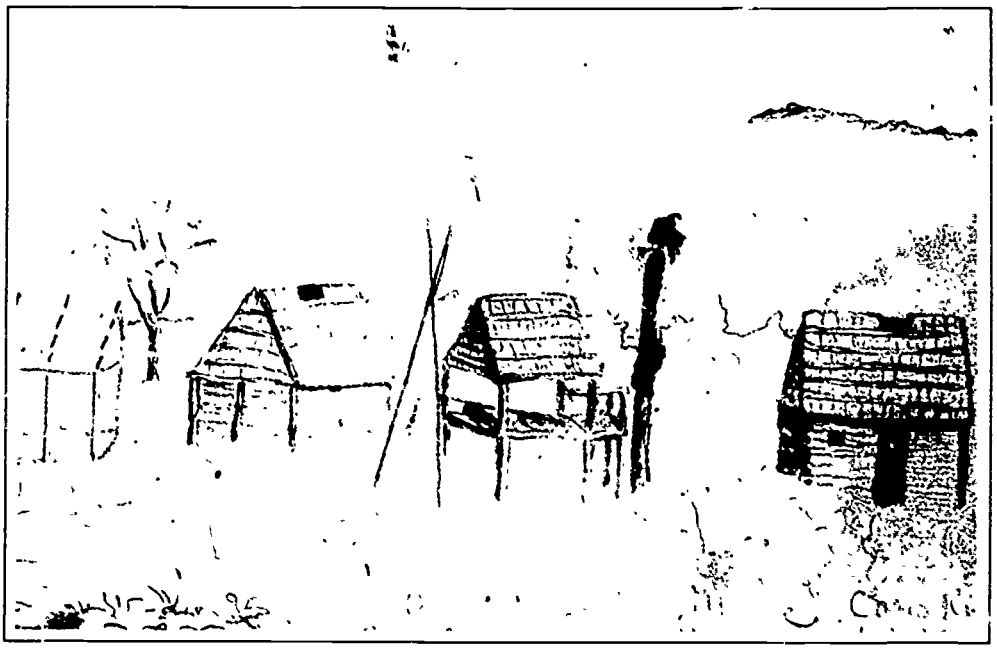
Joining forces with their French allies and the Winnebago and Menomini—societies native to Wisconsin—the refugee Michigan tribes repeatedly defeated the Iroquois invaders in pitched battles. By the 1670s they had stopped the invasion and were driving the Iroquois away. Soon some of the refugees began filtering back into Michigan. At first, only small hunting and trapping groups occupied land near Saginaw Bay, but within another decade larger numbers of Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, Miami, Mascouten, and Potawatomi had reestablished their villages in southwestern and central Michigan.

Soon after 1701, when the French and their Indian allies forced the Iroquois to accept peace, the reoccupation of Michigan by the refugee tribes was complete. But within a half century, only the "canoe tribes"—the Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa—remained in Michigan. By the end of the eighteenth century, all of the "pedestrian tribes" had migrated elsewhere—the Miami south into Indiana, the Mascouten and Kickapoo into Illinois, and the Sauk and Fox to western Wisconsin and Iowa.

A Rise to Power

While they lived in Wisconsin, the Potawatomi, displaying a remarkable grasp of what today we would call political geography, established themselves as a power in the Green Bay region. Decades later, with the defeat of the Iroquois and the opportunity to return to Michigan, they once again displayed their acute sense of strategic location by rising to prominence in the St. Joseph River valley and the Detroit region.

During the 1680s, many Potawatomi returned to their old territory in the St. Joseph River valley, displacing the Miami who had resettled there a few years earlier and who now moved south to Indiana. Once Cadillac founded Detroit in 1701, other Potawatomi migrated there to reinforce the new French presence in the region and to settle near the new Detroit fort and trading post. Later, more Potawatomi moved south to settle along the drainage of the Wabash River, while even more moved into the Chicago-Illinois River area. These expanded settlements, made possible in part by a greatly increased population, also reflected an astute Potawatomi ability to recognize and take advantage of the economic and political opportunities that presented themselves. Besides establishing their settlements in areas rich in cornfields, game, and other resources, the Potawatomi often located in places where their French allies were establishing new trading posts, an arrange-



During the 1830s, the Potawatomi moved north to Grand Traverse Bay — and to villages such as the one sketched here — in response to an 1836 treaty agreement. Ottawa resistance soon caused them to leave the area. (Bela Hubbard Notebook, Bentley Historical Society)

ment of benefit to both.

Canoe technology, important for local and long-distance trade and transportation, made a further significant contribution to tribal fortunes, for as the Potawatomi increased in numbers and rose to influence in their new settlements, they gained substantial control over the major avenues of water transportation in the entire region. These routes were the major links in a great chain of trade which stretched from Europe to the St. Lawrence and through the Great Lakes to the Gulf Coast and the entire Mississippi valley.

The tribal leaders, displaying full understanding of the Great Lakes region's geography, also made wise use of their additional human capital. Increased population provided both the manpower for increased fur production and military action and the womanpower for greater food production through horticulture and the processing of raw materials. All of these activities contributed to a rise in the tribe's living standard as well as its power and prestige.

We can see, therefore, that a combination of technological, economic, political, geographic, and population advantages led to Potawatomi ascendancy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The fusion of canoe technology with the mastery of key geographic locations favored the expansion of Potawatomi influence while an increasing population provided the means. Strong alliances with the French, another essential ingredient in the Potawatomi rise to influence, were promoted by effective Potawatomi political institutions.

And yet none of these factors would have worked as well as they did without the Potawatomi tribal institutions. For many decades these institutions would provide a unity of identity and purpose and the means for a cooperative mobilization of all resources required to achieve valued ends. Potawatomi tribal organization unified the separate bands and villages into one society and enabled the Potawatomi to withstand the challenges and threats of a dramatically changing social, physical, and political environment which overwhelmed numerous other Indian communities.

The Tribal Design

A tribe is one of several types of social organization, and societies built on a tribal plan exist and thrive in special historical, environmental, and social circumstances. So it was with the Potawatomi. There was a time, in late prehistory, when the separate Potawatomi communities were organized much like the Chippewa into dozens of small, independent, separate bands. But at an important period in their history, the Potawatomi coalesced into a tribal whole, developing the type of social and political organization which encouraged their expansion and allowed them to flourish.

At one level, the Potawatomi remained much like the Chippewa and Ottawa bands, with every Potawatomi village or local band retaining great independence and the power to make decisions in most matters. But local Potawatomi groups were tied to one another in ways not characteristic of the Chippewa and Ottawa. Recognized by one name, they were treated as one society—by the French, British, and American governments and by

their Native American allies and enemies as well. And when it came to matters affecting all or many Potawatomi from several or more communities, the tribal decision-making apparatus was mobilized.

One important example of this tribal decision-making process happened about 1668. The Potawatomi refugees were then clustered around Green Bay, and they had developed an ambition to act as commercial middlemen between French suppliers of goods in the east and Indian suppliers of furs in the west. This tribal policy, they quickly discovered, conflicted with the plans of their new allies, the French, who intended to monopolize the trade themselves. At that moment, a potentially damaging controversy threatened. If they persisted in their original intentions, they ran the risk of being bypassed by the French entirely.

Soon a great tribal council representing all Potawatomi villages was called, and the *Wkamek* (leaders) assembled and debated the matter long and hard with the French diplomatic agent, Nicholas Perrot. Behind each *Wkama* (leader) sat the kinsmen he represented, checking on his behavior in council. Various alternative positions were discussed until, in the end, a consensus was reached, one fully acceptable to all villages and Wkamek, elder and younger alike: The French would suppply them with valued goods imported from Europe in exchange for pelts. And in turn for this economic arrangement, the Potawatomi pledged their loyalty and military support in times of war.

Once the decision had been made, a Speaker was selected to rise and eloquently chant the words of the new agreement. Then, one by one, from eldest to youngest in turn, all the leaders stood to sing out their acceptance of the Speaker's proclamation. A consensus had been reached and publicly accepted by all concerned. There was no dissenting minority, and no opposition was tolerated thereafter.

Similar kinds of public councils and consensus-seeking public debate were regularly conducted locally, on a smaller scale, about matters affecting the local community, not the tribe as a whole. Important decisions affecting kin groups and villages, just like those involving the whole tribe, had to be thrashed out in public forums open to all. Since such decisions were arrived at by consensus rather than by majority vote, there was little room left for dispute or frustration among a minority on any issue. The emphasis on public debate, on consensus, and on the sharing and decentralization of political power reflects the great value the Potawatomi placed on equality in both the political decision-making process and the distribution of economic resources. Like their Ottawa and Chippewa kindred, the Potawatomi had exceedingly little tolerance for inequalities of any kind. Theirs was a society without a single head, and one without social classes marked by inequities of wealth.

These attitudes express ideal values, of course. Potawatomi people were perfectly aware that individual humans vary. Some men are more ambitious than others, some far more skilled as orators, some unusually brave, some timid in battle. Some are highly skilled as hunters, others inept and unproductive. Although important political roles were restricted to men, women had parallel institutions, and sometimes an unusual woman did in fact assume a man's role as warrior and provider. All these variations the Potawatomi understood, had traditional explanations for, and accepted.

What they would not tolerate, however, was violence within the tribal community—in their view the most evil of crimes. Nor would they accept the concentration of power or wealth ... the hands of any individual or small clique. And when such potentially damaging events occurred, the Potawatomi had carefully worked out means for dealing with them.

Overly ambitious individuals, for example, might seek to obtain power by such improper means as secret negotiations with allies or rivals. When such persons were discovered and identified, they were quickly disciplined. Generally, gossip and public censure were effective. But when these measures failed, individuals who persisted in their misbehavior could be deposed from whatever responsible position they held. If this was not enough they could be exiled—sent off never to enjoy the aid and comfort of their kinfolk again—a most serious punishment for people like the Potawatomi.

In the most extreme cases, when no other sanction was adequate, a persistent transgressor could be executed. But such heavy penalties were rare, since by themselves they violated one of the most sacred of Potawatomi ideals, the prohibition of bloodshed within the community. Execution was

employed only in some cases of murder, where the murderer displayed neither remorse nor willingness to compensate the family of his victim; or in cases of persistent witchcraft, when the perpetrator could be discovered; or in the instance of extreme political misbehavior that threatened the welfare of a whole community.

One often-used technique for resolving internal conflicts was of special importance, for along with calming internal tensions it contributed to the expansion of Potawatomi tribal territory. When intense rivalries developed within a community or a clan, the smaller, dissident faction was generally encouraged to split off from the community and resettle elsewhere. Many, in fact, did so. Frequently, the migration was to locations nearby, just far enough away to allow recognition of the new village and scope for its new leaders to act out their aspirations.

Sometimes even larger units—clusters of closely associated villages, for example—would also break away from heavily settled and much exploited areas to take up residence in distant locations. Migrations of larger parts of the whole society were responsible for expanding the tribal estate into new regions such as Detroit and Chicago, while the resettlement of smaller parts of villages expanded the range of occupation and use of these "frontier" regions. Both forms of territorial expansion were encouraged, of course, by the growth of Potawatomi population.

Apparently there was an effective upper limit to the size of Potawatomi villages. Except when they might temporarily be banded together for defensive purposes, as during the 1650s in northeastern Wisconsin, Potawatomi villages rarely exceeded three hundred persons and generally averaged fewer than one hundred.

There is an old legend which speaks of a time when the Neshnabek did dwell together in one large village as one people, but this must be understood as a poetic image. Told in the 1820s during a time of grave social disintegration, when the tribal system was breaking down and when the Potawatomi could no longer effectively think and act in a cooperative manner, it expressed only a mythic longing for a happier and more harmonious time.

In the end, the Potawatomi tribal organization did not survive. After the War of 1812, it became American policy to divide and dismember the whole as a way of more rapidly acquiring ever-larger tracts of Potawatomi land. When this happened, the tribal system broke down, the regional clusters of villages divided and went their separate ways, and the villages became smaller as the Potawatomi scattered in an effort to cope with their new situation in an American-controlled Great Lakes region.

Clan, Community, and Individual

Although their tribal organization enabled the Potawatomi to deal successfully with Europeans and other outsiders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to the individual Potawatomi tribal membership meant relatively little. The bulk of an individual Potawatomi's life was spent in association with members of a family and household, an extended family group, a clan, and a village.

The core of each individual's personal identity came not from being a Potawatomi, but from the close, intimate relationships of everyday life. Nearly all the day-to-day and season-to-season business of being born, growing up, mastering and performing an adult work role, marrying, having children, and dying was acted out in the context of family, clan, and community. For that matter, all the affairs of the tribe and regional clusters of communities were conducted by persons whose primary loyalties lay in clans and villages. The Neshnabek had no standing tribal "government," no organized "church," and no economic institutions separate from the organizations of kin and village members.

Americans today generally confuse Potawatomi villages with places, not appreciating the fact that villages were organized groups of people who every dozen years or so regularly moved themselves, their wigwams, and their woven bags filled with property from one location to another as they exhausted the fertility of the soils in former localities.

The Potawatomi clan system is even more difficult for modern-day Americans to understand, since there is nothing in our experience remotely similar to what the Potawatomi called *Ototeman* (clan). Our own word *totem* comes from this Potawatomi expression, but its basic meaning—clan emblem—is different. The Potawatomi Ototeman signified a group of persons closely related by virtue of descent through a line of male ancestors stretching many generations back to a distant founder. In addition to being the name of the clan organization, Ototeman was also the personal name and identity of the founder.

Clan descent was always *patrilineal*. In other words, descent was traced through the male line. Some forty-two different Potawatomi Ototeman, or clans, have been identified, although there were certainly more whose names were never recorded.

Before the great refugee migrations of the 1640s, the Potawatomi clans in western Michigan probably numbered few more than a dozen, and each clan formed a separate village. Among the residents

of such clan-villages were related adult males together with their sons and unmarried daughters, all members of the local clan. Also living in the village were the wives of the men, who were the grandmothers and mothers of the younger people, but these adult women came from other clan-villages, for it was strictly enforced law that members of one clan had to marry people born into others. When the women born into this clan-village married, they moved away to live with their husbands' people, but they never lost their original clan identity.

In later years, after the Potawatomi settled temporarily in Wisconsin as refugees, and during the subsequent decades when they were rapidly expanding their territory, this neat system grew more complex. By the early 1700s most larger villages contained parts of two or more clans, and some had many more.

The number of clans also grew as smaller factions separated themselves from larger clan groups in order to occupy new territory or to resolve internal differences. For example, sometime before 1668, a conflict within the large Golden Sucker Ototeman resulted in the creation of two smaller sub-clans—the Red Suckers and the Black Suckers —which split off from the original group. Whatever their earlier differences may have been, however, the sub-clans still retained much of their loyalty to their original clan, for in that same year young Red and Black Sucker warriors eagerly joined with their Golden Sucker brethren to settle a dispute involving some rowdy French traders who had abused a Golden Sucker elder.

The forty-two or more Potawatomi clans were organized into six larger divisions called *phratries* by anthropologists. These were named the Great Lake (or Great Sea), Thunderbird (or Sky), Man (or Human), Bear, Buffalo, and Wolf divisions (or phratries). Each of the phratries contained from two to eleven clans who often cooperated, particularly in arranging and conducting rituals, which was their chief responsibility. The clans within each phratry had names and emblems which indicated their affiliation. The Great Lake phratry, for instance, included the Kitchigumi (Great Lake), Gigos (Fish), Wasi (Bullhead), Name (Sturgeon), Mshike (Turtle), and Nmapena totems, as well as others called Frog, Crab, Golden Sucker, Black Sucker, and Red Sucker.

The importance of clan membership was greatly stressed by the Potawatomi. Such association fixed the identity of each individual firmly in social space, as a clan member from whom aid and comfort could always be sought and expected by others, and to whom loyalty and service were owed throughout the person's lifetime. A month or so after birth, each child, in a ritual that symbolized acceptance into his or her father's clan, was given a name selected from an inventory of names that was the clan's property. This personal clan name was usually that of a deceased ancestor, and the Potawatomi believed that the child literally assumed the identity and characteristics of his or her namesake. In this fashion, memories of the ancestors were kept alive, and the living were tightly bound to the clan's past.

Personal names usually revealed an individual's clan (and phratry) membership. Rapids, Whirlpool, and the Bay, obviously, were of the Great Lake clan; Yellow Thunder and Brings the Clouds were of the Thunder clan; and Duck Hawk was of the Eagle (or Thunderbird) totem. But the poetry of Potawatomi naming was so rich in connotations and allusions that sometimes we have to be told the exact reference and clan identity. Thus, Stains the Snow (an allusion to urine) was a Wolf, White Hair an Eagle, and Walks Over the Earth a Buffalo clan name.

Women's names were either distinctively (at least to the Potawatomi) feminine, or else they were marked with a *-kwe,* the Potawatomi feminine suffix. Kitsamo (Spotted Bitch), for instance, was born into the Wolf totem, Menisikwe (Swooping Down Woman) into the Eagle clan.

Each Potawatomi also had additional names, arising from personal experiences or exploits, or marking individual foibles or failings. These nicknames, rather than linking individuals to their totems, marked instead their distinctive peculiarities and were often humorous if not mildly insulting. Pokagon, for example, the name by which one of the most important Michigan Potawatomi leaders of the early 1800s is best known, originally meant something like "Mr. Ribs," a joke whose point is now obscure. His proper clan name, however, was Sakikwinik (River's Mouth), indicating his membership in the powerful Kitchigumi totem.

Pokagon's life history also illustrates another important feature of the Potawatomi clan system. Unlike other Potawatomi, who acquired clan

Leopold Pokagon. (Northern Indiana Historical Society, South Bend, Indiana)

membership by birth, Pokagon, born a Chippewa, gained his clan affiliation by adoption. As a young man Pokagon was somehow assimilated into a Potawatomi village on the St. Joseph River. How this came to be is not entirely clear Much later traditions say he was taken prisoner in battle, but this is extremely unlikely since the Potawatomi and Chippewa were almost always closely allied. Whatever the circumstances, once Pokagon was accepted as a potentially valuable member of the community, he was adopted into the Great Sea clan and given an appropriate totem name identifying him with a respected ancestor.

Adoption was a favored method of recruiting new members into a totem group. Often these new members were persons from other cultures entirely, and adoption was the means used by the Potawatomi to formally assimilate them. Adoption, in other words, was a type of naturalization process used by the Potawatomi to place former aliens into a specific clan. The membership of adopted individuals in the larger community and their identity as Potawatomi arose from that placement and acceptance into a clan. If Irish-born immigrants to Lansing first had to be adopted into a long-resident Michigan family before they could be naturalized as United States citizens, American practice would be similar to Potawatomi custom.

The instance of an alien such as Pokagon being adopted into a clan and later rising to an important leadership role was by no means a rare thing for strangers adopted as Potawatomi. Indeed, over the course of their history a substantial number of their more prominent leaders were men with Sauk, Ottawa, or Shawnee roots. Why this should have been is interesting. Such immigrants tended to be persons whose aspirations were thwarted in their own native communities and who found the grass greener on the Potawatomi side of the river. Once these outsiders were accepted into a Potawatomi clan and village, they could begin their careers free of all the accumulated obligations and jealous rivals that hampered younger, would be Wkamek born and bred there. Freer to act, these adopted Potawatomi were often bolder in their styles of leadership than the established leaders whose many kinfolk and social debts constrained them.

Modern-day Americans most often confuse the traditional Potawatomi clan organization with their understanding of our own family system. But the two are quite different. In the first place, Americans trace their kinship relations through both lines of descent—male and female—almost equally, and American children can legally inherit property from both parents.

The Potawatomi clan system, in contrast, was strictly patrilineal. The Potawatomi handed down their property and traced their descent entirely through the male line. Kinship ties extended back from the individual to his father and his father's father, and down through the generations to his son's sons. The individual Potawatomi was also linked to the clans of his mother's male relatives—her father, brothers, and their sons—but not to the clans of her sisters and their children.

While a vast multitude of families makes up American society, Potawatomi clans were few, and all Potawatomi were lifelong members of just one clan. The clans were neatly and clearly bounded, both by symbols and by strict requirements placed on the members. When a young Eagle totem

woman married she had to select a husband from a different clan (because all young Eagle males were like brothers to her). She changed her place of residence but not her clan membership, and her children became members of her husband's clan. If she died, her husband's clanmates—not her own—claimed her children. If her husband died, his brother, or a near relative, would likely marry her to reinforce the place of her children in their father's totem.

Unlike American families, the Potawatomi totem was a corporation in the true sense of the word. Clans far outlasted the lifespan of any individual, and membership stretched far back into the past to include long-dead ancestors as well as down through the future to embrace generations yet unborn. Clans had their own distinctive identities, their unique remembered histories, their own heroes, their special symbols, their particular rituals. In clan religious ceremonies, Bear clan members would shamble and eat like bears; the Wolf would be given gifts appropriate to his nature; and Sky People would dance like Eagles or Cranes

Each clan was a property-owning corporation, possessing its own distinctive set of personal names as well as its own property and magical powers including rituals and spells. Traditionally, for example, only Great Sea totem men owned the right to build bark canoes, and only members of the Buffalo clan could claim the privilege of organizing a communal hunt for their totemic namesake.

But the clan system, like the tribal organization itself, did not survive the nineteenth century. By the early twentieth century, even among the highly conservative western Potawatomi, the clans were remembered, but they no longer operated as the most critical units of social life in the community. Today, among some Potawatomi, only the custom of assigning personal names remains of all the many rich features of the ancient clan system. In Michigan, on the other hand, not even this much is still alive. Both traditional tribe and clan have long since disappeared as the few small remaining Michigan Potawatomi communities took on the features of American society. How this came to be is one consequence of the Potawatomi history of dealings with the French, British, and Americans.

The Fur Trade

By 1668, the Potawatomi, then still assembled in northeastern Wisconsin, had established a firm, durable alliance with the French. Not only were they trading partners, they were also military allies, and the Potawatomi regularly fought on the side of the French against the British in the frequent colonial wars in North America. This strong political and economic relationship lasted nearly a century until the British conquered French Canada in 1760.

The French era was a period of great change for the Potawatomi. The decades of French power in North America witnessed Potawatomi elevation to a position of much prestige and influence among other Native American societies, a large increase in their population, and a vast expansion of their tribal estate. Although they tried to remain loyal to the French even after the British conquest of Canada, the Potawatomi's leaders soon found it necessary to accommodate themselves to the changed political reality and struck a fresh alliance with the new imperial presence in the Great Lakes area.

European contact introduced the Potawatomi to a new technology and to goods of European manufacture—brass, copper, and iron utensils, as well as firearms, which the Potawatomi soon found superior to traditional weapons for both hunting and war. As they watched the French raise cattle and hogs for food and use horses and oxen for transportation, farming, and construction, the Potawatomi also became familiar for the first time with domesticated animals other than the dog. At the same time, they were introduced to the consumption of fermented and distilled alcoholic beverages.

Seeing these new products often led to wanting them, and satisfaction of these wants required involvement in relationships which brought further social changes. The French, and later the British, were mainly concerned with obtaining large quantities of furs from the Great Lakes region. Potawatomi ability to trap, process, and deliver these furs involved them in one side of a complex economic system that stretched from Lake Superior and the upper Mississippi valley through French trading posts on the St. Lawrence to the markets and consumers of Europe.

Involvement in the fur trade moved the Potawatomi and other tribes of the interior far away from their traditional subsistence economy,

which had been supplemented with a modest trade in prestige goods with other societies much like themselves. The fur trade placed them into a situation where they became the suppliers of a type of raw material—the peltry—which was shipped long distances for final processing and sale. The value of these beaver and mink pelts increased dramatically the closer the furs came to the final market place. But European tastes and fashions changed, and the value of the finished products rose and fell in ways that the Potawatomi could neither understand nor control, although they experienced the painful consequences of depressions in the European fur market.

In return for the furs they supplied, the Potawatomi obtained products manufactured three thousand miles away, and the production and transportation of these goods also helped to build the economies of Europe. Clearly the Potawatomi and their neighbors valued these new goods highly, and they worked hard to gain access to them. Indeed, they were at first amazed that anyone would trade such treasures as brass kettles, loomed woolens, or steel knives for beaver pelts, which to them had never been of much value.

The technological exchange, however, was by no means one way. Europeans quickly recognized the superiority of many items in the Potawatomi inventory of locally manufactured goods. Both the snowshoe — for winter land travel — and the framed-up bark canoe — for warm-season water transportation — were soon adopted as improvements over anything previously known to Europeans. Both could be quickly made from readily available local materials and were easily repaired. The Potawatomi style of housing — the dome-shaped, simply framed bark- or mat-sheathed *wikwam*—was also adopted and regularly used by the French, particularly when traveling. For years some Potawatomi were employed, at least part time, in constructing canoes and similar gear for the use of French traders, while women also contributed surplus corn and hand-made footgear and clothing to this side of the new economy.

The Impact of European Technology

The new economic relationship flourished, and in a few brief years the Potawatomi and their neighbors went from a Neolithic (late Stone Age) technology into the use of machine-made goods of iron and steel, and from an economic system based on local trade into a many-layered, capitalized, international marketplace. Along the way they became customers of the factories of Europe. Not only was their economic status altered; in the long run it was weakened. Underpaid primary producers of raw materials for an international market, they became economically and technologically dependent, and the economic roles of Potawatomi men and women grew more specialized and limited than they had ever been before.

In 1641, every adult Potawatomi male was capable himself of creating and maintaining all the tools and implements he required; each woman was able herself to fashion all the containers, utensils, and implements she needed for her work. A generation later this was no longer the case. Not only could the Potawatomi not produce or forge iron into new tools, nor fashion brass into cooking pots, nor weave textiles, they could not even repair the goods they did obtain from the French and British. It was no accident, then, that among the numerous kinds of services provided by the French, those of a blacksmith-gunsmith were the most highly valued.

The different types of new goods from Europe had other consequences for Potawatomi life. Neither the Neshnabek nor any other tribes of the region had ever experienced the effects of alcohol on personal behavior, for example. They entirely lacked built-in cultural controls over the consumption and use of such mind-bending chemicals, and the effects were sometimes disastrous to the peace of clan and community.

The rapid, unregulated, excessive ingestion of wines, brandies, and rums (all European-manufactured products) altered the states of conscience of Potawatomi men (less often women), releasing aggressive, assaultive behavior and violent attacks within clan and community of a kind that had previously been both forbidden and controlled. And regular consumption by a few sometimes created chemical dependence that caused a sharp decline in economic effort, further contributing to social disorganization within clan and community.

The continuing efforts of French, British, and American authorities to control the distribution of alcoholic beverages to the Potawatomi and other Indians had little success. Because the Neshnabek demanded the alcoholic products they had learned to consume, and because traders were perfectly willing to profit from their delivery, such efforts at enforcing "prohibition" were doomed from the start. The French and British had no more success in controlling the delivery of alcohol to Indians than do modern authorities in preventing the production and delivery of other mind-altering substances to their citizens.

In their own communities the Potawatomi experienced other consequences of this technological revolution. With the growing availability of new kinds of materials and superior tools, there was a flowering of some arts and crafts, such as bead-

work and richly decorated tailored clothing. There was also, however, a loss of old skills. For instance, once Potawatomi women obtained regular supplies of brass, copper, and iron containers, they soon ceased making pottery vessels.

Nonetheless, Potawatomi culture retained most of its traditional integrity, and Potawatomi society flourished. By 1760 the population had expanded nearly fourfold, from some 2,500 Potawatomi in the 1660s to about 10,000 at the end of the French regime. Although they now dressed in somewhat different ways, and in spite of the fact that they used new types of weapons, they all spoke Potawatomi, believed in Potawatomi ways, and observed their old social customs.

Efforts of Jesuit missionaries to convert them to a new religion were largely unsuccessful. This was particularly true when they were still in Wisconsin and such notable figures as Claude Allouez and Jacques Marquette labored to convince the Neshnabek of the value of Christian beliefs and such European customs as church-sanctified monogamous marriage. Many Potawatomi listened attentively. Few succumbed. The Jesuits managed only to baptize a few elders near death, some seriously ill persons, and occasional infants

The Potawatomi listened because they believed the superiority of European technology could be explained only by the variety of supernatural power these newcomers possessed. However, they were not then interested in wholesale, whole-hearted conversion to an entirely new faith. Instead, they picked and chose among features of Catholic practice that they saw as useful to them. And each such feature was incorporated into Potawatomi practice, in Potawatomi style. Certain of their own religious specialists, for instance, were also physicians. When one of them watched Claude Allouez treat a seriously ill young Wkama by bloodletting, he soon adopted this treatment into his own practice. Another elderly "convert" insisted on saying the Lord's Prayer in his own, distinctively Potawatomi fashion:"*My* Father Who is in Heaven." This elder understood, much to Father Allouez's consternation, that the Christian God was a new, privately owned *Manido* (a personal spirit helper) not to be shared with others.

Only later, after the Potawatomi had expanded into the St. Joseph River valley and the Detroit River regions, did the Catholic missionaries there have more substantial success. Both places were centers of French economic, military, and missionary activity and in each some Wkamek became converts, leading their clanmates and villages into the Catholic fold. But even then they were a minority, and most of them went on observing traditional Potawatomi practices as well.

A Balancing Act

The roles of Potawatomi clan and village leaders began changing during the French era. Traditionally, the tribe's numerous Wkamek each represented some local group, which carefully observed and controlled its own leader's dealings with foreigners. Moreover, any decision reached had to be based on a public consensus among all the Wkamek, and between each Wkama and the kinfolk he represented.

Europeans, however, had vastly different expectations and understandings of Potawatomi leadership roles than did the Neshnabek themselves. The French believed Potawatomi leaders were their chosen agents, largely responsible to them, and were convinced that a Wkama could and should make authoritative decisions binding on his people. They also believed that Potawatomi leadership roles were hereditary, like European titles passing automatically from father to son. The Potawatomi believed to the contrary. Leaders had no real power, only influence won from an example set, regular successes, and the ability to persuade. And the office of Wkama was the property of a clan or village, who awarded it to the man of their choice. These conflicting beliefs were at the root of many later problems.

During the French regime the role of Wkama became a balancing act of representing kinfolk on the one hand while dealing with the French on the other. To maintain his influence among his clanmates, a leader had to win concessions from the French. Moreover, he had to obtain from them goods and services delivered to himself, which he could then deliver to his people. To do this regularly was evidence of his ability.

As the relationship with the French developed, no newly selected Wkama who aspired to larger influence and renown could expect to be successful without visiting French authorities at a nearby post or in Montreal, there to seek approval of his position. At this formal visit, the Wkama would receive recognition as well as presents in the form of goods and supplies for his people and

Metea ("He Sulks"), a Potawatomi Wkama (leader) in the War of 1812, lived along the St. Joseph River on the Michigan-Indiana border. He was an influential speaker at treaty conferences in 1821 and 1826. (McKenney, 1868)

such symbols of his French-approved role as military uniforms, flags, and medals. By the end of the French era, this system had become a tradition that was carried on through the British and into the American eras as well.

Competition for Potawatomi leaders' loyalties among the French themselves added new strains to the balancing act. Different Catholic orders sought to displace the Jesuits in the mission field. Traders were in constant competition with one another for Potawatomi business. The highest French authorities were constantly wrangling among themselves and seeking to undo each other's influence among the Indians. And missionaries, traders, and authorities had their own differences with one another. As each faction or religious order sought to establish its own favored Wkama in a position of power for its own purposes, Potawatomi leaders were regularly subjected to conflicting demands and to a variety of temptations, blandishments, and pressures.

If this were not damaging enough, the Potawatomi became embroiled in the long and bitter struggle between France and Britain to expand their empires. The Potawatomi position as most-favored tribe with the French automatically made them enemies of the British and their allies. It also made them targets for British efforts to cause their disaffection from the French. Over the years, the Neshnabek's leaders became extraordinarily skilled at playing off these conflicting European interests against one another for the short-run benefit of their own people.

Eventually, though, as the Potawatomi expanded their territory, and as local communities remote from one another began developing different concerns and interests, these conflicting pressures helped cause the dismemberment of the tribe. Potawatomi villages in eastern Michigan and Indiana, for example, were more exposed to attack from the English colonies and more likely to be tempted by the promises and merchandise of New York and Pennsylvania traders than were the villages in northeastern Wisconsin or the Chicago area. And, later on, it was these easternmost villages that were first pressured by Americans to sell and abandon their lands.

Even early in the French era some Potawatomi became aware of the advantages of trade with the English. In later years some of them occasionally carried their furs to British posts on Lake Ontario. The lure was higher quality goods and lower prices, an attraction the French were hard pressed to counter. Periodically, because of successful British blockades of French ports in Europe, the French and their Indian allies were cut off for years from needed supplies. These blockades created hard times for the Potawatomi and other tribes who had become dependent on firearms, powder, steel traps, and other goods. But although their Wkamek often protested their poverty in diplomatic exchanges with French authorities, the loyalty of the tribe never really wavered.

The French and Indian War

Through the 1750s, as Great Britain and France contended for imperial control of North America in a struggle known as the French and Indian War,

Joseph Moguago led his band of Potawatomi from the Nadowesippe to form a new settlement at Athens in the 1840s. He continued to lead the group until his death in 1863 (Michigan State Archives)

the Potawatomi remained loyal to the French. Substantial numbers of Potawatomi served alongside regular French troops and the Quebec militia or as independent raiding parties scourging the English colonies along the Atlantic seaboard. Potawatomi warriors fought throughout New England, in New York, and in western Pennsylvania and Virginia. In 1755, two hundred Michigan Potawatomi warriors were with the combined French-Indian force that ambushed and overwhelmed General Edward Braddock's army in western Pennsylvania, a major defeat which then and there nearly ended the career of a young colonel of the Virginia militia, George Washington.

But in 1759 Quebec fell to British forces; a year later Montreal surrendered. The French were finally and decisively defeated, their power in North America at an end.

Although the resulting peace agreement with the British greatly affected the Potawatomi and other tribes, the Indians were not so much as consulted, much less included, in the treaty deliberations. The peace treaty concluded by Britain and France brought Potawatomi lands under British sovereignty and made the Potawatomi people subjects of the English king. For their part, the Potawatomi themselves had never been defeated by English and colonial forces and could not understand why the French had surrendered. And when English authorities first arrived in Michigan to announce the treaty terms, many Wkamek were greatly disturbed.

The New Imperial Presence

In their early dealings with the changed imperial authorities, most Potawatomi were extremely cautious, anticipating punishment for their military role in aid of the French. But they had for years been cut off from European supplies because of the British blockade, and few could long resist the temptation of English goods. In November 1760, the British representative, Major Robert Rogers, arrived in Detroit to begin negotiations with the tribe. Many Potawatomi leaders met with him, and the process of creating a fresh relationship with the English began.

Potawatomi acceptance of British dominion, however, was only partial. Unable to reach a consensus among all the scattered villages, the Potawatomi could no longer act effectively or jointly as a tribe in international affairs. Although those in the Detroit region were quick to make peace and engage in trade, the Potawatomi of the St. Joseph valley were stubbornly resistant, and their kinsmen in northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin long remained largely anti-British. This division was caused in part by the now widely scattered locations of the numerous Potawatomi villages, which had growing problems of maintaining timely and effective communication with one another. It was also influenced by a major new technological development — the use of horses.

A Transportation Revolution

For many years the Potawatomi had recognized the usefulness of horses for transportation. They understood that some southeastern tribes such as the Chickasaw had become specialized horse breeders, and they saw horses being used by the tribes of the western prairies, as well as by the French and English. But they had no horses of their own. Then in 1755, the French and their Potawatomi allies handed the British General Braddock and his troops a major defeat. The English forces retreated, abandoning most of their mounts and equipment to the victorious Potawatomi and other Indian warriors. The Michigan Potawatomi returned to their villages with several hundred captured horses, all laden with the spoils of battle. A transportation revolution had begun.

Within the next generation most Potawatomi entirely gave up the construction and use of their frail bark canoes. In truth, the Potawatomi had always been wary sailors, frightened of the dangers of crossing open water or traveling streams strewn with rapids. They welcomed this new mode of transportation, which was safer, usable during longer periods of the year, and less expensive. By the opening years of the American Revolution, few Potawatomi could any longer make canoes, and fewer still were willing to travel in them if they had horses.

The horse gave the Potawatomi a radically new form of transportation and motive power, one that allowed them to travel long distances more quickly, carrying larger loads. The Potawatomi of the Detroit and St. Joseph areas adopted the use of French- and English-style saddles and horse gear, and they used their animals mainly for the transportation of goods. Some Potawatomi also hitched horses to small, French-style, single-axle, high-wheeled carts, a few of which were still being used in the 1830s in southeastern Michigan. Leopold Pokagon, the famous St. Joseph River Wkama, was noted for his use of just such a vehicle, which American residents then thought quaint and peculiar.

The western Potawatomi villages soon adopted a prairie-style horse nomadism. Many Potawatomi from Illinois and Wisconsin started moving west onto the high plains, hunting buffalo from horseback and raiding the tribes who lived there The Potawatomi of Michigan and Indiana, on the other hand, preferred to remain in their old territory, adjusting their economies to fit changing circumstances there. They used their horses locally, for hunting, trade, and, eventually, farming. A serious regional and cultural division was beginning to develop within the ranks of the once-unified Potawatomi tribe.

Pontiac's Rebellion

The British conquest of Canada brought new opportunities for some Potawatomi, and grave threats to many more. Relations with the French had always been tempered by the fact that there were few French in the Great Lakes region. Because the French population, even in Quebec itself, was very small, France's economic interests in the area did not dictate rapid development of large agricultural settlements. On the other hand, the English colonies on the Atlantic seaboard had rapidly growing populations to support, and even in the 1760s English colonists were pushing their frontier settlements westward toward Potawatomi territory. With the French defeated, moreover, the Potawatomi had lost one of their chief advantages in the political contest for North America. They were no longer valued by the ruling power for their military prowess.

Impoverished by years of warfare, not consulted in the peace negotiations that followed, abandoned by but still faithful to the French, many Native Americans in the Great Lakes area began taking serious stock of their situation. To the east a prophet arose among the Delaware, a visionary preaching armed resistance to Europeans of all

kinds. The Delaware Prophet's message reached the ears of the Potawatomi and their tribal allies. Some began paying heed.

Then two events precipitated a crisis. The British conquest of French Canada released a flood of unregulated small traders into the upper Great Lakes from New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. The Potawatomi called the English traders *Ktchimokoman* (Big Knives or Swordsmen) in contrast to the French whom they called "Hairy Faces." The sharp dealings of these unregulated English traders, and the reduced circumstances of the Potawatomi and their Ottawa and Chippewa allies, who had few furs to offer and little means of acquiring them, caused much frustration and anger. Tempers were rising rapidly.

Next, the new British governor, Sir Jeffrey Amherst, ordered to economize his administration, refused to allow his new Indian allies the annual "presents" that had traditionally cemented alliances. The loss of annual gifts deprived the Potawatomi, Ottawa, Chippewa, and others of the badly needed supplies that would have helped them restart their fur-trapping enterprises. Of even more importance, this denial of annual gifts was seen as a serious indignity, signalling the Indians that the British regarded them as undeserving and unworthy. Political insult was added to economic injury, and a major anti-British uprising swept through the Great Lakes region.

Known as Pontiac's Rebellion after its Ottawa leader and organizer, this frontier war in the spring of 1763 nearly drove the British from the interior of North America. One British post after another was captured, from Green Bay to Mackinac to St. Joseph, until only Detroit and Pittsburgh were unconquered, and these were heavily besieged by the rebellious allied tribes.

But the chances of a major victory were gone by early winter. The Potawatomi and other insurgent tribes had no source of military supplies other than what they could capture. The hoped-for French support did not materialize. The Indians lacked the military skills and equipment necessary to destroy the well-fortified British positions. Above all, they were only part-time, temporary warriors, lacking the capacity to sustain military operations season after season. As winter approached, the warriors were forced to return to their economic roles as providers for their families, and Pontiac's support evaporated. When the British mobilized their forces and counterattacked, the tribal allies soon capitulated and made peace.

Although Pontiac's supporters had not won a final military victory, they made a profound impression on British military authorities, who heeded the militant message that had been delivered. Thereafter, private traders were brought under stricter controls, and the British resumed the custom of delivering annual presents to their Indian allies, a practice that was continued into the 1840s, much to the anger of the Americans.

Of even greater importance was the British Crown Proclamation of 1763 which established a strict boundary line along the crest of the Allegheny Mountains to protect Indian territory. West of that boundary, the British government proclaimed, no lands could be purchased or settled by colonials. The proclamation was issued because British colonial authorities wanted to keep peace in the interior, to sustain a large flow of furs to their markets, and to limit the westward expansion of the American colonies as well.

The American Revolution

If the king's ministers had accomplished their plan, the whole Ohio valley and the Great Lakes region would have long remained one vast Indian preserve. But this restriction on their expansion only further antagonized the American colonists, moving them more swiftly and certainly toward their own rebellion.

When the American Revolution came a decade later, the Potawatomi again found themselves in a favorable position—temporarily. Once more they were valued allies in battle, this time to serve on the side of the British against the insurgent Americans. But now the tribe was badly divided. Many villages, particularly those in Michigan and Indiana, were directly threatened by American agricultural expansion, and they eagerly served the British as a generation earlier they had the French.

Other villages, particularly those in Wisconsin and Illinois, were not so directly affected. Able to go down the Mississippi to trade, Illinois and Wisconsin Potawatomi had built trade and political relations with Spain, the new imperial master of the lower Mississippi valley. Since France and Spain soon allied themselves with the American colonies against Britain, the Potawatomi's allegiances were split. While Michigan Potawatomi were raiding American settlements in Pennsylvania and Kentucky, Potawatomi Wkamek from Illinois and Wisconsin

were welcoming and assisting George Rogers Clark's Virginians as they invaded Illinois and Indiana to threaten the vital British post at Detroit

These internal divisions came to a head in 1781 when Sikenak (Blackbird), an important Wkama who led the anti-British clans in Wisconsin, joined with Spanish troops and French traders from St. Louis in a raid on the British post at St. Joseph. Although the St. Joseph Potawatomi were more or less neutral, unlike those of the Detroit region who had actively supported the British, the raid posed a danger of violence among the Potawatomi themselves The threat was averted when the raiders cautioned the St. Joseph Neshnabek to stand aside, later sharing the booty with them.

A tentative peace between British and Americans came in 1783. Once again the Potawatomi were not consulted in its terms, which saw their tribal estate transferred to the nominal sovereignty of the new United States. But this time they were not abandoned by their allies, for the British hastened to assure the tribes that they remained valued partners who could expect continued aid and support from the king. Indeed, because the British refused to surrender their posts in Michigan and Wisconsin for another decade, Detroit, Mackinac, and St Joseph remained, substantially, British territory. For the next thirty years the Potawatomi-British alliance continued to grow in importance and strength until the War of 1812 once and for all time effectively brought the Neshnabek under American control.

The Americans

Throughout the period between 1783 and 1815, Great Britain and the newly established American republic remained at odds. For this reason alone, any antagonists of the United States in North America could be friends of the British. But the English had two other major concerns in the Great Lakes-Ohio valley region. One was control of the fur trade, in which the support of the tribes was essential. The second was the defense of Canada, on which Americans regularly cast covetous eyes. Again the loyalties of the tribes were critical, as Great Britain's first line of defense against the threat of invasion by Americans and for military operations on the American frontier if war came.

American authorities, meanwhile, were convinced that the treaty of peace with the English had given the United States full sovereignty over the whole territory east of the Mississippi River and south of the Great Lakes. The tribes in these regions, the Americans reasoned, were conquered peoples. But the Potawatomi believed otherwise. And British authorities assured them that they remained independent societies whose true interests lay in alliances with the king. The stage was set for another frontier conflict.

Diplomatic missions from the new republic pressed American views in a series of treaties which sought recognition of American sovereignty from the Ohio valley-Great Lakes tribes as well as the sale of tribal lands in Ohio. Although the Potawatomi were invited to participate in these negotiations in 1784 and 1785, none did so actively. But they were perfectly aware of the growing menace to their lands and their security.

Determined to stop American expansion, the Potawatomi soon joined forces with other tribes whose lands were threatened. For the next ten years, Americans and Indians waged war on the frontier. Potawatomi warriors joined with such allies as the Shawnee, Delaware, Wyandot, and Ottawa in regular raids against American frontier settlements. They also helped win two major victories against invading American armies in 1790 and 1791, but their post-battle celebrations were short-lived.

In 1792 President George Washington finally found a general, Anthony Wayne, who understood how to conduct military operations against Indian forces. While General Wayne trained and assembled his troops into a properly equipped, highly disciplined frontier army, American authorities continued diplomatic negotiations to purchase tribal lands and to remove the British from their western outposts in United States territory.

The turning point came in the fall of 1794 when Wayne moved his army north to meet the confederated tribes in open battle at Fallen Timbers, just south of present Toledo. American tactics prevailed, and the defeated tribesmen retreated north to seek aid from the British at Fort Miami near the mouth of the Maumee River. There they found the gates to the fort closed against their appeals for help and the garrison under strict orders to stay out of the conflict. Whatever earlier promises had been made to the tribes, the British now wanted peace with the Americans. The Potawatomi and allied tribes had again been abandoned.

The next year a great peace treaty was to be negotiated by General Wayne at Greenville, Indiana. Meanwhile, the United States and Britain finally reached an agreement — called Jay's Treaty — over the status of British posts in American territory. According to the terms of Jay's Treaty, the British would evacuate St. Joseph, Detroit, and Mackinac in 1796, establishing new posts on their own side of an international boundary along the midline of the Great Lakes. Recognizing that they could no longer expect much support from the English, the Potawatomi and other tribes assembled at Greenville fully aware that they had to meet and deal with American power in their neighborhood.

The Treaty Process

The 1795 Greenville agreement was only the first of more than forty such negotiations involving the Potawatomi, who signed far more treaties with the United States than any other single tribe. In spite of the American victory at Fallen Timbers, there was much give and take on both sides at the Greenville negotiations. The Americans, to begin with, now publicly acknowledged that the tribes were not conquered peoples and that the lands in the Great Lakes-Ohio valley region were theirs to occupy and use without interference until the United States government acquired them by treaty The Indians, on the other hand, accepted the sovereignty of the United States, agreeing that only American authorities could purchase their lands in future treaty negotiations, which had to be approved by the President and the Senate.

In addition, the Indians at Greenville agreed to transfer most of Ohio, a large section of southern Indiana, the Detroit River area, and Mackinac to American ownership. Thus began the cession of the Potawatomi's lands in Michigan and adjacent locations, a process that ended forty years later when the last remaining Potawatomi lands in Illinois and Michigan were sold.

The next sixteen years brought increased pressures for land cessions, a vastly increased American presence in the Great Lakes-Ohio valley region (now organized as the Northwest Territory), stiffening resistance from the tribes, and a new outbreak of frontier warfare that merged with the War of 1812. The westward expansion of American settlements, which required one treaty after another as the colonists moved up to and penetrated Indian-held lands, was the key to these developments

Ohio became a separate territory in 1790 and a state in 1803. Indiana Territory was formed in 1800 and Michigan Territory in 1805, followed by Illinois in 1809. Between 1803 and 1809 the Potawatomi placed their totem marks and Xs on six treaties with the United States, approving the sale of lands in these areas.

Although not all of the lands sold were really part of the Potawatomi's tribal estate (the 1805 cession of northeast Ohio, for example), Wkamek from Michigan and other locations participated in and profited from these transactions. Potawatomi leaders were attracted to these important negotiations because they received immediate material rewards from them, and because participation demonstrated their influence with other tribes. In 1807, at Detroit, a number of prominent Michigan Wkamek (Topenibe, Keesis, and Wapsi from the St. Joseph River area; Wapmimi from south central Michigan; and Mkwago and Noname from the Detroit River area) went on to cede more than half the Potawatomi's lands in Michigan — the whole area from present Jackson east to Lake Huron and Lake Erie.

The treaty negotiations followed a common pattern. In exchange for the lands ceded to the United States, the tribes received rations, cash payments, and quantities of goods delivered immediately at the treaty grounds or soon thereafter, as well as further lump-sum cash payments, annuities payable for a fixed term of years or indefinitely, and services of various kinds. The latter included provisions for teachers, blacksmiths, and farmers who were to help the Potawatomi master American-style, animal-powered agriculture. Treaty terms also reserved small tracts from the large cessions for the use of numerous Indian villages.

Land cessions brought about serious consequences for the tribes. The rapid growth of American agriculture at first reduced the supply of game animals. Conflicts arose between Indians and American settlers as competition intensified for available resources. Because the Indians had increased income from annuities, and the very real possibility of much more to come from future treaties, traders encouraged them to go deeper in debt. Debt, in turn, created a stimulus for further land sales which would provide additional cash to the tribes — cash that would soon pass into the hands of traders and others, including bootleggers who stepped up the supply of alcohol to the tribes. In these stressful, disorganized times, too many tribesmen turned to the jug or the keg for solace and comfort, and there were frequent outbreaks of drunken aggression within communities.

Of greater importance, perhaps, was the growing conviction among the tribes that their own political processes had been subverted. American authorities, hastening to rush through treaty negotiations favorable to their own interests, had increasingly been dealing with only a few tribal leaders These much-favored, appointed "chiefs," in turn, began making major decisions with little or no consultation with their people, creating

grave resentments. The stage was being set for disruptive internal conflict, as well as for another open war with the United States.

The War of 1812

An organized intertribal effort to recover lost independence and to resist American expansion was the prelude to war. By 1807 a new Indian prophet had arisen, preaching what Thomas Jefferson called a "budget of reform." He was Tenskwatawa, the Shawnee Prophet, who provided the religious leadership in a movement also headed by his better-known brother, Tecumseh. While Tecumseh labored to organize diplomatic, political, and military cooperation among the tribes, aimed at countering the American tactic of dealing with them separately, the Prophet spoke of visions and supernatural powers. Tenskwatawa's message, which dazzled some new converts, appealed mainly to younger, less well established men, including a minority of Potawatomi. Elder Wkamek and traditional religious leaders were greatly threatened by this Prophet's attempt to gather great power unto himself.

By 1809 organized small-scale violence on the Great Lakes frontier was intensifying. Then, in November 1811, came open battle. William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana, had assembled an army which marched to confront and over-awe the followers of the Shawnee brothers then concentrated at Prophetstown, near Lafayette. Numerous young Potawatomi from Michigan and nearby Indiana villages were fervent supporters, joining the Prophet there. Seeing Harrison's military force as a challenge and an opportunity, Tenskwatawa precipitously commanded his followers to attack, trying to slay Harrison and destroy his army. At the time, Tecumseh, the proper military leader of these rebellious Indians, was absent. Otherwise, events might have developed differently, since the astute Tecumseh was well aware of the hazards of open warfare. As it happened, the Prophet's men were unsuccessful and Harrison's troops prevailed. The warriors fled the area defeated but not demoralized, carrying the battle to many scattered locations on the frontier.

This tribal resistance, organized to check American expansion and to protest the tactics used to separate the Indians from their land, was a proper Indian war growing out of their own discontent. Although some British in Canada, particularly traders and Indian agents, had encouraged the restive tribesmen, not until the War of 1812 did the British obtain the official sanction of the king's ministers to aid the Indians actively.

British and Indians soon joined forces and the Potawatomi were heavily engaged in war with the United States, counseled and supplied by the British, often serving alongside British army and Canadian militia units. Their important successes came in 1812 — at Detroit, Brownstown, and Fort Dearborn. But by 1813 the fortunes of war had turned against them. The Americans had organized their western armies, established their supply system, and found capable leaders. Thereafter, the Potawatomi witnessed one defeat after another.

The most critical of these came in the successful American defense of their important base near present-day Toledo, followed by Lieutenant Oliver Perry's major naval victory at Put-in-Bay on Lake Erie. The victories established American control of the Great Lakes, and the British position along the Detroit River became untenable. Joined by their Indian allies, including many Potawatomi, the British retreated eastward, pursued by American regiments. Tecumseh argued vehemently against this withdrawal, and insisted that the Indians and British make a final stand. The battle took place on October 5, 1813, at Moraviantown on the Thames River. Although the British General Henry Proctor, accompanied by the Shawnee Prophet, fled before the fighting began, Tecumseh stood and resisted to the last, killed in the midst of this final major battle in the west.

For the next two years, some Potawatomi half-heartedly aided the British in the defense of Canada, although most quickly returned to their homes soon after Tecumseh's death. When peace came in 1815, once again negotiations were carried out between Americans and the British without reference to the wishes of the tribes. Meanwhile, the Potawatomi of the St. Joseph River and Detroit areas had already begun their own separate treaty negotiations with their old American adversaries.

For the Potawatomi, the War of 1812 finally ended with several peace treaties signed with the United States in 1815 at Spring Wells near Detroit and in 1816 at St. Louis. At Spring Wells, one young Michigan Wkama expressed the sentiments of many. Years of war had brought the Potawatomi no lasting benefits, he noted, and had caused misery for many women and children. The Master of the Universe had placed Indians on the land, but their ancestors had parted with it, and, he said with feeling, "the scene was now changed."

His were wise words, for all the influence of all the European imperial powers—France, Spain, and Britain—was gone from American territory. For another thirty years the British would annually welcome hundreds of Potawatomi from Michigan and elsewhere to their posts in Canada, there to deliver presents and reaffirm old alliances. But even this would pass. As the young leader had indicated, the Neshnabek truly faced a new scene

longer able to resist militarily, lacking allies on whom they could depend, they had to find other ways of coping with American power and the wants of American settlers, merchants, officials, and missionaries. They began by making a lasting peace; 1815 was the last year Potawatomi warriors engaged in battle with the forces of the United States.

Treaties and Land Cessions, 1816-1833

After 1816, American settlement of the Great Lakes region progressed rapidly. A network of new roads and canals—the Erie Canal was completed in 1825—provided cheap transportation for settlers coming from the east coast and made possible the low-cost shipment of their crops and products to eastern markets from the Great Lakes frontier. Soon numerous sailing vessels and steamers were plying the interior lakes and the major rivers. The value that Americans placed on the new lands in the Great Lakes region increased dramatically, as did American population in localities formerly occupied by the Neshnabek.

The extent of American development of the region depended on acquiring new land in large quantities from the tribes. According to established law, Indian lands first had to be ceded to and purchased by the federal government. Only then could the government place these lands on the market for sale to settlers planning to occupy and use the property themselves or to speculators aiming for profits from later resale. Land cessions from Indians to the United States required highly formalized treaty negotiations and the approval of all concerned parties, from councils of Indian leaders to the government of the United States.

Between 1816 and 1833 the Potawatomi of Michigan were involved in some thirty treaty negotiations with the United States and another six with British authorities in Canada. During these years, in contrast to negotiations held before 1812, no treaty was ever approved by the Potawatomi without extensive debate and the participation not only of many leaders but of most adult men and women tribe members as well.

Although outnumbered and outgunned, pushed hard in different directions by officials, traders, missionaries, speculators, and by their own divided interests, the Potawatomi did not easily succumb to the pressures being brought to bear. With great skill they made the best of a weakened political position, and in the end—although they ceded their lands—most Michigan Potawatomi never entirely accepted American dictates for their future.

Even before the War of 1812, land cessions had brought important changes to the lives of Michigan's Potawatomi. The sale of the eastern part of the state in 1807, for instance, caused a large emigration of Potawatomi from the Detroit and Huron River areas to central and southwestern Michigan. These emigrants were later joined by other Potawatomi from northern Indiana. The migration accelerated after the war as the result of further cessions. The Neshnabek were adapting to American growth by migrating to more isolated parts of their old territory, places for the moment remote from American settlement, usually locations that were—at least temporarily—less valuable to American farmers, town developers, and land speculators.

By 1832, there were new Potawatomi villages located at the headwaters of the St. Joseph, Paw Paw, Kalamazoo, and Grand rivers. These communities were smaller and more numerous than the Potawatomi villages of earlier years, sometimes consisting of little more than one extended family.

Meanwhile, all remnants of tribal cooperation had disappeared. Even regional clusters of villages no longer stood together to deal with common problems. The Potawatomi were falling back on the fundamentals of their ancient social organization—kin group and small community—as a means of adjusting to the changes they were experiencing. In the process, they began moving in different directions—not only geographically, but socially, religiously, and politically as well. Although still one in name, language, and identity, the Potawatomi were becoming culturally diverse.

"Civilization" and Removal

During the 1820s, Americans pursued two major policies with respect to Indians within the borders of the states and organized territories. The first of these was a plan to "civilize" the Indians by turning them into Christian farmers. The plan, it was believed, would sharply reduce the Indian "hunter's" need for land, opening up a vast surplus to American settlement. That surplus, of course, was to be transferred—by treaty—to the federal government for later sale to settlers and speculators. Also accompanying this policy were modest efforts to educate Indian children and to

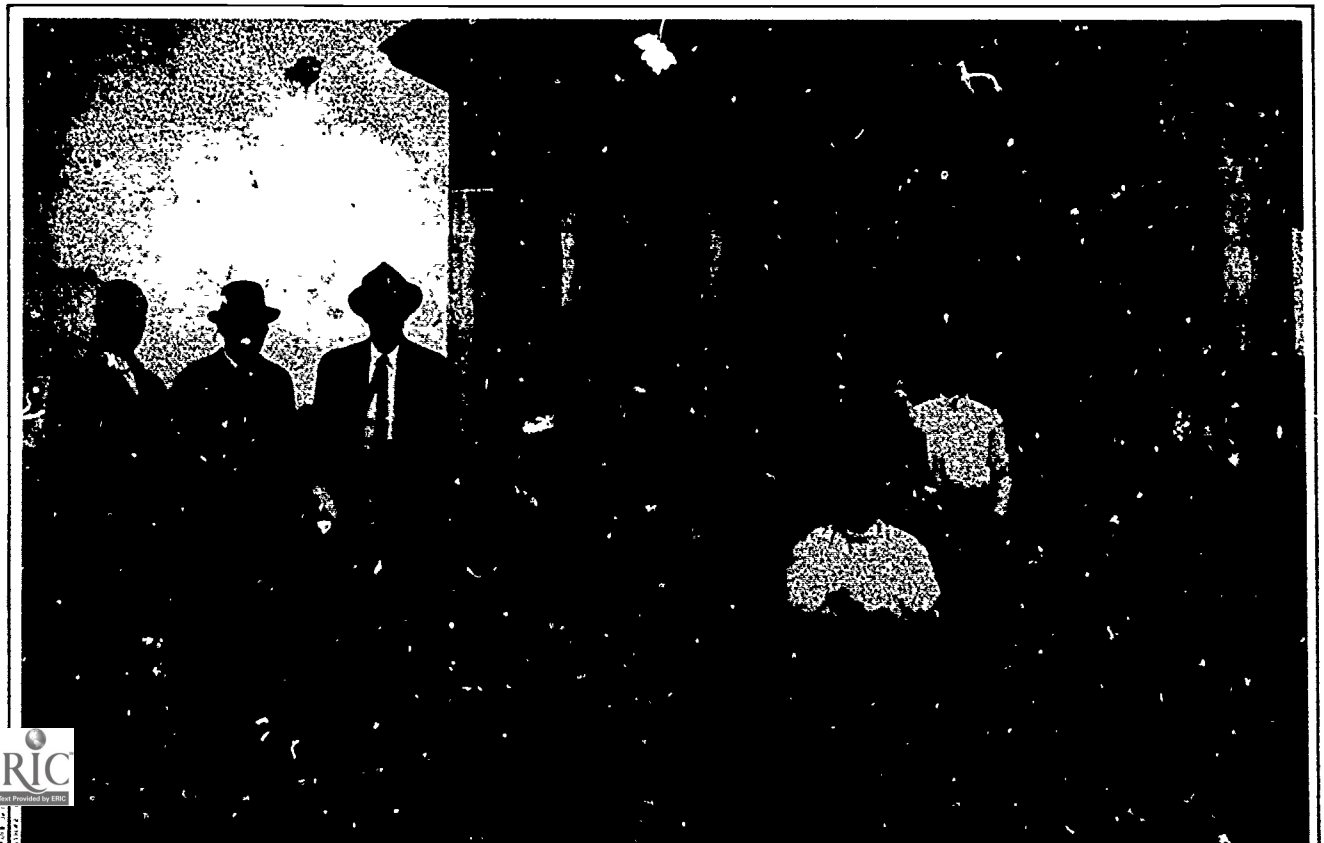
encourage the practice of American-style farming.

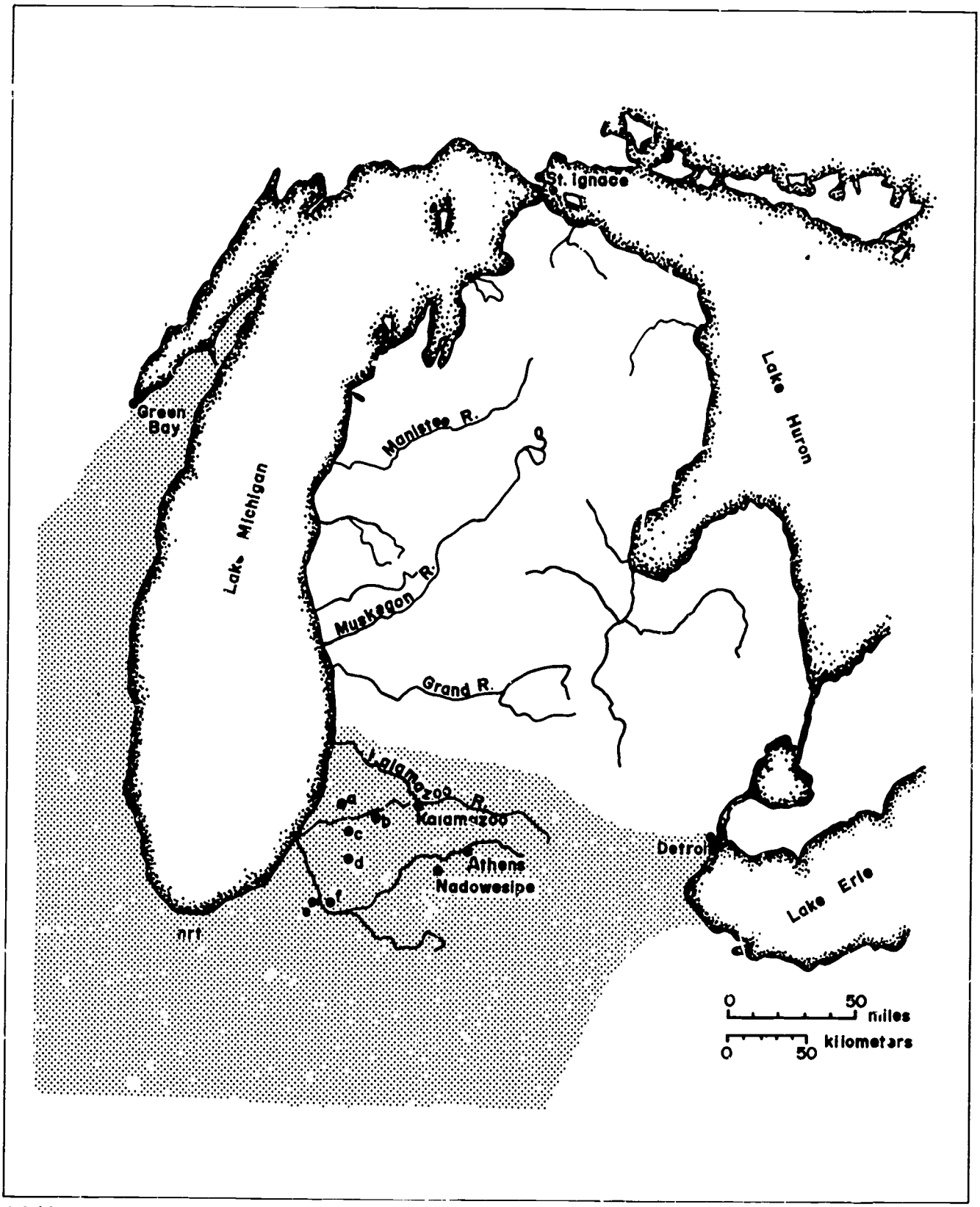
The second policy, which began developing behind the scenes in 1803 but was not enacted into law until 1830, added an entirely new dimension to Indian affairs. This was the increasingly popular idea of Indian removal, a plan for acquiring all of each tribe's lands and removing all eastern Indians into a vast new "Indian Territory" located west of the Mississippi River

Several problems slowed development and full-scale application of this Indian removal plan. Many church groups and other Americans in the long-established northeastern states strongly opposed the policy. So, too, did traders and others whose incomes depended on having Indians nearby. At the same time, when the issue was first being debated, the United States owned no lands in the west that could be used for the new Indian Territory. These first had to be acquired by treaties with tribes such as the Osage and Kansa before eastern Indians could be resettled there. In the meantime, because the state of Missouri and the territory of Arkansas had been admitted to the Union, the boundaries of the proposed Indian Territory would have to be adjusted. Indian Territory would now lie west of the Mississippi River and southwest of the Missouri River.

By December 1832, as a result of the government's "civilization" policy and the treaties that followed, the huge, original Potawatomi estate had been reduced to a small fraction of its former extent. Andrew Jackson had just been reelected to the presidency, Congress had passed an Indian

A gathering at the Indian church in Athens in the early 1900s. Back row, from left: Church pastor Steven Pamp, George Pamp, Phineas Pamp, Thomas Wezoo, Frank Pamp, Austin Mandoka, Sam Mandoka, Frank Bailey. Front row, from left: Lucy Wezoo, Lucy Bailey, Emma Bailey, Mary Pamp, Sara Melne, Mrs. Thomas Bailey. (Michigan State Archives)





Michigan Potawatomi villages *occupied ca. 1820 to 1900. Shaded areas indicate the range of Potawatomi territory prior to early-nineteenth-century American settlement. a. Rush Lake; b. Paw Paw; c. Brush Creek; d. Silver Creek; e. Pokagon Reservation; f. Niles Nadowesippe Reservation and Athens. (After Clifton, 1984: 70)*

Removal Bill two years earlier, and the Potawatomi in Michigan were coming under intense pressure to cede their remaining lands and move westward into Kansas.

At the time, there were somewhere between three thousand and four thousand Potawatomi in Michigan alone, with another eight thousand or so living in Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin. The villages in central and western Michigan were widely scattered, nearly all located on tracts previously ceded to the United States. Under treaty terms, the Potawatomi were permitted to remain on ceded land until it was needed by American settlers. But by 1832, much of the ceded land had already been sold to private parties, while the balance was ready to go on the auction block as southern Michigan filled up with American farmers and developers all eager to acquire land. As a result, the Potawatomi of Michigan were in an extremely vulnerable position. Only a minority actually held title to the few small parcels of land they still inhabited. The majority occupied tracts which they no longer owned, and the Jackson administration was determined to arrange the removal of all Michigan Indians from the area.

The lands still owned by the Potawatomi minority consisted of several reservations created by earlier treaties. One of these was the Nadowesippe (commonly spelled Nottawayseppe) reservation, established in 1821 when other Michigan and Indiana lands were sold. *Nadowe* was the old Potawatomi name for their hated New York Iroquois enemies, while *-sippe* means river or stream. Hence the reservation was located at a place called the Iroquois River, a tributary of the St. Joseph.

A second reservation, consisting of some 64,000 acres adjacent to the slightly larger Nadowesippe reservation, was created in 1827 especially for the Potawatomi of eastern Michigan, the so-called Huron Bands, as well as for other scattered bands of Neshnabek in southern Michigan. These groups were supposed to consolidate their villages on the new reservation, a safe distance away from the new Detroit-Chicago road.

South of Niles was a much smaller reservation occupied by several villages long established in the St. Joseph River valley and consisting of remnants of lands ceded by treaties in 1821 and 1827 and by the Treaty of Tippecanoe signed in 1832.

Hardly had the Tippecanoe treaty been approved by the United States Senate, however, before a move was underway to purchase these few, small, remaining reservations and move the Potawatomi out of Michigan entirely and onto a new reservation just west of the Missouri River. But nearly all Michigan Neshnabek were strongly opposed to such removal, and most of them by one means or another managed to evade the consequences of this policy.

The Chicago Treaty and Its Aftermath

In September 1833 the thousands of Potawatomi from the Lake Michigan area gathered at the tiny village of Chicago (from the Potawatomi word *Gigak*, or skunk) to negotiate their last major treaty for lands in Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin. The United States government treaty commissioners were charged with two major responsibilities: first, to purchase all remaining land owned by the Potawatomi in the Lake Michigan region; and second, to obtain Potawatomi consent to move away from the area and into the western Indian Territory.

The many Potawatomi involved in this critical negotiation were now separated into several distinct interest groups, reflecting the various paths they had followed in adjusting to the changed face of the Great Lakes landscape. Divided politically, religiously, geographically, and ecologically, they could present no semblance of a united front against the pressures exerted on them by the Americans.

The Wisconsin Potawatomi from villages along the Lake Michigan shoreline north of Milwaukee were mainly interested in redressing an injustice caused by an 1831 treaty, when their lands were sold by the Menomini tribe without their knowledge or consent. They had no intention of migrating west permanently, and as it happened they never did. But they did not make an issue of removal during the negotiations at Chicago.

The more numerous "Prairie Bands" from southern Wisconsin and northern Illinois indicated no serious opposition to the plan of removal. Far outnumbering the Potawatomi from northern Wisconsin and long adapted to horse nomadism, the Prairie Bands were accustomed to an existence on prairie lands and were less threatened by the prospect of relocation than were others with different economic and ecological patterns. Since most of the lands to be ceded were occupied by these Neshnabek, the bulk of the treaty proceedings was conducted with their leaders.

Most Michigan Potawatomi, in contrast to those in Wisconsin and Illinois, strongly opposed migration to the west. With so many of their number determined to avoid removal by whatever means available to them, the Michigan Potawatomi traveled to Chicago in September 1833 planning to resist any effort by the treaty commissioners or other Potawatomi to incorporate a removal provision into the pending agreement. Indeed, so unwilling were some to relocate in the west that several villages met beforehand in joint council to organize their resistance. One American adviser

traveling with the Michigan Potawatomi reported that they appointed a committee to watch over the treaty deliberations and to supervise the Wkamek closely; the committee was empowered to assassinate anyone who might violate the council members' wishes.

But once in Chicago, the Michigan Potawatomi found they could not sustain a united front. One leader, the younger Topenibe, was hailed by American negotiators as the true "principal chief" of all the St. Joseph River Neshnabek, and he carelessly scratched his X on any document placed in front of him. Others, capitulating in the face of great pressures and temptations, followed his lead.

One St. Joseph River Wkama, Leopold Pokagon, refused to yield, and emerged as the most argumentative and effective spokesman for one group of Potawatomi determined to remain in Michigan. Eloquently persuasive and skillful, he forcefully contrasted the situations and wants of his Michigan Potawatomi to those of the Prairie Bands, hinting at violence against any leader who might consider signing a document that ran contrary to his group's interests. But Pokagon was not speaking for all Michigan Potawatomi, and in the end he, his associates, and the treaty commissioners agreed to a compromise.

This compromise resulted in a treaty divided into two parts. The first, signed on September 26, 1833, covered the Illinois and Wisconsin Potawatomi, who ceded all their lands and agreed to move west within two years. In exchange, as their future home, they were awarded a huge tract between the existing western boundary of the state of Missouri and the Missouri River, north and south of present Kansas City. However, because Missouri officials and citizens were then lobbying for the annexation of this tract (called the Platte Purchase) to their state, the Prairie Bands eventually agreed to a substitute territory just east of the Missouri River, but further north, in present Iowa. Within four years all the Potawatomi from Illinois had left that state, as had most of those from southern Wisconsin.

On September 27 came the Michigan Potawatomi's turn, and on that date they, too, ceded their remaining reservations to the federal government and agree ' to remove within three years. But appended to the second document was a supplementary article that gave a minority of them the right they and their spokesman, Leopold Pokagon, had fought so hard to obtain—the right to remain in Michigan.

This supplementary agreement applied only to a fraction of all Michigan's Potawatomi—those who were converted Catholics. Under the terms of the agreement, the Catholic Potawatomi were to hand over their small reservations to the federal government. In return, they were allowed to resettle among the Ottawa near L'Arbre Croche where they would continue to receive their annuities and other treaty payments. Other non-Catholic Michigan Potawatomi from the vicinity of the Nadowesippe reservation, who similarly opposed removal, were not covered by this provision, and so the seeds were sown for later conflict and controversy.

At the time of the treaty, the Catholic Potawatomi included four widely scattered villages. The three in the St. Joseph River valley—one near Paw Paw, another near Brush Creek, and one south of Niles—were led by Singowa, Wapsi, Pepeyawe, and Leopold Pokagon. The fourth village, near Nottawa on the Nadowesippe reservation but originally from the Detroit River area, was led by Mkwago, Wabimanido, and Ashkibi. All of these villages have since become known as the Pokagon Band, but it is more accurate to recognize them as the Catholic Potawatomi of southwestern Michigan, for at the time only a minority of them lived in the elder Pokagon's village south of Niles and recognized his leadership.

The remaining Michigan Potawatomi—as many as three thousand of them—were seemingly obligated by the Chicago treaty to leave Michigan within three years after its signing; the deadline was September 27, 1836. The same deadline applied to the Catholic Potawatomi who, although specifically exempted from removal to the west, were required by the treaty to resettle among the Ottawa in the north. This they were unable to do. In the first place, Indian agents who favored removal—principally Henry R Schoolcraft—actively worked to prevent their resettlement in northern Michigan. Also, the United States did not provide them with the transportation, rations and other assistance required by the Indian Removal Act. Finally, in March 1836, the Chippewa and Ottawa of northern Michigan ceded all their own estate to the United States and were themselves brought under intense pressure to leave Michigan Territory, which was soon to become a state. At that moment there was no place in Michigan to

Athens Potawatomi resting after dancing at a county fair. Back row, from left: Sam Mandoka, unidentified man and woman, Frank Mandoka, unidentified child, Mary Paul, Levi Pamp, unidentified man. Front row, from left: unidentified man, Thomas Wezoo, unidentified man, Peter Nottaway, unidentified man, Elizabeth Pamp, Steve Pamp, Joe Pamp, unidentified man and child, Ida Rosette, unidentified woman. (Michigan State Archives)

which the Catholic Potawatomi could relocate as specified by the Chicago treaty.

Escaping and Evading Removal

In many ways 1837 was the turning point for Michigan's Potawatomi, a year of great threat to their future well-being, but a year of opportunity as well. The threat was the prospect of removal. After much dispute in the Senate, which stalled the removal process, the Chicago treaty had finally been ratified in 1835, and under its terms the time for Potawatomi departure from Michigan had passed. The fact that Michigan had achieved statehood in 1837 only increased the likelihood that the Potawatomi would have to leave. And, when a great depression that same year settled on the American economy, Michigan's Indians found themselves under even greater pressure to remove.

The business of Indian removal had turned into a great money-making machine. The salaries for those Americans employed as removal superintendents, enrolling agents, or teamsters, and the substantial sums paid persons who contracted to manage and conduct removals or to deliver supplies and rations, provided rich opportunities for profit. Moreover, in those depression years, the work of removal held a special attraction, for the government paid its employees and contractors in what was then considered real money — gold and silver coins. Otherwise in painfully short supply, these coins were much more valuable than the depreciated paper bank notes then circulating. As a result, eager job seekers and men speculating in removal contracts joined forces with local settlers and began clamoring for Potawatomi eviction from Michigan.

Then, in 1837, the Potawatomi were offered the chance for an entirely different type of future if they would move to British Canada. After years of diplomatic protests from the United States, Great Britain had finally decided to end the old custom of delivering annual presents to Indians crossing

the border and visiting British posts in Canada for this purpose. But the British tempered their decision with an offer that many American Indians seized on as an opportunity to remain in the Great Lakes region, but outside the jurisdiction of the United States. Because the British felt an obligation to these Indians, some of whom were veterans of the War of 1812, and because the Indians were still considered potentially useful allies in the event of war, a blanket invitation was issued: Presents would still be delivered, but only for another four years, and only to those Indians from the United States who would migrate into and settle permanently in Canada.

This new British arrangement gave the Indians of the entire Great Lakes area, including the Potawatomi of Michigan, an escape route. As a result, when American pressure for removal increased, numerous Potawatomi left Michigan, but they did not migrate westward to Indian Territory. Instead, they fled into Canada where they eventually settled on Chippewa and Ottawa reserves. British authorities wanted the Potawatomi to assemble on Manitoulin Island on Georgian Bay, but few found that barren, rocky landscape hospitable. Instead, traveling by canoe or more commonly by horse, they made their way to a variety of locations stretching from near Sault Ste. Marie in the north to Walpole Island on Lake St. Clair in the south.

No one will ever know exactly how many Michigan Potawatomi emigrated to Canada. In the first place, British Indian agents never kept careful records, and there was some element of secrecy involved, since American authorities were none too pleased by this development. Moreover, for many of the emigrants the move was not permanent. Sooner or later some returned to Michigan, unannounced and uncounted. The Hannahville Indian Reservation near Menominee on the upper peninsula, in fact, was created many decades later largely for Potawatomi who had returned to the United States. However, by the best estimates available, between one thousand and fifteen hundred Potawatomi moved into Canada and remained there. Today, while their descendants can be found on nearly every Canadian reserve along the east shore of Lake Huron and the St. Clair and Detroit rivers, most of them live on Walpole Island, on the Sarnia reserve, on Kettle Point, and on Parry Island.

Many other Michigan Potawatomi, a thousand or more, evaded the threat of removal by remaining on American territory, but in remote and unsettled areas or on the reserves of others. Like their northern Wisconsin cousins, these Potawatomi fled northward but remained in their home state, taking up residence on land recently ceded by the northern tribes. There many of them remained, not entirely unnoticed, but at least unmolested, until the threat of removal had ended. Others, like the immigrants to Canada, eventually assimilated into Ottawa and Chippewa communities, which had kept the right to remain in the state.

Another twelve hundred or so Michigan Potawatomi did move west to join their Indiana and Illinois kindred on the Sugar Creek reservation in eastern Kansas. On these Potawatomi the effects of the removal policy fell the hardest of all. There were the strains of the long journey west, the problems of adjusting to a new climate and environment, and later pressure for additional resettlement elsewhere. Some of their descendants still live in Kansas, on the Prairie Band reservation near Topeka, although in the 1860s most moved again to the new Citizens Band reservation in Oklahoma.

Not all the Michigan Potawatomi who were moved west of the Mississippi remained there permanently. Many soon returned east, either to Wisconsin or to their old homes in southern Michigan. The family of Singowa, a notable leader of the Pokagon Band, was one such group which made its way back from the dry prairies of Kansas to the St. Joseph River valley.

And then there were the Potawatomi who by one means or another remained near their old villages and cornfields in southwestern Michigan. Some of them took temporary refuge in out-of-the-way places, the marshes along the lower Galien River in Berrien County, for example, or the isolated headwaters of the Kalamazoo River. But there were others—the Catholic Potawatomi, generally known as the Pokagons—who had in their hands the hard-won treaty right to remain where they were. They exercised this right successfully, not by escape or evasion, but by direct confrontation and negotiation with American authorities.

In the end, American determination to bring about the removal of all Michigan's Potawatomi and to resettle them in the western Indian Territory was largely unsuccessful. Fewer than one-third of the Michigan Potawatomi ever made that

trek As it happened, Americans discovered that writing a plan for Indian removal was one thing Bringing it about was something much more difficult. Indeed, from the start it was an impossibility. The Potawatomi were far too skilled at evading capture, and they had other destinations available to them, either temporarily or permanently And Americans lacked both the major resources and the inclination necessary to engage in a massive round up that, once and for all time, might have removed from the state all of its ancient native inhabitants

The Pokagons: Catholic Potawatomi of the St. Joseph Valley

While most Michigan Potawatomi dispersed eastward into Canada, north to isolated parts of recently ceded Ottawa and Chippewa lands, or west to Kansas, two groups remained in the heart of the old estate in southern Michigan. One of these, commonly known as the Pokagon Band, was the Catholic Potawatomi.

The Catholic Potawatomi had won the right to stay in Michigan at the Treaty of Chicago in 1833. But for them to enjoy that right in practice, they had to manage their affairs in such a manner that American officials would recognize and honor it

Of the several Wkamek associated with the Catholic Potawatomi villages, Leopold Pokagon is today the best remembered. From 1830 until his death in 1841 this elder leader was the most visible, energetic, capable, and effective spokesman for the Catholic Potawatomi. Over the years numerous legends have grown up about him, sometimes hastily written by local historians too careless of their facts. These legends were further embellished by Leopold's youngest son, Simon Pokagon, who in the late nineteenth century became a well known Indian celebrity.

The content of the legends and fanciful tales revolved around a theme highly appealing to Americans: Leopold Pokagon was one of the last of the "Noble Savages," a symbol of the frontier now disappeared, a "principal chief" converted to the superior "white man's" ways. His real biography is more complicated than that, and much more interesting.

Contrary to the legends, Pokagon was not the adopted son and heir of Topenibe, the senior Wkama of the Bear clan. Nor was he Topenibe's successor as "principal chief" of the St. Joseph River Potawatomi (this office was an American fiction). Neither was he a lifelong Catholic. He was, instead, an emigrant Chippewa who was adopted as a youth into the Great Sea clan of the St. Joseph River Potawatomi, and who, by the mid-1820s, had become the Wkama of one modest-sized village in southern Michigan.

At that time he was about fifty-three years old, a Potawatomi of no special prominence or renown, whose name appeared on no treaty until 1828 One of numerous Wkamek of equal stature in the region, he was a modest, culturally conservative leader who observed traditional Potawatomi religious customs But within a few years he underwent a transformation. Rather suddenly he emerged as an innovative leader and a highly effective spokesman for several Potawatomi villages. Always aided and accompanied by the Wkamek of these villages, he was first among equals, a leader in the traditional mold who regularly deferred to his fellows. Because these village leaders had selected Pokagon to act as their *Kiktowenine* (Speaker), an important Potawatomi political role, Americans mistakenly came to think of him as a "principal chief," an office which in fact did not exist.

The viewpoint most strongly voiced by Pokagon was opposition to the plan of removal. The question then facing him and his associates was how to accomplish the goal they most desired. What did they have to do to remain in Michigan? How might they counter American pressures to migrate westward? The rest of Leopold Pokagon's very successful career can best be understood as a search for the necessary steps that would allow these Potawatomi to stay in the St. Joseph River valley.

Until Andrew Jackson's election to the presidency in 1828, American policy focused primarily on "civilizing" the Indians. In practice this meant that if Indians were to be accepted as neighbors and allowed to live undisturbed near American settlements, they must become Christians and they must adopt American-style farming methods, work habits, and the private ownership of land. Fully understanding what was being demanded—for the message was often vehemently pressed on them by Indian agent and missionary alike—Pokagon and his fellow Wkamek set about accepting precisely these customs. But they did so in their own time and fashion.

During the mid-1820s, the only Christian missionary available to Pokagon and his associates, the one they came to know well, was the Reverend Isaac McCoy, founder and manager of the Baptists' Carey Mission south of Niles. For several years Pokagon and his fellow leaders visited often with McCoy and his assistants, receiving help in promoting agricultural development in their villages. But they quickly became aware of a grave danger in associating with these Baptists.

Isaac McCoy, as Leopold Pokagon and the other Wkamek soon learned, was a fervent advocate of President Jackson's plan of wholesale Indian

removal McCoy, in fact, led the first exploring party of Michigan Ottawa and Potawatomi west to Kansas to examine the future homeland planned for them, and by 1827 had become one of the most influential promoters and organizers of Indian removal. When McCoy's position became obvious to the Wkamek led by Pokagon, relations with the Baptists were severed.

Leopold Pokagon handled the breaking of the relationship with typical Potawatomi symbolism and aplomb. Purchasing a young Sioux captive from a traveling band of Sauk, he delivered the boy to Isaac McCoy for conversion and education. What was suitable for this released captive, Pokagon was making plain, was not good enough for the Potawatomi. In ancient Potawatomi fashion, the captive boy was treated as a suitable gift, delivered to the Baptists for services rendered. Pokagon and company then went searching elsewhere for a more acceptable Christian religion.

They soon found it among the Catholic missionaries working to reestablish their church in southwestern Michigan after an absence dating back to the Revolutionary War. Pokagon and his fellows found much that was attractive in these newly arrived missionaries. For one thing, most of them were French or French-speaking Belgians, and their language was a reminder of the days of prestige and power enjoyed by the Potawatomi during the French regime. In addition, there were among the older Potawatomi of the area still a few who practiced elementary forms of the Catholic religion they had learned decades earlier in the old French mission on the St. Joseph River. Further, the new Catholic missionaries represented a minority religion, one often strongly opposed by fundamentalist Protestants. So the Catholic missionaries and their superiors were often disposed to adopt policies contrary to those supported by the dominant American religious authorities of the region.

One such contrary position directly affected and strongly appealed to the Potawatomi. While the Baptists and other Protestant denominations were trying to move their operations and remove their Indian converts west, the Catholic hierarchy wanted to foster religious instruction by founding and developing permanent mission stations in place within Michigan and northern Indiana. Each such station, set in the midst of an Indian agricultural community, was to consist of a chapel, a missionary, and support personnel.

The plan offered advantages to both groups. The Potawatomi, on the one hand, found in the Catholics new allies who spoke a familiar language, allies who would instruct them in Christianity, help them master American farming techniques, and—of greatest importance—support their wish to remain in Michigan. From the missionaries' point of view, developing a relationship with the Potawatomi would help them establish their church in the area. At the time, the Potawatomi (and to the south the Miami) were the missionaries' only potential converts. The work of "civilizing" these Indians, moreover, would provide the missionaries with needed income from the United States government, which appropriated funds payable to missionary groups for this purpose.

However, because of the different needs and aims of the Potawatomi and the priests, the potential for later conflict was created. For while the Potawatomi saw the Catholics as useful allies in their attempt to remain in Michigan and adjust to changed circumstances there, the Church viewed the Indians as a first step toward establishing and funding its early operations in the region. This latter aim required concentrating the Potawatomi in a few religious "communes," gaining control of a substantial share of annuity and education funds earmarked by treaty and legislation for the Potawatomi, and managing the behavior of the Wkamek for the Church's own ends. It was in the beginning a mutually satisfying alliance, but it soon became an uncomfortable one.

In 1830, Leopold Pokagon and his fellow Wkamek approached the priests, seeking instruction and conversion. Soon the process of mission development among the Potawatomi was well underway. Leopold Pokagon quickly embraced the Catholic religion with fervent, sincere faith, and all available evidence indicates he underwent a profoundly moving and significant conversion experience. And the Pokagons, generation after generation, have remained strong Catholics to the present day.

The St. Joseph River bands were determined to resist the threat of removal. Becoming Christians, actively seeking formal education in mission schools, and working to learn American agricultural methods, they prepared themselves well for the 1833 Chicago treaty negotiations. There they demanded and obtained the right to remain in Michigan at the same time that they lost their remaining Michigan reservation lands.

By the terms of the Treaty of Chicago, the Catholic Potawatomi were obligated to evacuate the ceded lands by September 1836 and resettle on Ottawa land at L'Arbre Croche. When land cessions by the Ottawa made that step impossible, Leopold Pokagon and his associates adopted another tactic. Using funds obtained from the Chicago treaty and money saved from federal annuities, they began purchasing land from the federal land office in Kalamazoo. By early spring of 1838 the Potawatomi had obtained title to 874 adjacent acres on Silver Creek, near present Dowagiac.

Next they abandoned their ceded reservation and moved onto the newly purchased Silver Creek land where they set to work. While families were assigned their own plots to till, the community also worked cooperatively at clearing fields, building simple log homes, and constructing a chapel. Quickly these Potawatomi settled in, relatively undisturbed.

But 1840 and 1841 were years of crisis for them. American efforts to persuade all the Michigan Potawatomi to move west had been mostly unsuccessful, and early in 1840 measures were adopted to arrange their final removal from their old homeland. Brigadier General Hugh Brady, commanding army units based in Detroit, was ordered to bring about Potawatomi removal from Michigan and Indiana, using whatever means were necessary. In summer, he set about this work with only modest success, for the majority of Michigan's Potawatomi easily evaded his agents and troops, either by hiding temporarily or by moving into Canada. Not so the Catholic Potawatomi. With a heavy investment in their developing community, they could not so easily escape. Nor had they any wish to avoid removal by other than legal means.

Leopold Pokagon was by then an elderly man in failing health. But when he heard of General Brady's orders and plans he traveled to Detroit to seek out and consult with a new ally, looking for a weapon that would end the threat of forcible removal once and for all. From Judge Epaphroditus Ranson, then associate justice of the Michigan Supreme Court, he got the ammunition he so urgently needed.

On August 17, Pokagon and the other Catholic Wkamek met Brady near Silver Creek and handed the general a written legal opinion from Judge Ranson. The opinion declared that the Catholic Potawatomi—as Christian, tax-paying, land-owning farmers—were under the jurisdiction of the state, and would be released on a writ of habeas corpus and returned to their homes if the army laid hands on and attempted to move them west. Brady immediately agreed, writing out a "pass" guaranteeing the Catholic Potawatomi the right to live in Michigan unmolested. Pokagon had won a significant victory while setting an important precedent: He confronted the authority of the federal government with the power of state law.

Dressed in a fringed buckskin shirt with a shell gorget around his neck, wearing a shawl turban, and clutching a small bow and arrows, Little Smoke, an Illinois Potawatomi, posed for a photographer in the early 1850s. In dress and lifestyle, he was very much like the Potawatomi who lived nearby in Michigan. (Chicago Historical Society)

At that moment, more than a decade of work by the Pokagons' leaders brought a rich harvest. In one stroke, their right to remain in Michigan had been fully recognized, both by state and federal

Potawatomi baby resting in a sling-type cradle, probably at a fair or other social gathering. (Michigan State Archives)

authorities. Their Silver Creek community was free to flourish, and the Catholic Potawatomi thought themselves secure and unthreatened by outside forces.

But the aged Pokagon's work was not yet done. His last days were marked by one more notable effort to serve his people by confronting and dealing with a problem that would face them after his passing—the ownership of their land.

The 874 acres on Silver Creek were all titled in Leopold Pokagon's name. The elderly Wkama fully appreciated the fact that Michigan inheritance law required this title to pass to his sons and widow upon his death. He foresaw the serious problems this would cause within the Catholic Potawatomi community, for most community members were convinced that they owned the lands in common. Nor, by Potawatomi tradition, could Pokagon's sons automatically inherit their father's role as village Wkama and speaker for the other leaders. Many Potawatomi, moreover, were opposed to contributing to the property taxes they were required by the state to pay on the Silver Creek lands.

In the year before his death, Pokagon tried to avoid some of these future problems by transferring ownership of small parcels of land to the other Wkamek and to the heads of families so that they could set up small, independently owned farmsteads. Some 160 acres had been deeded over to Onagosan, Bozeen, Singowa, Pease, and others when, on July 8, 1841, Leopold Pokagon suddenly died.

Soon a disruptive controversy with the Church erupted over ownership of the Pokagons' land. Leopold Pokagon had long expressed a desire to assign forty acres to the Church to be used for a chapel and school serving the Catholic Potawatomi. But in August 1840, eleven months before Pokagon died, Father Stanislaus A. Bernier quietly registered a deed in the Cass County Courthouse, not for the forty acres specified by Pokagon, but one which transferred 674 acres of Potawatomi land to the priest's name. This "deed-of-sale," including almost all the land not already transferred by Pokagon to his fellow leaders, was predated as of September 1839. The Pokagon Band, however, did not become aware of the deed until after their elder leader's death. They immediately protested, secured an attorney, and took the matter to court. Meanwhile, in January 1841, Father Bernier transferred his title to the land to his superior, Celestine de la Hislander (or Hailandiere), Bishop of Vincennes.

What Father Bernier and Bishop Hislander had in mind with their interference in Potawatomi affairs is

not entirely clear. But Bernier was also actively involved in removal efforts at the time, and his actions did little to suggest that he was fully devoted to the welfare of the Catholic Potawatomi. The sorry episode did little credit to Bernier, Hislander, and several other priests supposedly serving the Pokagons' interests.

While the legal dispute with the Church over ownership of the Pokagons' land was being worked out, a fresh controversy arose. Following Leopold's death, his eldest son, Peter Pokagon, tried to establish himself as the "principal chief" of all Catholic Potawatomi. He was encouraged in this effort by his mother and brothers, who also claimed personal ownership of the land, denying that others had any legitimate right to the property originally titled in Leopold Pokagon's name.

Peter Pokagon was also actively supported by the Church, which was trying to gain control over Potawatomi land and assert its authority over the Pokagons' lives. Indeed, Father Edward Sorin — one of the senior missionaries then working with the Potawatomi, a man better known as the founder of Notre Dame University — claimed he had personally selected and appointed Peter as "principal chief."

These bitter disputes subjected the Catholic Potawatomi to several painful and disruptive strains. Leopold Pokagon's family was attempting to establish itself as a type of elite class, one which owned the land and had the authority to rule Catholic Potawatomi affairs. At the same time, the Church was also claiming ownership of the land and trying to persuade all these Potawatomi converts to live in one mission community under the management of the priests and "Chief" Peter Pokagon.

Living in one place under the authority of a ruling family on land they did not control was a situation that strongly conflicted with traditional Potawatomi values. A large majority loudly protested and flatly rejected these new ways, unwilling to accept the idea that the Pokagon family had a hereditary right to be "principal chiefs," and refusing to live at the proposed mission community. As the Potawatomi had been doing for centuries, this group resolved the internal conflict by subdivision and migration. Soon the dissident majority abandoned the Silver Creek lands and settled elsewhere, forming new villages on Brush Creek and Rush Lake on lands which they purchased for themselves, leaving the Pokagon family and a minority behind.

Seven years elapsed before the Michigan Supreme Court finally decided the case of the Pokagons' land. In the meantime, local citizens rallied around the Potawatomi. Then, in 1848, the court held in favor of Leopold Pokagon's heirs, declaring the transfer of Pokagon lands to the Church illegal, and finding Father Bernier and Bishop Hislander guilty of fraud. But the 674 acres, through Michigan's inheritance laws, were now the exclusive property of the heirs—Pokagon's widow Kitisse and his sons.

While these disputes were being debated and resolved, the Catholic Neshnabek did not ignore their other common interests. In 1841 they began working to secure the treaty rights due them. Regaining the annual payments for ceded lands that had been stopped by the Office of Indian Affairs was foremost in their minds. Under the leadership of Singowa, whom the Wkamek chose to replace Leopold Pokagon as Speaker, they quickly demonstrated that they were effective lobbyists, regularly approaching local, state, and federal officials to plead their case. A partial success came in 1843, when the Commissioner of Indian Affairs decided they were due annuities. But for reasons unknown, the commissioner decided they were eligible for a share of annuities from only one treaty, and he refused either to approve funds due from other treaties or to authorize delivery of unpaid back annuities.

Between 1843 and 1866, the Catholic Potawatomi gathered annually to receive the modest amounts allowed them by the Office of Indian Affairs. These gatherings were of vital symbolic as well as financial importance to them, although the small payments were themselves sometimes the source of new disputes. The Pokagon family, for example, wanted the payments made at Silver Creek only to actual residents of that small community. For years the Church demanded and received its tithe, deducted before the funds were paid out to the individual Potawatomi. Both practices were vehemently opposed by the Catholic Potawatomi majority living in the other villages, and the matter was finally resolved in their favor by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Throughout the decades the Potawatomi continued lobbying for their additional annuities and treaty rights, enjoying another partial success in 1866 when the Secretary of the Interior authorized a "catch-up" payment. Prompted by Congress, however, he demanded that the Pokagons agree that this distribution of treaty funds would be the final one, an obvious injustice which only impelled the Catholic Potawatomi to another thirty-year round of skillful, persistent lobbying. Served by a succession of attorneys, they eventually persuaded Congress to grant them authority for further legal action. In 1891, the United States Supreme Court reviewed the case, finally approving a major payment of back annuities due from all treaties.

During the second half of the nineteenth century the Catholic Potawatomi participated actively in all aspects of the transformation of southwestern Michigan into a booming agricultural and industrial region. Politically, they became astute, active par-

ticipants in local and state government, and they were also particularly effective in dealing with United States senators and representatives. Economically, they moved far away from their roots as hunters, gardeners, and fur trappers to engage in a variety of pursuits. At first they began working as unskilled seasonal and part-time laborers in agriculture and logging. But later, as their educational attainments and experience increased, they moved into semi-skilled and skilled areas of the job market, while a few earned their livings by farming their own lands.

These economic and educational developments accelerated in the twentieth century. Meanwhile, the Pokagons continued their lobbying efforts. Beginning in 1934, their leaders began concentrating on restoring the Potawatomi to full recognition by the United States government. Their aim was to secure formal acknowledgment of their tribal status under the Indian Reorganization Act, passed by Congress in 1934 to help Indian communities better organize and help themselves. Their efforts were unsuccessful, for the Bureau of Indian Affairs had insufficient funds to apply this legislation to all applicants, especially to groups as small as the Catholic Potawatomi.

In 1954, still seeking the treaty rights due them, the Pokagons joined with other Potawatomi and brought suit before the Indian Claims Commission for more equitable payments for the lands they had ceded in the early nineteenth century. This litigation was successful and a substantial award was approved for them, although as of 1985 no payment had been made.

Since 1982 the Pokagons — now organized under Michigan law as the Potawatomi Nation of Indians, Inc. — have again been working to obtain formal recognition as an official Indian tribe. This recognition by the United States would bring the Catholic Potawatomi numerous advantages, including the routine protection of federal Indian law, normalized relationships with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and access to the numerous special programs available for federally recognized Indian communities.

By the end of 1985 the Secretary of the Interior had received the Potawatomi Nation's full application for tribal status, and there is little doubt that these Michigan Indians will once again have their formal relationship to the United States restored. At that moment, southwestern Michigan will find a legally established Indian tribe located in the St. Joseph River valley for the first time since 1837. This will be no surprise to other citizens of the region, who have long enjoyed cordial and cooperative relations with these Potawatomi, and who have regularly encouraged and aided them in their various enterprises.

In adjusting to the changed Michigan landscape since the 1870s, the Catholic Potawatomi have scattered widely. Although a majority still live in Berrien, Cass, St. Joseph, and Van Buren counties, many live in other parts of Michigan as well as throughout the United States. However, their elected leaders and council meet regularly at the old Silver Creek Town Hall to conduct the band's business.

The Pokagons' general council -- consisting of all adult members of the band — meets annually to set policy and to elect a business committee which manages the community's day-to-day affairs. Carrying out responsibilities delegated by the general council, this executive committee has consistently sought to improve the position of the Catholic Potawatomi in their dealings with the federal government. Together, the Pokagons are actively preparing for a future which will continue their long record of successful adaptation to the radically altered social, economic, and political setting in which they live today.

The Huron Band

The history of the Huron—sometimes called the Nadowesippe — Band of Potawatomi of St. Joseph and Calhoun counties reveals a set of problems very different from those faced by the Catholic Potawatomi of Berrien and Cass counties. The Huron Potawatomi are, first of all, essentially a composite population. Some are descendants of the Potawatomi who lived for many years on the upper St. Joseph River. Others are descended from the many eastern Michigan Potawatomi — including the old Huron bands — who ceded their lands near the Detroit River and moved to the western part of the state after the War of 1812. Some of these emigrants from the east settled on the 66,330-acre Nadowesippe reservation in St. Joseph County, but the majority scattered widely in south-central Michigan.

Like the Catholic Pokagons and other Michigan Potawatomi, the Huron Band also strongly opposed the American plan of cession and removal in

the early 1830s If anything, their rejection of this policy was even more vehement than that of the Pokagons. However, during negotiations for the 1833 Chicago treaty their leaders were unsuccessful in winning for themselves the special right to remain in Michigan obtained by Leopold Pokagon and his fellows. Except for the small number who were Catholics, the Chicago treaty required the Huron Band to evacuate the Nadowesippe reservation and relocate in the west.

During the Chicago negotiations and afterward, the Hurons suffered far more internal conflict than was true of the Pokagons. Repeated outbreaks of violence erupted between leaders, several of whom were murdered by their rivals, and there was a failure to achieve consensus or unanimity on what tactics to adopt in confronting American negotiators and agents. While some of their Wkamek signed the 1833 concord, others protested the treaty, denying that they were covered by its provisions. These dissidents later undercut their own position when they agreed to accept the payments provided for by the Treaty of Chicago. Badly divided internally and lacking a coherent, mutually acceptable policy of their own, the Hurons had no choice but to cede the Nadowesippe reservation. With the loss of this last remaining tract of federally protected land, they were far more vulnerable to the threat of removal than were the Catholic Potawatomi.

At the time of the Chicago treaty, most of the Huron-Nadowesippe group lived away from the Nadowesippe reservation, on lands ceded by earlier treaties. With the great influx of American settlers to those lands in the late 1830s, they soon came under intense pressure to leave. It was a pressure they could not jointly or successfully resist.

When General Hugh Brady was dispatched to round up the southern Michigan Potawatomi in the summer of 1840, he concentrated on the Huron-Nadowesippe groups and the many others living nearby. Finding and collecting them was no simple task Once word spread of General Brady's orders, those Potawatomi who opposed removal either hid themselves or fled elsewhere, some to northern Michigan, others to Canada. Nevertheless, in September 1840, Brady's agents collected 439 of these Potawatomi on the Nadowesippe Prairie and arranged their removal to the west. A month later, a great many more were assembled at Kalamazoo and were also transported to the new reservations in Kansas.

Despite the difficulties involved, the process of collecting and organizing the parties of emigrant Potawatomi and starting them on their way west proved to be the easiest part of Brady's mission. Delivering them to and keeping them on the Kansas reservation was an entirely different matter. Of those Potawatomi who started west, a good many deserted the migrant stream and returned to Michigan. Others left the Osage River reservation soon after arriving there, also to return east. Since the details of these various alternative paths were never well documented, it is impossible to know all of the specifics of how many from which groups went where, or exactly when they left or how they traveled. While evading removal agents, these Neshnabek left few tracks for historians to follow.

By 1843 hundreds of non-Catholic Potawatomi had returned to St. Joseph, Branch, Hillsdale, Calhoun, and Kalamazoo counties. By then pressure for their removal had dissipated. Indeed, they found many supporters among local citizens, by that time secure in their ownership of the ceded Potawatomi lands The Hurons began settling in, working out means of remaining permanently in the area, finding places to live and ways of earning their livelihood.

Some of them, like the Pokagons a few years earlier, began buying land with funds from treaty and annuity payments In 1843 a group of Huron Potawatomi purchased eighty acres on Pine Creek, between Battle Creek and Athens in Calhoun County. By the 1890s the Pine Creek tract had grown to 120 acres, all of it registered in the county deed books in the name of a well-known leader, Phineas Pamtopee. Still occupied to this day by members of the Huron-Nadowesippe Band, this small plot of land has a unique and controversial status.

In 1845, two years after the original acreage was purchased and deeded to Pamtopee, the Huron Band arranged for the deed to be transferred in perpetuity to the name of John S. Barry, then governor of Michigan, and to his successors in office. Governor Barry agreed, on behalf of himself and all succeeding governors, to hold the land in perpetual trust for the band. Exactly how this came to be, precisely what the governor intended by accepting the trust responsibility, and specifically which Nadowesippe had rights to these trust lands may never be known, for the relevant official documents were destroyed in a fire many years ago.

The status of the Pine Creek "state reservation" is curious, and there are unresolved conflicting claims about which members of the Huron Band have the right to occupy and use this small, 120-acre tract. The state of Michigan admits to some limited trust responsibility, but otherwise exercises no jurisdiction over the "reservation" or the Potawatomi, except to keep the land free of state and local property taxes. Unlike other Indian

reservations in the county, this tract is not considered by the United States as a responsibility of the Bureau of Indian Affairs

The controversy over rights to use and occupy parcels of the Huron "reservation" has not been resolved. Basically, a small minority for many years has claimed and occupied twenty-acre tracts, one for each of six families, leaving no reserved land available for the common use of the many other Huron Potawatomi. These families claim the tracts they live on are private, family-owned property, on the grounds that their ancestors contributed to the original purchase price of the "reservation." Other members of the Huron Band dispute this claim, but little can be done to settle the issue because of the confused legal status of the reservation itself, since neither the state nor the federal government admits to having full, clear jurisdiction over the land.

In some ways the history of the Huron "reservation" is parallel to the dispute among the Catholic Potawatomi over the ownership of the Silver Creek land, which was claimed as private property by the Pokagon family. In both cases, a deep conflict arose between a small group claiming private ownership and a majority who believed in the traditional Potawatomi values which stressed shared ownership of real estate. In both cases, the claim to private ownership caused internal disputes, and tensions were reduced only when most of the Potawatomi involved relocated, away from the disputed land. The dissident Pokagons moved to land they purchased for themselves at Brush Creek and Rush Lake, members of the Huron Band, today some seven hundred strong, now live mainly in Grand Rapids and adjacent towns and villages.

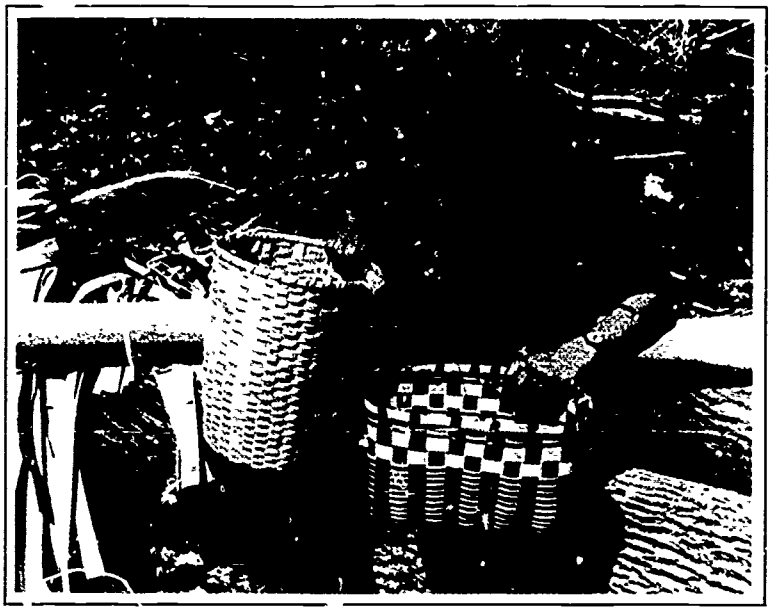
A major difference between the two cases is the fact that the disputed Pokagon land was sold. In 1848, the Michigan Supreme Court ruled that the Silver Creek land was the private property of Leopold Pokagon's heirs. Exercising their property rights, Pokagon's descendants in later years sold the land bit by bit, in effect eliminating any lasting controversy over tribal versus private ownership of the tracts. In contrast, the Huron Band leaders who persuaded Governor Barry to accept a trust responsibility in perpetuity for the 120-acre Pine Creek "reservation" effectively blocked the possibility of the land's ever being sold. Their action, intended to prevent the loss of the land, itself unwittingly laid the foundation for a lasting dispute, since the Pine Creek "reservation" today remains intact, held in trust for the Huron Band but claimed and occupied only by a minority.

Whatever their other differences, underlying the modern situation of both Catholic Pokagons and Methodist-Episcopal Hurons is a problem chronically troublesome to both — the lack of land. Neither group of Potawatomi has enough land for its needs as an organized Indian community. American Indian policy has stripped them of this critical resource. If the ownership status of the Pine Creek "reservation" is confused, at least the Huron Potawatomi have that much land left. The Pokagons, in contrast, really control only one acre, owned jointly by the membership and occupied by the old Silver Creek Township Hall, now used as the business headquarters for regular meetings.

The Catholic Potawatomi have a record of continuously active, organized self government, which between the 1840s and today has worked at serving the interests of the community in dealing with local, state, and federal units of government.

Although less persistent and not as successful in the past as the Pokagons have been in lobbying for their interests before Congress, the Huron Potawatomi are now similarly organized. Today, both the Catholic Pokagon Band and the Protestant Hurons are active, organized Potawatomi communities inhabiting southwestern Michigan. With

Opposite page, upper right: Potawatomi council chairman Mark Alexis, making black ash splints for baskets, seeks to preserve traditional values while building a better future for his people. Left: Alexis displays some of the baskets made from the splints. (Pokagon Band) Below: Gladys Sands worked for many years to preserve and teach such traditional crafts as black ash wood splint basket making. (Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council)



very limited resources and inadequate land of their own, the memberships of both groups live in widely scattered places. Like other citizens of Michigan, these Potawatomi have had to take their economic opportunities where they could find them. Today, the central goal of both Neshnabek communities is to obtain formal recognition by the United States as federally recognized tribes. Once this goal is achieved, both Pokagons and Hurons will be able to further enrich and develop their community life.

Recognizing the many hard problems these Potawatomi have had to face over the past century and a half, the contrasts between the methods used by the Pokagons and Hurons to survive seem few and minor. They represent slight differences in the tactics employed by these two groups of Potawatomi to resist American efforts to dislodge them from Michigan and to resettle them far to the west, beyond the muddy Missouri River on the parched Kansas prairies. And they represent small variations in the ways that they have adjusted themselves to the changing face of Michigan since then.

What is important in the long view of their history is that they have endured. Both Pokagons and Hurons have successfully avoided the full effects of one damaging American Indian policy after another. Their customs and ways have changed in many visible respects, but they have always remembered their own past. Although they are a small, powerless minority, through the skill of their leaders and the persistence of young and old they have remained in their ancient Michigan lands, where they are today, as their ancestors were in 1640, durably and visibly Neshnabek.

THE OJIBWAY

In the beginning, there was only darkness. Kitche Manitou (the Creator) began to fulfill a vision of crimson sunsets and star-laden skies, a vision of various forms of beings living together and sharing the bounty of the creation. Kitche Manitou made rock, water, fire, and wind. From these four basic elements, the sun, earth, moon, and stars were formed. To complete the vision, Kitche Manitou created the plant beings, and then the animal beings. The last act of Kitche Manitou's vision was the creation of man. And so, the world of the Anishnabeg began.

The Long Migratio

The Anishnab commonly referred to as the Ojibway or the Chippewa, ascribed their appearance on this continent to an act of creation. Like many other diverse cultures around the world, the Anishnabeg attributed their existence to divine action. They owed their allegiance to the spiritual realm and saw beauty and purpose in all of the Creation. As a matter of fact, the word Anishnabeg translates to "first" or "original man." This self-perception reinforced the Anishnabeg's sense of obligation and duty, and dictated personal and environmental behaviors.

The Anishnabeg did not originally inhabit the Great Lakes region. Oral tradition states that the Anishnabeg migrated into the area from the "Great Salt Sea" to the east. Most historians agree that the ancestral homelands of the Anishnabeg were near the mouth of the St. Lawrence River on the eastern seaboard. Oral tradition also states that the Anishnabeg migrated to the west, eventually following the north shore of Lake Huron until they reached the present site of Sault Ste. Marie The migration occurred over many years, and numerous settlements were occupied during the relocation. Anishnabeg traditions also state that while on this journey, the people suffered extreme hardships. The people were sick and the trip undoubtedly cost many their lives. Some scholars and native peoples have surmised that the migration began after A.D. 900. This bit of information, when coupled with solid historical evidence, may provide an explanation for the migration and lend credibility to the oral traditions of the Anishnabeg.

In A.D. 986, Bjarni Herjolfson, a Norse merchant who was sailing to Iceland, was blown off course during a severe storm. When the weather cleared, Herjolfson became the first European to see the North American continent. He quickly set out for Iceland and reported his find to Eirik Thorvaldsson (Erik the Red). By the year 1000, the Norse colony on Iceland desperately needed wood for building materials. Eirik's son, Lief, was dispatched to the newly discovered territory to gather a supply of wood, and the party landed at several locations along the Atlantic coast. The new lands were named Vinland, and in 1001 a number of houses were built along the northeastern coastal region. One can almost be certain that the Norse introduced unknown diseases to the North American continent at the same time.

Native Americans had no immunity to highly contagious European diseases such as smallpox, diphtheria, scarlet fever, measles, and tuberculosis, and fell prey to the new illnesses that swept the land. The death rate attributed to the newly introduced diseases is almost too high to comprehend. Historical evidence obtained from colonial sources has confirmed that 70-80 percent mortality rates were not uncommon for native peoples who initially came in contact with previously unknown diseases. In all likelihood, the Vikings set loose an unintentional campaign of germ warfare which decimated native populations in the northeast.

The Anishnabeg, who lived in the northeast at the time of Norse contact, were probably one of the groups who experienced the most serious effects of the new diseases. The impact of European diseases was probably the primary reason for the beginning of the Anishnabeg's western migration. Anishnabeg oral traditions recount that the movement of the people was accompanied by much illness and famine. Obviously, these conditions would be associated with peoples who were still suffering the effects of diseases which were steadily decreasing their numbers. Support for the introduction of European diseases before the colonial period in the early seventeenth century is provided by Frederick F. Cartwright in *Disease and History* He acknowledges the possibility that the Norse settlements were responsible for spreading diseases which "may have entirely altered the history of North America."

If, in fact, new diseases were introduced into Native American communities by the Norsemen, the oral traditions of the Anishnabeg would be validated, and the historical coincidence of Viking

settlements and the migrations of native peoples would be resolved. The notion that the movement of the Anishnabeg into the Great Lakes region was linked to a search for new hunting territories seems to have little credibility in comparison. One has only to examine the historically abundant natural resources, both animal and plant, of the northeastern seaboard to realize that some event must have occurred to trigger the Anishnabeg migration. Most likely, that event was contact with unknown European diseases that would again kill millions of Native Americans beginning in the early 1600s.

Clans and Kinship

The migration of the Anishnabeg into the Great Lakes region was accomplished over many years. Like the lands they left behind, the Anishnabeg's new territory was rich in plants and game. The freshwater lakes contained numerous fish, and undoubtedly the Anishnabeg were familiar with techniques that would efficiently harvest these food resources. By 1500, the Anishnabeg were firmly settled in their new homes primarily in the upper peninsula of Michigan and the northern reaches of the lower peninsula. There were also Anishnabeg settlements to the north of Lake Superior.

The Anishnabeg lived in villages that were composed of family groups and extended kin. The notion of kin (relations) in Anishnabeg society was based on the existence of clans. Clans were the "super-families" of the Anishnabeg and were named after animals. Tradition recounts that the clans were formed long ago when six beings came out of the "Great Salt Sea" and entered the homes of the Anishnabeg. These visitors came in the guise of human beings and talked with the assembled peoples of the villages. One of the visitors from the sea did not want to look upon the Anishnabeg, and when this unknown being finally decided to gaze on the people, instant death resulted for the unfortunate recipient of the stare. The other five visitors demanded that the sixth member return to the great sea. Once this was done, the talks between the mysterious visitors and the Anishnabeg continued. From this meeting the five original clans of the Anishnabeg were formed.

These clans were the great fish clan, loon clan, marten clan, crane clan, and bear clan. These animals served as figureheads for the five great families of the Anishnabeg. Personal identity was traced to one of these five clans, and all members of the same clan were related and obligated to serve or assist other family members. Subsequent clan divisions of the Anishnabeg still trace their ancestry back to one of the five original clans. In all, there have been over twenty different clans identified, but these are only subdivisions of the original five clans.

It was the clan system, along with spiritual beliefs, that imposed order in Anishnabeg society. Membership in a specific clan was inherited from a child's father. If a man was a member of the crane clan, all his children would be members of that clan. All members of the same clan, regardless of whether they were "blood" relatives or not, were perceived as brothers and sisters. No two clan members of the opposite sex could ever marry. This would violate Anishnabeg laws prohibiting incest, so marriages were always arranged with other clan members. It is important to examine the impact and benefit of marriages between clans.

Villages in the past were made up of people with different clan affiliations. This was the outcome of marriages outside of their own clan. In almost every village that existed in the historical past, a member of a particular clan was able to find a relative: a brother or sister of the same clan. This extended kinship system, as it is commonly referred to, provided an atmosphere of security and well-being, since no matter where the Anishnabeg went, they had relatives who were obligated to provide assistance because of common identity (clan membership).

This perpetual system of acceptance by clan members was coupled with the Anishnabeg value of giving or sharing. The idea of simple giving is called reciprocity: the reciprocal sharing or giving of gifts. The sharing of personal wealth, rather than the hoarding of goods, was a practical and generous facet of Anishnabeg society. In the context of a hunting, gathering, and agricultural society, it made a great deal of sense to insure the welfare of all people rather than the well-being of a few. If a hunter was fortunate enough to kill three deer, it made good sense to share this bounty with other clan members and those in the village who were in need or who had been less fortunate in the hunt.

The rationale for this behavior is found in the spiritual beliefs of the Anishnabeg. Human life was perceived as being frail. Because of this frailty, misfortune could befall any member of a village. There were times when a person would have good luck, and times when things would not go nearly as well. Recognizing the fluctuations of human experience, it was much smarter to insure a continual redistribution of goods by giving to others, rather than risk the perils of privation.

The giving of gifts among the Anishnabeg was not a manipulative system as giving sometimes is today. Contemporarily, some people give gifts

because they want a specific article in exchange for their gift. The idea of giving a person a piece of jewelry in order to get a new red sweater in return would be an example of manipulative giving. The Anishnabeg never gave goods in this way; rather they fulfilled a sense of personal obligation to their fellow villagers and clan members, knowing full well that in their time of need, these same people would assist them.

Since marriages were between clans, a husband and wife were members of different super-families. This had the effect of providing a more complex network of kinship ties and lessened the chances of the couple not having enough relatives to help them if the need arose. A marriage between members of differing clans represented a marriage between two of the five possible clan identities. In almost any village, two out of every five (40 percent) of the occupants could be presumed to be related to a newly married couple. There is little doubt that this provided a buffer between the frailty of human existence and the survival of the Anishnabeg.

The notion of giving was dictated by spiritual perceptions and cemented Anishnabeg society together. The Anishnabeg were a fervently religious people, and spiritual perceptions shaped and controlled all aspects of Ojibway life. The Anishnabeg believed that everything they experienced or interacted with was a part of the Creation. Everything, whether it be a plant, animal, object, or mystery, had a spiritual essence. Over the years, many people have stated that the Anishnabeg believed in many different "gods." This is commonly called pantheism. But, in effect, the Anishnabeg simply believed that all things were a part of the Creation, and that in being so, they, like people, had a relationship with the Creator. This perception of universal relatedness tied the Anishnabeg to their environment and accordingly directed their actions.

The Relatedness of All Things

The way in which the Anishnabeg understood their relationship to the Creation was unique and promoted what we would today call conservation or environmentalism. The sun, as a part of the Creation, was viewed as a father to the people. The earth, called Aki (that which is sacred) by the Anishnabeg, was the mother of the people and all other life forms. It was the constant interaction between the sun and the earth that provided for the needs of the Anishnabeg. The rains that fell from the sky nourished and impregnated the earth mother. The warm rays of the sun insured the new growth of spring and the renewal of the Anishnabeg's life after winter. In reality, the interaction between the sun and earth was seen as a perpetual love affair between the masculine and feminine elements of the Creation. The Anishnabeg were the children of this cosmic union and were cared for by their generous mother.

The importance of this cyclic (seasonal) renewal was formalized in their adherence to the sacred circle. The Anishnabeg, like other native peoples, believed that the circle represented the relatedness of all things and symbolized the interaction of father and mother. Fathers and mothers provide for the needs of their children, and so it was with the Anishnabeg. Everything that was needed to insure a good life had been provided for in the Creation.

Along with this spiritual perception of the Creation was the obligation of the Anishnabeg to consider carefully what effects their actions would have on the earth. This careful consideration of behaviors dictated hunting practices, fishing activities, food gathering, and planting. It is important to remember that the Anishnabeg were experiential peoples who learned a great deal from personal interaction and experience. It is equally important to remember that Anishnabeg experiences were formalized (institutionalized) via religion. Every action in relation to the earth had spiritual connotations. For this reason, food gathering activities were taken very seriously, and the products of the Creation were viewed as gift rather than as commodities to which the Anishnabeg were entitled.

The Bounty of the Creation

The environment in which the Anishnabeg lived was abundant with game, fish, and plant resources. As a matter of fact, the Anishnabeg never perceived these other beings as "resources," as people do today. The word resource tends to undermine the very personal relationship among differing parts of the Creation, and the Anishnabeg were intimately tied to the earth. The areas that were occupied by the Anishnabeg contained large populations of moose, elk, woodland caribou, whitetail deer, bear, beaver, muskrat, mink, marten, squir-

Each winter, Ojibway families left their fall fishing grounds and traveled in small family groups to inland hunting camps. (Drawing by Robert Bushewicz)

rels, fox, wolves, rabbits, partridge, turkeys, ducks, geese, and other mammals.

The fresh waters of inland stre and lakes around the Great Lakes contained sizeable populations of lake trout, brook trout, sturgeon, whitefish, herring, suckers, pike, walleye, catfish, bass, perch, and assorted species of "panfish." The agricultural crops that were planted in family gardens usually consisted of corn, sunflowers, tobacco, squash, beans, pumpkins, and potatoes. In addition to the plants that were cultivated, the Anishnabeg utilized numerous naturally occurring plants, among them wild rice, blackberries, acorns, strawberries, blueberries, wild onions, maple sap for syrup and sugar, and various fruits. This is only a partial list of the diverse foodstuffs that were available to the Anishnabeg. It can be readily discerned that a large supply of nutritious foods insured good health to the Anishnabeg.

The hunting and fishing activities, as well as the planting practices, of the Anishnabeg were controlled by spiritual perceptions. Deer and moose were not simply seen as "wildlife," but rather as living beings with a spirit and purpose. Preparation to hunt or fish was always accompanied by ritualized offerings, fasting, and prayer. The intent of these activities was to seek assistance in procuring animals and fish, and of course, this had to be done in a manner that was not offensive to the spirits of animals. These ritualized behaviors served as a "time out" phenomenon much like a "time out" break in the classroom where a specif topic or behavior is discussed. By taking the time to stop and reflect on their actions, the Anishnabeg insured the proper utilization of animals, and the impact of hunting or fishing was considered on the well-being of a particular species. This insured the continued relatedness of all things.

The spiritual perception of animals also provided the setting for Anishnabeg conservation. The idea of conservation, whereby natural resources are intelligently utilized to promote the future well-being of animals or plants, is a new concept to non-native peoples. Popular conservation was not practiced by non-Indian peoples on the North American continent until the latter part of the nineteenth century. In contrast, the Anishnabeg and other native peoples had internalized conservation practices which were dictated by their view of animals and plants having a spirit. The Anishnabeg regarded the killing of animals and the harvesting of plants as very serious business. The Anishnabeg fully realized that taking life from the Creation was a form of tampering with the sacred circle — the relatedness of all things. For this reason, animal and plant populations were continually assessed,

In the spring, Ojibway families made their way to maple groves, where they gathered sap and boiled it to make sugar and candy for their own use and to sell for needed cash. (Drawing by Robert Bushewicz)

and Anishnabeg actions were directed at insuring the continued existence and proliferation of these beings.

Since the relationship to plants and animals was controlled by the spiritual beliefs of the Anishnabeg, it was a highly formalized part of Anishnabeg life. As a matter of fact, the Anishnabeg perception of illness was in many instances tied to the treatment and respect for other beings in the Creation. People became sick because they failed to use the spiritual code of conduct in relation to hunting animals or gathering plants. Of course, there were other beliefs regarding the onset of illness, but most sickness was attributed to doing something wrong that was in conflict with the spiritual direction of the Creation.

After the necessary offerings and prayers had been performed, the Anishnabeg efficiently hunted game, secured fish, gathered naturally occurring foods, and harvested garden produce. The primary tools of the hunt were the bow and arrow, the snare, and various other forms of traps. The Anishnabeg were tremendously adept at killing game with minimal effort. The snare, before the introduction of wire from trade with Europeans, was made of sinew or nettle-stalk fiber and was used primarily to capture deer and rabbits. A snare is a very efficient hunting technique because it works all the time whether a hunter is present or not. A snare set on a rabbit run or a deer trail will be there day in and day out until it catches something.

The Anishnabeg hunter set numerous snares for deer; the task of snaring rabbits was usually done by the women and children of the village. The snare usually held or strangled the deer or rabbit, since these animals have a habit, like most animals, of fighting against something that is holding them. The snare becomes tighter and tighter around their necks until they collapse from exhaustion, strangle themselves, or simply quit fighting the snare and lie down. The snares were checked frequently by Anishnabeg hunters, and the game taken from the traps was transported back to the village for butchering. The use of snares allowed the Anishnabeg hunter to be in many places at one time, since numerous deer trails could be "watched" by the snare.

Snares, which only had to be periodically checked, also allowed the Anishnabeg hunter time to hunt and trap other animals. Moose and elk were too large to be taken efficiently in snares, so these animals were hunted with bow and arrow. Deer were also frequently hunted with the bow, especially when they were extremely numerous. Birch bark torches were also used to hunt deer from canoes. The deer could usually be located along rivers after dark, and the torch had the ef-

fect of holding the animal's attention so that a close-range shot with the bow was afforded. The Anishnabeg usually hunted moose from birch bark canoes, since moose spend a great deal of time in or near the water eating aquatic plants and the browse that grows in low moist areas. Black bears were either hunted or trapped by very large deadfalls made of heavy logs and rocks that would fall on the bear as it tried to take the bait from the trap. The logs used in this type of trap were extremely heavy and required more than one person to set in place.

Deer, moose, and elk were often lured to their death by calls. The call of a fawn was reproduced by Anishnabeg hunters, and this caused both does and bucks to respond. The elk and moose both make many vocalizations during the "rut" (the breeding season), and these calls were mimicked by the Anishnabeg hunter to attract them into bow range. Deer, moose, elk, and the woodland caribou were the primary meat sources for the Anishnabeg family, and these animals were historically abundant in the lands occupied by Anishnabeg. The moose and woodland caribou were more numerous in the northern reaches of the territory, while the southern reaches had a higher concentration of deer and elk. The black bear populated both northern and southern areas and served as a secondary meat source.

The Anishnabeg trapped beaver, or dug them out of their lodges in the winter. The beaver was usually trapped by the deadfall method, similar to the way that bears were trapped, although the trap was much smaller. The beaver provided food for Anishnabeg families as well as luxurious robes that kept the people warm even in the coldest of weather. Other water mammals also provided food and furs for Anishnabeg families. Muskrat, mink, and otter could be trapped in nets while they swam in rivers and lakes, but they, too, were trapped by the deadfall method. Historically, even wolves and foxes were trapped, not only for their pelts, but as a food source. All mammals were considered food and were utilized to some extent.

The Anishnabeg relied on the high numbers of fish that existed in the northern Great Lakes area for a great deal of their protein. The consumption of fish equalled, if not exceeded, the amount of meat that was eaten by a family or village. Anishnabeg fishing techniques, like their hunting practices, were extremely efficient and provided large numbers of fish with little effort being expended. The methods for catching fish included netting, spearing, hook and line, and the construction of a weir.

Nets were frequently constructed of nettle stalk fiber or basswood twine and were used as seines or as gillnets. The seines were either hand held or pulled by a boat. When moved through the water, the seine entrapped large numbers of different-sized fish. When the seine was pulled toward shore, many fish grounded themselves in the shallows, where they became easy prey for children or family groups with spears. The gillnet, on the other hand, had a much larger mesh size and was usually set in one place in a lake or river. The gillnet could also be fished under the ice in the winter. The net had to be anchored securely, and large fish would swim into the net and become caught by their gill covers. The fish so caught could not swim and pass water through their gills, and they quickly suffocated since they could not extract the needed oxygen from the water.

These two netting techniques provided an ample supply of fish to families or villages. Yet some of the larger species of fish, like the sturgeon and the lake trout, could destroy a net in very short order. Sturgeon commonly reach six feet in length and weigh well over one hundred pounds, and large sturgeon are over eight feet long and weigh three hundred pounds. Lake trout were commonly caught that weighed fifty pounds. Sturgeon and lake trout were most frequently caught on hook and line or speared. One of the most common spearing techniques was to use a torch at night. The fish were attracted to the light and easily speared at close range. Fish were also speared under the ice in winter. For this activity bait-fish decoys were carved and used to attract the larger predator fish like the lake trout and the northern pike.

Of all the fishing techniques that were used by the Anishnabeg, none was quite as efficient as a weir. Built of logs, saplings, and lengths of cord, a weir is an enclosure which prevents fish from swimming upstream and funnels them into a very narrow opening. Usually, a walkway was constructed on the top of the weir, and there the fisherman perched with nets and spears to harvest the fish that could only pass upstream via the weir's small opening. The construction of a weir was a cooperative venture, and the returns produced by this fish trap more than offset the required time and labor involved in its construction.

Migrating waterfowl provided another source of food for the Anishnabeg. Ducks and geese were seasonally abundant in the Great Lakes, traveling along what are now known as the Mississippi and Atlantic flyways. These birds were commonly hunted, and decoys were used to attract them. Along with the use of decoys, the Anishnabeg perfected the calls of the waterfowl and this enabled the hunters to shoot at close range. Although

today it is considered sporting to shoot at these birds on the wing, the Anishnabeg much preferred to shoot them on the ground or in the water. This lessened the chance of losing arrows and also increased the number of birds killed. Hunting for subsistence and livelihood was very different from hunting for "sport."

Other birds also provided table fare for the Anishnabeg. Turkeys, partridge, ruffed grouse, and passenger pigeons added a tasty flavor to stews and soups. The Anishnabeg hunted and trapped turkeys and netted passenger pigeons as they migrated north in the spring. The partridge in historic times was reported to be so tame that it could be easily snared by children using a stick and sinew or twine. All of these birds could also be captured in traps which were fashioned by making boxes out of small twigs and branches. Mast crops, such as acorns, were used to attract turkeys, while poplar buds and berries were used to bait the trap for partridge.

The impact on these animal populations by Anishnabeg hunters was minimal, and again this was dictated by Anishnabeg spiritual perceptions of animals. At first contact between the French and the Anishnabeg, all of these species were present on the land and flourishing. Since that time, the passenger pigeon has become extinct, there are few sturgeon remaining in the Great Lakes, the woodland caribou has been forced to retreat to Canada, and the elk herd in Michigan has had to be reestablished after these animals had been exterminated in the territory. The turkey also had to be reintroduced, and for years, a whitetail deer wasn't seen in portions of the state. It should be clearly stated that the Anishnabeg peoples had little to do with the historic overutilization of these species, most of which have disappeared or gone into remission due to the market-hunting activities of later immigrants to the region.

The produce that was obtained from Anishnabeg gardens and those wild foods that were gathered at various times of the year provided the remaining portion of Anishnabeg subsistence. The Anishnabeg were not a highly organized agricultural people; rather they gardened to supplement their food needs. There is some evidence to indicate that Anishnabeg gardeners used raised-bed techniques. In this type of garden, the planting beds were usually raised to a higher elevation than the pathways through the garden. The beds may have been raised twelve to fourteen inches higher than the walkways in the garden. The primary advantage of this type of garden is that crops can be planted earlier in the year, since the raised beds warm up more quickly and are separated from the slowly thawing ground. Early planting, especially crops that are not damaged by late frosts, can extend the growing season by as much as two weeks. Of course, this was important to Anishnabeg living in the northern reaches of Michigan. The raised beds in the garden were extremely productive, since the use of walkways compacted the soil under paths, but not under the areas where root growth would be limited by highly compressed soil. This created a very favorable environment for plant growth.

Besides growing garden produce, the Anishnabeg, in the early fall, harvested the wild rice that grew along stream banks and in lakes. Wild rice is not a true rice, but rather a grain which is very nutritious and can be stored for almost indefinite periods of time. The rice was gathered from birch bark canoes by poling the vessel through the shallow beds of rice and bending the rice over the canoe with a stick. The plant stalks would then be struck with another stick, and the rice would fall to the bottom of the canoe. After the rice was husked and winnowed, it was ready for storage and later preparation.

The seasonal activities of the Anishnabeg were directed toward the harvesting of animals and plants. Like their perception of the Creation, the Anishnabeg year was cyclic. In the spring, the Anishnabeg located their villages near river systems where large runs of spawning fish would occur. Usually located nearby was a good sugar bush (sugar maples) to make syrup and sugar from the sap. The sap begins to run when the daytime temperatures soar above freezing while the nights remain cold and frigid. After the sap was collected, it was boiled down to a thick syrup which resembles sticky brown sugar. The syrup and sugar were stored in birch bark containers or pottery and were used to flavor meals and sweeten drinks. Usually, the spawning runs of fish occurred shortly after sap-gathering time, and the Anishnabeg directed their energies to harvesting large numbers of fish for their own use and for trade with neighboring groups. At the conclusion of the fish runs, the Anishnabeg moved short distances to summer encampments.

These residences were initially occupied in late spring, in time to plant the family gardens. Hunting and gathering activities occurred all summer long, and fishing was also an important activity. With the approach of fall, families again moved short distances to the rice beds to which they had a claim. These same territories were also good areas to hunt migrating waterfowl. The Anishnabeg family or family groups prepared for the onset of the colder months by storing large quantities of food that would enable them to weather the hardships of winter. They entered the winter season with a store of wild rice, dried berries and fruits, dried meat and fish, a supply of maple sugar and syrup, and vegetable produce from their gardens. This insured their well-being in winter, which was a time of hunting and trapping as well as fishing under the ice. The coming of spring signaled their return to the rivers, the reestablishment of larger villages, and the renewal of life.

A Life of Tranquility

It is important to understand that subsistence for the Anishnabeg was not a hit-or-miss proposition. The tremendous diversity and large quantities of animal life and plant life insured a high quality of life. The availability of food also allowed the Anishnabeg time to participate in festivals, ceremonies, and rituals which celebrated all life and the Creation. There was also time for dancing, singing, games, family activities, and the construction of tools that were needed. Anishnabeg life was very optimistic and future oriented. In every season or facet of life there was purpose and reward for existence.

This is not to say that there wasn't a great deal of work involved with subsistence activities, because there was. It is hard work to trap, hunt, fish, and garden extensively. It is time consuming to dry food and store it for the upcoming months. Yet the rewards of these activities greatly outweighed the consequences of not being prepared for the future. When subsistence activities were cooperatively undertaken, as they frequently were, the responsibility and work were spread out in an equal fashion. All members contributed to the well-being of the family, and survival was insured.

It is also interesting to note that studies of "tribal" peoples such as the Anishnabeg conclude that these cultures enjoy a great deal more leisure time than do people in modern society. In other words, even though the Anishnabeg worked hard, they still had more time than we do today to enjoy each other and community recreational activities.

There is ample evidence to support the notion that there was very little interpersonal conflict among the Anishnabeg, and serious crimes were almost unheard of. Village life was usually tranquil, and if factionalism developed between families or rivals, the situation could be easily remedied by one family moving to a distant location or moving into a new village setting. This ability to escape interpersonal conflict was also aided by the fact that open quarreling and bickering among the Anishnabeg were regarded as socially unacceptable behaviors. Children were trained from their earliest years to avoid open conflict and criticism of others. This, of course, required a great deal of discipline and control, which were highly valued personal characteristics in Anishnabeg society. Conflict and village hostilities were seen as detracting from the well being of the group, and these activities were always avoided when possible.

Historic leadership among the Anishnabeg was provided by elders, usually men, who had demonstrated to their village members that they looked out for the best interests of the people. These *ogima* (leaders) were generous, and people followed them because they respected their judgment in civil and political matters. The ogima of the Anishnabeg were also articulate speakers who could motivate the people to action or issue impassioned pleas on behalf of a fellow villager if necessary. They led by influence and example rather than by controlling wealth and political machines.

Since Anishnabeg society was an oral culture, using the spoken word rather than writing as a vehicle for communication, the art of public speaking was practiced and perfected. It seems logical that peoples who use the spoken word for all communiques, other than very simple communications, would utilize language to accurately describe the range of human emotions and actions. The Anishnabeg language is extremely descriptive, and this enabled speakers to vividly recall events and create strong images with words. Of course, all Anishnabeg were good listeners. In the context of an oral culture, listeners got few second chances if they didn't hear what was being said. It was impolite not to listen, and children were constantly reminded to sit and listen to speakers. Parents encouraged their children to listen because they knew that at some time in the future their children were going to be responsible for the welfare of the people. The speeches given by Anishnabeg spokesmen were eloquent and persuasive. The ability to speak well and convey exact meaning was taught to children to prepare them for the challenges of the future.

A Gift to All

Children and their upbringing were important elements of Anishnabeg society. Children were perceived as a gift to all people rather than the property of their parents. For this reason, they were cared for and disciplined, if necessary, by all members of the village. The chore of child rearing was shared by the extended family, and everyone was responsible for the security and protection of the young child.

Childbirth was not the agonizing experience that it is contemporarily made out to be for the historic Anishnabeg. Childbirth was viewed as a natural process, and women worked hard to keep their bodies in good physical condition to facilitate an easy delivery. When birth was imminent, women retreated to a specially prepared *wigwam* (lodge). If time or circumstances didn't allow, the birth could occur in the regular house, or in the bush if necessary. Women who worked as midwives in Anishnabeg society assisted in the delivery, but in reality it wasn't a delivery, it was supervised assistance.

The birth of Anishnabeg children was a festive occasion and was celebrated by everyone. Feasting and laughter, as well as good-natured rivalry, usually took place shortly after the birth. The child remained unnamed, though, until a later date. The newborn child was fed and nurtured by his/her mother, and the relationship between the newborn and mother was perceived as being identical to the relationship of the Anishnabeg to their mother, Aki (the earth). The child and mother were inseparable for the first year of life because the child was being breastfed. The mother carried the child in a cradleboard strapped to her back, an arrangement which afforded the infant protection and comfort, while allowing the mother freedom to use her hands and to perform her work. The child was bound tightly before being placed in the cradleboard, and this was thought to promote good posture and well-formed limbs. The cradleboard was frequently hung up or leaned against something solid so that the developing child could savor the sights and sounds of village or wigwam life.

The cradleboard was usually packed with clean moss, or cattail down, which served as diapers. These natural "Pampers®" were frequently changed, and the baby was often washed. Personal hygiene was important to the Anishnabeg, and these habits carried over into child care. As the child grew and matured, periods of confinement in the cradleboard were alternated with freedom to explore. These extremes of movement were believed to teach the young child discipline, for in life nothing is all one way. No culture is all play, and no culture is total confinement and discipline.

The Anishnabeg child was never spanked or corporally punished. Desired behaviors were selectively rewarded and reinforced, which caused them to occur more frequently. Unwanted behaviors were usually ignored until the child was old enough to understand the people's language. The Anishnabeg believed childhood was a time for play and exploration, not a time for regimentation and forced compliance. They fully realized that young children would grow up and work for the rest of their lives, so childhood should be carefree

Michigan Ojibway villages. *The shaded area indicates the range of Ojibway villages until the 1820s, and cross-hatching shows lands shared with the Ottawa. As they followed the subsistence cycle, the Ojibway moved their village locations more often than did the Ottawa and the Potawatomi; the villages on this map indicate the general location of places of long-term occupation between 1800 and 1830. a. Portage Lake Village; b. L'Ance/Baraga; c. Carp River Village (north); d. Bay de Noc (Little); e. Tahquamenon; f. Sault Ste. Marie; g. Sugar Island; h. Drummond Island; i. Beaver Island; j. Bois Blanc (also includes villages at Mackinac, St. Ignace and Round Island); k. and l. villages on the Cheboygan River; m. Thunder Bay; n. Platt River Village, o. Carp River Village (south); p. Agosa's Village; q. Eshagonaby's Village; r. Augris River Village; s. Pine River Village; t. Black Bird's Reservation, u. Kakawlin Village; v. Nabobash Reservation; w. Saginaw Village, x. Ottuson Reservation; y. Big Rock Reservation; z. Reaum's Reserve; aa. Black River and Swan Creek Reservation. (Sources: Trygg, 1964: maps 5, 12, 13, 14; Farmer, 1831; Kappler, 1971: 155-56, 482, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft Papers, R. 66:41828)*


Lake Superior
Escanaba R.
Sault St. Marie
St. Ignace
Lake Huron
Manistee R.
Muskegon R.
Lake Michigan
Au Gres R.
Kawkawlin R.
Tittabawassee R.
Cass R.
Flint R.
Grand R.
Detroit
Lake Erie
0 50 miles
0 50 kilometers

and joyful. But as soon as the young child had a good grasp of language, unwanted behaviors began to be systematically eliminated. Children were punished by being ridiculed for bad behaviors. If a child consistently failed to listen to a speaker after being reminded to do so, an adult member of the family or village may have compared the young child's chatter to that of a noisy goose.

Of course, no one likes to be singled out and verbally picked on, so the behavior would be eliminated by the child. Children would stop doing things that resulted in verbal abuse and would do things that brought praise and rewards. Accepted behaviors for the Anishnabeg were constantly modeled by adults, and these were imitated by the young children. Historic Anishnabeg society was truly one of "do as I do." Interestingly enough, these same child-rearing ideas are now called positive and negative reinforcement and were popularized by the noted psychologist B.F. Skinner in the twentieth century. The Anishnabeg knew and used these strategies centuries before modern psychology developed.

Anishnabeg children were usually named during their first year of life by an elder of the village or by a respected acquaintance of the family. It was a tremendous honor to be asked to name a couple's child. It was an obligation that carried with it a tie to the family and, particularly, to the child. A feast was usually held for the occasion, and during the evening, the name would be bestowed on the young child. The names were extremely personal and could be the result of dreams, or they could be names of deceased clan members. Names could also be chosen and given which would provide identity or future direction for the young child. In all cases, though, Anishnabeg children had nicknames as well as formal given names. They were known and referred to by both names, but the use of the nickname was very personal and affectionate. The Anishnabeg did not use a system of family names or first names and last names. There was no need for this practice since clan identity served this function.

Anishnabeg children grew and matured rapidly. Since the Anishnabeg had access to so many diverse and nutritious foods, the children were solid and well formed. Good diet also had the effect of warding off illness.

As they grew, Anishnabeg children learned the history of their people through stories which were frequently told by family members and elders. The sacred stories of the Creation and the first people were told only in winter, while stories that taught and reinforced personal behavior and knowledge of the environment were told all year long. Story telling, like public speaking, was an art form among the Anishnabeg and was accompanied by acting and theatrics. The stories entertained the children and, at the same time, taught them the basis of Anishnabeg life and belief.

The most popular stories during the winter months focused on Manaboozhoo (Nanabush), a mythical hero who was a teacher to the Anishnabeg. He taught the Anishnabeg purpose and utility in their lives, and taught all elements of the Creation and the ways in which to prolong or continue life. It was Manaboozhoo who taught the Anishnabeg the medicines that would aid the sick and infirm. He was the source of knowledge that allowed the Anishnabeg to fulfill their role in the Creation. Manaboozhoo has been referred to as a "culture hero" among the Anishnabeg, but rather he was a teacher who was greatly revered and respected. Interestingly, Manaboozhoo taught the range of human behavior to the Anishnabeg. He illustrated good or positive behaviors as well as bad or harmful behaviors, and he was often the butt of retribution when his "bad" actions produced a backlash. In stories, the consequences of these negative actions served as constant reminders to young children to avoid the pitfalls caused by engaging in unacceptable behaviors.

Anishnabeg children accepted a great deal of responsibility at an early age. Young women learned their tasks in life from their mothers and grandmothers, and these actions were practiced in games and activities. Girls built small-scale wigwams of bulrushes and birch bark. They sewed clothing for their dolls. They cultivated small gardens alongside the family plot, and they helped their mothers with the butchering, skinning, and tanning of animals. They learned to identify edible and medicinal plants by accompanying their mothers and grandmothers on gathering forays, and they learned how to dry meat, fish, berries, and fruit. They learned to make birch bark storage containers and pottery, and their mothers and grandmothers rewarded them with praise for doing good work.

Men's and women's roles in Anishnabeg society did not change significantly over time. Children

grew up to be like their parents, and they did not have a large number of "career" options to choose from. They were educated and prepared to be Anishnabeg, the original people, and to do the things that had always been done. The Creation and Anishnabeg participation in it were seen as being absolutes of human experiences. These absolutes could not be improved upon, so there was very little change from generation to generation until contact with Europeans occurred.

Undoubtedly, the quality of life for the Anishnabeg was very good. They had more than enough food, they had extensive access to land, and they had a spiritual (religious) direction in their lives. Their articulate leaders stressed the equitable redistribution of goods, and their forms of social organization afforded them the leisure time to explore other creative activities. They successfully avoided internal conflicts which would have destroyed the unity and cohesiveness of villages, and they worked cooperatively to insure their survival.

The Art of Healing

The Anishnabeg were also skilled at treating illnesses. Most Anishnabeg had a solid grasp of the medicinal plants that grew within their territory and were quite familiar with their uses. Many of these uses were tied to good nutrition which will effectively ward off some illnesses. For example, the rose hip, or seed pod, of the wild rose is extremely rich in vitamin C, a substance crucial to a well-balanced diet. The Anishnabeg frequently brewed teas with the seed pods and obtained a rich source of the vitamin. This prevented the Anishnabeg from contracting scurvy, which is caused by lack of vitamin C. Scurvy plagued European seamen well into the nineteenth century, and the ability of the Anishnabeg to effectively treat this malady before Europeans did is a positive note on the sophistication of Anishnabeg medicinal practices.

Even though most Anishnabeg were familiar with medicinal plants and common herbs, there was a society among the Anishnabeg that was dedicated to assisting life for the people. This society was the *Midewiwin* (mystic doings), sometimes called the "Grand Medicine Society" of the Anishnabeg. The practitioners of this society were highly trained in the use of medicinal herbs and plants, and they also acted as psychologists to treat psychosomatic illness. Their understanding of medicinal plants went beyond what most Anishnabeg commonly knew, and they were the medical specialists in villages.

The Anishnabeg believed that some illnesses resulted from improper personal conduct. If a person was doing things that were socially unacceptable to family or clan relatives, or breaking individual rules of behavior, that person's behavior could cause a self-induced sickness. Life could be prolonged by "clean living" and the appropriate use of medicinal herbs. In cases of unexplained or prolonged illness, the *Mide* society members were asked for assistance to cure a patient. The Mide were very interested in the activities of the sick individual, often trying to establish the cause of the illness that was related to behavior. After lengthy discussion and interviews, a ceremony could be held to assist recovery. This cure was often the result of herbal treatment and spiritual intervention. The reestablishment of a personal harmony with the Creation and a reaffirmation of belief in the powers of worldly spirits assisted patient recovery. The Midewiwin society stressed living by spiritual principles, and this promoted good health.

Some historians contend that the Midewiwin is a recent introduction to Anishnabeg society. This contention is half-heartedly supported by the fact that some of the earliest records describing French contact with the Anishnabeg do not mention the society. Yet Anishnabeg elders have stated that the Midewiwin has always been a part of the people's life. It seems logical that the presence of a "secret" society of healers in Anishnabeg villages would not be a frequent subject of discussion with occasional travelers who were strangers to the Anishnabeg.

The absence of early French comments on the Midewiwin does not disprove the fact that the society was functioning before contact with the French. Moreover, the Midewiwin was a specialized society in the context of an oral culture. To gain insights into the Midewiwin, a foreign traveler would have needed an intimate grasp of the language and would have had to be taken into strict confidence by a member of Anishnabeg society. Of course, this would all have to occur at a time when preparation was being undertaken so that a Mide curing rite could be performed. So although its existence went unreported by the French, there seems to be little doubt that the Midewiwin was a historic facet of Anishnabeg life before Europeans arrived.

Contact With the French

It was during the early 1600s that French explorers and missionaries first came into contact with the Anishnabeg. Etienne Brule was probably the first non-Indian to visit the Anishnabeg at Bowating (cascades or rapids), which is the present site of Sault Ste. Marie, in 1622. Brule was in the employ of Samuel de Champlain, the founder of Quebec and governor of New France. Champlain

These three Ojibway leaders, No-Tin (right), Pee-Che-Kir (center), and On-Ge-Wae (far right), dressed in traditional garb when their portraits were done in the 1830s. (McKenney)

sent Brule as a hostage to the Huron in exchange for the son of a prominent Huron leader. The two young men were to learn each other's language, and the hostage agreement insured their safe conduct. Brule eventually became a translator for Champlain and traveled extensively throughout the Great Lakes. He was not a man of letters and consequently recorded none of his perceptions of the Anishnabeg. This was a task that would be undertaken by the Jesuits and other Frenchmen who later came into contact with the Anishnabeg.

After the French first met the Anishnabeg at Sault Ste. Marie, they began to refer to them as *Saulteurs*, "people of the rapids." This name was imposed on the Anishnabeg and referred to their place of occupancy. Neighboring Indian nations called them Ojibway, which has been translated in a variety of ways. The most common translation of Ojibway is "pucker up" and refers to the distinct type of moccasins that the Anishnabeg wore, which had a top seam that, when sewn tightly together, caused the top of the shoe to pucker up. Thus, the Anishnabeg were recognized by their peculiar footwear, and the word Ojibway was commonly used to refer to them. The word Ojibway would later be corrupted by the English to Chippewa.

When the French initially came into contact with them, the Anishnabeg were residing in the upper Great Lakes region, primarily in the upper peninsula of Michigan and the northern reaches of the lower peninsula. There were also Anishnabeg settlements to the north of Lake Superior. The Bowating settlement at Sault Ste. Marie and the villages at St. Ignace and Mackinac were prominent sites that were occupied by numerous Anishnabeg families. The lower peninsula also included villages at the present site of Cheboygan, Alpena, Oscoda, and numerous village sites along the shores of Saginaw Bay.

The majority of the large spring and summer villages were located along the shoreline and in areas where major rivers emptied into Lake Huron. These locations provided access to the spawning runs of fish and to animal populations that insured group survival. Historically, much of the northern portion of the lower peninsula above a line from Muskegon to Tawas City was covered by large coniferous forests that were made up primarily of white pines. These trees were exceptionally large, and the mature forests did not attract numerous animal populations as the "edge" or transitional portion of the forest did.

The edge of a mature or climax forest goes

through a transition from tall trees to brush and grasses where differing forms of plant life grow. Environmental conditions dictated the location of Anishnabeg settlements because very few animals reside in the mature forest. The reason for this is that mature forests do not have enough undergrowth to support the large populations of browsers such as deer, elk, and moose. Since the Anishnabeg relied on these game animals, along with fishing, for subsistence, they chose to locate their villages where the highest density of animals would be found. These same locations provided access to quality freshwater fisheries, garden plots, and rice beds. Villages located near rivers also allowed the added use of canoes to transport supplies. This was much easier than transporting goods over long distances by land, since the only beast of burden that the Anishnabeg used at this time was the dog.

Anishnabeg settlements on the east coast of lower Michigan extended southward from the thumb region down to the present site of Detroit, and westward from the shores of Lake St. Clair. The high density of Anishnabeg villages in southeastern Michigan has led some scholars to suppose that the migration of the Anishnabeg may not have led them to Sault Ste. Marie, but rather saw them settle southern Michigan first and then proceed north along the western shores of Lake Huron until they reached the Straits of Mackinac.

Whether the Anishnabeg settled first in the southern areas of Michigan or the northern reaches of the state is not particularly important when we trace the course of events that impacted Anishnabeg society after initial contact with Europeans. When the French first came into contact with the Anishnabeg they were seeking a water passage to China and the Orient, and they had little information regarding the shape and extent of the North American continent. What they did learn, they acquired from the Anishnabeg and other native peoples. The French continued to seek the longed-for water passage until the end of the seventeenth century, and during this time contact with the French and other European powers began to have noticeable effects on the Anishnabeg and other native peoples.

In 1634, Samuel de Champlain ordered Jean Nicolet to travel to Sault Ste. Marie to meet the representatives of the Anishnabeg and begin a trade of furs. Furs were highly fashionable in Europe at this time, and so were felt hats that were made

from beaver pelts. Champlain, who founded Quebec City in 1608, had been involved in the fur trade for many years. Shortly after he founded Quebec, he became involved in a struggle between the Mohawks of the Iroquois Confederacy and the Huron. He sided with the Huron in a battle against the Mohawks in 1609 and, in so doing, incurred the animosity of the Iroquois Confederacy toward the French. The Iroquois Confederacy was a large organization of five tribes: the Seneca, Onondaga Mohawks, Cayuga, and Oneida. These powerful tribes resisted French encroachment into the areas of present New York and the southern boundaries of the St. Lawrence River. This forced the French to look to the Great Lakes region for furs. Prevented from trading to the south, the French had to establish trade relations with the Anishnabeg, Ottawa, Winnebago, and other tribes of the Great Lakes because the growth of New France was tied to the fur trade.

The Fur Trade

The early French traders and settlers of North America have been portrayed as "friends" of Native Americans, who treated the Anishnabeg and their neighbors with respect and tolerance. This is really not the case, because a number of reasons dictated that the French get along with native peoples. In the first place, the number of French nationals who migrated to New France was very low. This necessitated that the French make friends, rather than enemies, of the native peoples they encountered in North America. Second, friendly relations with the Anishnabeg were motivated by economic considerations centering around the opportunity to profit through trade. The French made a great deal of money from the fur trade, and the raw furs for that trade were invariably provided by native trappers. It has been estimated that profits from the fur trade often reached 600 to 700 percent of the capital that was invested. This was a strong incentive for the French to participate in the trade.

In fact, the French paid far less for a beaver skin than the English traders of the northeast. In 1665, the French at Montreal traded eight pounds of powder for four beaver pelts, while the English at Albany traded eight pounds of powder for one beaver hide It can be clearly discerned that French motives in the trade were not tied to any positive image of the Anishnabeg, but rather to the chance of profiting from commerce with Native Americans.

The fur trade grew rapidly, and Anishnabeg participation in the trade steadily increased. By 1670, hundreds of canoe loads of furs were being shipped to Montreal and Quebec from Sault Ste. Marie and Mackinac. These two important fur trading posts were primarily controlled by the Anishnabeg, because they controlled the acquisition of furs that would be shipped through these posts. With the opening of the French post at Detroit in 1686, the Anishnabeg located off Michigan's lower peninsula, particularly those living near Saginaw Bay and to the south, were afforded an ideal location at which to trade their furs and those that they obtained from other Native Americans. One of the factors that interfered with Anishnabeg trade at Detroit was the presence of the Wyandot, formerly known as the Huron, who had been forced to remove from their home in Ontario. The Iroquois had waged a war of extermination against the Huron beginning in 1648. The war had spilled over into the upper Great Lakes, and many villages were forced to relocate further to the west. The Iroquois threat in the Great Lakes was finally halted in 1653 when a large group of Anishnabeg and Ottawa allies destroyed an Iroquois war party at the present site of Iroquois Point on Lake Superior. The Wyandot presence in Detroit was a source of competition for the Anishnabeg, but since the tribes had been on friendly terms for many years, the rivalry did not become an open conflict.

With the introduction of the fur trade into Anishnabeg territories came the inevitable trade dependency that tied Native American nations to European powers. Initially, trade with French representatives and the *coureurs de bois* (runners of the woods), who were free French traders and trappers, was of mutual benefit to both parties. The Anishnabeg obtained metal implements such as cooking pots, tools, guns, powder, woolen goods, and cloth. In exchange for these commodities, the French received prime furs that were shipped back to European markets.

The French soon learned that since the Anishnabeg were unaccustomed to functioning in a market economy, they had a great deal of difficulty in assigning worth to the goods they received in trade for their furs. The French manipulated the value of trade items according to what the Anishnabeg would pay. Of course, the Anishnabeg

soon perceived what was occurring and began to shop around for the best price for their furs. They ventured north to the Hudson Bay Company after it was established in 1670 to trade their furs, and for the most part, quickly learned to look out for their own best interests. Another item of the trade, however, proved the undoing of such efficient efforts. Alcohol was traded to the Anishnabeg, and the introduction of this "demon rum" tended to undermine the business sense of many Anishnabeg traders.

European alcohol was a new introduction to the North American continent. None of the northeastern woodland tribes were familiar with alcohol or the altered states of consciousness that it produced. Among the Anishnabeg, "visions" were produced by personal sacrifices such as fasting and isolation. With the introduction of alcohol, new experiences and irresponsible behaviors were introduced into Anishnabeg society. Like any new commodity that is introduced into a culture that is unfamiliar with it, alcohol was overused by the Anishnabeg. This, in combination with the fact that the Anishnabeg did not have time to develop societal behaviors or prohibitions regarding the use or regulation of alcohol consumption, created enormous problems for Anishnabeg families and villages.

Alcohol was often used to ply Anishnabeg traders before they began to negotiate the terms of exchange with French traders. They were frequently underpaid for their furs and this caused a great deal of animosity to develop over time. More harmful, though, was the fact that Anishnabeg hunters began to devote a disproportionate amount of their time to acquiring the furs, particularly beaver, that could be used as a medium of exchange with the French traders. This disrupted the cyclic year of the Anishnabeg, making them more dependent on European manufactured goods. They began almost exclusively to trap fur bearers and then trade the pelts for flour, coffee, tea, sugar, and other material goods. This situation was compounded by the fact that traders would often provide credit to Anishnabeg trappers, allowing them to take goods and then pay for them at a later date. Of course, this tied the Anishnabeg to the trade and the purchase of European goods.

Because the fur trade did not occur in a vacuum, its dynamics were very complex. Many other events were taking place at the same time. Anishnabeg villages were being decimated by disease, and Native Americans found themselves caught up in wars of European design and interest. The Anishnabeg were under a great deal of pressure to respond to these complexities and, at the same time, to retain their autonomous position

Tshusick, an Ojibway woman from Michigan, created something of a sensation when she arrived, unannounced, at the Washington, D.C., home of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the winter of 1826-27, professing a desire to be baptized. Impressed by her wit and charm and fluency in English and French, her newfound friends arranged for this portrait, for which she wore traditional moccasins and leggings complemented by the clothing, feathers, and beads the commissioner purchased for the occasion. (McKenney)

between foreign interests and other native nations. Native cultures were forced to adapt to new situations that had arisen on the North American continent. Unfortunately, these adaptations had serious consequences for the Anishnabeg.

They were forced to overtrap the beaver, and this signaled the negation of time-honored perceptions of the Creation and proper conduct. The furs were necessary for the trade so that technological products could be obtained that would insure personal and village safety. The balance of power in the New World had swung in favor of European nations who were armed with modern weapons. The Anishnabeg needed the same weapons to remain on equal footing with their French allies, as well as to protect themselves from the encroachments of the English and their Indian allies.

Anishnabeg society also came under enormous pressure to change its spiritual beliefs and to accept the newly introduced notion of Christianity. The French trading houses were usually closely tied to missions whose stated goal was the conversion of the Anishnabeg. It is imperative to remember that even though the French were trade partners to the Anishnabeg, they still did not consider the native view of the Creation or of "God" to be compatible with that of Catholicism. The Anishnabeg, like so many other native peoples, were assumed to be inferior peoples who needed the teachings of Christ to become truly civilized. This, of course, is a very erroneous assumption; nonetheless it was the thinking that ruled the day in seventeenth-century North America.

Anishnabeg society was undergoing rapid changes which had the effect of undermining traditionally and historically viable cultural behaviors and beliefs. This situation was also compounded by the fact that the number of foreign emigrants to North America was escalating at a rapid pace. By 1673, there were almost 7,000 French nationals in New France, and there were well in excess of 70,000 Englishmen living in colonies along the eastern seaboard. As immigration to the New World increased, the Anishnabeg, like other native peoples, realized the importance of these developments.

The French presence in New France continued to build until, by 1750, there were 76,000 French nationals on the North American continent. All during this time period, the Anishnabeg were strongly allied to the French and their trade houses. Heavy reliance on acquiring furs for the trade detracted from the Anishnabeg's seasonal pursuits, but there was a more serious problem that had to be faced. The beaver was on the decline from years of overtrapping. This ushered in a period of extreme hardship for the Anishnabeg, since they had become very dependent on the trade to provide for their families. Numerous furs were still being funneled through the major trade houses at Mackinac, Sault Ste. Marie, and at Detroit, but these furs were originating in territories to the west of the Anishnabeg holdings in lower Michigan and from the north in Canada. Besides the decline of beaver, a conflict of international importance was beginning to take shape in North America.

The French and Indian War

By 1750, the English population in North America had blossomed to well over one million. Even though the English population was large, their land holdings were fairly small in comparison to the expanding needs of their people. One strategy to alleviate this situation was to expand westward, taking possession of the French territories in North America. Western expansion would also allow the English to assume control of the fur trade, which was still a lucrative business in the western territories and in Canada. The eventual conflict between France and England for control of resources, particularly land and furs, began in 1754. The war between these powers and their Indian allies, called the French and Indian War, was a continuation of European military conflicts between these nations.

The Anishnabeg of the lower peninsula distinguished themselves in this conflict while serving as French allies, and participated in the conflict out of personal interest. It was well known among the Anishnabeg that since they were closely allied with the French against the British, they had a great deal to lose if their French "protectors" were displaced by incoming English interests and policies. The French and Indian War also formalized the role of Anishnabeg warriors as mercenaries.

For many years, Anishnabeg villages had been mustering men to defend French interests on the North American continent. In the past, though, many of these wars were short skirmishes that did not drag on year after year. This was not the case with the French and Indian War. While Anishnabeg men were defending French national interests, who

was minding the business of village life and subsistence? The answer to this question lies in the fact that Anishnabeg families were often provided with French provisions and supplies. It was extremely dangerous for Anishnabeg families to be separated from village defenders. Consequently they traveled with the Anishnabeg men and camped near them for security. This again had the effect of undermining traditional patterns of Anishnabeg life, and many seasonal activities were severely disrupted.

British Victory

French rule in Michigan and Canada ended with the surrender of Fort Ponchartrain at Detroit in the fall of 1760. The French surrender at Detroit ushered in a new period of Anishnabeg history, and the British introduced new policies that would have a major impact on the Anishnabeg. These policies were enforced by British military presence in the Great Lakes. The British assumed control of former French forts, the most important of which were at Mackinac and Detroit. As one of his first acts, Jeffrey Amherst, the British governor-general of North America, directed that no gifts would be exchanged with Great Lakes Indians, and only limited amounts of powder, lead, and guns would be provided to the former French allies, the Anishnabeg.

The refusal of the British to give presents was extremely unpopular with the Anishnabeg, since it broke both the cultural dictates of reciprocity and the precedents of the French, who had freely given gifts. Even though the French had economically exploited the Anishnabeg, they had subscribed to the cultural dictates of giving presents. For years, this had tied the Anishnabeg and other Great Lakes tribes to their national policies and interests. By refusing to give gifts and engage in "brotherly" acts, the English quickly set the stage for continued hostilities in Michigan.

There is little doubt that the English actions were motivated by retaliation toward their former enemies. Amherst thought it foolish to rearm and supply military adversaries who had recently been defeated in a lengthy and costly war. The Anishnabeg, however, did not consider themselves defeated. The French had lost and had sued for peace; not the Anishnabeg, who were still in control of their territories. To be treated so disrespectfully by the British commander and new national policy was intolerable.

The conditions in southern Michigan were further eroded by the presence of French nationalists who successfully planted the seeds of rebellion in Anishnabeg villages. Frenchmen, who still held allegiance to New France, spread rumors that the British planned to make war against the Anishnabeg and other Great Lakes tribes. It was to this end that the English policy addressed itself, or so claimed the Frenchmen who were stirring up trouble in every village.

The result of British policies was discontent and fear among the Anishnabeg. They allied themselves with other Great Lakes tribes and in 1763 participated in the general uprising against British occupation in Michigan. They were spurred on by the teachings of Neolin, the Delaware Prophet, who had a great deal of influence on the frontier at this time. Neolin preached Indian self-reliance and a return to the old ways of Anishnabeg life. He counseled Native Americans to resist English domination and to reject alcohol and goods of European manufacture. Neolin's words were used by the Ottawa orator, Pontiac, to incite hostilities in Michigan. The revolt against the British was not so much the result of Pontiac's leadership as it was a general response to the trade policies and high-handed treatment of the Anishnabeg by the British.

The revolt, which severely disrupted British trade and policy, was short lived. It began in May of 1763 and was over by October of the same year. A year later, in October of 1764, a formal agreement was reached between the Anishnabeg and the British. Tentative peace was returned to Michigan, and the Anishnabeg retreated to their villages to pursue family subsistence.

Anishnabeg participation in the fur trade and in international wars on the North American continent required a great deal of mobility. The Anishnabeg frequently located near trade sites or traveled extensively to market their furs. During periods of heightened conflict, they were on the move, either seeking engagement with the enemy or avoiding combat. In the years following Pontiac's uprising, however the historic village locations of the Anishnabeg in the lower peninsula remained fairly constant. The villages at Cheboygan, Alpena, the Straits of Mackinac, and those along the shores of Lake Huron and in the Saginaw valley were very much intact. These locations still provided access to the staples of life: fish, game, naturally occurring foods, and garden plots. Even though Anishnabeg life had undergone numerous changes due to extended conflict and the effects of the fur trade, families and villages still had access to their primary resource, the land.

The issuance of the Royal Proclamation of 1763 by the British Crown was intended to preserve Anishnabeg lands in Michigan from being seized by unscrupulous traders or land agents. The proclamation effectively exempted Michigan lands from public sale or possession and insured the right of native peoples to remain in their territories. The

intent of this proclamation was, of course, to promote peace in the territory. Unfortunately, other major conflicts were soon to begin. The American Revolution and the War of 1812 would again immerse the Anishnabeg in conflict which would alter the course of their existence.

The largest concentration of Anishnabeg villages during this period of time was in the Saginaw valley and to the south along the St. Clair River. Numerous other settlements extended to the west of these regions and were located on rivers which provided fish and easy transportation to other villages. The location of these villages made it extremely difficult, though, for the Anishnabeg to ignore or remain neutral in major wars between emerging factions on the North American continent. The American Revolution, which began in 1775, was one such conflict.

This war, caused by many factors including limited access to Native American lands for colonial citizens, found the Anishnabeg of the lower peninsula allied with the British against emerging American forces. After participating in many of the battles of the war, the Anishnabeg assumed a position of neutrality when it became obvious that the British would be defeated. The conclusion of the war in 1783 signaled a period of uncertainty for the Anishnabeg.

American Expansionism

The fledgling United States government issued the ordinance of 1785, which basically restated the intent of the Royal Proclamation of 1763. The lands of the Anishnabeg were to be protected from squatters and trespass, but the United States reserved the right to treat for Indian lands. By the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1783, which concluded the American Revolution, the Northwest Territories, which included Michigan, became the property of the United States. The Americans did not immediately take possession of the Great Lakes region, and significant British outposts were maintained. British influence remained in the region since the newly formed federal government could not risk the outbreak of fresh hostilities with Britain. The United States was satisfied to assume a wait-and-see attitude and take physical possession of the territory when the government could support the necessary military garrisons to secure the area.

The conclusion of the American Revolution ushered in a new threat to Anishnabeg life, and more so to the control of their historic territories. The decades of 1780 and 1790 witnessed the illegal migration of large numbers of American settlers into the Ohio and Indiana country, south of Michigan. Recognizing the threat to their territory, the Anishnabeg of the lower peninsula allied themselves with the Miami, Shawnee, Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Huron and actively resisted the American threat to their lands which were supposedly protected by ordinances passed by the United States. Their efforts were encouraged by remaining British loyalists in Michigan, and the Anishnabeg fought to preserve their lands. They participated in the defeat of General Harmar's forces in 1790 and inflicted heavy casualties on General St. Clair's army in 1791. In 1794, the Indian allies suffered a major defeat at the hands of General Anthony Wayne's army at Fallen Timbers in Ohio. Eventually, peace was formalized between the Americans and the allied Indians at the Treaty of Greenville in 1795.

The Greenville treaty marked a significant transition for the Anishnabeg of the lower peninsula. This treaty, which was signed by numerous leaders of northern and southern Anishnabeg villages, ceded the lands along the western edge of Lake St. Clair, the Detroit River, and the northwestern end of Lake Erie to the federal government. In exchange for these lands and others described in the treaty, the Anishnabeg and other signatory tribes received twenty thousand dollars worth of goods and the promise of one thousand dollars worth of "useful goods. . .every year forever." The United States also agreed, under Article IV of the treaty, to relinquish claim to the remaining Michigan lands.

As American settlers moved onto the ceded lands, demand increased for still more lands to accommodate western expansion. Pressures mounted against the Anishnabeg and their neighbors to cede the choice parcels of land along rivers and lakes that had for centuries provided them with unlimited access to the fish and animal populations so vital to their survival.

As desired lands were required for American settlement, the Anishnabeg were forced to sign additional treaties with the federal government. The Greenville Treaty ushered in the "treaty period" for the Anishnabeg in Michigan's lower peninsula. The results of these treaties would prove to be

disastrous for Michigan's indigenous citizens. The United States actively sought out Indian leaders who were disposed to cede lands to the federal government. Many Anishnabeg leaders thought that the United States would treat with Indian nations in an honorable manner. These leaders had a great deal to learn about the nature of United States expansionism and the lengths to which the United States would go to acquire Indian lands.

The Treaty Era

The Treaty of Greenville was followed by the Treaty of Detroit in 1807 which forced the Anishnabeg of southeastern Michigan to cede almost one-quarter of the lower peninsula to the United States. Michigan Territory had been created by Congress in 1805, and territorial officials knew that to achieve statehood they would gradually have to gain control of Anishnabeg lands. Since only the federal government was empowered to treat for Indian lands, there had to be a sense of cooperation and unity between the goals of territorial leaders and federal officials. The territorial governors of Michigan usually acted as federal agents in the negotiation of treaties with the Anishnabeg. William Hull, Michigan's first territorial governor, was the primary catalyst in bringing about the 1807 Detroit treaty.

While the treaties were being negotiated in earnest, the War of 1812 came and went. The Anishnabeg allied themselves with the British in an effort to dislodge the growing American population in Michigan. Anishnabeg participation in the war was fueled by the famous Shawnee ogima, Tecumseh, and his brother, Tenskwatawa, the Shawnee Prophet. Tecumseh could clearly see what would happen in Indian lands as more and more Americans filed into the territories. These trespassers would abuse Native Americans and, by their arrogance, promote hostilities which would be solved by United States troops. After the "hostile" Indian nation was subdued, it would be time for a treaty which forced the defeated and harassed Indian nations to cede more lands to the federal government. These lands would, in turn, be conveyed to territorial governments and states to be sold to an endless flow of immigrants seeking economic stability or the opportunity to profiteer in the expanding economic climate.

Tecumseh's leadership promoted an Indian alliance which united numerous diverse tribes. Among his followers were the Anishnabeg of Michigan's lower peninsula, who were well aware of the pressures being brought to bear on them. They had entered into the Treaty of Greenville in 1795 with high hopes for the future of their country and peace between nations. Their enthusiasm was short-lived, though, for they were steadily pressured to cede more lands. The Anishnabeg, along with countless other Great Lakes tribes, wanted to stop American expansionism and retain control of their dwindling lands. They allied with Tecumseh and the British during the War of 1812 and were defeated. Tecumseh was killed at the Battle of Thames in 1813, and with him died the dream of concerted Indian resistance to a rapidly expanding United States.

After the War of 1812, Anishnabeg lands in Michigan came under renewed attack by the territorial government and the United States. The attack was not a physical one upon the Anishnabeg, but rather it was an insidious movement to gain possession of their remaining lands in the lower peninsula. Lewis Cass, while serving as territorial governor, served as an agent and commissioner of the United States in the negotiation of the Foot of the Rapids Treaty in 1817, the Treaty of Saginaw in 1819, the Treaty at Sault Ste. Marie in 1820, the Treaty at L'Arbre Croche in 1820, and the Treaty at Chicago in 1821. All of these treaties had one thing in common: They ceded Anishnabeg lands to the federal government. In assisting with this effort, Cass assured the growth and "prosperity" of Michigan territory. One question arises, though. While territorial governors were creating a state out of Indian lands, who was looking out for Anishnabeg interests? The answer, of course, is clearly evident: the Anishnabeg alone.

Many of the land cessions were facilitated by extending credit to Anishnabeg families and leaders, who had become dependent on the market economy and flow of American goods. In exchange for the cessions of large landholdings, the Anishnabeg received annuity payments which they used to pay their debts and to purchase commodities necessary for survival. The demand for Anishnabeg lands was heightened by the fact that the British presence in Michigan was nullified after the War of 1812, and the territorial government, with the cooperation of the United States, could manipulate the Anishnabeg with no fear of military reprisals from foreign powers who would ally themselves with Great Lakes Indian populations.

A Landless People

The Anishnabeg in Michigan's lower peninsula were rapidly becoming a landless people. Under the provisions of the Treaty of Saginaw in 1819, the Anishnabeg, who were commonly referred to in these treaties as the Chippewa, retained small landholdings for the use of particular villages. They were eventually forced to move onto these small holdings as southern Michigan's population increased and agriculture began to flourish. The

relocation to these small parcels of land was difficult for the Anishnabeg, and it restricted their access to resources they had historically used.

This situation was compounded by the infectious diseases that continued to ravage Anishnabeg communities. The cholera epidemic of 1832 caused severe hardship and a great loss of life in many villages. Survival was becoming very difficult for the Anishnabeg. The boom days of the fur trade had passed, and the Anishnabeg had few alternatives to provide for the well-being of their families and villages. To make matters worse, the continual flow of American settlers into Michigan Territory increased the demand for land.

It was a common perception among American settlers that the Anishnabeg and other native peoples were not "efficiently" using their lands because they didn't farm or extensively cultivate their holdings. This notion of "deficiency," when coupled with prejudice toward Native Americans and hatred bred by conflicts along the frontier, provided a rationale for displacing the Anishnabeg. Very little public sympathy emerged for the Anishnabeg and their mounting problems. As far as settlers were concerned, the Anishnabeg were standing in the way of "progress," and their decline was mandated so that "good citizens" could take possession of the land.

By the early 1830s, Michigan Territory was actively seeking statehood. A controversy arose over the southern boundary of Michigan Territory which involved a joint claim to certain lands with Ohio. Although it was eventually decided that the disputed lands belonged to Michigan, the federal government would not allow the territory to become a state until the lands were ceded to Ohio. In return for the cession, Michigan Territory would receive, after treaty negotiations, the northern portions of the lower peninsula and the upper peninsula, which were still Indian lands. Admission to the United States for the territory was contingent on these provisions being met.

The land dispute between Michigan Territory and Ohio was a major factor in the negotiation of the Treaty at Washington, concluded in March 1836. By the terms of the treaty, the Anishnabeg and their neighbors, the Ottawa, ceded the majority of Michigan's northern lower peninsula and the eastern end of the upper peninsula to the United States. The treaty allowed Michigan to become a state in early 1837 and satisfied the land dispute with Ohio. After 1836, the Anishnabeg only controlled very limited portions of their former territories, and these small "reservations" would eventually be obtained by the federal government in future treaties. As a matter of fact, the lands reserved by the Anishnabeg of southeastern Michigan and the Saginaw valley via the treaties of 1807 and 1819 were acquired by the United States in treaties with the Chippewa residing in those regions in 1836 and 1837.

The rapid transfer of Anishnabeg lands was motivated by the rich potential of Michigan's resources. As early as 1830, an assessment of Michigan's timber resources was being undertaken. The presence of mineral deposits in the upper peninsula was also well known by potential users at this time. The primary reason for displacing the Anishnabeg and their neighbors from the land was to gain control of these vast resources which would provide for the economic growth of the state. When the value of the lands that were transferred from the Anishnabeg to the United States is considered, and what they received in exchange for these lands is examined, the fraudulent and manipulative actions of the federal government and the state become clear. There was little humanitarian consideration for the well-being of the Anishnabeg; rather there was an atmosphere of greed which dictated individual opportunity.

It was also during the 1830s that the Anishnabeg were threatened with removal to Indian Territory. In 1830, Congress passed the Indian Removal Act which was strongly endorsed by the Jackson Administration. The Treaty at Washington of 1836 was, in essence, a removal treaty. Article Eight clearly states that the Anishnabeg were expected to move "southwest of the Missouri River." Of course, this piece of legislation, which would have devastating consequences for southeastern Indian populations, was strongly opposed by the Anishnabeg. Many individuals and families fled to Canada to avoid the threat of removal, while others simply weathered the storm by utilizing a provision in the 1836 treaty which allowed them to occupy their lands for a five-year period. At the expiration of the allowed time, they requested an extension to the five-year provision and thereby avoided removal to a new and alien land.

An Era of Hard Times

The quality of life for the Anishnabeg continued to deteriorate throughout the middle of the nine-

teenth century. Many of the Anishnabeg had intermarried with other Native Americans in Michigan, particularly with the Ottawa and Potawatomi. This afforded some alternatives to a bad situation by extending kinship ties to new geographical locations. For the most part, though, the Anishnabeg had become a migrant population with access to very limited landholdings.

All the while, the federal government and state leaders were attempting to assimilate the Anishnabeg to the "white man's road." As part of that assimilation process, Americans demanded that the Anishnabeg hold property on an individual rather than a tribal basis. This was the intent and outcome of the Treaty at Detroit in 1855. Under the provisions of this treaty, individual Indians selected parcels of lands to which they would gain title and hold as private property. This undermined the cooperative nature of Anishnabeg society and promoted individual responses to pressing problems.

This allotment policy, as it was later called, also facilitated the transfer of Indian land selections to non-Indians because of tax requirements. The concept of taxation was alien to the Anishnabeg way of life, and until the policy of land allotment was developed, the Anishnabeg had never been required to pay taxes. It was difficult for them to earn enough money for taxes when basic subsistence requirements were barely being met. As a result, they were frequently delinquent in their payments. Corrupt officials often overassessed the value of their lands and withheld notification that taxes were overdue. When Indians didn't pay the taxes, white settlers and businessmen did, gaining title to the land in the process. The Anishnabeg continued to lose their lands, and by 1860, only one large Anishnabeg reservation, located in Isabella County, remained in lower Michigan.

With their land gone, the Anishnabeg had to make transitions and adaptations to survive in Michigan's expanding economy. They found work in the state's growing lumber industry and found seasonal and factory work in Michigan's cities and towns. They also made use of many of their traditional skills, such as basket making and other crafts, to supplement their meager earnings. A once great people were being systematically reduced to paupers in a country they had possessed only a few years before. This decrease in economic power and personal livelihood was further complicated by the reluctance of Michigan lawmakers to protect Anishnabeg interests from theft and abuse. Large quantities of timber were stolen from the Isabella reservation during the 1870s, and even though the perpetrators of this act were identified, they were never prosecuted. All too often, such in-

Shop-Ne-Gon, who lived with his family near Grayling, posed for this picture in 1870. His boots, shirt vest, and trousers indicated an increased acceptance of American fashion, while the beadwork decorations represent traditional, highly stylized floral designs. (Michigan State Archives)

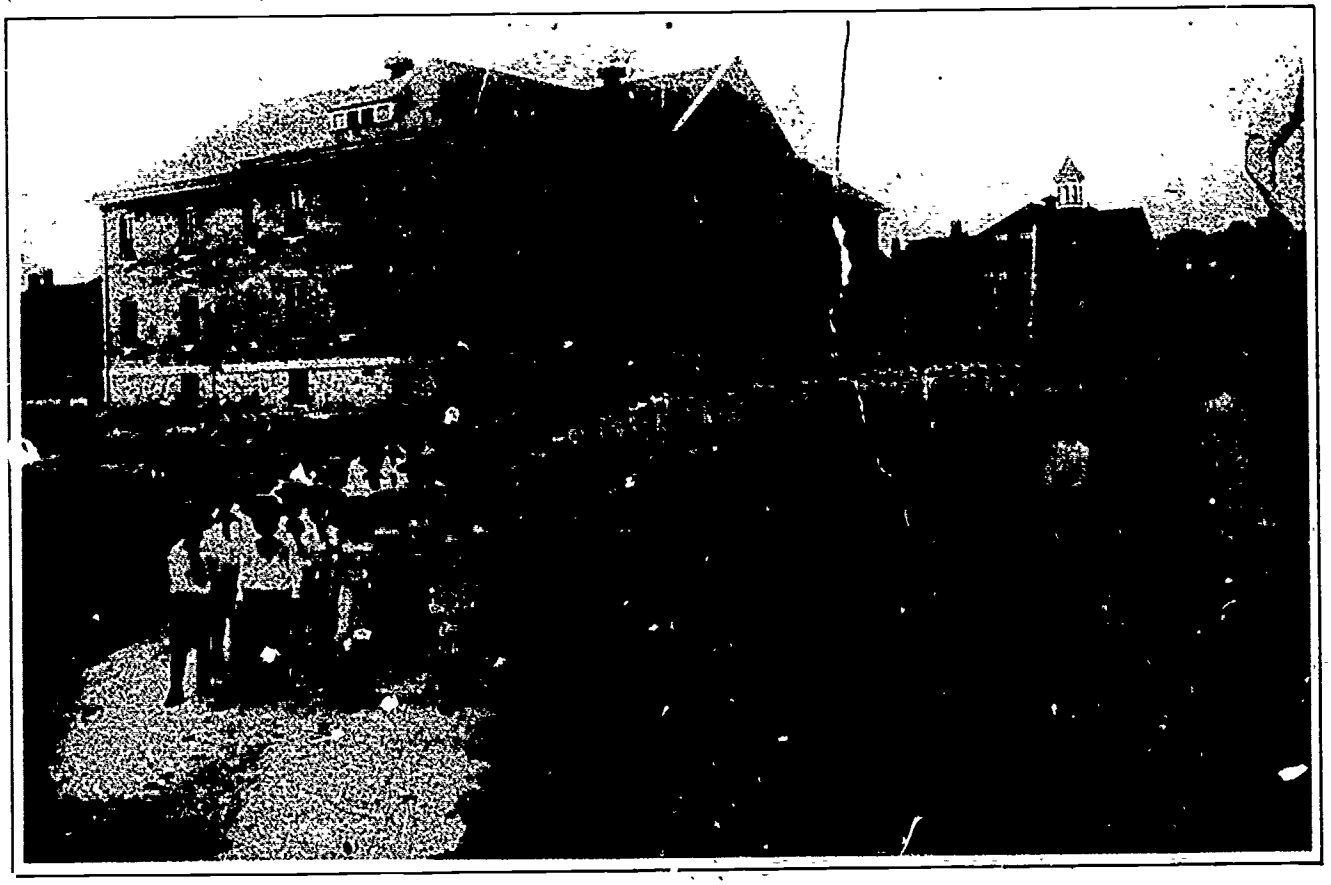
cidents typified the treatment of the Anishnabeg under Michigan law.

While the Anishnabeg continued to seek wage work and to hunt and fish to provide for family subsistence, their children were "educated" in government schools and taught domestic skills and manual trades. These schools were supported by government funds and often administered by missionaries. In some regions of the state, day schools were opened to serve local Indian populations. The day school was a popular alternative to the mission schools which were primarily boarding schools. Indian children endured many hardships in these schools: separation from their parents and families and frequent physical punishment for infractions of rules. Anishnabeg life ceased to resemble the historic patterns of earlier times. Family hardships were simply a fact of life as the Anishnabeg approached the twentieth century. But, they did endure, they did survive.

The Plunder of the Land

During the 1870s and 1880s, Michigan's vast array of plants and animal resources came under attack by market hunters and profiteers who paid little heed to the future of these resources. The lumber industry caused irreparable harm to the inland fisheries by extensive cutting which led to

Many young Michigan Indians were educated at the government Indian school near Mount Pleasant, where uniforms and regimentation were a part of the training. (Clarke Historical Library)



soil erosion which in turn clogged streams with silt. Stream temperatures rose as shade trees were cut along the river banks, and fish populations declined. At the same time, market hunters and commercial fishermen were taking aim at animal populations once thought to be inexhaustible. Lake trout, whitefish, and herring were being overfished in the Great Lakes; whitetail deer were being slaughtered for sale to lumber camps and local markets; and passenger pigeons were being destroyed on their nesting grounds and shipped to urban markets for fifteen to twenty-five cents per dozen.

The decimation of the passenger pigeon typifies the treatment of animal resources during this period of time. The pigeon, which resembled a mourning dove, laid only one egg a year. Hence, the birds had to maintain a very large population to insure the survival of the species. But passenger pigeons were netted and shot on their nesting grounds in unbelieveable numbers. The slaughter continued until the markets were overflowing, and the price fell so low that it was not worth the effort to ship the remaining birds to market. The surplus birds were then fed to the hogs of local farmers. The passenger pigeon was perceived as a competitor for the grain and mast crops used to feed agricultural stock, and in all likelihood this

Baseball, America's national pastime, was popular with many young Indians, including these boys at the Mount Pleasant Indian School.

contributed to the ongoing slaughter. The last great nesting of passenger pigeons occurred outside Petoskey in 1878. This was the final congregation of the birds on the face of the earth, for they soon after became extinct.

It is unfortunate that Indian treaties were the vehicle by which non-Indians in Michigan assumed control of the vast resources of the state. The destruction of animal and plant life that occurred in the aftermath of these treaties is a chapter of Michigan's history that sharply contrasts with the historic perception and use of "beings" by the Anishnabeg. The overutilization of the forests, Great Lakes fishery, and animal resources was almost entirely the work of non-Indians who sought to profiteer on the environment for the personal acquisition of wealth.

The Turn of the Twentieth Century

With the destruction of vast natural resources, Anishnabeg reliance on the provisions of the environment was seriously undermined. They were forced to imitate the ideals of American society, and the turn of the twentieth century witnessed more and more Anishnabeg families taking up farming and seeking work in cities. By the early 1900s, Anishnabeg communities were poor, and sickness and illness were prevalent. The conditions of Anishnabeg communities in lower Michigan did not change for many years, and the Great Depression of the 1930s was a particularly difficult time.

It was during the depression years that the Indian school at Mount Pleasant was closed. Supported by federal dollars, the school had been serving large numbers of Anishnabeg children for many years, but was closed in 1934. Some researchers have concluded that the school was closed because the tax base was declining in local schools, and there was a great deal of resentment regarding the quality and continued operation of the Indian school by citizens of the region.

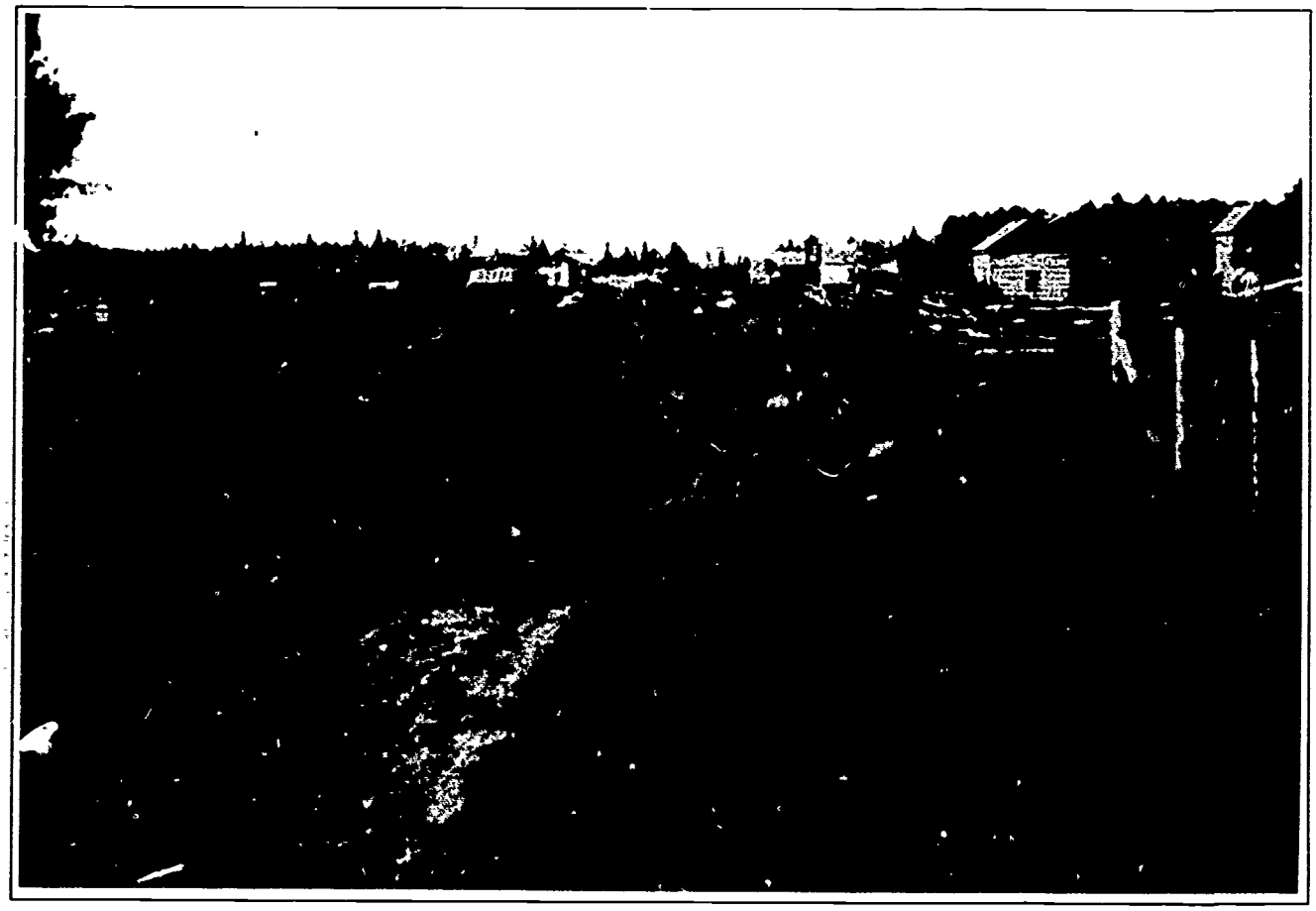
The Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934, which allowed for financial support of Indian children in local school districts, helped to fill the gap created by the closing of the Mount Pleasant school. The Johnson-O'Malley funds were also used to meet the medical needs of Indian children and adults, and during the depression they were frequently used as a relief program to assist depressed reservation communities. Only federal reservations were eligible for the funds, and since Michigan had so few reservations, the program was never a strong source of support for Anishnabeg communities.

The closing of the Mount Pleasant Indian School marked the end of large-scale federal support for Indian education in Michigan until the passage of Title IV, the Indian Education Act, in 1972. In the late 1930s, Anishnabeg children moved into the public schools in large numbers. The Mount Pleasant Indian School buildings and properties were transferred to the state of Michigan in exchange for the state's commitment to educate Indian children in state institutions, and this agreement would become very important for Anishnabeg youth in the 1970s.

Even though the 1930s were trying times for the Anishnabeg, a great deal of family continuity prevailed. Anishnabeg families never forgot their cultural heritage nor their recent encounters with non-Indian society which caused undue hardship and relocation. As an example, consider the case of the Burt Lake Band of Ottawas and Chippewas, an intermarried group that resided on Indian Point at Burt Lake. In 1900, the members of the band were physically displaced from their homes, and they watched from the road as John McGinn and Sheriff Ming doused their homes with kerosene and burned them to the ground. This action was taken even though the Burt Lake lands were held in trust by the governor of Michigan. Through an illegal act, the Burt Lake lands had been placed on the county tax rolls, and McGinn, a local lumberman, had acquired the property for supposed back taxes. This event remained fresh in the minds of the Anishnabeg who were forced to disperse from their ancestral lands. This helped maintain an Anishnabeg identity and cemented family relationships in an effort to seek redress for this injustice. The band protested this action throughout the twentieth century, which further strengthened band organization. Unfortunately, this situation has not been remedied, and the Burt Lake Band is currently negotiating with Governor Blanchard's administration to correct this obvious illegal act.

New Opportunities

The peculiar experiences of the Anishnabeg have worked to foster continuity and pride in their heritage. This has occurred even though there has been increased integration into society at large. Participation in the "modern" world does not



Burt Lake Indian Village. The entire village was burned in 1900 after local white residents gained control of the property through tax fraud. (Grand Rapids Public Library)

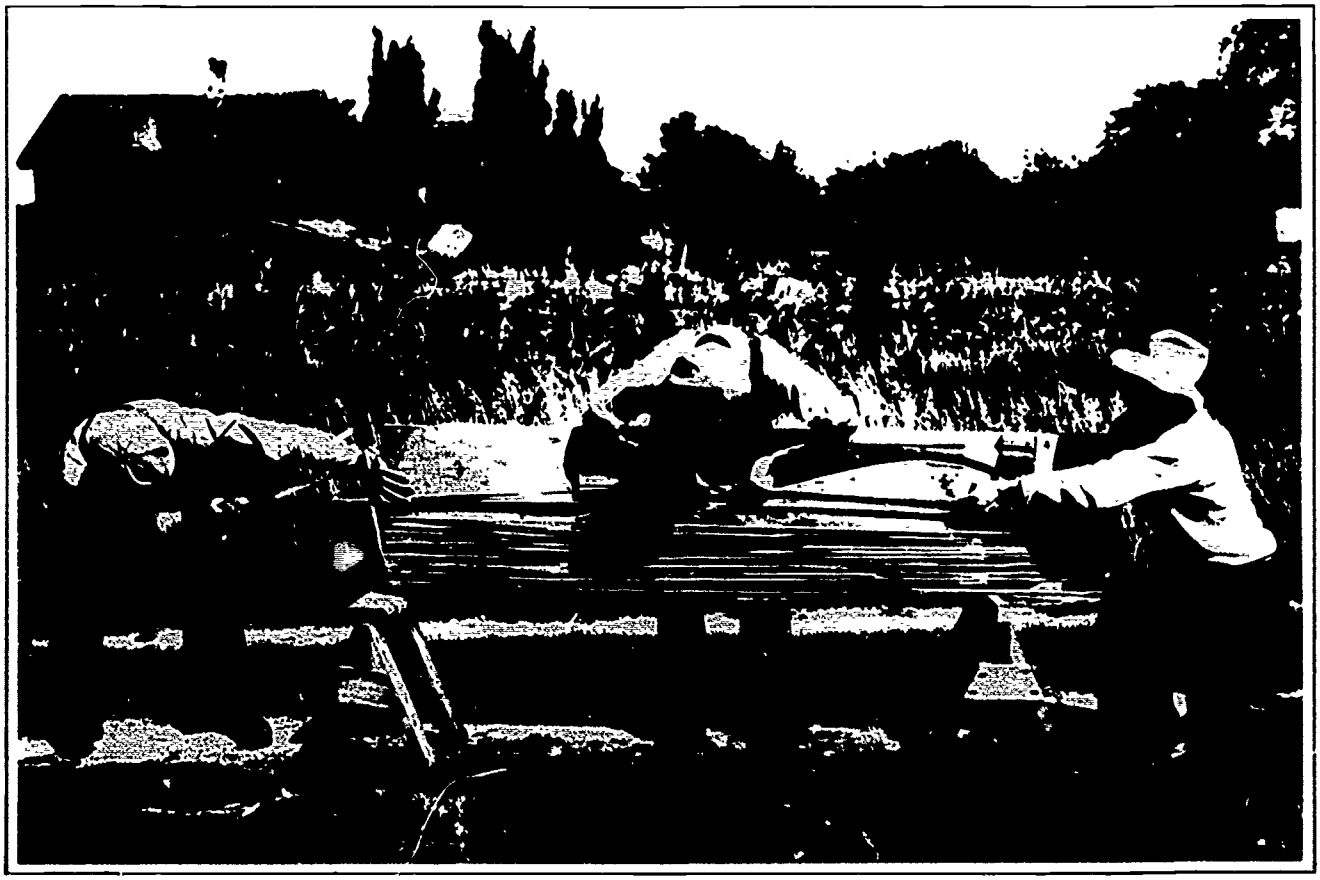
preclude being Anishnabeg; it simply tends to blur some of the unpleasant aspects of historic life.

One of the crucial events that ushered in a new period of Anishnabeg life was World War II, for it was during this period that the Anishnabeg found more economic opportunity in Michigan than at any previous time. The relative quality of life was enhanced during this era because of the number of Anishnabeg men and women who participated in the conflict, thereby creating a more favorable perception of Indians in Michigan. There were also numerous opportunities for wage work as the war economy geared up to defeat Japan and Nazi Germany. More and more Anishnabeg families found themselves residing in urban areas, some being induced to do so by the Bureau of Indian Affairs under the auspices of the Relocation Program which was implemented in the early 1950s. Kinship ties continued to hold Anishnabeg families together even in urban areas, and families frequently visited relatives living on reservations in Michigan's upper or lower peninsula.

In the aftermath of World War II, Anishnabeg groups began to re-examine their relationship with the federal government. The basis of this movement was contained in the numerous treaties that

the Anishnabeg signed with the United States. It became clear over time that the intent and provisions of these agreements had not been met by the federal government. Suits were filed on behalf of Anishnabeg communities seeking what was promised in the treaties. The Indian Claims Commission, established in 1946, has been examining these claims ever since. These early efforts on behalf of the Anishnabeg helped to create an atmosphere of renewed vitality and hope in Native American communities in lower and upper Michigan. It wasn't until the 1960s, though, that a new Indian "activism" emerged. More and more Anishnabeg became involved in this cooperative effort to gain rights due them, and the outcomes have produced solid gains for Michigan Indians.

The 1970s witnessed some of the changes that have been brought about by Anishnabeg work on their own behalf. Among those changes is the tuition reimbursement program for the Anishnabeg and other Native Americans residing in Michigan. This important piece of legislation, introduced by then Representative Jackie Vaughn of Detroit, entitled Michigan Indians to attend state colleges and universities and have their tuition cost reimbursed by the state of Michigan. The tuition reimbursement program provided the opportunity for many young Anishnabeg to pursue their educational goals and aspirations and to use their newly acquired



Stretching rawhide to make snowshoe webbing. The process had to be repeated three times for the rawhide to become sufficiently taut. (Michigan State Archives)

skills to assist Indian organizations and tribes. It must be clearly stated that this piece of legislation is not a "giveaway" to Michigan Indians, but rather an entitlement that was formalized when the federal government closed the Mount Pleasant Indian School and gave the land to the state of Michigan. In accepting the property, Governor Charles Comstock agreed to educate Native Americans in state institutions, and the Michigan attorney general's office has ruled that the Comstock Agreement is the legal basis for the tuition reimbursement program. In response to critics of the program who fail to see the need for the program and its potential impact on Michigan Indians, the question could be posed: Why did the Anishnabeg have to wait for forty years to derive the benefits of the Comstock Agreement? The answer, of course, lies in many broken promises that have been made to Indians by a succession of public officials.

Along with the passage of tuition reimbursement legislation have come court decisions recognizing Anishnabeg rights to fish commercially in the Great Lakes. The Fox decision of 1979, which was rendered by Judge Noel Fox in the Grand Rapids Federal District Court, determined that the Treaty of Washington in 1836 had reserved the right to fish, without regulation by the state of Michigan, for Anishnabeg and Ottawa tribal members who filed suit.

Dependent on fishing as a source of food and income, these Ojibway go after their catch in a flotilla of small boats in the St. Mary's River near Sault Ste. Marie. Indians were fishing the rapids of Sault Ste. Marie before the first Europeans arrived. (Michigan State Archives)

Traditional dances and ceremonies still play an important role in Ojibway social events. (Jeremy Thomas Connolly, Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council)

Fishing, the rights to which were secured and protected in 1836 treaty negotiations, is an important source of revenue for northern Michigan Ojibway. (Jeremy Thomas Connolly, Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council)

Today, Ojibway conservation officers patrol reservations, enforcing tribal fishing and hunting regulations. (Jeremy Thomas Connolly, Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council)

The Fishing Controversy

The fishing-rights decision has received a great deal of publicity. It has also generated a tremendous amount of controversy, with opponents claiming that the right to fish in Great Lakes waters was "given" to the tribes in 1979 by the federal court. This is simply not true; the right to fish was retained by native peoples in the treaty process more than a century ago. During treaty negotiations, both sides understood that whatever rights the Indians did not cede they retained, and in no treaty did the Anishnabeg cede their fishing rights. The treaties which enabled the United States to take possession of Anishnabeg lands also guaranteed certain Anishnabeg rights, and both sides of the agreement must be honored. The treaties are legal documents, and the Constitution of the United States demands that they be upheld. Constitutional law cannot be used as a tool of those in power and must protect the weaker elements of society. This was the case when the federal courts supported the fishing rights of native peoples.

The United States Supreme Court has upheld the lower court decision, and there is no legal obstacle to the Indians' rights to fish. There is vehement opposition, however, from non-Indian sports fishermen, commercial fishermen, and the Michigan Department of Natural Resources (DNR). These opponents claim that unregulated fishing by Indians in Great Lakes waters is depleting the lakes of sports and commercial species and depriving other fishermen of their livelihood. Inflammatory statements issued by past DNR officials have jeopardized the safety and well-being of Anishnabeg fishermen and Native Americans by inciting non-Indian fishermen to violence.

Much of the controversy focuses on the use of the gillnet by Indian commercial fishermen. State officials contend that gillnets cannot be fished in a selective manner for catching only specific types of fish, and that Indian gillnets are harvesting sports as well as commercial fish. Michigan seems to be the only state in the United States that believes this to be true. The state of Wisconsin licenses 250 non-Indian fishermen to use gillnets in Lake Michigan, and Alaska also sanctions the use of gillnets. Canada uses the gillnet extensively in its commercial fishery, and many fisheries experts have publicly stated that gillnets can be fished in a selective manner.

By leveling recurring charges of depletion against the Indian fishery, officials have misled the public on the treaty fishing issue and have created a climate that is unhealthy and unproductive. Yet, while these allegations have been made public, such internal DNR publications as *Shaping the World's Finest Freshwater Fishery* have contradicted the department's position by providing evidence that sports fishermen in Michigan are catching the majority of designated sport species. Of all the sports fish harvested, in fact, fewer than 5 percent are caught by Anishnabeg fishermen. In no way can the charge of Indian "depletion" of Great Lakes fish stocks be supported; yet this cry is heard time and time again.

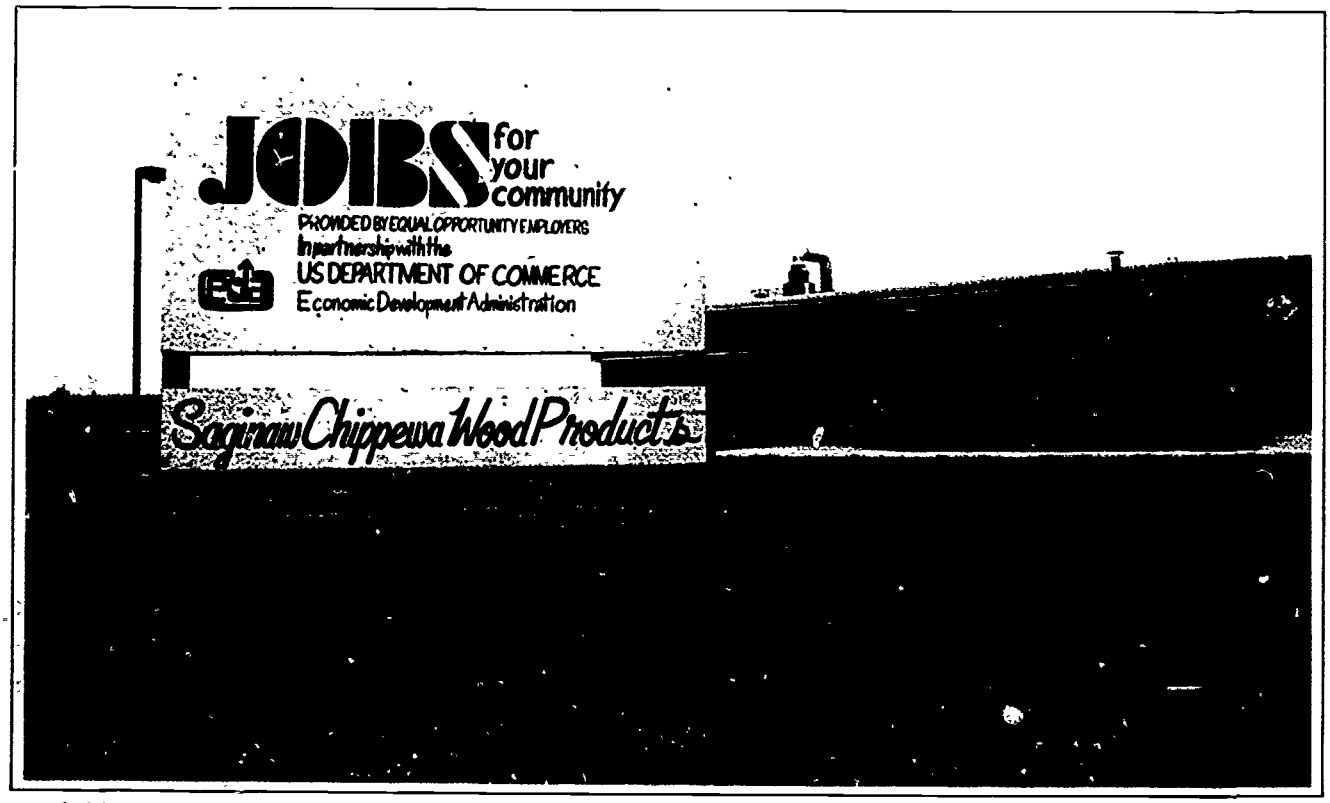
Time after time, the contentions of the state of Michigan against the Indian commercial fishery have been proven false. This is unquestionably the reason Native Americans have won every time the issue has been heard in a court of law. Native Americans are not depleting the fishery; nor are they growing rich at non-Indian expense. The Anishnabeg have traditionally been resource-oriented people, carefully using the bounty of the land to provide for their own subsistence. Non-Indian commercial fishermen, on the other hand, were the ones who once overfished the Great Lakes in order to supply fresh fish to urban markets. It is a gross exaggeration, then, to scapegoat Native Americans for utilizing a resource they have not overused in the past and certainly will not do in the future.

There is little doubt that the reaction to the fishing controversy hints of deeper societal problems. Charges of "special privilege" have been leveled at Native Americans and heard throughout the controversy. Yet if anyone has received "special privileges," it has been the non-Indian. In fact, the very treaties that are now providing justice for the Anishnabeg are the same agreements which allowed Michigan to become a state and which provided Michigan's non-Indian citizens with unlimited access to copper, iron ore, timber, and—most important—land. Without doubt, these resources secured the economic future of Michigan's cities and populations. It is a blatant double standard to focus on Anishnabeg gains under these treaties when non-Indian society has obviously gained so much more from the same agreements.

The Future

The decade of the 1980s will undoubtedly witness increased Anishnabeg involvement in the social and political issues and decisions that affect their lives. More and more young Anishnabeg are re-examining their cultural past and working to recapture the essence of Anishnabeg life. They are not trying to turn the hands of the clock backwards, but rather to offer alternatives to contemporary American society, for there is a great deal of wisdom and common sense in traditional Anishnabeg attitudes toward the earth and their fellow human beings. This movement to preserve their heritage is being encouraged and assisted by the advice of Anishnabeg elders, who also see a value in maintaining strong ties with the past.

Education will assuredly be one of the vehicles that allows greater Anishnabeg participation in the growth of their communities. Presently there are more Anishnabeg students in colleges and universities than at any other time in the past. These young people, and their younger brothers and sisters, will be the generation that rekindles the Anishnabeg council fires of earlier days. The fires have never gone out; they have only become less noticeable in the context of modern society. In the future, these fires will burn ever brighter, kindling hopes of a bright future for the Anishnabeg.



Tribal businesses, begun with assistance from the federal government, offer jobs and hope for the future. (Jeremy Thomas Connolly, Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council)

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For a comprehensive listing of Ojibway sources, refer to Helen Hornbeck Tanner's *The Ojibways: A Critical Bibliography*, published as part of the Newberry Library Center for the History of the American Indian Bibliographical Series.

INDEX

WORKBOOK

PEOPLE OF THE THREE FIRES

The
Ottawa,
Potawatomi
and Ojibway
Of
Michigan

WORKBOOK

PEOPLE OF THE THREE FIRES
The Ottawa, Potawatomi and Ojibway of Michigan

Prepared by M. T. Bussey

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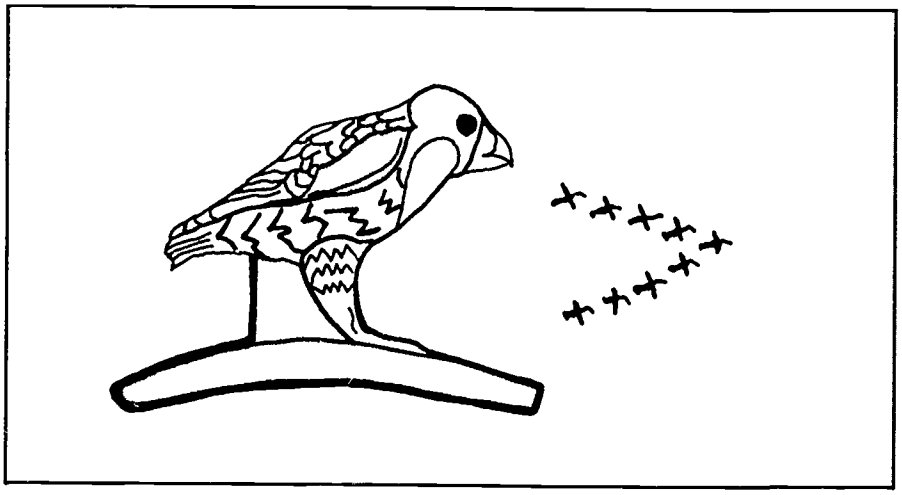
CONTENTS

THE PREHISTORIC ROOTS OF MICHIGAN INDIANS



OBJECTIVES

1. Describe the Paleo-Indian group and the Archaic Period which followed.
2. Describe the early Woodland Indians and the beginnings of their culture.

UNIT ONE

THE PREHISTORIC ROOTS OF MICHIGAN INDIANS

The Paleo-Indians

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. From what region did the Paleo-Indians migrate into Michigan?

2. What are the dates of Paleo-Indian occupation in Michigan?

3. What brought the Paleo-Indians into the Michigan region?

The Archaic Period

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. List below the dates for the Early, Middle and Late Archaic Periods.

2. Explain some changes in the environment from the Paleo to Archaic Periods.

3. During which part of the Archaic Period did the people begin to form more permanent villages?

_____

_____

4. When did extensive trade with other tribes begin?

_____

_____

5. What metal was mined by the Late Archaic Indians?

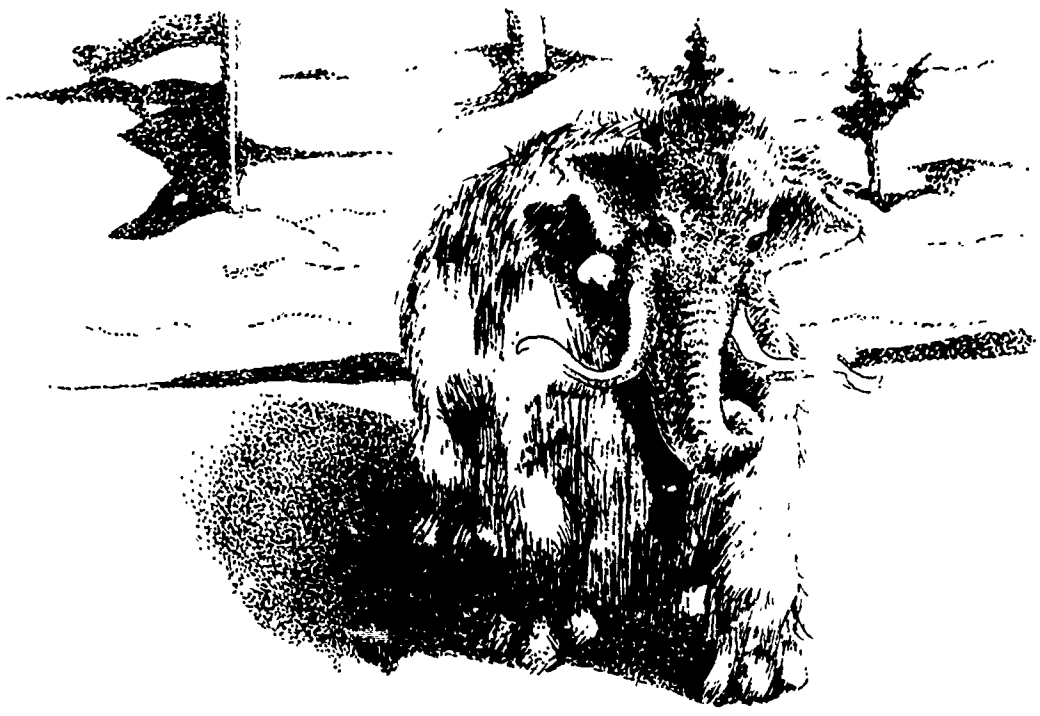
_____

_____

6. Explain how the location of the northern and southern Michigan tribes influenced their way of life in the Late Archaic Period.

_____

_____



The Woodland Indians

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What were two of the foods grown by Woodland Indians?

2. At what date is it believed that corn was introduced to the Michigan region?

3. The mound builders of the Middle Woodland Period are also known as the

4. Describe the distinctive home dwellings of the Michgian Indians, called wigwams.

5. The oral tradition of Michigan Indians indicates that the tribes originally came from what region?

6. Give the Algonquian name that the Ottawa, Potawatomi and Ojibway called themselves.

7. The three Michigan tribes were loosely organized as _____

_____

8. The Woodland Period began around _____

and lasted until around _____

Give dates.

ACTIVITY -

Create a time line, beginning 10,000 years ago to the present day. As we progress through the text, indicate with marks on the line the important dates and events in Michigan Indian history.

VOCABULARY - UNIT ONE

VOCABULARY: Use a dictionary to define the following words in Unit One.

1. continuum - _____

_____

2. evolution - _____

_____

3. pervasive - _____

_____

4. indigenous - _____

_____

5. extinction - _____

_____

6. cohesiveness - _____

_____

7. dialects - _____

_____

8. incursions - _____

_____

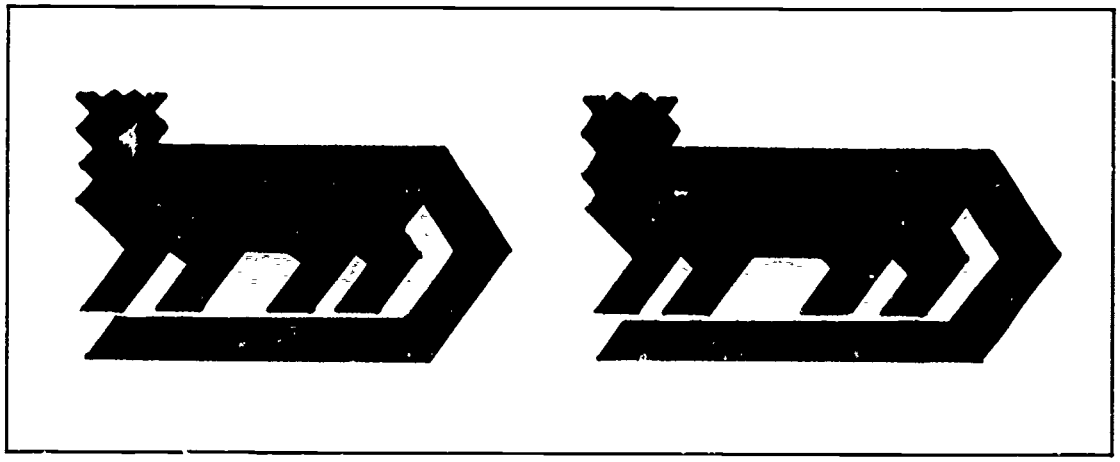
9. viable - _____

_____

OVERVIEW

The Paleo-Indians inhabited Michigan from 12,000 B.C. to 8,000 B.C. Gradually the climate of the state grew warmer, creating environmental changes and an increase in population. The Woodland period, from 1,000 B.C. to A.D. 1650, brought good seasonal crop growth, fishing and hunting to the native peoples who began to settle in small villages. The Ottawa, Potawatomi and Ojibway, collectively known as the Anishnabeg, migrated into Michigan from the Atlantic seaboard. The Anishnabeg worked together as the Three Fires Confederacy to protect themselves from other groups of indigenous people seeking territorial control.

THE OTTAWA



OBJECTIVES

1. Describe the environment and culture of the Ottawa tribe before the arrival of the Europeans.
2. List the advantages and disadvantages of the fur trade for the Ottawa.
3. Explain the relationships the Ottawa had with the French, the British, and the Americans.
4. Describe the Treaty Era (1795 - 1836) and its effect on the Ottawa people.

UNIT TWO **THE OTTAWA**

The Ottawa and Their Environment

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What was the most important environment factor which shaped the Indian cultures of the Great Lakes?

2. Around what date did the Ottawa move into Michigan from Canada?

3. What was the primary crop planted by the Ottawa?

Ottawa Village Life

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. How was an Ottawa leader chosen?

2. What kind of government was practiced by the early Ottawa tribe?

3. Give the location of a favorite Ottawa fishing ground?

Ottawa Values

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. The Ottawa believed in communal sharing of _____, _____ and _____

2. What was the first rule in Ottawa society?

_____

_____

3. The Ottawa people respected the natural world, treating the animals and resources as a _____

_____

4. In Ottawa society, who is the hero-prankster talked about in old legends and stories?

_____

_____

5. What was the real purpose behind the Ottawa legends told to children?

_____

_____

Ottawa Kinship

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What was the most important social and political unit in Ottawa culture?

_____

_____

2. Explain the Ottawa term "ododem".

_____

_____

_____

3. Indicate the two ways to trace clan relationship.

_____

_____

_____

Manitos

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. In Ottawa society every natural element on the earth was made up of two basic parts; the _____

and the _____

Powers

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What is a medicine bundle?

_____

_____

2. Give the name of the most important priesthood of the Ottawa Society.

_____

_____

3. In later years, the Midewiwin borrowed some of the rituals from which group?

_____

_____

Ceremonies and the Cycle of Seasons

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. How important were ceremonies and religion to the Ottawa people?

_____

_____

2. In the spring, the Ottawa gathered for _____,

_____ and _____

3. Give the name of the summer ceremony.

4. What was the purpose of the Feast of the Dead?

The French and the Fur Trade

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What is the meaning of the word "Odawa" or "Ottawa"?

2. About what year did the French traders have first contact with the Ottawa?

3. Which tribe did Samuel de Champlain join forces with to defeat the Iroquois in 1609 and 1610?

4. Why did the French come into the Great Lakes area?

5. What did the French realize was a better trade item with the Ottawa?

The Iroquois Wars

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What did the native people of the Great Lakes region receive in trade from the French?

2. Why did the Iroquois go to war with the Huron?

3. What elements caused the Huron to flee from their Canadian home?

4. What caused the Ottawa to rely more on European trade goods?

5. In 1653, who did the Ottawa unite with to defeat the Iroquois near Sault Ste. Marie?

6. During what years did the Ottawa become the most successful traders in the Great Lakes?

7. After the Ottawa returned to Michigan following the Iroquois peace, where did they make their villages?

_____

_____

8. The control of what waterway gave the Ottawa a monopoly over the fur trade?

_____

_____

The Ottawa-French Partnership

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What were the Ottawa terms of trading with the French?

_____

_____

2. In the late 1600s what other European nation made its way into the Great Lakes?

_____

_____

The French and Indian Wars

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Who did the Ottawa fight for in this series of wars?

_____

_____

2. Give the dates for the French and Indian Wars?

_____

_____

3. Near what present day Michigan city did the Ottawa move to build a village and to trade in 1701?

Ottawa Culture in the French Era

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. To the Ottawa, what was the pimary difference in the French era?

2. List the four major Ottawa clans.

3. After the French era how did the Ottawa trace their family lines?

The British

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What was the result of the Treaty of Paris?

2. After the British came into power in the Great Lakes region, how did they treat the Ottawa?

Pontiac's Rebellion

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Name the tribes that united to rebel against the British.

2. After the first six weeks of the rebellion, how many forts remained in British hands? Give the names of these forts.

3. What was the position of the French during Pontiac's Rebellion?

The New Alliance

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What was the outcome of Pontiac's Rebellion?

2. What was the position of the Ottawa during the American Revolution?

Meeting the Amer ans

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Explain the Ordinance of 1785.

2. What year was the Treaty of McIntosh signed?

3. What was the result of George Washington's troops sent to punish the Indians for raids?

4. Why did the Indians fight the American settlers?

5. What was the turning point in American-Indian relations?

6. Why did Tecumseh try to unite all of the Indian tribes?

7. In the War of 1812, who did the Michigan Indians support?

Facing American Rule

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What was the "civilization" policy?

2. What was the other American idea in dealing with the Indians?

3. Name the American president who urged Congress to pass the Indian Removal Act?

4. What natural boundary was designated as removal territory to the west?

The Treaty Era—Meeting the Challenge

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Explain the extent of Ottawa territory by 1820.

2. In 1833, several Ottawa groups were removed to what region?

3. In the Chicago Treaty of 1821 what area was lost by the Ottawa?

4. How did the Ottawa react to Christian missionaries?

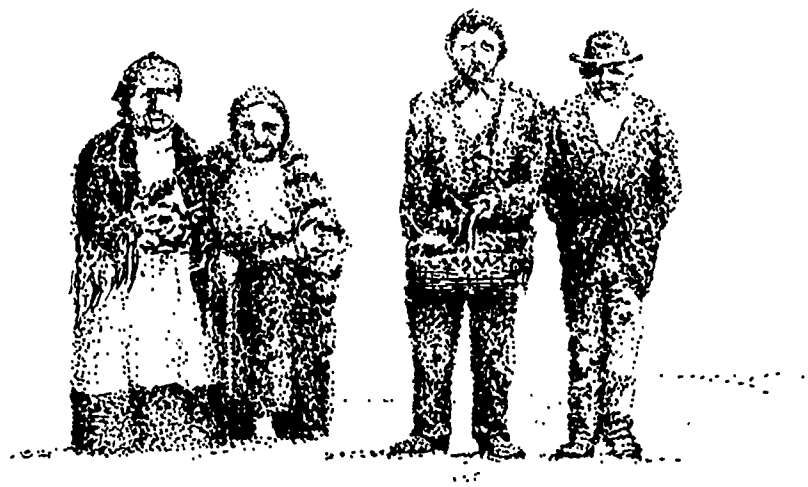
5. What other aids did the missionaries bring to the Ottawa?

A Divided Society

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. In 1835, what epidemic swept through the Ottawa community on the Grand River?

2. Why didn't the Ottawa require as much territory as the Chippewa?



The Treaty of 1836

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. In 1835, who was the Michigan Indiar agent who encouraged the removal of the Ottawa from Michigan?

_____

_____

2. In the Treaty of 1836, what lands were left in Michigan for the Ottawa?

_____

_____

3. What was most important in this treaty for the Ottawa?

_____

_____

4. Those Ottawa who chose to live in their old manner, moved to _____

_____

Shaping The Future

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Many Ottawa used their annuity payments to_____

_____

often helped by the missionaries in their region.

2. What was the view of Kansas given by the Ottawa party who inspected it as removal land in 1838?

_____

_____

3. In what year did Ottawa men gain American citizenship and the right to vote? On what condition?

_____

_____

Changing Values

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What traditional role did Ottawa men give up to fit into American society?

2. List some of the things that made it difficult for the Ottawa to become American farmers?

The Treaty of 1855

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. This treaty was the _____ treaty made by the Ottawa with the United States.
2. Reservation lands were established for the Ottawa in the Treaty of 1855 in what Michigan areas?
3. As a result of the Treaty of 1855, how many Ottawa and Chippewa moved to the Oceana County Reserve?
4. Explain how this treaty changed the political status of the Ottawa tribal unit?

Loss of the Land

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. As the Ottawa lost their land from the Treaty of 1855, how did government officials react?

_____

_____

2. Ottawa men often worked in _____

_____ when their farms failed.

3. _____ remained a profitable occupation for the Ottawa in the late 1800s.

Preparing For The Future

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. The Ottawa came to see _____ as the key to Indian survival in the future.

2. Explain the change which occurred in 1857 regarding Indian schools.

_____

_____

3. In what years did the American government change this system back to strictly supervised boarding schools?

_____

4. Explain the conditions of these boarding schools for Ottawa children.

_____

_____

5. List three organizations which assist the Ottawa in Michigan today.

_____

_____

ACTIVITY

Write a short essay on why Pontiac's Rebellion was a successful campaign even though he lost the conflict.

VOCABULARY - UNIT TWO

VOCABULARY: Use a dictionary to define the following words in Unit Two.

1. avert - _____

2. conifer - _____

3. enhance - _____

4. procure - _____

5. excursion - _____

6. reciprocity - _____

7. totem - _____

8. matrilineal - _____

9. patrilineal - _____

10. ostracize - _____

11. coffer - _____

_____

12. culminate - _____

_____

13. proliferate - _____

_____

14. palisade - _____

_____

15. conciliatory - _____

_____

16. annuity - _____

_____

17. code - _____

_____

18. inviolable - _____

_____

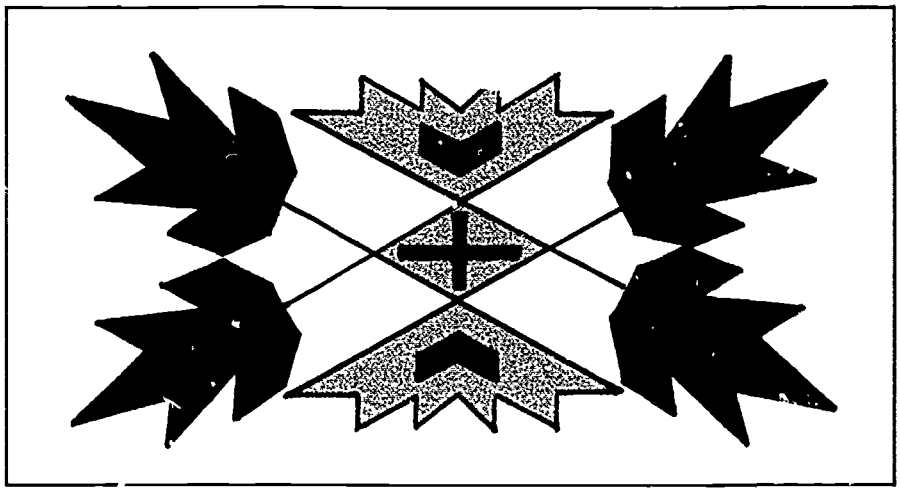
19. disparaged - _____

_____

OVERVIEW

Ottawa cultural values stressed a respect for the individual, a sharing of material wealth and food. The culture also taught the interconnected relationship of human beings with their natural environment. In the 1600s the Ottawa became involved in fur trading with the French. The Iroquois interrupted the trade to monopolize the fur trade and forced the Ottawa out of Michigan. In the 1670s, peace was made with the Iroquois and the Ottawa returned to Michigan. The Ottawa then renewed alliances with the French and fought many battles for them against the British in the French and Indian Wars. The British defeated the French, but were soon likewise defeated by the Americans. Through all the European wars in the Great Lakes, the Ottawa never considered themselves a conquered people. However, in the late 1700s, the Americans began devising treaties with the Ottawa to gain their land. Unskilled at protecting their own interests with these written treaties, the Ottawa lost almost all of their territorial lands and were restricted to small reservation tracts. Subsequent years brought pressure by the Americans to "civilize" the Ottawa by adopting American beliefs and culture. Since the 1940s, there has been renewed organization of the tribe with educational benefits and improved living conditions.

THE POTAWATOMI



OBJECTIVES

1. Describe how the Potawatomi differed from the more northern Michigan tribes.
2. Explain the tribal design and culture of the Potawatomi tribe in the early 1600s.
3. List the conflicts between European powers which drew the Potawatomi into war.
4. Describe the two organized groups of Potawatomi living in Michigan today.

UNIT THREE THE POTAWATOMI

The Potawatomi Pattern: A Cultural Advantage

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What was the name that the Potawatomi called themselved in their language?

_____

_____

2. In what area of Michigan did the Potawatomi settle?

_____

_____

3. Anthropologists would call the Potawatomi a_____ society.

4. Explain why the Potawatomi were more like the Sauk, Kickapoo, and Fox Indians than like the Ottawa and Chippewa.

_____

_____

Michigan Indians in the 1600s

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Why did the Potawatomi flee Michigan in the early 1600s?

_____

_____

2. Where did the Potawatomi go for safety when they left Michigan?

_____

_____

3. About what year did the Potawatomi return to Michigan?

A Rise to Power

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Why did the Potawatomi relocate near French trading posts in Michigan?

2. List the advantages which led the Potawatomi to great strength in the seventeenth century.

The Tribal Design

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. In an agreement with the French in 1668, what did the Potawatomi offer in return for fur trading?

2. What method did the Potawatomi use to make tribal decisions?

3. List some of the things not tolerated in Potawatomi society.

4. About how many people lived in a typical Potawatomi village?

_____

_____

Clan, Community, and Individual

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What was the most important relationship to the Potawatomi?

_____

_____

2. How was family descent traced for the Potawatomi?

_____

_____

3. Give the names of the six large phratries of the Potawatomi.

_____

_____

4. Explain how memories of ancestors were kept alive in the Potawatomi clans.

_____

_____

5. Give Leopold Pokagon's proper name and its meaning.

6. It was forbidden for a Potawatomi to marry someone from his/her own

The Fur Trade

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What did the Potawatomi receive in trade from the French for their furs?

2. What Potawatomi handmade goods were quickly adopted by the French?

The Impact of European Technology

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. For the Potawatomi, what soon became the most highly valued services provided by the French?

2. How did the Potawatomi react to the alcohol brought by the French?

3. Explain why Potawatomi women stopped making pottery.

4. What was the early Potawatomi reaction to the first missionaries?

A Balancing Act

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Explain some of the incorrect viewpoints of the French concerning Potawatomi tribal leadership.

2. What automatically made the Potawatomi enemies of the British?

3. Give some reasons for the dismemberment of the Potawatomi tribe.

The French and Indian War

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. In this war between European powers, to whom did the Potawatomi remain loyal?

2. What English general's army was ambushed and overtaken in western Pennsylvania by combined Indian - French forces?

3. Were the Potawatomi people ever consulted or included in the treaty deliberations after the war?

The New Imperial Presence

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. In what year after the war did the English begin to deal with the Potawatomi?

2. What caused the division of English acceptance by the Potawatomi?

A Transportation Revolution

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What was the animal that caused a revolution for the Potawatomi?

2. What did the Potawatomi stop making as a result of this new transportation?

Pontiac's Rebellion

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. At this time, unregulated English fur traders came into the Great Lakes from what regions?

2. What order, given by Sir Jeffrey Amherst, angered the Great Lakes Indians?

3. Give the only two British posts unconquered during Pontiac's Rebellion.

4. Did the French support the Potawatomi in their rebellion?

5. What improvements came to the Great Lakes Indians as a result of the rebellion?

The American Revolution

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Who did the Potawatomi support in the American Revolution?

2. Who was Sikenak?

3. Were the Potawatomi consulted in the agreements of the tentative peace of 1783?

The Americans

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. In 1794, where did General Anthony Wayne meet in battle with the Potawatomi?

2. What was the British response to the Potawatomi retreat from this battle?

3. What were the terms of Jay's Treaty?

The Treaty Process

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What American Indian tribe signed more treaties with the United States than any other single tribe?

2. Explain the terms of the Treaty of Greenville.

3. In what year did Michigan become a territory?

4. What did the Potawatomi usually receive for their tribal lands?

The War of 1812

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Name the two Indian prophets who tried to gather power among the Potawatomi in 1807?

2. Who did the Potawatomi fight in the War of 1812?

3. Tecumseh died in what battle?

4. What was the last year that Potawatomi warriors engaged in battle with the Americans?

Treaties and Land Cessions, 1816 - 1833

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. When was the Erie Canal completed?

_____

2. Explain the difference in treaty negotiations with the Potawatomi after 1812.

_____

_____

3. After the Treaty of 1807, where did the Potawatomi relocate?

_____

_____

"Civilization" and Removal

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What was the American's first plan with respect to the Indians in the 1820s?

_____

_____

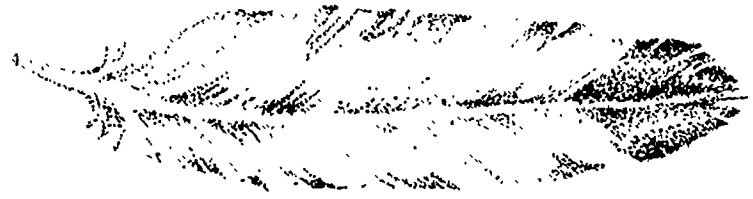
2. What was the second plan?

_____

_____

3. At this time, about how many Potawatomi lived in Michigan?

_____



4. What did the Potawatomi think of the Indian Removal Plan?

_____

_____

The Chicago Treaty and Its Aftermath

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What is believed to be the original name of Chicago and what does it mean?

_____

_____

2. What did the Americans want in the Chicago Treaty?

_____

_____

3. What was the role and action of Topenibe during the Chicago Treaty?

_____

_____

4. What were the terms of the treaty for the Michigan Potawatomi?

_____

_____

Escaping and Evading Removal

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. At this time of removal, what did the British offer the Potawatomi?

_____

_____

2. Why was the Hannahville Indian Reservation created?

_____

_____

3. About how many Potawatomi were removed to Kansas?

4. In the end, was the Indian Removal Plan for Michigan Potawatomi successful?

The Pokagons: Catholic Potawatomi of the St. Joseph Valley

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What is another name for the Catholic Potawatomi?

2. Why did Leopold Pokagon sever relations with Baptist missionary Issac McCoy?

3. The Pokagon Band purchased land from the federal government in 1838. How much land and where?

4. Before Pokagon's death, what did Father Stanislaus A. Bernier do concerning the Pokagon Band's land?

5. Who eventually was awarded the land of the Pokagon Band?

6. What name is given the Pokagon Band today?

_____

The Huron Band

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Which two main groups comprise the Huron Band?

_____

_____

2. Where did the Huron Band purchase land in 1843?

_____

_____

3. What agreement did Governor John S. Barry make concerning this land?

_____

_____

4. Who owns the land of the Huron Band today?

_____

_____

ACTIVITY

Make a list of the things that make the Potawatomi tribe unique among the Anishr abek.

VOCABULARY - UNIT THREE

VOCABULARY: Use a dictionary to define the following words in Unit Three.

1. horticultural - _____

2. formidable - _____

3. elusive - _____

4. rampaged - _____

5. unweildy - _____

6. astute - _____

7. fusion - _____

8. coalesced - _____

9. consensus - _____

10. inequities - _____

_____

11. aspirations - _____

_____

12. phratries - _____

_____

13. connotations - _____

_____

14. allusions - _____

_____

15. succumbed - _____

_____

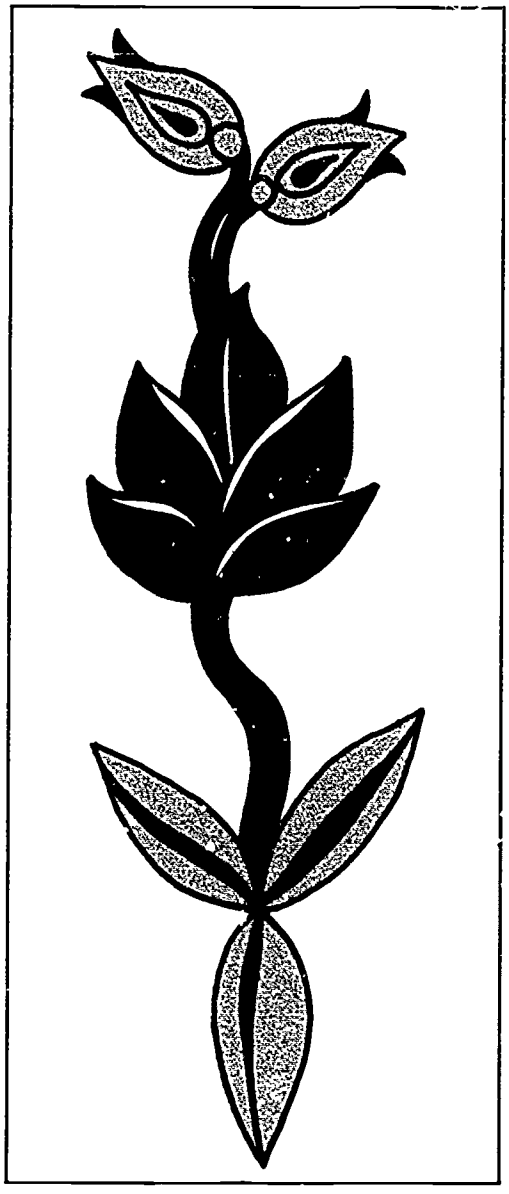
16. dismemberment - _____

_____

OVERVIEW

The Potawatomi settled in southern Michigan. While they still relied on fishing and hunting, they gained a reputation as horticulturists, cultivating large gardens in their warm seasonal climate. Their tribal structure was well organized, uniting all small villages under one leadership. During the French and Indian Wars, the Potawatomi remained loyal to the French. Under British rule, the tribe lost the reciprocity of gifts given by the French creating an era of tension. In the American Revolution, the Potawatomi fought for the British. Later treaties issed by the Americans gradually exchanged Potawatomi lands for cash payments, rations and annuities payable for a fixed number of years. Some Potawatomi were sent to a Kansas reservation in the American's Indian Removal Plan. The Potawatomi organized into two groups: the Pokagan Band and the Huron Band. Treaties gradually took their lands, allowing very little for subsistence. Since the ear 1900s, the Potawatomi have organized and lobbied for reinstatement of old treaties, additional annuities and other treaty rights denied them.

THE OJIBWAY



OBJECTIVES

1. Relate the oral history of the early Ojibway tribe and their migration to Michigan.

2. Describe the tranquility and harmony of life experienced by the Ojibway before the arrival of the first French traders.

3. List some of the policies enacted by the Americans which caused disunity in the Ojibway tribe.

4. Describe the new opportunities for the Ojibway after World War II.

UNIT FOUR

THE OJIBWAY

The Long Migration

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What is the translation of the word "Anishnabeg"?

_____

_____

2. Relate the story of "creation" as to how the Anishnabeg began.

_____

_____

3. From what region did the Anishnabeg migrate into Michigan?

_____

_____

4. The Anishnabeg are commonly referred to as the _____ ,

or the _____ .

Clans and Kinship

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. By 1500, the Ojibway were settled in what region of the Great Lakes?

_____

_____

2. What are the five animals which serve as figure heads for the five great families of the Ojibway?

_____

_____

3. Explain the Ojibway way of reciprocity.

The Relatedness of All Things

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Who is Aki?

2. How did the Ojibway spiritual perception of their world affect their actions?

The Bounty of the Creation

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. List ten animals that were plentiful in the areas occupied by the Ojibway?

2. What were some of the agricultural crops planted by the Ojibway?

3. What was the Ojibway reason for practicing "conservation"?

4. Discuss some of the seasonal activities of the Ojibway, related to the harvesting of animals and plants.

_____

_____

A Life of Tranquility

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Why were there few conflicts and serious crimes among the Ojibway?

_____

_____

_____

2. What affect does "oral culture" have on the ability to listen, remember and to articulate?

_____

_____

The Gift To All

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. The most popular stories during the winter months focused on a mythical teacher to the Ojibway called _____.

2. Describe the naming of Ojibway children.

_____

_____

_____

3. What are some of the teachings of Manaboozhoo?

_____

_____

The Art of Healing

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Another name for the "Great Medicine Society" is _____

_____

2. What is the power of the members of this society?

_____

_____

Contact With the French

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. When did French explorers first come into contact with the Ojibway?

_____

_____

2. The French referred to the Ojibway as _____

_____

3. How did these Indian people get the name Ojibway?

4. Name some of the village sites of the Ojibway which are now Michigan towns?

The Fur Trade

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. In what ways were the fur trading years with the French corruptive for the Ojibway?

2. What were the changes in Ojibway religion during this time with the influence of the European missionaries?

3. Who was Tshusick, and what is she known for?

The French and Indian War

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What was the conflict between France and England, that became the French and Indian War?

2. Why then was it called the French and Indian War?

British Victory

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Where and when did the French surrender to Britain?

2. Who was Neolin?

3. What was the intent of the Royal Proclamation of 1763?

4. Give the dates of the American Revolution.

American Expansionism

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Explain the terms of the Greenville Treaty.

2. Was this treaty kept by the U.S. Government?

The Treaty Era

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Why were the Ojibway allies to the British in the War of 1812?

2. Name the Shawnee brothers who foresaw the American expansion and urged their people to resist.

A Landless People

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. By 1832, what hardships were the Ojibway facing in Michigan?

2. What was the "removal plan" of the Treaty of Washington in 1836?

3. As a result of this treaty, many Ojibway fled to what country?

An Era of Hard Times

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What was the intent of the Treaty of Detroit in 1855?

2. By 1860, only one Ojibway reservation remained. Where is it located?

3. What were some of the hardships that Ojibway children faced in government schools?

The Plunder of the Land

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. During the 1870s and 1880s, many of Michigan's animal and plant species were near extinction. Relate, as an example, the situation of the passenger pigeon.

The Turn of the Twentieth Century

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What Government Act was established in 1934, to provide financial support for Indian children?

2. What became of the Burt Lake Band village in 1900?

New Opportunities

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. What is the intent of the Indian Claims Commission which began in 1946?

2. What was the Comstock Agreement?

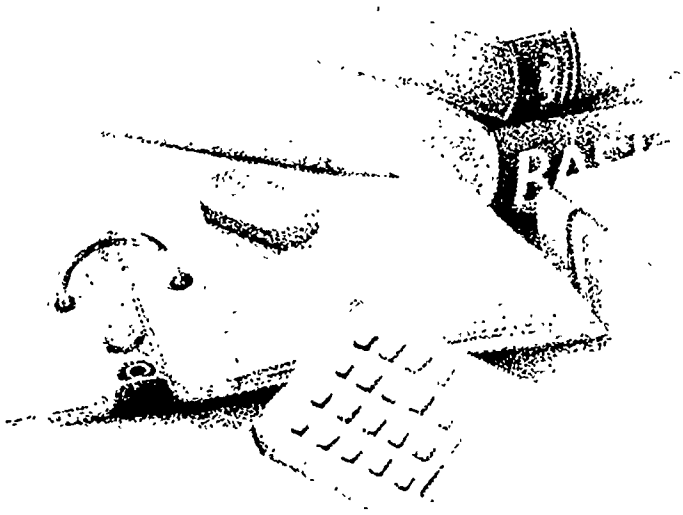
3. What was the Fox decision of 1979?

The Fishing Controversy

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. How is it ironic that opponents of fishing rights claim that Indian fishing communities are depleting the Great Lake's waters of fish?

2. What fact was made public in the D.N.R. publication, Shaping The World's Finest Freshwater Fishery?



The Future

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Why are many Ojibway people today working to preserve their culture and tradition?

_____

_____

_____

_____

2. What vehicle will assuredly be one of the greater assets to the C 'bway people today?

_____

_____

ACTIVITY -

Draw a map of Michigan. Indicate and print on the map the Ojibway settlements discussed in this unit.

VOCABULARY - UNIT FOUR

VOCABULARY: Use a dictionary to define the following words in Unit Four.

1. diphtheria - _____

2. contagious - _____

3. decimation - _____

4. pantheic - _____

5. sturgeon - _____

6. weir - _____

7. cholera - _____

8. fraudulent - _____

9. assimilate - _____

10. prevalent - _____

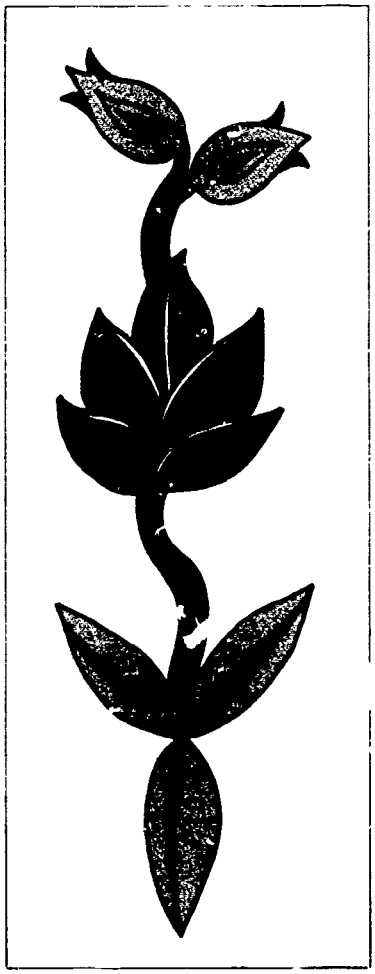
11. flotilla - _____

OVERVIEW

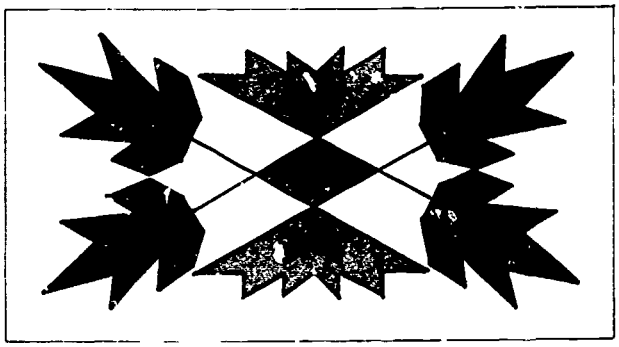
The Ojibway of Michigan claimed the territory of the upper peninsula and the majority of the north-eastern side of the state. The tribe lived in a plentiful environment offering them a well balanced, happy life. Important to the Ojibway was the belief that everything interacted as a part of the total creation. They worked to conserve the land and the animals and maintain the balance of nature. Their location in northern Michigan opened the way for the fur trade with other lower peninsula tribes. With the increased expansionism of the European powers, the Ojibway experienced conflict and stress. Fighting for the French in the French and Indian Wars, the tribe experienced hostilities with their British victors. The defeat of the British by the Americans ushered in the treaty era and the loss of Ojibway lands. The Treaty of Greenville in 1795, began a succession of treaties furthering the erosion of Ojibway land to the American government. It wasn't until World War II that the Ojibway found more economic opportunity. After the war, the Ojibway began to organize and reexamine the old treaties, seeking clarification of promises never kept by the American government.

ACTIVITIES

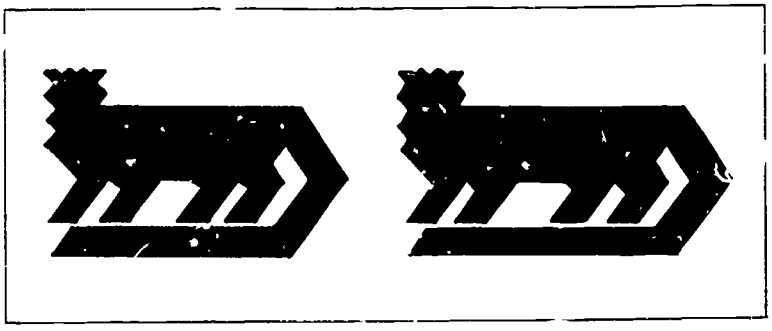
THE OJIBWAY



THE POTAWATOMI



THE OTTAWA



GEOGRAPHY

The state of Michigan is filled with Anishnabe names. Nearly half of all the counties, many towns, rivers, lakes and islands reflect the language. This geography activity emphasizes the old language influence on our state.

It may be helpful to understand that the geographical boundaries of Michigan were only created after the territory became a state. Before that time, the lands occupied by the various tribes were not restricted to these boundaries. The Ojibway territory, for example, extended north and east into Canada, while the Potawatomi territory began in southern Michigan but extended into Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin.

It should also be pointed out that the Michigan tribes shared territory for hunting and fishing. As a result, these lands often overlapped one another. This was a peaceful co-existence and sharing of natural resources.

Counties of Michigan with Anishnabe Names

In this activity the names of these Michigan counties are listed and translated from the Anishnabe language into English. This is followed by a map which indicates the location of the counties. Remember that the French and English influence in Michigan often changed the pronounciation of Anishnabe words. Many of the counties listed here reflect that influence and their meanings are sometimes uncertain.


Keweenaw
Ontonagon
Gogebic
Chippewa
Mackinac
Menominee
Cheboygan
Otsego
Leelanau
Kalkaska
Oscoda
Iosco
Manistee
Missaukee
Ogemaw
Osceola
Muskegon
Newayo
Mecosta
Huron
Tuscola
Sanilac
Ottawa
Saginaw
Genesee
Shiawassee
Allegan
Washtenaw
Kalamazoo
Lenawee

County	Translation
Allegan	the name of an ancient tribe.
Cheboygan	a large pipe.
Chippewa	the English name for the Ojibwa tribe.
Genesee	a valley of great beauty.
Gogebic	not sure, possibly a type of root.
Huron	a kind of bird, also a Michigan tribe.
Iosco	not sure of meaning.
Kalamazoo	from the word (Kekalamazoo) meaning boiling pot.
Kalkaska	an area that has been burned.
Keweenaw	to carry the canoe.
Leelanau	the name of an Anishnabe woman that means the happiness of life or land.
Lenawee	the name of an Anishnabe man. The meaning is uncertain.
Mackinac	not sure, possibly a blanket. Michillimackinac means big turtle.
Manistee	the wind in the trees or forest.
Mecosta	the name of a Potawatomi leader that means great bear.
Menominee	the name of a Michigan tribe that means people of the wild rice.
Missaukee	the name of an Ojibwa leader. The meaning is uncertain.
Muskegon	a swampy land.
Newaygo	not sure of meaning.
Ogemaw	a respected leader.
Ontonagan	not sure, possibly a round bowl.

Osceola _____ the name of a Seminole leader. The meaning is uncertain.

Oscoda _____ not sure of meaning.

Otsego _____ clean water.

Ottawa _____ the name of a Michigan tribe that means those who trade.

Saginaw _____ the home of the Sauk tribe.

Sanilac _____ the name of a Wyandotte leader. The meaning is uncertain.

Shiawassee _____ a twisting river.

Tuscola _____ not sure of meaning.

Washtenaw _____ a river located some distance from a large lake.

ACTIVITY -

Discuss with the class how language can change through use by another culture. Examples: Petoskey, an Anishnabe word meaning "the rising sun", was originally pronounced Pee-Tog-Ska. Ottawa comes from Odawa, Chippewa comes of Ojib-way and Kalamazoo comes from Ke-Kala-Mo-Zoo.

What are the effects of language changes such as these on the culture of the Michigan tribes? What are the effects on the state-wide community?

ANISHNABE CALENDAR

The Anishnabe calendar was centered around the activities of everyday life. The names of the months, or moons, changed among the many tribes of North America, because they were from unique environments. The concept of "time" for the historic Anishnabe was a process in the life cycle. It began and ended with seasonal regularity.

Jan. _____ Great Spirit Moon

Feb. _____ Sucker Fish Moon

Mar. _____ Hard Crust Moon

April _____ Maple Sugar Moon

May _____ Flower Moon

June _____ Strawberry Moon

July _____ Blueberry Moon

Aug. _____ Rice Moon

Sept. _____ Falling Leaves Moon

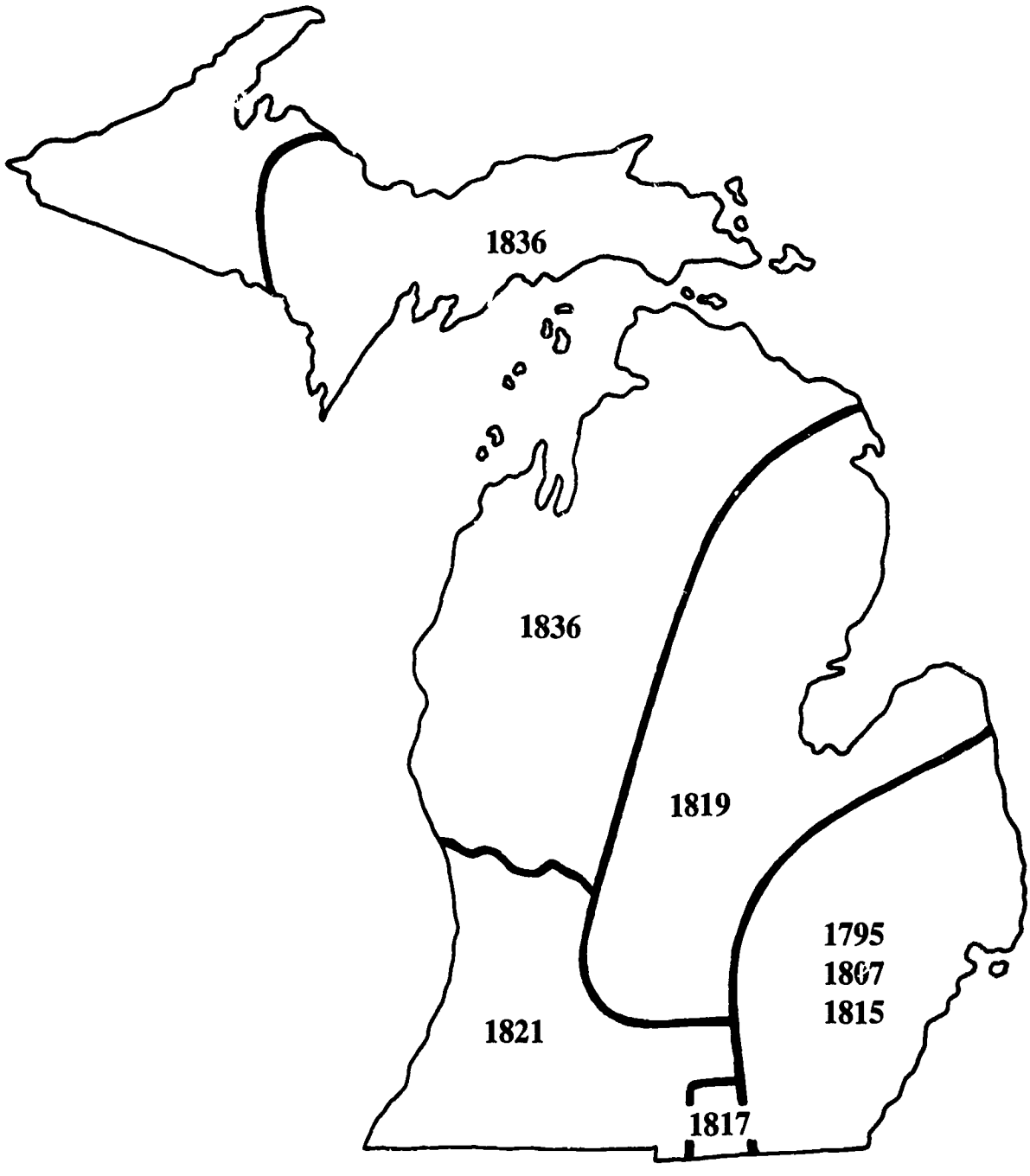
Oct. _____ Hunting Moon

Nov. _____ Freezing Moon

Dec. _____ Little Spirit Moon

ACTIVITY -

Consider the Anishnabe calendar. Make a list of comparable names for the months which relate to activities in your own life as a high school student. Example: June - Summer Vacation Moon, or October - Football Moon.



These are some of the important treaties signed between the American government and the Michigan tribes. Many others were signed over these years.

WORD SEARCH

Search for the tribes of Michigan.

Huron
Menominee
Miami
Ojibway
Ottawa
Potawatomi
Sauk

C	O	M	R	A	F	V	T	A	T	R	J	G	I	T
S	P	I	R	C	I	A	B	N	R	A	A	T	P	S
A	C	B	L	O	S	D	E	F	T	S	Q	U	O	N
S	A	O	T	T	A	W	A	F	C	K	N	I	T	G
D	R	A	E	H	U	I	K	T	E	F	P	U	A	M
T	P	C	A	U	K	Y	B	F	Z	H	Y	S	W	B
O	S	D	R	L	F	N	A	M	I	A	M	I	A	I
N	C	G	M	H	G	X	T	O	O	N	D	V	T	S
A	I	B	A	N	T	T	C	J	E	K	R	J	O	P
H	N	L	M	E	N	O	M	I	N	E	E	G	M	K
U	A	J	C	G	L	I	T	B	E	U	Q	Y	I	V
R	F	L	D	O	W	T	A	W	O	P	S	E	L	F
O	W	Q	U	E	R	M	S	A	Z	I	L	C	E	N
N	E	I	P	X	Y	A	F	Y	H	G	B	H	N	I
P	O	T	O	R	C	U	L	I	E	S	E	G	T	A

TEACHER'S GUIDE

PEOPLE OF THE THREE FIRES

The
Ottawa,
Potawatomi
and Ojibway
Of
Michigan

TEACHER'S GUIDE

PEOPLE OF THE THREE FIRES
The Ottawa, Potawatomi and Ojibway of Michigan

Prepared by M. T. Bussey

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INTRODUCTION

The teacher's guide is intended to provide teachers, curriculum specialists, and administrators with suggestions on utilizing *The People of the Three Fires* textbook in any secondary program.

This book provides factual information from an Indian perspective. Information can easily be used in a lecture format along with possible discussions centering on student reactions and impressions. Such discussions will promote and help to contribute a more balanced perspective of Indian historical events.

Major topics and units which make up the text, can be incorporated into any United States History course. Combining the text and student workbook would lend itself to be used as an excellent resource guide. Students can be assigned to read a segment of the text correlating with the appropriate timeframe, answer questions following their reading as well as complete suggested activities from the student workbook. Additionally, the text and student workbook may be used as a foundation of a Great Lakes Indian History course. This curriculum gives detailed information stressing the unique qualities of each of the three predominant Michigan tribes. Here, the student is provided the opportunity to compare and contrast each tribe and examine each tribe's relationship with the French and British. The curriculum highlights tribal leaders such as Pontiac and Leopold Pokagon. Various treaties are examined and analyzed to emphasize their impact on tribal life. The bibliography provided allows teachers and interested students to continue further research. Authentic photographs help to present a visual depiction of the times. Native and non-Native Americans will enjoy discovering United States History using this curriculum as a supplemental resource or as a core course.

Sue Maturkanich
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A PERSPECTIVE

In the past, it was common to present a study unit on Michigan Indians using the traditions and customs of many different tribes across North America. American Indians are a very diversified group to include hundreds of tribes who offer unique cultures and languages. The differences among the tribes are as diverse as the differences among the many nations of the world. Columbus may have called the native people of North America "Indians" but we are, in fact, members of great nations—such as Sioux or Cherokee.

For years, the American media has misrepresented Native Americans with inaccuracies and pure fiction. Teachers are often hesitant to begin a unit on Michigan Indians since they do not know the sensitivities of the Native American community or the particular Indian viewpoint. This curriculum provides insight into the Anishnabek culture and gives the teacher a structured plan for presentation.

It is important to present an authentic picture of the Michigan Anishnabe. The Indians of the Great Lakes did not live in teepees or make totem poles like other western and northwestern tribes. The Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Ojibway used their own environment to create unique cultures, unlike other North American tribes. This process of authenticity will aid in the breakdown of media bias and stereotypes faced by most Native Americans. It will also aid in the accurate portrayal of native people for the students.

While many tribes occupied the Michigan region in the past, this text concentrates on the three historic tribes whose territories continually occupied the state. Although these people shared the same Algonquian heritage and language, their separate cultures have existed in the Great Lakes for almost one thousand years. The acknowledgement of this separate development within the original group is a necessary sensitivity awareness to understanding the Indian experience in Michigan.

The European history of Michigan really began less than four hundred years ago. It started in the late 1500s when French traders filtered into the Great Lakes region. In contrast, the Indian history of Michigan started over 10,000 years ago when bands of hunters roamed into the state. It is important for students to understand the imbalance of this timeframe and the vast amount of history before the coming of the Europeans. It is also important to realize that cultures of the Anishnabek existed and thrived in their environment, untouched by the "civilization" of the European continent. The beginning of each unit of the text clearly depicts the "bounty of creation" enjoyed by the people before European intervention. In many cases, the knowledge of the Indian tribes was too advanced for the Europeans to recognize. To clearly understand this situation, one has only to recall the scurvy problems among European settlers in North America and the Indian's treatment of this disease using rose hip and vitamin C teas.

To teach the complete story of Michigan history, it is necessary to examine the perspectives of all groups involved. Since the time of our first confrontation with Europeans, Michigan Indians have had our history described, documented, and evaluated by non-Indian authors. Recently, there has been an appreciation for the need to reexamine Michigan Indian history. This reexamination gives self-representation to the Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Ojibway to tell our own story. As a result, students are presented a concise, balanced account of Michigan history.

In reading the text, students may find contradictions to the European version of the conquest of North America. In many cases, these misconceptions are so ingrained in the American culture that the truth often seems unbelievable. It will be essential to guide the students through the text with emphasis on discussion and shared impressions. This experience may require reflection, expressed feelings, and more class involvement than other history curricula. We suggest that the teacher review the material prior to student reading to prepare for questions and responses.

*A bibliography accompanies this manual offering additional information and sources on Michigan Indian tribes.

*The terms Indian, Native American, and American Indian are used interchangeably throughout the curriculum. This is how they are used today by the Michigan Anishnabek.

*Anishinabe (singular), Anishnabek (plural) is the name the Michigan tribes give themselves in their own language. It means "the original person (people)."

ANSWER KEY

UNIT ONE THE PREHISTORIC ROOTS OF MICHIGAN INDIANS

The Paleo-Indians

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. from the South
2. 12,000 B.C. to 8,000 B.C.
3. hunting of the Mastodon and other large mammals, gathering of foods

The Archaic Period

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Early: 8,000 B.C.-6,000 B.C.

   Middle: 6,000 B.C.-3,000 B.C.

   Late: 3,000 B.C.-1,000 B.C.
2. climate grew warmer and drier, more hardwood forests, more mammals
3. the Middle Archaic Period
4. the Late Archaic Period
5. copper
6. Northern Michigan people continued fishing and hunting because of colder climate, southern Michigan people began to rely more on planted crops in the warmer growing region.

The Woodland Indians

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. squash, sunflowers, corn, and beans
2. about 300 B.C.
3. Hopewell

4. saplings covered by bark and rush mats

5. along the Atlantic seaboard far to the east

6. Anishnabeg

7. the Three Fires Confederacy

8. 1,000 B.C.-A.D. 1650.

UNIT TWO THE OTTAWA

The Ottawa and Their Environment

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. the length of the growing season
2. around the early 1700s
3. corn

Ottawa Village Life

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. by consent of all his/her family members
2. democracy
3. the Straits of Mackinac

Ottawa Values

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. material wealth, labor, and food
2. respect for the individual
3. family
4. Nanabozho
5. to educate them and to teach the culture of the tribe

Ottawa Kinship

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. the family unit
2. (answers will vary) Ododem is a totem mark, represented by an animal, designating the family from which a person derives.
3. matrilineal, through the mother
   patrilineal, through the father

Manitos

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. body, manitou (spirit)

Powers

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. an animal pelt that forms a bag containing special objects such as totem images or herbs
2. Midewiwin
3. the Catholic religion's services

Ceremonies and the Cycle of Seasons

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. an essential part of life and all activities
2. feasting, dancing, singing
3. the sun ceremony
4. (answers will vary) a long ceremony where the bones of the dead were buried in a common grave

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The French and the Fur Trade

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. to trade
2. about 1615
3. the Huron
4. They came seeking gold, silver, and spices from the Orient.
5. beaver pelts

The Iroquois Wars

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. European knives, kettles, axes, and guns
2. to destroy the fur trading networks of the Huron

3. Iroquois war parties, smallpox epidemics, and the activities of French missionaries

4. guns and ammunition to protect themselves from the Iroquois, reliance on gunsmiths, and purchase of ammunition

5. the Chippewa (Ojibway)

6. 1650-1700

7. on the banks of rivers flowing into Lake Michigan and Lake Huron and on the lakeshore

8. the Straits of Mackinac

The Ottawa-French Partnership

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. personal relationships governed by rules of gift-giving and kinship

2. the British

The French and Indian Wars

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. the French

2. 1754-1763

3. Detroit

Ottawa Culture in the French Era

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. the increased use of European manufactured goods

2. Sinago, Kiskakon, Sable, Naussaukueton

3. through the father, or patrilineally

The British

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. It placed all of French Canada and the strategic western forts under British control.
2. (answers will vary) They discontinued the practice of annual gifts and gave no guns or ammunition to the Ottawa.

Pontiac's Rebellion

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Ottawa, Chippewa, Potawatomi, Seneca, Delaware, Shawnee, and Wyandot
2. two, Fort Pitt and Fort Detroit
3. They encouraged the uprising but offered no military aid.

The New Alliance

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. (answers will vary) Pontiac ended the siege, but the British had new respect for the Indians. British policies became less arrogant and more conciliatory.
2. They were neutral.

Meeting the Americans

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. (answers will vary) The ordinance gave the Americans the right to buy, not seize Indian land. It also promised to set up a boundary line between American land and Indian territory, which no settlers could cross. It allowed trade between Americans and Indians.
2. 1785
3. The American troops were defeated.
4. because the settlers kept moving into Indian territory, breaking the treaty
5. the battle at Fort Miami.

6. to stop the violation of agreements and the trespasses on Indian land

7. the British

Facing American Rule

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. (answers will vary) a plan to make Indians reject their old culture and take on the ways of American settlers

2. Indian removal to western reservations

3. Andrew Jackson

4. the Mississippi River

The Treaty Era—Meeting the Challenge

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. the Maumee River in Ohio, on the Grand River and between the Little Traverse Bay and Mackinac in Michigan and on Manitoulin Island in Canada

2. Kansas

3. the hunting grounds between the Kalamazoo and Grand Rivers

4. (answers will vary) Some didn't accept the teachings, but others adopted Christian religious practices.

5. cattle, metal tools, oxen plows, and government provisions

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A Divided Society

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. smallpox

2. They did a combination of fishing, hunting, and crop raising while the Chippewa lived primarily by hunting.

The Treaty of 1836

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Henry Schoolcraft
2. lands north of the Grand River and along the Manistee River and Little Traverse Bay
3. to preserve their hunting and fishing grounds and no removal plan to western reservations
4. Manitoulin Island, Canada

Shaping the Future

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. buy land
2. very negative, no streams for fishing, no sugar maple trees, and the climate was unhealthy
3. 1850, on the condition that they renounce their tribal affiliation

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Changing Values

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. traveling hunters and fishermen
2. their skin color, their language, and their belief in shared wealth

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The Treaty of 1855

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. final or last
2. Mason and Oceana counties, Grand Traverse and Little Traverse Bays
3. about eight hundred
4. (answers will vary) It dissolved Ottawa tribal status, land was individually owned not tribally owned. Thus, made it more difficult for the Ottawa to act as a group with the American government.

Loss of the Land

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. (answers will vary) They did little to remedy the situation and even took part in defrauding the Ottawa through higher tax rates.
2. lumbering
3. fishing

Preparing for the Future

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. education
2. (answers will vary) The government agreed to close the Mission boarding schools and open day schools near Ottawa villages.
3. in the 1880s
4. (answers will vary) English was the only language they were allowed to speak. They were physically punished. They were taught that their tribal ways were inferior to the ways of the American settlers.
5. Northern Michigan Ottawa Association, Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council, Leelanau Indians, Inc.

UNIT THREE THE POTAWATOMI

The Potawatomi Pattern: A Cultural Advantage

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Neshnabek
2. southern Michigan or lower Michigan
3. horticultural
4. (answers will vary) They were more stable in permanent villages. They were more agricultural and less transient with more organized tribal units.

Michigan Indians in the 1600s

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. to escape the Iroquois
2. to northeastern Wisconsin
3. about 1670

A Rise to Power

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. to carry on trade
2. technology, economic, political, geographic, and population advantages

The Tribal Design

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. They pledged their loyalty and military support in times of war.
2. consensus
3. violence, power, or wealth of any one person
4. fewer than one hundred people

Clan, Community, and Individual

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. the family or the clan
2. through the father or patrilineally
3. Great Lake, Thunderbird, Man, Bear, Buffalo, and Wolf
4. A child was named for a dead ancestor and assumed the identity and characteristics of his/her namesake.
5. Sakikwinik (River's Mouth)
6. clan

The Fur Trade

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. brass kettles, wool, and steel knives
2. the snowshoe, the birchbark canoe

The Impact of European Technology

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. blacksmith and gunsmith
2. They lacked the built-in cultural controls and often their reactions were disastrous.
3. because the European containers of brass, copper, and iron were available
4. (answers will vary) The Potawatomi were generally indifferent.

A Balancing Act

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. The French thought the leaders were their chosen agents and that they could make decisions for their people. They also thought their leadership roles were hereditary.
2. They were the most favored tribe of the French.
3. (answers will vary) the Potawatomi expanded their territory, each village developed their own concerns and interests, the pressures of the French fur trade

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The French and Indian War

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. the French
2. General Edward Braddock
3. no

The New Imperial Presence

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. 1760
2. Tribal unity disintegrated due to scattered villages and ineffective communication.

A Transportation Revolution

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. the horse
2. canoes

Pontiac's Rebellion

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia
2. He ordered the cessation of annual "presents" to Indian allies.
3. Detroit and Pittsburgh
4. no
5. Private traders were brought under control. The British resumed the annual "presents". The British Crown Proclamation of 1763 proclaimed all lands west of the Allegheny Mountains as Indian territory.

The American Revolution

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. the British
2. an important Wkama who led the anti-British clans into Wisconsin
3. no

The Americans

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. at Fallen Timbers, just south of present day Toledo
2. The British locked the gates at Fort Miami and refused to support the Potawatomi.
3. The British would evacuate their posts at St. Joseph, Detroit, and Mackinac and establish posts on their own side of an international boundary along the midline of the Great Lakes.

The Treaty Process

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. the Potawatomi
2. The Americans acknowledged that the Indian tribes were not conquered people; the lands in the Great Lakes-Ohio valley were Indian lands; the Indians accepted the sovereignty of the U.S.A.; and the Indians agreed to transfer most of Ohio, southern Indiana, the Detroit River area, and Mackinac to American ownership.
3. 1805
4. The Potawatomi received rations, cash payments, quantities of goods, annuity cash payments, and sometimes services.

The War of 1812

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh
2. the United States
3. the battle at Moraviantown on the Thames River
4. 1815

Treaties and Land Cessions, 1816-1833

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. 1825
2. No treaty was ever approved by the Potawatomi without extensive debate and the participation of many leaders and most adult men and women of the tribe.
3. southwestern Michigan

"Civilization" and Removal

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. to "civilize" the Indians by turning them into Christian farmers
2. Indian removal to "Indian Territory" located west of the Mississippi River
3. approximately three thousand to four thousand Potawatomi
4. They were strongly opposed to the Indian Removal Plan.

The Chicago Treaty and Its Aftermath

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Gigak, meaning skunk
2. to purchase all remaining Potawatomi land in the Lake Michigan region and to obtain Potawatomi consent to the Indian Removal Plan
3. He was chosen by the Americans as the "principal chief" and he carelessly scratched his "x" on any document placed before him.
4. They ceded their remaining lands to the Americans and agreed to the Indian Removal Plan within three years. Leopold Pokagon's band was allowed to stay in Michigan.

Escaping and Evading Removal

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. the chance to move to Canada and therefore stay in the Great Lakes region
2. for the Potawatomi who moved to Canada but returned to Michigan
3. about 1200
4. no

The Pokagons: Catholic Potawatomi of the St. Joseph Valley

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. the Pokagon Band
2. McCoy advocated Indian removal.
3. 874 acres on Silver Creek, near Dowagiac

4. He registered a deed at the Cass County courthouse transferring 674 acres of Potawatomi land to his own name.

5. Leopold Pokagon's wife and his sons

6. The Potawatomi Nation of Indians, Inc.

The Huron Band

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Potawatomi of the St. Joseph region and the Huron Indian bands of eastern Michigan

2. on Pine Creek, between Battle Creek and Athens, Michigan

3. to hold the land in perpetual trust

4. It is owned privately by families of the Huron Band.

UNIT FOUR THE OJIBWAY

The Long Migration

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. first or original people
2. Kitche Manitou fulfilled a vision of sunsets, starry skies, rocks, water, fire, wind, and beings living together. From these elements: sun, earth, moon, and stars, plant beings and animal beings were formed.
3. from the "Great Salt Sea" near the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, on the eastern seaboard
4. Ojibway, Chippewa

Clans and Kinship

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. the Upper Peninsula of Michigan and the northern Lower Peninsula
2. the loon, great fish, marten, crane, and bear
3. It is a system of giving and sharing wealth so that no one person has too much or too little.

The Relatedness of All Things

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. the earth, the mother of the people, and all other life forms
2. It obligated the Anishnabeg to carefully consider their actions. It dictated their hunting, fishing, food gathering, and planting activities.

The Bounty of the Creation

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. (answers will vary) moose, elk, caribou, deer, bear, beaver, mink, muskrat, marten, squirrel, fox, wolves, rabbits
2. corn, sunflowers, tobacco, squash, beans, pumpkins, and potatoes
3. to insure the continued existence of all species on mother earth; to maintain the earth as she was originally

4. Winter: hunting and trapping
   Spring: maple syrup gathering
   Summer: planting gardens
   Fall: rice gathering and hunting water fowl

A Life of Tranquility

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. (answers will vary) Children were trained to avoid open conflict and criticism. They also feared being ostracized by the tribe for unacceptable behavior.
2. The tribe's history and culture are carried on this way, therefore, it is extremely important for the people to have these abilities.

The Gift to All

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Manaboozhoo (Nanabush)
2. (answers will vary) Children are ceremoniously named by a chosen, respected elder. Sometimes names come from dreams or visions.
3. proper tribal behavior; the difference between right and wrong

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The Art of Healing

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Midewiwin
2. They are medical specialists, trained herbalists, and often act as "psychologists" with the people.

Contact with the French

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. in the early 1600s
2. Saultiers or people of the rapids
3. They were so called because they wore moccasins that puckered at the top.
4. Sault Ste. Marie, Mackinac, Cheboygan, Alpena, and Oscoda

The Fur Trade

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. (answers will vary) the Ojibway received less for the true value of their furs; the introduction of alcohol; the disruption of seasonal activities; introduction of European diseases to which the Ojibway were not immune

2. (answers will vary) The Ojibway came under great pressure to change their spiritual beliefs, to accept Christianity.

3. Tshusick was an Ojibway woman who traveled to Washington, D.C., wanting to be baptized. She impressed all with her wit and charm, speaking fluent English, French, and Ojibway.

The French and Indian War

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. control of land, resources, and the fur trade

2. because the Indians of the Great Lakes area took sides and fought in the war

---

British Victory

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Detroit, 1760

2. Neolin was a Delaware Indian prophet.

3. to protect Michigan Indian lands from sale to European settlers, to restore peace

4. 1775-1783

American Expansionism

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. Twenty thousand dollars worth of goods and one thousand dollars per year forever was given in trade for land sold to the American Government. Also, the U.S. relinquished claim to remaining Michigan lands.

2. no

The Treaty Era

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. They tried to protect their lands from American settlers.
2. Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh

A Landless People

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. small, restricted land parcels, cholera epidemics, continued encroachment of American settlers
2. Under Andrew Jackson's administration, the Michigan Indian people were to be moved southwest of the Missouri River.
3. Canada

An Era of Hard Times

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. the assimilation of Indian people into American society and allowing them to own land individually
2. Isabella County, in lower Michigan
3. separation from their family, their culture, and physical punishment

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The Plunder of the Land

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. The birds were netted and shot on their nesting grounds. From there these birds were sent to markets, but due to a glut on the market, they were in turn fed to farmers' hogs. The passenger pigeon is now extinct because of this type of slaughtering.

The Turn of the Twentieth Century

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. the Johnson-O'Malley Act
2. It was burned by Sheriff Ming and John McGinn, and the land was sold for back taxes.

New Opportunities

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. The Indian Claims Commission was established to examine the old treaties and reassure the Indian rights set forth in the treaties.

2. When the Mount Pleasant Indian School closed, this agreement by Governc. Charles Comstock was made to provide education for Indian children in Michigan.

3. The Fox decision was a restatement of fishing rights "given" to Michigan Indians in the 1836 Treaty of Washington.

The Fishing Controversy

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. (answers will vary) Since the coming of the European, in the past 200 years, the land has seen destruction of air, water, animal, and plant species. All of these resources were sustained, honored, and kept in balance by Native American people for thousands of years before European arrival.

2. Sports fishermen in Michigan are catching the majority of designated species of fish.

The Future

KNOW THE FACTS:

1. (answers will vary) There is a great deal of wisdom and common sense in the traditional teachings toward the earth and fellow human beings.

2. education

WORD SEARCH

Search for some of the tribes of Michigan

Huron
Menominee
Miami
Ojibway
Ottawa
Potawatomi
Sauk

C	O	M	R	A	F	V	T	A	T	R	J	G	I	T
S	P	I	R	C	I	A	B	N	R	A	A	T	P	S
A	C	B	L	O	S	D	E	F	T	S	Q	U	O	N
S	A	O	T	T	A	W	A	F	C	K	N	I	T	G
D	R	A	E	H	U	I	K	T	E	F	P	U	A	M
T	P	C	A	U	K	Y	B	F	Z	H	Y	S	W	B
O	S	D	R	L	F	N	A	M	I	A	M	I	A	I
N	C	G	M	H	G	X	T	O	O	N	D	V	T	S
A	I	B	A	N	T	T	C	J	E	K	R	J	O	P
H	N	L	M	E	N	O	M	I	N	E	E	G	M	K
U	A	J	C	G	L	I	T	B	E	U	Q	Y	I	V
R	F	L	D	O	W	T	A	W	O	P	S	E	L	F
O	W	Q	U	E	R	M	S	A	Z	I	L	C	E	N
N	E	I	P	X	Y	A	F	Y	H	G	B	H	N	I
P	O	T	O	R	C	U	L	I	E	S	E	G	T	A

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