(4) Proposed Finding Documents

- June 23, 1997

Summary under the Criteria and Evidence for

Proposed Finding

Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of

Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan

Prepared in response to a petition submitted to the Secretary of the Interior for Federal Acknowledgment that this group exists as an Indian tribe.

Approved: JUN 2 3 1997

Ada E. Deer

Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs

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INTRODUCTION

This report has been prepared in response to the petition received by the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs (Assistant Secretary) from the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan (MBPI) seeking Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe under Part 83 of Title 25 of the Code of Federal Regulations (25 CFR 83).

Part 83 establishes procedures by which unrecognized Indian groups may seek Federal acknowledgment of a government-to-government relationship with the United States. To be entitled to such a political relationship with the United States, the petitioner must submit documentary evidence that the group meets the seven criteria set forth in Section 83.7 of 25 CFR, "Procedures for Establishing That an American Indian Group Exists as an Indian Tribe." Failure to meet any one of the seven criteria will result in a determination that the group does not exist as an Indian tribe within the meaning of Federal law.

Applicable Regulations

Under the revised Acknowledgment regulations which became effective March 28, 1994, section 83.8 of 25 CFR modifies the required evidence for those petitioners who can demonstrate unambiguous prior Federal acknowledgment. The petitioner here, the MBPI, was determined to have had unambiguous previous Federal acknowledgment through the date of the 1855 Treaty of Detroit, to which the band's chief was a signatory, and subsequently through the date of 1870 at which annuity payments under prior treaties were commuted. Thus, this finding has been prepared under the provisions of section 83.8. The applicable sections of the regulations read:

> **83.8. Previous Federal acknowledgment.**
>
> **(a) Unambiguous previous Federal acknowledgment is acceptable evidence of the tribal character of a petitioner to the date of the last such previous acknowledgment. If a petitioner provides substantial evidence of unambiguous Federal acknowledgment, the petitioner will then only be required to demonstrate that it meets the requirements of section 83.7 to the extent required by this section. . . .**

> (d) To be acknowledged, a petitioner that can demonstrate previous Federal acknowledgment must show that:
>
> (1) The group meets the requirements of the criterion in 83.7(a), except that such identification shall be demonstrated since the point of last Federal acknowledgment. The group must further have been identified by such sources as the same tribal entity that was previously acknowledged or as a portion that has evolved from that entity.
>
> (2) The group meets the requirements of the criterion in section 83.7(b) to demonstrate that it comprises a distinct community at present. However, it need not provide evidence to demonstrate existence as a community historically.
>
> (3) The group meets the requirements of the criterion in section 83.7(c) to demonstrate that political influence or authority is exercised within the group at present. Sufficient evidence to meet the criterion in section 83.7(c) from the point of last Federal acknowledgment to the present may be provided by demonstration of substantially continuous historical identification, by authoritative, knowledgeable external sources, of leaders and/or a governing body who exercise political influence or authority, together with demonstration of one form of evidence listed in section 83.7(c).
>
> (4) The group meets the requirements of the criteria in paragraphs 83.7(d) through (g).
>
> (5) If a petitioner which has demonstrated previous Federal acknowledgment cannot meet the requirements in paragraphs (d)(1) and (3), the petitioner may demonstrate alternatively that it meets the requirements of the criteria in section 83.7(a) through (c) from last Federal acknowledgment until the present.

Latest date of unambiguous Federal acknowledgment. Under the revised regulations, the petitioner needs to demonstrate tribal existence only from the latest date of prior Federal acknowledgment. The use of the obvious date of 1870 for this finding is not to be taken as a definitive determination by the BIA that prior acknowledgment of the group ended in 1870.

Nature of a Federally acknowledgeable group under 25 CFR Part 83. The Federal acknowledgment regulations confirm that it is historically valid for tribes to have combined and functioned together as a unit. In addition, Federal acknowledgment is possible for the component parts of those tribes that split in the course of history. Under the regulations in 25 CFR Part 83, tribes which may have combined and divided because of historical circumstances may be acknowledged in so far as the subgroups involved continued to function as tribal units. The historic Potawatomi represent a tribe which has in the course of history subdivided into several independent administrative units, six of which are currently Federally acknowledged tribes.[1]

Procedures

Publication of the Assistant Secretary's proposed finding in the FEDERAL REGISTER initiates a 180-day response period during which arguments and evidence to support or rebut the evidence relied upon are received from the petitioner and any other party. Such evidence should be submitted in writing to the Office of the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs, 1849 C Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20240, Attention: Branch of Acknowledgment and Research, Mail Stop 2611-MIB, with a copy to the petitioner.

The petitioner shall have a minimum of 60 days to respond to any submissions by interested and informed parties during the response period. At the end of the period for comment, the Assistant Secretary will consult with the petitioner and interested parties to determine an equitable time frame for consideration of written arguments and evidence submitted during the response period. The petitioner and interested parties will be notified of the date such consideration begins. The Assistant Secretary will make a final determination regarding the petitioner's status, a summary of which will be published in the FEDERAL REGISTER within 60 days from

[1] Citizen Potawatomi Nation, Oklahoma; Prairie Band of Potawatomi Indians, Kansas; Hannahville Indian Community of Wisconsin Potawatomi Indians of Michigan, Upper Peninsula of Michigan; Forest County Potawatomi Community Of Wisconsin Potawatomi Indians, Wisconsin (Clifton 1978, 738-739); Pokagan Band of Potawatomi Indians of Michigan, legislatively recognized 1994; Huron Potawatomi, Inc., acknowledged under 25 CFR Part 83 effective March 17, 1996.

the date on which the consideration of the written arguments and evidence rebutting or supporting the proposed finding begins. This determination will become effective 90 days from its date of publication unless a request for reconsideration is filed pursuant to 83.11.

If at the expiration of the 180-day response period this proposed finding is reversed, the Assistant Secretary will analyze and forward to the petitioner other options, if any, under which the petitioner might make application for services or other benefits.

Administrative History

Prior to 1992, the membership of MBPI was included on the rolls of Huron Potawatomi, Inc. (HPI), which had been seeking Federal acknowledgment since prior to the institution of the Federal Acknowledgment Process. HPI sought to organize under the Wheeler-Howard Act (Indian Reorganization Act, or IRA) in 1934, but fell under Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier's general decision in 1940 not to further extend Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) services to the Indians of Michigan's Lower Peninsula. The MBPI were not part of those early efforts of the HPI. On March 11, 1972, HPI submitted another request for recognition and organization under the IRA to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the MBPI families were part of these modern efforts. The 1972-1992 HPI rolls were largely based on Taggart Roll descendancy.

Immediately upon the establishment of the Federal Acknowledgment Project (FAP) in 1978, HPI submitted a letter of intent to petition, at that time called an "undocumented petition," which was assigned priority #9 in the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research (BAR). HPI's documented petition was submitted to the BIA on December 22, 1986. The BIA acknowledged receipt on May 26, 1987, and responded with a letter containing the Obvious Deficiency Review (OD letter) on October 13, 1987.

HPI's first response to the OD letter was submitted in 1991 with a membership list including MBPI members, but withdrawn by the tribal council in July 1992; a second response to the OD letter was received by the BIA on February 5, 1993. The petition was declared ready for active consideration on February 5, 1993, and was placed on active consideration on

July 27, 1993. During 1991-1992, the Allegan County, Michigan, Potawatomi had withdrawn from HPI membership and determined to petition separately for Federal acknowledgment. The group was assigned priority #9A.

Upon deciding to petition separately for Federal acknowledgment, the petitioner had some difficulty in settling upon an official nomenclature, apparently because it was under the impression that it was required to use treaty terminology. On March 28, 1992, the group submitted a "restoration" request to AS-IA Eddie Brown under the name "Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa," the terminology by which its ancestors had been identified on some early annuity payment lists. It also submitted its June 24, 1992, letter of intent to petition under the name "Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa."

On July 8, 1992, the BIA assigned priority #128 to the "Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa." On August 18, 1992, a letter from the petitioner notified the BIA that they were not a new petitioner, but were separating from HPI, priority #9. On September 11, 1992, the BIA assigned the group priority #9A as having separated from the HPI petition.

Because the band's leaders in the first half of the 19th century had signed treaties between the Federal Government and the "United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan," the petitioner also used that name in a November 10, 1993, letter and "clarification" submitted to AS-IA Ada Deer requesting "restoration" of the group's Federal acknowledgment (MBPI Pet. 1993b, Church to Deer 11/10/93, [4]). On January 10, 1994, the BIA referred the group back to the Federal Acknowledgment Process, saying that it had never been terminated by Congressional legislation (Maddox to Church 1/10/94).

On February 28, 1994, the petitioner indicated that its documented petition would be submitted under the name "The United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan" (Church to Reckord 2/28/94). However, it adopted the name "Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan," the name which its leaders had ordinarily used in the second half of the 19th century and first half of the 20th century, in honor of its most prominent early chief. The group submitted its documented petition to the BIA under this name on May 16, 1994. The petition approval resolution was dated May 14, 1994, and signed by the full Elder's Council.

The petitioner submitted supplementary material on October 24, 1994; November 27, 1994; and December 7, 1994. The BIA held a technical assistance (TA) meeting with the petitioner in January 1995 and issued a formal TA letter on May 5, 1995. However, the MBPI had taken the information provided them in the January meeting, anticipated the formal TA letter, and already submitted its TA Response on April 28, 1995. The petition was determined to be "ready" for active consideration on April 28, 1995.

On September 27, 1995, MBPI submitted to the AS - IA a request "for a waiver of the remaining 25 CFR 83.7 regulations and request our Tribe's acknowledgment to be resumed." Unrelated to this 1995 request and because the research, field work and analysis for the evaluation of this petitioner had been completed by and large by BIA researchers who had already written reports in the Huron Potawatomi case, the AS - IA waived the regulations to allow the MBPI to be placed on active consideration on December 24, 1996.

ABBREVIATIONS AND/OR ACRONYMS USED IN REPORT

BAR = Branch of Acknowledgment and Research, Bureau of Indian Affairs (Evaluator of the Petition)

BIA = Bureau of Indian Affairs

COIA = Commissioner of Indian Affairs

Doc. = Documentary Exhibit submitted by the Petitioner

FD = Field data (research conducted by BAR staff for the purpose of verifying and adding to the information submitted in the petition)

HPI = Huron Potawatomi, Inc.

HPI Pet.= Petition for Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe submitted by the Nottawaseppi-Huron Potawatomi Band, aka Huron Potawatomi, Inc.

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

OIA = Office of Indian Affairs, nineteenth-century title of the Bureau of Indian Affairs

STANDARDIZED SPELLINGS

When discussing Indian tribes and bands in the body of the narrative, the technical reports use the current standardized spellings, for example, "Potawatomi." Where specific historical documents are quoted within the technical reports, these names are spelled as found in the original.

Many of the Indian names and family surnames common to the history of the MBPI are found in official records under a variety of spellings. Where specific documents are discussed within the attached reports, individual names will be spelled as they appear in the original. However, in general discussions not dealing with specific documents, the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research (BAR) has attempted to standardize the spelling of names to conform with spellings found in the group today.

MATCH-E-BE-NASH-SHE-WISH BAND OF

POTTAWATOMI INDIANS OF MICHIGAN

SUMMARY UNDER THE CRITERIA 83.7(a-g) and 83.8(a-d)

Evidence submitted by the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan (hereafter the petitioner or the MBPI) and obtained through other interested parties and independent research by the BAR staff demonstrates that the petitioner does meet all seven criteria required for Federal acknowledgment. In accordance with the regulations set forth in 25 CFR 83, failure to meet any one of the seven criteria requires a determination that the group does not exist as an Indian tribe within the meaning of Federal law.

This is a proposed finding based on available evidence, and, as such, does not preclude the submission of other evidence to rebut or support the proposed finding during the 180-day comment period which follows publication of this finding. Such new evidence may result in a change in the conclusions reached in the proposed finding. The final determination, which will be published separately after the receipt of the comments, will be based on both the new evidence submitted in response to the proposed finding and the original evidence used in formulating the proposed finding.

In the summary of evidence which follows, each criterion has been reproduced in part in boldface type as it appears in the regulations. Summary statement of the evidence relied upon follow the respective criteria.

83.7(a) **The petitioner has been identified as an American Indian entity on a substantially continuous basis since 1900. Evidence that the group's character as an Indian entity has from time to time been denied shall not be considered to be conclusive evidence that this criterion has not been met....**

83.8(d) To be acknowledged, a petitioner that can demonstrate previous Federal acknowledgment must show that: (1) The group meets the requirements of the criterion in 83.7(a), except that such identification shall be demonstrated since the point of last Federal acknowledgment. The group must further have been identified by such sources as the same tribal entity that was previously acknowledged or as a portion that has evolved from that entity.

In the case of criterion 83.7(a), the modification in section 83.8(d)(1) extends the time period for which criterion 83.7(a) must be demonstrated: not merely since 1900, but since the point of last Federal acknowledgment. In the case of MBPI, this date was determined to be 1870, the date of the final annuity commutation payment to the band under prior treaties. This date was used for purposes of this finding, but does not constitute a determination that this was necessarily the last date of previous unambiguous Federal acknowledgment of MBPI.

The Department's position is, and has always been, that the essential requirement for acknowledgment is continuity of tribal existence rather than previous acknowledgment. Some petitioning groups may be recently formed associations of individuals who have common tribal ancestry but whose families have not been associated with the tribe or each other for many generations. The Department cannot accord acknowledgment to petitioners claiming previous acknowledgment without a showing that the group is the same one as recognized in the past. The present-day group is required to demonstrate that it connects with the previously acknowledged tribe through the continuous historical existence of a distinct community and political leadership.

Ancestors of the petitioning group have consistently been identified in all the available documentation as American Indian, and as Potawatomi. No documentation identified the qualifying ancestors claimed by the petitioning group as having any other ethnicity than American Indian and Pota-

watomi/Ottawa. More specifically, the Allegan County settlement near Bradley, Michigan, and its residents have been historically, and are currently, consistently identified as descendants of Match-e-be-nash-she-wish's Band of Potawatomi Indians of Michigan from the Kalamazoo Reserve, with the addition of some other Potawatomi and some Grand River Ottawa elements.

1870-1904. The petitioner's predecessor group was consistently identified on BIA annuity rolls, censuses, and school records from the establishment of the Griswold Mission in 1839 through the expiration of obligations under the 1855 Ottawa treaty. After the commutation of the MBPI annuity in 1870, no other BIA rolls were prepared until the 1904 Taggart Roll. The Methodist church established in the Bradley settlement in 1879 continued throughout this period to be designated as an Indian mission by the Methodist Church, and to be served by licensed Indian pastors.

The group's settlement in Wayland Township, near Bradley and on the lands of the former Griswold Mission, was enumerated on the 1880 Federal census of Allegan County, Michigan, as an "Indian Colony." A history of Allegan County published in 1880 described both the historical background and current status of the settlement. During 1883-1884, the former Griswold Reserve lands were allotted among the families of the mission, generating extensive court records which identified the community and its members.

In 1882, in cooperation with Chief Phineas Pamptopee of the HPI, MBPI leaders Chief Shau-be-quo-ung (a.k.a. Moses Foster) and his brother David K. Foster began to press the issue of Potawatomi claims interests. An Act of Congress (March 19, 1890, 26 Stat. 24) granted jurisdiction to the U.S. Court of Claims, after which both the MBPI/HPI and the Pokagon Potawatomi filed suits on behalf of "all the Potawatomi Indians in the States of Michigan and Indiana" in Potawatomi Indians v. The United States and Phineas Pam-To-Pee and 1,371 Other Potawatomi Indians v. The United States. The court records generated by this suit in the period 1882-1904 included numerous depositions identifying and describing the Allegan County Indian community, specifying its ties to Match-e-be-nash-she-wish's Band from the former Kalamazoo Reserve.

During the later nineteenth century, many pioneer anecdotes and reminiscences were published which identified and de-

scribed the Allegan County settlement. It was identified in a history of Oceana County, Michigan, published in 1890 which described the efforts of the Federal Government to resettle the Allegan County Indians in Oceana, and the group's return to Allegan. In 1900, the Federal census enumerated the Allegan County settlement on the special Indian Population schedules. From the 1880's through 1904, local newspapers also published both news items and feature articles which identified the settlement.

1904-1962. The Taggart Roll which was prepared by the BIA in 1904 as a consequence of the Potawatomi claims suit was not, per se, an identification of the Allegan County Indian settlement, although the members of the settlement with Potawatomi ancestry were included on it. Similarly, in 1908, as descendants of "Shau-be-quo-ung's Band," the group's members were included on the BIA-compiled Durant Roll compiled for distribution of the Congressional appropriation to settle claims of Michigan's Ottawa Indians, but this roll did not comprise an identification of the Allegan County entity as such. The 1910 Federal census enumerated the Allegan County Indians on the special Indian Population schedules.

Throughout this period, the church at Bradley which had been established in the 1880's continued to be designated as an Indian mission by the Methodist church. Additionally, the daughter church at Salem in Allegan County, established in 1917, was designated by the Methodist Church as an Indian mission throughout this period. The nature of Methodist records provided regular annual reports of membership, attendance, and participation at the Indian mission churches.

The BIA's Holst Report on Indians in the Lower Peninsula of Michigan provided a summary description of the "Bradley group consisting of 23 families" in 1939. The WPA guide to the State of Michigan published in 1941 included a specific identification and description of the Bradley settlement as an Indian entity. Throughout this period, a variety of Michigan newspapers published both news items and feature articles which identified the Allegan County settlement and its residents. A feature article published in 1951 stated, "Bradley Indians hold their last outpost here" and indicated that "54 Pottawatomies" remained at Bradley as a "permanent population." A 1954 article covered the settlement from the perspective of its well-known semi-pro baseball team. Another in 1957 described the death of a "retired lay preacher in

Allegan county Indian missions," stating that the funeral would be "in Bradley Indian Mission church with burial in the church cemetery," while a 1958 article stated that, "one of the landmarks of this locality is the church in the Indian settlement" and added that, "the 'Bradley Indians,' as they have been known for many years, are descendants of the members of the Griswold Episcopalian mission . . . ."

1963-1996. Both Bradley and Salem continued to be identified by the Methodist Church as Indian missions from 1963 to the present: in 1969, for example, A. Fred Sprague was listed as pastor at the "Bradley Indian Mission, Grand Rapids District." Most external identifications for the period 1963 through 1988 were in the context of the mission churches and their activities in the settlements, which were extensively described, both retrospectively and currently, in a history of Indian Methodist missions in Michigan published in 1993.

The petitioner submitted articles published in local newspapers describing the settlements at Bradley and Salem as American Indian entities in 1966, 1970, 1975, 1979, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1987, 1988, and 1993.

Scholarly books and academic studies. No academic studies have been published pertaining specifically to the Allegan County, Michigan, settlement. Ordinarily, it appears in either a passing reference or a footnote in more extensive studies of larger Potawatomi groups (Adams 1934, Kinietz 1940; Claspy 1966; Edmunds 1978; Clifton, Cornell, and McClurken 1986; Tanner 1987). The settlement received a brief notice in Hodge's 1907 Handbook (Hodge 1907) and Dobson's work on Indian oral history in Michigan (Dobson 1978). Most scholars who have mentioned the group, such as James Clifton (Clifton 1977, Clifton 1978a, Clifton 1984), have assumed its Potawatomi identity as a basis for any additional comments made. No scholar has made an intensive study of its internal structure, or of the relationship of dispersed MBPI members to the central Bradley/Salem settlement.

Summary. The MBPI and its predecessor settlements in Allegan County, Michigan, have consistently, since the latest date of unambiguous prior Federal acknowledgment in 1870, been identified in Federal records, by the BIA, by the Methodist Church, by local historians, and by local newspapers, as an Indian group, specifically as a Potawatomi group or combined

Potawatomi/Ottawa group, who were successors to a specific band of treaty signers.

Therefore, we conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(a) as modified by criterion 83.8(d).

83.7(b) A predominant portion of the petitioning group comprises a distinct community and has existed as a community from historical times until the present.

83.8(d)(2) The group meets the requirements of the criterion in section 83.7(b) to demonstrate that it comprises a distinct community at present. However, it need not provide evidence to demonstrate existence as a community historically.

The language of section 83.8 requires the previously acknowledged petitioner as it exists today to meet the criteria for community (criterion 83.7(b)) and political influence (criterion 83.7 (c)). As modified by 87.8(d)(2), demonstration of historical community is not required.

For purposes of Federal acknowledgment, community means any group of people which can demonstrate that consistent interactions and significant social relationships exist within its membership and that its members are differentiated from and identified as distinct from nonmembers. Community must be understood in the context of the history, geography, culture, and social organization of the group.

Historical community until 1972. Although a demonstration of historic community under 83.7 (b) was not required for this finding, nonetheless the evidence submitted by the petitioner and evaluated for this Proposed Finding indicated that community did exist historically among the MBPI from the date of last unambiguous Federal acknowledgment until the modern period. Until early 1957, this historical community meets and demonstrates the evidence levels listed under section 83.7(b)(2). This section of the regulations lists four types of

evidence. Any one of these four types of evidence is sufficient, in itself, to meet criterion 83.7(b).

The MBPI have had a named, collective Indian identity continuously from the 1820's to the present, a period of significantly more than 150 years, thus showing a significant level of evidence for community listed under criterion 83.7(b)(1)(viii). Throughout the nineteenth century, Federal and BIA census records and annuity rolls indicate that the predecessors of the petitioning group were living in close residential proximity on Griswold Mission land, later referred to as the Bradley settlement; from 1855 through 1870 in Oceana County under the provisions of the 1855 Treaty of Detroit; and, after 1870, again on the former Griswold Mission site near Bradley in Allegan County, Michigan.

During the twentieth century, at least through 1920, more than 50 percent of the group resided in a geographical area almost exclusively composed of group members and maintained consistent interaction with the remainder of the group. The group thus met the geographical criterion under 83.7(b)(2)(i), as documented by Federal census records for 1910 and 1920 (which is the most recent Federal census open for research use). This geographic evidence is strongly supported by other evidence that demonstrates community among the Match-e-be-nash-e-wish families during the same period.

Between 1870 and 1910, all marriages of the petitioner's members were either within the group or to members of other Indian groups within Michigan -- primarily to Potawatomi from the Pine Creek settlement in Calhoun County, to Grand River Ottawa, and to a lesser extent to Pokagon Potawatomi. As an overall pattern from 1910 through 1964, more than 50 percent of the new marriages of HPI members were either within the band or were culturally appropriate, patterned out marriages to other Michigan Indian groups, primarily Potawatomi (Pokagon and Calhoun County) or Ottawa. Thus, the MBPI marriage pattern does provide a significant level of evidence for community as late as 1964, as specified under 83.7(b)(1)(i).

A majority of all the group's members, children and adults, were Potawatomi speakers through early 1957, thus meeting criterion 83.7(b)(2)(iii) to that date with a "sufficient" level of evidence. In addition, the group also continued customary use of the Potawatomi language (a majority of the adult members were Potawatomi speakers) as late as 1972, thus

providing a significant level of evidence for community as specified under criterion 83.7(b)(1)(vii) to that date.

There are also numerous examples of actual social interaction among group members since 1880. The Methodist Indian Mission church at Bradley provided a focus for social activities which encompassed most of the group from the 1880's until the present. Church activities and services extended beyond the actual church membership to all MBPI members, regardless of religious affiliation. After 1920, the church at Bradley was closely associated with its daughter Indian Mission church at Salem, some ten miles to the west. Because mission activities were controlled by the MBPI and because their activities extended beyond the actual church membership to all MBPI members, many church activities provided a significant level of evidence for community under criterion 83.7(b)(1)(ii) and 83.7(b)(1)(iii).

Members living in Salem and Bradley continued to share some resources and work together on community projects, fund raisers and other activities. Participation was widespread in a variety of activities, as documented by attendance or guest lists. MBPI men, women, and children, representing all family lines, worked together to achieve goals they believed were beneficial to the community or to the needs of individual members. These activities provided further evidence under 83.7(b)(1)(iii).

In total, the historical evidence presented by the petitioner clearly demonstrates that the MBPI meet criterion 83.7 (b) with evidence under 83.7(b)(2)(i) to 1920 and (iii) to 1957. As late as 1957, they provided evidence under 83.7(b)(2)(i). The petitioner is only required, as a previously recognized tribe, to demonstrate "modern community." An understanding of how recently this petitioner could demonstrate community using "sufficient" levels of evidence, however, provides context for evaluating their modern community. It also allows the petitioner to meet criteria 83.7(c) for political influence and authority under 83.7(c)(3) until 1957.

Modern community: 1986 - 1996

Approximately two-thirds of the MBPI membership are living within 25 miles of the 360 acres that constituted the historical Bradley settlement. These members, along with those

members living farther away, come together in significant numbers, across all family lines, to work in community projects or to attend activities such as fund raisers, mission services, and organizing and attending various events, such as, baby showers, building bees, funerals, weddings, retirement parties, community work projects, MBPI baseball games, and/or MBPI-sponsored golf tournaments. As measured by attendance and guest lists of various community activities during this period, the MBPI have continued to maintain a significant rate of informal actual social interaction among group members as defined in 83.7(b)(1)(iii).

Other evidence also demonstrates community by supporting the evidence for actual interaction discussed above. Beginning in 1965, the level of existing MBPI marriages, either within the group or culturally appropriate patterned out marriages with other Indians, dropped from a rate of 50 percent to a rate of approximately 15 percent. The rate has held steady since 1965, through the 1970's and 1980's, and provides evidence, but not in itself sufficient evidence, of continuing community as defined in 83.7(b)(1)(i).

Also since 1986, a clear pattern has emerged of MBPI members leaving the core area to settle in specific towns or cities, usually Grand Rapids, or to a lesser extent Mount Pleasant and Kalamazoo. These towns and cities are modern centers of Indian settlement and activity in the Lower Peninsula where MBPI labor migrants often participate in religious or other community functions. They have also maintained their social ties to their close relatives still residing in the Salem and Bradley communities, providing additional evidence under 83.7(b)(1)(ii).

Also during the present period, a majority of the MBPI families regularly or frequently participate in religious and community service activities sponsored by one of the three Indian missions in either Bradley, Salem, or Grand Rapids. At Sunday services, MBPI members continue to sing the doxology or, occasionally, other hymns in Ojibway, a symbolic reminder of the Indian identity of their mission institutions. Such symbolic evidence in itself is not adequate evidence for meeting 83.7(b), but supports the other evidence of community submitted by the petitioner. The fact that members served on committees designed to provide services to all MBPI members, whether or not the members were active mission members, is a significant demonstration of utilizing the missions for MBPI

community activities that extended throughout the MBPI membership and provides significant evidence under 83.7(b)(1)(iii).

Since 1992, the MBPI have undertaken significant economic activities as a group. With participation among its membership, they have bought or optioned parts of their original reserve lands, which the group now manages. These activities provide evidence under 83.7(b)(1)(iv).

The MBPI demonstrated evidence of community interaction in mission activities that serve the entire membership, by significant rates of informal social interaction among the group, by buying and optioning land for the entire group, by maintaining close kin relationships which continue today and are found for people living in the urban centers and in the Bradley and Salem communities and among these communities, in actual significant interaction in social events, and in at least a low rate of patterned marriage with other Michigan Indians. When combined, this evidence supports the conclusion that the MBPI provides significant evidence of community under 83.7(b) of the regulations. Because the evidence demonstrates that a predominant portion of the petitioner's membership comprises a distinct community at present, we conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(b) as modified by criterion 83.8(d)(2).

83.7(c)	**The petitioner has maintained political influence or authority over its members as an autonomous entity from historical times until the present...**
83.8(d)(3)	**The group meets the requirements of the criterion in section 83.7(c) to demonstrate that political influence or authority is exercised within the group at present. Sufficient evidence to meet the criterion in section 83.7(c) from the point of last Federal acknowledgment to the present**

may be provided by demonstration of substantially continuous historical identification, by authoritative, knowledgeable external sources, of leaders and/or a governing body who exercise political influence or authority, with demonstration of one form of evidence listed in section 83.7 (c).

Under criterion 83.7(c), the changes introduced under section 83.8(d)(3) reduce the burden of evidence for previously acknowledged tribes to demonstrate continued tribal existence. The revisions, however, still maintain the same requirements regarding the character of the petitioner. For petitioners which were unambiguously previously acknowledged as tribes, the revisions recognize that evidence concerning their continued existence may be entitled to greater weight. Such groups, therefore, require only a streamlined demonstration of criterion (c). Although these changes have been made, the revisions maintain the essential requirement that to be acknowledged a petitioner must be tribal in character and demonstrate historical continuity of tribal existence. Thus, petitioners that were not recognized under the previous regulations will not be recognized under the provisions of the revised regulations.

Sequence of Leadership. The petitioner presented considerable documentation showing that for part of the period after 1870, the latest date of prior unambiguous Federal acknowledgment, it maintained a named sequence of leaders identified by knowledgeable external authorities, along with at least one other form of evidence. This was clearly the case from 1870 through 1903, under the combined leadership of Match-e-benash-she-wish's grandsons Shau-be-quo-ung (a.k.a. Moses Foster) and David K. Foster, and could be demonstrated to a lesser extent at other periods, such as 1954-1962, under the leadership of Jacob Sprague.

For those periods during which the Allegan County Indians did not maintain a formal tribal structure, there was nevertheless evidence that the group maintained political authority and/or influence through the indigenous leadership of the Methodist mission churches at Bradley (1879 to the present), Salem (1917

to the present), and Grand Rapids (late 1980's to the present). In 1908, the members under the leadership of the indigenous pastor raised sufficient funds to replace the church building at Bradley; from 1917 through 1921, members of the group established a new parish at Salem and raised sufficient funds to construct a church building there with only minimal assistance from the Methodist Church.

Even during the period when the licensed ministry of these missions was assigned to non-indigenous pastors (1929-1947), there were Indian lay pastors, often more than one, providing local services at all times. When an outside official asked either a MBPI member or a non-member, who lived near to the Salem or Bradley mission, who the MBPI leader was, the official was referred to a MBPI lay or ordained minister. This held true for every decade up to the 1990's.

The leadership of all local mission church boards and committees remained in the hands of the Potawatomi community at both Bradley and Salem and to a lesser degree in Grand Rapids. The committees' purpose was twofold – first, to serve the goals of the Methodist Indian missions and, secondly, to serve the secular and nonsecular members of the entire MBPI community, including non-mission MBPI descendants.

Although the indigenous lay ministers at the missions were identified in church records and played an important leadership role throughout the first half of the 20th century, the evidence submitted did not demonstrate substantially continuous historical identification, by authoritative, knowledgeable external sources, of leaders and/or a governing body who exercised political influence or authority, as provided for in §83.8(d)(3) for tribes with previous recognition. Occasional identifications of leaders by outside sources, such as the naming of Silas Bush in the BIA's 1939 Holst Report, were not sufficiently regular and consistent to meet criterion 83.8(d)(3). However, tribes with previous recognition may also demonstrate that they meet the requirement for continuous political influence and/or authority by submitting other forms of evidence as described in §83.7(c).

Carryover from criterion 83.7(b) through 1960. Under the revised Federal acknowledgment regulations which became effective March 28, 1994, the presumption is made that at any period of time during which the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(b) at the levels of evidence specified under 83.7(b)(2),

they simultaneously meet criterion 83.7(c). Because the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(b) with sufficient evidence under 83.7(b)(2)(iii) until 1957, under 83.7(c)(3), it meets criterion 83.7(c) during the same time period. Therefore, detailed discussion of criterion 83.7(c) is limited to the period 1958 to 1996.

The acknowledgment regulations also provide, in 83.7(c)(1)(iv), that if a petitioner meets criterion 83.7(b) at more than a minimal level of evidence, this can be used as one form of evidence that the petitioner has maintained political influence or authority over its members. Because the evidence shows that the MBPI met criterion 83.7(b) at more than a minimal level, this is also one form of evidence that can be used in combination with another form of evidence to demonstrate that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(c). This other evidence is discussed below.

Evidence pertaining to political authority and influence, 1958-1985.

Levels of political participation.

From 1958 to 1961, Jacob Sprague served the MBPI as its elected chief. Sprague mobilized the support of MBPI members to pursue land claims vis-a-vis the State of Michigan and the Federal Government. His activism in this area was detailed in several Michigan newspapers. Additionally, the petitioner submitted evidence from the early 1950's indicating widespread support for the pursuit of Ottawa land claims under the leadership of Lewis Church. For purposes other than land claims, however, the evidence showed that during these years the MBPI's nonsecular and secular leadership was maintained by MBPI's mission ministers. The Indian ministers from 1958 through 1962 were Fred Sprague, lay minister of the Bradley Indian Mission, and Joseph Sprague, local minister of the Salem Indian Mission. These ministers led Sunday services and, additionally, provided leadership throughout the MBPI community by coordinating mission-sponsored activities to assist MBPI members, including MBPI members who never or rarely attended mission services, who were experiencing economic difficulty, alcohol abuse, or health problems.

MBPI member Lewis Church, who had served as a lay minister from 1947 to 1958, completed theological training and became the ordained Methodist minister at the Salem Indian Mission. Annually, until his retirement in 1990, the Salem members reaffirmed their confidence in Church's pastoral ability and leadership. These members presented his name to Michigan's Methodist Conference as the community's nominee as pastor of the Salem Indian Mission. Fred Sprague, up to 1972, was retained as the lay pastor at the Bradley Mission. He, too, was annually nominated by the congregation.

In 1972, the members of the Bradley Indian Mission nominated Lewis Church to serve as their minister. From 1972 to 1992, the year of his last sermon as minister, Church served both the Bradley and Salem MBPI community members as a circuit minister to their respective missions.

For the years that Lewis Church was the minister of the Salem and/or of the Bradley mission(s), he used the vehicle of his ministry to reach out to non-mission and mission members alike. Church utilized an elaborate committee system at both the Bradley and Salem missions. Temperance, home, hospital, farm, peace, and other committees were formed to provide an outreach link for him and other MBPI mission members to communicate and serve all MBPI members. Through the church committee structure the MBPI were able to undertake a variety of activities on behalf of their tribe. Except for administration meetings, church activities generally were open to all MBPI members. MBPI mission and non-mission members built church additions, helped each other construct homes, raised substantial money to begin to re-buy their original reservation lands, and served certain health and social needs of their community. These activities and the widespread participation of members in them show that the group's members are involved with and informed about the political processes of the tribe, significant evidence under 83.7(c)(1)(i).

The impact of Church's leadership was demonstrated, in part, by the MBPI members' "refusal" to allow Church to retire in 1990. At the request of MBPI community, with the Methodist Conference's endorsement, Church continued as minister at the two missions for an additional two years beyond his official 1990 retirement date.

From 1962 to 1992, various newspaper accounts reported Lewis Church as the leader of the Bradley Indians or the MBPI.

Evidence also showed that when representatives of various Federal, state, and local agencies sought out the MBPI leader, they were ordinarily directed to Lewis Church.

Attempted amalgamation with HPI and its defeat, 1987-1991. The most significant political initiative undertaken by the MBPI during the later 1980's was the formal merger with the HPI in Calhoun County, Michigan. The merger was initiated by David Mackety of Pine Creek and took place between 1988 and 1991. By September 1989, HPI had an office at 118 W. Maple St., Wayland, Michigan, in addition to the office on the Pine Creek reservation. Additionally, HPI tribal funds were used to purchase 12 acres of land in the Bradley area, with the intent of using that tract, rather than the 120 acres at Pine Creek, as the group's "land base" for Federal trust purposes.

However, the combination of the two groups did not prove to be enduring. The merger contributed to Mackety's defeat in the April 1991 HPI election. During the spring and summer of 1991, the HPI council members with Pine Creek origins succeeded in rescinding some resolutions which had been passed in January 1991 to implement the merger. A proposal to restructure the HPI council to allow increased representation from the Bradley area was subject to a vote of the membership and was never passed. In January 1992, the Bradley area members resigned from the HPI council. In 1992 the remaining council chose to "recall" a HPI response to the Obvious Deficiency (OD) letter which had reflected the merger rather than making that version of the response an official part of the HPI petition for Federal acknowledgment.

In 1992, after the MBPI community "allowed" Rev. Lewis Church, then 75, to retire from the Salem and Bradley missions, the MBPI formed a non-profit organization and established a procedure for electing a secular governing body.

In early 1993, the MBPI elders elected D.K. Sprague as president, a role he has continued to perform to the present. A seven-member Elders Board oversees his position and has approved a MBPI constitution. Sprague, has been successful in eliciting the support and active participation of the MBPI membership in fund raisers and other activities which have benefitted the MBPI community as a whole or individual members. The wide involvement of MBPI members in acting together to leave HPI, to formally organize MBPI, and, to

reorganize MBPI's leadership, provides evidence under 83.7(c)(1)(ii) and (iii).

William Church, son of Lewis Church, was selected by D.K. Sprague as the group's Secretary of State. In that position William Church handles business, negotiations, and other affairs involving external agencies, institutions, corporations, or other entities. D.K. Sprague and William Church have been working collaboratively for goals important to the group. Since early 1993, their combined leadership, supported by the involvement of other MBPI members, has resulted in the acquisition or optioning of 72 acres of the original 360 acres of the Bradley settlement, the design of a long-term cultural revitalization project, and the drafting/implementing of an economic development plan. This provides evidence for the MBPI under criterion 83.7(c)(1)(i).

The foregoing evidence shows that the MBPI meet criterion 83.7(c) until 1957, by utilizing the fact that they met criterion 83.7(b)(2) until that date. The correlation between meeting criterion 83.7(b)(2) at a sufficient level and meeting criterion 83.7(c) is provided for in the regulations at 83.7(c)(3).

For the period since 1957, the petitioner has submitted evidence concerning political influence and/or authority which, in combination, indicates that MBPI has continued to meet criterion 83.7(c).

Under 83.7(c)(iv), evidence used to meet 83.7(b) at more than a minimal level can be combined with evidence under 83.7(c)(i) through (iii) to meet criterion 83.7(c). As stated above in the discussion of community, the MBPI provided significant evidence under 83.7(b)(1)(vii) because of continued native language proficiency among adults from 1957 until 1972. Additionally, until 1964, the petitioner provided evidence under 83.7(b)(1)(i), significant rates of marriage within the group and/or patterned out-marriages with other Indian populations. MBPI provided evidence under 83.7(b)(1)(ii), significant social relationships connecting individual members; 83.7(b)(1)(iii), significant rates of informal social interaction which exist broadly among the members of a group and 83.7(b)(1)(viii), the persistence of a named, collective Indian identity from 1957 through the present. Based on this combination of evidence, petitioner meets criterion 83.7 (b) at more than a minimal level.

Within this strong community context, for the period from 1957 through 1986, the MBPI also documented the existence of identified leaders, namely Jacob Sprague, Fred Sprague, Lewis Church, and Joseph Sprague, and submitted specific evidence concerning their religious and secular activities of significance to the membership.

For the modern period, from 1986 to the present, evidence was provided to document 83.7(c)(1)(i), mobilization of significant numbers of members and resources from its members for group purposes; 83.7(c)(1)(ii), that most of the membership considers issues acted upon or actions taken by group leaders or governing bodies to be of importance; 83.7(c)(1)(iii), that there is widespread knowledge, communication, and involvement in political processes by most of the group's members; and 83.7(c)(1)(iv), carryover from 83.7(b). Therefore, the combination of various forms of evidence demonstrates that the MBPI meet criterion 83.7(c) from 1870, the last point of prior unambiguous Federal acknowledgment, until the present day.

83.7(d) A copy of the group's present governing document, including its membership criteria. In the absence of a written document, the petitioner must provide a statement describing in full its membership criteria and current governing procedures.

The petitioner (MBPI) presented a copy of the current (1996) governing document, which contained provisions covering membership criteria and enrollment procedures. MBPI also presented a copy of a prior draft constitution (MBPI Pet. 1993a).

Therefore we conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(d).

83.7(e) The petitioner's membership consists of individuals who descend from a historical Indian tribe or from historical Indian tribes which combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity.

Under the provisions of section 83.8, the petitioner must show that it meets criterion 83.7(3), ancestry from the historic tribe. Collectively, the petitioner's members descend from Match-e-be-nash-she-wish's Potawatomi Band, which received a three-mile square reserve at Kalamazoo, Michigan, under the Treaty of 1821. The Band moved northward from Kalamazoo to its current location in Allegan County, Michigan, after the 1833 Treaty of Chicago. Because of its location as the northernmost of the Potawatomi bands in Michigan, it was incorporated for payment purposes with the Grand River Ottawa under the Compact of 1838 following the 1836 Ottawa Treaty. The Band was a signatory to the 1855 Treaty of Detroit, receiving annuity payments under these prior treaties until the final 1870 commutation payment.

Previous acknowledgment decisions have allowed for the movement of families between bands and tribes, as well as the formal or informal merger of bands and tribes. This phenomenon is allowed for in this finding by discussing both families descended from the original Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band and families descended from other Potawatomi and Ottawa Indians who joined the Griswold Mission settlement or married into the MBPI families during the second half of the 19th century. For the MBPI, the arrival of new families had essentially been completed by the date the Taggart Roll was compiled by the BIA in 1904.

Relationship to HPI Enrollment. Generally, prior to 1992 the MBPI were carried on the HPI membership rolls. HPI had a functioning Enrollment Committee since prior to the adoption of the 1979 HPI constitution. The committee's procedures were formally approved by Tribal Council on March 1, 1979. HPI used an application form for membership, requiring that an applicant for enrollment be able to trace descent from a person listed on the 1904 Taggart Roll. The enrollment application for a child of a current member was to be accompanied by a copy of the infant's birth certificate. An adult applicant was required to provide standard genealogical documentation (birth certificates and other vital records) back to the 1904 Taggart Roll ancestor. The application was reviewed by the HPI Enrollment Committee.

On the basis of ancestry charts and backup documentation submitted by HPI, which covered all but eight MBPI members, all MBPI members listed on the October 20, 1994, MBPI roll are

of American Indian ancestry, all are of Michigan Potawatomi ancestry, and all are documented to be of 1904 Taggart Roll descendancy. All persons listed on the current roll meet the petitioner's constitutional membership qualifications (MBPI Pet. 1993a).

The MBPI undated, unratified draft constitution (MBPI Pet. 1993a) contained enrollment criteria essentially identical to those in the current (1996) governing document.

Therefore, we conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(e).

83.7(f) The membership of the petitioning group is composed principally of persons who are not members of any acknowledged North American Indian tribe. However, under certain conditions a petitioning group may be acknowledged even if its membership is composed principally of persons whose names have appeared on rolls of, or who have been otherwise associated with, an acknowledged Indian tribe. The conditions are that the group must establish that it has functioned throughout history until the present as a separate and autonomous Indian tribal entity, that its members do not maintain a bilateral political relationship with the acknowledged tribe, and that its members have provided written confirmation of their membership in the petitioning group.

The requirements of section 83.7(f) are designed to prevent the breakup of existing Federally acknowledged tribes. This section still applies under the provisions of section 83.8.

One hundred twenty-six persons who previously were carried on the HPI membership roll committed themselves to the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish petitioner in writing in October, 1994. The situation was explained fully in the technical reports which accompanied the HPI proposed finding, and the situation was reiterated in the HPI final determination, as follows:

> The 1994 membership list of the Huron Potawatomi, Inc. contained 850 entries. The membership has been documented to descend from persons listed on the 1904 Taggart Roll, compiled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in connection with the issuance of Potawatomi annuity payments under Federal treaties. The Proposed Finding concluded that the 1994 HPI membership list, after eliminating deceased members and duplicate names, contained 819 actual living persons. The Proposed Finding noted the following items pertaining to the HPI membership: . . . (3) that 126 individuals on the February 18, 1994, HPI membership list had notified the BIA that they wished to be part of the petition for Federal acknowledgment submitted by the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Pottawatomi Band, while about 150 others were eligible to be included in the membership of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Pottawatomi Band if they so desired. Because of extensive intermarriage among American Indian tribes in Michigan, the above determinations contained overlaps: the same individual might be eligible for more than one of the enrollment options. The Proposed Finding concluded that if the persons who fell into the categories listed above chose to disenroll from HPI, their removal from the HPI membership would not adversely affect the ability of the Huron Potawatomi, Inc. to meet the mandatory criteria of the Federal acknowledgment regulations.

The membership of MBPI does not represent a splinter of any acknowledged tribe, the persons on the roll having withdrawn from HPI prior to the effective date of HPI's Federal acknowledgment. The prohibition under 83.7(f) does not apply to prior enrollment with another non-recognized Indian group.

The membership of the petitioning group is composed principally of persons who are not members of any acknowledged North American Indian tribe. Therefore, we conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7 (f).

83.7(g) Neither the petitioner nor its members are the subject of congressional legisla-

tion that has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship.

On March 28, 1992, the petitioner, as the "Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians," requested from Assistant Secretary-Indian Affairs Eddie F. Brown a "restoration" of its status as a nation from the BIA (Church to Deer 11/10/1993; MBPI Pet. 1993b, [1]). In the group's November 10, 1993, letter to AS-IA Ada Deer reiterating the request for "restoration," the MBPI asserted:

> In our earlier letter to Mr. Eddie F. Brown seeking "Restoration" of our status as a tribe we were never told that this avenue was not be [sic] possible. Subsequent contacts from BAR did say that the restoration process had been generally used by terminated tribes, such as the Menominees, or tribes which were "terminated" [sic] by specific pieces of legislation. . . . Since Federal legislation was passed in 1871 which forbid [sic] any more treaties to be concluded which recognized Indian tribes it is clear that the Treaty process which was approved by the BIA for our Band at "Griswold" (and the Huron Pottawatomi) did not take place prior to the 1871 federal legislation and consequently we have been denied federal acknowledgment by specific legislation (MBPI Pet. 1993b, Church to Deer 11/10/1993, [3]). [emphasis in original]

If the BIA had accepted this line of argument, the MBPI would be prohibited under the 25 CFR Part 83 regulations (criterion 83.7(g)) from proceeding through the administrative process, and would have to seek restoration by Congressional legislation. However, the general ending of treaty negotiations in 1871 has not been interpreted by the Department of Interior as legislation specifically terminating the Federal acknowledgment of a specific American Indian tribe. Therefore, in spite of the argument advanced by the MBPI themselves, the MBPI was eligible to proceed under 25 CFR Part 83.8.

There is no evidence within the meaning of Federal Indian law that the petitioner is subject to congressional legislation that has terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship.

Therefore, we conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7 (g).

4310-02

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Bureau of Indian Affairs

Proposed Finding For Federal Acknowledgment of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan

AGENCY: Bureau of Indian Affairs

ACTION: Notice of proposed finding

SUMMARY: Pursuant to 25 CFR 83.10(h), notice is hereby given that the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs (Assistant Secretary) proposes to acknowledge that the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan (MBPI), 112 W. Superior Street, Wayland, MI 49348, exists as an Indian tribe within the meaning of Federal law. This notice is based on the determination that the tribe satisfies all of the criteria set forth in 25 CFR 83.7 as modified by 25 CFR 83.8, and, therefore, meets the requirements for a government-to-government relationship with the United States.

DATES: As provided by 25 CFR 83.10(i), any individual or organization wishing to comment on the proposed finding may submit arguments and evidence to support or rebut the evidence relied upon. This material must be submitted within 180 calendar days from the date of publication of this notice. As stated in the regulations, 25 CFR 83.10(i), parties who submit arguments and evidence to the Assistant Secretary must also provide copies of their submissions to the petitioner.

ADDRESSES: Comments on the proposed finding and/or request for a copy of the report of evidence should be addressed to the Office of the Assistant Secretary, 1849 C Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20240, Attention: Branch of Acknowledgment and Research, MailStop 4603-MIB.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT: Holly Reckord, Chief, Branch of Acknowledgment and Research, (202) 208-3592.

SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION: This notice is published in the exercise of authority delegated by the Secretary of the Interior to the Assistant Secretary by 209 DM 8.

The petitioner, formerly called the Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa, consists of descendants from Match-e-be-nash-she-wish's Potawatomi band, which received a three-mile square reserve at Kalamazoo, Michigan, under the Treaty of 1821. The Band moved northward from Kalamazoo to its current location in Allegan County, Michigan, after the 1833 Treaty of Chicago. Because of its location as the northernmost of the Potawatomi bands in Michigan, it was incorporated for payment purposes with the Grand River Ottawa under the Compact of 1838 following the 1836 Ottawa Treaty.

The band was a signatory to the 1855 Treaty of Detroit. It received annuity payments under this and prior treaties until the final commutation payment in 1870. The petitioner thus meets the requirements of section 83.8 as having unambiguous previous Federal acknowledgment and has been considered under the modifications of section 83.7 that are prescribed by section 83.8. The date of the band's final annuity commutation payment, 1870, has been used as the date of the latest Federal acknowledgment for

purposes of this finding to enable the petitioner to proceed under the provisions of section 83.8.

Between 1870 and 1904, the petitioner's ancestors continued to reside on lands of the former Griswold Mission, which was referred to as an "Indian Colony" in the 1880 Federal census of Allegan County, Michigan. During 1883-1884, the former Griswold Reserve lands were allotted among the families, generating extensive court records which identified the community and its members. In 1900 and 1910, the Federal census enumerated the Allegan County settlement on the special Indian Population schedules.

The 1904 Taggart Roll and the 1908 Durant Roll – rolls compiled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) special agents to settle claims of Michigan's Potawatomi and Ottawa Indians, respectively - listed ancestors of the petitioner. From 1885 onward, the Methodist Church designated the church near Bradley on the former Griswold Reserve lands as an Indian mission. In 1917, a sister church of the petitioner was established at Salem in Allegan County, also designated as an Indian mission by the Methodist Church. Annual mission reports to the Methodist Church have provided documentation on petitioner participation in mission activities from this period to the present. In 1939, the BIA's Holst Report on Indians in the Lower Peninsula of Michigan provided a summary description of the "Bradley group consisting of 23 families." The 1941 WPA guide to the State of Michigan identified the Bradley settlement as an Indian entity.

Numerous newspaper articles published from the early 1900's to the present have described the petitioner and their ancestors in Allegan County, Michigan, as a Potawatomi group or combined Potawatomi/Ottawa

group. Some of these specified that the current group descends from the historical Match-e-be-nash-she-wish band. Therefore, we conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(a) as modified by criterion 83.8(d).

The petitioner presented evidence that more than 50 percent of the group had resided in a geographical area almost exclusively composed of band members from historical times up to 1920 and maintained consistent interaction with the remainder of the group. At least 50 percent of the band's members, including children and adults, were Potawatomi speakers from historical times up through early 1957. Since then, the members have come together in significant numbers, across all family lines, and have maintained a significant rate of informal social interaction. Thus, the petitioner meets the requirements of criterion 83.7(b) for community up to the present.

Since World War II to the present, younger members of the group have moved away from the Bradley settlement area, a.k.a. the Griswold Colony, to nearby urban areas in search of housing and employment. The majority of the young emigrants relocated to Grand Rapids or Kalamazoo, both approximately 25 miles from the Bradley settlement. These emigrants and their offspring maintained close social and kinship ties with members still residing near Bradley. We conclude the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(b), as modified by section 83.8(d)(2), and that the petitioner demonstrates that it comprises a distinct community at present.

From the early 1800's to a least 1904, traditional chiefs led the Band and were clearly identified by authoritative outside observers. The records of the BIA, the Methodist church, and Allegan County, Michigan, as well as the D.K. Foster papers, provided extensive documentation of the activities undertaken by the traditional chiefs on behalf of the band. This evidence, in conjunction with evidence under 83.7(c)(iv) and 83.7(b)(2) is sufficient for the MBPI to meet 83.8(d)(3) from the time of last Federal recognition to 1904.

From 1904 to 1992, the leadership was closely associated with lay and ordained band ministers of the community's Methodist missions. The documentation submitted by the petitioner and consulted by the Government's researchers did not find continuous identification of these leaders by authoritative outside sources, at a level required by 83.8(d)(3). However, in cases where a petitioner with prior unambiguous Federal acknowledgment does not submit evidence to demonstrate that the group meets the standards described under the expedited process for previously recognized tribes, they may alternatively demonstrate that they meet 83.7(c) using the forms of evidence described in that section. Under the revised Federal acknowledgment regulations which became effective March 28, 1994, the presumption is made under 83.7(c)(3) that at any period during which the petitioner can show sufficient evidence to meet criterion 83.7(b)(2), they also meet criterion 83.7(c). As the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(b) with sufficient evidence through 1957, under 83.7(3), it also meets criterion 83.7(c) until 1957. Also, the petitioner submitted substantial evidence concerning the actual leadership activities of the lay ministers at Bradley and Salem missions for this period.

From 1957 to 1992, the actual activities and leadership were analyzed to show that the MBPI meet 83.7(c), until 1992, when the group was formally incorporated with a council. Since then, the MBPI have made significant decisions and taken actions to buy land, organize their governing structures, and deal with certain social issues at a level that meets 83.7(c).

The petitioning group has provided a copy of its governing document, which describes its membership criteria. Thus, we conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(d).

All band members listed on the October 20, 1994 roll are of Michigan Potawatomi ancestry and descend from persons listed on the 1904 Taggart Roll. All band members listed on the 1994 roll meet the petitioner's constitutional membership qualifications. We conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7 (e).

One hundred twenty-six persons who previously were carried on the Huron Potawatomi, Inc. membership roll committed themselves to the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish petitioner in writing in October, 1994, and withdrew from the Huron Potawatomi, Inc. prior to the effective date of Huron Potawatomi, Inc.'s Federal acknowledgment. Accordingly, the MBPI's membership is composed primarily of persons who are not members of any acknowledged North American tribe. Therefore, we conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7 (f).

No evidence was found that the petitioner or its members are the subject of congressional legislation which has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship. Therefore, we find that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7 (g).

Based on this preliminary factual determination, we conclude that the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians should be granted Federal acknowledgment under 25 CFR Part 83.

As provided by 25 CFR 83.10(h) of the revised regulations, a report summarizing the evidence, reasoning, and analyses that are the basis for the proposed decision will be provided to the petitioner and interested parties, and is available to other parties upon written request. Comments on the proposed finding and/or requests for a copy of the report of evidence should be addressed to the Office of the Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1849 C Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20240, Attention: Branch of Acknowledgment and Research, MailStop 4603-MIB. Third parties must also supply copies of their comments to the petitioner in order for them to be considered by the Department of the Interior.

During the response period, the Assistant Secretary shall provide technical advice concerning the proposed finding and shall make available to the petitioner in a timely fashion any records used for the proposed finding not already held by the petitioner, to the extent allowable by Federal law (83.10(j)(1)). In addition, the Assistant Secretary shall, if requested by the petitioner or any interested party, hold a formal meeting for the purpose of inquiring into the reasoning, analyses, and factual

bases for the proposed finding. The proceedings of this meeting shall be on the record. The meeting record shall be available to any participating party and become part of the record considered by the Assistant Secretary in reaching a final determination (83.10(j)(2)).

If third party comments are received during the regular response period, the petitioner shall have a minimum of 60 days to respond to these comments. This period may be extended at the Assistant Secretary's discretion if warranted by the nature and extent of the comments (83.10(k)).

At the end of the response periods the Assistant Secretary shall consider the written arguments and evidence submitted during the response periods and issue a final determination. The Assistant Secretary shall consult with the petitioner and interested parties to determine an equitable time frame for preparation of the final determination and notify the petitioner and interested parties of the date such consideration begins. The Assistant Secretary may conduct any necessary additional research and may request additional information from the petitioner and third parties. A summary of the final determination will be published in the FEDERAL REGISTER within 60 days from the date on which the consideration of the written arguments and evidence rebutting or supporting the proposed finding begins, as provided in 25 CFR 83.10(l)(2).

Ada E. Deer

Ada E. Deer
Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs

6-23-97
Date

Summary under the Criteria and Evidence for

Proposed Finding

Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of

Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan

Prepared in response to a petition submitted to the Secretary of the Interior for Federal Acknowledgment that this group exists as an Indian tribe.

Approved: 6-23-97

Ada E. Deer

Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs

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INTRODUCTION

This report has been prepared in response to the petition received by the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs (Assistant Secretary) from the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan (MBPI) seeking Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe under Part 83 of Title 25 of the Code of Federal Regulations (25 CFR 83).

Part 83 establishes procedures by which unrecognized Indian groups may seek Federal acknowledgment of a government-to-government relationship with the United States. To be entitled to such a political relationship with the United States, the petitioner must submit documentary evidence that the group meets the seven criteria set forth in Section 83.7 of 25 CFR, "Procedures for Establishing That an American Indian Group Exists as an Indian Tribe." Failure to meet any one of the seven criteria will result in a determination that the group does not exist as an Indian tribe within the meaning of Federal law.

Applicable Regulations

Under the revised Acknowledgment regulations which became effective March 28, 1994, section 83.8 of 25 CFR modifies the required evidence for those petitioners who can demonstrate unambiguous prior Federal acknowledgment. The petitioner here, the MBPI, was determined to have had unambiguous previous Federal acknowledgment through the date of the 1855 Treaty of Detroit, to which the band's chief was a signatory, and subsequently through the date of 1870 at which annuity payments under prior treaties were commuted. Thus, this finding has been prepared under the provisions of section 83.8. The applicable sections of the regulations read:

> **83.8. Previous Federal acknowledgment.**
>
> **(a) Unambiguous previous Federal acknowledgment is acceptable evidence of the tribal character of a petitioner to the date of the last such previous acknowledgment. If a petitioner provides substantial evidence of unambiguous Federal acknowledgment, the petitioner will then only be required to demonstrate that it meets the requirements of section 83.7 to the extent required by this section. . . .**

> (d) To be acknowledged, a petitioner that can demonstrate previous Federal acknowledgment must show that:
>
> (1) The group meets the requirements of the criterion in 83.7(a), except that such identification shall be demonstrated since the point of last Federal acknowledgment. The group must further have been identified by such sources as the same tribal entity that was previously acknowledged or as a portion that has evolved from that entity.
>
> (2) The group meets the requirements of the criterion in section 83.7(b) to demonstrate that it comprises a distinct community at present. However, it need not provide evidence to demonstrate existence as a community historically.
>
> (3) The group meets the requirements of the criterion in section 83.7(c) to demonstrate that political influence or authority is exercised within the group at present. Sufficient evidence to meet the criterion in section 83.7(c) from the point of last Federal acknowledgment to the present may be provided by demonstration of substantially continuous historical identification, by authoritative, knowledgeable external sources, of leaders and/or a governing body who exercise political influence or authority, together with demonstration of one form of evidence listed in section 83.7(c).
>
> (4) The group meets the requirements of the criteria in paragraphs 83.7(d) through (g).
>
> (5) If a petitioner which has demonstrated previous Federal acknowledgment cannot meet the requirements in paragraphs (d)(1) and (3), the petitioner may demonstrate alternatively that it meets the requirements of the criteria in section 83.7(a) through (c) from last Federal acknowledgment until the present.

Latest date of unambiguous Federal acknowledgment. Under the revised regulations, the petitioner needs to demonstrate tribal existence only from the latest date of prior Federal acknowledgment. The use of the obvious date of 1870 for this finding is not to be taken as a definitive determination by the BIA that prior acknowledgment of the group ended in 1870.

Nature of a Federally acknowledgeable group under 25 CFR Part 83. The Federal acknowledgment regulations confirm that it is historically valid for tribes to have combined and functioned together as a unit. In addition, Federal acknowledgment is possible for the component parts of those tribes that split in the course of history. Under the regulations in 25 CFR Part 83, tribes which may have combined and divided because of historical circumstances may be acknowledged in so far as the subgroups involved continued to function as tribal units. The historic Potawatomi represent a tribe which has in the course of history subdivided into several independent administrative units, six of which are currently Federally acknowledged tribes.[1]

Procedures

Publication of the Assistant Secretary's proposed finding in the FEDERAL REGISTER initiates a 180-day response period during which arguments and evidence to support or rebut the evidence relied upon are received from the petitioner and any other party. Such evidence should be submitted in writing to the Office of the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs, 1849 C Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20240, Attention: Branch of Acknowledgment and Research, Mail Stop 2611-MIB, with a copy to the petitioner.

The petitioner shall have a minimum of 60 days to respond to any submissions by interested and informed parties during the response period. At the end of the period for comment, the Assistant Secretary will consult with the petitioner and interested parties to determine an equitable time frame for consideration of written arguments and evidence submitted during the response period. The petitioner and interested parties will be notified of the date such consideration begins. The Assistant Secretary will make a final determination regarding the petitioner's status, a summary of which will be published in the FEDERAL REGISTER within 60 days from

[1] Citizen Potawatomi Nation, Oklahoma; Prairie Band of Potawatomi Indians, Kansas; Hannahville Indian Community of Wisconsin Potawatomi Indians of Michigan, Upper Peninsula of Michigan; Forest County Potawatomi Community Of Wisconsin Potawatomi Indians, Wisconsin (Clifton 1978, 738-739); Pokagan Band of Potawatomi Indians of Michigan, legislatively recognized 1994; Huron Potawatomi, Inc., acknowledged under 25 CFR Part 83 effective March 17, 1996.

the date on which the consideration of the written arguments and evidence rebutting or supporting the proposed finding begins. This determination will become effective 90 days from its date of publication unless a request for reconsideration is filed pursuant to 83.11.

If at the expiration of the 180-day response period this proposed finding is reversed, the Assistant Secretary will analyze and forward to the petitioner other options, if any, under which the petitioner might make application for services or other benefits.

Administrative History

Prior to 1992, the membership of MBPI was included on the rolls of Huron Potawatomi, Inc. (HPI), which had been seeking Federal acknowledgment since prior to the institution of the Federal Acknowledgment Process. HPI sought to organize under the Wheeler-Howard Act (Indian Reorganization Act, or IRA) in 1934, but fell under Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier's general decision in 1940 not to further extend Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) services to the Indians of Michigan's Lower Peninsula. The MBPI were not part of those early efforts of the HPI. On March 11, 1972, HPI submitted another request for recognition and organization under the IRA to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the MBPI families were part of these modern efforts. The 1972-1992 HPI rolls were largely based on Taggart Roll descendancy.

Immediately upon the establishment of the Federal Acknowledgment Project (FAP) in 1978, HPI submitted a letter of intent to petition, at that time called an "undocumented petition," which was assigned priority #9 in the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research (BAR). HPI's documented petition was submitted to the BIA on December 22, 1986. The BIA acknowledged receipt on May 26, 1987, and responded with a letter containing the Obvious Deficiency Review (OD letter) on October 13, 1987.

HPI's first response to the OD letter was submitted in 1991 with a membership list including MBPI members, but withdrawn by the tribal council in July 1992; a second response to the OD letter was received by the BIA on February 5, 1993. The petition was declared ready for active consideration on February 5, 1993, and was placed on active consideration on

July 27, 1993. During 1991-1992, the Allegan County, Michigan, Potawatomi had withdrawn from HPI membership and determined to petition separately for Federal acknowledgment. The group was assigned priority #9A.

Upon deciding to petition separately for Federal acknowledgment, the petitioner had some difficulty in settling upon an official nomenclature, apparently because it was under the impression that it was required to use treaty terminology. On March 28, 1992, the group submitted a "restoration" request to AS-IA Eddie Brown under the name "Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa," the terminology by which its ancestors had been identified on some early annuity payment lists. It also submitted its June 24, 1992, letter of intent to petition under the name "Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa."

On July 8, 1992, the BIA assigned priority #128 to the "Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa." On August 18, 1992, a letter from the petitioner notified the BIA that they were not a new petitioner, but were separating from HPI, priority #9. On September 11, 1992, the BIA assigned the group priority #9A as having separated from the HPI petition.

Because the band's leaders in the first half of the 19th century had signed treaties between the Federal Government and the "United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan," the petitioner also used that name in a November 10, 1993, letter and "clarification" submitted to AS-IA Ada Deer requesting "restoration" of the group's Federal acknowledgment (MBPI Pet. 1993b, Church to Deer 11/10/93, [4]). On January 10, 1994, the BIA referred the group back to the Federal Acknowledgment Process, saying that it had never been terminated by Congressional legislation (Maddox to Church 1/10/94).

On February 28, 1994, the petitioner indicated that its documented petition would be submitted under the name "The United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan" (Church to Reckord 2/28/94). However, it adopted the name "Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan," the name which its leaders had ordinarily used in the second half of the 19th century and first half of the 20th century, in honor of its most prominent early chief. The group submitted its documented petition to the BIA under this name on May 16, 1994. The petition approval resolution was dated May 14, 1994, and signed by the full Elder's Council.

The petitioner submitted supplementary material on October 24, 1994; November 27, 1994; and December 7, 1994. The BIA held a technical assistance (TA) meeting with the petitioner in January 1995 and issued a formal TA letter on May 5, 1995. However, the MBPI had taken the information provided them in the January meeting, anticipated the formal TA letter, and already submitted its TA Response on April 28, 1995. The petition was determined to be "ready" for active consideration on April 28, 1995.

On September 27, 1995, MBPI submitted to the AS - IA a request "for a waiver of the remaining 25 CFR 83.7 regulations and request our Tribe's acknowledgment to be resumed." Unrelated to this 1995 request and because the research, field work and analysis for the evaluation of this petitioner had been completed by and large by BIA researchers who had already written reports in the Huron Potawatomi case, the AS - IA waived the regulations to allow the MBPI to be placed on active consideration on December 24, 1996.

ABBREVIATIONS AND/OR ACRONYMS USED IN REPORT

BAR = Branch of Acknowledgment and Research, Bureau of Indian Affairs (Evaluator of the Petition)

BIA = Bureau of Indian Affairs

COIA = Commissioner of Indian Affairs

Doc. = Documentary Exhibit submitted by the Petitioner

FD = Field data (research conducted by BAR staff for the purpose of verifying and adding to the information submitted in the petition)

HPI = Huron Potawatomi, Inc.

HPI Pet.= Petition for Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe submitted by the Nottawaseppi-Huron Potawatomi Band, aka Huron Potawatomi, Inc.

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

OIA = Office of Indian Affairs, nineteenth-century title of the Bureau of Indian Affairs

STANDARDIZED SPELLINGS

When discussing Indian tribes and bands in the body of the narrative, the technical reports use the current standardized spellings, for example, "Potawatomi." Where specific historical documents are quoted within the technical reports, these names are spelled as found in the original.

Many of the Indian names and family surnames common to the history of the MBPI are found in official records under a variety of spellings. Where specific documents are discussed within the attached reports, individual names will be spelled as they appear in the original. However, in general discussions not dealing with specific documents, the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research (BAR) has attempted to standardize the spelling of names to conform with spellings found in the group today.

MATCH-E-BE-NASH-SHE-WISH BAND OF

POTTAWATOMI INDIANS OF MICHIGAN

SUMMARY UNDER THE CRITERIA 83.7(a-g) and 83.8(a-d)

Evidence submitted by the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan (hereafter the petitioner or the MBPI) and obtained through other interested parties and independent research by the BAR staff demonstrates that the petitioner does meet all seven criteria required for Federal acknowledgment. In accordance with the regulations set forth in 25 CFR 83, failure to meet any one of the seven criteria requires a determination that the group does not exist as an Indian tribe within the meaning of Federal law.

This is a proposed finding based on available evidence, and, as such, does not preclude the submission of other evidence to rebut or support the proposed finding during the 180-day comment period which follows publication of this finding. Such new evidence may result in a change in the conclusions reached in the proposed finding. The final determination, which will be published separately after the receipt of the comments, will be based on both the new evidence submitted in response to the proposed finding and the original evidence used in formulating the proposed finding.

In the summary of evidence which follows, each criterion has been reproduced in part in boldface type as it appears in the regulations. Summary statement of the evidence relied upon follow the respective criteria.

83.7(a) The petitioner has been identified as an American Indian entity on a substantially continuous basis since 1900. Evidence that the group's character as an Indian entity has from time to time been denied shall not be considered to be conclusive evidence that this criterion has not been met....

83.8(d) To be acknowledged, a petitioner that can demonstrate previous Fed-

> **eral acknowledgment must show that: (1) The group meets the requirements of the criterion in 83.7(a), except that such identification shall be demonstrated since the point of last Federal acknowledgment. The group must further have been identified by such sources as the same tribal entity that was previously acknowledged or as a portion that has evolved from that entity.**

In the case of criterion 83.7(a), the modification in section 83.8(d)(1) extends the time period for which criterion 83.7(a) must be demonstrated: not merely since 1900, but since the point of last Federal acknowledgment. In the case of MBPI, this date was determined to be 1870, the date of the final annuity commutation payment to the band under prior treaties. This date was used for purposes of this finding, but does not constitute a determination that this was necessarily the last date of previous unambiguous Federal acknowledgment of MBPI.

The Department's position is, and has always been, that the essential requirement for acknowledgment is continuity of tribal existence rather than previous acknowledgment. Some petitioning groups may be recently formed associations of individuals who have common tribal ancestry but whose families have not been associated with the tribe or each other for many generations. The Department cannot accord acknowledgment to petitioners claiming previous acknowledgment without a showing that the group is the same one as recognized in the past. The present-day group is required to demonstrate that it connects with the previously acknowledged tribe through the continuous historical existence of a distinct community and political leadership.

Ancestors of the petitioning group have consistently been identified in all the available documentation as American Indian, and as Potawatomi. No documentation identified the qualifying ancestors claimed by the petitioning group as having any other ethnicity than American Indian and Potawatomi/Ottawa. More specifically, the Allegan County settlement near Bradley, Michigan, and its residents have been historically, and are currently, consistently identified as

descendants of Match-e-be-nash-she-wish's Band of Potawatomi Indians of Michigan from the Kalamazoo Reserve, with the addition of some other Potawatomi and some Grand River Ottawa elements.

1870-1904. The petitioner's predecessor group was consistently identified on BIA annuity rolls, censuses, and school records from the establishment of the Griswold Mission in 1839 through the expiration of obligations under the 1855 Ottawa treaty. After the commutation of the MBPI annuity in 1870, no other BIA rolls were prepared until the 1904 Taggart Roll. The Methodist church established in the Bradley settlement in 1879 continued throughout this period to be designated as an Indian mission by the Methodist Church, and to be served by licensed Indian pastors.

The group's settlement in Wayland Township, near Bradley and on the lands of the former Griswold Mission, was enumerated on the 1880 Federal census of Allegan County, Michigan, as an "Indian Colony." A history of Allegan County published in 1880 described both the historical background and current status of the settlement. During 1883-1884, the former Griswold Reserve lands were allotted among the families of the mission, generating extensive court records which identified the community and its members.

In 1882, in cooperation with Chief Phineas Pamptopee of the HPI, MBPI leaders Chief Shau-be-quo-ung (a.k.a. Moses Foster) and his brother David K. Foster began to press the issue of Potawatomi claims interests. An Act of Congress (March 19, 1890, 26 Stat. 24) granted jurisdiction to the U.S. Court of Claims, after which both the MBPI/HPI and the Pokagon Potawatomi filed suits on behalf of "all the Potawatomi Indians in the States of Michigan and Indiana" in Potawatomi Indians v. The United States and Phineas Pam-To-Pee and 1,371 Other Potawatomi Indians v. The United States. The court records generated by this suit in the period 1882-1904 included numerous depositions identifying and describing the Allegan County Indian community, specifying its ties to Match-e-be-nash-she-wish's Band from the former Kalamazoo Reserve.

During the later nineteenth century, many pioneer anecdotes and reminiscences were published which identified and described the Allegan County settlement. It was identified in a history of Oceana County, Michigan, published in 1890 which described the efforts of the Federal Government to resettle

the Allegan County Indians in Oceana, and the group's return to Allegan. In 1900, the Federal census enumerated the Allegan County settlement on the special Indian Population schedules. From the 1880's through 1904, local newspapers also published both news items and feature articles which identified the settlement.

1904-1962. The Taggart Roll which was prepared by the BIA in 1904 as a consequence of the Potawatomi claims suit was not, per se, an identification of the Allegan County Indian settlement, although the members of the settlement with Potawatomi ancestry were included on it. Similarly, in 1908, as descendants of "Shau-be-quo-ung's Band," the group's members were included on the BIA-compiled Durant Roll compiled for distribution of the Congressional appropriation to settle claims of Michigan's Ottawa Indians, but this roll did not comprise an identification of the Allegan County entity as such. The 1910 Federal census enumerated the Allegan County Indians on the special Indian Population schedules.

Throughout this period, the church at Bradley which had been established in the 1880's continued to be designated as an Indian mission by the Methodist church. Additionally, the daughter church at Salem in Allegan County, established in 1917, was designated by the Methodist Church as an Indian mission throughout this period. The nature of Methodist records provided regular annual reports of membership, attendance, and participation at the Indian mission churches.

The BIA's Holst Report on Indians in the Lower Peninsula of Michigan provided a summary description of the "Bradley group consisting of 23 families" in 1939. The WPA guide to the State of Michigan published in 1941 included a specific identification and description of the Bradley settlement as an Indian entity. Throughout this period, a variety of Michigan newspapers published both news items and feature articles which identified the Allegan County settlement and its residents. A feature article published in 1951 stated, "Bradley Indians hold their last outpost here" and indicated that "54 Pottawatomies" remained at Bradley as a "permanent population." A 1954 article covered the settlement from the perspective of its well-known semi-pro baseball team. Another in 1957 described the death of a "retired lay preacher in Allegan county Indian missions," stating that the funeral would be "in Bradley Indian Mission church with burial in the church cemetery," while a 1958 article stated that, "one of

the landmarks of this locality is the church in the Indian settlement" and added that, "the 'Bradley Indians,' as they have been known for many years, are descendants of the members of the Griswold Episcopalian mission . . . ."

1963-1996. Both Bradley and Salem continued to be identified by the Methodist Church as Indian missions from 1963 to the present: in 1969, for example, A. Fred Sprague was listed as pastor at the "Bradley Indian Mission, Grand Rapids District." Most external identifications for the period 1963 through 1988 were in the context of the mission churches and their activities in the settlements, which were extensively described, both retrospectively and currently, in a history of Indian Methodist missions in Michigan published in 1993.

The petitioner submitted articles published in local newspapers describing the settlements at Bradley and Salem as American Indian entities in 1966, 1970, 1975, 1979, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1987, 1988, and 1993.

Scholarly books and academic studies. No academic studies have been published pertaining specifically to the Allegan County, Michigan, settlement. Ordinarily, it appears in either a passing reference or a footnote in more extensive studies of larger Potawatomi groups (Adams 1934, Kinietz 1940; Claspy 1966; Edmunds 1978; Clifton, Cornell, and McClurken 1986; Tanner 1987). The settlement received a brief notice in Hodge's 1907 Handbook (Hodge 1907) and Dobson's work on Indian oral history in Michigan (Dobson 1978). Most scholars who have mentioned the group, such as James Clifton (Clifton 1977, Clifton 1978a, Clifton 1984), have assumed its Potawatomi identity as a basis for any additional comments made. No scholar has made an intensive study of its internal structure, or of the relationship of dispersed MBPI members to the central Bradley/Salem settlement.

Summary. The MBPI and its predecessor settlements in Allegan County, Michigan, have consistently, since the latest date of unambiguous prior Federal acknowledgment in 1870, been identified in Federal records, by the BIA, by the Methodist Church, by local historians, and by local newspapers, as an Indian group, specifically as a Potawatomi group or combined Potawatomi/Ottawa group, who were successors to a specific band of treaty signers.

Therefore, we conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(a) as modified by criterion 83.8(d).

83.7(b) A predominant portion of the petitioning group comprises a distinct community and has existed as a community from historical times until the present.

83.8(d)(2) The group meets the requirements of the criterion in section 83.7(b) to demonstrate that it comprises a distinct community at present. However, it need not provide evidence to demonstrate existence as a community historically.

The language of section 83.8 requires the previously acknowledged petitioner as it exists today to meet the criteria for community (criterion 83.7(b)) and political influence (criterion 83.7 (c)). As modified by 87.8(d)(2), demonstration of historical community is not required.

For purposes of Federal acknowledgment, community means any group of people which can demonstrate that consistent interactions and significant social relationships exist within its membership and that its members are differentiated from and identified as distinct from nonmembers. Community must be understood in the context of the history, geography, culture, and social organization of the group.

Historical community until 1972. Although a demonstration of historic community under 83.7 (b) was not required for this finding, nonetheless the evidence submitted by the petitioner and evaluated for this Proposed Finding indicated that community did exist historically among the MBPI from the date of last unambiguous Federal acknowledgment until the modern period. Until early 1957, this historical community meets and demonstrates the evidence levels listed under section 83.7(b)(2). This section of the regulations lists four types of

evidence. Any one of these four types of evidence is sufficient, in itself, to meet criterion 83.7(b).

The MBPI have had a named, collective Indian identity continuously from the 1820's to the present, a period of significantly more than 150 years, thus showing a significant level of evidence for community listed under criterion 83.7(b)(1)(viii). Throughout the nineteenth century, Federal and BIA census records and annuity rolls indicate that the predecessors of the petitioning group were living in close residential proximity on Griswold Mission land, later referred to as the Bradley settlement; from 1855 through 1870 in Oceana County under the provisions of the 1855 Treaty of Detroit; and, after 1870, again on the former Griswold Mission site near Bradley in Allegan County, Michigan.

During the twentieth century, at least through 1920, more than 50 percent of the group resided in a geographical area almost exclusively composed of group members and maintained consistent interaction with the remainder of the group. The group thus met the geographical criterion under 83.7(b)(2)(i), as documented by Federal census records for 1910 and 1920 (which is the most recent Federal census open for research use). This geographic evidence is strongly supported by other evidence that demonstrates community among the Match-e-be-nash-e-wish families during the same period.

Between 1870 and 1910, all marriages of the petitioner's members were either within the group or to members of other Indian groups within Michigan -- primarily to Potawatomi from the Pine Creek settlement in Calhoun County, to Grand River Ottawa, and to a lesser extent to Pokagon Potawatomi. As an overall pattern from 1910 through 1964, more than 50 percent of the new marriages of HPI members were either within the band or were culturally appropriate, patterned out marriages to other Michigan Indian groups, primarily Potawatomi (Pokagon and Calhoun County) or Ottawa. Thus, the MBPI marriage pattern does provide a significant level of evidence for community as late as 1964, as specified under 83.7(b)(1)(i).

A majority of all the group's members, children and adults, were Potawatomi speakers through early 1957, thus meeting criterion 83.7(b)(2)(iii) to that date with a "sufficient" level of evidence. In addition, the group also continued customary use of the Potawatomi language (a majority of the adult members were Potawatomi speakers) as late as 1972, thus

providing a significant level of evidence for community as specified under criterion 83.7(b)(1)(vii) to that date.

There are also numerous examples of actual social interaction among group members since 1880. The Methodist Indian Mission church at Bradley provided a focus for social activities which encompassed most of the group from the 1880's until the present. Church activities and services extended beyond the actual church membership to all MBPI members, regardless of religious affiliation. After 1920, the church at Bradley was closely associated with its daughter Indian Mission church at Salem, some ten miles to the west. Because mission activities were controlled by the MBPI and because their activities extended beyond the actual church membership to all MBPI members, many church activities provided a significant level of evidence for community under criterion 83.7(b)(1)(ii) and 83.7(b)(1)(iii).

Members living in Salem and Bradley continued to share some resources and work together on community projects, fund raisers and other activities. Participation was widespread in a variety of activities, as documented by attendance or guest lists. MBPI men, women, and children, representing all family lines, worked together to achieve goals they believed were beneficial to the community or to the needs of individual members. These activities provided further evidence under 83.7(b)(1)(iii).

In total, the historical evidence presented by the petitioner clearly demonstrates that the MBPI meet criterion 83.7 (b) with evidence under 83.7(b)(2)(i) to 1920 and (iii) to 1957. As late as 1957, they provided evidence under 83.7(b)(2)(i). The petitioner is only required, as a previously recognized tribe, to demonstrate "modern community." An understanding of how recently this petitioner could demonstrate community using "sufficient" levels of evidence, however, provides context for evaluating their modern community. It also allows the petitioner to meet criteria 83.7(c) for political influence and authority under 83.7(c)(3) until 1957.

Modern community: 1986 - 1996

Approximately two-thirds of the MBPI membership are living within 25 miles of the 360 acres that constituted the historical Bradley settlement. These members, along with those

members living farther away, come together in significant numbers, across all family lines, to work in community projects or to attend activities such as fund raisers, mission services, and organizing and attending various events, such as, baby showers, building bees, funerals, weddings, retirement parties, community work projects, MBPI baseball games, and/or MBPI-sponsored golf tournaments. As measured by attendance and guest lists of various community activities during this period, the MBPI have continued to maintain a significant rate of informal actual social interaction among group members as defined in 83.7(b)(1)(iii).

Other evidence also demonstrates community by supporting the evidence for actual interaction discussed above. Beginning in 1965, the level of existing MBPI marriages, either within the group or culturally appropriate patterned out marriages with other Indians, dropped from a rate of 50 percent to a rate of approximately 15 percent. The rate has held steady since 1965, through the 1970's and 1980's, and provides evidence, but not in itself sufficient evidence, of continuing community as defined in 83.7(b)(1)(i).

Also since 1986, a clear pattern has emerged of MBPI members leaving the core area to settle in specific towns or cities, usually Grand Rapids, or to a lesser extent Mount Pleasant and Kalamazoo. These towns and cities are modern centers of Indian settlement and activity in the Lower Peninsula where MBPI labor migrants often participate in religious or other community functions. They have also maintained their social ties to their close relatives still residing in the Salem and Bradley communities, providing additional evidence under 83.7(b)(1)(ii).

Also during the present period, a majority of the MBPI families regularly or frequently participate in religious and community service activities sponsored by one of the three Indian missions in either Bradley, Salem, or Grand Rapids. At Sunday services, MBPI members continue to sing the doxology or, occasionally, other hymns in Ojibway, a symbolic reminder of the Indian identity of their mission institutions. Such symbolic evidence in itself is not adequate evidence for meeting 83.7(b), but supports the other evidence of community submitted by the petitioner. The fact that members served on committees designed to provide services to all MBPI members, whether or not the members were active mission members, is a significant demonstration of utilizing the missions for MBPI

community activities that extended throughout the MBPI membership and provides significant evidence under 83.7(b)(1)(iii).

Since 1992, the MBPI have undertaken significant economic activities as a group. With participation among its membership, they have bought or optioned parts of their original reserve lands, which the group now manages. These activities provide evidence under 83.7(b)(1)(iv).

The MBPI demonstrated evidence of community interaction in mission activities that serve the entire membership, by significant rates of informal social interaction among the group, by buying and optioning land for the entire group, by maintaining close kin relationships which continue today and are found for people living in the urban centers and in the Bradley and Salem communities and among these communities, in actual significant interaction in social events, and in at least a low rate of patterned marriage with other Michigan Indians. When combined, this evidence supports the conclusion that the MBPI provides significant evidence of community under 83.7(b) of the regulations. Because the evidence demonstrates that a predominant portion of the petitioner's membership comprises a distinct community at present, we conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(b) as modified by criterion 83.8(d)(2).

83.7(c)	**The petitioner has maintained political influence or authority over its members as an autonomous entity from historical times until the present...**
83.8(d)(3)	**The group meets the requirements of the criterion in section 83.7(c) to demonstrate that political influence or authority is exercised within the group at present. Sufficient evidence to meet the criterion in section 83.7(c) from the point of last Federal acknowledgment to the present**

may be provided by demonstration of substantially continuous historical identification, by authoritative, knowledgeable external sources, of leaders and/or a governing body who exercise political influence or authority, with demonstration of one form of evidence listed in section 83.7 (c).

Under criterion 83.7(c), the changes introduced under section 83.8(d)(3) reduce the burden of evidence for previously acknowledged tribes to demonstrate continued tribal existence. The revisions, however, still maintain the same requirements regarding the character of the petitioner. For petitioners which were unambiguously previously acknowledged as tribes, the revisions recognize that evidence concerning their continued existence may be entitled to greater weight. Such groups, therefore, require only a streamlined demonstration of criterion (c). Although these changes have been made, the revisions maintain the essential requirement that to be acknowledged a petitioner must be tribal in character and demonstrate historical continuity of tribal existence. Thus, petitioners that were not recognized under the previous regulations will not be recognized under the provisions of the revised regulations.

Sequence of Leadership. The petitioner presented considerable documentation showing that for part of the period after 1870, the latest date of prior unambiguous Federal acknowledgment, it maintained a named sequence of leaders identified by knowledgeable external authorities, along with at least one other form of evidence. This was clearly the case from 1870 through 1903, under the combined leadership of Match-e-benash-she-wish's grandsons Shau-be-quo-ung (a.k.a. Moses Foster) and David K. Foster, and could be demonstrated to a lesser extent at other periods, such as 1954-1962, under the leadership of Jacob Sprague.

For those periods during which the Allegan County Indians did not maintain a formal tribal structure, there was nevertheless evidence that the group maintained political authority and/or influence through the indigenous leadership of the Methodist mission churches at Bradley (1879 to the present), Salem (1917

to the present), and Grand Rapids (late 1980's to the present). In 1908, the members under the leadership of the indigenous pastor raised sufficient funds to replace the church building at Bradley; from 1917 through 1921, members of the group established a new parish at Salem and raised sufficient funds to construct a church building there with only minimal assistance from the Methodist Church.

Even during the period when the licensed ministry of these missions was assigned to non-indigenous pastors (1929-1947), there were Indian lay pastors, often more than one, providing local services at all times. When an outside official asked either a MBPI member or a non-member, who lived near to the Salem or Bradley mission, who the MBPI leader was, the official was referred to a MBPI lay or ordained minister. This held true for every decade up to the 1990's.

The leadership of all local mission church boards and committees remained in the hands of the Potawatomi community at both Bradley and Salem and to a lesser degree in Grand Rapids. The committees' purpose was twofold – first, to serve the goals of the Methodist Indian missions and, secondly, to serve the secular and nonsecular members of the entire MBPI community, including non-mission MBPI descendants.

Although the indigenous lay ministers at the missions were identified in church records and played an important leadership role throughout the first half of the 20th century, the evidence submitted did not demonstrate substantially continuous historical identification, by authoritative, knowledgeable external sources, of leaders and/or a governing body who exercised political influence or authority, as provided for in §83.8(d)(3) for tribes with previous recognition. Occasional identifications of leaders by outside sources, such as the naming of Silas Bush in the BIA's 1939 Holst Report, were not sufficiently regular and consistent to meet criterion 83.8(d)(3). However, tribes with previous recognition may also demonstrate that they meet the requirement for continuous political influence and/or authority by submitting other forms of evidence as described in §83.7(c).

Carryover from criterion 83.7(b) through 1960. Under the revised Federal acknowledgment regulations which became effective March 28, 1994, the presumption is made that at any period of time during which the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(b) at the levels of evidence specified under 83.7(b)(2),

they simultaneously meet criterion 83.7(c). Because the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(b) with sufficient evidence under 83.7(b)(2)(iii) until 1957, under 83.7(c)(3), it meets criterion 83.7(c) during the same time period. Therefore, detailed discussion of criterion 83.7(c) is limited to the period 1958 to 1996.

The acknowledgment regulations also provide, in 83.7(c)(1)(iv), that if a petitioner meets criterion 83.7(b) at more than a minimal level of evidence, this can be used as one form of evidence that the petitioner has maintained political influence or authority over its members. Because the evidence shows that the MBPI met criterion 83.7(b) at more than a minimal level, this is also one form of evidence that can be used in combination with another form of evidence to demonstrate that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(c). This other evidence is discussed below.

Evidence pertaining to political authority and influence, 1958-1985.

Levels of political participation.

From 1958 to 1961, Jacob Sprague served the MBPI as its elected chief. Sprague mobilized the support of MBPI members to pursue land claims vis-a-vis the State of Michigan and the Federal Government. His activism in this area was detailed in several Michigan newspapers. Additionally, the petitioner submitted evidence from the early 1950's indicating widespread support for the pursuit of Ottawa land claims under the leadership of Lewis Church. For purposes other than land claims, however, the evidence showed that during these years the MBPI's nonsecular and secular leadership was maintained by MBPI's mission ministers. The Indian ministers from 1958 through 1962 were Fred Sprague, lay minister of the Bradley Indian Mission, and Joseph Sprague, local minister of the Salem Indian Mission. These ministers led Sunday services and, additionally, provided leadership throughout the MBPI community by coordinating mission-sponsored activities to assist MBPI members, including MBPI members who never or rarely attended mission services, who were experiencing economic difficulty, alcohol abuse, or health problems.

MBPI member Lewis Church, who had served as a lay minister from 1947 to 1958, completed theological training and became the ordained Methodist minister at the Salem Indian Mission. Annually, until his retirement in 1990, the Salem members reaffirmed their confidence in Church's pastoral ability and leadership. These members presented his name to Michigan's Methodist Conference as the community's nominee as pastor of the Salem Indian Mission. Fred Sprague, up to 1972, was retained as the lay pastor at the Bradley Mission. He, too, was annually nominated by the congregation.

In 1972, the members of the Bradley Indian Mission nominated Lewis Church to serve as their minister. From 1972 to 1992, the year of his last sermon as minister, Church served both the Bradley and Salem MBPI community members as a circuit minister to their respective missions.

For the years that Lewis Church was the minister of the Salem and/or of the Bradley mission(s), he used the vehicle of his ministry to reach out to non-mission and mission members alike. Church utilized an elaborate committee system at both the Bradley and Salem missions. Temperance, home, hospital, farm, peace, and other committees were formed to provide an outreach link for him and other MBPI mission members to communicate and serve all MBPI members. Through the church committee structure the MBPI were able to undertake a variety of activities on behalf of their tribe. Except for administration meetings, church activities generally were open to all MBPI members. MBPI mission and non-mission members built church additions, helped each other construct homes, raised substantial money to begin to re-buy their original reservation lands, and served certain health and social needs of their community. These activities and the widespread participation of members in them show that the group's members are involved with and informed about the political processes of the tribe, significant evidence under 83.7(c)(1)(i).

The impact of Church's leadership was demonstrated, in part, by the MBPI members' "refusal" to allow Church to retire in 1990. At the request of MBPI community, with the Methodist Conference's endorsement, Church continued as minister at the two missions for an additional two years beyond his official 1990 retirement date.

From 1962 to 1992, various newspaper accounts reported Lewis Church as the leader of the Bradley Indians or the MBPI.

Evidence also showed that when representatives of various Federal, state, and local agencies sought out the MBPI leader, they were ordinarily directed to Lewis Church.

Attempted amalgamation with HPI and its defeat, 1987-1991. The most significant political initiative undertaken by the MBPI during the later 1980's was the formal merger with the HPI in Calhoun County, Michigan. The merger was initiated by David Mackety of Pine Creek and took place between 1988 and 1991. By September 1989, HPI had an office at 118 W. Maple St., Wayland, Michigan, in addition to the office on the Pine Creek reservation. Additionally, HPI tribal funds were used to purchase 12 acres of land in the Bradley area, with the intent of using that tract, rather than the 120 acres at Pine Creek, as the group's "land base" for Federal trust purposes.

However, the combination of the two groups did not prove to be enduring. The merger contributed to Mackety's defeat in the April 1991 HPI election. During the spring and summer of 1991, the HPI council members with Pine Creek origins succeeded in rescinding some resolutions which had been passed in January 1991 to implement the merger. A proposal to restructure the HPI council to allow increased representation from the Bradley area was subject to a vote of the membership and was never passed. In January 1992, the Bradley area members resigned from the HPI council. In 1992 the remaining council chose to "recall" a HPI response to the Obvious Deficiency (OD) letter which had reflected the merger rather than making that version of the response an official part of the HPI petition for Federal acknowledgment.

In 1992, after the MBPI community "allowed" Rev. Lewis Church, then 75, to retire from the Salem and Bradley missions, the MBPI formed a non-profit organization and established a procedure for electing a secular governing body.

In early 1993, the MBPI elders elected D.K. Sprague as president, a role he has continued to perform to the present. A seven-member Elders Board oversees his position and has approved a MBPI constitution. Sprague, has been successful in eliciting the support and active participation of the MBPI membership in fund raisers and other activities which have benefitted the MBPI community as a whole or individual members. The wide involvement of MBPI members in acting together to leave HPI, to formally organize MBPI, and, to

reorganize MBPI's leadership, provides evidence under 83.7(c)(1)(ii) and (iii).

William Church, son of Lewis Church, was selected by D.K. Sprague as the group's Secretary of State. In that position William Church handles business, negotiations, and other affairs involving external agencies, institutions, corporations, or other entities. D.K. Sprague and William Church have been working collaboratively for goals important to the group. Since early 1993, their combined leadership, supported by the involvement of other MBPI members, has resulted in the acquisition or optioning of 72 acres of the original 360 acres of the Bradley settlement, the design of a long-term cultural revitalization project, and the drafting/implementing of an economic development plan. This provides evidence for the MBPI under criterion 83.7(c)(1)(i).

The foregoing evidence shows that the MBPI meet criterion 83.7(c) until 1957, by utilizing the fact that they met criterion 83.7(b)(2) until that date. The correlation between meeting criterion 83.7(b)(2) at a sufficient level and meeting criterion 83.7(c) is provided for in the regulations at 83.7(c)(3).

For the period since 1957, the petitioner has submitted evidence concerning political influence and/or authority which, in combination, indicates that MBPI has continued to meet criterion 83.7(c).

Under 83.7(c)(iv), evidence used to meet 83.7(b) at more than a minimal level can be combined with evidence under 83.7(c)(i) through (iii) to meet criterion 83.7(c). As stated above in the discussion of community, the MBPI provided significant evidence under 83.7(b)(1)(vii) because of continued native language proficiency among adults from 1957 until 1972. Additionally, until 1964, the petitioner provided evidence under 83.7(b)(1)(i), significant rates of marriage within the group and/or patterned out-marriages with other Indian populations. MBPI provided evidence under 83.7(b)(1)(ii), significant social relationships connecting individual members; 83.7(b)(1)(iii), significant rates of informal social interaction which exist broadly among the members of a group and 83.7(b)(1)(viii), the persistence of a named, collective Indian identity from 1957 through the present. Based on this combination of evidence, petitioner meets criterion 83.7 (b) at more than a minimal level.

Within this strong community context, for the period from 1957 through 1986, the MBPI also documented the existence of identified leaders, namely Jacob Sprague, Fred Sprague, Lewis Church, and Joseph Sprague, and submitted specific evidence concerning their religious and secular activities of significance to the membership.

For the modern period, from 1986 to the present, evidence was provided to document 83.7(c)(1)(i), mobilization of significant numbers of members and resources from its members for group purposes; 83.7(c)(1)(ii), that most of the membership considers issues acted upon or actions taken by group leaders or governing bodies to be of importance; 83.7(c)(1)(iii), that there is widespread knowledge, communication, and involvement in political processes by most of the group's members; and 83.7(c)(1)(iv), carryover from 83.7(b). Therefore, the combination of various forms of evidence demonstrates that the MBPI meet criterion 83.7(c) from 1870, the last point of prior unambiguous Federal acknowledgment, until the present day.

83.7(d) A copy of the group's present governing document, including its membership criteria. In the absence of a written document, the petitioner must provide a statement describing in full its membership criteria and current governing procedures.

The petitioner (MBPI) presented a copy of the current (1996) governing document, which contained provisions covering membership criteria and enrollment procedures. MBPI also presented a copy of a prior draft constitution (MBPI Pet. 1993a).

Therefore we conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(d).

83.7(e) The petitioner's membership consists of individuals who descend from a historical Indian tribe or from historical Indian tribes which combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity.

Under the provisions of section 83.8, the petitioner must show that it meets criterion 83.7(3), ancestry from the historic tribe. Collectively, the petitioner's members descend from Match-e-be-nash-she-wish's Potawatomi Band, which received a three-mile square reserve at Kalamazoo, Michigan, under the Treaty of 1821. The Band moved northward from Kalamazoo to its current location in Allegan County, Michigan, after the 1833 Treaty of Chicago. Because of its location as the northernmost of the Potawatomi bands in Michigan, it was incorporated for payment purposes with the Grand River Ottawa under the Compact of 1838 following the 1836 Ottawa Treaty. The Band was a signatory to the 1855 Treaty of Detroit, receiving annuity payments under these prior treaties until the final 1870 commutation payment.

Previous acknowledgment decisions have allowed for the movement of families between bands and tribes, as well as the formal or informal merger of bands and tribes. This phenomenon is allowed for in this finding by discussing both families descended from the original Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band and families descended from other Potawatomi and Ottawa Indians who joined the Griswold Mission settlement or married into the MBPI families during the second half of the 19th century. For the MBPI, the arrival of new families had essentially been completed by the date the Taggart Roll was compiled by the BIA in 1904.

Relationship to HPI Enrollment. Generally, prior to 1992 the MBPI were carried on the HPI membership rolls. HPI had a functioning Enrollment Committee since prior to the adoption of the 1979 HPI constitution. The committee's procedures were formally approved by Tribal Council on March 1, 1979. HPI used an application form for membership, requiring that an applicant for enrollment be able to trace descent from a person listed on the 1904 Taggart Roll. The enrollment application for a child of a current member was to be accompanied by a copy of the infant's birth certificate. An adult applicant was required to provide standard genealogical documentation (birth certificates and other vital records) back to the 1904 Taggart Roll ancestor. The application was reviewed by the HPI Enrollment Committee.

On the basis of ancestry charts and backup documentation submitted by HPI, which covered all but eight MBPI members, all MBPI members listed on the October 20, 1994, MBPI roll are

of American Indian ancestry, all are of Michigan Potawatomi ancestry, and all are documented to be of 1904 Taggart Roll descendancy. All persons listed on the current roll meet the petitioner's constitutional membership qualifications (MBPI Pet. 1993a).

The MBPI undated, unratified draft constitution (MBPI Pet. 1993a) contained enrollment criteria essentially identical to those in the current (1996) governing document.

Therefore, we conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(e).

83.7(f) **The membership of the petitioning group is composed principally of persons who are not members of any acknowledged North American Indian tribe. However, under certain conditions a petitioning group may be acknowledged even if its membership is composed principally of persons whose names have appeared on rolls of, or who have been otherwise associated with, an acknowledged Indian tribe. The conditions are that the group must establish that it has functioned throughout history until the present as a separate and autonomous Indian tribal entity, that its members do not maintain a bilateral political relationship with the acknowledged tribe, and that its members have provided written confirmation of their membership in the petitioning group.**

The requirements of section 83.7(f) are designed to prevent the breakup of existing Federally acknowledged tribes. This section still applies under the provisions of section 83.8.

One hundred twenty-six persons who previously were carried on the HPI membership roll committed themselves to the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish petitioner in writing in October, 1994. The situation was explained fully in the technical reports which accompanied the HPI proposed finding, and the situation was reiterated in the HPI final determination, as follows:

> The 1994 membership list of the Huron Potawatomi, Inc. contained 850 entries. The membership has been documented to descend from persons listed on the 1904 Taggart Roll, compiled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in connection with the issuance of Potawatomi annuity payments under Federal treaties. The Proposed Finding concluded that the 1994 HPI membership list, after eliminating deceased members and duplicate names, contained 819 actual living persons. The Proposed Finding noted the following items pertaining to the HPI membership: . . . (3) that 126 individuals on the February 18, 1994, HPI membership list had notified the BIA that they wished to be part of the petition for Federal acknowledgment submitted by the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Pottawatomi Band, while about 150 others were eligible to be included in the membership of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Pottawatomi Band if they so desired. Because of extensive intermarriage among American Indian tribes in Michigan, the above determinations contained overlaps: the same individual might be eligible for more than one of the enrollment options. The Proposed Finding concluded that if the persons who fell into the categories listed above chose to disenroll from HPI, their removal from the HPI membership would not adversely affect the ability of the Huron Potawatomi, Inc. to meet the mandatory criteria of the Federal acknowledgment regulations.

The membership of MBPI does not represent a splinter of any acknowledged tribe, the persons on the roll having withdrawn from HPI prior to the effective date of HPI's Federal acknowledgment. The prohibition under 83.7(f) does not apply to prior enrollment with another non-recognized Indian group.

The membership of the petitioning group is composed principally of persons who are not members of any acknowledged North American Indian tribe. Therefore, we conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7 (f).

83.7(g) Neither the petitioner nor its members are the subject of congressional legisla-

tion that has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship.

On March 28, 1992, the petitioner, as the "Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians," requested from Assistant Secretary-Indian Affairs Eddie F. Brown a "restoration" of its status as a nation from the BIA (Church to Deer 11/10/1993; MBPI Pet. 1993b, [1]). In the group's November 10, 1993, letter to AS-IA Ada Deer reiterating the request for "restoration," the MBPI asserted:

> In our earlier letter to Mr. Eddie F. Brown seeking "Restoration" of our status as a tribe we were never told that this avenue was not be [sic] possible. Subsequent contacts from BAR did say that the restoration process had been generally used by terminated tribes, such as the Menominees, or tribes which were "terminated" [sic] by specific pieces of legislation. . . . Since Federal legislation was passed in 1871 which forbid [sic] any more treaties to be concluded which recognized Indian tribes it is clear that the Treaty process which was approved by the BIA for our Band at "Griswold" (and the Huron Pottawatomi) did not take place prior to the 1871 federal legislation and consequently we have been denied federal acknowledgment by specific legislation (MBPI Pet. 1993b, Church to Deer 11/10/1993, [3]). [emphasis in original]

If the BIA had accepted this line of argument, the MBPI would be prohibited under the 25 CFR Part 83 regulations (criterion 83.7(g)) from proceeding through the administrative process, and would have to seek restoration by Congressional legislation. However, the general ending of treaty negotiations in 1871 has not been interpreted by the Department of Interior as legislation specifically terminating the Federal acknowledgment of a specific American Indian tribe. Therefore, in spite of the argument advanced by the MBPI themselves, the MBPI was eligible to proceed under 25 CFR Part 83.8.

There is no evidence within the meaning of Federal Indian law that the petitioner is subject to congressional legislation that has terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship.

Therefore, we conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7 (g).

Summary under the Criteria -- Proposed Finding, MBPI

cc: Sec.Surname:Sec.RF(2);101A;BureauRF
BIASurname;850/852/440B;440Chron;400
Hold:VDeMarce;ved;x3592;11/13/96\summcrit.dft\HR;\summc
rit.wpd;6/12/97.

PROPOSED FINDING

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

June 23, 1997

United States Department of the Interior

Bureau of Indian Affairs

Branch of Acknowledgment and Research

(202) 208-3592

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HISTORICAL TECHNICAL REPORT ON THE MATCH-E-BE-NASH-SHE-WISH BAND OF POTTAWATOMI INDIANS OF MICHIGAN, INC.

SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE

Background. The Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan (hereafter MBPI) is a small group of 140 persons headquartered near Bradley in Allegan County, Michigan. The group's members reside primarily within a 25-mile radius of Bradley. There is potential for expansion to approximately 220 members. The petitioner has been determined to have prior unambiguous Federal acknowledgment through 1870.

MBPI descends primarily from the Potawatomi band led by Matchepenashshewish which was assigned a three-mile-square reserve at Kalamazoo by Federal treaty in 1821. It also has considerable descent from Grand River Ottawa from the period 1838 through 1855, during which it was associated with the Episcopalian Griswold Mission in Allegan County, Michigan, which received its funding through the 1836 Ottawa treaty. Historically, the antecedent band was always small, consistently under 200 persons. During the Griswold Mission period, it was enumerated on annuity rolls, on the 1842 and 1847 Office of Indian Affairs (hereafter cited as OIA) censuses of Michigan Indians, and on the 1850 Federal census as an Indian settlement. By 1850, one family originating from the Coldwater Potawatomi Band and one couple from the Pokagon Potawatomi had joined the Matchebenashshewish Band Potawatomi at the Griswold Mission.

Under stipulations of the 1855 Treaty of Detroit with the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan, the band was included in the Federal Government's attempts to relocate the Grand River Ottawa bands in Oceana County, Michigan. From 1855 through 1870, the band collected annuities from the Federal Government under both the 1855 Ottawa treaty and prior Potawatomi treaties. The Ottawa annuity rolls listed recipients by band and chief, naming each head of household and giving the number of individuals. Throughout the later 1860's, the chief negotiated with the Federal Government on behalf of the Grand River Ottawa, as head of one of the constituent bands and as elected spokesman of the Grand River Ottawa chiefs. During the 1855-1870 period, during which the group was divided residentially between Allegan and Oceana Counties, it was enumerated on the 1860 and 1870 Federal censuses of both counties, with the ethnicity of the

members designated as "Ind." The treaty annuities were commuted in a final 1870 payment.

In 1904, members of the settlement with Potawatomi ancestry were included on the Taggart Roll compiled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (hereafter cited as BIA) for distribution of the Congressional appropriation to settle claims of Michigan's Potawatomi Indians. In 1908, as descendants of Shau-be-quo-ung's Band, the group's members were included on the Durant Roll compiled by the BIA for distribution of the Congressional appropriation to settle claims of Michigan's Ottawa Indians.

Having no commonly owned reservation land, the group was not eligible to organize under the IRA in 1934, although it expressed interest in doing so. In 1939, the Allegan County Potawatomi settlements were included in the BIA's Holst Report, and were impacted by Commissioner of Indian Affairs (hereafter cited as COIA) John Collier's 1940 decision not to extend further BIA services to the Indians of Michigan's lower peninsula.

Identification as an American Indian Entity since 1870. The population has remained very small, usually less than 100 persons, since members of "Shau-be-quo-ung's Band" returned from Oceana County to the former Griswold Mission lands in Allegan County in the 1870's, after the failure of the Federal Government's allotment policy and the commutation of annuities. It was enumerated on the 1880 Federal census of Allegan County as an "Indian Colony." A history of Allegan County published in 1880 described both the historical background and current status of the settlement, as did a history of Oceana County published in 1890. The 1883-1884 Circuit Court proceedings to divide and allot the former Griswold Mission trust lands among the heads of the 22 Indian families also provided an extensive description of the settlement. The members were enumerated on the special Indian Population schedules of the 1900 and 1910 Federal censuses, which collected the additional tribal information data called for by those schedules.

The Allegan County Indian settlements (Griswold Mission and its successors at Bradley and Salem) have not been the specific subject of any academic studies, although they have been occasionally mentioned in general accounts of Michigan Potawatomi. However, local histories and local newspapers have provided consistent mention of the activities of the "Bradley Indians" or "Allegan County Indians" throughout the

20th century. These frequently included historical retrospectives, but also covered contemporary activities of the group such as claims, traditional crafts, Methodist camp meetings, church fund-raisers, and Indian baseball teams.

The MBPI settlements near Bradley in Wayland Township and in Salem Township, Allegan County, Michigan, evolved from a portion of the Potawatomi tribe who were signers of Federal treaties. The residents of these settlements have consistently been identified in Federal, State, and local records and by the BIA as an Indian group, specifically as a Potawatomi or combined Potawatomi/Grand River Ottawa group, since the 1820's.

Maintenance of community. Petitioners proceeding under section 83.8 do not need to demonstrate continuous historical community since the last date of unambiguous prior Federal acknowledgment, but only show the existence of modern community. However, since under the provisions of the regulations, petitioners may under certain circumstances utilize the evidence that the group had community at certain historical periods to establish a presumption that it also exercised political authority or influence during the same time frame, evidence pertaining to the MBPI historical community, based on residential patterns and marriage within the group, has been incorporated into the Historical and the Genealogical Technical Reports, although it was not needed per se under 83.8.

Published plat books of Allegan county mapped the location of the land owned by the group's members in 1873 (when it was designated as "Indian Lands"), 1895, 1913, 1958, 1972, and 1982. Since the allotment of the former Griswold Mission lands in the mid-1880's, the residential pattern of the settlements has not consisted of exclusively Indian geographical areas. Rather, although the plat books show that the farms owned by MBPI ancestors clustered in the same general neighborhoods in Wayland and Salem Townships, and that some Indian-owned farms were contiguous to one another, non-Indian farm owners were interspersed among them. Purchase of new land for expansion by individual Indian farmers was controlled by market availability. It was not usually contiguous with other Indian-owned land, though ordinarily located within a few miles of other Indian-owned land.

During the period after 1870, several Grand River Ottawa families, mostly from the band headed by Joseph Medawis,

settled near Bradley and were absorbed into the group by intermarriage. There was also considerable individual intermarriage with other Lower Peninsula Indians--primarily with members of the Huron Potawatomi Methodist Indian mission on the Pine Creek Reservation near Athens in Calhoun County, Michigan. Endogamous marriage within the Bradley settlement was limited by the small size of the group, which caused a limited pool of available marriage partners, and by the close cousinship which existed by the early 20th century.

From 1893 through 1934, children from Allegan County settlements regularly attended Mount Pleasant Indian School. Members also attended other BIA schools, including Haskell Institute and the BIA schools at Genoa, Nebraska, and Flandreau, South Dakota, as late as the 1940's. As long as attendance at BIA high schools remained the norm, marriage with other Michigan Indians also remained the norm. During the decade 1930-1939, 80 percent of the new marriages of Bradley individuals were to other Michigan Indians. After the closing of Mount Pleasant, which resulted in attendance of the settlements' young people at local public high schools, the rate of marriage to non-Indians increased, but significant numbers of marriages to non-Indians did not begin to occur until after 1950. Even in the 1950-1959 decade, the rate of marriage to other Michigan Indians was 49 percent. Only after 1960 did the group drop to a rate of approximately 15 percent intermarriage with other Michigan Indians, which it retained until 1980.

From the 1880's until the present day, the Methodist denomination has sponsored churches for the group that were specifically designated as Indian missions. The mission at Bradley began by 1879 and has continued until the present with one interruption of less than ten years in the mid-1960's. The daughter mission at Salem, ten miles west of Bradley, was organized in 1917 and has continued without interruption until the present day. From 1879-1929 and 1947-1990, these Indian mission churches were served by licensed indigenous ministers who were members or in-laws of the group, while the boards and committees of the mission churches were headed and staffed by members of the settlements. The nature of Methodist records provided regular annual reports of membership, attendance, and participation at the mission churches. These two Methodist Indian missions were discussed extensively in a general 1993 academic study of Methodist Indian missions in Michigan.

In addition to the mission churches mentioned in the above paragraph, the Bradley settlement has maintained and controlled the usage of an exclusively Indian cemetery since 1885. Most of the group's members, including non-residents, have been buried in this cemetery.

Maintenance of tribal political influence or authority. MBPI's antecedent bands and settlements have had a sequence of formally named leaders identified by knowledgeable outside observers throughout most of the group's existence. At the assignment of the three-mile-square Kalamazoo Reserve by Federal treaty in 1821, Matchepenashshewish headed the band. When he died in 1845, the band was located at the Griswold Mission. The missionary reported to the OIA that the band had chosen Matchepenashshewish's son, Penassee, to succeed him. At Penassee's death in 1854, the missionary reported that the "Indians had elected" Penassee's son Shau-be-quo-ung (aka Moses Foster). Foster remained chief until his death in 1903, assisted by his youngest brother, David K. Foster, who was also employed by the Federal Government as teacher and interpreter for the band. The petitioner presented extensive evidence pertaining to the functions and activities of these traditional chiefs. D.K. Foster's papers, covering the band's activities in the second half of the 19th century, were preserved by his sons and given to Jacob Sprague by a descendant when Sprague served as chief in the 1950's. They were then kept by Sprague's daughter, Luella Collins. MBPI submitted copies as a supplement to its petition. After the death of the Foster brothers in 1903, the traditional chieftainship essentially lapsed, although in 1911 the band did meet and elect David K. Foster's son, Charles Foster, as chief. Charles Foster, who lived in Grand Rapids, was not a dynamic leader and died in the early 1920's.

The lapse in the traditional chieftainship did not represent a lapse in political leadership. By the first decade of the 20th century, the effective leadership in the settlement was being provided by a sequence of indigenous (i.e., native to this settlement) ordained and lay ministers at the Bradley Methodist Indian mission. This church-based leadership expanded with the establishment of the daughter Indian mission church at Salem in 1916/1917. Indigenous licensed ministers led these churches until 1929. The petitioner presented extensive evidence concerning their roles as organizers and fund-raisers for construction of the mission church buildings, etc. The other aspects of church leadership were almost exclusively Indian. Indigenous lay

ministers, Sunday School superintendents, and committee heads continued to work within these churches from 1929 through the 1950's during which the Methodist Church assigned non-Indian licensed ministers to the missions. The only non-Indian involved in lay church leadership in the missions during that interval was the husband of an Indian woman from the Salem settlement. Major leaders were the Revs. Lewis Medawis, Sampson Pigeon, Adam Sprague, and Selkirk Sprague.

In addition to the leadership within the missions, there was limited evidence for non-church leadership as well between 1904 and the 1950's. The 1939 BIA Holst Report identified Silas Bush as a prominent community leader, but did not indicate that he held any formal position. Bush had served at Bradley as a local Indian minister in 1934-1935 and continued active in the secular enterprises of the group through the 1950's. During his later life, he was not a participant in the missions.

During the 1950's, the Allegan County Indian settlements organized and elected officers to pursue claims under the 1946 ICC Act, independently for a short time, but usually in cooperation with other Michigan Potawatomi groups and with the Northern Michigan Ottawa Association. Because of the common claims activity, from the 1970's through 1992, the overwhelming majority of the MBPI members were carried on the rolls of Huron Potawatomi, Inc. (hereafter cited as HPI). All current MBPI members living in 1978 were included in the distribution of the ICC judgment award.

In 1954, the Allegan County Potawatomi elected Jacob Sprague as "chief" of their claims organization. He was active in this capacity until his death in 1960, in cooperation with several of the other adult men of the group. After his death, the Bradley settlement did not pursue claims activity independently, but through other Michigan Potawatomi and Ottawa groups. MBPI did not establish a secular governing body, separate from HPI and the Bradley and Salem Methodist mission boards, until 1992.

A temporary political merger of the Allegan County settlements with HPI took place in 1988, but was formally dissolved in 1991. At the same time period, the Bradley and Salem missions faced the impending retirement of the long-time licensed indigenous minister, for whom no indigenous replacement was available. The breakdown of the HPI merger and end of the indigenous ministry led to the petitioner's

reestablishment, with the approval of the mission boards, of a formal non-ecclesiastical administrative structure. During the active consideration process of the HPI petition in 1993, the persons on the current MBPI membership list withdrew from HPI. Since that time, MBPI has drafted a constitution, prepared a membership list, and submitted a documented petition for Federal acknowledgment.

HISTORICAL TECHNICAL REPORT ON THE MATCH-E-BE-NASH-SHE-WISH BAND OF POTTAWATOMI INDIANS OF MICHIGAN, INC.

INTRODUCTION

The Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan[1] (hereafter MBPI) is headquartered near Bradley in Allegan County, Michigan, where it maintains a Field Office where records are kept, the Elders' Council meets, and training efforts and planning meetings are undertaken. It is a small group of 140 members. The population has been very small, usually less than 100 persons, since members of "Shau-be-quo-ung's[2] Band" returned from Oceana County, Michigan, to Allegan County, Michigan, in the 1870's. This has necessitated a considerable amount of intermarriage with other Potawatomi groups in southwestern Michigan, and with various Grand River Ottawa bands.

Petitioner's self-definition. Throughout the second half of the 19th century and most of the 20th century, the ancestors of the petitioning group were ordinarily referred to simply as the "Allegan County Indians" or the "Bradley Indians."[3] Upon deciding to petition for Federal acknowledgment, the petitioner had some difficulty in settling upon an official nomenclature with greater historical resonance. It submitted its 1992 letter of intent to petition under the name "Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa," the terminology by which its ancestors had been identified on some early annuity payment lists. Because the band's leaders in the early 19th century had signed treaties between the Federal Government as the "United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan," it also used that name in some material submitted to the BIA (MBPI Pet. 1993b, Church

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[1] This is the official spelling adopted by the petitioning group. It is used for the group in this petition. Except in direct quotations, this report otherwise uses the more customary standardized spellings, "Matchepenashshewish" for the chief and "Potawatomi" for the tribe.

[2] Also "Shop-quo-ung" and numerous other variant spellings, which have been standardized within this report except when contained in direct quotations.

[3] For example, in an article on the Reverend James Selkirk published in 1914, a local newspaper mentioned the bands that settled near Gun Lake and said that these "red men were the ancestors of the Bradley Indians" (To Publish Pioneer Society Articles 1914).

to Deer 11/10/93, [4]). Eventually, it adopted the name "Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan" in honor of its most prominent early chief. The name is appropriate in that the group's leadership long remained with Matchepenashshewish's son and grandsons, while several of the prominent families in the petitioner's membership are documented to be his direct descendants.[4] The group's leaders used variants of the name "Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band" upon occasions of interaction with the Federal government in the 1890's and during the 1950's.

Origins of the petitioner. The petitioning group is basically Potawatomi. In spite of confusion in the secondary sources (particularly Krusen 1948) pertaining to the Griswold Colony, or Selkirk[5] Mission, identifying the Indians of that mission as Ottawa, the origin of the petitioning group lay primarily in two Potawatomi bands, those of Sagamah at Prairie Ronde (who was not the same person as *Saginaw*)[6] and of Matchepenashshewish at Kalamazoo,[7] with some additional Potawatomi families who

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[4] Standardized spelling adopted for the name of the individual person, except in direct quotations.

[5] The name of the Reverend James Selkirk was alternatively spelled "Selkrig" in many documents. This report utilizes "Selkirk" as the standardized spelling except in direct quotations.

[6] Much of the confusion between the two men apparently stemmed from the nomenclature chosen by Darius B. Cook (Cook 1889), according to a recent history of Allegan County (Armstrong and Pahl 1985, 141). Local historian A.H. Scott clearly distinguished the two chiefs as early as 1880 (History of Allegan and Barry Counties 1880, 41n).

[7] In discussing the 1821 treaty, which included the exception of the "Matcheepeenashshewish" reservation in Kalamazoo County, the county historian writing in 1880 added the following interesting footnote:

> The last signer for the *Ottawas*, Matcheepeenashewish, was the chief of the band at Kalamazoo, and the reservation there was named after him. Yet that reservation, like all the others in Michigan south of the Grand River is generally said to have been occupied by *Pottawattamies*. Doubtless they formed a decided majority, but there were some *Ottawas* mingled with the *Pottawattamie* bands, as has been frequently observed, and it was no uncommon thing for a member of one tribe to become a chief in another, even where the relations of the two tribes were much less close than those of the *Ottawas* and *Pottawattamies*. The chieftain and the region in which he flourished are thus mentioned in a quaint old song of the pioneer days, reprinted in the Centennial Record of Michigan. After glorifying

can be documented as having come from the Pokagon villages and from White Pigeon's village at Coldwater, Michigan, with a few Grand River Ottawa. These coalesced around the Selkirk mission in the late 1830's and early 1840's.

Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, the history of the Bradley settlement has been distinguishable from that of the Pokagon Potawatomi and the Huron Potawatomi further to the southwest in the state of Michigan by a much closer association with, much more intermarriage with, and a much higher degree of interaction with, the Ottawa.

DEFINITIONS

Nature of a Federally acknowledgeable group under 25 CFR Part 83. Under the Federal acknowledgment regulations, it is historically valid for separate tribes or bands to have combined and functioned together as a unit. Under the regulations in 25 CFR Part 83, tribes which may have combined and divided because of historical circumstances may be acknowledged, as long as the subgroups involved continued to function as tribal units. The historic Potawatomi represent a tribe which has in the course of history subdivided into several independent administrative units, six of which are currently Federally acknowledged tribes.[8]

During its greatest geographic extent, the overall settlement of the Potawatomi reached from Detroit across southern

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mentioned in a quaint old song of the pioneer days, reprinted in the Centennial Record of Michigan. After glorifying various Michigan localities, the poet says:

"But of all the darndest countries
Beneath the shining sun,
Old Kalamazoo can take the rag
When all the rest are done.
There, in the burr-oak openings,
Big Matcheebeenashewish
Raised double crops of corn and beans,
And ate them with his fish."

(*History of Allegan and Barry Counties 1880, 27, 27n*).

[8] See the listing of the federally acknowledged Potawatomi tribes in the Summary under the Criteria.

Michigan, into northwestern Indiana, northeastern Illinois, and included the Wisconsin shore of Lake Michigan. The predecessors of all of the modern Potawatomi groups in southeastern Michigan were a small proportion of this overall tribe: namely those Potawatomi who resided in southern Michigan and the northwest portion of Indiana.

Clifton, citing to Swanton (Swanton 1952:247), maintained that, "the 'band' divisions were distinguished only late in Potawatomi history, and they were generally names of groupings brought together for treaties with the United States or as a consequence of them" (Clifton 1978, 731). This generalization is less applicable to the Michigan Potawatomi bands antecedent to the current petitioner, which as the northernmost of the Michigan Potawatomi groups were distinguished by being more closely associated with the Ottawa than were the Potawatomi in southwestern Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois.

Of the historic "Potawatomi tribe," what portion is being considered in this petition? The specific antecedents of the petitioner lie in the two northernmost Potawatomi bands which had been assigned reserves in southwestern Michigan by the 1821 treaty: Sagamah's band at Prairie Ronde[9] and Matchepenashewish's Band on the Kalamazoo River. These two bands moved north to the southern Grand River region between the late 1820's and 1838. There, after 1839, they settled at the Episcopalian Griswold Colony Mission administered by the Rev. James Selkirk. By this procedure, they avoided removal west. However, since Episcopalian Bishop Samuel McCoskry's Federal Government funding was specifically designated for an Ottawa mission under the Ottawa/Chippewa treaty of 1836,[10] it also led to their close identification

[9] This location is now Schoolcraft, Michigan (Armstrong and Pahl 1985, 138). Sagamah's band was still located there in 1828 (Selkirk Autobiography n.d., typescript p. 33n).

[10] It provided the sum of $5,000 annually for the twenty years to be appropriated for teachers, books in the Indian languages, and school houses, etc. Grand River Ottawa represented by Mix-i-ci-nin-ny and Na-bun-a-gu-hig, as well as Wab-i-wid-i-go (Goss 1906, 183).

In 1838, Indian Agent Henry Schoolcraft made the following comment concerning the procedure:

> The application of the funds assigned by these tribes for the purposes of education and missions could, it was thought, be best made, through the intervention of organized boards, devoted to similar objects. And a division of the sum

with the Grand River Ottawa in Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) records. Additionally, because of their geographic proximity, in 1838 they were administratively assigned for annuity payment purposes to the Grand River Ottawa as the Gun Lake Band.

Federal reservation status. Matchepenashshewish was granted a Federal reservation in the form of a three-mile square reserve at Kalamazoo, Michigan, by the treaty of 1821. However, this reserve was one of those ceded by the Potawatomi in the treaty of 1827, in return for an enlargement of the Nottawaseppi Reserve, with the chief signing as "Mitch-e-pe-nain-she-wish, or bad bird; his x mark" (Kappler 1974, 2:284). He did not sign the "Articles supplementary" to the 1833 Treaty of Chicago by which the Potawatomi agreed to cede the Nottawaseppi Reserve (Kappler 1972, 2:411).

The petitioner contends that the land of the Griswold Colony near Bradley, Michigan, was a Federal reservation purchased in 1838 with funds provided by the President of the United States (Church 3/8/1996, 21). This is not so in any formal or legal sense: the funding came to the Episcopal Church under a presidential determination of how the education and mission monies provided by the fourth article of the Ottawa treaty of 1836 (Kappler 1972, 2:451-452) should be administered. The bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Michigan, through the Reverend James Selkirk, used some of that money to purchase land for Indian mission use at the Griswold Colony and held the land in trust on behalf of the mission long after the 20-year period of the 1836 treaty provisions expired (in this case, in 1858, 20 years from the actual establishment of the mission). When the ecclesiastical trust was dissolved through court action, the mission lands were divided among the Indian families attached to the mission. For some years, the Indian agent used Federal funds to pay taxes on the land. This process did not constitute the establishment of a Federal reservation.

After 1880, the group transferred its religious allegiance from Episcopalian to Methodist, and the two Indian Mission

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annually applicable for 20 years, was made among the five principal religious denominations of the country, including the Roman Catholic Church. The result of their efforts with these tribes during the fiscal year is shown by abstract C . . . (NARS M-234, Roll 423, 448).

churches at Bradley and Salem have served as community foci throughout the 20th century. The only land that remained in common tribal ownership was the Indian cemetery established in 1885 near the mission church at Bradley.

The "restoration" issue. With the exception of the brief period in Oceana County from the late 1850's through the 1870's, the community has remained in Allegan County, Michigan, since the late 1830's. Since the group's return from Oceana County in the 1870's to rejoin the small portion which had remained with Rev. Selkirk at the old mission, and the allotment of the reserve land among the families in 1883-1884 after Selkirk's 1878 death, it has remained centered near Bradley, expanding in the period after 1905 to a secondary settlement in Salem Township, about 10 miles west of Bradley.

On March 28, 1992, the petitioner, as the "Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians," requested from Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs Eddie F. Brown a "restoration" of its status as a nation from the BIA (Church to Deer 11/10/1993; MBPI Pet. 1993b, [1]). In the group's November 10, 1993, letter to AS-IA Ada Deer reiterating the request for "restoration," the MBPI asserted:

> In our earlier letter to Mr. Eddie F. Brown seeking "Restoration" of our status as a tribe we were never told that this avenue was not be [sic] possible. Subsequent contacts from BAR did say that the restoration process had been generally used by terminated tribes, such as the Menominees, or tribes which were "termminated" [sic] by specific pieces of legislation. . . . Since Federal legislation was passed in 1871 which forbid [sic] any more treaties to be concluded which recognized Indian tribes it is clear that the Treaty process which was approved by the BIA for our Band at "Griswold" (and the Huron Pottawatomi) did not take place prior to the 1871 federal legislation and consequently we have been denied federal acknowledgment by specific legislation (MBPI Pet. 1993b, Church to Deer 11/10/1993, [3]). [emphasis in original]

If the BIA had accepted this line of argumentation, the MBPI would be prohibited under the 25 CFR Part 83 regulations (criterion 83.7(g)) from proceeding through the administrative process, and would have to seek restoration

by Congressional legislation. However, the general ending of treaty negotiations in 1871 has not been construed by the Department of the Interior as legislation specifically terminating the Federal acknowledgment of any specific American Indian tribe. Therefore, in spite of the argument advanced by the MBPI, the petitioner is eligible to proceed under 25 CFR Part 83.8.

Previous Federal acknowledgment and reduced burden of proof under revised 25 CFR Part 83 regulations. Under 25 CFR 83.8, unambiguous previous Federal acknowledgment of a petitioner does not require that each individual within the petitioning group be the direct lineal descendant of an individual who personally signed a treaty: only that the petitioning group be structurally, or collectively, descended from a tribe or band whose leaders signed a Federal treaty or was otherwise unambiguously Federally acknowledged.

Consideration of the MBPI under Section 83.8. Shau-be-quo-ung, who had been elected chief of the Indians at Griswold Colony in 1854, signed the July 31, 1855, treaty made at Detroit between the United States and the Ottawa and Chippewa (Kappler 1972, 2:730, 731). The petitioner has denied that the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band was a party to this treaty, arguing that Shau-be-quo-ung was "only an interested delegate," since Matchepenashshewish had not signed the March 28, 1836, Ottawa/Chippewa treaty (Church 2/8/1996, 14).[11] However, in spite of the fact that Matchepenashewish had not signed the 1836 treaty and the 1855 treaty was for "parties to" it (Kappler 1972, 2:725, 727), the band had been classified by the Federal Government among the Grand River Ottawa since 1838, and Shau-be-quo-ung did sign the treaty as a Grand River Ottawa chief.

Shau-be-quo-ung [Shaw-be-quo-ung, Shop-quo-ung, Shaube-quoung]'s band of Potawatomi Indians had unambiguous prior Federal acknowledgment, albeit as a Grand River Ottawa ban

[11] The 1836 treaty ceded lands north of the Grand River. Neither Matchepenashshewish nor Sagamaw had ever taken their settlements that far north: by the 1836 treaty date, they had not yet been administratively incorporated with the Grand River Ottawa, which would occur during the mission era, beginning in 1837/1838. After removing from Prairie Ronde and Kalamazoo, they moved essentially in a direct line north, through Plainwell and Martin to Bradley, over a period of a decade. However, Bradley is only halfway between the Kalamazoo and Grand Rivers: their settlements had remained well south of the Grand River.

on July 31, 1855. Annuities to the band under this treaty and under prior Potawatomi treaties continued through 1870. Since the MBPI descends politically and genealogically from that band, this unambiguous prior Federal acknowledgment enables the MBPI to proceed through the Federal acknowledgment process under the provisions of section 83.8.

A latest post-1870 date of unambiguous Federal acknowledgment for the MBPI's antecedent group has not been determined for this finding. The use of the 1870 date by the BIA in these reports is not to be regarded as a determination by BIA that unambiguous Federal acknowledgment of the MBPI's antecedent group ceased at that date. After 1870, the band abandoned the attempt to obtain patents for lands in Oceana County, Michigan, reserved under the treaty of 1855 and returned to its former mission settlement near Bradley, Allegan County, Michigan. The issue of post-1870 Federal acknowledgment has not been addressed in this Proposed Finding.

Impact of Section 83.8 on coverage in the Historical Technical Report. Under the revised 25 CFR Part 83.8 regulations, this historical report on the Potawatomi Indians of Allegan County, Michigan,[12] prior to 1855 provides only a sufficient introduction to the early history of the group to enable a reader to comprehend the context of the more detailed analysis of the developments since 1855. The issue of external identification as an American Indian entity is considered not from 1900 to the present as required by criterion 83.7(a), but from 1870 to the present, as required by criterion 83.8(d)(1).

Distinctions between definitions of Potawatomi Indians for Federal acknowledgment purposes and definitions of Potawatomi Indians used in claims cases. Much of the earlier BIA analysis of the membership of Michigan Potawatomi groups has been for the purpose of identifying claimants to compensation payments. The definitions of members of Indian tribal groups for Federal acknowledgment purposes under 25 CFR Part 83 are not identical to the definitions of claimants under specific treaties that were used by the United States Court of Claims and by the Indian

[12] About 1840, at the end of the "pioneer decade," there were still several other Indian villages in Allegan County, at Saugatuck, Allegan, Gun Plain, and Martin, as well as in Wayland Township (Armstrong and Pahl 1985, 137). This report focuses only on the Wayland Township settlement (Griswold Mission, later Bradley).

Claims Commission (hereafter cited as ICC), and which, accordingly, the BIA used to formulate such documents as the Dawes Rolls or, in the case of MBPI, the Taggart Roll.

Descendancy of an individual from a treaty signer is not the same thing as the membership of that individual in a continuous tribal community. The Taggart Roll was not a list of the members of any particular Potawatomi community in Michigan at the turn of the 20th century. There were many Michigan residents of Potawatomi descent listed on the Taggart Roll who were not, in the 19th and early 20th centuries, members of the community antecedent to MBPI, and who have left no descendants on the MBPI membership roll. Contemporary descendants of such persons on the Taggart Roll would not, under 25 CFR Part 83, be regarded as having maintained tribal affiliation with the group just because their ancestors appeared on the Taggart Roll. The Durant Roll of Ottawa and Chippewa in Michigan, compiled in 1908, also traced the descendancy of all persons who had been members of Shau-be-quo-ung's band in 1870.

Conversely, there is no requirement under 25 CFR Part 83, as there would have been for claimants in court suits, that all the settlers in a developing mid-19th century Potawatomi community in Michigan be descendants of the signers of any particular treaty with the Federal government. Under 25 CFR Part 83, culturally patterned outmarriages and associations with other Indians are understood under the definition of community. Each 19th century settlement was free to accept outside Indian individuals who married into the settlement, or other Indian families who moved into the settlement, as members of the group who had become part of it. Consequently, the modern membership of a petitioning group may include descendants of several bands which signed different treaties and descendants of individual non-Potawatomi, without prejudice to the group's acknowledgability, as long as the core population of the petitioning community maintained its political and social continuity and identity.

Relevance of this report to MBPI assertions re: claims, land rights, etc. The documentation submitted to the BIA by MBPI from 1992 to 1996 in connection with this petition contains numerous assertions relevant to the group's historical claims, land rights under the Nonintercourse Acts, and relationships to the State of Michigan which are not directly relevant to the criteria for Federal

acknowledgment, and which therefore are not addressed in this report. Lack of mention in this technical report of any particular statement or assertion made by the MBPI is not to be interpreted as meaning that the BIA tacitly accepts the accuracy of the statement or the validity of the assertion, but only that the statement or assertion was not directly relevant to the purposes for which this technical report was compiled.

BRIEF SURVEY OF THE ALLEGAN COUNTY, MICHIGAN, POTAWATOMI BEFORE 1855

Ethnic and linguistic groupings. The petitioner is distinguished from the other Potawatomi petitioners in southwestern Michigan by their longstanding historical association with the Ottawa of northern Michigan.[13] Wheeler-Voegelin's discussion of Royce Area 117 indicated that during the period from 1707 through 1760, there were Ottawa who lived at Michilimackinac or L'Arbre Croche during the summer, but wintered on the Grand River (Wheeler-Voegelin and Stout 1974, 87-88). By 1763, Ottawa from L'Arbre Croche were wintering on both the Grand and Kalamazoo Rivers (Wheeler-Voegelin and Stout 1974, 100).

Along the Kalamazoo and Grand Rivers in the mid-18th century, these Ottawa came into contact with Potawatomi villages. A report produced circa 1771 or 1772 on "Roads from Detroit to the Illinois by way of the Forts Miami, Ouiattanon and St. Vincents [Vincennes] with some Remarks," (Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, hereafter cited as MPHC, 10, 248), three Potawatomi locations were listed within Royce Area 117. They included a Potawatomi village of eight large cabins on one of the branches of Grand River (Washtanon River), another on the Thornapple River in Barry County, and a village of eight cabins on the Kalamazoo River,[14] 75 miles from Detroit and 105 miles from St. Joseph (Wheeler-Voegelin and Stout 1974, 112-113). The source directly stated that these villages were Potawatomi,

[13] See map, Ottawa locations in Michigan. Region F: Grand River Ottawa locations (Feest and Feest 1978, 778).

[14] Route to St. Joseph mentions "Reccanamazoo river, or Pusawpaca Sippy, otherwise the Iron Mine River," in later records called the Ki-ka-ma-sung (Weissert 1928, 3:128). "There is another village of Pittawattamees of eight large cabins" (Weissert 1928, 3:129; see also History of Allegan and Barry Counties 1880, 42).

but Wheeler-Voegelin identified them tentatively as Ottawa on the basis of other circumstantial evidence (Wheeler-Voegelin and Stout 1974, 112-113; see also Weissert 1928, 3:129).

Matchepenashshewish actually signed the Greenville treaty as a Chippewa, and was mentioned in the proceedings as a Chippewa. During the treaty negotiations, he himself stated, "When the Great Spirit made the world, he put me at Michilimackinac, where I first drew my breath" (American State Papers, hereafter cited as ASP. 1932, 4:572).[15] However, throughout the proceedings he spoke on behalf of the "Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomies." It doesn't make any difference to the acknowledgability of the petitioner whether he was Chippewa or Ottawa in origin.[16] It was

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[15] Bad Bird was, in 1795 at the time of Greenville, from Michilimackinac (Mackinac) or from the Ottawa village of L'Arbre Croche, some 20-25 miles southwest of Michilimackinac. . . . We identify Bad Bird with Mackinac or L'Arbre Croche in 1795 for the following reasons. During the Treaty proceedings at Greenville, prior to and after the signing of the Treaty, Mashipinashiwish, or Bad Bird, who was always referred to in the Proceedings as a Chippewa chief, made at least eleven speeches. In one of his speeches he mentioned his "remote situation on Lake Michigan" and in another speech he stated, "No prisoners remain in our hands in the neighborhood of Michilimackinac." (Wheeler-Voegelin 1974, 19).

[16] If Bad Bird was from Mackinac, which in 1795 had a Chippewa population around it, he was probably a Chippewa; if he was from L'Arbre Croche, he was probably an Ottawa, since L'Arbre Croche had been an Ottawa settlement from 1742 onward. Although Gen. Anthony Wayne, commissioner at the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, accepted Bad Bird as a Chippewa, and although Alexander McKenzie, British Indian Department interpreter, also identified "the Bad Bird" as an "Indian Chief of the Chipawas" in a report written in March, 1795, at the Treaty of Chicago held on August 29, 1821, between the United States and "the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatamie Nations of Indians" (7 Stats. 218) a "Mat-che-pee-na-che-wish" signed the Chicago Treaty as an Ottawa (7 Stats. 218: 221). Despite the fact that in 1795 the Mashipinashiwish at Greenville referred to himself as "an old man," and asked Wayne for a horse "to carry [him] home" there is reason to

common practice for Potawatomi villages to accept outsiders as chiefs. Leopold Pokagon (chief of the Pokagon Potawatomi) is also believed to have been an Ottawa/Chippewa by birth (Clifton 1984, 56).

At his first appearance in the historical record at the time of the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, Matchepenashshewish was associated with the villages along the Kalamazoo River.[17] He planned to continue living along the Kalamazoo. Wheeler-Voegelin stated:

> The reason for concluding the signer of the Greenville Treaty and the signer of the Chicago Treaty were one and the same is as follows. In 1794-1795 "Bad Bird" wintered, apparently more by accident than design, on the Kalamazoo River, while engaged in business for Gen. Wayne. The next year, at Greenville on August 8, 1795, Bad Bird asked Wayne "to license a trader to reside with your children [i. e., Bad Bird's group] at Ki-ka-na-ma-sung [Kalamazoo], where we shall pass the ensuing winter" (American State Papers, Indian Affairs, vol. 1, p. 581; Dft. Ex. 10). At the Treaty of Chicago held 26 years after Greenville, on August 29, 1821 (7 Stats. 218) a tract of land was specifically reserved to the Indians . . . Since a village is mentioned, this indicates to us

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conclude that the Mashipinashiwish of the Greenville Treaty of August 3, 1795, and Matchepeenachewish of the Chicago Treaty of August 29, 1821, were One and the same person" (Wheeler-Voegelin 1974, 20).

[17] A March 5, 1795, report of Alexander McKenzie, messenger of the British Government to the Potawatomi of St. Joseph's and neighboring villages, to Alexander McKee, British superintendent of Indian Affairs in Detroit, stated that he left Detroit Feb. 5, arrived at the house of a trader named Pepan on the "Kekalamasoe river," who was furnished with goods by George McDougall, merchant of Detroit; found there Baptiste Sanscrainte, an inhabitant of Detroit; on the 10th reached Mr. Burrell's; and met an Indian chief of the Chippewas called the "Bad Bird" who had been to Greenville and returned with Pepan and Sanscrainte. Bad Bird and the traders were supposed to hold councils with the Indians on Wayne's behalf (Weissert ????, 3:130-131; citing MPHC 12:162).

> that Bad Bird, by 1821, had removed altogether from either Mackinac or L'Arbre Croche, and had settled permanently in a village at the head of the Kalamazoo River" (Wheeler-Voegelin 1974, 20n10).[18]

Overview of the Potawatomi at the opening of the 19th century. In spite of historical evidence that the Potawatomi linguistic group was not a political or social unity, or even confederation, during the eighteenth century, anthropologists nevertheless describe them as having constituted a "tribe" at the beginning of the nineteenth century, while recognizing that the fundamental organizational unit was the individual village. For example, Clifton stated that:

> In 1800 the Potawatomi still constituted a single tribal organization . . . . Although it has been a common practice for some to apply the word "band" to the various regional coalitions of Potawatomi villages, there is no evidence that the Potawatomi themselves recognized traditional, formal subdivisions such as subtribes or bands, each with autonomous control of part of the tribal estate. The permanent and most important politi-

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[18] There was a question where we originated from. Our bunch was, we landed around Kalamazoo, and that was the center between Chicago and Detroit. Now Kalamazoo sounds almost like "Cha-cug-a-miz-oo", is right, "the boiling kettle". The Indian traveled from Chicago to Detroit and the Government came to Detroit to pay the Indian off, sometimes in Chicago--sometimes these Indian who could run fast would to Chicago to Detroit and back again. When they come to Kalamazoo, the Indian there, our bunch, always had plenty of meat boiling there, Indians come along, stop, have a lunch, then go on with travel. There wasn't a time when the Indians weren't in Kalamazoo.

While we were in Kalamazoo, I think there are two 80's right in Kalamazoo, and I was speaking there last winter to some childrens, and I told them on the second trip I made, I said, "Childrens, you're going to be surprised some of these times. We've got 80 acres, two 80's right here in Kalamazoo, and we're going to make you walk right out of your places some of these times . . . (Sprague 1954, [2]).

> cal-geographic unit was the village, of which there were more than 100 by this period (Clifton 1978, 731).

The villages were "generally named after some geographic feature" (Clifton 1978, 731). "By 1800 the idea of clan kinship with an animal was gone, and the villages contained representatives of several or more dispersed clans, with the village organized internally as a group of clan-segments or lineages" (Clifton 1978, 731).

> The social ties that bound these many widely scattered villages together were several and varied. Kinship, actual and metaphorical . . . . There is even an occasional expression of a sense of seniority and priority, for example, the deference in council given to the leading civil chief at Saint Joseph, Topenebe. . . . Clearly, the Potawatomi tribe was not, in Sahlins's (1968) terms, a standing political entity or a sovereign governing authority (Clifton 1978, 732).

> Relations within villages were as profoundly egalitarian as they were between villages. The position of *wkema* "leader" in a village involved ceremonial deference, but little effective power. The person occupying this position was a man of proper character who was a senior member of the clan that "owned" the office (Skinner 1924-1927, 1:19-20; Keating 1824, 1:122-124). Yet the occupant was selected from several possible candidates by the village; he did not acquire the office by birthright . . . Keating . . . concluded that the power of the chief depended on his personal influence and that he held no formal authority (Clifton 1978, 732)

In his discussion of the role of the council of warriors in Potawatomi self-government at the opening of the nineteenth century, Clifton concluded that, "The pattern of decision making within the village in the 1800s seems to have been like that described by [French explorer Nicholas] Perrot in 1670, with very similar social roles, procedures, and values involved" (Clifton 1978, 732).

By the early 1800's, American settlement began to affect the Potawatomi in Indiana and southern Michigan, whose:

villages were in areas first to be heavily settled by Americans. They were already much intermarried with French and English, and were greatly dependent on trade goods in an era when their principal source of wealth--furs--was increasingly scarce and their services for military purposes were no longer marketable. The Potawatomi of Michigan and Indiana were quickly subject to intensive missionization and education programs (Clifton 1978, 737, citing to Schultz 1972).

Early population and locations. Potawatomi continued to live along the Kalamazoo River after the Treaty of Greenville. A letter of John Hays to Ninian Edwards, dated May 1812, mentioned a small village at the mouth of the Kalamazoo with 70 or 80 men, having no particular chief; and also, about 65 miles up the Kalamazoo, a village of Potawatomi and Ottawa of about 60 or 70 men, chief unknown; as well as several Ottawa villages on the Grand River (Wheeler-Voegelin and Stout 1974, 174).

After the War of 1812. Nothing specific is known concerning Matchepenashshewish's village during the War of 1812. Soon after the end of the war, during which the majority of the Potawatomi had allied with the British, most village chiefs quickly indicated that they recognized the power of the United States (Clifton 1978, 737, citing Clifton 1975a). Most of the Michigan Potawatomi were included in the September 8, 1815, treaty signed at Spring Wells, near Detroit (Kappler 1972, 2:117-119). This treaty restored to them "all the possessions, rights, and priviledges, which they enjoyed, or were entitled to, in the year one thousand eight hundred and eleven, prior to the commencement of the late war with Great Britain," renewing and confirming the Treaty of Greenville of 1795 and all subsequent treaties to which they had been parties (Kappler 1972, 2:118). It is not clear that all of the signers of this treaty had, in fact, been in alliance with Great Britain, as the first two Potawatomi signers were Topinebe and Five Medals, both of whom had been American allies (Kappler 1972, 2:119). Matchepenashshewish was not a signer, although "Paanassee or the bird" signed as a "Chippewa chief", as did Noonday as "Nowgeschick, or twelve o'clock" (Kappler 1972, 2:118).

From the time of the 1815 treaty onward, the Potawatomi of southern Michigan were in regular contact with one or another Indian agency. Properly, they should have been the responsibility of the Michigan Superintendency located in

Detroit, but for most purposes, geographic propinquity was of more significance than theoretical lines of authority. Michigan Potawatomi also appear in the records of both the Chicago Agency and the Logansport, Indiana, Agency after 1815 (Conway 1972, 415-416).[19]

First appearance of the "United Tribes" terminology. Some historians, Conway for example (Conway 1972),[20] have attributed considerable significance to the use, beginning in 1816, of the term "United Tribes of Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi" in treaties with the Federal government. In fact, the treaty signed at St. Louis, Missouri, on August 24, 1816, was for the very limited purpose of resolving disputed claim to some lands which had already been ceded to the United States by the Sac and Fox tribes, and made no claim to set up a "United Tribe" of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi overall. Rather, it applied only to those members of these three tribes who were "residing on the Illinois and Melwaukee rivers, and their waters, and on the southwestern parts of Lake Michigan" (Kappler 1972, 2:132).

Intermediate-stage treaties. Helen Tanner has stated that the:

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[19] Conway indicates that the, "legal separation . . . was muddled by both the facts that some Indians moved casually back and forth across the agencies' contiguous boundary, and that the St. Joseph Potawatomi, while located in the Chicago Agency, were outside its functional jurisdiction" (Conway 1972, 415-416).

[20] "In 1816 a treaty ceding land in the Illinois Territory was signed by a new legal entity: the United Tribe of the Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa. The American officials leaned on the historical fact that there was a loose confederacy of the three tribes in creating the United Tribe. But the new entity was a 'straw' tribe that did not include the great majority of the Chippewa and Ottawa, and furthermore does not seem to have had the participation of the Potawatomi of the Woods except when they were constrained" (Conway 1972, 416).

"The 'straw' tribe became the lever by which the autonomy of the Potawatomi bands was subverted. By the vehicle of the United Tribe, the bands of Potawatomi in Indiana and Michigan were pried from their birthright and then forced to emigrate across the Mississippi. The so-called United Tribe was kept compliant by cooperative half-blooded Indians and annuities. Treaties of cession by the Potawatomi in 1816, 1817, 1818, 1821, 1826, 1829, 1832, and 1833 were negotiated with only slight difficulty as the authority of the principal chiefs was circumvented by the mixed-bloods Billy Caldwell and Alexander Robinson, who were the popularly chosen principal chiefs of the 'straw' tribe in 1829. These two dominated the final treaty of Chicago in 1833 and then undertook the task of removing the Potawatomi westward" (Conway 1972, 417).

> Reservations created in southern Michigan, northern Indiana and northwestern Ohio after the War of 1812 were but a prelude to removal in the late 1830s (Tanner 1987, 163).

American commissioners did not find it easy to get the Potawatomi to agree to cessions. In an 1818 letter to Lewis Cass, who was both Governor of Michigan Territory and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Michigan (Leatherbury 1977, 21), the Chicago trader John Kinzie complained that the Potawatomi were:

> scattered over a large tract of country, divided into small villages, at the head of each is a chief who holds himself independent. On this account, it is impossible to get the general consent of their nations without calling a meeting of every individual composing them who are perfectly republican and will not acknowledge anything well done, which is not done by the consent of the whole or the majority of them (Territorial Papers of the United States 10:877; Clifton 1978, 732).

By 1821, Matchepenashshewish reappeared as a treaty signer.

> Bad Bird did not sign the Treaty of July 6, 1820 (but he did sign he Treaty of August 21, 1821, at Chicago, between the United States and "the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pattawatamie, Nations of Indians") (7 Stats. 218). By 1820 he had removed from Mackinac or L'Arbre Croche, and had established his village further south in an interior location at the head[21] of Kalamazoo River, in present Jackson County, Michigan (Wheeler-Voegelin 1974, 21).

See the discussion concerning the establishment of reserves by this treaty for more details.

First sustained contacts with American settlers. By the 1820's, American settlers were beginning to enter southern Michigan in significant numbers for the purposes of agriculture. This initiated a different relationship with

[21] Comment on above: "In the Greenwich Treaty, a river's "head" or "headwaters" was the furtherest point of navigation up stream. Thus head means Kalamazoo; not Jackson" (Church, handwritten comment on: Wheeler-Voegelin 1974, 21).

the resident Indian tribes than had existed during the 18th century and first 20 years of the 19th century, during which contact had been primarily for purposes of trade. Agriculture required land cessions.

1821 treaty: establishment of the Nottawaseppi Reserve. The land cession made by the August 29, 1821, Treaty of Chicago (Kappler 1972, 2:198-201)[22] was the first that directly affected the Ottawa and Potawatomi who lived along the Kalamazoo River. Lewis Cass and Solomon Sibley, as Commissioners of the United States, obtained from the "Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatamie, Nations of Indians"

> approximately 4,000,000 acres lying "south of the north bank of the Grand River, north of the south bank of the St. Joseph, east of the eastern shore of Lake Michigan and west of the boundaries of the Detroit and Saginaw treaties." This land today includes the cities of Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, Jackson, Albion, Battle Creek, Niles, Three Rivers, Hillsdale, Coldwater, Adrian, Allegan, St. Joseph, Benton Harbor, Elkhart, and South Bend (Leatherbury 1977, 22).

For purposes of the Indians who would later become members of the Griswold Colony, the 1821 treaty provided two three-mile-square reservations, one at Prairie Ronde and one at Matchepenashshewish's village in Kalamazoo County, Michigan (Goss 1906, 178). "Mat-che-pee-na-che-wish" signed as an Ottawa (Kappler 1972, 201). Wheeler-Voegelin and Stout specifically identified this signer with the man of the same name who had appeared at the Treaty of Greenville:

> Among the eight Ottawa who signed the Treaty [of August 29, 1821] were . . . Matchepeenachewish or

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[22] List of signers: Ottawas include Kewagoushcum, Mat-che-pee-na-che-wish; Pattiwatimas: To-pen-ne-bee, Mee-te-ay, Chee-banse, Louison, Wee-saw, Kee-po-taw, Shay-auk-ke-bee, Sho-mang, Waw-we-uck-ke-meck, Nay-ou-chee-mon, Kon-gee, Shee-shaw-gan, Aysh-cam, Meek-say-mank, May-ten-way, Shaw-wen-ne-me-tay, Francois, Mauk-see, Way-me-go, Man-daw-min, quay-guee, Aa-pen-naw-bee, Mat-cha-wee-yaas, Mat-cha-pag-gish, Mongaw, Pug-gay-gaus, Ses-cobe-mesh, Chee-gwa-mack-gwa-go, Waw-seb-baw, Pee-chee-co, quoi-quoi-taw, Pe-an-nish, Wy-ne-naig, Onuck-ke-meck, Ka-way-sin, A-meck-kose, Os-see-meet, Shaw-ko-to, No-shay-we-quat, Mee-gwun, Mes-she-ke-ten-now, Kee-no-to-go, Wa-baw-nee-she, Shaw-waw-nay-see, Atch-wee-muck-quee, Pish-she-baw-gay, Waw-ba-saye, Meg-ges-seese, Say-gaw-koo-nuck, Shaw-way-no, Shee-shaw-gun, To-to-mee, Ash-kee-wee, Shay-auk-ke-bee, Aw-be-tone (Kappler 1972, 2:201).

> Bad Bird who, in 1795 had told Wayne he intended to winter on the Kalamazoo River and who, in 1821, had a village at the head of the Kalamazoo River" (Wheeler-Voegelin and Stout 1974, 195).

Nottawaseppi Reserve Bands' locations. This 1821 cession was Royce Area 117. The treaty reserved five tracts of land for the use of the Indians (Kappler 1972, 2:199), which were surveyed in 1825.[23] From the phraseology, it is clear that these did not establish new settlements, but were reservations at existing villages:

(1) One tract at Mang-ach-qua [also written Maug-ach-quas] Village, on the river Peble, of six miles square. This location has not been identified--it is neither indexed by Tanner (Tanner 1987, 216) nor located on her Map 31, "Reservations 1783-1889" (Tanner 1987, 164-165).[24]

(2) One tract at Micke-ke-saw-be, of six miles square. This comprised two-thirds of Coldwater Township and one-third of Quincy Township, both located in Branch County, Michigan (Leatherbury 1977, 27, n. 96). Many Mickasawbee Potawatomi later became associated with the Old Wing mission in Allegan County, Michigan (see below).

(3) One tract at the village of Na-to-wa-se-pe, of four miles square. This was located on the Nottawa-Sippe Prairie, which included Mendon Township, the western part of Leonidas Township, and the eastern part of Park Township in St. Joseph County, Michigan, and a part of Brady Township in

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[23] 1825 BLM surveys of the Indian Reserves established by the 1821 treaty (MBPI Pet. Doc.).

[24] The reference may have been to the area mentioned in 1826 as "Ash-ka-be, res. Mon-go-quoi (114)" (Woodbridge Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, Reel 3). The 1826 reference to "Ash-ka-be" may indicate that this was the band carried on later annuity rolls as the "Bush Creek" or "Brush Creek" band (Lantz 1992, 4-11), which became associated with the Pokagon Potawatomi.

In court testimony given in 1891, Charles Hickey stated that some Potawatomi involved in the suit came "from Mongo-qua, Prairie Rond; there is where their parents resided and came from" (Phineas Pam-to-pee and 1,371 other . . . 1891, 80). The 1891 deposition of Enos Petoskey referred to a very aged Potawatomi named Mon-go-qua, then residing at Northport, Michigan. She was approximately 100 years old in 1891, and was said to have been present at the Treaty of Chicago (Phineas Pam-to-pee and 1,371 other . . . 1891, 38).

Kalamazoo County (Leatherbury 1977, 27, n. 96).[25] The later Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi Band which settled on the Pine Creek Reservation near Athens, Calhoun County, Michigan, was located on this reserve, but were not its only occupants.

(4) One tract at the village of Prairie Ronde,[26] of three miles square. According to Leatherbury, this was located north of Cassopolis in Cass County, Michigan, for Wesaw's band (Leatherbury 1977, 27, n. 94). Wesaw, however, lived on Little Prairie Ronde in Volinia Township, Cass County, Michigan. This reserve was another Potawatomi village under Sagamah, located further north at Prairie Ronde proper, northwest of the Nottawaseppi Reserve. The reservation was surveyed for the latter village (MBPI Pet. 1994, Ex. 8(a); Michigan. Department of Conservation 1818-1855). It was "Sa-kee-maus" rather than Wesaw who signed when this reservation was ceded by the 1827 Treaty of Chicago (Kappler 1972, 2:284).

(5) One tract at the "village of Match-e-be narh[sic]-she-wish, at the head of the Kekalamazoo river."[27] A footnote

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[25] "The settled occupancy of the soil of St. Joseph county [Michigan] by the aborigines of today commenced in 1821, when by the treaty with the Indians made in Chicago the territory of southwestern Michigan was ceded by the red men to the United States, several reservations, however, being omitted in this important transfer. Among these was the Nottawa-seepe reservation which embraced one hundred and fifteen sections, or 73,600 acres of land, in the northern and northeastern parts of St. Joseph county, and the southern and southeastern sections of Kalamazoo county to the north" (Cutler 1911, 1:17)

[26] Identified as a location on the route from Detroit-Huron River-Salt River-branch of the Grand River [Thornapple River]-Kalamazoo River-Prairie Ronde-St. Joseph as early as 1772 (Weissert 1928, 3:129).

[27] This reservation is well-known, featuring both a historic Indian trail and an Indian mound:

> 5th. A north and south trail entered [Kalamazoo] county on the south line of Section 33, Brady township, thence northwesterly, passing the present site of Vicksburg about three-quarter miles east, thence northerly, passing between Austin and Long lakes, thence following the present location of the Portage road and Portage street to the southeast corner of the Match-e-be-nash-i-wish Indian reservation at about the present location of Oak road (Stevens 19??, 122).
>
> In Kalamazoo township, only one mound, as far as is known, was discovered--the one in Bronson park. This mound was very old

after the signing of the treaty indicated that this was to be for Match-e-be-nash-she-wish and was to be three miles square. According to Leatherbury, it was located at the head of the Kalamazoo River near the line between Hillsdale and Jackson Counties (Leatherbury 1977, 27, n. 95). However, the Federal Government survey places the Matchepenashshewish reserve right in what is now downtown Kalamazoo (MBPI Pet. 1994, Ex. 8(a); Michigan. Department of Conservation 1818-1855).

The clearest picture of the distribution of Potawatomi leaders and villages in southern Michigan during this period is in a "Report of Annuity Payment" from four commissioners, William Meldrum, Charles Noble, Whitmore Knaggs, and Jno. J. Deming, to Woodbridge. This payment was made at Coldwater, Michigan, on October 20, 1826 (Woodbridge Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, Reel 3). It specified a number of groups which do not appear on the published records of the Chicago and Fort Wayne agencies from this period, giving place of residence and population of each band, but neither Matchepenashshewish nor his son Penassee was included. The commissioners stated that the total number of Indians represented was 847, "of whom probably not more than 500 were present" (Woodbridge Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, Reel 3).[28]

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when the United States deputy surveyor came to this location to run out the lines of Match-e-be-nash-i-wish Indian reservation, prior to 1829. The Indians at that time seemed to consider it of ancient origin and one chief considered it a speaking rostrum (Stevens 1928, 123).

[28] The apportionment was as follows: O-Chaick, River Huron (40); O-Kee-awe, Hog River (31); So-co-paw, Hog River (51); Au-be-tau-ke-jic, Hog River [numbers apparently counted with prior entry]; Nee-che-po-gish, Macon (35); Que-qua, Stoney creek (48); Wa-sa-wan-quoi, Wolf Lake (17); Ma-qua, Bean Creek (29); Che-Ka-na-buck, Macon (17); Me-chi-wasce, res. Me-to-ne-pe-sick (20); Wau-bee-gay, res. Nan-ta-wa-se-pe (12); Wau-be-ship-shee, Tuexeno (12); Me-she-wisce, R. Raisin (23); Mick-saw-bay, Ash-ka-bee (the Prophet) and Qua-sin, Cold Water; Ash-ka-be, res. Mon-go-quoi (114); Wes-sa-gaw, R. Raisin (23); Gon-te-wau-tuck, R. Iroquois (25); Chease-qua (Female), Miami Bay (5); Chip-bee-she-wa-no, Spotted River (34); Cou-sha-wasce, R. Iroquois (39); So-au-quet, Slippery Elm R. (38); Net-no, Portage River (21); Met-u-way, Prairie Round (71); Nau-nee-me-nick-skuch, Big Bridge (48); Gee-go-nick-skaw, Rocky River (15); Sho-ko-ock, Little Raisin (4).

Distribution to the Chiefs: Mick-saw-bay $20; Ash-ka-bee (the Prophet) $20; Ash-ka-bee of Mon-go-quoi, $20; Moran $50; O-Kee-aw, $25; Nee-Che-pug-gish, $20; Qua-set, 10; So-au-quet, 10; Ma-wa-po-to 10; Ma-co-co-maw $10; Wes-sa-gaw $10; Caw-Bause, $10; Pesh u-way $5; Cheese qua $5;

1827 treaty: enlargement of the Nottawaseppi Reserve by the "99 Sections". By a treaty signed at St. Joseph, September 19, 1827 (Kappler 1972, 2:283-284),[29] the Potawatomi ceded four of the five reserves granted them in the Chicago Treaty of 1821 (the reserves that had been assigned to Mang-ach-qua, Mick-a-saw-bee, Mach-e-be-nash-she-wish, and Prairie Ronde). They retained the Nottawaseppi Reserve and were granted an additional tract of land adjacent to the north and west of the remaining reserve (Manassah 1983, [4]), located in towns 4 and 5 south and in ranges 9, 10, and 11 west of the State Meridian being in the south line of townships of Kalamazoo County and the north line of those in St. Joseph County. The stated purpose of the cession was, "to consolidate some of the dispersed bands of the Potawatomi Tribe in the Territory of Michigan at a point removed from the road leading from Detroit to Chicago, and as far as practicable from the settlements of the Whites" (Kappler 1972, 2:283-284). This 1827 treaty, specifically between the United States and the "Potawatamie Tribe of Indians" (Kappler 1972, 2:283), was signed by both "Pee-nai-sheish, or little bird" and "Mitch-e-pe-nain-she-wish, or bad bird" (Kappler 1972, 2:284).

There is no indication in the contemporary historical record that Matchepenashshewish's band ever actually removed from Kalamazoo to the "99 Sections" between 1827 and 1833. The fact that "Ke kan a ma zoo village" with 94 heads of families and 208 individuals was paid its annuity at Chicago, September 30, 1833, by Thomas J.V. Owen (Phineas Pam-to-pee and 1,371 Other . . . 1891, 126; MBPI Pet. Doc. 80; MBPI Response, Doc. 5) would indicate the contrary. The 1891 deposition of Moses Foster (aka Shau-be-quo-ung) indicated that he was born about 1826 "at Match-e-be-nish-she-wish's house, near the Kalamazoo" (Phineas Pam-to-pee and 1,371 other . . . 1891, 63); his brother, David K. Foster, indicated that he was born about 1838 at Cooperville, Michigan, about seven miles from Kalamazoo

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So-se yay $5.
Mentions "the claim of Nau-o,se,caw or Maconse for the murder of his sister" (Woodbridge Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, Reel 3).

[29] Signers: Mixs-a-bee, Shee-ko-maig, or marsh fish; Pee-nai-sheish, or little bird; Kne-o-suck-o-wah, Mais-ko-see, A-bee-ta-que-zic, or half day; Ko-jai-waince, Sa-kee-maus, Mitch-e-pe-nain-she-wish, or bad bird; Ma-tsai-bat-to, Ne-kee-quin-nish-ka, Wa-kai-she-maus, Peerish Moran, Mee-she-pe-she-wa-non, O-tuck-quen, Que-quan, Wai-sai-gau, O-kee-yau, Me-shai-wais (Kappler 1972, 2:284).

(Phineas Pam-to-pee and 1,371 other . . . 1891, 65). One was born before the inter-treaty period; the other after its end. Helen Tanner stated that in 1830:

> There were nine Potawatomi towns in Kalamazoo County; the oldest settlement and trading post, the present Kalamazoo, was named for Matchepenachewich, a signer of the Greenville Treaty. An easy portage route led to the Notawasepe reserve (Tanner 1987, 135).

Impact of the Black Hawk War 1832. The limited amount of information pertaining to the 1832 Black Hawk War, particularly the Indian Council at Gun Plains, also implies that Matchepenashshewish's band had remained in the Kalamazoo area.

> The three tribes living in the Allegan, Barry and Kalamazoo county region met in council on Gun Plain, a little north of the present site of Plainwell, to decide the question . . . Word of the Indian council reached the French trader, Bouchon (Beauchamp or Bushon) at his post downriver and he rode his Indian pony up to Pine Creek where he volunteered to attend the meeting and--depending on his good relationship with the tribes--notify the settlers if the decision was for war.
>
> Another who attended the three-day council was nineteen-year-old Samuel D. Foster, . . . He walked over to the gathering on Gun Plain every morning and returned home at night. Bouchon remained at the council for the entire three days and from time to time would interpret the deliberations for young Foster, . . . Near the end of the third day, it became apparent that the final decision would be for peace . . . (Armstrong and Pahl 1985, 87).

1833 Treaty of Chicago. The September 26, 1833, treaty made at Chicago, Illinois, was between the United States and the "United Nation of Chippewa, Ottowa [sic] and Potawatamie [sic] Indians of the other part, being fully represented by the Chiefs and Head-men whose names are hereunto subscribed" (Kappler 1972, 2:402). The body of the treaty ceded approximately five million acres. The "Articles Supplementary" to the treaty of September 26, 1833, executed September 27, 1833 (7 St. at L. 442-5), were agreed to by the "Chiefs and Head-men of the said United Nation of

Indians, residing upon the reservations of land situated in the Territory of Michigan, south of Grand River" (Kappler 1972, 2:410). The "Articles Supplementary" ceded the reservation at Nottawaseppi

> of 4 miles square contained in the 3d clause of the 2d article of the treaty made at Chicago on the 29th day of August, 1821; and the 99 sections of land contained in the treaty made at St. Joseph on the 19th day of Sept. 1827; and also the tract of land on St. Joseph river opposite the town of Niles, and extending to the line of the State of Indiana, on which the villages of To-pe-ne-be and Pokagon are situated, supposed to contain about 49 sections (Kappler 1972, 2:410).

In turn, the signing bands were to be considered parties to the September 26 treaty and receive the sum of $100,000.00. "All the Indians residing on the said reservations in Michigan shall remove therefrom within three years from this date during which time they shall not be disturbed in their possession nor in hunting upon the lands as heretofore" (Kappler 1972, 2:411). "Sauk-e-mau" did sign the "Articles Supplementary" (Kappler 1972, 2:411), but neither Matchepenashshewish nor Penassee subscribed. As Sagamah's band was not, as far as is known from the historical record, Catholic at the time, it would not have been included in the religious exemption from removal (Kappler 1972, 2:413).

The village at Kalamazoo (Ke kan a ma zoo village) was listed in 1833 among the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi of Illinois and Michigan, with 34 heads of families and 206 individuals, as having received its annuity payment (Phineas Pam-to-pee and 1,371 Other . . . 1891, 126; MBPI Pet. Doc. 80).[30] Moses Foster recalled in 1891 that at the time of the 1833 treaty, his grandfather Matchepenashshewish and his father Penassee had received their annuity payments at Chicago, and one year had been told not to go there because of the smallpox (Phineas Pam-to-pee and 1,371 other . . . 1891, 63).

The Ottawa Treaty of 1836. The 19th century treaty which had the greatest impact on the historical development of the

[30] Thomas J.V. Owen's sett. 19073, box 107. Pd., Chicago, Sept. 30, 1833 (Phineas Pam-to-pee and 1,371 Other . . . 1891, 126; MBPI Pet. Doc. 80).

MBPI was one to which the band apparently was not a direct party, although "Penassee or Gun lake"[31] received payment as a chief of the third class under Article Tenth (Kappler 1972, 2:455). On March 28, 1836, an Ottawa/Chippewa treaty was signed at Washington, DC ceding extensive territory (Kappler 1972, 2:450-456). One signer was Nawequa Geezhig or Noon Day, an Ottawa chief who had settled at the Reverend Leonard Slater's Baptist mission, first at Grand Rapids and later, after 1836, the "Ottawa Colony" at Gull Prairie, or Prairieville, in Barry County (see below for additional details) (Vogel 1986, 44).[32]

Removal Avoidance and the move of Matchepenashshewish's Band to Allegan County, Michigan. Removal of the Potawatomi in Indiana and Illinois under provisions of the Chicago treaty of 1833 proceeded sporadically throughout 1836, 1837, and 1838. As early as August 10, 1837, J. Sibley reported from Chicago to the COIA that the "Nottawa Sepe branch" of the "Pottawatamie Tribe" had decided not to remove (NARS M-234, Roll 134, 308). By 1839, efforts were underway to remove the Potawatomi in Michigan. Although both of the influential Baptist missionaries in the area, the Reverend Isaac McCoy and the Reverend Leonard Slater, were strong proponents of removal (Feest and Feest 1978, 780; Beaver 1988, 440-441),[33] the actual impact of their endeavors among the Indians resulted in several of the bands remaining in Michigan.

[31] Gun Lake is a large inland lake located between the watersheds of the Kalamazoo River on the south and the Grand River on the north. On the north, it is close to the forks of the Grand and Thornapple; on the south, near the Gun River tributary of the Kalamazoo.

[32] "In a treaty signed at Maumee Bay on August 30, 1831, Noon Day assented to the surrender of Ottawa lands in Ohio and the removal of the occupants. The treaty provided 'that there shall be allowed to Nau-on-qual-que-zhick, (Noon Day) one hundred dollars out of the surplus fund accruing from the sales of the land herein ceded, in consequence of not owing any debts, and having his land sold, to pay the debts of his brethren.' His name in the signers' list is spelled differently: Nau-qua-ga-sheek" (Vogel 1986, 44).

[33] "It is said that Noon Day went to Kansas in 1828 with missionary Isaac McCoy and five others to look for land for transplanted Indians" (Vogel 1986, 44).

The petitioner has stated:

> The Ketchum[34] correspondence retrieved from the National Archives clearly establishes that the War Department knew that Penasee, Sagamaw, and Matchi-pe-nash-i-wish (Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Chiefs) and their followers had not removed, and like the "Ottawa" (from Maumee) were also owed annuities for the treaties of 1795, 1807, 1818, and 1821" (Church, "Historical Overview of the Group," 18).[35]

This apparently referred to letters from Ketchum to COIA T. Hartley Crawford, from Centre Ville, St. Joseph County, Michigan, microfilmed under the category "Michigan Superintendency Emigration, 1830-1848" (NARS M-234, Roll 427, 303-304, 309-312). On August 27, 1839, Ketchum indicated that he had been "mingling with the Potewatemie Indians of the St. Joseph region," referring also to his discussion of emigration with an assemblage of about 500 Indians (men, women, and children) who had gathered on the Nottawaseppi Reserve (NARS M-234, Roll 427, 303). In the October 7, 1839, letter, Ketchum referred to his regret at the decision of "the Indians never to leave the country" (NARS M-234, Roll 427, 309), and mentioned their contacts with the "Chippewas" of the Grand River who "say to these

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[34] Isaac S. Ketchum.

[35] For a clarification of this point, see the July 19, 1843, letter from Robert Stuart, Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Michigan Superintendency, to COIA T. Hartley Crawford (NARS M-234, Roll 435, 410-411; MBPI Pet. Doc. 62). It makes no mention of Matchepenashshewish's Potawatomi, but sorts out the monies owing to the Ottawas near Mackinac, the Ottawas on the Grand River, and the Ottawas of the St. Joseph River in Indiana, part of whom had emigrated with the Indiana Potawatomi.

At this point, the petitioner's researcher was apparently confusing the Ketchum correspondence with another document headed "Statement of Financial Stipulations in force with Indian Bands in the Lower Peninsula of Michigan" (NARS M-234, Roll 423, 524), which references the treaties of 1795, 1807, 1818, and 1823 in relation to the Ottawa, but does not mention the bands of Matchepenashshewish or Sagamah specifically.

Indians 'no go'" (NARS M-234, Roll 427, 310).[36] However, Ketchum's letters made no reference to annuities.

According to Clifton, during the summer of 1840, most of the southwestern Michigan Potawatomi, with the exception of the Catholic bands who claimed specific exemption under the Treaty of 1833, were forcibly removed west of the Mississippi by the United States army, under General Hugh Brady. Many avoided removal by going to Canada (Clifton 1975a), but others were intercepted by American troops on the way (Holcomb 1891, 5). However, the two northernmost bands that had received 1821 treaty reserves, those of Sagamah[37] and Matchepenashshewish, avoided removal of their

[36] Beginning July 6, 1839, for a period of approximately two weeks, one of the removal agents, the Reverend Isaac Ketchum, held council with the Potawatomi villages on the southern portion of the Nottawaseppi reservation. Although the report indicated that Ketchum was meeting with "the Potawatomi remaining in Michigan and Indiana" (Indian Council 1886, 170; NARS M-234, Roll 427, 303-304), a reference later in the report to "three nations" implies that other tribes may have had representatives present as well (Indian Council 1886, 171). No specific information indicates that Matchepenasshewish's band was represented. In response to Ketchum's "carrot and stick" speech urging them to acquiesce in removal, Muckmote said that "the three nations" had consulted and did not wish to be removed:

> We say again we will not go. We wish to die where our forefathers died . . . There are a great many whites that want us to stay here. They hunt with us, and we divide the game, . . . We wish to stay among the whites and we wish to be connected with them, and therefore we will not go (Indian Council 1886, 171-172).

After further discussion, another leader, Red Bird, gave the final word: "We shall never go . . . We will never meet in council again" (Indian Council 1886, 172).

[37] Sagamah was still at Prairie Ronde in 1828:

> Sagamaw, a Potawatamie, and associate of Tecumach [Tecumseh], was formerly a noted leader, He headed the small band of Potawatamies who greeted Judge Basil Harrison, Kalamazoo County's first settler on Prairie-Ronde in 1828 and guided him to the lake where the Harrison family settled. Sagamaw, in some accounts is incorrectly called Saginaw. He was widely known among the early settlers, and was described as one of the noblest-looking Indians in Michigan (Selkrig Diary n.d., 33n).

The settlement of Sagamah [Sag-e-meh, Sagamaw, and numerous other variant spellings] on Hastings Point of Gun Lake is well documented because of Darius B. Cook's narrative of spending the winter of 1839-1840 in Allegan County, near Wayland (Cook 1889). Cook's spelling of Sagamah as "Saginaw"

bands[38] through a different technique. Between 1828 and 1838, they had already moved north of the Kalamazoo River. In 1839 or very shortly thereafter, they placed themselves under the protection of an Episcopalian mission in Allegan County, Michigan, which was funded by the provisions of the 1836 Ottawa/Chippewa treaty. Basically, they went to ground among the Grand River Ottawa, with whom their history would be closely associated for the next thirty years.[39]

The settlement of Sagamah's and Matchepenashshewish's bands at an "Ottawa" mission was not a surprising development in

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has led to considerable confusion between this man and the Saginaw Chippewa chief. Cook described Sagamah in 1839-40 as approximately 80 years old and bald--the only bald Indian he had ever seen. This physical characteristic was noted by other observers, including the missionary Selkirk (Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan 1856, 63), and contributes significantly to the historian's ability to distinguish between the two chiefs (Armstrong and Pahl 1985, 55).

[38] Some individual members of these bands did go to Kansas. Jacob Jackson recalled that Shoh-be-nee, a brother of Penassee, went to Kansas, while Penassee died in "Kalamazoo, Michigan" (Jackson 1953; attached to MBPI Pet. 1996a). Penassee's brother signed the 1846 Potawatomi treaty in Kansas as Shau-bon-ni-agh (Kappler 1972, 2:560). White Pigeon (Wab-me-me) went to Kansas from the Coldwater Reserve and returned to Allegan County.

[39] In 1906, Goss provided a succinct survey of the Grand River Ottawa bands. He stated that at the time, there were two Indian villages at Grand Rapids. In addition to Mex-ci-ne-ne, another Indian chief living at the lower village, Muck-i-ta-o-ska [Tanner transcribes as Mukatasha (Tanner 1987, 133)], or Black-skin, fought with the British in 1812 and died in 1868 (Goss 1906, 180). Of the remaining bands:

> The chief of the other [Ottawa] village at the Rapids was Noonday (Indian name Qua-ke-zik) [Tanner transcribes as Nowaquakezick (Tanner 1987, 133)], died at Gull Prairie in 1840, fought with the British during the War of 1812. The chief of the Flat River Indians was Cobmusa [Cobmoosa], or the Walker (3 wives and 22 children), village near the junction of Flat and Grand rivers, 300+ inhabitants; later moved up Flat river to the upper part of the present village of Lowell. At the Thornapple river, or Ada, a small band of Indians, of whom Ma-ob-bin-na-kiz-hick, or Hazy Cloud, visited Washington, involved in treaty of 1836. Up the Thornapple near Whitneyville, Caswon band, about 40. Between Thornapple river and the rapids, a few families under Canote. Below the rapids at the mouth of Crockery creek, small village of which Sag-e-nish or the Englishman was chief. At Battle Point, the chief was O na mon ta pe, or Old Rock. At Grand Haven and Spring Lake, generally a village. In Ionia county, one at Lyons and the other near the mouth of the Lookingglass river, abandoned at an early day. Other chiefs: Pa mos ka, generally lived at Crockery Creek and Battle Point. Ke way coosh cum or Long Nose, and Wabasis (Goss 1906, 181).

the context of the region's culture. In discussing the cession of Royce Area 111 by the Chippewa in the Treaty of Saginaw, September 24, 1819, Tanner wrote:

> The western diagonal passes just east of identifiable Ottawa villages in the Grand river valley and north of Potawatomi communities on the Kalamazoo and St. Joseph rivers. In these areas, it would probably be impossible to draw a single line of demarcation between the Chippewa, Ottawa and Potawatomi. Although families and villages retained a tribal identity, inter-marriage between tribes occurred and often communities included members of neighboring tribes. . . . The three Algonquin tribes of the Michigan lower peninsula lived in close proximity without friction. They appeared to have made mutually satisfactory arrangements among themselves for the use of agricultural and hunting lands (Tanner 1965, 361; MBPI Pet. Doc. 53).

In 1835, there were 433 Grand River Ottawa Indians and 609 Potawatomi known by the Federal Government to be in the region (NARS M-234, OIA Letters Received, Roll 402, 191).

Relationship between the Potawatomi and the Grand River Ottawa. The history of the Grand River Ottawa from the early 1820's until the 1836 treaty was closely associated with mission activities of the Baptist denomination, even though some of the individual Grand River Ottawa chiefs were Catholic.[40] In 1823, the Reverend Isaac McCoy, who had established a mission among the Pokagon Potawatomi near Niles in southwestern Michigan, travelled north, crossed the Grand River, was received inhospitably by the Indians, and returned to the Carey Mission (Goss 1906, 179). In 1824, McCoy visited some Ottawas on the Kalamazoo river and established a blacksmith shop on the border between the Ottawa and Potawatomi territory. In November, he visited the Rapids of the Grand River again and found the blacksmith shop burned. However,

> On November 27 they reached Gun Lake, and camped upon its banks. The next day they were visited by

[40] For example, at Grand Rapids, the chief of the south village of about 300 people was Mex-ci-ne-ne or the Wampum-man. "He was among the foremost of his people to adopt the white man's ways . . . he lived and died [1843] in the Catholic faith" (Tanner 1987, 133).

> Noonday, the Ottawa Chief of the Indian village at the Rapids, who, with some followers, was camping on the opposite side of the lake. McCoy found that Noonday was desirous of having a mission established at the Rapids (Goss 1906, 179).

The Baptist mission at Grand Rapids was founded shortly thereafter (Goss 1906, 179). Noonday converted to Christianity and in 1836 moved with Slater to the "Ottawa Colony" at Prairieville, Barry County (Vogel 1986, 44), where the mission was located on sections 26, 27, and 35.[41] In 1836, Indian agent Henry Schoolcraft prepared a survey of the Grand River Ottawa bands, listing the following: Fort Village Band, Prairie Village Band, Grand Rapids Band, Thornapple River Band, Forks of the Thornapple River Band, Flat River Band, and the Maple River Band (MBPI Pet. Doc. #35). Neither Sagamah's band nor Matchepenash-shewish's band was yet classed as Grand River Ottawa by the OIA.

In 1880, the History of Allegan and Barry Counties stated:

> Besides the great body of the *Ottawas* who moved back and forth with the recurring seasons . . ., there were some small bands which stayed in this region throughout the year, having a summer residence in some small openings where the squaws raised corn and beans, and removing a short distance for hunting purposes in the winter. The most prominent of these bands was the one of which "Sagamaw" or "Saginaw" was the chief, and which in 1838 numbered about one hundred and fifty persons,

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[41] A few miles east of Plainwell (Armstrong and Pahl 1985, 144).

> In the winter of 1836-37, Rev. Leonard Slater brought a band of Ottawas, who had been under his charge at Grand Rapids, from that place to what is now the township of Prairieville, where they located themselves on sections 26, 27, and 35, where a combined church and school-house was built for them, and where they remained until 1852. They will receive further mention in the history of Prairieville (History of Allegan and Barry Counties 1880, 42).

Not everyone was appreciative of Slater's efforts. On January 14, 1845, a Catholic missionary, Brother Joseph, and two Catholic Potawatomi, Peter Pokagon and Sengowa wrote to the OIA reporting on conditions, asserting that: "There is a certain band of Ottawa Indians about Gull prairie, whose teacher does every thing in his power to have the Pottawatomies united with his band - that they might receive their money in common, and though they have repeatedly refused it, he does not cease to trouble them about it" (NARS M-1, Roll 58, 351; Pokagon Pet. Appendix A-IV, 22-26).

being located on a peninsula jutting into Gun Lake, on the eastern border of Barry County" (History of Allegan and Barry Counties 1880, 41).

In his 1906 article on the "Selkirk Reservation," James W. Humphrey wrote that in 1837-1838, "Around the shores of Gun Lake was a band of Ottawas with their once proud chieftain, Sagamaw, and a few Pottawattamies" (Humphrey 1906, 381). He added that the Indians in the Grand River region totalled "about 500 Ottawas and 150 Pottawattamies . . ." (Humphrey 1906, 382). According to Armstrong and Pahl, by the summer of 1837, Sagamah's band was camped in Barry County near Thornapple Lake (Armstrong and Pahl 1985, 147). Armstrong and Pahl identified historical origins of the Griswold Mission settlement exclusively with Sagamah's band. Their narrative did not mention Matchepe-nashshewish's band (Armstrong and Pahl 1985, 148).

Establishment of the "Griswold Colony," "Selkirk Reserve" or Episcopalian Mission Community. The Griswold Colony in Allegan County[42] and the Ottawa Colony in Barry County[43]

[42] Griswold Colony, Sections 29, 32, Wayland, Allegan Co. Rev. James Selkrig/Selkirk, Episcopal Missionary. Chief Sagamaw. Population 96 per Schoolcraft (cite). Griswold Colony, Sections 29 and 32 of Wayland Township (Armstrong and Pahl 1985, 144).

"There was another missionary station near Green Lake, north of Yankee Springs, conducted by Rev. Mr. Selkrig, an Episcopalian" (Little 1897, 335).

Sagamaw was identified as Potawatomi in Selkirk's autobiography (see below). Most of the secondary sources have confused the Potawatomi chief Sagamah/Sagamaw/Saugamah who moved northward to Selkirk's Griswold Colony from around Prairie Ronde with the Ottawa chief Sagamaw/Saginaw who was brought by Slater to the Ottawa Colony.

[43] Ottawa Colony Sections 26, 27, 35 Prairieville, Plainfield Twp., Barry Co., MI. Rev. Leonard Slater, Baptist minister. Chief Noonday. Population 146 per Schoolcraft.

Feest and Feest stated: "The Baptist Ottawas of Grand Rapids after 1836 established Ottawa Colony near Gull Prairie, which was discontinued in 1852" (Feest and Feest 1978, 780). Other historians have also stated that Slater ceased to reside at the colony in 1852 and moved to Kalamazoo, but his biography indicates that he did not move to Kalamazoo until after the death of his second wife in 1855, and returned to the colony to preach for several years (Bernard 1967, 34). The chiefs at the Ottawa Colony wrote COIA Manypenny on Feb. 16, 1857 on behalf of "the under signed Indians of Ottawa Colony in Council assembled" concerning their plans to move to Oceana Co. under the 1855 treaty, signed Mash-kah Chief and Ne-pe-nis-ne Chief. They advised the COIA to reply to Mash-kah at Middleville P.O.,

traced their immediate historical roots directly to the 1836 Ottawa/Chippewa Treaty. President Martin Van Buren decided to involve five Christian denominations in the effort to "educate and civilize" Indians.

The Ottawa Colony actually had dual roots, going back to the earlier Baptist mission that has been founded at Grand Rapids under the auspices of Isaac McCoy:

> In the winter of 1836-37 the Rev. Leonard Slater brought a band of Indians, numbering 300, from Grand Rapids to Prairieville. They were located on the northern part of section 35 and the adjoining parts of sections 26 and 27. Mr. Slater erected a church for them in 1840, which was also used as a school-room. It was on the north part of section 35. Mr. Slater taught there a while, and later his daughter Emily. Previous to this time a log house was used. It stood on the knoll opposite the site of William Shean's house. The Indians remained in Prairieville until 1852, when they removed. During their stay many died. They were buried in the field, now an orchard, at the termination of the road running east from Cressy's corners . . . Their chief, Noonday, who is said to have led the Indians who accompanied the British at the attack on Buffalo, N.Y., in December 1813, and to have set fire to that village, died in Prairieville. . . After the removal of the Indians the church was moved to Kalamazoo . . . (History of Allegan and Barry Counties 1880, 472).

The Griswold Colony, however, was a new creation. On July 7, 1836, Samuel Allen McCoskry was consecrated as Episcopal Bishop of Michigan, with his residence at Detroit (Works Projects Administration. Michigan Historical Records Survey 1940, 12). He became interested in the possibility of an Episcopal Indian mission. By April 27, 1837, he was upon Henry R. Schoolcraft's "List of the names of persons authorized to receive funds for Indian Missions & Schools, within the State of Michigan" (NARS M-1, Roll 37, 198; see also NARS M-1, Roll 37, 225-226). He designated the Rev. James Selkirk, who was already in charge of an Episcopalian parish at Niles in southwestern Michigan, to be the

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Barry County, Michigan (NARS M-234, Roll 487, 738).

missionary. According to Feest and Feest, an "Episcopalian mission near Wayland, known as Griswold Colony, was also founded in 1838 [sic] after funds for education and missions became available under the treaty of 1836" (Feest and Feest 1978, 780). The reality was somewhat more complex. The planning and preparation did begin in 1838.

McCoskry and Selkirk made their first visit to the Grand River in 1838. Leaving Niles, Michigan, together, they passed through Kalamazoo and travelled to Gull Prairie, where they visited Slater (Selkirk Autobiography n.d., 30). They then left Gull Prairie for the Grand River, crossing to the north shore, where they first approached "Chief Copamossa" [Cob-moo-sa, aka The Walker, Jacob Walker]. Bishop McCoskry:

> told the Indians he was authorized by the government of the United States to make them an offer and to aid them in their situation, also to take them and their children to some convenient place and interest them in the art of farming; also to erect a school for their children . . . (Selkirk Autobiography n.d., 31).

He replied that he and his band would have to think about it (Selkirk Autobiography n.d., typescript p. 31). Cobmoosa, "The Walker," actually **was** Ottawa. Had he agreed to bring his band into Selkirk's mission, the funding would have gone to Ottawas as provided under the 1836 treaty. However, there is no indication that he ever did so, although one of his sons worked as Selkirk's interpreter (see below) and some of his descendants later intermarried with people in the Bradley settlement and became ancestors of the petitioning group. Generally, the population at the Griswold Colony came to have a Potawatomi base, with a few Grand River Ottawa and even an occasional Chippewa[44] family (Stuart to Beeson 11/4/1841; NARS M1, Roll 38, 608).

[44] "The most prominent of the Selkrig band was Rev. Henry Jackson, an educated minister, but a full-blooded Indian. His Indian name was Bammenodenokaid or Storm-Cloud. He was a *Chippewa* and a native of Canada, but resided among the *Ottawas*, while his business frequently called him to the home of the little band of *Pottawatamies* remaining on Nottawa Creek, about twenty miles south of the city of Battle Creek, of whom he was the interpreter. The Detroit *Post* said of him at the time of his death: 'He was well educated and a very intelligent man . . . '" (History of Allegan and Barry Counties 1880, 41).

The meeting with the Potawatomi bands was apparently an accident, and was treated by Selkirk as an afterthought. After narrating the exploratory trip, he added:

> I omitted to mention a small band of Indians who had settled on Gun Lake about 12 miles from Mr. Slater's. We left our Horses and carriages at the tavern of Mr. Lewis, and went on foot about two miles and found them a poor miserable rece. We talked to them also by interpreter. The Rev. Mr Slater was with us" (Selkirk Autobiography n.d., 32).

As with Cobmoosa, there was no immediate favorable response: "The old Chief, whose name was Sagamaw, . . . said but little to us . . ." (Selkirk Autobiography n.d., 33). McCoskry and Selkirk then returned to Grand Rapids and back to Slater's Mission. Selkirk summed up: "We had been round through the new country and had seen the bands of Indians" (cite).

On September 30, 1838, Indian Agent Henry Schoolcraft reported to the COIA concerning McCoskry's activities, as part of a larger survey of the situation in Michigan:

> Bishop McCoskry of the Episcopal Church in this state, has had under consideration, the establishment of a school, a Mission for the tribes, and he executed a visit to the country to learn the wants of the Indians & to judge the feasibility of making a systematic effort for their improvement. With this gentleman, I have had several interviews, in relation to this subject and entertain a confident belief that no time, nor opportunity will be omitted to bring about the desired object. In all efforts of this nature, it is much easier to rush into indiscreet action, than to plan a system for instruction, which shall meet the manner of the Indians & secure, at the same time, permanency in the application of the means (NARS M-234, Roll 423, 171).

The history of the Episcopal Diocese of Southwestern Michigan indicated that on April 18, 1839, Bishop McCoskry went to the Grand River Valley to consult with the Grand River Ottawa concerning the proposed mission and school, with Slater acting as interpreter (Campbell 1948, 31).

During the summer of 1839, Selkirk left Niles and went with his oldest son and his father to Gull Prairie, arriving at Slater's Mission (Selkirk Autobiography n.d. 33).

> My hired man went to work for Mr. Slater while I looked up land on which to settle. I left my family at Mr. Slater's and went down to visit Sagamaw and also to look for some land that I might buy for the Indians. I found the Old Chief in his wigwam and after I had given the old man a handful of tobacco, which pleased him very much, he told me there was excellent land about six miles from this place and that he would go with me so I could see for myself. But, as yet, he would make no promises . . . (Selkirk Autobiography n.d., 34).

With Sagamah's Indians, he rode to what is now Selkirk Lake, in the southwest portion of Wayland Township, Allegan County, Michigan (Selkirk Autobiography n.d., 34). With the assistance of Sagamah and several of his Indians, they chose a mission site several miles southeast of Bradley (Selkirk Autobiography n.d., typescript p. 34n). On June 22, 1839, Selkirk acquired land in Wayland Township, Allegan County, south and east of the village of Bradley, in the name of the Rt. Rev. Samuel Allen McCoskry of the City of Detroit.[45] During the summer of 1839, Selkirk brought his family and boarded with a neighbor near the mission site while he cleared part of the land and had a house built (Krusen 1948, 666). The mission lands should not be confused with Selkirk's personal property.[46]

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[45] These lands were: the S.E. 1/4 of Section 20, Town 3 N. R. 11 W (160 acres), purchased by Samuel A. McCoskry, June 22, 1839, per Certificate No. 24006, patented in his name October 10, 1840 (General Land Office to Tomkinson, July 2, 1878; Foster Papers); and the west 1/2 of N.E. 1/4; East 1/2 of the N.W. 1/4, and the N.W. 1/4 of the N.W. 1/4 of Section 28 (200 acres), purchased at Kalamazoo, January 14, 1837 by Sarah W. Weaver, per Certificate No. 20587; patent issued in her name May 1, 1839 (General Land Office to Tomkinson, July 2, 1878; Foster Papers)

[46] In 1840, Selkirk purchased personally the S.W. 1/4 of the N.W. 1/4 of Section 28. The petitioner misstated this purchase: October 10, 1840. "Land grant from President Martin Van Buren to Episcopal Bishop Samuel McCoskry who held the land in trust for the group. Purchased with 1836 treaty funds" (Church 1993). In 1850, Selkirk purchased personally the entire S.W. 1/4 of Section 28 (Krusen 1948, 666).

According to Henry Schoolcraft's September 30, 1839, annual report to the COIA, McCoskry had reported under date of July 30, 1839, that:

> the fund committed to him has been and is in the process of being applied to the object with good prospect of success. In several councils held by him with the Ottawa of the Grand River, a part of the tribe consented to concentrate for the purpose of moral and religious instruction under his supervision. He has subsequently appointed the Rev. Mr. Selkrig of Niles to take the immediate superintendance of the school and make the necessary purchase of land and construct buildings. Under this authority 160 acres has been purchased in a favorable situation, and the necessary contracts were made and it was expected the school would be in operation in a very short time. Every confidence is felt that the trust committed to him will be faithfully executed (Schoolcraft to COIA re McCoskry, NARS M-234, Roll 423, 450-451).

Schoolcraft's "Schedule" misidentified this school as being in Barry County (NARS M-234, Roll 423, 476).[47] In September 1839, Sagamah,[48] with his band of men, came to talk to Selkirk about their condition and the proposed mission, but it was October before Selkirk obtained an interpreter (Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan 1840, 35). . "In November he [Sagamah] came over Gun Lake with all his band and settled with us. He remained with us as long as he lived" (Selkirk Autobiography n.d., typescript 36-37). There were about 60 persons in the group. Selkirk preached the first sermon on the Mission ground on November 10, 1839, interpreted by Maubere [sic] (Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan 1851, 47-48). In discussing the death of Maubese (aka

[47] Report from McCoskry "in reference to the Indian School to be established in Barry County Michigan" (MBPI Pet. Doc. 209; NARS M-234, Roll 405, Mackinac Agency Letters Received 1856-1857, 321-322).

[48] Krusen consistently confused Sagamah with Saginaw. "The actual work began in November, 1839, when the first Indians moved to the reservation; a band of Ottawas numbering about 80 or 90 persons, under their Chief Saginaw, who had been living for years on a peninsula on the east shore of Gun Lake in Barry County" (Krusen 1948, 666).

Adoniram Judson, and one of the sons of Cobmoosa) several years later, Selkirk said, "He had been with us since the first" (Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan 1856, 63).[49]

On May 20, 1840, Selkirk reported that there had been 16 baptisms, with 84 Indians on the mission grounds and more expected in the fall. He was planning the construction of a school (Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan 1840, 36). Things did not always proceed serenely, particularly when it came to the temperance issue. Selkirk complained that, "as soon as they could get some excutawawbo (whisky), I saw they were greatly given up to the habit of getting, as they called it 'squiby'" (Selkirk Autobiography n.d., typescript 37). He complained that they went to Grand Rapids to get their annuity payments in the fall of 1840, were gone around three weeks, got drunk, and saved no money (Selkirk Autobiography n.d., typescript 37).

The "Old Wing" Congregational Mission. The Griswold Colony was not the only Potawatomi settlement in Allegan County, Michigan, during the 1830's. The "Old Wing Colony," a Congregational mission, was started in 1838 near Allegan in the western part of the county,[50] removed to a location near Holland one year later, and finally migrated to Grand Traverse Bay after having been overrun by Dutch immigrants in 1847 (Feest and Feest 1978, 780; see generally Cocks 1968). "Old Wing" eventually settled at Waukazooville, know known as Northport, Michigan (Church to Stearns 2/8/1996,

[49] There has been some uncertainty as to the date when Maubese became affiliated with the Griswold Colony. Krusen considered it to have been 1846/47: "Maubese [Mawbese], became Selkrig's interpreter, teacher at the mission until he froze to death in February 1856" (Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan 1856, 63; Krusen 1948, 668). Selkirk's autobiography says he died of an abscess of some kind (Selkirk Autobiography, n.d., 40). One historian called him Mawbese, aka Adoniram Judson, Ottawa (History of Allegan and Barry Counties 1880, 355).

See also: 1850 U.S. Census, Wayland Twp., Allegan Co., MI (Monteith [1955], 89), #894-942: Maw be se, 30, m, interpreter; Tan ge wah, 30, f; Martha, 8, f; Jim, 6, m.; Zo zaid, 4, f.

William Church indicated that he did not come to Griswold until after 1852: "one important Grand River Ottawa Chief, the son of Cobmoosa named Adoniram Judson ("Maw-Beece") also joined the Griswold Colony when the Ottawa Colony failed" (Church to Stearns 2/8/1996, 12).

[50] Old Wing Mission, Sections 3, 4, 5 Fillmore Township, Allegan Co., MI. Rev. George N. Smith, Congregational Minister. Chief Waukazoo. Population 140 per Schoolcraft.

Chronology; see Armstrong and Pahl 1985, 142, 145).[51] According to Church, this colony included Amikasawbee from the old Coldwater settlement "who also had rights from the 1795 treaty" (Church 2/8/1996, 10-11). The chiefs were Joseph Wakazoo and, after his death, his brother Peter Wakazoo (aka Peen-dun-waw). Up until the mission's removal north in 1848, the Potawatomi located there interacted with the Griswold Colony and Ottawa Colony (see below). Descendants of this group would later associate with Potawatomi from Bradley and Athens during the 1880's in pursuit of a claims settlement: Moses Wakazoo and David K. Foster conducted business correspondence in the Potawatomi language as late as the 1890's (MBPI Pet. Resp.; D.K. Foster Papers n.d.).

Migrations of Matchepenashshewish's Band. How and when did Matchepenashewish's band join the Griswold Colony? In 1954, Selkirk Sprague, a member of the group, spoke to the Allegan County Historical Committee. He recalled that the band had originally been settled in Kalamazoo, a mid-way point on the Indian trail between Detroit and Chicago.[52] He continued:

> When it became settled there in Kalamazoo, the Indian didn't want to be bothered with the white men, with the hunting and all that, he had his way. They moved to Plainwell. They didn't stay there very long, maybe 2 or 3 years, and the white men, they come and settled in Plainwell. They moved a little bit further north to Martin. An Episcopalian missionary came through and see our Indian there and say "We'll write to the Government, and land was cheap then, we'll buy you 2-3 sections of land, and we'll put up a church there and everything that goes with it." That sounded pretty good. That's about 74 years ago, and we was still Episcopalians then -- I was baptized an Episcopalian--missionary. In later years a Methodist-Episcopal came along and "I take care of the Indian a little bit better", so they

[51] See "A Pioneer Woman," privately published at Lansing, MI, by Joanna B. Smith, 1981. This contains the recollections of Rev. Smith's wife, as they appeared in a series of articles in the Grand Traverse Herald, at Traverse City, during the year 1892.

[52] The white population of Michigan expanded from 31,639 in 1830 to 212,267 in 1840. The pressure on the Indian bands occurred in the context of this rapid non-Indian settlement (Campbell 1948, 46).

> took over, and all the Indian changed. There were a lot of Indians on our -- used to be a Reserve -- (Sprague 1954, [3]).

The band was apparently at Martin, Michigan, by the spring of 1836 (History of Allegan and Barry Counties 1880, 42). At that time, an American named Mumford Eldred and his family settled at Martin and entered land with an "opening" (a natural clearing). A small band of Indians lived on the northern edge of the opening, had been there many years, and had gardens and a maple grove. Eldred tried to evict them. When they resisted, he started to chop down a tree so it would fall on their wigwams.

> They begged for an extension of this, the county's first "eviction notice", explaining that their old chief was ill and too weak to move. Eldred agreed to give them a little more time and in a few days they did move on, setting up another village in what is now Wayland Township" (Armstrong and Pahl 1985, 143).

However, Eldred had not seen the last of the group.

> Finally death came for the old chief whose illness had kept the tribe from moving. They brought him, wrapped in a British blanket, to the site of their former home, placed him in a sitting position and built an enclosure of logs with a roof of bark, to protect the remains from marauding animals and the weather, as was their custom (Armstrong and Pahl 1985, 143).

After a period of time had elapsed, the Eldreds burned the structure. The precise date of the arrival of Matchepenashshewish's band at Griswold Colony is not known, but it must have been shortly after 1838.

The OIA Compact of June 5, 1838, and its administrative impact. Early in 1838, a family of white settlers, named Glass, was murdered in the Grand River valley (NARS M-1, Roll 37, 510-511, Schoolcraft to COIA C.A. Harris, June 18, 1838; NARS M-21, Roll 24, OIA to Schoolcraft, June 30, 1838; NARS M-423, Roll 423, 138-139, 142-143, April 6, 1838; Schoolcraft 1975, 596). Although it was later determined that the murder had been done by another white settler, the local American population at first accused the Indians of the region (Schoolcraft 1975, 590-591). On June 5, 1838, as

a result of the Glass Affair murders, Indian Agent Henry Schoolcraft concluded an agreement with the Grand River Indian leaders. This "Compact" included both a general assurance of mutual friendship and an official negotiation and modification of the 1836 Ottawa/Chippewa treaty to provide a more convenient location for making annuity payments to the Grand River bands (NARS M-234, OIA Letters Received, Roll 402, 832-842; NARS M-1, Record of the Michigan Superintendency, Roll 37, 510-511, Schoolcraft to COIA, June 18, 1838; MBPI Pet. Doc. 61). The petitioner stated:

> By the Compact of June 5, 1838, Saginaw's [sic--should be Sagamah's] Band became attached to the Grand River Ottawa Band [sic] for payment purposes. Saginaw [sic] had not signed the 1836 Ottawa-Chippewa Treaty. **The Compact of June 5, 1838, was considered by Henry Schoolcraft as the only "Treaty of Friendship" ever concluded between the U.S. and the Grand River Ottawa** up to that time. Since no other has been concluded since the status of this Compact, or treaty, remains the same [sic]. As a result of the Compact we were provided a reservation, a mission, and access to farming and schooling under articles 2 and 4 of the March 28, 1836, Ottawa-Chippewa Treaty which had been officially modified by the Compact of June 5, 1838, negotiated by Henry Schoolcraft. The Compact was approved by other northern Chiefs and the War Department (MBPI Pet. 1993b, Clarification 8).

Not all of the above assertions are historically accurate. The Compact, dated June 5, 1838, was signed at Grand Rapids, Kent County, Michigan. It set up a payment location under the 1836 treaty in the Grand River valley, for the bands located in the southern part of the ceded territory and modified some treaty obligations to provide provisions of tobacco and salt into monetary payments (NARS M-234, Roll 402, 835-839; NARS M-1, Roll 37, 510):

> All the Bands located south of it (a point equidistant between the Manistee and Pere Marquette Rivers), extending to Grand River, will be paid within the valley of this stream; provided, that if, from emigration westward, or any other cause, the President of the United States shall deem it expedient to terminate this

> arrangement, or to direct the annuities to be paid elsewhere, the same may be done (NARS M-234, Roll 402, 836).

The petitioner has somewhat overstated the impact of this Compact on the Griswold Colony, indicating that "by the Compact of June 5, 1838, Saginaw's [sic] Band became attached to the Grand River Band for payment purposes", by which process, they assert, Sagamah's band was "added to" the March 28, 1836, Ottawa-Chippewa treaty which the group had not signed (MBPI Pet. 1993b, Clarification 9). The petitioner asserted:

> The Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa is a specific Tribe of Michigan Indians added to the Grand River Ottawa payment site by the U.S. in 1838. This Band and it's [sic] Chief "Sa geh naw" had previous reserved rights from the 1795 Greenville Treaty and were not required to be removed unless we voluntarily agreed. We vowed we would never remove (MBPI Pet. 1993b, Church to Deer 11/10/93, [1]).

In fact, neither Sagamah nor Matchepenashshewish signed the Compact of June 5, 1838.[53] Nonetheless, although the two chiefs had not signed the 1838 Compact, by 1839, Matchepenashshewish's band and Sagamah's band were being paid their annuities with the Grand River Ottawa, under the combined name of Gun Lake Village ("Payment to Ottawa & Chippewa Indians 1839," Henry Schoolcraft Papers, Library of Congress; see also NARS M-234, Roll 423, 471; MBPI Pet. Doc. 74).[54] On September 30, 1840, Schoolcraft sent the COIA a recapitulation of the "Indian Population within the Agency of Michilimackinac, Sept. 30, 1840." The list included "Gun Lake or Griswold," Ottawa; Chief, Sah ge mau; 13 men; 14 women; 41 children; total 68 in 15 families; and in the "Remarks" column, a notation: "Compact of June 5, 1838" (NARS M-234, Roll 424, 265; MBPI Pet. Doc. 60). The placement of the two Potawatomi bands with the Grand River Ottawa appears, however, to have been done informally by Schoolcraft.

[53] For a full list of signers, see NARS M-234, Roll 402, 839-842.

[54] For Henry Schoolcraft's 1839 payment list, including the names of heads of families, see the Genealogical Technical Report, Appendix I.

The petitioner's researcher also stated that a 360 acre reservation was purchased for the Gun Lake band in Allegan County, Michigan, known as the Griswold Colony, and that the group had resided there from treaty times to the present (MBPI Pet. 1993d, Church to Deer 11/10/1993; citing NARS M-234, OIA Letters Received, Roll 402, Mackinac Agency, 832-842). In fact, as has been seen above in the discussion of the founding of the Griswold Colony, this was not the sequence of events. Moreover, the 1891 testimony of David K. Foster indicated that at that time, the group's members were familiar with the actual sequence of events in relation to McCoskry's purchase of the mission lands (Phineas Pam-to-pee and 1,371 Other . . . 1891, 66-67).

Developments 1840-1855. From 1840 to 1855, information concerning the Indians settled at the Griswold Colony in Allegan County, Michigan, occurs regularly both in OIA documents and in the records of the Protestant Episcopal Church. There is some unavoidable overlap in the two forms of documentation, since the funding for the colony came to the bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Michigan from the Federal Government under the 1836 Ottawa/Chippewa treaty.

OIA Reports, 1840-1845. In June 1840, Henry R. Schoolcraft reported to the COIA that, "Bishop McCoskry has this day applied for aid from the agricultural fund provided by the treaty with the Ottowas & Chippewas of March 1836, for the Indians under his charge" (Schoolcraft to COIA, June 1, 1840; NARS M-234, Roll 424, 139). Schoolcraft recommended $500.00 for 1840. On September 30, 1840, Schoolcraft's "Statement of the number and location of Christian Schools and the sum appropriated to each within the Superintendency of Michigan" indicated that Griswold, with 84 in the band or tribe, had been appropriated $1,600.00 (NARS M-234, Roll 424, 273). The September 30, 1840, report showed 68 in the Gun Lake or Griswold group under Sagamah (NARS M-234, Roll 424, 265).

The 1842 OIA census of Indians within the Superintendency of Michigan included as Ottawas the Griswold Colony Band, with 40 households (11 males over 40; 28 males 10-40; 13 males under 10; 10 females over 40; 25 females 10-40; 15 females under 10) (NARS M-1, Roll 39, 40; see also MBPI Pet. Doc. #77).[55] It is clear from OIA correspondence of the following year that the Indian agent in Michigan was

[55] For a listing, see the Genealogical Technical Report, Appendix II.

familiar with the Griswold Mission (NARS M-234, Roll 425, 354, Stuart to Crawford, March 21, 1843; NARS M-234, Roll 425, 365-366, April 7, 1843; NARS M-234, Roll 425, 386-387, June 13, 1843).

Agent Robert Stuart's annual report of school at Griswold under the superintendence of the Rev. James Selkirk showed that it received $1,000.00 in government funds per annum, and currently had:

	Pupils	
	Male	Female
Ott	12	9
Chip	2	3
Pot	2	1
	16	14

(NARS M-234, Roll 425, 191; MBPI Doc. 209).

The 1843 annual report to the COIA indicated:

> The Episcopal Mission at the Griswold Colony has done much good during the present year-- A number have joined the Church, & have become industrious, temperate and economical, they are improving rapidly in agricultural pursuits, and evince great anxiety to have their children educated and brought up like the whites (NARS M-234, Roll 425, 429).

The specific 1843 report for "Otaway and Griswold Coloneys" was submitted by Stephen Fairbanks, the government-employed farmer, dated September 30, 1843 (NARS M-234, Roll 425, 437-438). Fairbanks submitted a second report with a list of property on December 31, 1843 (NARS M-234, Roll 425, 583-584), a third report to Stuart on July 15, 1844 (NARS M-234, Roll 425, 636-637), and a fourth report on September 30, 1844 (NARS M-234, Roll 425, 638-639). Selkirk submitted a more extensive report on the school dated August 16, 1843 (NARS M-234, Roll 425, 479-481), with an account of his expenses with Bishop McCoskry (NARS M-234, Roll 425, 482-493).

On July 19, 1843, Indian agent Robert Stuart wrote to COIA Crawford concerning payment to the "Ottawas" remaining in Michigan of annuities under the treaties of 1795, 1807,

1818, and 1821.[56] He noted that a few of the St. Joseph "Ottawas"[57] had emigrated to Kansas with the Potawatomi, and that he had deducted $300.00 for them. This left to those remaining in Michigan, who resided in the Grand River valley, $1700.00 per annum. He added that none of these [emphasis in original] Indians emigrated had under General Brady in 1840, "as Mr. Kurtz supposed" (Stuart to Crawford, July 19, 1843, NARS M-234, Roll 425, 410). Rather, the emigrants had been from Indiana, with a few from the extreme south of Michigan. He stated that, "In place of there being but 92 Ottawas remaining in Michigan, entitled to these annuities, there are 961, as may be seen by reference to their pay Roll of last year" (Stuart to Crawford 7/19/1843; NARS M-234, Roll 425, 410-411). All the funding source treaties referenced in this letter were Potawatomi treaties.

Other of Stuart's correspondence on the same topic specifically referenced the Potawatomi. On October 9, 1843, Stuart wrote the Rev. Leonard Slater requesting him to inform some "principal" Potawatomi that annuities would be paid at the Ottawa Colony on November 3 or 4, asking him to send notice to all the bands in western Michigan--particularly that he should send word to Selkirk to bring his people and any other Potawatomi that he knew of. He stated that the annuity would be paid just according to their number, "without distinction as some of them think. He added that if Slater and Selkirk "worked matters well," they might "get these poor Pot to colonize with you" (NARS M-1, Roll 39, 316, Stuart to L. Slater, Ottawa Colony, 10/9/1843; Pokagon Pet. Appendix A-II, 58). Also in connection with the upcoming annuity payment at the Ottawa Colony, on October 17, 1843, Stuart wrote to William Lee, the paymaster, saying that he should urge the Potawatomi to stop drinking and to join the colonies of Selkirk and Slater to educate their children and receive the benefits of farmers and laborers. He stated that he had taken a great deal of trouble to get their annuity, which he had done in

[56] The receipts referenced the treaties of Aug. 3, 1795 - Nov. 17, 1807 - Sep. 17, 1818, and Aug. 28, 1821. For further information, particularly concerning conflicting Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi claims to Royce Areas 66, 135, and 136, see the explanations in the relevant ICC Finding (30 Ind. Cl. Comm. 388, Dockets 133-B and 29-E, November 4, 1960, 479-492 [389-402]).

[57] This is a reference to the Ottawas of the Maumee, or the region of the St. Joseph River of Indiana: not to the St. Joseph River of southwestern Michigan, where the Pokagon Potawatomi were located.

hopes that matters would improve. Lee's view was that while they "wander and have no schools and religious instruction," there was little hope. He added that there were no payments to different bands as they think. There was $1587.50 for all "Potawatomi and Ottawa belonging to them who are not incorporated with Ottawa" (NARS M-1, Roll 39, 331, Stuart to Wm. Lee, 10/17/1843; Pokagon Pet. Appendix A-II, 59). It will be noted below that in 1859, the band was referencing this precise sum of money in its correspondence with the COIA.

After the payment had taken place, Lee wrote from Detroit to Stuart saying that he had met the Potawatomi for whom $1,587.50 had been allowed this year at the Ottawa Colony. He reported that they were "much gratified" that the government had "at last remembered them." He had urged them to abstain from liquor, educate their children, join themselves to the missionary establishments, and be economical and industrious as the only way they could expect to become prosperous and happy. They had promised to attend to these things and that they would turn their money to good advantage (NARS M-234, Roll 403, 322, Lee to R. Stuart, 11/27/1843; Pokagon Pet. Appendix A-II, 63).

The Griswold Colony bands did not become parties to the 1846 Potawatomi treaty, which pertained to the portion of the Potawatomi tribe that had been removed to Kansas. Selkirk reported on this issue that, "Our Indians are totally averse to removing beyond the Mississippi, and if any move to this effect should be made, they would prefer Canada" (Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan 1846, 27).

Mission Reports, 1840-1845. The Reverend James Selkirk's autobiography indicates that by the spring of 1840, Sagamah's band had settled at the mission. They had planted corn, made sugar, and hunted (Selkirk Autobiography n.d., 38). By 1844, according to Bishop McCoskry, there were about 120 Indians at the mission (Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan 1844, 23).

Although they were of different religious denominations, Selkirk continued to cooperate closely with the Reverend Leonard Slater at the Ottawa Colony in Barry County. Contacts also continued between the Indians at the two colonies. Selkirk wrote:

> The second year, Noonday came to pay us a visit from the Baptist Mission (Slaters) with two or

> three of their best men. He addressed the Indians in an affectionate manner. He also made another Chief and told him his duty and also that of his wife (Selkirk Autobiography n.d., typescript p. 39).

It seems probable that the additional chief "made" by Noonday during this visit was Penassee, as shortly thereafter Selkirk narrated a recollection of conversation between Noonday and "our Chief Penassee" about a War of 1812 incident (Selkirk Autobiography n.d., 40).[58] Matchepenashshewish had still been alive on the 1842 OIA census of the group (MBPI Pet. Doc. #77; NARS M-234), but apparently died shortly thereafter. Since Sagamah lived until 1845, this episode may indicate that the two bands at the Griswold Colony were still maintaining their distinctiveness in the early 1840's.

Selkirk continued to pursue an aggressive policy of attempting to persuade Ottawa Indians to settle at his mission under the provisions of the 1836 treaty. On February 24, 1841, two traders, Louis Campau and Charles Shephard, wrote from Grand Rapids to Henry Schoolcraft on behalf of three Ottawa chiefs, Mex-a-minee, Blackskin, and Tacha-to-one. Selkirk had recently met them at "Gun Lake or prairie," and told them he had received funds from the Government to purchase lands to settle "several tribes of Indians within the State, Ottowas, puttowatomies &c." He had, according to the report of Campau and Shephard, advised them to sell land they had purchased elsewhere and settle at Gun Lake or face removal (NARS M-1, Roll 50, 83-84). Schoolcraft replied to Campau from Detroit, March 2, 1841, saying, "The government has not furnished Mr. Selkrig any money to buy lands at Gun Lake or elsewhere, nor is there any intention to compel them to remove to Gun Lake . . ." (NARS M-1, Roll 38, 478).

On November 1, 1841, the Indians of Ottawa Colony (signed Noah qua geshik hix X Mark and one hundred & three others) and the Gun Lake Band (signed Sogenoh - his X Mark and

[58] Penassee was listed as "Penace, Chief" on the "List of Homes of Indians Belonging to the Griswold Colony for the Year 1851" (MBPI Pet. Doc. 1).

eighty-two others)[59] wrote from Richland P.O., Barry County, Michigan, to Robert Stuart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Detroit, requesting to be paid at their own location:

> Our reason for this request is that, in going to the Rapids we experience misery, trouble poverty, persecution strife & death! These evils arise from the peculiar Character of the place we are called to receive our payment. These evils which we experience as often as our money is paid causes us to groan. Yes, at the Rapids are many wicked Traders who produce discord & advise the chiefs to Such measures as create disturbance among ourselves. We wish you to pay us here where we reside & require us no more to go to the Rapids where we waste our time & money (NARS M-234, Roll 425, 77).

Within the next two years, a dispute developed between the Reverend Selkirk and Bishop McCoskry concerning the expenditure of funds coming under the 1836 Ottawa/Chippewa treaty. It was Selkirk's opinion that the full amount should be transmitted directly to him as the missionary, with the diocese serving only as a conduit. McCoskry interpreted the rules to mean that he could, at his discretion, divert some of the money paid under the Ottawa treaty to use for other diocesan purposes. Selkirk did not agree and protested (Selkirk Autobiography n.d., typescript p. 44).

McCoskry commented on the dispute to the diocese in his 1844 annual report:

> As some difficulties had arisen between the Missionary and myself, in reference to his accounts, and the sum due him for his services, I thought it best to have the whole matter fully investigated at the time of my visit. This was

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[59] A notation in another hand at the top of the page contained the figures:

Slaters band say	100
Episcopal M --	80
Black River --	300
Grand River	1200
	1680.

> done in the presence of the Rev. Mr. Cuming, and as I expected, it was found that he had been fully paid. I feel obliged to mention this, as he had, contrary to my instructions and the regulations of the Church, reported to the agent of the government instead of to the government through me. If the latter course had been adopted, it would have prevented him from placing himself in a position of apparent unfriendliness to his Bishop, and involving his future continuance in the ministry. As a readiness was manifest to repair as far as possible, the injury he had done, and a promise to be more careful in the future, I consented to his continuance as the Missionary (Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan 1844, 24).

McCoskry indicated that aside from the funding dispute, he was pleased with Selkirk's work:

> With this exception, I most cheerfully bear my testimony to the unwearied efforts he has made to advance the best interests of the Indians committed to his care. I trust his application to the members of the Church, to endeavor to present him with a small organ, to assist in the devotions of his little band, will not be unavailing. The Indians are exceedingly fond of music, and the manner in which they now sing praises to God is indeed delightful" (Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan 1844, 24).

According to the petitioner, the result of the funding dispute was that in 1844, the annuity money coming to Matchepenashshewish's band under Potawatomi treaties made with the Federal Government prior to the 1836 Ottawa treaty was placed in the hands of Charles C. Trowbridge, Esq.,[60] of Detroit to pay out as it became due (Church, MBPI Supplement). However, the limited documentation available seems to pertain to the handling of the 1836 Ottawa/Chippewa

[60] Trowbridge was a prominent Detroit banker (Woodford 1950, 191, 219). He was mentioned in Selkirk's diary as "one of our excellent men," implying that he was an Episcopalian (Selkirk Autobiography n.d., typescript p. 28).

"Governor Cass [in 1822] commissioned Charles C. Trowbridge to make definite arrangements for the sites of the missionary stations (History of Kent County 1881, 171).

Treaty 14th article funds that McCoskry had previously administered (NARS M-234, Roll 480, 91-94). An unidentified printed page headed 1846, being page 15, contained the entry:

> The Bishop of Michigan, at the meeting of the Domestic Committee, held on Monday, Dec. 22, 1845, having stated that it was his wish to place the financial affairs of the portion of the Ottawa Tribe, located at Griswold, in his diocese, under the control of the Committee, it was unanimously
> *Resolved*, That the same be accepted, and entered upon the minutes of the Committee.
> Whereupon the Bishop appointed the Rev. F. H. Cuming Superintendent, at a salary of $250, from 1st Jan'y, 1846, and the Rev. JAMES SELKRIG Resident Missionary and Teacher, at a salary of $600 per annum, from same date (NARS M-234, Roll 783, 414).

Cuming's first report as superintendent was filed the same year (NARS M-234, Roll 783, 712-714).[61] On June 4, 1847, McCoskry appointed Trowbridge as "fiscal agent of the Ottawa Mission at Griswold" (NARS M-234, Roll 783, 152-153).

Routine activities continued at the mission in spite of the funding dispute (NARS M-234, Roll 282, 422-426). In 1844, Selkirk reported that in the past year at Griswold there had been three marriages, eighteen adult baptisms, six infant baptisms, one adult burial, three infant burials, and sixteen confirmations. He had held Sunday school through the summer, with 40 to 50 pupils; a school had opened with

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[61] He indicated that the number of Indians at the mission receiving annuities from the government was 109, and complained:

> The number of children who attend school varies from five to twenty five. It is exceedingly difficult to secure the attendance of the children to the system of instruction devised for them. For this, various reasons might be assigned: the principal however will be found to be, their unwillingness to learn the English language; the indifference of the parents to the subject; the wandering mode of life to which they are proverbially partial. They must have their seasons for hunting, for making sugar, for attending the payment, and for visiting.
>
> When they go forth on any of these expeditions, all the members of each family go; consequently the operations of the school must be suspended untill they return (NARS M-234, Roll 783, 712).

18 pupils (Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan 1844, 45-46).

About 1845, Sagamah was killed (History of Allegan and Barry Counties 1880, 41). Selkirk had frequently mentioned that the chief had difficulty controlling his use of alcohol, and stated that after he had been at the mission about five years, he asked to be baptized in hopes it would help him.[62] His death occurred shortly after his baptism:

> I think it was the latter part of February when the Indians left the grounds for the sugar camps. Sagamaw and a few Indians moved to a camp across the beautiful lake that lies in front of my house. They had been absent only a few days when Sagamaw's daughter came across the lake and told me that her father had been struck with a club during a drunken frolic and that his brains were knocked out and that she wished me to go and see him before he died . . . His murderer was pointed out to me . . . it was the son-in-law of the Old Chief that struck the fatal blow by the name of Shuamus. He was very shortly afterward imprisoned but they found no bill against him and he lived about one year after he had murdered his father-in-law (Selkirk Autobiography n.d., 41-42).

Mission reports 1846-1855. In 1846, Selkirk reported "slow" progress in agriculture (Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan 1846, 27). In 1847, he reported that five adults and four children had died; he had baptized one adult and three children; school attendance was better, with 14 scholars, "as Joseph has resigned and the superintendent has employed Maubrise" (Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan 1847, 21).

In 1848, his report stated that conditions had improved. He had baptized three adults and six children, and buried two Indians. The mission school had not progressed as well as he wished, so he had sent a number of the Indian children to the district school and thought he would continue that

[62] Krusen apparently assigned this to 1840, saying that Selkrig reported 16 baptisms, "including four adults amongst whom was the Chief Saginaw" (Krusen 1948, 667). Krusen also indicated that it was during the winter 94 1842/43 that "Chief Saginaw" and another of the men of the band were murdered in drunken brawls (Krusen 1948, 667). His death probably took place during the winter of 1844/45.

practice (Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan 1848, 22). In 1849, he reported that the chief [Penassee] had been admitted to communion at the last convention and "has honored the solemn act by a godly life ever since" (Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan 1849, 44).

The 1850 report stated that Selkirk had baptized one adult and four infants; buried one adult and three infants. The mission had 38 permanent resident families, three of which were Roman Catholic. Thirty-one families were attached to the church; the remainder were "the wild medicine dancers." He added that, "About two hundred and twenty were paid their annuities at this place the last year, and there was not one drunken Indian on the ground." The school now had a female assistant who was teaching the little girls to sew and make clothes (Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan 1850, 50). In his 1851 summary, Selkirk reported that about 30 of those who had professed religion since the start of the mission had died. This year, two children and one adult had died; four adults and five children had been baptized. Some Potawatomies came to payment and talked of joining the mission, but did not and are now gone. The school had been kept open, and the church now had a bell (Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan 1851, 48-49).

In 1855, Selkirk reported that the Indians had received communion twice in the past year: there were 28 communicants. The Indians at the mission desired to be organized in due form into an Episcopal organization, had held their meeting, and had chosen their wardens and vestry. There had been two adult baptisms and six infant baptisms. Per Sunday, he conducted one preaching service and two prayer meetings (Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan 1855, 67-68).

The last annual report submitted by Selkirk was to the 1856 diocesan report. Funding under the 1836 treaty having expired, Selkirk presented a kind of overall summary of his efforts, as well as the current statistics of six infant baptisms and three burials:

> the tall chief [Penassee], his [Sagamah's] successor, died with victory on his lips; and his son, once a wild savage, bowed to the cross and is an example of piety to his people. About twelve desire confirmation. They have been united in

> marriage according to the rites of the church (Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Michigan 1856, 63-64).

The history of the Diocese of Southwest Michigan stated:

> When the annual Government subsidy was terminated Bishop McCoskry's interest waned; indeed his interest had apparently been slackening for some time, for from 1846 to 1857 he visited Griswold only once, and during this period the Rev. Dr. Cuming held the title of Superintendent and made reports to the Office of Indian Affairs on the Bishop's behalf.[63] Although he stated to his

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[63] On October 1, 1849, F.H. Cuming reported as follows:

Grand Rapids, October 1. 1849
Report of F.H. Cuming, Superintendent of the Ottawa Indians, at the Griswold Mission, County of Allegan, State of Michigan--

I am happy in being able to state that the Indians subject to my supervision, continue to furnish proof they are susceptible to the influence of civilization and Christianity. A good portion of their land is cultivated, and they have raised the present year quite a considerable crop of corn, potatoes and beans. They have not it is true, lost their roaming disposition: Much of their time, they spend abroad, in hunting and visiting. We hope however, inasmuch as they now perceive they can get a living by the cultivation of the soil, they will eventually abandon their wandering habits, and give themselves more fully to agricultural pursuits.
It is gratifying to be able to state that those belonging to this colony seem generally and almost entirely to have given up the use of intoxicating liquors. The few cases of drunkenness that have occurred within the last year, were confined to strangers who surreptitiously had brought in the whiskey.
There has recently been an accession to the colony of nearly one hundred of the Pottowottomies, making the whole number now connected with the mission to be about one hundred and ninety.--
The school has been continued the greater part of the year, the number of scholars varying from one to twenty, seldom however exceeding fifteen at any one time. Some of them have made good proficiency, especially the son of the Chief Pen-a-see.
The assistant teacher, Myron Briggs, has proved himself very competent and well adapted to his station.
The resident teacher and missionary, the Rev. James Selkrig, who has been so long with them, continues to enjoy, I am well persuaded, their full confidence, and has been quite successful in his efforts to promote their moral and religious improvement. The attendance upon public worship, he states has been uniformly good, and they appear to take, he adds, much interest in the Sunday services. He reports that he has baptized four within the past year, and that six have died -- (Cuming to COIA 10/1/1849, NARS M-234, Roll 784, 835-836; MBPI Pet. Doc. 293).

> Convention in 1857 that he hoped to revive the school (and he may have done that for a short time) he never again visited the mission. From the beginning the church had done nothing to assist the mission or the missionary, and in 1855 there was apparently no interest amongst influential Churchmen in assuming the responsibility of continuing the project as a Church institution (Krusen 1948, 669).

The 1852 report on Indian missions of the Marshall District, Michigan Conference, of the Methodist Church indicated that the Methodists had 10 members, and had baptized 5 infants, at "Selkrigg's Mission, (Prot. Epis.)" (MBPI Pet. Doc. 253).

Evidence Concerning Tribal Leadership Before 1855. From the period of first American contact with the village of Matchepenashshewish located near Kalamazoo through 1855, the date of expiration of the provisions of the 1836 Ottawa/Chippewa treaty to which the group had been attached by 1839, the named leadership of the group is clear: first Matchepenashshewish himself; then his son Penassee; and then after Penassee's death in July 1854 (MBPI Pet. Doc. 240), by election of the group, his son Shau-be-quo-ung (aka Moses Foster). In his autobiography, the Reverend James Selkirk frequently referred to Penassee as the "tall chief," and provided some personal information about him. "We had another Chief, a tall man, who had lived many years with the habit of drinking." He made a trial of renouncing liquor for one year, and succeeded: "He had gained the day and came forward after his time had expired and was united with the church."

> The bishop came over to Kalamazoo and he went out to hear him preach and took the Sacrement to his great satisfaction. I must say that he was firm until the end of his life. His oldest son was named Shap-e-quonk (Big Thunder) and his second son was named Causequa. I tried to get the youngest but the Old Chief was fearful and it was a long time before he would let him come to my house. The youngest son was a man - every inch of him. I taught him the English language and sent

Cuming submitted another report on November 25, 1852, reporting 130 belonging to the "Colony of Ottawa Indians at the Griswold Mission, County of Allegan, State of Michigan" (Cuming to COIA 11/25/1852, NARS M-234, Roll 786, 59-60).

> him to the Mississippi to finish his education but the Chippewas were too wild for him and he left them and came home. He is a Christian in every deed, one that I trust, loves his Savior Jesus Christ" (Selkirk Autobiography n.d., 43).

While Shau-be-quo-ung used his Indian name in preference to the anglicized Moses Foster, the second son was more frequently known under his anglicized name as David K. Foster.[64] Shau-be-quo-ung was apparently already associated as a chief before his father's death. On October 22, 1853, "We the chiefs of the Ottawa bands of Indians" wrote to the COIA concerning the provision of an interpreter and blacksmith. The three columns of signatures on the letter included the names of both "Penase" and "Shaubequong" (NARS M-234, Roll 404, 225). On September 30, 1854, Selkirk reported to Indian Agent Henry Gilbert that, "Penace" had died in July and that the Indians had chosen his son as chief (typed card, LRMS-1131, MBPI Doc. #240). Penassee's son, Shau-be-quo-ung or Moses Foster, would remain as the band's chief through his death in 1903, a period of nearly a half-century. David K. Foster was never classified as a chief, but worked closely with his older brother throughout their lifetimes (see documentation below).

Population, circa 1847-1850. The OIA's 1847 census of the Griswold Colony Band, Allegan County, Michigan, showed in total 32 families with 96 persons (although the "total Mass of the Tribe, fixed or roving" was 103). The number included 24 males under 18, 16 females under 16, 24 males 18-60, 22 females 16-60, and 10 persons (of both sexes) aged 60-100. There was one "half-breed" male child; no "half-breed" female children. There was one recognized chief of the first class, two recognized chiefs of the second class, and no war chiefs. There were no slaves, no captives, no

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[64] The 1853 report of F.H. Cuming, Superintendent of Griswold Mission, to the COIA, indicated that, "One of the scholars, the son of the chief, has gone to the Indian institution at Fort Ripley, and bids fair to become a useful minister among the Chippewas. He has always been remarkable, from a child, for purity of character, and has, it is thought, the best capacity for learning of all who have belonged to the school" (COIA Annual Report 1853, 289).

One of the band's own members did not endorse the results of Selkirk's efforts on behalf of David K. Foster quite so whole-heartedly: ". . . but now, that's the way with these Indians, if he's got any education, he's going to beat these other Indian what he can" (Sprague 1954, [3]).

members, and no one living in polygamy (Census Returns of the Indian Tribes 1847).

During the preceding year, there had been three marriages, four male births, and two female births; no male deaths and two female deaths.[65] The heads of families employed in agriculture number 24. One male was employed as an interpreter or translator and one as a teacher. Twelve male and five female children attended school; four children could speak English. Ten males and six females attended Sabbath School; 25 males and 20 females professed the Christian religion, while one male still adhered to the native religion. Forty were members of temperance societies, though 80 of the total were "of temperate habits" and only five might be "ranked as Inebriates." Two males could "read and write," but 20 could "read the Scriptures"[66] and 30 "have been educated." Two males had studied vocal music. Someone had knit one pair of stockings. Twenty-four women could sew, and during the year had made 200 garments. Hunting and trapping were of minor economic significance, totalling $43.00 (Census Returns of the Indian Tribes 1847).

Sixty acres were under cultivation and had produced 800 bushels of corn, 140 bushels of wheat, 500 bushels of potatoes, 50 bushels of oats, and 40 bushels of beans. There were 19 fruit trees. The colony had raised 1,000 melons and produced 1,500 pounds of maple sugar and 300 pounds of honey. It owned 43 horses, 44 hogs, and 3 oxen; 127 kettles used in the manufacture of maple sugar, 4 plows, 4 log chains, 1 crowbar, 30 hoes, 12 spades and shovels, 40

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[65] However, Superintendent F.H. Cuming's 1847 report to the COIA indicated nine deaths, six adults and three children (NARS M-234, Roll 783, 714).

[66] There are two possible explanations for this discrepancy. In medieval and early modern Europe, many more people could read than could write. The two skills were not necessarily taught simultaneously, any more than today reading and typing are taught simultaneously.

However, it is more probable that "read and write" referred to literacy in English, while ability to read the Scripture referred to literacy in Ottawa, since the church services were conducted in that language and used Ottawa hymnals and New Testaments (see 1847 report from F.H. Cuming, Superintendent; NARS M-234, Roll 783, 712-713).

axes, 1 dray or harrow, 1 fanning mill, and 30 saddles and bridles (Census Returns of the Indian Tribes 1847).[67]

In 1848, Superintendent F.H. Cuming reported to Indian Agent W.A. Richmond that the number of families, including widows, was about 45, with 109 individuals. He added: "Three have gone to Canada, within the last year, but are expected to return. A few Potawattomies were associated with this band, but have removed to Notawasippie" (NARS M-234, Roll 416, 107). In 1849, Selkirk reported to the Indian agent that "about 100 Pottawatomi Indians" joined us this year (Church to Stearns 2/8/1996, 11; apparently citing Cuming to COIA 10/1/1849, NARS M-234, Roll 784, 835-836; MBPI Pet. Doc. 293). This cannot have referred to Matchepenashshewish's band, which had been at Griswold for a decade. It may have been a reference to the approximately 100 Potawatomi from the Congregational Old Wing Colony near Holland, Michigan, who did not remain at the Griswold Colony, but soon thereafter went to northern Michigan and reestablished their own mission. The temporary presence of the Old Wing members is the most logical explanation for the difference between 96 members of the Griswold Colony Band on the 1847 OIA census and the 199 Indians enumerated at Griswold on the 1850 Federal census, as discussed below.

On the 1850 Federal census of Allegan County, Michigan, Griswold Colony was enumerated as a separate group of 199 persons (U.S. Census 1850, 57-59r; Monteith [1955], 88-92; MBPI Pet. Doc. 216).[68] The petition also included a typed "List of Homes of Indians belonging to the Griswold Colony for the year 1851", totalling 199 persons in 72 households, with a photocopy of the original attached (see Genealogical Technical Report, Appendix III). The colony received a brief mention in the 1851 and 1852 COIA annual report (COIA Annual Report 1851, 49; COIA Annual Report 1852, 29).

According to the petitioner, "Some of the Ottawa Colony came over to Bradley in 1852, enlarging the numbers to about 230, including Mack-e-tay" (Church to Stearns 2/8/1996, 12). This assertion did not include a source reference, and does not seem to be confirmed by the original documentation. The OIA's 1853 listing of "Chiefs, Headmen, Heads of Families

[67] Armstrong and Pahl indicated that there were 146 at Slater's, "and 96 with Selkrig in Wayland Township" (Armstrong and Pahl 1985, 144).

[68] See the Genealogical Technical Report, Appendix III, for a listing of the individuals.

and Individuals without families of the Ottawa tribe of Indians within the Michigan Agency do hereby acknowledge receipt and payment to us by Henry C. Gilbert,[69] Indian Agent, for the year 1853," does not indicate such a population enlargement at Griswold in 1852. It showed the Griswold Colony Band with 142 annuitants, while the Ottawa Colony Band had 83, among an aggregate total of 1,237 Grand River Ottawa (MBPI Doc. 78; see map, Feest and Feest 1978, 778). The receipt for the 1853 annuity payment was dated January 11, 1854, Grand Rapids, Michigan (MBPI Pet. Doc. 78).[70] The Ottawa Colony Band was still at Middleville in Barry County as late as 1857, when they, "in Council assembeled," wrote the COIA concerning plans for moving to Oceana County (Mash-kah Chief and Ne-pe-nis-se Chief to COIA Manypenny, February 6, 1857; NARS M-234, Roll 487, 738). Most of the Grand River bands moved to Oceana County in two stages, in the fall of 1857 and the summer of 1878 (Hartwick and Tuller 1890, 59).

Termination of Federal funding for the Griswold Colony. Funding for the Ottawa Colony and the Griswold Colony, as well as the other missions established under the 1836 Ottawa/Chippewa treaty, had been set at a period of 20 years. It was thus due to expire in 1855, which caused the OIA to begin preparations for a new treaty with the Ottawa Indians of Michigan. The 1853 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs indicated that major changes would be forthcoming for Michigan's Indians (COIA Annual Report 1853, 3-4), as did the 1854 Annual Report (COIA Annual Report 1855, 1).[71] On March 3, 1854, Henry C.

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[69] "Gilbert, a wealthy Coldwater merchant and lumberman, was appointed Indian agent in 1853. During his four years in office Michigan's Indians were subjected to 'gross injustices' and 'numerous acts of fraud.' William Johnston, a half-blood Democratic officeholder at Mackinac, reported to Secretary of the Interior Robert McClelland that under Gilbert the Indian Department in Michigan was 'thoroughly rotten and corrupt'" (Rubenstein 1974, 141).

[70] For a listing of the individual names, see the Genealogical Technical Report, Appendix IV.

[71] The dictates of humanity and good policy alike require the early and effective interposition of the government in respect to the Indians of Michigan. These Indians, some seven thousand in number, are represented to be divided into more than sixty separate communities; and are to be found in nearly every county of the State. . . . Those . . . who have enjoyed the advantages of

Gilbert, in Washington, DC, wrote the COIA submitting a statement of his "views of the policy that should be adopted by the Government in any attempt to permanently benefit the Indians of Michigan" (NARS M-2334, Roll 404, 369), accompanied by an abstract of treaties with them still requiring payments by the U.S. to fulfil their stipulations, proposing to commute payments to the Ottawa tribe under the treaties of 1795, 1807, 1818, and 1821 (NARS M-234, Roll 404, 370-372, 380).

A summary of Selkirk's September 30, 1854, third-quarter report for 1854 indicated that Griswold had enough hay for the winter, but was suffering from drought. Selkirk added a confidential note saying that a Mr. Elliot had organized the Green Lake band into a political party and took the Indians to the polls. He said that if they had a right to vote, so did the Indians at Griswold (MBPI Pet. Doc. 240).

On June 21, 1855, the Hon. Samuel Clark left with the OIA a letter from the Reverend James Selkirk pertaining to a delegation of Indians visiting Washington to lay their matters before the President in reference to:

> their removal north--renewal of their School fund &c.--Wants matter looked into of $7000. that was placed in the hands of Mr. Slater for Ottowa Colony--also claim of the heirs of Mutche-Pena-se-wish to three miles square of land on the

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fixed locations . . . [b]y a provision of the State constitution . . . are entitled to citizenship on becoming qualified therefor. . . .

By treaty, these Indians have the right to a home west of the Mississippi should they desire to emigrate; but there is no prospect of their ever being willing to do so, and the citizens of Michigan, it is understood, entertain no desire to have them expelled from the country and home of their forefathers. Suitable locations, it is understood, can be found for them in the State, where they can be concentrated under circumstances favorable to their comfort and improvement, without detriment to State or individual interests, and early measures for that purpose should be adopted (COIA Annual Report 1853, 3-4).

Kalamazoo river &c. (NARS M-234, Roll 404, 329).[72]

This undated letter sent in June, 1855, by Griswold Colony chiefs Maw-bese and Sha-pe-quo-ung to Secretary of the Interior McClelland, is worth quoting in full for the picture it gave of the situation of the Griswold Colony Indians immediately prior to the disturbance caused by the effects of the 1855 Treaty of Detroit:

> Hon and Dear Sir
> We the undersigned petitioners desire to lay before you our condition as Indians belonging to the Griswold Colony and members of the Protestant Episcopal church in the diocese of Michigan.
> First, we desire to take this method of lending our thanks to Our Bishop for all his kindness to us i causing oure Mission to be established and calling us from our native forests to hear the Gospel of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and also to our Old missionary who has labored so long among us. We feel that much good has been done at this place on our behalf.
> Second. We desire to remain at this place and have our Missionary continue with us and have our school fund continued and inasmuch as Our land three hundred and sixty acres was purchased with the money belonging to our school fund and the fee simple was vested in the name of the Bishop without any terms of trust whatever. We desire you to aid us in this matter and wish to have the deed given in trust to the President of the United States and his successors in office forever, as in case of the Bishops death this would make us trouble to get a title of our land.
> Thirdly. We trust that we have reformed our ways and have embraced the Gospel but our house of worship is dillapidated - we have used it as a school house and we request the Government to consider us in this respect and furnish us with means to build a good substantial house with a basement story for lectures and sunday [sic] school and for meetings for prayer.

[72] A note indicated "Ansd. to Hon. Saml. Clark, H.R. June 24 1854 and enclosure returned."

> Fourthly We design to live by agriculture and leave off hunting. We have 24 families and but one yoke of Oxen, and what can we do without a team sufficient to break up our land. One pair of oxen to three families is little enough to farm with, to our advantage. We need plows and drags chains and cultivators with clover seed to recruit our land. We trust that we are better prepared to receive assistance from the Government than we have ever been before as we have become sober men and know how to appreciate and appreciate the help we may receive. We have full confidence in our Missionary and wish you to make him our Superintendent and we wish you to continue C. C. Trowbridge of Detroit to disburse our funds as he has done heretofore. We have put ourselves under the spiritual care of the Bishop of Michagan [sic] and are attached to the Protestant Episcopal Church and we do not wish to be disturbed by any other Christian denomination endeavoring to prosalite [sic] us from our church.
> Finally If our Petition is granted we shall feel ever grateful to you and will ever pray for your welfare in this world and the world to come! (Mau bese and Shaw be quo onk to McClelland, NARS M-234, Roll 788, 553-555).

On June 23, 1855, COIA Manypenny wrote to Selkirk (James Selkrig Esq., Griswold Academy) concerning his letter of June 4th addressed "to Hon. Samuel Clarke, together with a letter from Chiefs Maubese and Shaw-pe-quo-Onck to the Secretary of the Interior" (NARS M-234, Roll 788, 556). Manypenny stated that in view of changes contemplated in the upcoming July treaty, no relief could be provided for the mission at Griswold now (NARS M-21, Roll 52, 67; MBPI Pet. Doc. 225).

It was apparently in connection with the prospective termination of funding for the Griswold Colony mission and the concerns which Maubese and Shau-be-quo-ung had expressed in the June letter that Bishop McCoskry, on July 26, 1855, in Wayne County, Michigan, made a "Trust Statement," concerning the mission's land, which was recorded in Allegan County, Michigan, on September 5, 1855:

> I do hereby declare that I do hold the same accordingly in Trust for the benefit of the band of Ottawa Indians formerly under the Chief Saginaw

> afterwards under the chief Penasee and now under the Chief called Shopquaung in manner following that is to say I hold the same for the occupation and improvement thereof by said band in such individual allotments as I shall find adviseable and I agree to make such allotment in occupancy and not in fee simple as generally and equitably as possible and in the case said band shall hereafter desire to remove from said land to another place I am at liberty to sell said land and reinvest the proceeds for the same purpose it being the purpose of this trust to manage and administer said lands and the proceeds thereof to the best of my discretion for the benefit of said band and for no other purposes whatever (Allegan County, Michigan, Liber 13, 205; typed excerpt MBPI Pet. Part II).

Since the Griswold Colony had not actually been established until 1839, apparently some funding continued through 1858 to complete the 20-year span (Church to Stearns 2/8/1996, 12). The Indians were still in residence at the colony on November 22, 1855, when F. H. Cuming reported on the "Ottawa" Indians in Allegan County, Michigan, numbering abnout 120 (NARS M-234, Roll 404, 116-118). He indicated that, "they claim the right to go to the polls and vote at each annual election; have no desire to mingle with wild indians [sic], or to remove from their present location" (NARS M-234, Roll 404, 118).

The historian of the Griswold Colony for the Episcopal Diocese of Michigan concluded that the end of the Federal subsidy meant the end of the mission (Krusen 1948, 667):

> In 1855 the assistance provided by the treaty of 1836 came to an end and a new treaty was made with the Indians whereby they were granted outright ownership of lands in Oceana County [near Pentwater, MI (Humphrey, 383)]. The majority of the Griswold Indians took advantage of the provisions of this new treaty and moved northward. A few families, however, appear to have remained; they had their own homes and were probably reluctant to leave. The land at Griswold was still theirs; for Bishop McCoskry considered that he held it in trust for them, not as the property of the church (Krusen 1948, 669).

Krusen indicated that, "With this exodus of the Indians the effective work of Griswold Mission came to an end." However, the Reverend Selkirk did not leave Wayland Township, nor was the mission land disposed of at this time. The ensuing developments were more complex (see below). Krusen mentioned the allotments under the 1855 treaty, and did state that, "Within ten years, however, most of the Griswold Indians had lost their lands in Oceana County, and many had returned to the mission grounds" (Krusen 1948, 669).

THE OTTAWA/CHIPPEWA TREATY OF 1855.

Preliminaries. Negotiations for the 1855 Ottawa/Chippewa treaty were held at Detroit, Michigan. On July 14, 1855, COIA George Manypenny replied to Indian Agent Henry Gilbert's request of July 3 that the "Chippewas of Saganaw, the Pottowatomies and Huron Indians should be represented at the Council to be held at Detroit, on the 24th instant." The COIA authorized Gilbert to "cause a small delegation of each of the tribes mentioned to meet at such place and time, as you may consider proper" (NARS M-21, Roll 52, 139). No such special treaty negotiations were ever held, although the 1855 Annual Report of the COIA indicated that treaties with the Huron Potawatomi and "remnants of other Indian tribes in Michigan" were anticipated (COIA Annual Report 1855, 1). The petitioner asserts that the Griswold Colony would have been included in the above category of otherwise unspecified "Pottawatomies" (Church 1993), but the documentation does not confirm this, as will be seen below.

Treaty provisions. The petitioner asserts that the historical Matchepenashshewish Band was not a signatory to the July 31, 1855, Treaty of Detroit made with the Ottawa Indians of Michigan, and that the band never relinquished its lands (MBPI Pet. 1993d). The petitioner's historian has stated in a letter to the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research (herafter cited as BAR) that Shau-be-quo-ung was a delegate to Detroit, but since the band had not signed the 1836 treaty, he was only an "interested delegate" rather than an official participant in the proceedings (Church 2/8/1996, 14).

However, as will be seen from the discussion below, the facts show that Shau-be-quo-ung was a signer of the 1855 Treaty of Detroit, as a Grand River Ottawa chief. The July 31, 1855, treaty with the Ottawa and Chippewa was designated

parties to the treaty of March 28, 1836 (Kappler 1972, 2:725-731): Matchepenashshewish had not signed that treaty. However, because of the incorporation of Matchepenash-shewish's band with the Grand River Ottawa since 1838 for payment purposes, Shau-be-quo-ung participated in negotiating the 1855 Treaty of Detroit and he signed it as chief of a "Grand River Band,"[73] though his people were residing at Griswold. Subsequently, although not Grand River Ottawa, his band was subject to its provisions and received annuities under it.

The treaty reserved the following lands and made the following provisions for the Grand River Ottawa:

> Sixth. For the Grand River bands, township 12 north, range 15 west, and townships 15, 16, 17 and 18 north, range 16 west (Kappler 1972, 2:726) . . . Fifth. The sum of thirty-five thousand dollars in ten annual installments of three thousand and five hundred dollars each, to be paid only to the Grand River Ottawas, which is in lieu of all permanent annuities to which they may be entitled by former treaty stipulations, and which sum shall be distributed in the usual manner *per capita* (Kappler 1972, 2:729).

Additionally, the 1855 treaty formally disbanded the "tribal organization" of the signatories:

> The tribal organization of said Ottawa and Chippewa Indians, except so far as may be necessary for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this agreement, is hereby dissolved; and if at any time hereafter, further negotiations with the United States, in reference to any matters contained herein, should become necessary, no general convention of the Indians shall be called; but such as reside in the

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[73] Signing chiefs, Grand River Bands: Ne-baw-nay-be-zhick, Shaw-gwaw-baw-no, Aish-ke-baw-gosh, 2d chief, Nay-waw-goo, Ne-be-ne-seh, Waw-be-gay-kake, Ke-ne-we-ge-zhick, Men-daw-waw-be, Maish-ke-aw-she, Pay-shaw-ke-gay, Pay-baw-me, Pe-go, Ching-gwosh, **Shaw-be-quo-ung**, chief, his mark, Andrew J. Blackbird, headman, his mark, Ke-sis-saw-bay, headman, his mark; Naw-te-naish-cum, headman, his mark (Kappler 1972, 2:730).

Assent and ratify, Grand Rapids, 31 July 1856: Caw-ba-mo-say, Shaw-gwaw-baw-no, Aish-ke-baw-gosh, Waw-be-gay-kake, Ne-ba-ne-seh, Ching-gwosh, Mash-caw, Gaw-ga-gaw-bwa, Note-eno-kay, Ne-baw-nay-be-zhick, Pay-baw-me, **Shaw-be-quo-ung**, Men-daw-waw-be (Kappler 1972, 2:731).

> vicinity of any usual place of payment, or those only who are immediately interested in the questions involved, may arrange all matters between themselves and the United States, without the concurrence of other portions of their people, and as fully and conclusively, and with the same effect in every respect, as if all were represented (Kappler 1972, 2:729).

Post-treaty developments. The 1855 Treaty of Detroit provided that land in Oceana and Mason Counties, Michigan, should be reserved for the signatories, and allotted to individual heads of families.[74] Implementation of these provisions by the Federal Government was seriously delayed and never completed. However, the procedures associated with efforts to implement the treaty provide insight into the interrelationships of the various Potawatomi groups in Michigan in the later 1850's. On November 30, 1859, Indian Agent A.M. Fitch, who had replaced Henry Gilbert, wrote to the new COIA that "about 230" Indians were affected by a proposal from "several leading Men of the Ottawas, Chippewas & Pottawatomies of this Agency." These Indians were situated mostly in Allegan and Van Buren Counties and by the provisions of their treaty, they had a perpetual cash annuity of $1587.50[75] (Church 2/8/1996, 14; Fitch to Greenwood, 11/30/1859, NARS M-234, OIA Letters Rec., Roll 406, 514-516). Fitch continued that:

> They allege, Col. Manypenny promised them a Treaty should be made with them, and earnestly request that it now be made with them. . . . A few of their Number have recently been on a Visit to Oceana County, among their brethren, the Ottawas & Chippewas and are highly pleased with their Country and Much desire to locate Near them (NARS M-234, OIA Letters Rec., Roll 406, 515).

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[74] See map, Ottawa reservations and land cessions in Michigan. Shows the reservation in Oceana and Mason Counties. "While most Grand River Ottawas took up lands on the reservations set aside for them in Mason and Oceana counties, others joined the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Potawatomis of Manitoulin Island or settled among the Chippewas of Georgian Bay . . ." (Feest and Feest 1978, 779).

See also, listings of individual patents in Oceana and Mason Counties, 1870-1876 (MBPI Pet. Doc. 257).

[75] For this annuity, see the 1843 OIA correspondence, above.

Fitch continued:

> In a council recently held with the Ottawas & Chippewas of the County above refered to, they gave their brethren, the Ottawas, Chippewas & Pottawatomies,[76] a warm invitation to locate upon a portion of their reservation, and designated a place, which would be agreeable to both parties.
>
> I most [illegible]rkly recommend the granting of the desire of the Ottawas, Chippewas & Pottawatomies, for the New Treaty and locating on the reservation with the Ottawas & Chippewa in Oceana County. And also the same . . . the Pottawatomies of Huron, about fifty in Number,[77] and then all the Indians in this State, will be provided for, in a Manner, in which there is the Most hope of doing them good (Fitch to COIA Greenwood, 11/9/1859, NARS M-234, Roll 406, 546).

If this proposal had been carried out, it would have resulted in the consolidation of almost all the Potawatomi remaining in Michigan in Oceana County. However, Fitch did not negotiate the treaties he had proposed to make with the Pokagon and Huron Potawatomi Bands. On February 25, 1860, he returned to the COIA the funds forwarded to him to conclude treaties with the Indian tribes of the state. He stated that all of his time since August had been taken up by official visits to the Indians of the Agency for the purpose of distributing annuity funds, resettlement, etc. Because of the delay, he was returning the treaty negotiation funds (NARS M-234, OIA Letters Rec., Roll 406, 625-627).

Annuity rolls, 1855-1860. One historian has indicated that the last annuity payment to the Ottawa and Chippewa that was held at Grand Rapids was in 1857, to about 1500 Indians.

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[76] At this date, the term "Chippewa, Ottawa & Potawatomi of Michigan" was the designation used in annual annuity payments in 1853 for the Paw Paw Band, the Rush Lake Band, the Brush Creek Band, and the Silver Creek Band; and in 1857 for the Po Kay Gon Band and Sin Go Waw Band of Potawatomi--the components of what would later come to be described as the Pokagon Potawatomi, located in Cass and Van Buren counties in southwestern Michigan (Lantz 1992, 15-16, 21-22).

[77] This was located on the state trust land of the Pine Creek Reservation near Athens, Calhoun County, Michigan.

Afterwards, the payments were made at Pentwater (Goss 1906, 184).[78]

Continuation of some families at Bradley, Allegan County, Michigan, in 1860. The 1860 Federal census indicated that some of the families of the former Griswold Colony had not gone to Oceana County. Ten Indian households (headed by 9 farmers and 1 hunter) containing 44 individuals were residing near James Selkregg, 70, Episcopal Clergy, born in New York (U.S. Census 1860a, 465, Dwelling #1655, Household #1589), while four Indian households (headed by 1 farmer, 1 trapper, and 2 hunters) containing 17 individuals were in proximity to one another elsewhere in Wayland Township (U.S. Census 1860a, 471-471r). Ethnic identities for all individuals were "Ind" and all birthplaces were Michigan. This was the low point of the Indian population living near Bradley. The Civil War pension application for James Sprague's widow, discussed below, provided insight into continuing connections between the portion of the band in Allegan County and the portion of the band in Oceana County between 1860 and 1870.

Shau-be-quo-ung's Band in Oceana County, Michigan, 1860-1869/1877. Shau-be-quo-ung himself removed to Oceana County. The Reverend James Selkirk wrote:

> Shap-e-quonk is now the chief up at the Chippewa grounds and is much beloved. He is satisfied with their place and likes it much. He wrote me not long since and said that he means before long to come and see me and to do other business also for the Indians who have gone on from this place" (Selkirk Autobiography n.d., 43).

Portions of the band remained there until approximately 1869, and then returned to Allegan County (see below), but Moses Foster and his brother, David K. Foster, remained there until about 1877. David K. Foster was elected the first Clerk of Crystal Township (Old Tyme Plat and History cal976; MBPI Pet. Doc. 268(a)), and his 1867 report gives a good picture of the economic situation of the Oceana County Indians (Hartwick and Tuller 1890, 60-61).

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[78] For a copy of the relevant sections of the 1857 Annuity Roll, Grand River Ottawa of Michigan (Lantz 1993, 23-24), see the Genealogical Technical Report, Appendix V. For the relevant section of the 1859 Annuity Roll, Grand River Ottawa of Michigan (Lantz 1993, 37), see the Genealogical Technical Report, Appendix VI.

1860 Federal census, Oceana County, Michigan. The 1860 census for Oceana County, Michigan (U.S. Census 1860b) showed three clearly identifiable households on the "Indian Reserve," Post Office Pentwater.[79] All were identified as "Ind" for ethnicity (U.S. Census 1860b, 44). Several additional households enumerated in the immediate vicinity could be matched to the heads of households listed in the 1870 OIA final annuity payment roll (see the Genealogical Technical Report for a full discussion). The group as a whole was residing near a non-Indian clergyman named David R. Latham and a school house (U.S. Census 1870b, 44, Dwelling #496, household #484).

Latham was teacher of the Cob-moo-sa school, named in honor of the Grand River Ottawa chief Cob-moo-sa (aka The Walker). It was on the corner of section 27, Elbridge. Latham was later succeeded by John Bean, Jr., and Mrs. Ariel Crosby (Hartwick and Tuller 1890, 60; Spooner 1931, 657). In 1872, after the Oceana County Indians had received their final annuity payments and deeds for those lands which had been successfully entered, the Federal Government closed these schools (Spooner 1931, 661), which may well have contributed to the decision of Shau-be-quo-ung's Band to return to Allegan County (see below).

Impact of the Civil War. During the Civil War, the Federal Government took no additional actions to implement the provisions of the 1855 Treaty of Detroit. The historian of the Indian settlement in Oceana County mentioned the enlistment of many of the Grand River Ottawa men in the Union Army on July 4, 1862 (Spooner 1931, 658-659). He continued that in spite of the Indian enlistments, "late in the summer of 1862 there were rumors of an Indian uprising in Michigan," which led to the calling out of the "home guards." "Regular watches were kept at many villages and for some time the Indians were nightly expected. Perhaps the most surprised of all were these peaceful and inoffensive Indians" (Spooner 1931, 659). He indicated that "after a few weeks the excitement subsided, and the following paper, prepared by the Indians and some white friends, effectually ended the 'Indian War'" (Spooner 1931, 659).

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[79] At the time, D.K. Foster, described as "a half-breed," and Charles Selkirk, son of the Reverend James Selkirk of Griswold Mission, were teaching the Indian school in Crystal Township in 1860 (Spooner 1931, 657).

We, the undersigned, chiefs of the Ottawas and Chippeways of Oceana and Mason counties, in council assembled, having, with regret, heard that our white friends had become very much excited on account of certain rumors which have, of late, been in circulation with regard to our taking up arms against them, would take this method of informing them of the utter absurdity and falsity of these rumors.

We profess as a people to be loyal to the government and peaceable, unoffending citizens.

Many of our people, from various parts of the state, have met together at the head waters of the Muskegon River for the purpose of hunting deer. They have there built a brush fence, some five or six miles in length, where deer are in the habit of resorting in great numbers, from behind which they shoot them as they come up. This has been a custom among us for many years, and never before have we been suspected by our white friends of treachery; and we are exceedingly grieved to learn that this simple contrivance for entrapping deer, should, by report, have assumed the formidable appearance of a strong fortress from which we were to wage war on the whites.

It has been ignorantly reported that there were some two thousand armed Indians in the vicinity of Saginaw. It is true that there has been lately a large gathering of them near that place, and quite a number of Canadian Indians came over, but it was for the express purpose of holding a camp-meeting and not from a belligerent motive.

These are the true facts in regard to the matter, and we trust they are sufficient to allay the fears of our white friends; for we assure them that we have never entertained any feelings towards them but those which were the most friendly.

Elbridge, Oceana County, Michigan, September 22, 1862.

Cob-moo-sa, Shaw-gaw-be-no, Web-o-nee-gez-hick, Paw-baw-me, Ash-gua-o-za, **Shaw-be-co-ung**, Wash-ke-o-zhee, Wau-be-ga-ka, Mash-kau, ash-o-sha-ga, Web-o-no-sa, Kaw-ba-gaw-bua, Ching-gua-sha, Kaw-boa-mah, Pen-easey (Spooner 1931, 659-660). [emphasis added]

Some information concerning members of the MBPI was provided by the Civil War Pension application of the widow of one of the group's members.[80] Pash key heg oquay Sprague,[81] as widow of James Sprague, Private, Company H, 19th Wisconsin Volunteers, stated on her application that the soldier enlisted February 26, 1862 at Wayland, Michigan. He died at Norfolk, Virginia, July 3, 1862, of mumps. The original pension application was received 26 September 1862, but the applicant experienced some difficulty in obtaining the pension and the process extended for more than a decade, providing a considerable amount of information on the group's activities (see following section). A document dated March 17 1873, contained the notation: "Mr. Baxter: This is an Indian Case. Your attention is called to Commissioners Order No. 62."

The pension file contains numerous affidavits which show both the historical circumstances[82] and interaction among

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[80] Correspondence of D.K. Foster with Mackinac Indian Agent E.P. Allen indicated that at least one other member of the band, Thomas Wezoo, received a Civil War pension (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 28).

[81] No other claim 3/7/1878. She died 8 April 1902.

[82] On September 18, 1865, Allegan County, Michigan, before the Deputy Clerk, Circuit Court, Pashkeyheyoqua Sprague, resident of Wayland, Allegan County, Michigan, stated that she and James Sprague were married by James Selkrig [sic], Minister of the Gospel, on August 10, 1859, and had two children under the age of 16, namely Selkrig Sprague, aged 5, and Jane Sprague, aged 4. The affidavit was witnessed by Josiah E. Harding and James E. Selkrig (NARS, U.S. Civil War Widow's Pension, Application #3,195; Certificate #161,498). On September 18, 1865, Ralph Pratt, Deputy Clerk, Allegan County, Michigan, presented a copy of the marriage record of James Sprague of Wayland and State of Michigan and Pashkeyheyoqua Panasia of the same place, dated August 10, 1859, and recorded September 19, 1862 (NARS, U.S. Civil War Widow's Pension, Application #3,195; Certificate #161,498). On October 10, 1866, in Kalamazoo County, Michigan, Mark Brown of St. Joseph, Michigan, and John Q. Adams, of Plainwell, Michigan, who served with him, made affidavit to the circumstances of the soldier's death before Chas. A. Thompson Jr., Probate Clerk (NARS, U.S. Civil War Widow's Pension, Application #3,195; Certificate #161,498).

On June 19, 1872, in Allegan County, Michigan, before David Stockdale, J.P., David K. Foster:

> deposes and says that he understands the language of the Ottawa Indians and also the English language and that he can interpret said language of the Ottawa Indians in the English language and he further states that he will well and truly interpret the Evidence of Pashkeyhegoquay Sprague,

the various families of the band.[83] The pension record indicates that between 1863 and 1867, Mrs. Sprague had joined the members of the group who had relocated to Oceana County, Michigan.[84] The pension record also reflected a movement of the group back and forth between Oceana County

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Kesawjewayquay Macady, Shaw-o-naw-bon Foster. John Macady to be give in said claim for said pension . . . . (NARS, U.S. Civil War Widow's Pension, Application #3,195; Certificate #161,498).

[83] On June 19, 1872, in Allegan County, Michigan, Shaw-o-naw-bon "her mark" Foster, resident of Allegan County, made affidavit before David Stockdale, J.P., that Lydia Sprague was born in July A.D. 1855 and that she was present at the birth; and that Adam Sprague died 11 March 1870. It was witnessed by David Stockdale, James E. Selkirk. The same day, before the same J.P., with the same witnesses, Ke-waw-je-way-quay Macady stated:

> that Lydia Sprague was born in July A.D. 1855 and that she acted in the capacity of Midwife at the birth of the said Lydia Sprague. And that Adam Sprague was born in May A.D. 1857 And that she acted as Midwife at the birth of the said Adam Sprague. And she further states that Selkrig Sprague was born in August A.D. 1859. And that she acted as Midwife at the birth of said Selkrig Sprague And Mary Sprague was born in September A.D. 1862. And that she acted in the capacity of Midwife at the birth of the said Mary Sprague. And she further declares in relation to said claim that Adam Sprague died on the 11th day of March A D. 1870 (NARS, U.S. Civil War Widow's Pension, Application #3,195; Certificate #161,498).

[84] On October 5, 1867, in Oceana County, Michigan, Mrs. P.J. Sprague, a resident of Crystal in the County of Oceana and State of Michigan swore that she had four and only four children of her deceased husband and herself, under 16 years of age, who were now living, to wit: O Gim ah quay Sprague, age 13; Adam Sprague, age 9; Selkrig Sprague, age 7; and PeSaw Sprague, age 6. She gave her Post Office address as Pent Water, Oceana County, Michigan. There also personally appeared D.K. Foster of Crystal and [no given name] Fox of Crystal in Oceana County, Michigan, who swore to her signature (NARS, U.S. Civil War Widow's Pension, Application #3,195; Certificate #161,498).

and Allegan County[85] and its continuing connection with its former missionary, the Reverend James Selkirk.[86]

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[85] D.K. Foster also witnessed the September 8, 1871, agreement between Pashkeyheoqua J. Sprague of Wayland, Michigan, and Wm. F. Bascom, attorney, to obtain her pension. On April 22, 1872, in Oceana County, Michigan, Mrs. P.J. Sprague stated before William E. Tucker, J.P., that by her husband the said James Sprague she became the mother of Lydia Sprague, who was 15 years old in July 1870; also the mother of Selkrig Sprague who was 11 years of age in August 1870; also Adam Sprague who was 13 years of age in May 1870; of Adam Sprague, who died March 11, 1870; and also of Mary Sprague who was 8 years of age in September 1870. This document was witnessed by Lewis Medawis and Mrs. Hattie M. Tucker (NARS, U.S. Civil War Widow's Pension, Application #3,195; Certificate #161,498). On April 22, 1872, in Oceana County, Michigan, Moses Shaw be co ung of the Township of Crystal in the County of Oceana, and Jno. Macady [Mackety] made affidavit before William E. Tucker, J.P., that the above children were born in Wayland, County of Allegan. These affidavits were also witnessed by Lewis Medawis and Mrs. Hattie M. Tucker.

In 1873, the postmaster at Bradley, Michigan, stated that the facts were as shown in the affidavits and that claimant had not remarried (NARS, U.S. Civil War Widow's Pension, Application #3,195; Certificate #161,498).

[86] Revd. James Selkrig, resident of Allegan County, Michigan, Minister of the Gospel, made a long affidavit before David Stockdale, J.P., on November 3, 1872, stating:

> that he is a Missionary to the band of Indians known as the Ottawa Indians located in the County of Allegan and State of Michigan. And that the said James Sprague deceased and Pash-key-go-quay Sprague belonged to said band of Indians. And that he solemnized the Marriage ceremony of the said James Sprague and Pash-key-go-quay Sprague in the month of August A.D. 1854 at his residence . . . And that he has good reason to believe and does believe that the said Lydia, Adam, Selkrig, and Mary Sprague was the legitimate offspring of said Marriage. And that the said James Sprague recognized all of said children as his own natural children and provided for them as such during his life time. And that there was present at said Marriage as witnesses Hannah Selkrig, John Crampton (Indian) and Charles Selkrig . . . And he further states that there is no record evidence of such Marriage And that he also baptized said children but has no record of their baptism And that the evidence he gives is from recollection . . . . (NARS, U.S. Civil War Widow's Pension, Application #3,195; Certificate #161,498).

Hannah Selkrig gave affidavit as a witness to the marriage on November 6, 1872. Charles Crampton was possibly on pre-1870 annuity rolls with band (see Crampton, John 76 m GRV 1529 Ref: 7-53 Res: Crystal Valley near Fern; Sarah wife 52 f 1530 ref. 3-59 nee Bailey; Wen-eguon dau 17 f 1531 (1907 Durant Roll; Lantz 1991, 86); Crampton, Cobb 35 m GRV 1532 Ref: 7-53 Res: Elbridge, Lattin P.O. Rem: has child on 2nd Roll; Theresa Amy wife 26 f 1533 Ref: 3-52 Rem: nee Fox; Robert son 3 m 1534 (Durant Roll 1907; Lantz 1991, 86); see also: Foster Crampton in Taggart Roll listing).

Eventually, on March 17, 1873, the pension was granted, amounting to $8.00 per month, retroactive to July 4, 1862. The pensions for the children were also retroactive, commencing July 25, 1866, and ending when each child reached the age of 16 (NARS, U.S. Civil War Widow's Pension, Application #3,195; Certificate #161,498).

Oceana County Events. By the end of the Civil War, the delay of the Federal Government in implementing the provisions of the 1855 Treaty of Detroit had caused considerable discontent among the Indians of the Oceana/Mason County settlement. In 1865, they held a convention[87] and elected Shabequoung to serve as their "Chief Speaker" (NARS M-234, Roll 407, 1038-1040).[88]

> Be it therefore Enacted and resolved; by the powers of this convention that we the Chiefs and people do hereby nominate and appoint Moses, Shaw-be-ko-ung. (Chief) to the Office of head Speaker who shall preside in all our public Councils and

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[87] Be it known to all men that, We the Chiefs and people of the Grand River Ottawa and Chippeway Indians residing at Pentwater and Pere Marquette, Oceana and Mason Counties, State of Michigan, have called and instituted a public convention or council at Pere Marquette, this seventh day of June A.D. one thousand eight hundred and sixty five in order to form and Establish some foundation by which We may be better enabled to conduct all our public Conventions and councils in a more legal and systematic form; and to Carry into full Effect all our public Acts, Treaties, Resolutions; and Agreements (NARS M-234, Roll 407, 1038).

[88] Signers: Ne bas na ge zhick, Chief; Kaw ga gab we, Chief; Pay Ko tush, Chief; Ching gwash, Chief; Pay shaw se gay, Chief; Kaw ba o maw, Chief; Shaw go waw baw no, Chief; Pena sy, Chief; Maish Caw, Chief; Cobmosay, Chief; Joseph Medawis, Chief; Domnicke, 2nd Chief; Saw bus se ge zhe qua um, 2nd Chief; Pawdees, 2nd Chief; Louis Ka bu osay, 2nd Chief; Naw gaw ne ko ung, 2nd Chief; Skip gaish, 2nd Chief; Kap pe son, 2nd Chief; and the following Headmen: No lin no ka, Kes sis bway by, Pay baw me gow bo we, Aish ke baw gaw sunk, Joseph Dan gay, Pay qua na, Aw she day qua, Ag gaw o aw, Ke na Beck, Ka u wis, Saw o beck, A. C. Shaw, Jaccob Shaw, To do ke too, Tong guish, Pay qua, Meshe gak kake, Mon no me ne, An ne me ke we, Shaw shaw o nebees, Ke we ke skum, Nim ke waw, Shaw wan, Aiv me koose. June 7, 1865, in presence of David K. Foster, U.S. Interpreter (NARS M-234, Roll 407, 1039-1040).

"Shaw-be-co-ung or 'wings,' meaning that he could soar as an orator; . . . Shaw-be-co-ung was an Episcopalian, and was a good talker" (Hartwick and Tuller 1890, 59).

> Conventions, when and wherever held; and in all Treaty; or Treaties, which may hereafter be held and negotiated, between the United States Government and the Grand River Ottawa and Chippeway Indians-- (NARS M-234, Roll 407, 1038).
>
> His knowledge and influence--His honesty and integrity--The public confidence of our people;-- and his philanthropic regard for the welfare of our people, --all this preeminently qualifies him for that important Office .... The Indian Department and all Officers connected with the Indian Agency is hereby informed and acquainted to recognize Moses Shaw-be-koung as the Head Speaker for the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians (NARS M-432, Roll 407, 1038-1039).

Apparently associated with this convention, datable to the later 1860's, is a document from the Office of County Clerk, Newaygo County, Michigan, indicating that the following delegation had been appointed to go to Washington, DC, by the Ottawa and Chippewa chiefs residing in the counties of Newaygo, Oceana, and Mason: Paw-baw-me, Shaw-be-ko-ung, Wa-ba-too, Henry Jackson [this name interlined], Joseph Elliot [this name crossed out], Joseph Medawis[89] [Joseph crossed out] (MBPI Response, D.K. Foster Papers).[90] The Indians'

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[89] Medawis, Joe m GRV 4406 Ref:1-51 Rem: died June 1908; Theresa wife 77 f 4407 Men-daw-no-quay Ref:13-51 Res: Fountain (Durant Roll 1907; Lantz 1991, 178).

[90] In 1867 five Indian Chiefs from the Oceana and Mason Reservation had been elected to represent the Tribes to reach an agreement with the U.S. Some leaders, such as Shabequoung, and Joe Medawis, son of the leading Grand River Ottawa War Chief "Blackskin" (who may in fact have been Chippewa; see: "Medaywe"), did not agree to the final solution reached between the U.S. and other Grand River Chiefs (Church to Stearns 2/8/1996, 22).

When an agreement with the U.S. was finally reached, it was signed by only three of the Chiefs, Shabequoung and Joe Medawis had not signed. They had read the Treaty stipulations and likely realized that if they received final payment of their annuities, and had received their land patents, that they would be considered dissolved by the U.S. (Church to Stearns 2/8/1996, 22).

efforts to obtain the land promised under the 1855 treaty were not successful. In 1868, Moses Foster (Shabequoung) wrote to the OIA: "We have sometimes heard the Bad Bird [Match-e-be-nash-she-wish] that sing a good song over our Heads who says in his song, you will be carried by the southwind to the northern part of this state . . . ." Foster continued the thoughts of the current leaders by saying, "We do not wish to be carried by the wind any farther than where we are now . . . ." Foster concluded this letter by saying that he was moving no more (NARS M-234, Letters Received by OIA, Roll 408, 241).

Motives for the return of Shau-be-quo-ung's Band to Allegan County. There were at least two practical motivations for the decision of Shau-be-quo-ung's Band to leave Oceana County and return to Allegan County between 1869 and 1877. One was the 1870 commutation of residual annuities payable in that year; the other the failure of the Federal Government's allotment policy under the 1855 treaty.

Annuity Commutation, 1870. Annuity rolls for the band, categorized among the Grand River Ottawa of Michigan, are available for 1864 (Lantz 1993, 42-50, see Genealogical Technical Report, Appendix VI); 1865 (Lantz 1993, 51, see Genealogical Technical Report, Appendix VI); 1868, Ottawa and Chippewa of Michigan, Shaw Be Quo Ung's Band (Lantz 1993, 99-100, see Genealogical Technical Report, Appendix VI); and 1870, Ottawa and Chippewa of Michigan, Shaw-be-quo-ung, Chief (Lantz 1991, 29-30, see Genealogical Technical Report, Appendix VII, for a listing of the names). The 1870 list represented a final, commutation payment to the Grand River Ottawa. At that time, the band consisted of 28 heads of household representing 93 total individuals (Lantz 1991, 29-30).

Failure of the Federal Government's allotment policy. Under the provisions of the July 31, 1855, Chippewa/Ottawa treaty:

> The United States will give to each Ottowa and Chippewa Indian being the head of a family, 80 acres of land, and to each single person over twenty-one years of age, 40 acres of land, and to each family of orphan children under twenty-one years of age containing two or more persons, 80 acres of land, and to each single orphan child under twenty-one years of age, 40 acres of land to

> be selected and located within the several tracts of land hereinbefore described, under the following rules and regulations:
>
> Each Indian entitled to land under this article may make his own selection of any land within the tract reserved herein for the band to which he may belong--*Provided*, That in case of two or more Indians claiming the same lot or tract of land, the matter shall be referred to the Indian agent, who shall examine the case and decide between the parties (Kappler 1972, 2:726).

The treaty contained elaborate provisions for the drawing up of lists of Indians in the various classifications (Kappler 1972, 2:726-727). Entitled persons were to make their selections at any time within five years after the completion of the lists and file them with the Indian agent at Detroit, who was to transmit them to the OIA. After selections were made, the selector could take immediate possession and the United States was to hold the land in trust until patents were issued. With some procedural restrictions, the selector would ultimately obtain title in fee simple (Kappler 1972, 2:727). The treaty also contained the following provision:

> It is also agreed that any lands within the aforesaid tracts now occupied by actual settlers, or by persons entitled to pre-emption thereon, shall be exempt from the provisions of this article; provided, that such pre-emption claims shall be proved, as prescribed by law, before the 1st day of October next (Kappler 1972, 2:728).

The requirement of the prompt proving of preemption claims by white settlers was not enforced. Additionally, the Indian agent did not promptly draw up the lists of eligible selectors.

> [OIA agent Henry] Gilbert was guilty of land fraud as well. According to provisions in the 1855 treaties, Indians were allowed to make land selections and receive patents. Before selections were made, the agent informed Indians that no patents would be issued until he received from each selector twenty-five dollars "to cover expenses attached to their delivery and issuance." He explained that it would "cost a good deal to get arrangements made at the Department" and that he had "to have his money back." Indians who

> protested advance payment were told that they would never receive deeds. Neither those who accepted nor refused received patents from Gilbert, however, as selections did not begin until 1860 and delivery until 1870 (Rubenstein 1974, 143-144).

On August 14, 1857, A. M. Fitch, Indian Agent, Office Michigan Indian Agency, Detroit, wrote to COIA J. W. Denver as follows:

> By the Senates [sic] Amendment passed April 15th 1856. to the treaty made with the Ottawas and Chippewas of Michigan July 31st 1855, Township 12 N R 15 W and Townships 15, 16, 17 and 18 N. R. 16 W. in this state, were to be withdrawn from sale, and set apart for the benefit of the Grand River Bands of those Indians.
>
> I have just returned from an official visit to the Indians of the Grand River Valley, where I learned from a Mr. Bean who was employed by my predecessor Mr. Gilbert to survey them, that the following portions of those lands [specified] are claimed to have been previously entered and are now claimed by white persons.
>
> Some of these same lands having been recently selected by the Indians and others wanted by them, they feel aggrieved at this invasion of their rights.
>
> As Mr. Bean the surveyor informed me at the same time, that if the lands in question are actually entered as claimed there can be but little doubt that they were entered after their withdrawal for Indian purposes, I would recommend that an examination be had upon the subject and in the mean time that patents therefor be withheld until the result can be ascertained. An early answer is requested (Fitch to Denver 8/14/1857, NARS M-234, Roll 487, 538).

Twelve years later, the COIA described these events as follows:

> the late H.S. Gilbert, at that time agent for said Indians, on the 14th of April, 1857, reported to this office a list of selections of lands for the Indians entitled thereto, but upon examination thereof the descriptions were found to be defective, and the list was therefore referred to

> the successor of Mr. Gilbert, late Agent Fitch, who made ineffectual efforts during his incumbency of the agency to correct the same. Subsequently the list was referred to late Agent Leach, who, finding it impracticable to correct the same, reported the fact to this office, whereupon the selections made by Mr. Gilbert were set aside, and Mr. Leach was directed to make new selections, which he did, and which he reported to this office on the 15th of January, 1863 . . . That list required some corrections which were subsequently made, but the last list of selections for the Ottawas was not transmitted to this office until the 16th of February 1866, though the same article of the treaty provides "that such lists shall be made and closed before the first day of July, 1856, and thereafter no applications for the benefit of this article will be allowed" (COIA N.G. Taylor to Secretary of the Interior O.H. Browning, 1/23/1869; 3rd Session No. 33; MBPI Pet. Doc. #258).

The BIA did not perceive a need to check the Oceana Co. land records beyond the OIA reports and the list of patents included in the petition documents, since these transactions fell into the pre-1870 period covered by the date of unambiguous prior Federal acknowledgment used for these reports.

On January 26, 1869, "in compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 15th instant," Secretary of the Interior O.H. Browning transmitted a statement covering the allotments thus far made to "the Grand River band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians under the treaty with those tribes of July 31, 1855, with the lists of the names of such Indians of said Grand River band as were under said treaty entitled to land," and a description of the procedures and results thus far (Browning to B.F. Wade, President of the United States Senate pro tempore, 1/26/1869; 3rd Session No. 33; MBPI Pet. Doc. #258). This was accompanied by a January 23, 1869, letter from the COIA to Browning, indicating that:

> the selections were reported to this office by late United States Indian Agent D.C. Leach, under date of January 15, 1863, but the precise date at which the lists and selections were made I am unable to state. No patents have been issued to said Indians, but on the 9th of April, 1864, this

> office transmitted to Agent Leach three volumes of certificates, showing the lands selected for each of said Indians, to be dated and signed by said agent and delivered to the parties entitled to the same. This office is unable to state the dates of the certificates or the time at which they were delivered, not being in possession of any information from the agent upon those points
>
> No "persons other than members of said Grand River band" so far as is known to this office, have been permitted to purchase any of the lands within the several townships withdrawn from sale for the use of said band (COIA N.G. Taylor to Secretary of the Interior O.H. Browning, 1/23/1869; 3rd Session No. 33; MBPI Pet. Doc. #258).

However, the circumstances were further complicated by certain terms of the treaty provisions. The COIA continued:

> The certificates issued, as before stated, contain the prohibition against the sale or transfer of the lands as contemplated by the treaty.
>
> The article referred to also provides that "after the expiration of ten years, such restrictions on the power of sale shall be withdrawn and a patent shall be issued in the usual form to each original holder of a certificate for the land described therein, provided that such restriction shall cease only upon the actual issuing of the patent." As has already been stated, no patents have been issued under the foregoing provision.
>
> The same article also provides that "all lands embraced within the tracts hereinbefore described, that shall not have been appropriated or selected within five years, shall remain the property of the United States, and the same shall thereafter, for the further term of five years, be subject to entry in the usual manner and at the same rate per acre as other adjacent public lands are then held, by Indians only."
>
> Attempts have from time to time been made by Indians to enter lands under the foregoing provision, but upon it being charged by the agent for said Indians that white men were using the Indians in order that they might themselves get possession of the lands, his office, on the 2d of

> December, 1864, requested the General Land Office to direct a suspension of entries . . . (COIA N.G. Taylor to Secretary of the Interior O.H. Browning, 1/23/1869; 3rd Session No. 33; MBPI Pet. Doc. #258).

The COIA referred to prior recommendations made in a report dated February 27, 1868, and continued with procedural recommendations for handling the allotments.

Throughout the period 1855-1871, Shau-be-quo-ung's band was in regular, official contact with the OIA on matters concerning implementation of the 1855 treaty. Shau-be-quo-ung continued to write to the OIA after that date.[91]

RETURN TO BRADLEY, ALLEGAN COUNTY, MICHIGAN, 1869-1877.

Population. One local historian wrote that most former Griswold Colony Indians returned from Oceana County about 1870 (Humphrey 1902, 383). The petitioner's historian has stated that, "In 1870 Shabequoung and Joe Medawis returned to Allegan County where Shabequoung's Band still retained land from a previous Treaty" (Church 2/8/1996, 22), but that oversimplifies the course of events. The 1870 census of Wayland Township, Allegan County, Michigan (Monteith 1963) provided a count of the returned population, again residing near the Reverend James Selkirk at the former mission, with the 14 households representing 64 individuals listed sequentially and contiguously (U.S. Census 1870a, 414-415). At this date, however, the Foster brothers, Mrs. Sprague, and her son-in-law Lewis Medawis, were still in Oceana County (U.S. Census 1870b, 651).

The mission lands were still available for the families that returned. In 1873, the published plat map of Allegan County, Michigan, showed the 360 acres of "Indian Lands" at the former Griswold Colony, in close proximity to Bradley (BAR files). The circumstances surrounding the acquisition of these lands are discussed above (see pp. 38-40).

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[91] Petition of Moses Shaw-be-quo-ung and Joseph Midawis of the Oceana Reservation to Francis A. Walker Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 21, 1871, requesting that the agency be abolished so that the Indians could bargain directly with the Department of the Interior (Rubenstein 1974, 38-39n100; citing N.A. Roll 409).

The petitioner's historian has also stated: "After 1871 we were more often referred to as the Bradley Indians because the town of Bradley had sprouted on the perimeter of our reservation" (Church 1993). During the decade 1870-1880, the Indian agent in Michigan was aware of the group and its location near Bradley. On December 26, 1878, Indian Agent Geo. W. Lee[92] wrote to the Hon. Chas. Dickey, who was compiling information on the Potawatomi of Athens Township in Calhoun County, "I think if you could see John Pamptepe of Athens or D. K. Foster of Bradley in Allegan county, you might learn something of the persons you speak of" (Van Buren 1886, 368). However, during this period the authority and resources of the agents were being steadily diminished (Rubenstein 1974, 37-40).

In 1880, the author of a local history clearly identified the band as an American Indian entity:

> The band, now reduced to about seventy-five persons, still occupies the tract on which it entered in 1839. The farming of the Indians is not very thorough and their houses are far from elegant, yet they support themselves by their own labor, and bear a fair reputation for honesty and morality (History of Barry and Allegan Counties 1880, 41).

Elsewhere, the same 1880 local history provided a summary historical perspective:

> Their first chief on these grounds, Sagamaw, was killed by his son-in-law, in 1845, during a drunken quarrel. Pen-ah-see, or "Bird," then became their chieftain, and upon his death was succeeded by Moses Foster or She-pe-quonk, meaning "Big Thunder," who is their present chief. There still remain upon the mission-lands 14 families of those people, or about 75 persons all told. They are Indians still, however, and after more than forty years of daily contact and intercourse with their white neighbors, they retain all the prominent characteristics of their race in features and habits, and as a result their cabins are squalid in appearance, while their style of

[92] G.W. Lee, of the Detroit Conference, Methodist Church, stationed at Mackinaw (Barclay 1957, 3:327n).

> farming cannot be commended (History of Allegan and Barry Counties 1880, 355).

The 1880 U.S. Census of Wayland Township, Allegan County, Michigan, showed Charles Fox, I[ndian], m[ale], 39, laborer, born in Michigan, in household #253/291 of James G. Selkrig. Starting with #292/299 (the Isaacs family) there followed a group described by the census taker at the beginning as an "Indian Colony." The settlement contained 16 households representing 82 individuals. After #307/313, the enumerator wrote, "This Ends the Indian Settlement." The core families by 1880 were using the following anglicized surnames: Isaacs, Fox, Sprague, Hinman, Foster, Solomon, Whitepigeon, Weaso, Paul, Mastay [later Walker], Johnson, and Shagonaby (U.S. Census 1880, 236-236r). Additional Indian family names found in the 1880 U.S. Census of Wayland Township were Wakefield (see Durant Notes 1908b) and Redbird, with Stephen Redbird, like David K. Foster, identified as a minister (U.S. Census 1880, 236, Dwelling 297, Household 304; U.S. Census 1880, 236r, Dwelling 306, Household 313). Except for the two ministers, all of the men were classified as farmers; 11 adult women (over 14) were classed as basket makers, and one as a mat weaver, while only nine were described as keeping house. In several households, a middle-aged woman was keeping house, while her daughters or daughters-in-law were making baskets (U.S. Census 1880, 236-236r).

Leadership of Moses Foster (Shau-be-quo-ung) and David K. Foster from 1870 to 1903. The petitioner's historian has stated:

> In 1872, the two Allegan County Chiefs set up residence a few miles west of Bradley, near Dunningville, Michigan. From that remote village they once again wrote the President and asked what their rights as "Chiefs" were now that their business from the 1855 treaty was completed.[93] .

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[93] March 6, 1872. Referred to Agent Bets with letter, March 13, 1872. Written on letterhead of the "Williams & Humphrey Law & Collection Office, Dunningville PO." To W. F. Walker, COIA. Business of the Ottawa & Chippewa under the 1855 treaty to be closed. Grand River. Request permission to come to Washington "& Explain our desires & wishes relation to our Special Band." Said that only three chiefs signed the "final amendments" to the 1855 treaty. Signed: Mosis Shaw-be-ko-ung Chief His X Mark; Jos. Medawis chief X. Witnessed by Henry Jackson, special interpreter (NARS M-234, Roll 410, 714-715).

> . . forwarded to the Secretary of the Interior . . . He responded that it was his "opinion" that the Grand River Band was dissolved--long letter, reviewed treaty stipulations in detail--stated that his opinion has not been tested in court (Church 2/8/1996, 22).

The March 27, 1872, letter from the Secretary of the Interior applied generally to the status of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan under the treaty of July 31, 1855, and the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution--not specifically to this particular band (NARS M-234, Roll 410, 526-536). A second letter, addressed to the President and dated August 4, 1871, was referred to the Secretary of the Interior on November 30, 1872. It again came from Dunningville Post Office, Allegan County, Michigan, but appeared to be only from Joseph Medawis' Grand River Ottawa band.[94] It concerned land rights on reservations in Mason, Oceana, and Muskegon Counties. The signers believed that there should have been 80 acres allotted to each Indian (NARS M-234, Roll 410, 697-698).

Between 1872 and 1882, Shabequoung and Medawis continued to write the President, the Secretary of the Interior, legislators, Indian Agents, and the BIA on behalf of the band (Church 2/8/1996, 22; see MBPI Pet. Doc. #147).

Dissolution of the McCoskry trust and distribution of the trust lands, 1883-1884. By 1874, the State of Michigan began to tax the Griswold Mission land. The petitioner's historian dated this to 1872 and asserted that it was a consequence of 1871 Congressional legislation which prohibited future treaty-making between the Federal Government and Indian tribes, but provided no reference to substantiate this linkage (Church 2/8/1996, Chronology). It is more probable that the causal event was the final commutation of annuity payments to the Grand River Ottawa under the 1855 Treaty of Detroit, which took place in 1870. In 1884, the successor trustee reported to the Allegan County Circuit Court that, "I find that these lands have been sold for the taxes [due for the years] of 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878 and 1880" (MBPI Pet. Doc. 274).

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[94] Signed: Joseph X Medawis, chief; Lewis Medawis, Peter Medawis, Sophia K. Jackson, David Medawis, Jacob Shaw, Pe-sko-nash, Saw-gos-pe-gay, William Mick kov, George Sow-a-bug, Ah-pe-na-be (all signed his X mark); Ta-naa Medawis, her X mark. In presence of Henry Jackson, Special Indian Interpreter (NARS M-234, Roll 410, 698).

The title and trust of the Griswold Mission land had been placed not in the name of the Episcopal Diocese of Michigan, a legal corporation, but in the name of the individual who was bishop of the diocese at the time the trust was established (refer to the 1855 letter from Maubese and Shau-be-quo-ung to the Secretary of the Interior quoted above, NARS M-234, Roll 788, 553-556; see also McCoskry's 1855 trust declaration). Samuel Allen McCoskry, the Episcopalian bishop who had purchased the land in 1838 and had continued to hold the trust since 1855, resigned his position as Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of Western Michigan in 1878, also being deposed by the General Convention (Works Projects Administration. Michigan Historical Records Survey 1940, 12).

By 1879, Indian Agent George W. Lee requested assistance to pay taxes on the Indian land at Bradley. He stated that he knew that the Indians were still owed from past treaties; the letter indicated that U.S. funds were supplied to pay taxes in 1878 (Church 2/8/1996, Chronology). In 1880, there was further correspondence between D.K. Foster and George W. Lee, Indian Agent, Mackinac Agency, concerning the land near Bradley. On April 20, 1880, Lee wrote Foster from Ypsilanti stating that he intended "if my health will permit to visit the Indians at your place" (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 22). Lee was outspoken in his opinion of dismal prospects for proposed Potawatomi claims legislation, and advised other tactics:

> One thing is truly stated, the Southern Element which controls Congress is hostile to the Indian, and will do nothing to aid him in any way they can avoid.
>
> I wish you would send me at once the description of the Land owned by your people, and I will see what can be done-but I have no money. You better get some one to furnish the Money to redeem = [sic] all the Indians Can sign a note to some friend for the money. I may be able to help you after awhile (MBPI Pet. Response; D.K. Foster Papers 23). [emphasis in original]

On November 19, 1880, Lee again wrote from Ypsilanti to D.K. Foster saying, "I also want you to inform me when I shall most likely find the most of the people of your Band at home, As I wish with a view of Seeing what can be done for them to take the Census of the Indians" (MBPI Response; D.K.

Foster Papers 24). On December 28, Lee wrote that he considered the allotment of the former Griswold Mission land to be inadvisable:

> I am sorry that the Indians are not content to live peaceably with each other, and all I can say I am willing - nay more am anxious to do all in my power, to have them live good peaceable and happy lives. No doubt they will find this the best way to live as they have been for the reason if the land was divided and each one had his own in fee - Very Soon Some White Man would have a deed and then more trouble would Come to them And What little peace they now have would be destroyed and they would have to seek other houses -- However if it is necessary I will go out and see what can be done for them to settle their difficulty and have them enjoy [torn] "Wigwams" in peace (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 25-26).

In 1954, Selkirk Sprague, a member of the Bradley settlement, recalled the dispersal of the former mission lands in the following words, which were notably more critical of the role played by his great-uncle, David K. Foster:

> This David Foster was pretty well educated, he went to the seminary at Minnesota and he had a fairly good education and he was an Elder besides. There was a man by the name Harding[95] who lived at Bradley. He had places all over Michigan. He'd buy these tax-titles, so he goes to David Foster and says to him, "Now this land you got here is all under Reservation, and you're to stay here just as long as you want to. I'll send somebody in Washington and we're going to have these lands patented, and it'll be nice--you Indians can pay your taxes. The way I'm going to do this, I'm going to elect you as treasurer, and I don't want you to send this money into here in Allegan County, so just keep this money away about 3 years." And you know, David Foster was an elder all right, but you can't trust all these preachers any further than their nose reach. So D.K. got all the Indian to agree on everything like that.

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[95] Probably Josiah E. Harding.

> My grandmother, her name was Pesh-keesh-ko-qua, and she was a pensioner, and we was the only ones got that Reserve land yet, course we had to pay taxes ever since that time. Every ten acres, all the Indian had 10 acres, but settlement there. I can remember it, I used to know all of them, but my mind isn't so keen as it used to be. We always had a church and of course we got a church now. So in 3 years time, well, delinquent taxes . . . . Well Harding beat all the Indians, but I guess old Harding didn't have a cent to his name when he died . . . . That's why now there's only about 8 or 10 families of us there east of Bradley. There should have been at least 75 or 100 families there. It's on account of this one man and the preacher, together they just robbed the Indians out of their places. That's bad (Sprague 1954, [3-5]).

The petitioner's historian contended in 1991 that the division of the former Griswold Mission lands had the following significance:

> In 1883 the Bradley Reservation was parted out to 19 Potawatomi headmen, as an advance wave of the Dawes Land Allotment Act and federal policy which by accounts of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' own report of the Commission in 1890 were designed to destroy the chieftaincy and tribal culture of Indians (HPI Response 1991, 24).

However, the documentation indicates that the process of division of the land at Bradley resulted not from a policy of the Federal Government (the Indian agent having expressed his opposition to the plan), but rather from the original placement of the trust in the name of an individual. By 1884, former Episcopalian Bishop McCoskry had left Michigan. It was also undertaken at the wishes of the Indians (or, at least, of some of their leaders). The order of the Circuit Court on February 25, 1884, was that the successor trustee whom it had appointed to assume McCoskry's responsibilities:

> make, execute and deliver to the said several persons named in said report, good and sufficient deeds of conveyance to vest the title held by Samuel A. Mc'Coskey [sic] in the specific descriptions allotted to each person in severalty as in said report specified, subject to all legal

> claims against said lands for taxes, upon the payment to him of thirty cents per acre of the land so conveyed by the grantee in each of said deeds for such services and disbursements, and that upon such conveyance the said trustee be and hereby is discharged from said trust (Allegan County Liber 158 [unidentified series], 501; MBPI Pet. Doc. 308; MBPI Pet. Doc. 274 [p. 492 top]).

The trustee reported on August 19, 1884:

> That under the instructions contained in said order and decree I visited the premises therein described and met with the Indians who claim to be the persons entitiled [sic] to the lands under the declaration of trust; that after consultation with said Indians, I would recommend that said lands be divided and set apart in severalty to the Indians named in a schedule hereto attached with the number of acres to each therein named, to have and to hold the same in fee subject however to sundry tax titiles [sic] thereon. I find that these lands have been sold for the taxes of 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878 and 1880 and do not appear to have been redeemed. That while said lands have been overpaid in severalty by the Indians named and distinct improvements made, they have been assessed by the Government descriptions and they have been unable to collect among themselves the money to pay the taxes on the entire tract. It is claimed that while some are willing to pay on their respective proportions, others are not and to avoid this difficulty in the future they desire a division of the property. The lands were assessed for taxation in 1883 as follows:
> The S.E. 1/4 of Section 20 at - - - - $1900.
> The W.1/2 of N.E.1/4 " 28 " - - - - 1000.
> The E.1/2 of N.W.1/4 " 28 " - - - - 1000.
> The N.W.1/4 of N.W.1/4" 28 " - - - - 400.
>
> That in consequence of the improvements made in said lands being in distinct tracts or parcels with small houses and outbuildings upon each, it would be difficult to determine a fair aggregate value of the entire tract and in view of the fact that the parties themselves have agreed upon the number of acres each are entitled to and the respective location and description of each as designated by a plat hereto attached it does not

> appear to be necessary to determine with certainty the actual value of said lands.
>
> I would therefore recommend that said lands be divided and conveyed to said Indians in severalty as follows, subject to all claims thereon for taxes and the reasonable costs and expenses of this proceeding: that is to say, that there be set apart in severalty to each of the persons hereinafter named, that part or portion of said premises following each of said names as paragraphed[96] (MBPI Pet. Doc. 274, incomplete; also as attachment to Church to Reckord 2/28/1994 (BAR Files)).

The historian of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Michigan wrote:

> Finally, in 1884 . . . Samuel Allen McCoskry resigned his trust to the Circuit Court of Allegan County, and the mission land was divided into parcels and deeded outright to nineteen descendants of the original band. Within a few years practically all of the Indians had lost their land to white men by reason of failure to pay their taxes.[97] Today a few families of the descendants of Selkrig's original band, living as tenants or servants on land that was once their own, and a weed-grown cemetery[98] are the only remains of the Griswold Mission to the Ottawas (Krusen 1948, 669).

There is no indication that it was "parted out to headmen," as stated by the MBPI petition. Rather, it was apportioned to the heads of families, both men and women (see Genealogical Technical Report, Appendix VIII).

The process of the trust dissolution dragged along in the courts for many years. The final report of the trustee, William B. Williams, granting him expenses of $108.00, on order of the Circuit Court for the County of Allegan, in Chancery, was recorded in Allegan County on June 27, 1907

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[96] The legal description of each tract apparently followed.

[97] A 1992 newspaper article indicated that the tax losses occurred later, in the 1930's, 1940's, and 1950's (Meehan 1992).

[98] For further information on this cemetery, see below.

(MBPI Pet. Doc. 308; incomplete copy, Allegan County record book Liber 158 [series unidentified], 495, 501; also MBPI Doc. 274, incomplete copy, top of page 491).

Because the technicalities of the dissolution of the trust did not impinge directly upon the issue of the MBPI's eligibility for Federal acknowledgment, the BIA researcher did not undertake to resolve all the remaining questions that pertain to the dissolution of the trust over the Griswold Mission trust land. To resolve these historical questions, the following steps should be taken: (1) the circumstances of McCoskry's resignation from the trust should be ascertained; (2) the complete chancery record of the case should be obtained from the Allegan County, Michigan, Circuit Court; (3) newspapers published in Allegan County between 1870 and 1885 should be examined for legal notices pertaining to the tax sales; (4) the actual deeds for the subdivided parcels made to the Indian heads of families, and the subsequent deeds by which these family heads sold the parcels, should be obtained from the Allegan County real estate records; (5) complete title searches should be run on each subdivided parcel of the land to track title through the tax sale process.

Transfer of religious allegiance from Episcopalian to Methodist. The BIA researcher could not confirm the precise date at which the Indian settlement at Bradley, Michigan, changed its allegiance from Episcopalian to Methodist,[99] nor find any indication that the band was ever specifically "assigned to" the Methodists by the BIA in 1872, as the petition asserted (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994 Part IV, n.p.). The 1872 House Executive Document cited by the petitioner indicated only that the Michigan agency, with 9,117 Indians, would henceforth have agents nominated by the Methodist denomination as part of a policy of encouraging continuity in missionary enterprises (Prucha 1990, 141-143; MBPI Pet. Doc. 269; see also Barclay 1957, 3:326-327). In any case, in 1881 this policy was "abrogated, and all official relation of the denominations to the government agency program was entirely sundered" (Barclay 1957, 3:328).

[99] The petition stated that in 1871, the BIA reorganized and named the Methodist Episcopal Church as Indian Agency in charge of Indian Affairs in Michigan (Church to Stearns 2/8/1996, Chronology). The BIA researcher found nothing in the records to support this statement (Beaver 1988, 443-445).

It is possible that the change of religious allegiance did take place during the period of the band's stay in Oceana County, where the Methodists had an Indian mission at Oceana from 1857-1873 and at Crystal Lake from 1874-1876 or 1880 (Barclay 1957, 3:334; Reuter and Brunger 1993, 138, 180).[100] The historian of the Griswold Colony indicated that after Bishop Gillespie succeeded McCoskry in the Diocese of Western Michigan, he "visited Griswold on two or three occasions," but by the time of the death of the Reverend James Selkirk (which he misdated to 1877 rather than 1878),[101] the Methodists had begun to provide services at Griswold and eventually the Selkirk family itself became Methodist (Krusen 1948, 669). However, the first evidence of a change does not appear in the documents until 1879, after Selkirk's death.

On May 20, 1879, in Allegan County, Michigan, Henriette Selkirk (the wife of James E. Selkirk, and daughter-in-law of the late missionary) made a five-year lease to Moses Foster, Isaac Shaw o ne ge zhick, Amos Wakefield, James E. Selkirk and D.K. Foster as "Committee of and for the Protestant Methodist Indians on the Selkirk Mission of Indians." The land in Wayland Township[102] was leased, "for the term of five years for the use and to be occupied by them for Camp Meeting ground purpose and for no other

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[100] Travelling Methodist ministers had contact with Grand River Ottawa Indians much earlier. During the 1840's, Manasseh Hickey, the missionary to the Huron Potawatomi in Calhoun County, extended the Nottawa Indian mission to Thornapple Lake, stations on the Grand River and Maple River, and around Hart and Pentwater (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 160-161). Methodist missionaries continued to work with Indians in Calhoun, Barry, and Allegan Counties at least through 1856 (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 164). After that, there was a hiatus in Michigan Conference records pertaining to Indian missions until 1885 (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 165).

[101] October 5, 1878, death of Rev. James Selkirk/Selkrig (History of Allegan and Barry Counties 1880, 41, 355). This date is confirmed by the official Allegan County, Michigan, vital records (Monteith). It was carried incorrectly in Krusen as: October 6, 1877, death of James Selkirk at Griswold Mission (Krusen 1948, 669).

[102] Commencing at a stake stuck on the high ground at south side of ravine at outlet of Geneva Lake where it enters into Selkirk Lake - running a North Westerly course Forty (40) rodds - thence a South Westerly course twenty rods - Thence Forty (40) rods in a South easterly course to Selkirk Lake - thence in a North Easterly course along the Lake to place of beginning (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers, lease May 20, 1879).

purpose." and only during the months of August in each year" (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 20-21) [punctuation sic],

on the terms and conditions that James E. Selkirk should head the committee each year and have the license and exclusive right to sell provisions during said camp meeting. However, the Indians added their own stipulation:

> And the said James E Selkirk in consideration thereof does hereby agree that he will pay over to the society One half of all profits He may make from the Huckster stand on said ground as aforesaid at each Camp meeting all over and above the expenses of putting up stands &c &c. (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 20-21).

The witnesses were White Pigeon, Alexander Pogagon [sic], and Charles Fox (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 21), all members of the band. By 1882, David K. Foster was serving the settlement as a Methodist pastor, licensed to perform marriages (Allegan County, Michigan. Record of Marriages, Book 5, p. 29, #432). However, the great majority of the marriages that took place between 1880 and 1920 were performed by justices of the peace or non-Indian ministers.

The first appearance of the Methodist Indian mission at Bradley in Michigan Conference records was in 1882, on a circuit with Wayland and Moline (Barclay 1957, 3:335). From 1886 through 1890, Bradley and the Nottawa Indian Mission in Calhoun County were listed together on a circuit, while the 1890 report indicated that both were combined with an Indian mission in Ottawa County (Barclay 1957, 3:335).

Establishment of the Bradley Indian Cemetery. The above lease was followed within a few years by the establishment of the still-used Indian cemetery at Bradley. This was created on October 8, 1885, by a deed from Amos Wakefield of Wayland, Allegan County, Michigan, to David K. Foster of the same place, for $25.00, for:

> Part of the southwest quarter of the northwest quarter of the northwest quarter of section 28 township three north of range 11 west, commencing at the southeast corner of said description, running thence north 22 rods, then west 10 thence south 22 rods, thence east 10 rods to the place of beginning, to have and to hold the said for burial and church purposes (MBPI Pet. Doc. 289).

Unfortunately, the burials were not included in the published survey of Allegan County cemeteries. The foreword by Ruth Robbins Monteith specifically noted the omission of, "The Indian Burying Ground on the shore of Selkirk Lake in Wayland Township. It is still used by the Indians living in the vicinity" (Monteith 1951). The petitioner did not submit, nor did the BIA researcher prepare, a map or chronology of the burials in this cemetery.

As the "Bradley Indian Cemetery," this cemetery has remained in active use and is controlled by the Bradley mission board (see further discussion in sections of this report below). Obituaries submitted as part of the petition material indicate that it has continued to be the burial place of both resident and non-resident descendants of Bradley area Indian families until the present day (MBPI Pet. Part IV). Non-residents buried at the cemetery within the past decade (1985-1995) included members of MBPI families living in Kalamazoo and Grand Rapids.

No separate cemetery has been associated with the Salem church. A passing reference in the MBPI petition supplementary materials indicated that a particular part of the Burnips cemetery has been used by Indians who are members of the Salem mission. However, it provided no information concerning dates or circumstances of usage. (MBPI Pet. Suppl. 6/12/96).

Methodist mission activity 1880's-1903. The continuity of Methodist mission activity at Bradley has been uninterrupted from the early 1880's until the present day (see also the Anthropological Technical Report to this Proposed Finding). From 1886 through 1890, the Kalamazoo District of the Methodist Church appropriated $40.00 for the "Nottawa and Bradley Indian Mission," which apparently included Bass River (in Ottawa County), as the 1891 appropriation of $60.00 was for "Nottawa and Bass River" (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 165, 268). In 1891, a combined membership of 50 was reported for "Nottawa and Bradley" (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 165). From 1893 through 1897, the allocation was described more generically as for "Indian work in Kalamazoo District" at $80.00 per annum (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 164). In 1887 and 1890, preachers appointed to the mission were John Walker (an Ottawa resident of the Bradley settlement who had married into the band) and Isaac Bennett (possibly Saginaw Chippewa); there was no appointment listed in 1888 and 1889. J.M. Walker was appointed in 1891 (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 268).

The records of the missions must be used in context. The formal reports of the Methodist Church were designed to record the functions of the churches--not the activities of Indian tribes--even when the churches in question were Indian missions. The Methodist documentation, therefore, reflects what the district and state conferences wanted to know about what the churches were doing. The church functions did not necessarily pertain directly to a particular tribal grouping. The further removed a report was from the local congregation, the less specific information it contained.

Thus, the minutes of the annual conference of the Kalamazoo District in 1898 recorded only that P. Lantobe was assigned to the Nottawa and Indian Mission (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 166). However, the petition documentation included a copy of the Quarterly Conference Minutes for Third Quarter, Nottawa Indian Mission, under the Kalamazoo District, Michigan Conference, dated April 30, 1898, held at Bradley (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 99-102). This reflected much more of the activity within the local church and the rate of participation of members of the Bradley settlement. In 1898, the Nottawa Indian Mission included the congregation on the Pine Creek Reservation (Athens, Calhoun County, Michigan) as well as the mission at Bradley, so the quarterly conference dealt with business from both churches.[103] The Presiding Elder was J.C. Floyd of Kalamazoo; George Walker was appointed Secretary. Those present were delegates from both missions: Louis Medawis, Phineas Pamptopee, Samuel Pamtopee, John Piegon, George Walker, D.K. Foster, Meme Shawgoguet, and Joseph Shagonaby (from Bass River). The business included confirmation of Henry Bozille as Sunday School superintendent at Athens, with an accompanying Sunday School report from that church (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 91-93). The records indicated that the leaders of the Indian churches expressed their opinions to the non-Indian church leadership. On September 5, 1901, Presiding Elder Floyd wrote to D.K. Foster that:

[103] From 1898 through 1911, the Athens Indian Mission received a separate appropriation from the Kalamazoo District, usually $50.00, but from 1912 through 1915, $80.00 (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 167).

> I not[e] what you say about the preacher for next year. Two or three of the Indians spoke to me after the meeting was closed Tuesday before I took the train and they want Phineas Pamptopee. They think Joseph Medawis is too old for the work. And they say he is blind, and some one has to go with him when he goes around. Then I fear, if that is so, that he is too feeble to endure the work and travel necessary. I like Bro Joseph Medawis very much, but I fear he cannot do the work necessary (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 154).

An Indian camp meeting was held at Gun Lake grove in 1899 (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 170). The records of the quarterly conference meeting from September 1901 indicated that the following men from Bradley mission had contributed to the missionary fund: Lewis Medawis, $1.50; D.K. Foster, $1.75; James Pigion, $1.75; John Pigion, $1.75; Lincoln Foster, $1.00; Alex Stevens, $1.00; Peter Medawis, $1.75 (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 155). Also in 1901, a camp meeting was held at Bradley (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 170).

The circuit-riding nature of the Methodist ministry constituted one of the ways in which members of the various Potawatomi settlements kept in touch with one another, as in the record by the Reverend Lewis Medawis that on July 28, 1895, he had baptized a Shagonaby child at Bass River (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 74), or in the February 12, 1897, letter from John R. Robinson to D.K. Foster concerning, simultaneously, Potawatomi claims activity (see below) and Methodist church activity. Robinson said that he would not be able to attend the Quarterly meeting, but thought that:

> when Spring opens and the weather became more mild and warmer, I thought I and my wife would go to Bass River on a visit to my folks and would drive our own Horse and Buggy and would like to meet you there and have a few extra meetings and have a Communion Service (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 89).

In 1896, the conference appointments listed Lewis Medawis, but without specifying his activities in relationship to the Bradley settlement (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 166). Medawis was appointed to the Bradley Indian Church from 1892-1899, and 1901; in 1900, the appointment was Joseph Shagonaby

(Reuter and Brunger 1993, 269). "The membership during these years, 1899-1903, held at 20-22. In 1903 and 1904 John Pigeon reported the membership as averaging 21 (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 269)

The MBPI petition supplementary material stated that in addition to the missiona at Bradley and Salem, some MBPI families (Ashquab, Bush, and Shagonaby) attended a Methodist mission at Dunningville, a few miles south of Allegan, which began in the early 1900's and survived until 1992, but still utilized the Bradley cemetery. No further data was provided concerning Dunningville (MBPI Suppl. 6/25/96). Some families descended from Matchebenashewish's band and resident in the Bradley community were not active participants in the mission churches. These included Jackson, some of the Bushes, and that of Jacob Sprague prior to 1950 (MBPI Suppl. 6/25/96).

Claims activity 1882-1904. In 1882, Phineas Pamptopee of the Pine Creek Reservation near Athens in Calhoun County, Michigan, had begun to press the issue of Huron Potawatomi interests in tribal annuities. He retained Judge John B. Shipman of Coldwater, Michigan, as counsel (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 34).[104] The Pokagon Potawatomi centered in Berrien, Cass, and Van Buren Counties, Michigan, retained John Critcher of Chicago as claims attorney in 1881 (Clifton 1984, 97).[105] Both groups prosecuted their claims simultaneously, and sometimes in rivalry, for the next few years,[106] while the Allegan County Indians asserted their right to be included.

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[104] There had previously been other counsel: "Mc Gowan the Congressman; then Lacey; then O'Donnell; then Judge Shipman and Dr. Twiss" (Phineas Pam-To-Pee and 1,371 Other . . . 1891, Deposition, 13).

> "However, the most severe threat [to the Pokagons] came from the Potawatomi of the Huron and other Neshnabek scattered through Michigan and other parts, represented by an unusually aggressive attorney with a true instinct for the jugular, John B. Shipman" (Clifton 1984, 101).

[105] For a narration of the claims saga from the Pokagon perspective, see Clifton 1984, 94-107.

[106] Senate Ex. Doc. No. 124, 49th Congress, 1st Session. Letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a letter from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs relative to certain Pottawatomie Indians. "The Commissioner further states that the Pottawatomie Indians located in Calhoun County, Michigan, were parties to the treaties of November 17, 1807, September 19, 1827, and September 27, 1833, and should be included in any settlement that may hereafter be made of the claims set forth in said memorial" (Pokagon Pet. Appendix A-II, 83).

Role of the Allegan County leaders in Potawatomi claims activity. On October 10, 1885, the Athens Times in Calhoun County, Michigan, published the following news item "From the Indian Correspondent" at Naw-to-wace-bing (Indian Town):

> Allegan Indians have been work four years past trying to get a share the Huron money. They do not belong to the Huron. Those Allegan Indians are belong to Pokagon band. Those Pottawattomies of Athens, they know them well, every one of them Pokagon band has sold out their annuity in 1866 [the transcript says 1886, but that has to be a mistake, given the date of the newspaper and the date of the Pokagon commutation] (Athens Times, October 10, 1885) [spelling, grammar, and punctuation sic].

The newspaper article was correct in stating that the Pokagon bands had commuted their annuities in 1866, but it was incorrect in implying that all "Allegan Indians" were part of the Pokagon band. There were some Pokagon Band members from the former Prairie Ronde reservation living in Allegan county as well as in Van Buren County. The newspaper article did not pertain to the Griswold Colony Potawatomi near Bradley. The existence of the two separate groups of Allegan County Indians was made clear when, on May 28, 1889, the "members of Kalamazoo and Prairie Ronde Indian Reservation, having met in Council" selected D.K. Foster as delegate and J.R. Robinson as interpreter. Those present from Allegan County, Michigan, were not all part of the Bradley group (Bradley names in boldface type, following): **Moses Foster**, William Kahwetahmick, **David Gulphin, Soloman Gulphin**, James Sawgemick, David Samuel, Peter Moso, Alex Moso, John Paul, **Joseph Bush**, Shagonaby Moso, Peter Mackey, Peter Gibson,[107] **John Macktay**, John Mokegwon, and **James**

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[107] Durant Roll 1907: Gibson, Peter 53 m TRA 2374 Ref: 4-30 Res: Hartfo Isaac son 16 m 2375; Paul son 14 m 2376. Gibson, James 18 m TRA 2377 Ref: [illegible]0 Res: Hartford (Lantz 1991, 114).

Van Buren County, Michigan. Record of Deaths C, Vol. 1, p. 171. #4[illegible]13. Aug. 22, 1901. Willie Gibson, Male, Indian, 4 months 5 days, d. Hartford, Pneumona, b. Michigan, parents Peter Gibson Michigan and Unknown.

Van Buren County, Michigan. Record of Deaths C, Vol. 2, p. 193. #5391. Sept. 19, 1902. Charlie Gibson, Male, Indian, Single, 1 month 19 days, d. Hartford, Cholera Infantum, b. Michigan., parents Peter Gibson and Lava Morsaw of Hartford Michigan.

Van Buren County, Michigan. Death Record D, p. 269. #25120. July 12 1922. Martha Wesaw, Female, Indian, Married, 31 years 5 months 10 days, d. Twp Hartford, Acute Tuberculosis (of Lung), b. Grand Rapids, Housewife, father Pete Gibson, Petoskey; mother Elizabeth Morsaw, Hartford.

Macktay (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 45-46). This list of those present indicated wide participation. Claimants from elsewhere in Michigan, several of whom were integral members of the band and direct ancestors of the petitioner's current members, attended the council.[108]

An Act of Congress (March 19, 1890, 26 Stat. 24) granted jurisdiction to the Court of Claims. The two groups (Huron Potawatomi and Pokagon Potawatomi) brought claims[109] on behalf of "all the Potawatomi Indians in the States of Michigan and Indiana" in Potawatomi Indians v. The United States and Phineas Pam-To-Pee and 1,371 Other Potawatomi Indians v. The United States.[110] The two cases were consolidated and decided as one case by the U.S. Court of Claims in March of 1892 (27 Ct. Cl. 403, decided March 28, 1892). The Court of Claims' award to the "remnants of the Potawatomi nation" was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court on April 17, 1893 (affirmed 148 U.S. 691, April 1893; HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 34). At this time, Congress did not provide an appropriation (Leatherbury 1977, 108), but money was made available within a few months, awaiting a final determination of how it was to be paid (Clifton 1984, 103).

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[108] Francis AshKibe, John Green, Martha Chingwash, Charles W. Foster, Daniel Hickey, James Peter; Missaukee Co., MI.
Lydia Medawis, Mary Russett; Mason Co., MI.
Jerry Johnson, Wallace Hinman, Samptson Pigeon, Sophire Shagonaby, Margret Medawis, Samuel Macktay, Kate Shagonaby, Petah sum, James Halfaday, Eliza Johnson, Kelsy Isaac, Sarah David, Jacob Shaw, Lincoln P. Foster; Ottawa Co., MI.
In presence of Isaac KaKake: Batsy Nahodagezhegoquay, Henry KaKake. Wit: D.K. Foster, Jas. David (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 47-49).

[109] U.S. Court of Claims. Phineas Pam-to-pee and 1,371 other Pottawatomie Indians of Michigan and Indiana against the United States (No. 16,842) and The Pottawatomie Indians of Michigan and Indiana against the United States (No. 16,743).

[110] U.S. Court of Claims Case No. 16,842. The 1890 claims filing in Phineas Pam-To-Pee and 1,371 Other seems to include every non-Pokagon-band descendant that Phineas Pamptopee could locate in Michigan of all Potawatomi who had been listed on annuity payment rolls between 1843 and 1866--plus a few Pokagons. This filing is not a listing of the Pine Creek settlement and its members, although it includes the Pine Creek settlement and its members (Court of Claims Evidence of Claimant, NARS M-574, Roll 80).

The series of depositions taken in 1891 in conjunction with the Phineas Pam-To-Pee and 1,371 Other contain much invaluable historical and genealogical information (U.S. Court of Claims, RG123, Box 918, Folder 16,743, Federal Records Center, Suitland, Maryland).

In 1890, 103 individually named petitioners for Potawatomi claims resided in Allegan County (Phineas Pam-to-pee and 1,371 other . . . 1891, 9). Since the Post Office address was provided for each household, this list to some extent can be used to compensate for the destruction of the 1890 Federal census in tracing the developmental pattern of the settlements, particularly in indicating the temporary residence of some of the households in Bass River, Ottawa County (directly north of Allegan County), at that date. Another list of names compiled in 1890 of "lawfull descendants and heirs of said Reservations, Kalamazoo and Prairie-Round and Members of Potawatamie Indians and Citizens of Michigan" who had been "rejected by the Indian Committee at Athens Calhoun County, Michigan" (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 50) was contained in an affidavit of John R. Robinson, "Pastor of Lakeview Mission" to the Hon, George P. Litchfield, United States Indian Agent, Washington, D.C. Robinson stated that he had been "appointed their Special Interpreter whenever required to do their business with the Government by an unanimous vote of the Indians at Hamilton last Spring and Summer at their Indian Camp Meeting" (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 52).[111] It contained few names from the Bradley community (most of the families listed have long been associated with the Pokagons), although the compilers stated that "we admit them as our friends" (for a complete listing, see Genealogical Technical Report, Appendix IX). The following committee acted in authority to make this determination:

> In testimony we therefore Sign our names by making our Mark this 25th day of February 1890. Peter Kah-we-tah-Kay-mick, Solomon Gulphin, James Sah-ge-mah, Moses Foster, Peter Makey, Joseph Bush, Rev. John Walker, John Paul. Witnessed in the presence of Rev D.K. Foster and Solomon Walker (MBPI Pet. Doc. 2; D.K. Foster Papers).

[111] Robinson reminded Litchfield that, "I have been a Special Government Indian Interpreter for most all the United States Government Agents of this State from the time of Wm. M. Richmond's Agency to E. P. Allens and feel a deep interest for their welfare, and hope that you will intercede in their behalf to get a Special Commissioner sent according to their wishes" (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 52).

It was apparently in connection with the claims proceeding that the following event occurred, mentioned under "Neighborhood Notes and News":

> During the past month an Indian has been travelling through the vicinity of Allegan representing himself as a special agent of the government, appointed to look up claimants of the money belong [sic] to the Indians, He said that each one would get from $5,000 to $8,000 according to the amount of Indian blood and the lowest those having one-sixteenth of Indian blood. He said he was authorized to decide as to how much each was entitled to and on the payment to him of $1.00, he would fill out a certificate and complete the business. He suceeded in obtaining a large sum of money in this way (Vicksburg Commercial, February 6, 1891; typescript MBPI Pet. Doc. 319).

1891 claims depositions pertaining to the MBPI ancestors. The Court of Claims judgment was dependent upon an individual, or an ancestor of an individual, having been listed upon certain specified annuity rolls (see Lantz 1992). An 1891 letter from the Dept. of the Treasury to the Court of Claims in response to query 8 stated:

> 8. Is there any evidence upon those receipt-rolls showing that the Nottawasepi, Prairie-Rondes, Mach-e-be-nash-she-wish, Mick-a-saw-bees, Mang-ach-quas, or Huron bands of Pottawatomies or any of them, participated in those payments, and if there is, state it, the dates, amounts and bands participating? (United States. Court of Claims 1891).

The OIA reply indicated that there was no evidence that the above bands had been paid under the stipulated annuity lists, which focused primarily upon the Pokagon Potawatomi bands.[112]

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[112] Answer.- None of the above-named bands appear on the rolls in question. On the rolls for 1843, the payees are divided into "Paw-Paw and Pokagon Bands" and "Nan-day-way-see-pee Band"; on that for 1844, into "Paw Paw Village" and "Nan-day-way-see-pee Band"; on those from 1845 to 1849, into "Silver Creek," "Paw Paw", and "Bush Creek" Bands; on those for 1850 and 1851, the same,

The major function of the depositions taken in 1891 for the claims case was to identify the individual Potawatomi claimants in Michigan according to their historical band of origin. Several of these depositions were important for the petitioning group.

Moses Foster stated that he was a little over 65 years old, and that he had been born at "Match-e-be-nish she wish's house" near the Kalamazoo. There were "something over 100" in the band, which lived on the 99 sections. His grandfather was Match-e-be-nish-she-wish; his father was Pe-nash-a. Both were at the 1833 Treaty of Chicago. They went to Chicago for their annuities (United States. Court of Claims 1891, 118-122; Deposition of Moses Foster). Moses Foster continued:

> The Indians in Allegan county belong to the Matche-be-nis-she-wish band, all that I was the means of having their names on there [sic] belong to that band, of my personal knowledge.
>
> The Indians in Otsego County[113] moved there from Plainwell; are part of the same band.
>
> Indians in Van Buren county belong to the same band.
>
> Doesn't know anything about those in Kent Co.
>
> Less than 100 members of Match-e-be-nish-she-wish band now living; not sure of number.
>
> When I was a boy, the heads of the families, they all lived together at Kalamazoo (United States. Court of Claims 1891, 118-122; Deposition of Moses Foster).

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except that "Bush Creek" becomes "Brush Creek"; in 1852-3-4, the division is similar, with the addition of "Rush Lake Band"; in 1855 and 1856, all are consolidated under the head of "Paw Paw"; on all subsequent rolls the division is into two bands, that of "Francis Pokagon,Chief," and "Sin-go-waw-, Chief."

The "Pottawatomies of Huron: appear to have been paid separately, by the same Agent, the $400 annuity specially due to them under Article 2, treaty, of Nov. 17, 1807; but they do not appear to have participated in the payments made on the rolls under consideration (Ct.Cl. n.d., 6-6 1/2).

[113] The document specifically references Otsego County; not Otsego Township in Allegan County.

Moses Foster indicated that some of the Potawatomi claimants were from Otsego county, "Them that moved there from Plainwell." They like the Indians in Allegan county belonged to the Matche-e-be-nish-she-wish band (United States. Court of Claims 1891, 119-120; Deposition of Moses Foster).

D.K. Foster deposed that he was age 53, the brother of Moses Foster, and belonged to the Match-e-be-nish-she-wish band. He stated that he was born about seven miles from Kalamazoo, at Cooperville. Since he could remember, they formerly lived at Bradley, Allegan. "All those that I have put down on the list, they all belong to the band, the Match-e-be-nish-she-wish band." All those living in Allegan County belonged to this band, he stated. "We had a tract of land in Allegan county, one track and since four years ago we made a division into several lots, and afterwards all the rest of the Indians sold out and so we scattered all over." The tract was 360/400 acres, divided among 25/30 families. They belonged to the Episcopal church. Nearly 100 of the band were now living as far as he knew, amalgamated with Ottawas and Chippewas, "There isnt a full blooded Pottawatomie that you might call; they are a mixture. They have amalgamated with each other" (United States. Court of Claims 1891, 122-128; Deposition of D.K. Foster).

In addition to the Fosters, several descendants of Matchebe-nashshewish's band who were no longer members of the settlement in Allegan County provided depositions. John Aush-Da-Yah-Sung, age over 65, testified that he was born at Middleville, Barry County, and now lived in the Town of Crystal, Oceana County. He belonged to Match-e-be-nash-she-wish band of Potawatomi, but his father was Ottawa. He stated that he only knew a part of the Oceana county families, but was well acquainted with some of them who used to reside on the Kalamazoo River. Specifically, he stated:

> Some Indians living in Mason county are Pottawatomies. They came from Bradley, Allegan county, near the Kalamazoo River. Doesn't remember what band they belonged to: The Match-e-be-nash-she-wish, but the chief was Squana. And then after his death was Pen-a-kay (United States. Court of Claims 1891, 93-95; Deposition of John Aush-Da-Yah-Sung).

Joseph Paum-Me-Ge-Zhick, age 56, was born at the mouth of the Kalamazoo River and now lived in Northport, Leelanaw

county. He stated that he descended from the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish band of Potawatomi Indians, which had a reservation near Kalamazoo River. He had left Kalamazoo country for Northport about 40 years ago, with his father and a few of the family (Deposition of Joseph Paum-Me-Ge-Zhik, pp. 76-80). His brother testified to the same effect, stating that he was age 73, born "the other side of Otsego [township, in Allegan County] at Plainwell" (Deposition of Peter Paum-Me-Ge-Zhik, pp. 80-83).

Additionally, several Potawatomi from other bands testified to the history of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band. The interviewer asked John Robinson, "Where did you say that those Indians, these Pottawatomie Indians came from who are not Nottawasepis and not Pokagons and not of the Topenebee band"? He replied:

> They came from the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish reservation, on Prarie Rond, what we call Kalamazoo. Well, what would it be called in the treaty. That would be called the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish reservation, the ninety-nine sections. Some were Catholics; some Episcopalians and Methodists. Some of the Indians at Paw Paw went west and then came back (Deposition of John Robinson, pp. 140-141).

John Robinson indicated that he was age 65 last March 5, born on the borders of Lake Michigan between Muskegon and Whitehall, father Yankee, mother Pottawatomi; baptized Catholic; now a minister of the United Brethen Church in Christ. He was Methodist Episcopal for about 20 years. He had a widespread kin network among the various Potawatomi bands: "Pee-pe-yaw's wife was a half sister to my mother, or step-mother; and my mother was a near relation to Moses Foster's mother" (Deposition of John Robinson, pp. 129-138).

Phineas Pamptopee, head of the Huron Potawatomi at Athens, Calhoun County, Michigan, testified that a band of Pottawatomies called the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish had their reservation at the mouth of the Kalamazoo River. He said that some of them now lived in Wayland; some in Hamilton. The rest were scattered around. They were Pottawatomies (United States. Court of Claims 1891, 6-7; Deposition of Phineas Pam-To-Pee).

Charles Hickey was also not a member of the petitioner's antecedent group, but had resided for a time at the Griswold

Colony. He stated that he was a Potawatomi, born in 1836 at Paw Paw in Van Buren County. He was one of the makers of the list filed in the suit. His father was Potawatomi; his mother Ottawa. He didn't live there long, but moved away when he was a little boy to "Sellcreek Mission, Allegan county." Then he went to Athens for three or four years; then back to the Mission; then to Pentwater, Oceana county (Deposition of Charles Hickey, pp. 96-117).

Court decision. The U.S. Court of Claims did not determine which individual Potawatomi were entitled to receive compensation under the decision. This was left to the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, the administrators responsible for maintaining records and paying annuities. In 1894, they determined that payment should be made only to those Potawatomi whose ancestors both were listed on annuity rolls from 1843-1866 (see Lantz 1892) and who had been included in the religious exemption clause of the supplementary articles of the 1833 Treaty of Chicago: in other words, to the Catholic Pokagon bands (Clifton 1884, 105).[114]

This determination was the basis for the preparation of the 1895 Cadman Roll (descendants of those on the 1866 payment roll, plus a few others who had missed the final payment but whose ancestors had come under the 1833 exemption) (Clifton 1984, 105). Special Indian Agent Marcus D. Shelby, in February, 1896, investigated additional Potawatomi claims, added only two names to the Cadman roll, and in December, 1896, paid 272 claimants, excluding the Huron Potawatomi, the Bradley settlement, and scattered Potawatomi living throughout Michigan (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 35). In a letter dated April 2, 1896, the COIA explained the rationale given by Special Agent Shelby for excluding the Potawatomi represented by D.K. Foster:

> The long list of applicants for enrollment forwarded the office by D. K. Foster of Bradley, Michigan, was by D. K. Foster abandoned with one exception, when he saw he would have to show that the applicants and their ancestors were upon some one of the rolls from 1843 to 1866. They are all Pottawatomie Indians. But Mr. Foster, as above

[114] For specific application of these criteria to D.K. Foster, see COIA to Hon. H.F. Thomas, U.S. House of Representatives 4/2/1896 (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 83).

> stated finding it would be difficult to prove this fact, abandoned this list. But they allied themselves with the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians in 1855 at a Treaty made with such Indians at Detroit, Michigan, and shared in the annuities and distribution of lands made said Indians in 1855 to 1871, and were never enrolled with any Pottawatomie Indians (COIA to Hon. H.F. Thomas, House of Representatives, 4/2/96; MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers, 82-83).

The COIA was overly sanguine in indicating that D.K. Foster had "abandoned" the list of Potawatomi claimants he had submitted. The claims denial produced an agreement dated March 3, 1896, of,

> We the undersigned Head Men of the Pottowatimies of Michigan who are descendents of the Treaty Septimer 26th 1833 and also the former Treaties . . . for the purpose of forming a Union, or Established ourselves into a solid foundation to stand on, so there will be no more opposition among those so called Huron and other Pattowatomie Indians" . . . "also we do not recognized a Chiefs Among us we are citizens of the united States (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 81) [punctuation and spelling sic].

This document, prepared in the presence of D.K. Foster, was signed by the marks of Mackey Shagoquot, **Moses Foster**, Edward KaKake, **David Fox, Joseph Bush**, and Peter Mackey; and signed by Johney Fransswy, Isaac Kakek, **Joseph Shagonaby, and Wm. Shagonabee** (names in boldface from the Bradley settlement) (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 81).

The same year, 1896, Judge Shipman went back into court on behalf of the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi and other Michigan Potawatomi whose ancestors had either not been removed west or who had returned in time to be listed on the 1843 and later annuity rolls (U.S. Court of Claims Case No. 21,300, claims filing in Phineas Pam-To-Pee and 362[115] Other Potawatomi Indians v. The United States;" HPI Pet., Ex.). In 1897, BIA interpreter John Robinson was continuing to correspond with "Cousin Foster" on the claims of the

[115] There are actually 363 listed names, and an indefinite number of "children" who were neither listed by name or numbered.

"heirs of Mau-che-be-naish-she-wish-es Band" as well as those of the heirs of the Old Wing Colony Potawatomi (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 88-89). During the 1890's, D.K. Foster's extensive correspondence with various Potawatomi descendants included individuals at the Potawatomi Agency in Kansas, in Sarnia, Ontario, and at many locations in Michigan, from Kewadin and Petoskey to Coldwater to Benton Harbor (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 171-183).

In 1899, the U.S. Supreme Court held that certain other Michigan Potawatomi in addition to those persons on the Cadman Roll were entitled to payment, including the settlements in Allegan County and Calhoun County (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 36). This Supreme Court decision was the basis for the preparation of the 1904 Taggart Roll by the BIA.

Some 50 years later, Jacob Sprague, a member of the Bradley settlement, recalled group activities that preceded the Supreme Court decision. In an article published on December 14, 1954, in the Kalamazoo Gazette, Sprague, age 65, recalled a court case from "about 1899 or 1900."[116] He said that he remembered as a boy of nine camping on the shore of the Kalamazoo River north of the city while their chief, Shaw-be-coung, and other leaders took part in a court case which was to determine their rights to the land or payment:

> I remember those of us in the camp sitting around the fire each night while the chief told us in our language how the . . . had gone during the day. I remember how happy we all were when the trial was over and were told we were to receive payment . . . . We were to return to Bradley and make up a list of all members of the band entitled to

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[116] See perhaps newspaper article under "Neighborhood Notes and News," saying that, "fifty members of the tribe of Pottawatomie Indians visited Kalamazoo Tuesday in the hope of obtaining from the government money granted to them by the courts . . . The testimony of several Indians with the pay roll and other documents will be offered in evidence to be taken before the Court of Claims in Washington . . ." (Vicksburg Commercial, July 14, 1899). A follow-up article indicated that six Potawatomi Indians from Athens and six from Bradley had given testimony at Kalamazoo concerning the 1843 payroll (Vicksburg Commercial, July 24, 1899).

See also, letter from Jacob Sprague to Glenn L. Emmons, BIA, concerning location of records on this case, January 4, 1955 (MBPI Pet. Doc. 207).

> payment as former residents or descendants of former residents of the ground known as the Match-e-be-nash-e-wish Reservation, . . . [b]ut Indians work slowly and before the list was completed Chief Shaw-be-coung died. That was about 1900 or 1902. No other chief was ever appointed until I was named this summer (Claim Big Chunk of Kalamazoo 1954; MBPI Pet. Doc. 382).

By 1954, records of the case had been lost (Indians Seek Old-Timers 1954).

Situation immediately prior to the Taggart Roll. Only limited information is available on the Bradley settlement for the period from 1885 through 1904. The manuscript of the 1890 Federal census was destroyed by fire. However, a compendium was published by the Bureau of the Census in 1894, entitled Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed (United States. Bureau of the Census 1894). It stated that, "Indians now in Michigan are classed as taxed. They were enumerated by the regular enumerators and counted in the general population of the state" (United States. Bureau of the Census 1894, 331). The statistics reported for southwestern Michigan were fully in line with those indicated on prior and subsequent Federal census reports. In Allegan County, there were 71 "civilized (self-supporting)" Indians; 71 in Calhoun County; 32 in Berrien County; 35 in Cass County; and 59 in Van Buren County (United States. Bureau of the Census 1894, 330). These were, essentially, the Bradley settlement in Allegan County, the Huron Potawatomi in Calhoun County, and the Pokagons (Potawatomi of Michigan and Indiana, Inc.) in Berrien, Cass, and Van Buren Counties.

In 1900, the Indian population in Wayland and Salem Townships, Allegan County, Michigan, was enumerated on the special "Indian Population" census schedules (U.S. Census 1900, 200, 274-275). Nine households containing 47 individuals were enumerated as contiguous to one another in Wayland Township (U.S. Census 1900, 274-275, Household 181, Dwelling 181 through Household 189, Dwelling 189), while five households containing 20 individuals were enumerated as contiguous to one another in Salem Township (U.S. Census 1900, 200, Dwelling 33[illegible], Household 335 through Dwelling 33[illegible], Household 339). A 1902 article on the history of the Griswold Mission would have given the impression that the group was only half that large, since it

stated that, "Today only seven families are left on the reservation and they on the poorest farms" (Walton 1984).

Of the men, there was one preacher (Lewis Medawis), three men who combined truck gardening with basket making, seven farmers, two farm laborers (both were sons living at home), and two day laborers. All individuals (male and female) born between 1870 and 1893, i.e. aged between 7 and 30, were recorded as able to read and write, as could six of the older men, while seven of the older men, including Chief Moses Foster, could not. There were no occupational descriptions for the women. All tribal identifications were either Ottawa or Potawatomi (U.S. Census 1900, 200, 274-275). In some cases, the schedules provided a tribal identification for the parents of the enumerated individuals. These identifications reached into the distant past, and while not necessarily completely accurate, did indicate how the individuals were regarded in 1900.

Relationship with OIA. After the commutation of annuity payments to the band in 1870, the primary service provided to the Indians of Allegan County, Michigan, by the OIA was education. From the time of the opening of the Mount Pleasant Indian School on the Federal reservation in Isabella County, Michigan, in 1893, the children of the Bradley settlement (MBPI) were regularly educated there. Among them were Inman Foster, son of D.K. Foster, in 1899 (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 114-115), and Selkirk Sprague (Abbott 1951; Sprague 1954, [3]).[117] In 1903, Simon Redbird, who had earlier lived at the Bradley settlement,[118] went to Pine Creek and secured eight Indian

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[117] Now they're going to abolish all these schools too, the Government is. They're not going to give the Indian any more education, because there are some pretty smart Indian and they don't want to educate an Indian so he'll turn around and beat the white man, so we have to go for ourselves. Within two years time this Commission is going to be abolished--no more Indian bureau there in Washington. Different tribes they go there, and work on their claims and it's kind of a nuisance, no doubt (Sprague 1954, [3]).

[118] 1880 U.S. Census, Wayland Twp., Allegan Co., MI, #297/304: Redbird, Stephen, I, m, 45, minister, b. MI; Nancy, I, f, 37, wife; Simon, I, m, 14, at school; Wallace, I, m, 4; Neset, I, f, 4; Martha, *, f, 85, mother (U.S. Census 1880b).

children of the tribe to enroll as pupils of that school (Athens Times, September 4, 1903). James Johnson, son of Alice Jackson, was also employed for a time at Mount Pleasant (Athens Times, October 2, 1903), and his children attended the school (Durant Roll 1907). This practice continued until the school was closed in 1934.[119] Several children from the Bradley settlement, including James Foster (MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 62), William Shagonaby (Wood cal954), Selkirk Sprague, and possibly Henry Birch, also attended the Haskell Institute (Sprague 1954, [3]),[120] while Henry Sprague was a physical education instructor at Carlisle after his semi-pro career ended in 1906 (Jackson 1989, 11; MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994, n.p.).

At the beginning, Mount Pleasant had a capacity of 100, with an enrollment of 59. By the turn of the century, its enrollment was 230 (Rubenstein 1893, 155-159). The BIA 1899 school report did not mention either the Bradley settlement in Allegan County or the Pokagons. In addition to the "Pottawatomie of Huron," it specified only the 830 L'Anse and Vieux de Sert; the 630 Chippewa of Saginaw, Swan Creek, and Black River; and an undivided 6,000 "Ottawa and Chippewa" (United States. Department of the Interior 1899, 41).

Deaths of Shau-be-quo-ung (Moses Foster) and David K. Foster. Both of the major latter 19th-century leaders of the Bradley settlement died within a few months of one another. D.K. Foster died in 1903, one week after the payment for the Taggart Roll was appropriated;[121] his brother Moses Foster (Sha-be-kuoung) several months later, also in 1903 (Church 2/8/1996, 23).

David K. Foster's death was reported in the newspaper as follows:

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[119] Oral tradition gathered by the BIA anthropologist argued that fewer members of the Salem settlement attended Mount Pleasant (see Anthropological Technical Report to this Proposed Finding). However, the Pigeon family attended Mount Pleasant. The Church family appears to have been an exception to the rule.

[120] Sprague said that Birch attended Mount Pleasant; Birch denied it (Sprague 1954 [3]; Birch 1954, [2]).

[121] "When he died he held title to 95 acres of the original reservation" (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994, n.p.).
Their sister, Mrs. Sprague, had died April 8, 1902.

> Indian Town (Athens Times Indian Correspondent), Indian Town Oct. 19. D. K. Foster, of Bradley, Mich., he died two weeks ago. He made a visit with his Indian friends at Athens three weeks ago at Indian Mission. He was a first Indian preacher was known. He was in northern part of the state in Ke-wa-tin, preaching to the Ottowa Indian four years and Traverse City two years, that where he lost his voice, he was too cold did not agree with him" (The Vicksburg Semi-Weekly Commercial, March 24, 1903, 1, col. 2).

D.K. Foster's death left the Bradley Indians without a designated representative in the claims case and unable to agree upon a successor. In a deposition given June 4, 1903, Inman Foster stated:

> that said Indians on May 6th 1903. met in council in relation to the same and to take steps to appoint some one in the place and stead of said David K. Foster, deceased. and that at said council said Ottawa and chippewa Indians could not agree upon a person to so represent them in said matter of claim and adjourned without selecting any one.
>
> Deponent further says that one Joseph Cushway, an half breed Pottawamie Indian[122] and a person who has no interest or right in said claim induced a few of the indians to select him as such Agent and Attorney, and induced them to enter into a contract for his services in said matter after said council adjourned, and that a majority of said indians interested are opposed to said Cushway acting in any capacity whatever, in relation to said claim.
>
> And deponent further says that it is not for the best interest of said indians to have said Cushway have anything whatever to do with the matter (MBPI Pet.; D.K. Foster Papers 187) [grammar, spelling, and punctuation sic; footnote added].

This deposition was accompanied by a petition protesting Cushway's involvement, with spaces for two columns of names, but unsigned (MBPI Pet.; D.K. Foster Papers 188).

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[122] Pokagon Potawatomi.

TAGGART ROLL, 1904

Background for preparation of the Taggart Roll. The initiation of Michigan Potawatomi claims activity from 1882 onward has been discussed above. This activity resulted in a payment which is the source of the 1904 Taggart Roll. Since the money appropriated in 1894 had already been awarded exclusively to the Pokagon Potawatomi listed on the 1895 Cadman Roll, an Act of April 21, 1902 (33 Stat. 210) appropriated money to pay the claimants listed in Phineas Pamptopee's suit (HPI Pet., HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 36). In 1904, Special Indian Agent Samuel L. Taggart proceeded to Coldwater, Michigan, and other places to prepare the payment roll.

Nature of the Taggart Roll. Elaborate instructions were sent to Taggart, Special Indian Agent, Colville Agency, Washington, September 15, 1904. He was furnished with the U.S. Court of Claims Schedule A listing the persons entitled to payment, was to consult with several individuals including Judge Shipman and Phineas Pamptopee, and was authorized to employ an interpreter if necessary. Concerning Schedule A, the Acting COIA wrote:

> . . . each of such persons is entitled to 1/272 part of $76,329.95, or $287.97 plus. It would, therefore, appear at first glance to be a very simple matter to prepare a roll for the payment, but upon closer inspection it will be observed that there are several serious difficulties in the way. Chief among these are, that while most of the Indians are specified by name in the aforesaid Schedule A, there are quite a number, 80, to be exact, who are not designated by name, but simply referred to as "Alice Jackson's seven children," "John Battice's four other children," etc.; the addresses of none of the beneficiaries are given; and the Indians are no longer in tribal relation[123] and residing under the jurisdiction of an

[123] As stated earlier in this report, use of this terminology in BIA records during the second half of the nineteenth century does not signify that a petitioner was not a tribal grouping as interpreted for Federal acknowledgment purposes. Rather it signifies that a group was not residing on a Federal reservation, under the supervision of a Federal Indian agent, and that its members were not in the legal status of wards of the Federal government.

> Indian agent, but citizens of the United States and said to be scattered from Kansas to Canada. The preparation of a correct and complete roll will, therefore, require long and painstaking effort on your part, but this is the only way in which the money can be distributed to the satisfaction of all parties concerned (Tonner to Taggart, September 15, 1904, BIA RG 75, in BAR Files, 050, material from Michigan Commission on Indian Affairs) [footnote added].

The Taggart Roll was not a listing of the members of any particular Potawatomi settlement in Michigan circa 1904. It was not a listing of the petitioner's ancestors per se, although it included many of the petitioner's ancestors. The ancestors of the petitioning group made up only a portion of the total number on the payroll. For exact terms, see the Indian Appropriation Act of April 21, 1902 (33 Stat., 210). Payments were to 272 persons whose names were set forth in Schedule A. The Taggart Roll included not only the majority of the Allegan County Potawatomi, but also the Huron Potawatomi of the Pine Creek Reservation in Calhoun County, Michigan, and other scattered Potawatomi descendants not included as Pokagon Potawatomi on the 1895 Cadman Roll. These persons were living throughout the State of Michigan (for a detailed discussion, see the Genealogical Technical Report).

1904-1934.

The petitioner asserts that from 1904 through 1934, the MBPI had a community in Allegan County with the following features: intact Indian language to communicate with each other, "building bees" to build institutions within the community, an effective local public elementary school, and Federal residential education options for the young (Church 2/8/1996, 23).

Durant Roll, 1908. Because of their close, long-time association with the Grand River Ottawa, the Indian settlement in Allegan County, Michigan, was treated not only on the 1904 Taggart Roll in regard to Potawatomi claims, but also on the 1908 Durant Roll of the Ottawa and Chippewa Tribe of Michigan. To some extent the association was institutional. However, there had also been considerable intermarriage, so that numerous Allegan County families did

indeed have Ottawa and, to a much lesser extent, Chippewa, as well as Potawatomi heritage.

As early as 1896, D.K. Foster had been submitting claims to the U.S. on behalf of the Indians of the Bradley settlement under the Ottawa treaties of March 28, 1836, and July 31, 1855, as well as under the Potawatomi treaties that led to the creation of the Taggart Roll (COIA to David Stockdale, Esq., Allegan, Michigan 5/20/1896; MBPI Response; D.K. Foster Papers 85-87).

BIA special agent Durant tracked each individual who had been listed in Shop-quo-ung's band on the 1870 Ottawa final annuity payment roll and what had become of them and their families in the interval. For analysis of this process, see the Genealogical Technical Report.

Population.

1910 Federal Census. As in 1900, the 1910 Federal census contained special schedules for the enumeration of the Indian population. These schedules were used by the census enumerators in Allegan County, Michigan, to list the six households (31 individuals) of the Indian settlement in Wayland Township, near Bradley, and the four households (20 individuals) in Salem Township (see the Genealogical Technical Report for listings). All heads of household in Wayland and Salem Townships were either the same individuals who had been in the settlement in 1900, or their siblings, children, or spouses. As in 1900, the forms provided tribal identification for both enumerated individuals and their parents. In 1910, one related household was also enumerated in Saugatuck Township (U.S. Census 1910, 244A, family #3, dwelling #3).

1920 Federal Census. While the 1920 census no longer provided the special "Indian Population" schedules, it did provide a useful overview of the continuity and geographical distribution of the Allegan County families in Wayland Township (nine households representing 28 individuals), Salem Township (four households representing 21 individuals), and Monterey Township, directly south of the Salem Township line (one household representing six individuals). In Douglas Village in Saugatuck Township,

there was one household with eight individuals that functioned as a part of the Bradley community. As a total, 14 households contained 63 persons (U.S. Census 1920; see the Genealogical Technical Report for full listings).

Secular Leadership. One writer on the Michigan Potawatomi stated that from 1903 until 1954, "the Bradley group did not even have a chief (Claspy 1966, 31).[124] This was not true. After a lapse in time, Charles Foster, son of D.K. Foster, was elected chief in 1911;[125] his brother Inman Foster was elected secretary (MBPI Pet.; D.K. Foster Papers 192-193). Nonetheless, although the documentation submitted indicated that a faint trace of secular leadership continued in the Allegan County settlements from 1911 through the 1920's, the actual focus of leadership from the death of Moses Foster in 1903 through the 1980's lay with leadership, both clerical and lay, of the Indian mission churches. This shift from the traditional chieftainship to church-based community leadership is detailed in the following section.

Methodist Church and leadership at Bradley. Most of the early newspaper material submitted in relation to activities of the Indian mission at Bradley in Allegan County was taken from the Calhoun County newspapers. The Athens Times and Vicksburg Commercial coverage was focused on the Pine Creek settlement in Calhoun County, and reflected Bradley only incidentally, when the two churches were engaged in cooperative activities, or activities designed to attract

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[124] Claspy cited no source for this assertion, but was possibly relying on a 1954 newspaper article ("Potawamis Get 1st Chief In 50 Years," Grand Rapids Press, September 6, 1954) or on the recollections of Jacob Sprague as given in a subsequent 1954 newspaper article (Kalamazoo Gazette, December 14, 1954).

[125] "Among the Indians educated on the reservation and worthy of special mention were David Foster and his son Charles, both able ministers, whose work among others of their tribe was very successful" (Walton 1984; citing MPHC 1902, 32).

The voters in the 1911 election were: Charles Foster, Lewis Medawis, Joshua Shagonaby, Peter Medawis, David Fox, John Pigeon, Joseph Mandoka, Adam Sprague, Henry Medawis, James Foster, Sampson W. Pigeon, Sophie Hickey, Isaac KackKack, Alice Johnson, Lucy Pokagon, Nancy Foster, Lincoln Foster, Inman Foster, and Edward KackKack. Henry Pego witnessed that the document was a true copy (MBPI Pet.; D.K. Foster Papers 193).

attendance beyond the confines of the local congregation.[126] For example, in 1902, the paper noted under the "Indian Town" heading that a "campmeeting will be held at Bradley, Michigan, sometime in August" (Vicksburg Semi-Weekly Commercial, July 1, 1902), and that a, "Big Indian campmeeting going to be at Bradley Aug. 14" (Vicksburg Semi-Weekly Commercial, July 15, 1902). Generally, the coverage from the "Indiantown Inklings" newspaper column from Pine Creek indicated frequent visits back and forth between the Indians of Allegan County and Calhoun County for the entire period 1900-1967 covered by the column, many of them associated with Methodist camp meetings and other revival activities (see generally the HPI Proposed Finding for discussion).[127]

In the early 20th century, Bradley had a series of ministers who were native to the settlement. According to the history of the Bradley mission, about 1905 Joseph Shagonaby returned [from Bass River] and followed John Pigeon. In 1907 Bradley's report was given by James Wasagesig and, in 1908 and 1909, it was Sampson Pigeon who reported. Pigeon performed a marriage for a couple from the settlement as a licensed Methodist minister as late as 1919 (Allegan County, Michigan. Marriage Record Vol. 8, p. 46, #340). During the period 1898-1908 the mission received $50 each year for mission appropriations (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 269). The

[126] In describing one of the typical camp meetings, one held at Athens, Michigan, from August 23 through July 31, 1903, the newspaper indicated that, "the Indians from Walpole Island, Bradley, Dowagaic, Hamilton, Hartford and other places will be present. A noted choir also a brass band from Walpole Island will be present" (Athens Times, July 31, 1903).

[127] Athens Times, August 27, 1947. Adam J. Sprague, 55, of Bradley died suddenly at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Hubert Mackety. He was here to attend the Indian campmeeting. The wife of the deceased is a sister of Mrs. Mackety.

Athens Times, January 6, 1954. Indiantown Inklings. Mrs. Adam Sprague of Bradley and daughter of Kalamazoo were here to attend watch night service at Indian Mission church.

Old Now-qua-um [Albert Mackety] and his family they went to Bradley to attend services at Indian Mission church there Saturday night.

Athens Times, February 17, 1954. Indiantown Inklings. "Rev-Mrs. Raymond Montour, missionaries from Winner, S.D., are holding meetings at the Indina [sic] Mission, their purpose being to raise money for the costruction [sic] of a little chapel in Winner for the Indians of that community." Mrs. Montour was nee Frances Sprague, from Bradley, and as of 1994 was a MBPI member.

petitioner asserts specifically that leadership continuity at Bradley was maintained through the mission church:

> At Bradley, a likewise succession of leaders who spoke of temperance and harvesting the land, led their people from the mission pulpit . . . . Selkirk Sprague, Fred Sprague, Joe Sprague, and Lewis White Eagle Church, have continuously maintained leadership that is Potawatomi and based out of the missions that were begun in the 1840's, ... (HPI Pet., OD Response, 15).

This assertion is largely confirmed, as far as church activities are concerned, by surviving original documents.[128] The January 5, 1905, Quarterly Conference report, for a meeting held at Hamilton, Michigan, showed William Shagonaby serving as secretary, while three other Bradley residents, Lewis Medawis, John Pigeon, and Sampson Pigeon,[129] were licensed to preach (Methodist Quarterly Conference Record Book 1905; MBPI Pet. Doc. 298).[130] The next year, 1906, the Allegan County Indians began a fund drive to raise a new church building for the Bradley Indian Mission; Lewis Medawis[131] led the drive (Church 2/8/1996,

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[128] The petition indicates that most of the mission records were destroyed in a fire at the home of James Foster in the 1960's (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994, Part IV, 298).

[129] Sampson Pigeon was born in 1874 and died at age 83. His undated obituary was headed **Indian Mission Preacher Dies**:

> Wayland - Sampson Pigeon, retired lay preacher in Allegan county Indian missions died Friday in Allegan Medical center. He was 83.
>
> A native of Bradley, he served missions in Bradley and Salem before retiring . . . . Funeral services will be held at 2 Monday in Bradley Indian Mission church with burial in the church cemetery (MBPI Pet. Part IV).

His five surviving children resided in Hopkins, Burlington, Grand Rapids, Hopkins, and Bradley.

[130] These men were licensed as lay preachers, not as ordained ministers who had received extensive formal theological training in a seminary.

[131] Lewis Medawis was a son of Joseph Medawis, a Grand River Ottawa chief. The Durant Roll 1908, "Census Roll of all persons who were on the roll of the Ottawa and Chippewa Tribe of Michigan in 1870 and living on March 4, 1907," listed Lewis Medawis, age 60, Grand River Band, residing at Dorr, Michigan. It noted that his wife Lydia, nee Sprague, age 52, and

Chronology). The Quarterly Conference Report Book of Missions indicated that:

> we the under signed Members of Bradley Indian Mission do hereby pledged and subscribed ourselves toward building a Mission Church
>
> | Names | Amount |
> |---|---|
> | Lewis Medawis | $5.00 |
> | Sampson Pigeon | 5.00 |
> | Joshua Andrews | 5.00 |
> | Alice Johnson | 5.00 |
> | Johnson Medawis | 5.00 |
> | Henry Sprague | 5.00 |
> | James Pigeon gave 1500 ft lumber | 15.00 |
> | Selkirk Sprague | |
> | Lucy Andrews | 1.00 |
> | Ellen Sprague | 1.00 |
> | Sarah Isaac | 1.00 |
> | James Foster | 5.00 |
> | James Sprague | 5.00 |
>
> (Methodist Church. Bradley and Salem Missions 1905-; MBPI Pet. Doc. 318).

The report indicated, "Commitees have decided to have Cement building for Church Smooth blocks and rock face for wall.[132] Commitees Are Lewis Medawis, James Pigeon, James Foster, Peter Alexander, Joe Shagonaby, Johnson Medawis, John Pigeon" (MBPI Pet. Doc. 318). At a "first social" held at Salem, the group collected $13.06. On Saturday, October 3, 1908, they collected $10.40. The account also listed the payment of other sums, as small as 15 cents or 42 cents, by members of families in the settlement (Methodist Church. Bradley and Salem Missions 1905-; MBPI Pet. Doc. 318). In comparison with the denominational subsidy, the amounts being raised by the members themselves were not insignificant. Reuter indicated:

> From 1909 through 1915 their mission appropriations averaged about $44 each year. This seems like very little assistance, even for those days. The pulpit was filled by Lewis Medawis, two

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son Henry, age 14, were on the 1905 Potawatomi Roll (Lantz 1991, 178; Manydeeds to Church, 7/1/1975; BAR Files).

[132] These plans must have later been changed, since the building is frame.

> years; S. W. Pigeon, one year; and Kelsey Isaac, three years, from 1909-1916.[133] A very caring ministry brought the membership to 29 in 1910 and 1911, then 59 in 1913 and 1914. It was this devoted group that, over a number of years, built the small church, the fourth in the area and the one that remains today. The cost was $1200. No mention is made of Sunday school statistics in the conference minutes up to this point (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 269) [footnote added].

Krusen's notes to the journal of the Rev. James Selkirk indicated that the original Selkirk Indian Mission building was torn down about 1912 (Selkirk Diary n.d., 34n). Contemporary documents indicate that the new building was completed by 1914:

> The Bradley Indians are going to have a celebration in July. Having completed our new church we extend a cordial invitation to the Athens people and all the neighboring settlements. We will dedicate the church on Thursday May 14, 1914, at 2 p.m. Two miles east and onehalf [sic] mile south of Bradley (Vicksburg Commercial, 14(46)).

At this time, the mission had had for 22 years a series of indigenous lay pastors from the Bradley settlement itself. On July 2, 1914, the Banner noted an upcoming series of Pioneer Society articles and published a photograph of the Rev. James Selkirk, with the comment in the caption that his "successor in religious work among the descendants of these Indians is Rev. Kelsey Isaac, pastor of the Bradley Indian church" (To Publish Pioneer Society Articles 1914). A later retrospective article on the mission church indicated that 1914 represented the end of the "itinerant" Methodist mission at Bradley, when the "present church" was built and Selkirk Sprague assumed a leadership role in the community as its resident lay minister (Abbott 1951). The

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[133] In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, many of the Indians still moved with the seasons, as they had traditionally done in the early 19th century. In 1897, the social notes from "East Athens and Indian Town" in Calhoun County indicated, "Kelsey Isaac came back from the north last Sunday morning and is going to cut wood for Henry Mallow this winter" (Athens Times, November 27, 1897); in 1900, it stated that, "Kelsey Isaac, who has been in Bradley for some time, is again living in East Athens" (Athens Times, April 28, 1900).

contemporary documentation, however, does not confirm that statement, indicating that there had been a resident ministry for many years prior to 1914, and that Selkirk Sprague was first the pastor several years later. In 1916-1917, Lewis Medawis continued as pastor at Bradley. From 1917-1919, Samuel Pigeon was assigned jointly to Bradley and Salem (see below for the establishment of the Salem Indian Mission). In 1919, Selkirk Sprague was appointed for four years (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 269).[134] "Membership held its numbers and an active Sunday School was reported in 1916. An Epworth League [youth group] of 14 was reported in 1922 and it remained active through 1930. As people moved away seeking work, a list of non-resident members developed" (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 269).

The camp meetings continued to be held during this period. A group photograph containing at least 86 persons[135] of the 1925 "Bradley Indian Camp" has been published (Penasee Globe June 29, 1988; MBPI Pet. Doc. 324), and in the same year Selkirk Sprague from Bradley was among the speakers at the Methodist Indian camp meeting at Athens (Athens Times, August 13, 1925).

Adam Sprague (Selkirk Sprague's brother) served as pastor of the Bradley and Salem Indian Missions from 1923 to 1929 (he continued to be a lay preacher and active Methodist leader until his death in 1947, which took place at Athens during a visit to a revival meeting). Together, the two missions had a Sunday School enrollment of 40 to 50, and an average attendance of 40, through the 1920's (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 269).

Establishment of a daughter church at Salem. The petition indicated that shortly after the Taggart Roll payments were made in 1904, several families from the Bradley settlement

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[134] He apparently continued as a lay preacher for many years after this four-year appointment. See, for example, the 1951 Grand Rapids Press article on Selkirk Sprague, age 71, who attended public school, Mt. Pleasant, and Haskell; returned to the Bradley mission in 1896; worked as a farmer; and was described as having about 35 years ago been accepted as minister of the Bradley Indian mission; five years later for combined Bradley and Salem (Abbott 1951).

[135] The copy was rather dark, and in some places blurred (MBPI Pet. Doc. 324). Another, undated, Bradley camp meeting photograph, contained at least 71 persons, but part of it was too dark to distinguish individuals. The clothing indicated a probable date in the late 1920's or early 1930's (Penasee Globe, June 29, 1988; MBPI Pet. Doc.)

purchased land in Salem Township, ten miles west of Bradley, with the Potawatomi claims money (Church 2/8/1996, Chronology). However, the 1898 plat book of Allegan County indicates that they were already landowners there by that date, as does the 1900 Federal census. For about 15 years, the families at Salem continued to attend the Bradley Indian Mission. The Salem Mission is reported to have begun as a Bible Study on June 3, 1916, in the home of Rev. Lewis Medawis (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 276). Beginning in 1917, the pastoral appointments of Lewis Medawis and Samuel Pigeon were made jointly to the Bradley and Salem Missions (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 169, 278). By 1920, the Salem families were raising funds to build a new church in the daughter community. The land was donated by Henry Medawis, son of Lewis and Lydia (Sprague) Medawis (Descendant of Early Indian Chief Dies 1941), on November 22, 1919 (Reuter and Brunger 1919, 276). The families to be served by the Salem mission were primarily Pigeon, Whitepigeon (or White Pigeon), Stevens, Church,[136] and Medawis. The petition documentation included a photograph, dated 1920, of a group of the members making baskets to finance the new building, and another of the building in process of construction (MBPI Pet. Part III).[137] The foreman of the crew was John Paul of Athens, Michigan. The photograph had a handwritten note

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[136] The obituary of Sarah (Medawis) Church, daughter of Lewis Medawis, indicated:

> Her father had served as pastor of the Salem Methodist Indian mission of which she was a charter member. She had served the church as exhorter, Sunday school teacher, communion steward and organist.
>
> Mrs. Church was widely known in Indian communities, having been called all over the country to sing at Indian funerals. She was known also as an Indian practical nurse and doctor and had a wide reputation for her fine art of basket weaving (Descendant of Early Indian Chief Dies 1941).

[137] ". . . the group invited the presiding elder, Rev. W. M. Puffer, from the Kalamazoo Methodist Episcopal District for assistance in their planning. A request was sent to Bishop Thomas Nickelson who granted the assistance--if the Indian congregation would build the foundation. The amount of $300 was pledged by the bishop. Fund raising and work began simultaneously" (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 276-277).

The photograph of the basketry, containing 14 persons, was identified as "the Medawis daughters and their families, Lewis Medawis, and Jim Pigeon." An associated photograph of women from the settlement standing in a row, from about the same time period, was identified as: Mrs. A.E. Church, Mrs. Foster, Mrs. Seymour, Mrs. Rose Pigeon, Mrs. Ward Pego, Mrs. Agnes Smith, Mrs. Adam Sprague, Mrs. Roy Chivis (MBPI Pet. Doc.)

which stated: "John Paul is Grandson of Ottawa Colony chief,[138] and he married an Athens Pottawatomi. His knowledge of building came from treaty schools" (MBPI Pet. Doc. Ex.). The small chapel was 20' x 30', with a belfry and steeple (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 276).

The Salem Indian Mission was formally dedicated in 1921 as Salem Indian Methodist Church, with the bishop preaching the sermon (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 278),[139] the petition materials including several photographs of the event (MBPI Pet., Part III).[140] In 1924, after the death of Lewis Medawis, Selkirk Sprague of Bradley was named pastor of the mission, as a joint charge with the mission at Bradley (Abbott 1951). Salem was normally a joint charge with Bradley (see above). However, non-local Indian ministers, such as Isaiah Wasaquam in 1927-1928, also served briefly. Reuter stated that according to Gladys Church, "the early pastors preached in Objibway and hymns were sung in Ojibway from the Ojibway Indian hymnals" (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 279).

> In 1924 Rev. Puffer reported that the Salem and Athens Indian Missions were among the few churches over the top in the Conference Claimants Endowment Fund Drive. Since the membership for Salem and Bradley are combined in the conference minutes, we can only guess that Salem's membership varied between 20 and 30 during the 1920's. Sunday School . . . has always been a priority at Salem. During the mid-to-late 1920's, an active Epworth

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[138] His father was a Pokagon Potawatomi; his mother was Mary Isaacs of the Bradley settlement.

[139] A 1951 newspaper article gave the date as 1924 (Abbott 1951).

[140] Charter members: James Pigeon, wife Martha and children; John Pigeon, wife Marian and children; Sam Pigeon, wife Eliza and children; Lewis Medawis, local preacher; Alton Church, wife Sarah and children; William Shagonaby, wife Mary and children; Peter Stevens, wife Angeline and children; Peter Seymour, wife Jennie and children; Peter Medawis, wife and children; George Pigeon; Levi Pigeon; Charles Rassett and wife; Alex Chippeway; Henry Medawis (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 278); see also slightly variant list from the handwritten church records: Under Methodist Mission district - Supt - Dr. Puffer Kalamazoo Dis James Pigeon & wife Marthy, John Pigion wife Marion, Sam Pigeon wife Eliza, Lewis Medawis, Alton church wife Sarah, William Shagonoby wife, Peter Stevens & wife, Peter Seamore & wife, Peter Medawis " ", George Pigion " ", Levi Pigion, Charles Roset " wife, Mrs Eliz Steven, Elic Chipawa, Henry Medawis (MBPI Pet. Doc).

> League of 10 members was reported (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 279).

Introduction of non-indigenous pastors at Bradley and Salem, 1929-1948. In the late 1920's, the Methodist Church moved to exercise stronger central supervision over the activities of local churches and enforce higher standards for the formal education of ordained ministers. Beginning in 1929, non-Indian pastors were assigned by the Kalamazoo District of the Michigan Conference to serve the Indian missions at Bradley and Salem. The MBPI petition did not directly address this development or its consequences, saying only that,

> the late 1930's marked a 'leadership change over period' for Salem and Bradley Indians. Both of the Missions, although active, were in need of an avenue for new leadership to emerge without threatening the status quo of the Missions and their existing leadership" (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994, n.p.).

One obvious result of the assignment of non-Indian ministers was a move away from use of the old Ottawa-language and Chippewa-language New Testaments and hymnals, some of which dated back to the days of Leonard Slater's publication of the Ottawa translations in the 1830's (Bernard 1967, 33) and their replacement by the use of English in the missions' church services.

The non-Indian ministers assigned to the Salem mission included Rev. C.A. Lohnes in 1929 and the Reverend Clark H. Phillips from 1930-1934 (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 270). In 1971, Phillips recalled the Church and Stevens families' regular attendance during his ministry (MBPI Pet. Part III, Salem Mission 50th Anniversary Collection).[141] Milford E. Bowen recalled in 1971 that he had served Salem as minister from 1934 to 1937 (MBPI Pet. Part III), Salem being combined with Burnips during 1934-1935 (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 270). During 1934-1935, Bradley again had a local Indian minister in Silas Bush (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 270). From 1935-1936, another non-Indian, A. A. Buege, was assigned to the Bradley mission; it was "to be supplied" in 1937, and in

[141] Other photographs from Salem showed missionary Richard Nies from Zeeland, Michigan, in 1934, and Rev. Earl Prosser in 1937 (MBPI Pet. Part III, Salem Mission 50th Anniversary Collection).

1938-1939 was combined as a charge with the Methodist church in Bradley under the Rev. James Peters (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 270). Salem was served by Earl I. Prosser from 1937-1941 (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 279).

One newspaper article stated that the Bradley Indians held their last official tribal gathering, called a "campout," in 1937 (Thinnes and Christian 1980; MBPI Pet. Doc. 360). This seems to be a misunderstanding of the tradition of large Indian Methodist campmeetings, the last of which held at Bradley apparently occurred in 1937.[142] However, the non-Indian pastorate apparently did not reduce the level of Indian participation in the Bradley and Salem Missions. In 1939, the membership at Bradley was 43, with a Sunday School enrollment of 58 (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 270), and this continued into the 1940's (see below).

Non-church activities. Less documentation is available concerning the non-church activities of the Bradley and Salem settlements in the first half of the 20th century.

Baseball. Michigan Indians began playing baseball in the second half of the 19th century. Research done for the HPI Proposed Finding indicated that the Potawatomi Indians of the Pine Creek Reservation near Athens, Calhoun County, Michigan had a baseball club as early as 1882 (McMillen n.d.; Vicksburg Commercial September 1, 1882, 5), and that members of the Pine Creek community, coming from training at the Haskell Institute, were playing semi-pro baseball both in Michigan and in the west by the 1890's (York 1951).

The MBPI petition indicated that by about 1903, the Indians of the Bradley settlement, under the influence of pitcher Henry "Hank" Sprague, were playing ball. The petition also

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[142] The large Indian Methodist camp meetings at Athens were also scaled down in the 1930's, apparently as a consequence of the denomination's move to exercise stronger supervision over the activities of the Indian churches. At Pine Creek:

> At the adjourned meeting of the quarterly conference held at the Indian campmeeting last Sunday evening, the Indian church voted that hereafter the campmeeting will be a district affair and under the direction of the district superintendent, which will lessen the financial responsibility, heretofore assumed by the Indian church and enlarge the scope of the campmeeting (Indian Campmeeting 1927b).

The scope of the Athens meetings was not enlarged, but greatly reduced.

indicated that he had learned "on the road" with the Nebraska Indians baseball team (Jackson 1989, 11). By 1914, the Bradley settlement's team was apparently well known in the region, as a newspaper article on a different topic opened with the words: "Though everyone who has any knowledge of local history knows of the existence of the Bradley Indians, whose facility for making baskets and playing baseball have given them considerable reputation, . . ." (Beginning of the Bradley Mission 1914, 4).

Under Henry Sprague's direction,[143] the Bradley settlement continued to field a semi-pro team that toured through Michigan and into Canada through the 1930's (Wayland Globe, February 17, 1939) and 1940's, under the names "Martin Indians" and "Michigan Indians." They played teams from cities such as Battle Creek and Grand Rapids (Jackson 1989, 11). Players included both members of the Allegan County Indian settlement, such as Frank Bush, Joe Sprague, and Fred Sprague, and local non-Indians, playing on a very low budget:

> "Our team never made a profit," said Joe Sprague. "If we got our gas, mileage and a good lunch, it was good enough in those days. Of course we didn't have television, and I think there was only one radio in the whole (Bradley) settlement. Baseball was all we knew. . . . To help pay for expenses, the practice of the day was for someone to work the crowd, soliciting donations with which to pay the players. . . . "We usually made our gas money because of Henry Burch [sic], who worked the crowds and got the people in a generous mood" (Jackson 1989, 11).

Former players indicated that Henry Sprague often paid for equipment such as bats and balls from his own pocket (Jackson 1989, 11). Although some local non-Indians played on the Bradley team, one of its draws was that "consisted of Indians." One former player stated that, "We got quite a few invitations to play on that factor alone" (Jackson 1989, 11). World War II disrupted the team, but Bradley continued to field a baseball team for a few years. Play had apparently ended by 1954, when Henry Sprague's brother gave the Allegan County Historical Committee recollections of

[143] A "circa 1965" photograph labeled "Henry Sprague's family plus grandchildren" contained 32 persons (MBPI Pet. Doc. 91).

"the famous Indian baseball team with its fleet runners" (Allegan County Pines 1954). The Indians of Allegan County later turned to fast-pitch softball (see Anthropological Technical Report).

1934-1962.

Introduction. At the end of the 1920's, the Indian population in Allegan County was apparently holding steady. While the actual census records are not open to the public, the statistical summary of 1930 population indicated that the county had a total population of 18,574. After subtracting native-born whites, foreign-born whites, and Negroes, the county population ended up with an "Other Races" remainder of 127 individuals (United States. Bureau of the Census (author) 1932, 1135).

Ending of BIA services. For a variety of reasons, the BIA terminated services to the Indians of Michigan's Lower Peninsula between 1934 and 1940.

Closing of Mount Pleasant, 1934. The practice of having Bradley children attend the upper grades and high school at Mount Pleasant continued until the school was closed, after which they usually attended the local public schools. On February 19, 1934, Congress transferred the Mount Pleasant Indian School to the State of Michigan and required that Indian children be accepted in the state's public schools without discrimination (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 42). From that time onwards, most Bradley and Salem children attended the local high school as well as the local elementary schools, though some left school after completing the eighth grade and a few continued to attend other BIA boarding schools--for instance, the Stevens/Pokagon children attended the BIA vocational high school at Flandreau, South Dakota, as late as 1942.

The Allegan County settlement generally recalls that the integration into the local public schools "worked well."[144]

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[144] **Indian Lad Is Chosen Chief of Student Council.**
Dick Sprague, who last week was honored by being chosen president of the High school Student council is a really true American, being of full-blooded Pottawatomie descent. Dick, 18, is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Adam Sprague, who reside just west of Bradley. Last year Dick was elected president of the Junior Class and All-Sports King. He is a varsity member of

However, the petition also pointed out that as long as Michigan had rural, one-room, schools--until school consolidation in the mid-1960's--the nature of the Bradley and Salem settlements meant that most of the Indian children were in schools where they were often the majority of the school population. This was the case at the Dallas School, District #9 at Salem, and at the Bradley K-8 school (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994 Part IV, n.p.). The petition did not submit documentation concerning these schools, but the narrative indicated that at District #9, Indian parents served as the public school's administrator, hired teachers, purchased materials, kept the books, and reported to the county (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994 Part V, 394).

Impact of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), 1934. The petitioner maintained that in 1934, the Bradley Indians sought to organize under the IRA:

> In 1934 the Indian Reorganization Act was passed. The Shaw-be-coung Band of Pottawatomi, then under the leadership of Selkirk Sprague, and known as the Bradley Indians in U.S. records and documents, organized to take advantage of the provisions of the IRA but before the Tribe could take firm action the Bureau of Indian Affairs under John Collier decided to withhold recognition for lower peninsula of Michigan Indian Tribes in the IRA process (Church to Reckord 10/31/1994, 6; see also MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994, n.p.)

The petition did not cite any documentation for the above statement, and BIA researchers located none. During that time period, Selkirk Sprague served as pastor at the Bradley Indian Mission. In 1934-35, Silas Bush was mentioned as pastor. However, none of the MBPI petition material from 1934 through 1940 referenced a proposed IRA organization there.

Holst Report, 1939. In response to multiple requests for IRA organization from Indian groups all over Michigan, the BIA in 1939 commissioned a study of the situation: John H. Holst, "A Survey of Indian Groups in the State of Michigan 1939." Holst reported that:

Wayland's Basketball, baseball and football teams, and a good student in school (Indian Lad is Chosen ca. 1950).

> The Bradley group consisting of 23 families is scattered over twenty miles of country from Burnips to Shelbyville. Most of them have land. Silas Bush near Middleville bought 80 acres for $750.00 and has plans for a comfortable home. He is building up rapidly. Stevens at Burnips has 85 acres, Church a well-farmed 40 acres, and several others have from one to 40 acres. Some baskets are made in this section,[145] otherwise there are no native crafts (Holst 1939, 14) [footnote added].

Holst indicated that overall, the Potawatomi category, "now reduced to about 450 members, occupies the southwest corner of the State mainly around Bradley, Dowagiac, and Athens . . ." (Holst 1939, 4; MBPI Pet. Doc. 280; Listing of Potawatomi Groups in lower Michigan (Holst 1939, 4). Although Holst had mentioned the 23 families of the "Bradley group" specifically, he did not provide a list of names, nor did he not distinguish among the Pokagons, the HPI, and the MBPI antecedent group when giving the geographical distribution of Potawatomi households, nor did he indicate the county in which each post office address was located.[146]

Based on Holst's 1939 survey, Walter V. Woehlke prepared a memorandum to COIA John Collier recommending withdrawal of BIA activities from Lower Michigan (HPI Pet. 1986, Histori-

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[145] Photograph: "Expert Indian Basket Weaver Buried." Mrs. Alton E. Church, direct descendant of Chief Blackskin, early Grand Rapids Indian chief. Mrs. Church was widely known in Indian communities (Grand Rapids Press 1941, page 3).

Selkirk Sprague and his wife obtained significant supplementary income through basketmaking as late as the 1950's (Abbott 1951; Basket Weaving n.d.; Sprague 1954), as did William Shagonaby (Wood ca1954).

[146] Pottawatomi Groups In Lower Michigan [by households]

Bradley-Shelbyville	16	Moline	1
Burnips	2	Dorr	2
Wayland	2	Hamilton	1
Holland	6	Marne Park	1
Grand Rapids	15	Allegan	3
Dowagiac	15	Buchanan	2
Watervleit	4	Hartford	4
Paw Paw	1	Benton Harbor	1
Athens-Fulton	12	Battle Creek	3
Kalamazoo	3	Jackson	3
Total	76		21

(Holst 1939, 19).

cal Overview, 44). On May 29, 1940, COIA Collier issued a policy limiting further extension of Federal services to Indians in Lower Michigan (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 44-45; HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 17).

A good, if terse, summation of the situation at the end of the 1930's was presented in the WPA Guide, Michigan--A Guide to the Wolverine State, published under the Writers' Program of the W.P.A.:

> BRADLEY, 24 m. [from Grand Rapids] (153 pop.), is a crossroads settlement.
>
> Left from Bradley on County 434 to a junctiion with an earth road, 2 m.; R. to the BRADLEY INDIAN SETTLEMENT, 3.5 m., where 75 Indians of the Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Chippewa tribes have built their community around a church and mission. Many of them have attended Indian schools, and only the older members can speak their native tongue (Works Projects Administration 1941).

Methodist mission activities during the 1940's. During the early 1940's, the pastorates at Bradley and Salem Indian Missions were not combined: rather, each was grouped with other non-Indian local churches.

Participation levels. In 1940, the pastorate at the Bradley Indian Mission was "to be supplied" (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 270). In 1941, the Methodist church established a three-way charge of Bradley (the non-Indian Methodist church in the village), Martin, and the Bradley Indian Mission, served until 1944 by Floyd E. George. In 1945-1946, a combined charge of Martin, Shelbyville, and the Bradley Indian Mission was served by Ray M. Lawrence (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 271). In 1941, Alton H. Zischke was assigned as pastor to Salem. A.R. Wagley served Salem in 1943-

1944,[147] and Leonard Washmuth in 1945-1946 (Reuter and Brunge 1993, 279).[148]

Through this period, the congregations at Bradley and Salem remained active, with the membership consisting almost exclusive of MBPI ancestors. Conference disbursements for 1941 included: Bradley Indian Mission, $100.00; Salem Indian Mission, $100.00 (Minutes of the Michigan Annual Conference of the Methodist Church 1941, 826). The 1941 report for the Bradley Indian Mission showed: F.E. George, Sr., Pastor; 13 on roll; 52 full members reported last year; 52 total full members active; one infant baptism; 1 licensed to preach this year. The congregation included eight children age 4-11; 12 youth age 12-23; ten adults; and four officers and teachers. There was an average attendance of 25; 20 pupils enrolled in week-day schools; and 60 persons enrolled in church school. The church used lesson material not approved by the church board (1941 minutes, Tables No. 1 and No. 2, Kalamazoo District). At the Salem Indian Mission in 1941: E.I. Prosser, pastor; one adult baptism, 35 full members, one received on profession of faith; 35 full members active; 13 members non-resident; average attendance 12 (Minutes of the Michigan Annual Conference of the Methodist Church 1941, Tables No. 1 an No. 2, Kalamazoo District).

By 1944, the level of participation had changed very little. Bradley Indian Mission was to be supplied; the Salem Indian

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[147] An undated large-group photograph submitted with this petition's materials must date to this period, as one of the identified persons included was "Rev. Amos Wagley." Of the 58 individuals in the group, ranging in age from elderly persons to infants, the following names were written (Bradley and Salem families represented in MBPI in boldface type; the remainder primarily HPI families): **Rev. Lewis Church, A.E. Church father of Lewis Church, Elizabeth Sprague, Rev. Adam Sprague**, Rev. Amos Wagley, Enos Welles, Albert Mackety, Samuel Mackety, Rev. Chas. Pamp, **Rose Marks**, Shirley Claus, Thomas Mackety, Geneva Mackety, **Frances Sprague**, Betty Pamp (MBPI Pet. Doc.). A large tent was in the background of the photograph. A smaller photograph of 18 persons, featuring the same tent in the background, had the following names written: **Richard Sprague, Laura Stevens, Ruth Sprague**, J. Pego Buddy, **Frances Sprague**, Elizabeth Pamp, Grace Pamp, Enos Wells, **Gal Sprague, Joe Sprague, Anna Sprague**, Charles Pamp (MBPI Pet. Doc. 43). As the group of girls identified in this second photograph all appeared to be in their mid-teens, a comparison with birth dates also indicated a date in the mid-1940's.

[148] See letter from Leonard John Washmuth, Pastor of Roann Evangelical Methodist Church, Peru, Indiana, to Rev. Lewis Church, September 20, 1956, on occasion of the dedication of the new annex at Salem (MBPI Pet. Doc.)

Mission was served by A. L. Wagley (Minutes of the Michigan Annual Conference of the Methodist Church 1944, 34-35). At Bradley, the outgoing minister, F.E. George, reported 50 members; 40 active and 10 non-resident. Salem Indian Mission reported 17 active members and 15 non-resident members (Minutes of the Michigan Annual Conference of the Methodist Church 1944, Table No. 1, Kalamazoo District).

During the 1940's, in accordance with the broader general program to combine small rural congregations that were economically incapable of supporting a full-time resident pastor, the Methodist Conference attempted to merge the missions at Bradley and Salem. These efforts on the part of the denomination were resisted by the members of the two churches, because (as was the case with many small, rural non-Indian churches) each congregation wished to maintain its own identity and traditions. Because of the local resistance, the merger efforts were unsuccessful (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 280). The petition states that, "in 1947 Adam Sprague asked the Methodists to provide a licensed pastor at Bradley. One who could marry and bury . . . " (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994, n.p.; citing Minutes of the West Michigan Annual conference of the United Methodist Church 36(2), 78).

Impact of World War II. The MBPI petition presented little information pertaining to the World War II period. The narrative stated only that:

> The war effort after 1939 increasingly became the focus for the community. Many of the Bradley-Salem men left home to go to war to defend the U.S. Individuals from every family branch were involved. Fortunately, most of the men came home. Many had been wounded, or maimed in action, both physically and psychologically. The men who did come home brought with them a far different view of the world than the one they had possessed when they left (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994, n.p.)

The post-World War II period.

Post-war population.

Federal census. The statistical summary of the 1950 U.S. Census indicated that there were 131 Indians in Allegan County, Michigan (68 males and 63 females). There was no breakdown by civil subdivision within the county and no indication of tribal affiliation (United States. Bureau of

the Census (author) 1952 Table 47). The MBPI petition narrative stated that these Indians were classified as "Ojibwa and Pottawatomi," citing to: Sol Tax, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago. The North American Indians, 1950 Distributions of Descendants of the Aboriginal Population of Alaska, Canada, and the United States (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994 Part V, 395). No copy of this source was included in the petition exhibits. The BIA researcher was unable to locate the cited work.

The statistal summary of the 1960 census broke down the "characteristics of the population for minor civil divisions" by race only into white, Negro, and other. Overall in Allegan County, there were 200 "other," of whom 57 were in Wayland Township, only 4 were in Salem Township, but 26 were in Monterey Township immediately to the south of Salem (United States. Department of Commerce (author) 1961, Table 25).

Another 1960 breakdown, specifically of the Indian population of Michigan, by counties, indicated for Allegan County, 74 males; 70 females (Distribution of American Indians in Michigan [mimeograph], Section V). (BAR files, 52). This publication provided no data by locality within the county and no way to distinguish between the Bradley/Salem group and Pokagons living in the eastern part of the county.

Other sources of population information. A 1951 article on Selkirk Sprague indicated that "only 54 Pottawatomies" remained at Bradley as a "permanent population." This estimate was provided by Selkirk Sprague's wife Ellen (Abbott 1951).

The 1949/50 Quarterly Conference Roll and Record for the Salem and Bradley Indian Mission indicated that there were 18 adults in the Salem congregation[149] and 13 adults

[149] The following list has been annotated to indicate the family affiliations of each member and their ties to the Bradley and Salem Indian settlements:
Mr. A.E. Church, (non-Indian, widower of Sarah Medawis), trustee, Sunday School superintendent, committee on records and history, committee on policy
Rev. Alfred Marks (Ottawa, widower of Nancy Walker, former lay preacher), trustee
Rev. Sampson Pigeon (former lay preacher, biological father of Rev. Fred Allen Sprague at Bradley), trustee

(excluding the licensed pastor, who is counted in the Salem statistics) in the Bradley congregation,[150] but did not

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Mr. Peter Stevens (son-in-law of Alfred Marks), trustee, finance committee, committee on pastoral relations, committee on nominations, farm and home committee
Rev. Lewis Church (son of A.E. and Sarah (Medawis) Church), pastor, trustee
Mrs. Lewis Church (Ottawa with one Aken/Stevens ancestral line from Bradley), assistant Sunday School superintendent, committee on visitation, music committee, flower committee
Mr. Leonard Church (son of A.E. and Sarah (Medawis) Church), trustee, Sunday School treasurer, committee on nominations
Mrs. Leonard Church (nee Stevens), Asst. Sunday School Supt., Evangelism Committee, finance committee, committee on social life
Mr. George Pigeon [Whitepigeon]
Mrs. Gladys Sands (nee Pigeon), committee on hospitals and homes
Mrs. David Mamagona (nee Stevens), Evangelism Committee, committee on cooperation, committee on good literature
Mr. William Shagonaby, finance committee
Miss Phoebe Stevens, music committee
Mr. Robert Stevens, trustee, committee on pastoral relations
Mr. Lewis Pigeon [Whitepigeon], janitor
Mrs. Lewis Pigeon (nee Pego, Chippewa from Mt. Pleasant), committee on temperance
Mrs. Edmund Pigeon (nee Stevens), finance committee, committee on audit
Miss Marian Medawis (from Athens, MI; niece of the late Sarah (Medawis) Church, Sunday School secretary.

Mrs. Sara (Whitepigeon) Sprague was listed as W.S.C.S. President, but was not included on the membership roll. She was Mrs. Joseph Sprague on the Bradley roll.

[150] All were descendants of Matchebenashshewish's Band. The following list has been annotated to indicate the family ties of the various MBPI ancestors and their connections to the Bradley Indian community:
Rev. Lewis Church, pastor
Rev. Selkirk Sprague (lay preacher), trustee, finance committee, committee on nominations, committee on records and history, committee on policy, parsonage committee, committee on church property, nominating committee
Mrs. Selkirk Sprague (nee Medawis)
Rev. Fred Allen Sprague (lay preacher, adopted son of Rev. Selkirk Sprague, youngest son of Sampson and Eliza (Medawis) Pigeon), trustee, Sunday School superintendent and secretary, membership and evangelism committee, finance committee, committee on pastoral relations, committee on nominations, committee on audit, committee on policy, committee on visitation, committee on temperance, music committee, parsonage committee, committee on good literature, nominating committee
Mrs. Fred Allen Sprague (Ottawa, from northern Michigan)
Mr. Raymond Foster, finance committee, committee on records and history. committee on church property
Mr. Adelbert Mackety (HPI/Bradley)
Mrs. Adelbert Mackety (nee Birch), committee on hospitals and homes
Mr. Henry Sprague, parsonage committee, committee on church property

indicate the number of children in each household. For Salem, the geographical distribution of individual post office addresses was: Dorr, 8; Hopkins, 6; Bradley, 1; Allegan, 1; Mt. Pleasant, 1; Kewadin, 1. For Bradley, the geographical distribution of post office addresses was: Shelbyville, 11; Dorr, 3 (Methodist Church 1949/50; MBPI Pet. Suppl.).

The 1949 Pastor's Report to Annual Conference, Kalamazoo, contained internally inconsistent figures. In one section, it indicated that for the previous year, Bradley had 39 full members and 12 preparatory members (including baptized children) for a total of 51; Salem had 30 full members and six preparatory members for a total of 36. Elsewhere, however, it reported that Bradley had 20 active full members and four inactive; Salem had 17 active full members and 17 inactive. There were three local preachers (Methodist Church 1949; MBPI Pet. Suppl.).

Post-war economic activity. After World War II, economic problems were of serious concern to Michigan's Indians in general. At an April 21, 1951, meeting of the Northern Michigan Ottawa Association at the Urban League Hall in Grand Rapids, at which most of the discussion focused on claims, a letter from the "Indian Service" to Robert Dominic concerning "a proposed survey of employment among Indians" was read (MBPI Pet. Doc. 372). The two attendees who expressed most interest in the issue were both from Bradley:

> After a short discussion on the coming survey of employment conditions among the Indians in lower Michigan, it was moved by Lewis Church and supported by Silas Bush that the Indian Agent, Mr. Kent Fitzgerald, be requested to give the Northern Michigan Ottawa Association a brief report on his findings (NMOA Minutes, April 21, 1951; MBPI Pet. Doc. 372).

Mrs. Henry Sprague (nee Smith)
Rev. Joseph Sprague, membership and evangelism committee, finance committee, committee on pastoral relations, committee on nominations, committee on policy, committee on visitation, nominating committee
Mrs. Joseph Sprague (nee Whitepigeon), membership and evangelism committee, committee on cooperation
Miss Frances Sprague, Sunday School treasurer
Mr. Richard Sprague.

A 1951 newspaper article stated:

> Encompassed on all sides by industrious farmers, the Bradley Indians hold their last outpost here. No longer under Government pensions, they work in nearby shops, or as hired help on neighboring farms. Their living habits still are retained. The "no hunting" signs apply only to whites. In Winter, the skins of rabbits, muskrats, and fox can be seen hanging in the humble dooryards (Abbott 1951).

Another newspaper feature concerning the revival of claims activity stated that, ". . . the Potawatomis make a bare existence at an ancient trade -- basket weaving. For example, Selkirk Sprague and his wife turn out about 100 baskets a year and sell them for about $3 each. Younger members of the tribe leave the settlement to work and help the old folks survive" (Ryan ca1954).[151] The 1950's, however, appear to have been the last period in which basketry provided actual significant economic support for members of the settlement. Although members of the group, such as the Pigeon family of Hopkins, Michigan, have maintained the traditional designs and techniques of the craft into the 1980's (Nagel n.d.), it has come to be regarded less as a job (although Ed Pigeon was happy to accept commissions, including one from Governor Blanchard) and more as an art or a mode of maintaining the group's heritage:

> This summer, Pigeon donated his time to work with young people of the United Methodist Native American Church, teaching them the intricate process from choosing and cutting the right tree for materials, to weaving the finished product. He also performs demonstrations for schools and civic organizations (Nagel n.d.).

In spite of the newspaper articles' focus on traditional lifestyles, after World War II, the older people at Bradley, engaged in traditional activities such as basketry, trapping, fishing, maple sugaring, and fruit tree trimming and pruning in orchards for economic support, were becoming

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[151] This was not a recent development: the D.K. Foster papers from the late 19th and early 20th centuries contained two letters from James Sprague when he was working away and sending money home to his family at Bradley (MBPI Pet.; D.K. Foster Papers 194-196).

the minority (MBPI Pet. 1994 Narr. Part V, 328). The petition notes that:

> After the war the men increasingly left the small farms they had been weaned on and took jobs in the new industries that increasingly become the economic base of Western Michigan. Many left the reservation at Bradley and moved to Grand Rapids. Others moved to Holland, Detroit, or any other large metropolitan area where good jobs could be obtained. The population at Bradley shrunk [sic] periodically and the outline of the community expanded northward to Grand Rapids . . . The core of the Bradley community, while still evident and vital, were few in number (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994, n.p.)

The petition materials did not provide a systematic occupational survey. However, obituaries, etc., indicated that many of the men worked in construction (sometimes together, at the same firm), at General Motors, at Blackmer Pump, and in other industries (MBPI Pet. Docs.).

As with basketry, hunting and fishing were transformed from economic sustenance into avocations for their practitioners during the late 1940's and the 1950's. A 1957 newspaper article on the Bradley Mission indicated that most of the Indians worked in factories or on nearby farms, but there was lots of hunting (Olden Days 1957). The MBPI petition states that the Salem settlement was less profoundly affected than Bradley by the post-war changes, because more of its members found off-farm employment within the county and were able to remain within the residential community (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994, n.p.). However, Salem had its own form of population loss, as several of the young Indian men, such as Robert Pokagon and Lester Whitepigeon, who entered the ministry during this period went to other Indian communities out-of-state (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994, n.p.).[152]

Return to an indigenous ministry. A return to an officially appointed indigenous, locally based ministry for the Indian missions at Bradley and Salem began in 1947, although it would not be completed for another 15 years. In 1947, Lewis

[152] This same phenomenon for the 1940's and early 1950's was noted in the Proposed Finding on HPI, in the cases of Samuel Mackety and Charles and Warren Pamp.

C. White Eagle Church, who had grown up at Salem, son of Alton E. and Sarah (Medawis) Church and grandson of Lewis and Lydia (Sprague) Medawis, was appointed as licensed pastor of the Bradley mission (Daugherty 1983; Reuter and Brunger 1993, 271).[153] Reuter indicated that Church's decision to enter the ministry, in addition to holding a secular job,[154] was greatly influenced by the Reverend Adam Sprague (Reuter 1993, 269). In 1948, the Bradley and Salem missions again became a joint pastorate, with Church appointed to the joint charge (Thinnes and Christian 1980). Church continued as pastor of the Bradley Indian Mission from 1947-1950 (Daugherty 1983; Reuter and Brunger 1993, 280). Then, from 1951-1957, Church served only Salem (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 280), while another Indian member of the Bradley settlement, Fred A. Sprague,[155] became lay pastor at Bradley (see below), although the ordained minister in charge of Bradley in 1958 was a non-Indian, the Reverend James Peters of Wayland, Michigan (Church in the Indian Settlement 1958). Like Lewis Church, Fred Sprague held a full-time lay job, in his case involving a daily commute to Grand Rapids (Abbott 1951; Reuter and Brunger 1993, 272).

During the early 1950's, two other Indian men from Bradley/Salem, Robert Pokagon/Stevens and Joseph Sprague, functioned as unordained "local preachers." In May, 1953, Stevens reported that he had preached 30 sermons and conducted 15 prayer meetings during the previous Conference year (Methodist Church. Report of Local Preacher. May 9, 1953). Lewis Church's reports to the Quarterly Conference in 1953-1954 reported that he alternated the local preachers, either in the evening services or on Sunday mornings (Methodist Church. Quarterly Conference Reports, May 9, 1953; April 18, 1954). In 1955, "Joe" Sprague, described as a Methodist from Hopkins, Michigan, preached at the Indian church at Pine Creek at Easter (Athens Times

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[153] Church had been a lay preacher since the 1930's (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 271). Another newspaper feature indicated that the 1947 appointment was at Salem (Thinnes and Christian 1980), but it appears to have been in error.

[154] He worked as a machinist and shipping employee for 32 years at Rockwell International Corp in Allegan before his retirement (Thinnes and Christian 1980).

[155] He was the youngest son of Sampson and Eliza (Medawis) Pigeon from the Salem settlement. When his mother died at his birth, he was adopted by the Rev. and Mrs. Selkirk Sprague of the Bradley settlement.

April 13, 1955). He was a nephew of Selkirk and Adam Sprague, and by 1990, after having served as pastor at Mount Pleasant, had become the full-time pastor of the Pawating Magedwin Methodist mission in Grand Rapids (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 269, 285), where he was assisted by Cindy Pigeon from the Bradley-Salem settlement (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 288).[156]

From 1958-1961, Lewis Church attended Garrett Theological Seminary in Chicago (by correspondence course and on campus for one month each year) in order to meet the Methodist denomination's educational standards for ordination.[157] He was ordained as an elder in 1962 (Thinnes and Christian 1980; Reuter and Brunger 1993, 272). During his absences, Joe Sprague, Cecil Scott, and C. Earl Champlin served as supply pastors at Salem, as a combined charge with Hopkins and South Monterey (United Methodist Church 1969, 264; Reuter and Brunger 1993, 280).

Methodist mission activity 1950-1962. In addition to Lewis Church, other members of the Bradley settlement had remained active in the Indian missions as lay leaders and lay preachers, even though denominational policy no longer placed them in positions of officially appointed leadership. One of these was Selkirk Sprague, now aged 71, who was featured in a February 5, 1951, article entitled "A Century Has Seen Few Changes: Indian Mission Wanes, Only 54

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[156] Sprague, a native of the Bradley settlement, served in the army for five years, returned to Michigan, married, worked as a machinist, and like Lewis Church obtained formal theological training through a "Native American Pastor's School set up in cooperation with the West Michigan Conference Division on Ministry." His training at Garrett Theological Seminary, which he entered at age 55, was spaced over a three-year period (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 289, 304).

[157] The Bradley and Salem Indians [sic] Missions had by 1950 become an historic part of Michigan Methodism. The institutional church had forgottten [sic] how the Indians came to be attached to them and began to exert pressure on the Missions to conform to the standards of the mother Church and of the structure of the Methodist hierarchy.

Increasingly, pressure was exerted on the Indian leaders to seek training and degrees and to change the rituals and service structure of the Missions . . . None of the pastors wore robes then, or generally got paid more than a few hundred dollars for the total year for their labor . . . (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994, n.p.).

Pottawatomies Remain at Bradley" in the Grand Rapids Press (Abbott 1951; MBPI Pet. Doc. 325). Selkirk Sprague had apparently continued as a lay preacher throughout the 1930's and 1940's. A 1954 newspaper article indicated that "for a number of years he has been the preacher at the Indian mission near Bradley" (Shinville 1954), although, in fact, since 1950,[158] that post had been held by his 36-year-old adopted son,[159] Fred Allen Sprague, who continued to serve as a lay pastor at Bradley until 1972 (United Methodist Church 1969, 280). In 1951, the situation was described as: "Each Sunday afternoon he opens the lonely little church and preaches to his handful of parishioners. He finds his church crowded only when a funeral brings the Indian relatives back to the reservation" (Abbott 1951).

Another Grand Rapids Press newspaper article was apparently from 1958 (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994 Part V, 318). It stated:

> One of the landmarks of this locality is the church in the Indian settlement, near Selkirk lake, several miles east of here. This church, which replaced a former one, was dedicated in 1914. The pastor is the Rev. James Peters, Wayland. Members of 10 families of Indians are regular attendants in this church.
>
> The "Bradley Indians," as they have been known for many years, are descendants of the members of the Griswold Episcopalian mission . . . (Church in the Indian Settlement 1958; MBPI Pet. Doc. 318).

Bradley Mission activities 1950-1962. The MBPI petition narrative stated that, "as the population of Tribe [sic] spread outward from Bradley, south to Kalamazoo, north to Grand Rapids, west to Hamilton, and east to Hastings, the membership of the Missions also fluctuated" (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994, n.p.). In 1950, the Bradley membership was 20 and there were 23 in the Sunday School (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 272). An article entitled "Olden Days of Bradley Mission Exciting," published in the Wayland Globe on May 2, 1957, had a photograph captioned "The Indian Mission Methodist Church East of Bradley" showing the building with no

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[158] Reuter gave the beginning date of his service as 1952, but the official records of the denomination indicated 1950.

[159] Reuter is in error in describing him as Selkirk Sprague's stepson (Reuter 1993, 272).

annexes, as well as a photograph entitled "Rev. Allen Fred Sprague pastor of the Bradley Indian church and his family." It described the Bradley mission as follows:

> Bradley: Two miles east of this US-131 village stands a faded and lonely white frame church.
>
> Far down toward the end of two sandy wheels tracks, the church is not the stopping spot for passing tourists. Instead, it caters to a select group of parishioners, remnants of the once-proud Pottawatamie and Ottawa Indians who years ago owned this land.
>
> Here each Sunday afternoon, with one of their own numbers in the pulpit, a handful of these Indian folk gather for their weekly church service in the little Methodist Chapel that is known as the Selkirk Mission Church (MBPI Pet. Doc.).

The article mentioned that the church building at Bradley was still in use for weekly services by descendants of the Potawatomi and Ottawa Indians for weekly services. It indicated that Allen Fred Sprague, son of Selkirk Sprague, was local pastor, that he worked full-time in Grand Rapids; and that he and his wife Leona, an Ottawa Indian from Northport, also made baskets. The church had an attendance of about 12 on Sunday, but "the lonely church fills when funerals bring the families together. Though scattered across the state, most of the original families still bury their dead in the little cemetery near the Bradley church" (Olden Days 1957).

The following year, 1958, the Grand Rapids Press published an article titled "Where Bradley Indians Worship," accompanied by a photograph labeled, "Church in the Indian Settlement near Selkirk Lake." It stated:

> This church, which replaced a former one, was dedicated in 1914. The pastor is the Rev. James Peters, Wayland. Members of 10 families of Indians are regular attendants in this church. The 'Bradley Indians,' as they have been known for many years, are descendants of the members of the Griswold Episcopalian mission . . . The Bradley Indians are well known in Southwest Michigan for their skill in making baskets and other articles of native craft . . . . (Where Bradley Indians Worship 1958).

Salem Mission activities 1950-1962. During the 1950's, attendance at Salem varied between 17 and 30, but Sunday School attendance averaged 28 (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 280). An undated full listing of the Salem church officers and committee heads, which from internal evidence must belong to the early 1950's, indicated widespread participation within the congregation.[160] During the mid-1950's, the Salem congregation also undertook expansion plans. On Mothers' Day 1954, it initiated a fund which paid for the first addition to the mission building; the consecration service was held September 21, 1954 (Reuter and

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[160] The following list indicates that the majority of today's MBPI family lines who resided in the Salem area were actively participating in church activities. Of the church officers, the only non-Indian was A.E. Church, widower of Sarah Medawis.

SALEM INDIAN MISSION, BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

A.E. CHURCH	
ALFERD MARKS	
SAMPSON PIGEON	
PETER STEVENS	BOARD OF TRUSTEE
LEWIS CHURCH	
LEONARD CHURCH	
ROBERT STEVENS	

STEWARDS AND OTHERS OFFICERS.

Mrs, Sarah Sprague.	Pres. W.S.C.S.
Mrs ,Leonard Church	Communion steward.
Mr. Lewis Pigeon	Steward.
Mr. Leonard Church	Church Treasurer. & Sect'y.
Miss Marian Medawis	Sunday School Treasurer.
Mrs Lewis Church	" " Sect'y.
Mrs " "	Treas, Benevolences.
Miss Phebe Stevens	Music.
Mrs Lewis Church	Assistent.
Mr. A.E. Church	Flowers.
Mrs Lewis Church	Sunday School Supt.
Mr John Brink	Assistent.
Mrs Lewis Pigeon	Adult S.S. Class.
Peter Stevens	Children's " .
William Shagonaby	Finance
Mrs Leonard Church	
Mrs Jennie Pigeon	
Mr Peter Stevens	Pastoral Relations
Mr Robert Stevens	
Mrs Leonard Church	Membership & Evangelism.
Miss Phoebe Stevens	
Mrs Jennie Pigeon	Audit
Mr.A.E. Church	Committee On Records & History.
Mrs. Lewis Pigeon	Committee on Temperance.

Brunger 1993, 281).[161] The Salem congregation apparently at this time initiated other fund-raising activities, for the petition contained newspaper photographs, dated 1955, of the "second annual" Indian pageant of the "Salem Indian mission, three miles south and one mile east of Burnips."[162] The pageant, an outdoor event, was directed by Joseph Sprague, assistant pastor of the mission (MBPI Pet. Doc.). The fund-raising activities succeeded, for the new church annex at Salem was formally dedicated September 23, 1956, with a homecoming.[163] There was still additional work to be done: a Methodist church official, sending regrets to the dedication invitation, mentioned the need for a new furnace in his letter and contributed some money toward that next project (Miles to Church 9/30/56, BAR files).

The petition documentation included a copy of a scrapbook of photos of activities at Salem Mission from the 1950's through the 1970's. Generally, these showed the choir, the Sunday School, and various activities held in the fellowship hall. The Sunday School, preparatory class, and choir photographs, with the individuals identified, indicated that all attendees were members of the Indian community, as was the choir director. Members of the Sprague, Church, Medawis, and Pigeon families were included (MBPI Pet. Part III, Salem Mission 50th Anniversary Collection).

Organization of the Indian Workers' Conference for the United Methodist Church in Michigan.[164] The Indian Workers' Conference for the United Methodist Church in

[161] Consecration services are held when an area begins to be used for ecclesiastical purposes; for example, rented premises may be consecrated. The dedication is held when any mortgage has been paid off and the congregation owns the property free and clear.

[162] Participants shown in the photographs were: Pamela Lowry, Lewis Pigeon, George Sprague, Andrew Pigeon, Betty Church, Helen Pigeon, Arthur Pigeon, Mary Pigeon, Alberta Sprague, Robert Stevens, Mrs. Jennie Pigeon and son Norman, Lucy Stevens, Linne Kay Church, Mrs. Mary Church, Miss Phoebe Stevens, Mrs. Gladys Sands.

[163] A photograph in the petition documents showed Robert Pokagon, Rev. Amos Kahgee, Sam Pigeon, Rev. Lewis Church, and Fred Sprague (MBPI Pet. Doc).

[164] United Methodist Church. By 1990, this consisted of ten congregations: Greensky Hill [Green Sky, near Charlevoix], Kewadin, Northport, Bradley, Salem, Pawating Megidwin [Grand Rapids], Mt. Pleasant, Oscoda, Zeba, and Saganing (Michigan Christian Advocate, June 11, 1990).

Michigan organized in October 1954. From then through 1988, the leaders of the ten churches met each fall and spring to correlate the work; since then met once a year in May (as of 1989). Its function was described as:

> The Workers' Conference promotes communication and unity and authorizes programs for the Indian churches in Michigan. The conference Boards of Global Ministries have given the Indian Workers' Conference the right to self-determination in its budget and use of all undesignated Indian Advance Special money (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 8-9).

A "Conference Indian Work" budget dated 3/31/91 submitted with the petition documentation indicated that Bradley had a balance of $4,511.14 and Salem had a balance of $676.39 with the Advance Specials (MBPI Pet. Doc.). From shortly after its founding until 1992, the Indian Workers' Conference was headed by the Reverend Lewis Church of the Bradley/Salem missions.

Revival of claims activity in the 1950's. The Indian Claims Commission (ICC) Act was passed in 1946. Reflecting the dual nature of the Bradley settlement's history, during the renewed claims activity that ensued, beginning in 1950, the Allegan County Indians cooperated both with other Potawatomi claims groups in Michigan[165] and to a lesser extent with the Northern Michigan Ottawa Association.[166] The "Ottawa and

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[165] "Albert Mackety (Now-qua-um) is the committeeman for the Huron Pottawatomies to which the local band, or their descendants, originally belonged, along with those located at Bradley, Salem, and Mount Pleasant. Was in Mt. Pleasant Friday and Saturday to register the Pottawatomies of that area for the anticipated payment under the terms of the 1846 treaty between the government and the Pottawatomies" (Athens Times, February 17, 1954). Albert Mackety wrote to Jacob Sprague, June 24, 1954, concerning intervention under the 1846 Potawatomi treaty (MBPI Pet. Doc. 201); attorney James M. Berry wrote to Jacob Sprague concerning the history of the Match-e-be-nash [sic] band (MBPI Pet. Doc. 202); Albert Mackety wrote to Jacob Sprague relaying a letter from Walter H. Maloney and James N. Beery, attorneys, November 5, 1954 (MBPI Pet. Doc. 203; see also Engle 1953).

[166] The Northern Michigan Ottawa Association was headquartered in Petoskey, Michigan, and had been organized in 1947/1948. Eligibility for various categories of membership was tied to the Durant Roll.

On October 23, 1950, Robert Dominic appointed the Reverend Lewis Church as an "Assistant Councillor" of the Northern Michigan Ottawa Association, Unincorporated, term to end the first Saturday of June, 1951 (MBPI Pet. Doc. 372). The petition indicated that Silas Bush was elected

Allegan County Ottawa Indian Association" organized on May 27, 1950, to elect a delegate to the June 3, 1950, council meeting in Petoskey, Michigan (MBPI Pet. Doc. 372),[167] but the efforts of the Allegan County Indians to participate in the Ottawa claims efforts were largely unsuccessful, in part because the Ottawa thought that they were Potawatomi and in part because most Allegan County Indians did not meet the standard of 1/4 Grand River Ottawa blood quantum (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994, n.p.; see MBPI Pet. Doc. 375).[168]

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to be liaison from the Allegan County Indians to the Northern Michigan Ottawa Association meetings during the ICC period (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994 Part 5, 342). MBPI Pet. Doc. 342 showed a photograph of Silas Bush in Indian headdress, dated March 19, 1959, Washington, DC, Grand Tribal Council Meeting, but contained no indication of what it was about.

[167] Names mentioned in the minutes of the meeting, held at Monterey town hall, included William Shagonaby, chairman pro tem; Lewis Church, Sam Pigeon, Joshua Shagonaby, Elizabeth Pigeon, Gladys Church, Silas Bush, Josephine Shagonaby, Leonard Church. The officers elected were temporary, until another meeting scheduled for June 10; a collection of $8.70 was taken to underwrite the delegate's expenses (Minutes May 27, 1950; MBPI Pet. Doc. 372). The minutes of the June 10, 1950, meeting named the following persons as nominees for office: Lewis Church (elected chairman), Gladys Church, Chester Shashaguay (elected delegate), William Shagonaby (elected vice chairman), Paul Jackson, Sam Pigeon (elected sub-delegate), Frances Sprague, Gladys Pigeon (elected refreshment committee), Eliza Mackety (elected secretary), Elizabeth Pigeon, Elizabeth Sprague, Leonard Church (elected treasurer), and Joe Sprague (MBPI Pet. Doc. 372).

The "3rd meeting" on July 15 [no year, presumably 1950] mentioned Alton Church, John D. Shagonaby, and Leonard Church (MBPI Pet. Doc. 372). The "4th meeting" was held August 19 [no year] at the county park, Dumont Lake, for a picnic supper after a "little confusion on time and place." This meeting had "good fellowship" but "no business meeting", with J.D. Shagonaby, Lewis Church, and Pat Sha[illegible] the only named participants (MBPI Pet. Doc. 372). Minutes of the "5th Meeting", September 11 [no year], described it as a "regular meeting" held in Monterey Hall, of Grand River Band No. 3. Participants included Lewis Church, Chester Shashaguay, Elizabeth Sprague, Rose Sprague, Bill Shagonaby (MBPI Pet. Doc. 372).

None of the above meetings nor a subsequent one held March 17, 1951, had a list of attendees. Names mentioned in the March 17, 1951, minutes were Joe Sprague, Lewis Church, and Chester Shashaguay. At that time, the group had $25.50 on hand (MBPI Pet. Doc. 372).

[168] July 18, 1977. Grand River Band of Ottawa Indians in Docket 40-K, ICC, awarded additional payment for 1,140,740 acres of land in Southeastern Michigan that they had ceded to the United States under the Treaty of August 29, 1821. On March 27, 1968, the Indian Claims Commission entered a final amount of $932,620.01 on their behalf for settlement of the claim . . . Act of October 18, 1976 (P.L. 94-540) provides

Potawatomi claims went through several stages. In the first to be decided, the ICC determined that only the western Potawatomi who had been removed (Prairie Band and Citizen Band) were entitled under the 1846 treaty, but this did not put an end to the intergroup Potawatomi claims activities in Michigan, which continued throughout the early 1960's (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 48). Isaac Shagonaby[169] of the Allegan County group, chairman of the committee, initiated box socials in the Athens, Bradley, and Holland Potawatomi Communities to send three delegates to Washington, D.C. to have attorney Walter H. Maloney removed as legal counsel in the prosecution of land settlement claims (HPI Pet., Historical Overview 1986, 48). Copies of meeting notices from 1961, 1962, and 1963 were located by the BIA researcher at the HPI tribal office during research for the HPI petition. These meetings were held in Allegan County and Ann Arbor (HPI Tribal Office).

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for distribution. Eligibility requirements: (were born on or prior to and were living on Oct. 18, 1976; name or the name of a lineal ancestor from whom they claim eligibility as a Grand River Ottawa on the Ottawa and Chippewa Tribe of Michigan, Durant Roll of 1908; February 19, 1910, or on any available census rolls or other records acceptable to the Secretary of the Interior; possess Grand River Ottawa Indian blood of the degree of one/fourth or more; are citizens of the United States).

[169] Undated, unidentified obituary:

Indian Tribal Leader Based at Holland.

Holland--Services will be at 1:30 p.m. Wednesday at Dykstra funeral Home's downtown chapel for Isaac Shagonaby, for 50 years a leader in the Potowatomi Indian tribe.

Shagonaby, 78, of Holland, died early Sunday after being ill with flu several months.

He was a former co-chairman of Potowatomi Indian Affairs, but resigned a few years ago because of poor health. He also had been active in helping Potowtomi Indians living in Michigan fight for money due them from the federal government for land ceded through treaties with the U.S.

A Navy veteran of World War I, he had been active in the American Legion.

Surviving is his wife, Josephine (MBPI Pet. Doc.).

See also Abstract of Entries at United States Land Office in Michigan, 1870-75, provided by Isaac Shagonaby to Reverend Lewis Church (MBPI Pet. Doc. 257).

One result of the revived claims activity at Bradley was the founding of a claims organization. On September 6, 1954, under the headline, "Potawatomis Get 1st Chief In 50 Years," the Grand Rapids Press reported the election of Jacob Sprague of Bradley, Michigan, as its head. The article described Sprague as the first "chief of the 400 to 500 people who claim Potawatomi blood" since Shawbequoung died. It noted that the "tribal council" had been held at the Methodist Indian Mission Church in Bradley the previous Saturday:

> The council opened with a chant and prayer, but from there on the Indians abandoned ceremony for parliamentary law, electing a full slate of officers to press their claims for payment lands [sic] acquired by the federal government and never fully paid for (Potawatomis Get 1st Chief 1954).

The article stated that, "In order to obtain a settlement from the government, the Indians had to organize, appoint leaders, and prove relationship to members of the band of Matchezenashize [sic], the Potawatomi chief who negotiated the last treaty between the tribe and the government" (Potawatomis Get 1st Chief 1954). Besides Jacob Sprague, the other officers elected were: Albert Mackety, secretary; Frederick Sprague, assistant secretary; Selkirk Sprague, treasurer; and Adam Fox, Joe Sprague, Herman Sprague, and Raymond ["Jack"] Foster, councilmen (Potawatomis Get 1st Chief 1954; also Ryan ca. 1954). The petition indicated that Joshua Shagonaby was also active (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994, n.p.).

On November 7, 1954, the Kalamazoo Gazette ran a feature story indicating "the belief by the Potawatomi Indians living near Bradley that they have an unpaid claim to an 80 acre section of the city" (Kalamazoo Gazette. November 7, 1954), which was followed by a longer retrospective article on December 14. The article indicated that at that time, the Bradley Indians believed the D.K. Foster papers (now submitted by the petitioner as part of the documentation for this petition) had been thrown out (Claim Big Chunk of Kalamazoo 1954; MBPI Pet. Doc. 382). Based on internal evidence, an undated feature article, "Bradley Indians Holding Pow-Wow: Potawatomis Claim Eighty Acres of Downtown Kalamazoo," must also have been published in the autumn of 1954 (Ryan ca1954). It described the group as "a small band of Potawatomi Indians, living near Bradley, Mich." and as, "the Bradley group, about eight families living in near

poverty, are descendants of the last great Potawatomi chief, Shaw-be-coung" (Ryan ca1954). Some of this publicity appears to have been orchestrated by Alexis A. Praus, Director, Kalamazoo Public Museum, in cooperation with Jacob Sprague (MBPI Pet. Docs. 204-206, 208).

The separate claims organization established by the Allegan County settlements caused some controversy with the Pokagon Potawatomi and Huron Potawatomi claims leaders.[170] On July 26, 1955, Michael B. Williams, of the Pokagons, wrote to Walter H. Maloney, attorney in the claims case:

> One befuddling fact has appeared among our people recently to tantalize the minds of a considerable number of them. I remember distinctly the counsel you gave the Potawatomis present at Athens, Michigan, June 28th, 1954, and I do not recall your advising the Bradley-Plainwell people to organize another and new group of Potawatomis, nor directing them to conduct a census of all Potawatomis. I understand that some of the people of our own group that "Chief" Jacob Sprague has contacted are subscribing to his roll. This of itself will not cause irreparable harm. . . did you direct Sprague, et al, to enroll such a census? . . . (Pokagon Petition, Correspondence, 022).

Nearly a year later, Williams wrote to four other members of the Pokagon group, In re: Trip to Chief Sprague, Shelbyville, saying: ". . . I have no word from Albert Mackety, who indicated in his last letter that he would get in touch with Jacob Sprague. The unwholesome quirk to this situation is that the Spragues and Fosters have been since long ago registered with the Huron group. Whatever may be the misunderstanding we will see eventually" (Michael B. Williams to John R. Winchester, R.C. Mix, John Topash, and

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[170] See the undated protest from Jacob Sprague as head of the Allegan County group to the claims lawyer, objecting to being represented by Mr. Williams: "You will find that Match-E be nash she wish control all Potawatomis from Detroit to Chicago at one time not Pokagon as Mr Williams is trying to make you believe . . . We trust the words that was handed down to us by the successor of Chiefs down to us now" (MBPI Pet. Doc. 198-200).

Sprague's correspondence on claims issues continued through 1955-1957 (MBPI Pet. Docs. 209-213).

John Wesaw. September 1, 1956. Pokagon Petition, Correspondence, 121).

In 1959, the courts ruled that Potawatomi Indians were to be paid separately from Grand River Ottawa in ICC proceedings, and in 1960 the Allegan County began to organize a claim for compensation for the three-mile square Kalamazoo reservation land to be introduced to the ICC. However, Jacob Sprague died in 1962 and the land claims were not pursued separately from those of HPI and the Pokagons. According to historian Everett Claspy:

> A May 13, 1963 *Dowagiac Daily News* clipping mentions that a Dan Shagonaby of Holland and a Jack Foster had gone to Washington with Mr. Williams. This indicates a wise effort of the local group to strengthen its position. Foster is from the small Bradley group which did not even have a chief from 1902 to 1954 but at times shared a Methodist minister with Athens.[171] A sister of Julia Pokagon married a Shagonaby and only recently died at Allegan. Many others from the Rush Lake area no doubt settled around Burnips and intermarried with the Ottawas. With the latter establishing one of their ten branches in Hopkins in Allegan County, the Potawatomi will have to be on the alert not to lose out in this area (Claspy 1966, 31-32) [footnote added].

Basically, from the early 1960's through the 1978 ICC Potawatomi award, the Allegan County Indians were a part of HPI for the purpose of pursuing Potawatomi claims because both groups had been listed on the Taggart Roll (see HPI Proposed Finding for a detailed discussion of the events).

Non-church, non-claims events and activities 1950-1962.

Public service talks. Henry Birch, who had both MBPI and HPI ancestry, and who at various times in his life had lived at both Athens and Bradley, was residing at Bradley in the post-World War II period. In 1954, he recalled a speech that he had given at some prior date to the Otsego Gun Club and indicated that he had given several such addresses to local groups:

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[171] Both of the statements in this sentence were incorrect.

> They says, "We got a Gun Club here going to plant trees, going to do all this and that, and make it just as good as it was years ago."
>
> "I see." I told them, "Gentlemens, you can't do it. You can't make it look like that any more, because it's all fixed up already -- spoiled. Nowadays you got a big factory here, and you pour anything poison, in it, all from the paper mills, you pour in there. The fish don't like that. Used to be some sturgeon up through here. I guess used to land them up here to the big dam. I used to camp there years ago, but since that time, the paper mills got started and they pour everything in there, and it drives the fish away. Carp, of course, was more of a hog, he don't expect nothing, they'll eat most anything, but that's all I can get." . . . . That's what I told them. I told them quite a lot, 'cause I was over there quite a while. In them days I was in practice with this kind of talk, and I used to do it. Now I kind of quit it, ... Maybe some other time, I'll be in better shape to talk. I'm speaking out of my language anyhow, so I'm trying my best so you can understand me. But otherwise, when I was in practice, I been all over, I been up to the school house up here, high school, I guess, around Otsego. I was in Plainwell too (Birch 1954, [2-3]).

On January 6, 1954, both Selkirk Sprague (who was on the schedule) and Henry Birch (who claimed that he had been brought along by accident) gave talks to the Allegan County Historical Committee (MBPI Pet. Part III, typescript; also BAR files). Sprague discussed the early history of the band; 19th-century removal efforts; traditional hunting, fishing, and foods; basket making; temperance; and claims activity. Birch also discussed the band's early history, disagreeing in part with Sprague (MBPI Pet. Part III, typescript).

Associated with Selkirk Sprague's address to the Allegan County Historical Committee was an article in the Plainwell Enterprise which referred to his recollections of other aspects of the past: "Salvation Days" at Gull Lake, camp meetings near Selkirk Lake and Hamilton which were attended by Indians from Canada and all parts of Michigan, and "the famous Indian baseball team with its fleet runners" (Allegan County Pines 1954).

Hunting rights case. A case concerning the meaning of reserved treaty hunting rights focused upon a member of the Bradley settlement continued from 1955 through 1970. Colonel Willard Bush's case first was taken before Justice Ben Coboch on March 26, 1955, after Bush was arrested on a no-license hunting charge while hunting in Leighton township, Allegan county, near his home. Bush had the owner's permission to hunt on the land, he said (Wayland Indian 1957).

An unidentified newspaper article, hand-dated February 14, 1957, showed Silas Bush and his son Colonel Willard Bush, both of Route 1, Wayland, Michigan. It stated that, "the father is councilman for the Huron-Pottawatomie band in Michigan". and continued discussion of the court case concerning fishing rights under treaties.[172] The opinion handed down by Circuit Judge Raymond L. Smith on February 5, 1957, had upheld a $10.00 justice court fine of Colonel W. Bush, a descendant of Pottawatomie Indians, on a charge of hunting without a license. The article indicated that the case might be carried to the state supreme court and perhaps to the United States Supreme Court (Wayland Indian 1957).

Hillman's history of the Michigan Commission on Indian Affairs indicated that on May 6, 1957, [unnamed] Wakefield, Bob and Waunetta Dominic,[173] and Joseph Kishego met in Grand Rapids to discuss the Silas Bush problem (a Potawatomi Indian citing Indian treaties allowing him to fish without a State fishing license) (Hillman 1981, 19). The petition contained no further information prior to the date of November 16, 1970 (see below).

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[172] The argument centered around interpretation under the treaty of 1795, the 1807 treaty with the Ottawas, and the 1832 treaty with the Potawatomi. "Prosecutor Dwight Cheever has agreed fishing and hunting rights were extended the Indians, but cited the phrase 'so long as they (the lands) remain the property of the United States" (Wayland Indian 1957).

[173] Robert Dominic (1913-1976), president of the Northern Michigan Ottawa Association for 27 years; NMOA organized for the purposes of prosecuting claims against the U.S. Government under the treaties of 1821 (Grant River Band of Ottawas) and 1836 (Ottawa-Chippewa Tribes of Michigan).

1962-1986

Population. In 1970, as in 1960, the published summary of Federal census statistics provided a breakdown for Allegan County, Michigan, civil subdivisions only into the categories of white, Negro, and other. There was no basis for distinguishing members of the petitioning group from Indians of other tribes or from Asians, for example. Monterey Township contained 34 "other," Salem Township contained 44 "other," and Wayland Township contained 31 "other." These represented only a small minority of the 676 total "other" in Allegan County in 1970 (United States. Bureau of the Census (author) 1973, 24-161).

According to the petition narrative, during the 1970's and 1980's, the Indians in Allegan County achieved a 100% high school graduation rate for their youth, and several went on to college and to obtain professional degrees. While some of these young professionals were able to find appropriate employment within the county, others relocated to find work (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994, n.p.), which resulted in a continued population drain on the core settlements.

In 1980, the Reverend Lewis Church estimated that there were "about a dozen Indian families, descendants of the Hastings Point[174] bands, still living in the vicinity" (Thinnes and Christian 1980). No statistics were available from the 1980 Federal population census.

The Indian mission churches at Bradley and Salem. In 1962, Lewis Church completed his theological training and was ordained as an Elder of the Methodist Church (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 280). He returned to the Salem Indian Mission as pastor at that time, taking a combined charge with Bradley in 1972. He continued as pastor of both Indian mission churches until 1988, when he formally retired, and in effect through 1990, when a non-Indian replacement was located.[175] In addition, during this period, both he and Joseph Sprague cooperated in the establishment of a

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[174] Hastings Point was a peninsula that jutted out into Gun Lake (Armstrong and Pahl 1985, 55).

[175] See the Genealogical Technical Report for detailed information concerning the re-establishment of a secular administration by the group in the early 1990's when faced with consequences of the end of the indigenous ministry.

Methodist Indian mission in Grand Rapids. About 1982, a local newspaper published an article about both missions, entitled, "Ottawa, Potawatomi Indians Unite Weekly for Church in Old Hometown" (Daugherty 1983; MBPI Pet. Part IV). She described the routine of Lewis Church as a rural minister with two parishes: "Church's Sundays are busy, as he leads services at the Salem mission, in Salem Township, at 10 a.m., and at the Bradley mission, in Wayland Township, at 11:30 a.m., and added:

> His services at the Bradley Indian Mission, located on 128th Avenue, east of Bradley and west of 64th Street, and at the Salem mission, on 28th Street across from the Sandy Pines Recreation Area, are open to anyone, but are attended chiefly by Indians, said Church. "They feel at home among their own people," he stated.
>
> Many are drawn by family ties, as most of the Ottawa and Potawatomi Indians in the area are related. Because of these ties, the Indians' gatherings are family-oriented; however, their intertwining family relationships often force them to marry outside the tribe, Church indicated.
>
> The growth of both churches is mingled with the history of the Native Americans who have occupied the area since the early 1800's. . . ." (Daugherty 1983).

Activities at Bradley. According to the published history of Methodist Indian missions in Michigan, "Rev. Lewis Church tells us there was a ten-year period when the Bradley Church was closed because the insurance company would not cover the building" (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 272). The authors added that, "during these lean years no statistics are found in the conference minutes" (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 272).

From the documentation submitted, it was not possible to verify a ten-year closure.[176] If the Bradley mission was closed at all, it must have been in the mid-1960's. In 1965, the Bradley Indian Mission was listed in the Conference Report, but no budget was indicated for it (Methodist Church 1965, Table; MBPI Pet. Doc. 356). However, it was still open in 1958 (see above), and in 1969, A. Fred Sprague was listed as pastor at the Bradley Indian

[176] Additional documentation should be available either from official church records or from local newspapers.

Mission, Grand Rapids District (United Methodist Church 1969, 76). The "Pastoral Record" section for the Methodist Church in 1969 included both Lewis Church (United Methodist Church 1969, 264) and Fred Sprague (United Methodist Church 1969, 280).

The Bradley mission was functioning again by the early 1970's, for "in 1971, three churches had a work bee to rebuild the house of Fred Sprague, pastor at Bradley Mission, using $1200 of Michigan conference funds" (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 272). In 1972, after a "20-year-break" [sic] from 1949, Lewis Church again became pastor at Bradley (Daugherty 1983). From then until 1990, "the average worship attendance was 23 with the attendance increasing to 36 in the late 1980's," and there was Sunday school for children, youth, and adults (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 272).

The Bradley Indian Cemetery continued to be used throughout this period. It is located about 1/2 mile from the church. "A cemetery association with an elected board of directors wrote by-laws governing the use of the cemetery and social activities are held to raise funds for maintenance" (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 274; citing Pamela J. Dobson, ed., The Tree That Never Dies (Grand Rapids, MI: Grand Rapids Library, 1978).[177]

In 1979, the Bradley church roof was caved in and the walls bowed outward by a storm. If the church were to continue in use, the congregation needed to rebuild. The 18 members (Thinnes and Christian 1980) responded to this emergency. The old sanctuary was repaired and they also added a meeting room/kitchen annex, which was consecrated in 1980 (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 267), at a cost of $46,000. A local paper reported that, "Thanks to the generosity of United Methodist congregations around Michigan and to passing the collection plate among themselves, the mission's debt is down to

[177] "Because we have suffered the loss of some grave markers we keep a low profile for the Cemetery. In only a very few exceptions has anyone but our Tribe been buried there. The original radio Tonto rests here with our approval. One Huron Band Activist and Traditional Ways believer who was refused burial by the Huron Band reposes in our Cemetery" (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994 Part III, n.p.).

"At one point [during the merger] the Nottawaseppi-Huron Band had attempted to claim jurisdiction over the Bradley Mission grave yard as their Tribal domain and to made [sic] the decision to allow the bones of an unknown Ottawa to be buried there. The Bradley Community stood firm" but a legal process ended with the burial being made there under HPI auspices (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994 Part IV, n.p.; Legal Battle Brews 1993).

$9,000" (Thinnes and Christian 1980). The addition allowed the congregation to serve dinners and also housed Sunday School classes (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 273). The new addition was dedicated in 1984 (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 267).

The building program at Bradley required significant fund-raising during the 1980's. There were money-makers at the Bradley Mission, spring and fall, throughout this period. In the fall,

> the entire community and surrounding villages expect the Indian corn soup and frybread, chili, and venison stew in the fall. Bea Kelley's frybread is hard to beat. Grace Peters and Anna May Chlebana along with Wanetia Jackson prepare and serve up those tantalizing soups (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 273; citing Dawn Kemp, "Indian Soup, Fry Bread Served at Traditional Bradley Mission Supper," Penassee Globe 1987).

By about 1988, a local paper estimated 25 parishioners in the Bradley Indian Mission (Kemp 1988).

Activities at Salem. The Salem Indian Mission was in continuous operation during this period. Average Salem attendance at worship in the 1960's was 20; in the 1970's, it rose to 40 (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 280). An Easter Seals advertisement from about 1966 (Doing for Others ca. 1966; MBPI Response, Doc. 111) described Lewis and Elizabeth Pigeon as "among some eight American Indian families dwelling within about a 2-square-miles area southeast of Burnips." It mentioned the mission church, saying that of some 21 adult members, two were white; it also indicated that the mission members had cooperated to raise part of the costs for medical treatment for Mr. Pigeon (Doing for Others ca. 1966; MBPI Response, Doc. 111).

On October 10, 1971, there was an Open House to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Salem Indian Mission: Pastor, Rev. Lewis White Eagle Church; Secretary, Mrs. Viola Shagonaby. The petition exhibits included numerous photos of the event, including potlucks, out-of-town visitors who had grown up in the church, children singing, cooks in the kitchen, visiting ministers, letters of regrets and acceptance to Mrs. Viola Shagonaby of Grand Rapids, Secretary, special services, group pictures, cooks, etc. (MBPI Pet. Part III, Salem Mission 50th Anniversary Collection).

The following year, 1972, the Salem Indian Mission took out a loan of $469.62, beginning July 22, 1972; paid Nov. 23, 1973, from the Hopkins Office, Wayland State Bank. It was signed by the Salem Methodist Indian Mission Board of Trustees: Gladys Church, Joe Pigeon, Jennie Pigeon, Leonard Church, Phoebe Hall, Art Pigeon, Richard Church (MBPI Pet. Doc.). On August 12, 1974, Salem began a building program to tear down the 1954 addition and construct a new one which would contain four classrooms in the basement and a large fellowship room on main floor, which included a kitchen and opened into the sanctuary to provide additional seating. (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 281). The consecration of the remodeled sanctuary and new fellowship hall was held in December, 1974; the dedication was November 2, 1975 (MBPI Pet. Part III, Salem Mission 50th Anniversary Collection; Reuter and Brunger 1993, 281). The program for the dedication service indicated that since the consecration of the remodeled sanctuary and new fellowship hall 11 months earlier, the congregation had put on a new roof, put siding on the sanctuary, purchased new chancel furniture, finished the fellowship hall basement, and completed the parking lot and grounds. It stated that all projects were paid in full (MBPI Pet. Part III, Salem Mission 50th Anniversary Collection).

In 1980, a local paper reported that Salem had 29 members, but that its "constituency" was larger than that. Lewis Church was quoted as saying, "It's certainly not an affluent parish . . . the heads of the Indian families have all been gainfully employed. Some have been laid off, but all are willing to work if it is available" (Thinnes and Christian 1980). During the remainder of the 1980's, Salem had an average worship attendance of 35,[178] with a high of 45 in 1986 and 1987. Sunday school average attendance was 12, with an average of 16 on the rolls. The parish held two revivals annually (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 280).

Grand Rapids mission. During the period from 1963-1988, the Reverend Lewis Church and the Reverend Joseph Sprague devoted part of their attention to the development of Grand Rapids Native American Ministry. This was not directly part of their duties at Bradley/Salem, but part of their broader involvement with the Indian Workers' Conference.

[178] A local newspaper indicated that there were about 35 parishioners in Salem Indian Mission in 1988 (Kemp cal988), which is not necessarily the same statistic as attendance.

Nonetheless, because of the tendency of the Bradley/Salem population to settle towards Grand Rapids, it was important to the home churches, and Joseph Sprague accepted appointment as its pastor.[179]

Non-church developments.

Hunting rights. By 1970, the Bradley area interest in hunting rights had apparently expanded beyond the Bush family. Bradley contacts for the Michigan Indian Hunting & Fishing Rights Association were Elmer Peters and C. Willard Bush. The organization described itself as a chapter of the Great Lakes Indian Youth Alliance, Ind. of Lansing, Michigan, Charles (Moose) R. Pamp, Director. Its material stated: "Our main concern is the right to hunt and fish all the time, any where in Michigan, on and off a reservation" (letter, November 25, 1970, BAR files). This letter was accompanied by miscellaneous lists and letters containing non-Bradley names, but also the Bradley names of Dorothy Bush, C. Willard Bush, Jeanette/Janie Bush, Lynn Kay Church, Leonard K. Church, Frances Church, Art Pigeon, Norman Pigeon, and Yvonne Bush of Bradley and Salem (MBPI Pet. Doc.).

Under the date of November 16, 1970, the petition included various documents pertaining to the appearance of Colonel Willard Bush in District Court, 57th Judicial District, Allegan Co., MI, Case No. 704-0318 [almost illegible], dealing with fishing rights (MBPI Pet. Doc. 366). A March 28, 1971, newspaper article indicated that the prosecuting attorney had moved to drop the charges against Bush (Armstrong 1971) (see Anthropological Technical Report).

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[179] An article published in the Grand Rapids Press, June 8, 1963, showed the opening of Grand Rapids Indian Mission and Indian Center (MBPI Pet. Part IV). Treasurer was Francis Wakefield, member of the committee in charge of the mission and treasurer of the Grand River Indian Lodge. "Besides Wakefield, the committee in charge consists of Rev. Lewis (White Eagle) Church of Hopkins, pastor of the salem mission and temporary pastor of the new local one, and Mr. and Mrs. Henry Bush of Grand Rapids (Will Show Artifacts: Grand Rapids Indians Plan Open House Sunday for New Center, The Grand Rapids Press, June 8, 1963).

As of 1987, the congregation met at The Westside Complex, 216 Straight, NW, Grand Rapids, MI 49504. The storefront building at 1038 Bridge, NW, Grand Rapids, MI 49504. Mailing address of pastor was 1251 Bradford, NE, Grand Rapids, MI 49503 (MBPI Pet. Part III, Fassett to Reuter, 5/8/1987).

Michigan Commission on Indian Affairs. Throughout the 1970's and 1980's, MBPI's participation in activities of the MCIA was dependent upon the enrollment of Bradley Potawatomi in HPI. In 1985, MCIA clarified:

> "whom [sic] is an Indian" from a state constitutional perspective. The Attorney General's Office (John Wernet) has informed the MCI that from a state perspective "A tribe is a tribe is a tribe." This means that all tribes historically existing at the time of statehood are the tribes to be legally recognized by the State of Michigan, irregardless of whether said tribes have completed the federal [sic] acknowledgment process (Synopsis of Efforts by the Blanchard Administration and the MCIA on Behalf of Michigan's Indians, September-December 1985; MBPI Pet. Part IV).

The MCIA list of tribes did not include the Allegan County Indians, who at that time were regarded as part of HPI, which was included on the list. William L. Church of Bradley was Executive Director of the MCIA in 1986 and 1988 (MBPI Pet. Part IV).

1986-1996.

Introduction. The MBPI petition states that, "by the early 1980's the Allegan county Indians seriously began to consider filing for Federal Acknowledgment as a measure to create jobs and upgrade housing" (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994, n.p.). No documentation was submitted to substantiate this claim, whereas most of the members of the Bradley/Salem communities were listed on both the 1978 and 1986 rolls of the HPI.

Mission churches 1986-1996. In 1992, David G. Knapp was assigned as pastor to Bradley and Salem Indian Missions (West Michigan Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church 1993, 281, 284). Knapp was non-Indian (Knapp to Church 5/11/1993). The history of the Methodist Indian missions included, in its summary of conditions in 1992, some information on the interaction between the Bradley mission and other MBPI activities:

> The regular meetings of the Bradley Indian Cemetery Preservation Committee and a research

> committee for the "Potawatomi, Chippewa and Ottawa Council" also meet in the fellowship hall. The latter's efforts are directed toward obtaining federal recognition for the Indian bands historically connected with the area (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 403).

This information concerning the use of the Bradley fellowship hall for MBPI functions was confirmed by MBPI meeting minutes (see the Anthropological Technical Report). The history of the Indian missions continued with a summary of the activities of the church proper:

> Searching for employment has taken many families away from the rural Bradley area. This has resulted in very few children available for Sunday School. The worship service is at 9:15 a.m. The church is out of debt (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 403).

At the Salem Mission for the years 1989-1990, the denominational history stated:

> As the Indian children were encouraged to attend school and learn to read and speak in English, the adults soon picked it up and the Ojibway language began to fade from everyday use. Today there is still a vocabulary of simple words used, but very, very few Indians try to carry on a conversation in Ojibway. The Salem church has 60% mixed marriages with non-Indians. There are 16 Indian and non-Indian families represented (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 279).
>
> Education is important in the Salem community. There are no dropouts. High school graduation is a minimum expectation. Most of these continue their education. Those who do not have good jobs in factories and hospitals. There are four young adults who have graduated from the University of Michigan, Western Michigan University, and Grand Valley State College: a registered nurse, two doctors of pharmacy, and a teacher. Two more will be at the U of M and a junior college in Grand Rapids in the fall of 1990. These six are great-grandchildren of the Charter Members of the Salem Indian Church (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 280).

The description indicated that since the Salem congregation had young families, it provided Sunday school for the children as well as the Sunday morning worship service. Additionally, there was a mid-week prayer service "which has been held since the beginning of the Salem church" and young adults and youth held Bible study on Sunday afternoon. The congregation had added two acres of ground in back of the church (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 282), for a total of four acres (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 403).

The published history continued with a kind of epilogue, bringing developments at Salem up to date as of 1992.[180] The petition indicated that as of 1994 both the Bradley and Salem missions had returned to using the Indian language in at least some portion of the Sunday service, often in songs (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994 Part IV, n.p.). As of 1995, the Grand Rapids Native American Circuit Budget provided: Bradley

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[180]

> Dreams of a campground being created on SALEM's [sic] four acres does not keep the active congregation from seeing the needs in their community today. In the spring of 1992 the youth, on a small budget, held a Spring Carnival which brought in 100 youngsters from the community. Games and prizes were enjoyed, then were followed by a video telling the true meaning of Easter.
>
> Every other Saturday ages 13-18 meet. Monthly activities include horseback riding, skiing, "lock-ins", canoeing, concerts, and retreats. This youth group, 15 to 18 in number, also has a food drive each winter. The food goes to the homeless in Grand Rapids. Work projects are also a part of the youth program at Salem. Several of the youth assist in the upkeep and landscaping of their church (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 403-404).
>
> The bare basement has been transformed into rooms for the Sunday School which serves ages four through adults on Sunday morning after the worship service. The Women's Bible Study group meets twice a month. Another adult Bible study group meets to study and have a potluck twice a month. Together the youth and adults provided a women's softball team which participated in the Grand Rapids church league in the summer of 1992.
>
> The Salem church has provided an outdoor basketball court for their youth and a swing set for the children. Members and friends have donated such needed equipment as a copy machine, a new sound system and a microwave. The youth purchased a TV for VCR use (Reuter and Brunger 1993, 404).

$1,780.27; Salem $6,527.67; Pawating Magedwin [Grand Rapids], $6,527.67 (income from) (MBPI Pet. Part III).

Politics 1986-1991.

Temporary amalgamation between the Allegan County Indians and HPI. The most significant new initiative undertaken by HPI during the later 1980's that had significance for the MBPI Federal acknowledgment petition was the temporary political merger which took place between 1988 and 1991 between HPI and the Bradley settlement Potawatomi. Little specific information was available on events leading to this development.[181] The HPI Tribal Office had only one set of minutes between January 1986 and December 1987, those of April 5, 1986.[182] After December 1987, the sequence resumed, showing that the process had been completed. The HPI minutes for December 29, 1987, showed that the meeting was held in Joe Sprague's office, Grand Rapids, Michigan (HPI Tribal Minutes, December 29, 1987, 1).[183]

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[181] [T]he Allegan County Huron Pots discussed the matter and in 1988 began cooperation. An ANA grant was written, the land issue was set aside, the rolls were to be redeveloped; and a new constitutional structure was to be developed to insure equal participation of both communities (MBPI Pet. 1993d, Clarification 34).

[182] At the death of former tribal council chairperson John Chivis, Jr. the "more up-to-date minutes" were in his estate. As of April, 1994, HPI was trying to get them back, but had had to go to court. The tribal administrator and current chairperson had reconstructed some of the minutes by going around to former tribal chairmen, etc. Alice Littlefield supposedly did use them (in a black binder) when preparing the HPI 1993 OD Response. However, there were none for this period included in Littlefield's submission to BAR. The BAR anthropologist obtained copies of some in September, 1994.

[183] October 13, 1987 (no copy in files--mention that minutes read at Dec. 29 meeting).
December 29, 1987, Joe Sprague's Office, Grand Rapids, MI. Re-schedule of December 15, 1987, meeting, which was cancelled because of snow. Minutes in Littlefield 1993, Attachment E.

January 23, 1988, Dorr, MI.
February 16, 1988, Joe Sprague's Office, Grand Rapids, MI.
May 9, 1988, Joe Sprague's Office, Grand Rapids, Michigan.
July 26, 1988, Rest Stop, Galesburg, Michigan.
August 23, 1988, Yankee Springs Recreational Unit, Gun Lake Unit.
September 20, 1988, Dawn Bush Residence, Grand Rapids, MI.
December 12, 1988, HPI Inc., Fulton, MI.

This merger was arranged by David Mackety, beginning immediately after the 1986 submission of the HPI Federal acknowledgment petition.[184] Mackety had, with brief interruptions, been HPI chairman for nearly 20 years (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 49), but he had been active in HPI activities for nearly 20 years before that. His father's family had close genealogical ties to Bradley. Possible motives for the merger were discussed extensively in the Historical Technical Report to the HPI Proposed Finding. One explanation offered by the petitioner was that:

> The attempted merger of all Bradley (Allegan County) Huron Pots descendants and Athens (Calhoun County) Huron Pots was the brain child of former Huron Pot Tribal Chairman David Mackety. His stated desire was to bring the leadership capability of the "northern community", as he fondly used to call Allegan County Indians, into the Nottawaseppi-Huron Tribe. His reason was to energize a Tribe that had lost momentum due to it's [sic] internal stalemate over who had ownership rights of the Pine Creek Reservation" (MBPI Pet. 1993b, Clarification 2-3).[185]

January 23, 1989, HPI Wayland Office.
May 23, 1989. Minutes read at the July 25, 1989, meeting.
June 28, 1989, City Park, Constantine, MI. Present: David Mackety, Joe Sprague, Sr., Albert Wells, Margaret Sipkema. Topics: economic development, filling of a council vacancy, and liability insurance.
July 5, 1989, HPI Wayland Office. Present: David Mackety, Joe Sprague, Sr.; Alberta Wells, Margaret Sipkema, John Chivis, Jr. Discussion of a "profit arm" for HPI.
July 25, 1989, HPI Wayland Office. Present: David Mackety, John Chivis, Jr.; Joe Sprague, Sr.; Alberta Wells, Margaret Sipkema. Report on discussion with the Michigan Indian Legal Services on a corporate arm structure, appointment of a business committee, report on the March-May SF 272 report on the ANA grant.
September 14, 1989. Special meeting. Present: David Mackety, John Chivis, Jr.; Albert Wells, Margaret Sipkema, Joe Sprague. Minutes in Littlefield 1993, Attachment D.
November 14, 1989, HPI Wayland Office.
December 12, 1989, No.office. Announcement/agenda only.

[184] The 1994 HPI membership list contained the names of those persons added to HPI during this merger. For extensive discussion, see the Genealogical Technical Report to the Proposed Finding.

[185] At the January 9, 1991, HPI tribal council meeting at the Bradley office, Joe Sprague moved "that the land at Athens be removed from consideration for trust status, in pursuant of federal recognition, until federal recognition has been achieved." The motion passed (HPI Tribal

However, there had also been internal religious conflict within HPI since the 1970's caused by the revival of Native American religious interests among some members (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 38-39). Since the Bradley group was strongly Methodist, some HPI members believed that Mackety also hoped to use the merger as a way to ensure a "fundamentalist" Protestant Christian majority (Chivis 1993, [6]).

By September 1989, HPI had an office at 118 W. Maple St., Wayland, Michigan, in addition to the office on the Pine Creek Reservation (HPI Tribal Minutes, September 14, 1989). However, the combination of the two groups did not prove to be enduring or long-lasting.

1991: submission of HPI "Updated Historical Overview" written by William Church of the Bradley settlement and new HPI membership roll. In accordance with the merger that had taken place, in 1991 HPI as merged submitted to the BIA an OD Response written by William Church of the Bradley settlement. The narrative portion of this response was focused upon justifying the merger of the Pine Creek and Bradley settlements from a historical perspective. It was intended to provide an:

> . . . updated historical overview of the Tribe pertinent at this time due to the heavy concentration of the focus of the petition on the Pine Creek Reservation Area. . . . The Tribe now desires to provide additional information about the Tribe and its members north of Pine Creek, legal and historical descendants of the Huron Potawatomi described in the petition, and land bases there also of an historic nature and relevance (HPI OD Response 1991, 3).

From the perspective of modern community, the 1991 HPI OD Response argued that:

> Today's Huron Potawatomi Communities are concentrated in eight (8) southwest Michigan counties south of the Grand River. These counties are Calhoun, Kalamazoo, Barry, Allegan, Kent, Ottawa, Van Buren and Berrien counties. Population data developed under a grant funded by the U.S. Offices

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Minutes, January 9, 1991).

> of Health and Human Services and administered by the Huron Potawatomi Tribe show eight distinct population concentrations. They are at the Pine Creek Reservation, Battle Creek, the City of Kalamazoo, Grand Rapids, Bradley, Hopkins (in Allegan County), Spring Lake in Ottawa County, Hartford in Van Buren County and scattered members in Berrien County (HPI OD Response 1991, 6).

This definition of the HPI community was much broader than that which had been presented to the BIA in the 1986 HPI documented petition: it described a different population and geographic entity. The HPI Tribal Council chose to "recall" this OD response in 1992 rather than making it an official part of the HPI petition (BAR, HPI Admin File). By 1993, the MBPI had also repudiated the arguments it contained, asserting that:

> Our recently completed research of Gun Lake Band history and tribal continuity does not reveal any thread of evidence, documents, or Treaty stipulations which support the theory that the Indians of Allegan and Barry Counties were ever an official, or otherwise functioning part of the Huron Pottawatomi Tribe prior to the failed attempt by the Nottawaseppi-Huron Potawatomi from 1987-91 to merge the membership of the individual Huron Pots in Calhoun County and Allegan County into one tribe (MBPI Pet. 1993b, Clarification 2).

Breakdown of the HPI merger. During the spring and summer of 1991, the merger between HPI and the Bradley settlement broke down amid considerable controversy. The 1991 election was held April 6.[186] Temporarily, it lead to a domination of the merged HPI administration by the Bradley community. On April 9, the merged tribal council met at Bradley to nominate and elect Tribal Council officers. Those chosen were: Chief, Margaret (Sprague) Sipkema; Vice-chairman, John Chivis, Treasurer, Alberta Wells; Secretary, Elma Gabow (HPI Tribal Minutes, April 9, 1994). The selection of Sipkema, from Allegan County, as chairperson was

[186] "The cooperation stalled in 1991 after a bitter Tribal Board election which saw Chief Mackety defeated in an election. He did not even receive enough votes to remain on the Council" (MBPI Pet. 1993d, Clarification [check page]34).

controversial within the council, taking place on a 3-2 vote (MBPI Pet. 1993b, Clarification 34).

The April, 1991, HPI Newsletter indicated that the tribal council proposed an expansion from 5 to 7 members. This plan as developed would have allowed "the communities of the Pine Creek Reservation, Calhoun County, Kalamazoo County, Ottawa County, Kent County, Allegan County (west of U.S. 131), and Allegan County (east of U.S. 131 plus Barry County) to each have a seat on the proposed seven-person Tribal Council." This plan had to be approved by the general membership before it could go into effect (April 1991 Newsletter). Also, on April 19, 1991, the tribal council passed a "Resolution of the Nottawaseppi-Huron Band of Potawatomi that for enrollment purposes, all persons on the 1904 Taggart Roll will be counted as full-blooded American Indians, per action of the Tribal Council on February 11, 1991" (OD Response, Attachment 23).[187]

The following explanation of the ensuing developments was provided by a member of the Bradley community and current official of the MBPI:

> Within the next few months the Calhoun County Huron Pots eliminated the Allegan County hold on leadership of the two combined Tribes. By November of 1991 the Calhoun County Huron Pots had sufficiently discouraged Allegan County Indian participation by reneging on an agreement to expand membership, made the land issue a focus, while firing Allegan County Indian staff with "no cause". The Allegan County Huron Pots resigned from the Tribal Council in disgust. The four year attempt to politically consolidate the two communities ended, forever (MBPI Pet. 1993b, Clarification 34).

At the May 21, 1991, HPI tribal council meeting, it was announced that, "A ~~special~~ regular [sic] meeting is to convene on June 11, 1991, 1:00 pm, at the Bradley office for the purpose of revision on a motion that was made in the January 20, 1991, council meeting" (HPI Minutes, May 21, 1991). The letter from Margaret Sipkema, the chairwoman, to David Mackety inviting him to come, stated that it was "to

[187] Minutes, Council Meeting, April 23, 1991, HPI Bradley Office. Minutes, Council Meeting, May 21, 1991, HPI Fulton Office.

rescind a motion that was carried at the January 9, 1991 Council meeting regarding the land at Athens and its status" (Letter, Sipkema to Mackety, June 6, 1991).

At the June 11, 1991, special meeting of the merged HPI tribal council, Joe Sprague's February 11 motion on land trust was expunged from the record (HPI Tribal Minutes, June 11, 1991). However, the minutes reflected only routine business matters aside from the Pine Creek land issue.[188] The items covered at the June 21, June 25, and June 27, 1991, meetings were also routine, being primarily concerned with tribal purchase of land in the Bradley area[189] (HPI Minutes, June 21, 1991; HPI Minutes, June 25, 1991; HPI Minutes, June 27, 1991).

Shortly thereafter, however, the merged HPI council began to undo the initiatives which had been undertaken during the winter of 1990-1991.[190] At the August 16, 1991, Special Council Meeting, Wells moved "that the motion made in the February 11, 1991, council meeting be expunged, which is unconstitutional since it artificially raises the blood quantum of persons on the 1904 Taggart roll" (HPI Minutes, August 16, 1991). Chairperson Margaret Sipkema did not call for a vote on this motion, stating that she considered it was improper because the original mover would not rescind his original motion. She stated that she wanted legal advice on the topics for which the meeting had been called. Vice-Chairman John Chivis called for the vote, and the motion carried (HPI Minutes, August 16, 1991).

John Chivis and Alberta Wells requested that a special HPI "board" meeting be held on December 3, 1991, to discuss the

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[188] Joe Sprague was asked to rescind the February 11 motion [re: the land], but refused (Chivis 1993, [4]; Tribal Minutes, August 16, 1991).

[189] Little information is available concerning this land. It may have been the land described in a 1992 newspaper article as "13.5 acres across from the Indian mission church." However, the article indicated that the "Gun Lake band bought the" 13.5 acres "in September, when a farm near the Methodist mission church was being parceled off and sold. The land had once been part of the Selkirk Reservation. . . . To buy the land and pay the taxes, Church said, families have pledged $60 a year . . . . The Methodist denomination, which has sponsored the mission church since the 1840, plus about 30 Gun Lake band families participated in the original purchase" (Meehan 1992, C1-C2).

[190] Minutes were submitted to BAR from "Special Council Meetings" held August 16, 1991, at the Bradley Office; September 10, 1991, at the HPI Athens office and September 26, 1991, at the HPI Bradley office.

fact that Tribal Chairperson Margaret Sipkema had laid off the Project Director without full council approval (Memorandum, HPI Tribal Office). Ron Chivis stated that the meeting also "confronted" Ms. Sipkema and Joe Sprague "about notes that they were planning to form a non-profit organization for the community living in Allegan County, thus forming a 'splinter group'" (Chivis 1993, [5]; Tribal Minutes, December 6, 1991). On January 10, 1992, Margaret Sipkema and Joe Sprague resigned from the HPI Board (Chivis 1993, Attachments).

Politics 1992-1995: MBPI petition for Federal acknowledgment. According to the petitioner:

> Early in 1992 Allegan County Indians asked recognized Allegan County Indian community leader Lewis Church (Grand River Ottawa) to call together Allegan County Indian leaders. The recognized leaders in Allegan County held their position in the community through participation in the Methodist Missions placed there by the War Department in 1838, Allegan County leaders, by tradition, have been Grand River Ottawa in an unbroken line since treaty times. The combined Allegan County Indian leaders met and agreed to enlarge the leadership body beyond that protected in the Mission. A community wide Elders Council was created (MBPI 1993b, Clarification 3).
>
> In 1992 a provisional government called the Bradley Settlement Elders Council was empowered to organize the Allegan County Indians. Political leadership thus was formally removed from the Mission where it had been lodged since treaty days, and a "modern Tribal government" was created. Authority to organize the new governing structure was approved by Grand River Ottawa Indian Mission leaders led by Rev. Lewis White Eagle Church, Elder Mission Pastor. The Huron Pots from Allegan County, recently rejected by Huron Pots from Calhoun County, were provided equal standing in the new government. Without Grand River Ottawa Mission leaders support a new Tribal government could not have been formed in Allegan County since the Mission held the traditional leadership (MBPI Pet. 1993a; Clarification 3-4).

On March 28, 1992, the "Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians" requested from AS-IA Eddie F. Brown a "restoration" of its status as a nation from the BIA (Church to Deer 11/10/1993; MBPI Pet. 1993b, [1]).

At the end of 1992, the split between Huron Potawatomi, Inc. and the Bradley settlement became public knowledge. On December 1, 1992, an article entitled "Land of My Fathers" appeared in the Grand Rapids Press. It stated that:

> Bill Church, former Project Director for Huron Potawatomi, Inc., and other Council members of the "Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians" have been piecing together the history of the group to satisfy Bureau of Indian Affairs requirements for federal recognition status since 1975 (Meehan 1992, C2).

The article outlined the group's plans as follows:

> Initially, [Gun Lake] members hope to develop a community center with office space to house what they hope will become the administration office for a federally recognized tribe.
>
> As tribal enrollment grows, the group plans to buy more land and eventually establish a campground and meeting place on the property . . . . Chairman D.K. Sprague said the tribe, which could number 200 to 300, would use the tribal structure from the Mount Pleasant reservation as a model in planning programs and services . . . . Nearly 100 band members live in Barry and Allegan counties. The rest are scattered throughout West Michigan, including Grand Rapids and Kalamazoo (Meehan 1992, C2).

During 1992, in preparation for a filing for Federal acknowledgment by the Allegan County settlement, the church elders voted to allow the government to be formally removed from the Bradley and Salem Mission Boards and leaders. The Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band Elders Council was formed, and the group began to develop a constitution with assistance from a Health and Human Services/ANA grant.

William L. Church wrote both the 1991 HPI OD Response (later withdrawn by HPI; Resolution 8-16-91, BAR Files) which identified the Bradley settlement as Potawatomi and the November 10, 1993, Gun Lake Band letter and Clarification

(MBPI Pet. 1993b) which identified the Bradley settlement as Ottawa with some Huron Potawatomi ancestry. In the 1993 submission, Church stated:

> [The BAR does] not at present possess sufficient historic background knowledge to comprehend the difference between the Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa (which contains Huron Pot ancestry) [Priority #9A] and the Nottawaseppi-Huron Potawatomi (which contains Grand River Band Ottawa Ancestry) [Priority #9] (MBPI Pet. 1993b, [4]; Church to Deed 11/10/1993).
>
> There are three (3) Tribes today in Southwest Michigan. Of the three only the Gun Lake Band was provided land via a treaty. All three of the groups are generally Pottawatomi as an ethnic base. It is evident that the U.S., at the direction of the President, allowed our ancestors to be entered as "Grand River Ottawa" in 1838 to effectuate the exemption agreed to from the 1833 Chicago and it's [sic] Supplementary Articles which had yet to be executed by 1838 (MBPI 1993b, Clarification [1]).
>
> The Gun Lake Band is not a political splinter of the Huron Band. We refer to the Huron Band because it is evident that descendants of two tribes exist today on the Pine Creek reservation. One is the Huron Band and the other is Grand Rivers who lived with us who later moved South to gain a foot hold at Pine Creek. The Huron Pot blood among us at Bradley is the result of a few Huron Pot ancestors being among us Grand Rivers in Allegan County continually since 1839 and now are Grand river (MBPI 1993b, Clarification 5).
>
> . . . the Gun Lake Band Tribe and it's [sic] members are not descended from the Huron Pottawatomi as a political body. As individual community members we may possess Huron Pot ancestry but that should not be construed to mean the Gun Lake Band is solely a political splinter of the Huron Pots.
>
> The most numerous Gun Lake Band Indians who possess Huron Pot ancestry are the descendants of one Mrs. Sprague. 1890 federal court documents introduced by Chief Phineas Pamptopee identified

> Mrs. Sprague by her Indian name. That name appears on the Griswold Colony Rolls in the 1851 Census as three year old single child. This is important because it has been the common belief that the first Sprague, because of her Huron Pottawatomi ancestry, must have come from the Pine Creek Reservation. In truth Mrs Sprague, like many other Huron Pots, are to be originally found among the names of the Grand River Bands of Ottawa in Allegan and Barry Counties.[191] These Huron Pots never were part of the original 61 souls who formed the new colony in Calhoun County in 1846 (MBPI Pet. 1993b, Clarification 5-6) [footnote added].
>
> The Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Tribe considers one of the divisions of the Huron Pottawatomi to be a splinter of the Grand River Band of Ottawa from Allegan County. One of the two divisions of the contemporary Huron Pots who remained in Michigan by 1843 was by legal grace of the 1836 Ottawa-Chippewa Treaty. These disenfranchised Huron Pots were enrolled and enumerated as part of the Gun Lake Bands. In other cases Grand River Ottawa men married into the Huron Pots. The other "division" of the Huron Pots at Pine Creek are those who were removed and later returned. These two divisions of the Huron Pots are in evidence today in the make up of the Pine Creek Reservation Community (MBPI Pet. 1993b, Clarification 1993 8).
>
> The Permanent Elders Council was formally seated in 1993. It has 16 members, heads of extended families who represent their families and geographic community for the Tribe, and are the recognized Grand River Band government. Mr. D.K. Sprague serves as the Gun Lake Band Tribal Chairman (MBPI Pet. 1993b, Clarification 4).

On April 29, 1993, HPI Tribal Chairman John Chivis, Jr., died (Chivis 1993, [1]). He was succeeded by his brother,

---

[191] The MBPI argument on this point was based upon an inaccurate premise. Mrs. Sprague (Pash-kish-go-quay) was not a Huron Potawatomi, but a granddaughter of Matchepenashshewish, a daughter of Penassee, sister of Moses Foster and D.K. Foster, and member of the Griswold Colony/Bradley settlement (see discussion of her Civil War pension application, above).

Ronald J. Chivis, who on July 14, 1993, sent BAR an extensive letter detailing the history of the merger, describing HPI's recent conflicts with the Bradley settlement, and expressing concerns that Bradley was "using our history to build a future for themselves" (Chivis 1993, [7]).[192] The minutes of the November 6, 1993, HPI tribal council meeting referred to the group at Bradley as the "Splinter Organization" (HPI Minutes, November 6, 1993). Conversely, when on November 10, 1993, the MBPI wrote to AS-IA Ada Deer enclosing a "Clarification" and supporting documents for their March 28, 1992, "restoration" request (MBPI Pet. 1993b), the petitioner stated:

---

[192] July 14, 1993. Letter from Ronald J. Chivis, Chairman, Huron Potawatomi, Inc., to Holly Reckor [sic] on tribal split.

"It has come to my attention that we have not yet responded to the unfortunate division of leadership and the subsequent forming of a 'splinter' group by some of our membership" (Chivis 1993, [1]). "The Nottawaseppi Huron band of Potawatomi . . . also remained in thier [sic] homeland in southwestern Michgian [sic]. Chief Moguago led some of the members into an area along the Pine Creek River in Calhoun County, while the other members settled in various locales in Allegan and Bradley, Michigan. Originally there were seven settlements of Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi which spanned seven contiguous counties in southwestern Michigan. Today the two primary communities are in Calhoun County, along the Pine Creek River and in Bradley, Michigan in Allegan County" (Chivis 1993, [2]).

"The northern settlement is located in Bradley, Michigan and consists of 12 acres purchased by the tribe in 1991. The acreage lies adjacent to the original northern Huron Potawatomi land base and its cemetary [sic]. Originally 75 to 100 Indian families owned land which was purchased for them by the Methodist Episcopal Church . . . The original land trust was sold to pay delinquent taxes (Chivis 1993, [2]).

"As Tribal Chairman I am deeply concerned about the future of my people . . . now, we have to contend with the "splinter group" who are using our history to build a future for themselves. . . . it concerns me that their petition for federal recognition status number is "9-a" and attached to ours, which is "9". They call themselves "Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians" now, when they all received payment as Huron Potawatomi descendants in the award made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the 1980's" (Chivis 1993, [7]).

July 20, 1993. Memo from Ronald J. Chivis, Chairman, Huron Potawatomi, Inc., on tribal split. "Enclosed is a detailed explaination [sic] of the events that preceded the forming of a 'spinter [sic] group' by some members of the Nottawaseppi Huron Band of Potawatomi. Also enclosed is an appendix with documents supporting the issues and/or positions that the Huron Potawatomi, Inc. Tribal Council has taken regarding this matter" (Chivis Memo July 20, 1993, BAR Admin. File).

> We are concerned at this point because we want to have the BIA understand that our long standing relationship does not translate to our being a political splinter of the Huron Potawatomi. **In fact, the Huron Pottawatomi**, as they are **presently organized today are technically by and large made up of a splinter from our Band and have Grand River leadership** (MBPI Pet. 1993b, [3]) [emphasis in original].

As reflected in the November 10, 1993, letter and "Clarification," relationships between HPI and MBPI remained acrimonious throughout the remainder of the period during which HPI was waiting to be placed on active consideration and was under active consideration status. During this period, representatives of both groups submitted to the BIA some statements about their claimed treaty rights, and their historical and genealogical circumstances and connections during the second half of the 19th century and the 20th century, for which BIA researchers did not find supporting evidence in the available documentation.[193]

This November 10, 1993, letter from MBPI to AS-IA Ada Deer also contained the statement, "I [William L. Church] convinced the Elders to make the formal request for Federal Acknowledgment for the Tribe in 1992 only after it was agreed there would never be casinos in our Tribe" (MBPI Pet. 1993b, [3]; Church to Deer 11/10/93). No minutes of discussions, or other documentation, was submitted to support the above statement. The attached "Clarification" stated:

> For years the stumbling block to Tribal organization in Allegan County was the opposition of Grand River Ottawa Mission leaders to gambling that might come with Tribal development. The Allegan County Indians reconciled the hurdle to achieving a modern Tribal development by making one of their constitutional planks a prohibition

[193] This Historical Technical Report has not been written in such a way as to take up and address each of these claims and counter-claims made during the petitioning process. Rather, it has simply provided a narrative based upon the documentary record, relying upon primary, contemporary sources.

> on Casino gaming.[194] **The Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa is the only Indian Tribe in the State of Michigan which has decided not to sacrifice the future of its membership to gaming interests and the changes to traditions in the community that gaming could bring** (MBPI Pet. 1993b, Clarification 4). [emphasis in original]

On January 25, 1994, the HPI tribal council voted unanimously to:

> support the Gun Lake Band of Ottawa Indians in their quest for federal [sic] recognition status. We will work with you and your Tribal Council to assist you in lawfully relinquishing those memberships of tribal members who are currently on our rolls but who want to be recognized as Gun Lake Band members (English to David Sprague 1/26/1994; BAR Files).

Current situation.

Land. The petition indicates that:

> in the past few years the Tribe has gathered together and organized the resources from within the Tribe to purchase two parcels of land for Tribal and Mission purposes. In addition a local individual who owned a piece of our former reservation donated an approximate ten acre parcel back to the Tribe. The land base will be partially used to place into Trust when the Tribe attains Federal Acknowledgment. The members share

[194] The unratified, undated constitution submitted with the MBPI petition provides in Article VI, Section 2:

> The Elder's Council may exercise such further powers as may in the future be delegated to it by members of the Tribe, or by the Secretary of the Interior, or any other duly authorized official of the State or Federal Government, or any federal statute, or regulation, except the development of casino gaming enterprises (class III) in those counties where the population of Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band Tribal members exceeds (20) percent of the Tribe's total membership. The proviso limiting certain forms of Tribal casino gaming enterprises near the heart of the Tribal community shall not be altered by future Elder's Council decisions or subsequent Constitutional amendments (MBPI Pet. 1993a, VI.2).

> the burden for payment of the land and communally own the lands. More land purchases are contemplated (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994 Part III, n.p.).

The resources required are significant, as elsewhere in the petition indicated that the MBPI will have to raise $40,000.00 to carry out these projects, partly through a $5.00 per month per member assessment, and partly from "spaghetti and baked bean type" fund raisers (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994, Part IV, n.p.). The petition indicated the following plan:

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

The community center was referred to as the "Walk on Water Project" because it required a lot of faith. It is not known whether this plan has yet been put into action.

Federal acknowledgment. In October 1993, the MBPI completed its draft constitution and a preliminary membership list. The documented petition was submitted to the BIA in May 1994, with supplementary materials in October 1994, and a Response to the Technical Assistance letter in April 1995. On July 11, 1995, the MBPI petition was determined "ready" for BIA evaluation.

Other recent MBPI activities. On December 23, 1993, the Allegan County News and Gazette ran an article indicating that the MBPI had requested Allegan County to designate 128th Avenue a "Natural Beauty Road" (Bauer 1993). The petition documentation included several undated but contemporary photographs taken at baseball or softball (impossible to tell which from the photos) games, including girls, old timers, and fans (MBPI Pet. Doc.) Another photograph had a handwritten caption, "This is Dick Sprague's 'Pole Barn'. It was built cooperatively by tribal

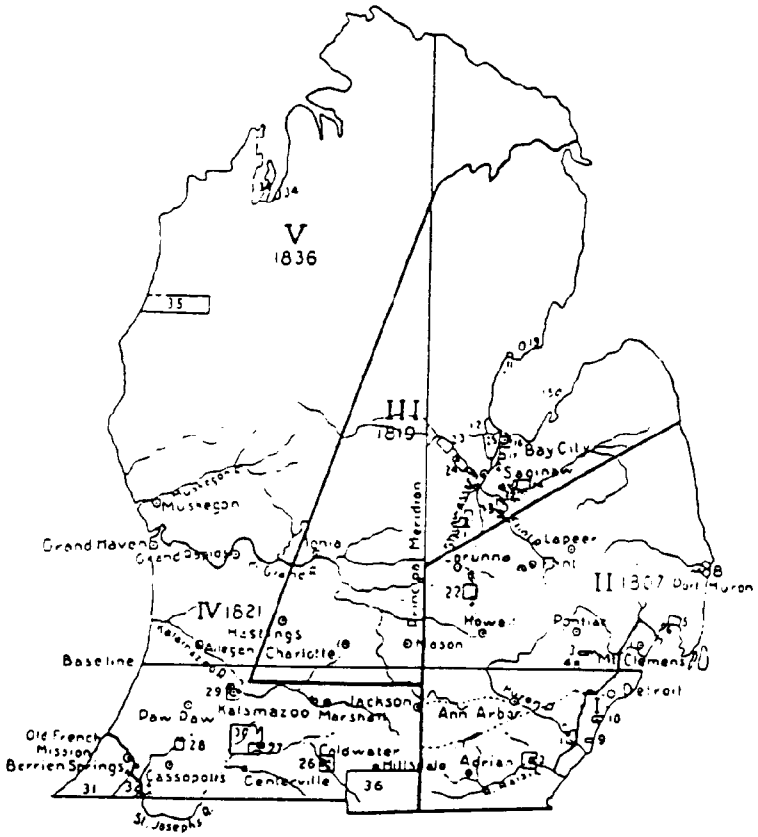
members. Once finished Dick put a camper inside. This year he hopes to build a home -- with tribal help. Built in 1994" (MBPI Pet. Doc. 110).

The petition indicated that there is a yearly "Cemetery clean up which is hosted by the Sprague Clan," but provided no further documentation on this event (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994, Part IV). Another reference indicated that on at least one occasion it was scheduled for Decoration Day, with a dinner, but there was no indication whether it was a regular event, or for how long it had been occurring. It also indicated that there was a health care project on diabetes, which is endemic in the member families, but provided no details.

Impact of the separation of HPI and MBPI. Rather than being detrimental to either petitioner, the failure of the 1988-1991 attempted merger between HPI and the Allegan County settlements in fact demonstrated the cohesive nature of each of the two participants in the project. Both are settlements of Michigan Potawatomi, have experienced a considerable amount of intermarriage, and have had strong social ties historically through their associations with the Methodist missions and the late 19th-century claims activity that resulted in the compilation of the Taggart Roll. They had, nevertheless, separate band origins and separate lines of development. The attempt to create a merger was arranged by a specific leader for a specific purpose, was sharply limited in its duration, and was not acceptable to the wider membership of either petitioner.

Map No. 1. Royce Area Map

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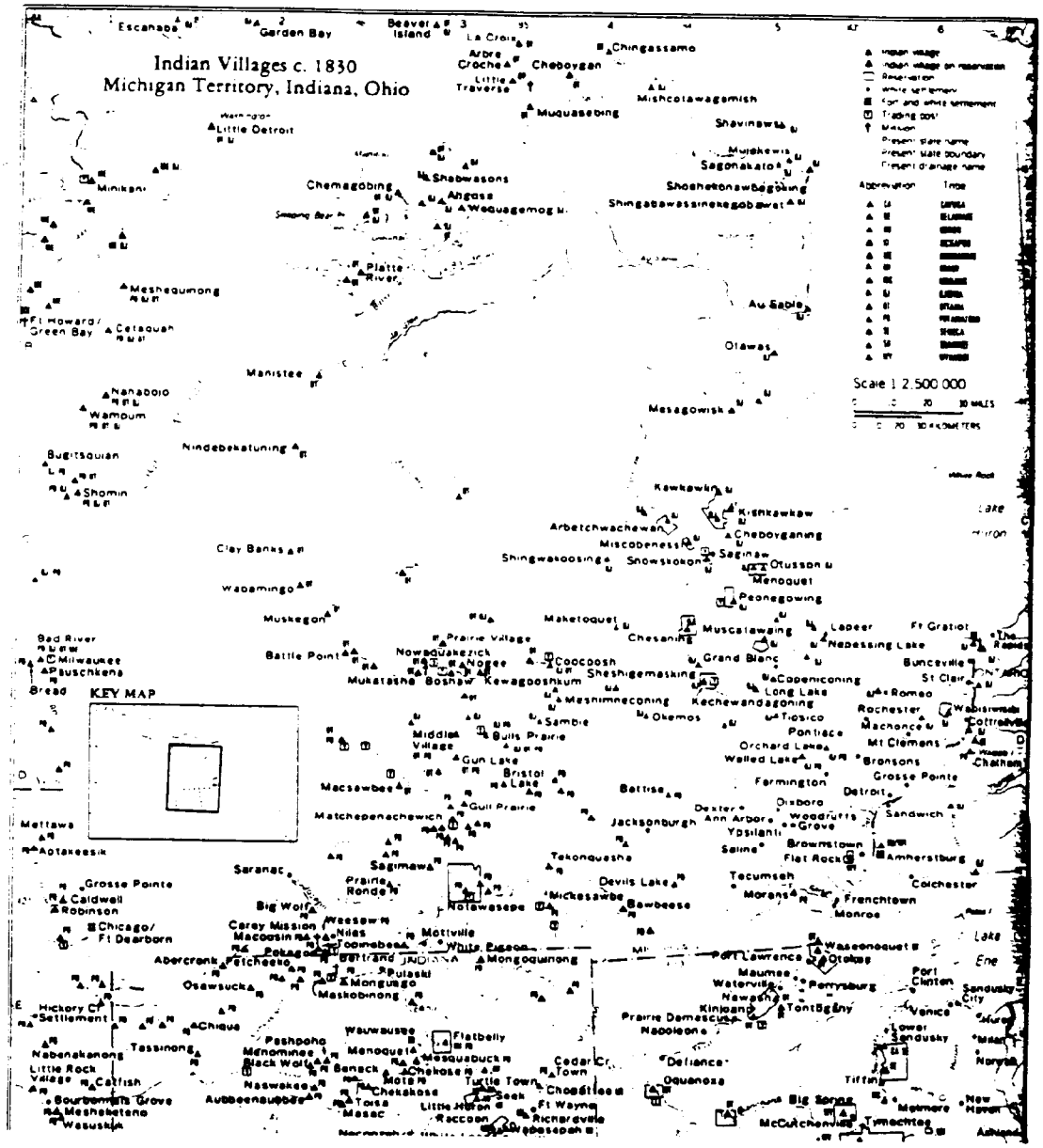


INDIAN LAND CESSIONS, 1795-1837

See Appendix for description of cessions:

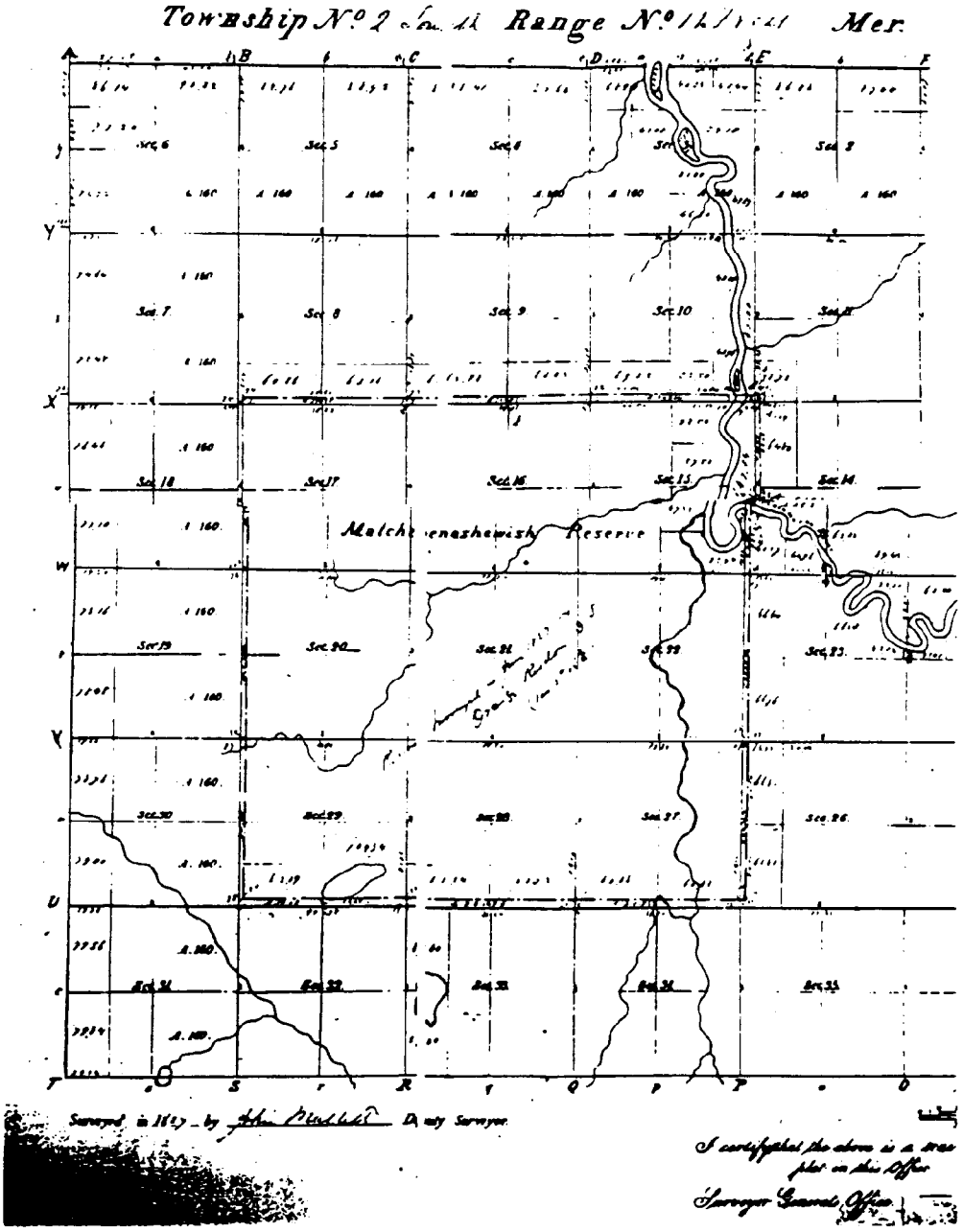
I—(1795), p. 520
II—(1807), p. 520
III—(1819), p. 522
IV—(1821), p. 524
V—(1836), p. 527
2.—(1817), p. 522; (1827), p. 525
3.—(1827), p. 525
4.—(1827), p. 525
5.—(1836), p. 529
6.—(1836), p. 529
7.—(1836), p. 529
8.—(1836), p. 529
9.—(1809), p. 521; (1818), p. 522
10.—(1809), p. 521; (1818), p. 522
11.—p. 523
12.—p. 523
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14.—p. 523
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16.—p. 523
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18.—p. 523
19.—p. 523
20.—p. 523
21.—p. 523
22.—p. 524
23.—p. 524
24.—p. 524
25.—p. 524
26.—(1821), p. 525, 526
27.—(1821), p. 525; (1828), p. 527; (1833), p. 527
28.—(1821), p. 526
29.—(1821), p. 526
30.—(1827), p. 526; (1833), p. 527
31.—(1828), p. 526
32.—(1832), p. 526; (1833), p. 527
34.—(1836), p. 528
35.—(1836), p. 528
36.—(1817), p. 521

Map No. 2. Tanner Map, pre Chicago 1830 Reserves



MAP 25

Map No. 3. 1825 Survey Map of Match-e-be-nash-i-wish Reserve



Map No. 4. Feest & Feest, Missions

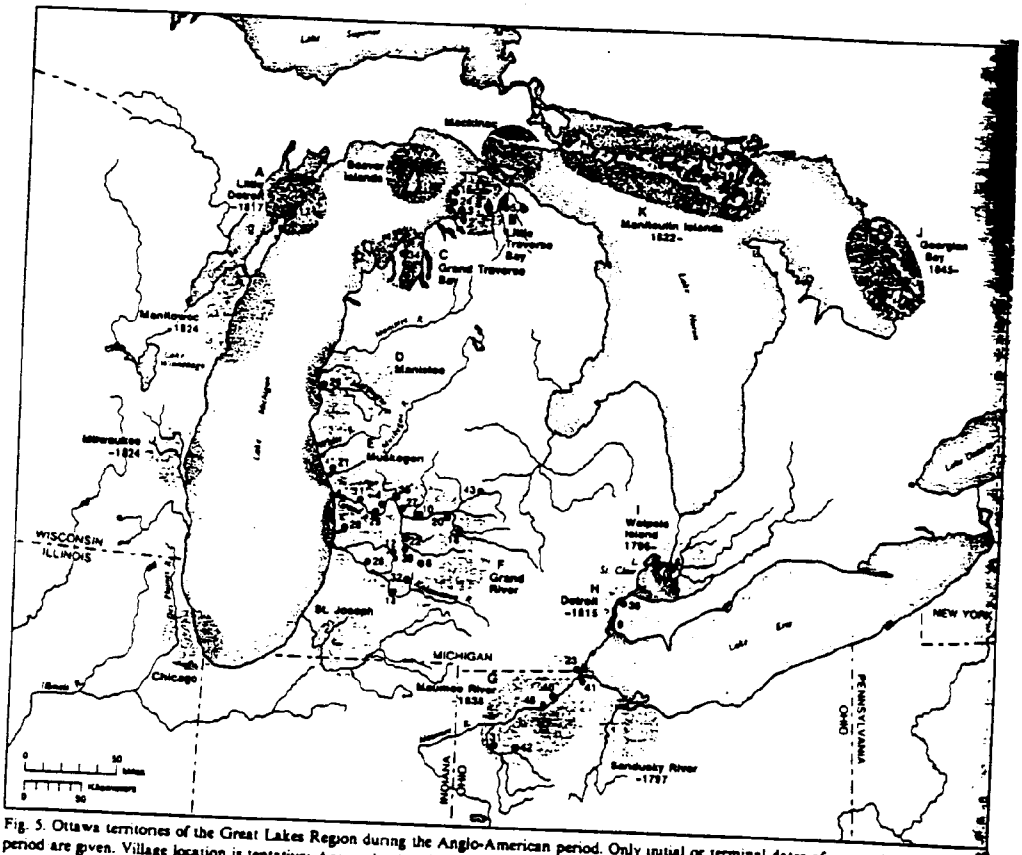
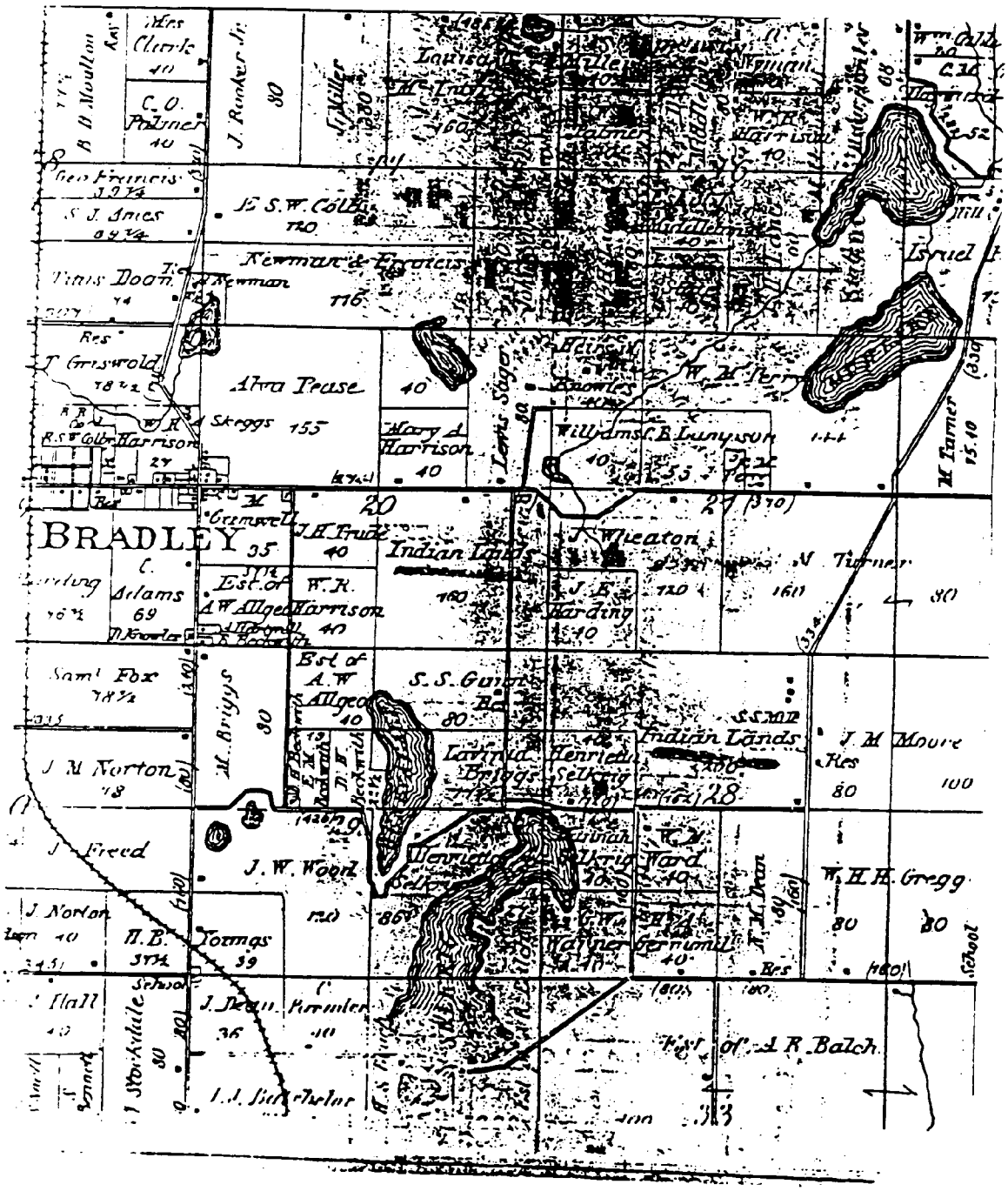


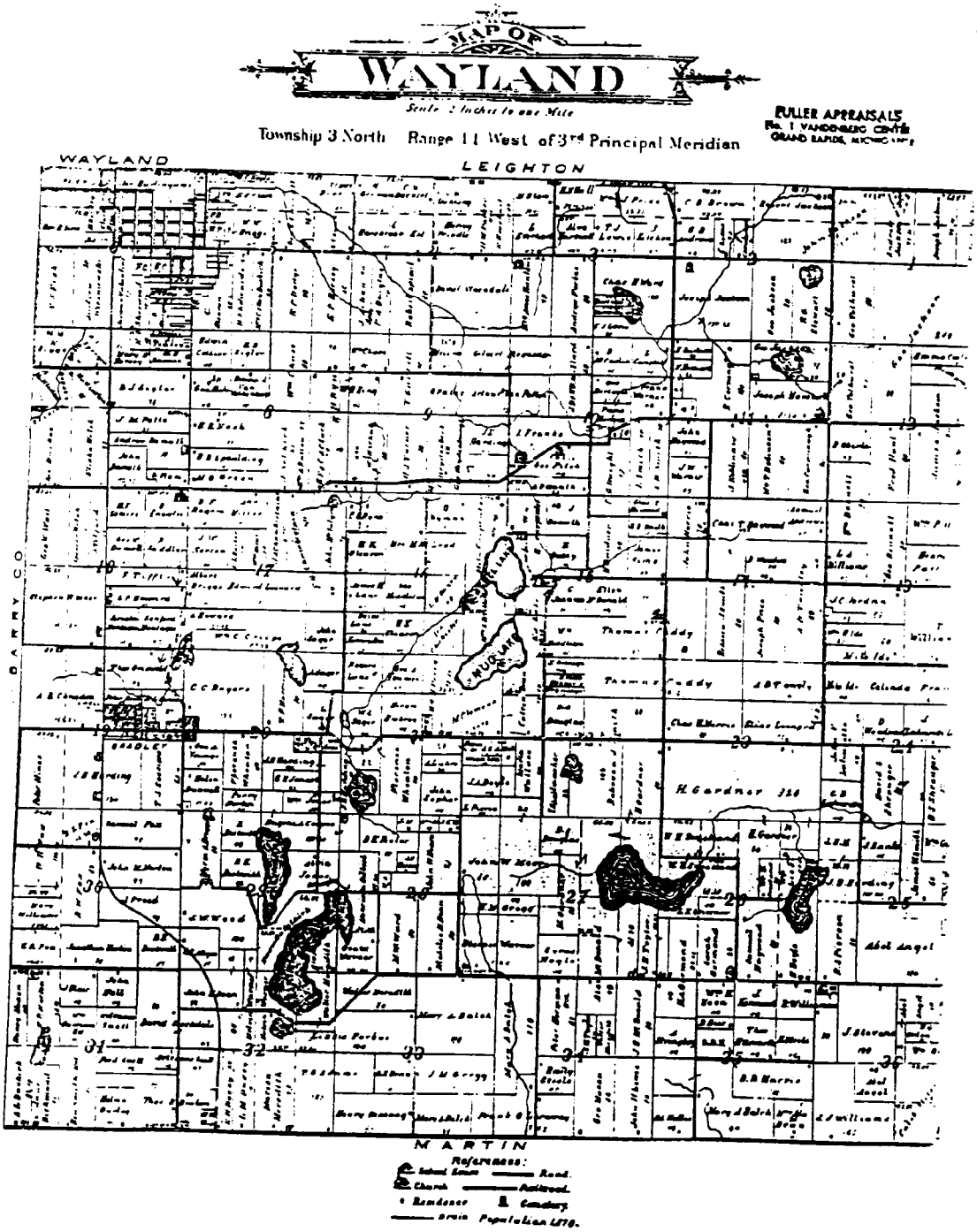
Fig. 5. Ottawa territories of the Great Lakes Region during the Anglo-American period. Only initial or terminal dates of occupation during this period are given. Village location is tentative; Agagotchiwing, Boozwah's village, Chabwasonendad, Shabawywyagun, and Wikwemikonsing cannot be located. The Ottawa hunters' village Menawshetaunang is northwest of Lake Superior. Not all synonyms for villages are given. Villages are grouped by lettered area. 1K, Achittawahaegunig; 2B, Agaming; 3B, Arbre Croche (Waganakisi); 4F, Bawqueting; 5B, Cheboygan; 6I, Chenail Ecarte; 7J, Christian Island; 8F, Clear Lake; 9H, Fighting Island; 10F, Flat River; 11F, Fort Village; 12F, Griswold Colony; 13C, Kachagensodibanig; 14F, Kekalamazoo; 15B, Lacroix (Cross Village, Anamiewatigonwink); 16K, Little Current; 17A, Little Detroit; 18F, Looking Glass River; 19K, Manitowaning; 20F, Maple River; 21E, Maskikong; 22F, Meshinmekons; 23G, Meskemau's village (Waugau's village); 24B, Middle Village; 25F, Muckatasha's village; 26D, Nindebakatunnig; 27F, Nongee's village; 28F, Old Wing Colony I; 29F, Old Wing Colony II; 30C, Old Wing Colony III; 31G, Oquanoxa's village; 32F, Ottawa Colony (Gull Prairie); 33J, Parry Island; 34C, Peshabestown (Roche de Boeuf); 41G, Tushquegan (McCarty's village); 42G, Upper Tawa Town (Blanchard's Fork); 43F, Wabegahke's village; 44K, Wikwemikong; 45G, Wolf Rapids.

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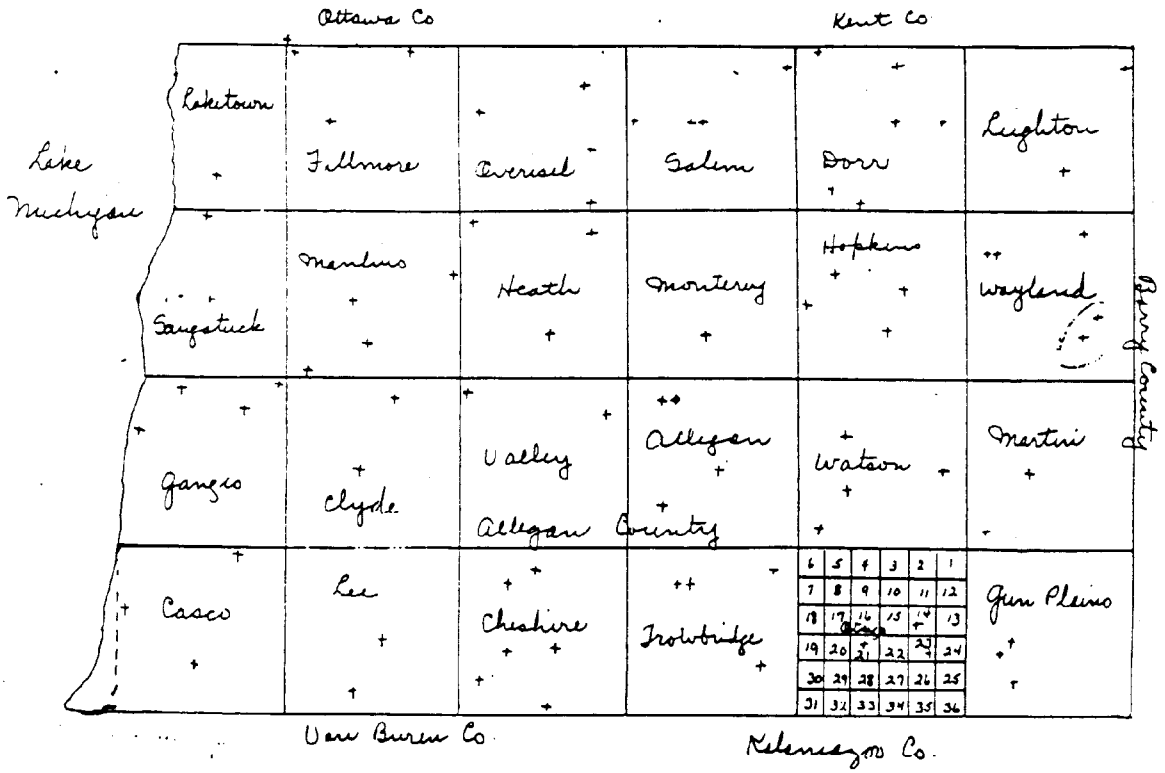
Map No. 5. 1873 Atlas, Allegan County, Michigan



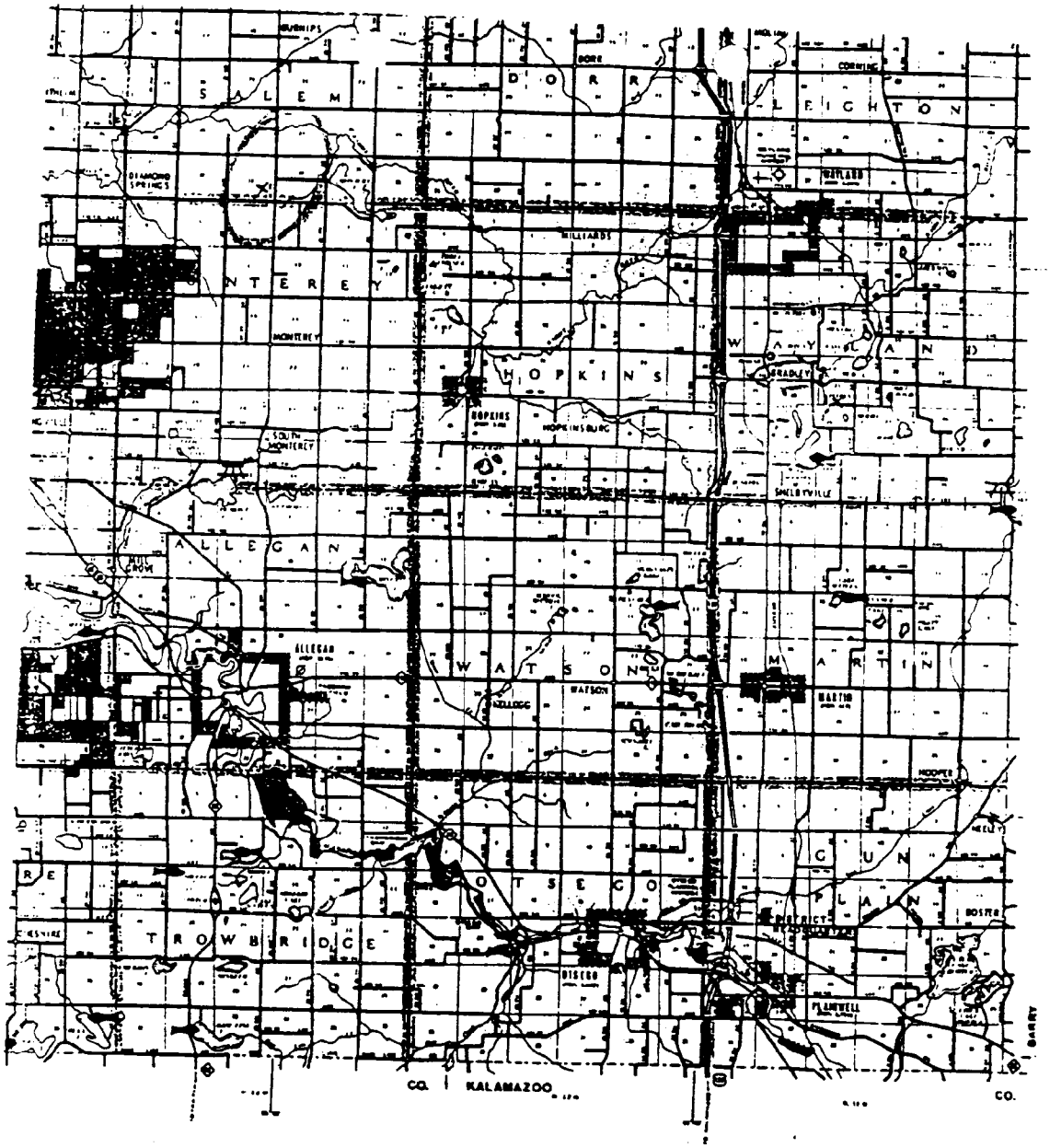
Map No. 6. 1895 Plat Book, Allegan County, Michigan



Map No. 7. Township Map, Allegan County, Michigan



Map No. 8. Modern Highway Map, Allegan County, Michigan



GENERAL HIGHWAY MAP
ALLEGAN COUNTY
MICHIGAN
STATE TRANSPORTATION COMMISSION

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Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians
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Introduction. As reported in the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Potawatomi Indians (MBPI) Historical Technical Report, James Selkirk in 1839 acquired a southwestern Michigan "reserve" of 360 acres for Indian families living on the banks of Gun Lake or in its vicinity. During the same year, these families amalgamated from principally two bands which were led by chiefs Sagamah and Match-e-be-nash-she-wish. It is from these ancestral families, who first resided on the 360 acre "reserve," that today's members of the MBPI have traced their ancestry (MBPI Genealogical Report 1996).[1]

This 360 acres, called the Bradley settlement, became over time, the MBPI's ancestral land base and core residential area – beginning in the late 1830's with the merging of the Sagamah and Match-e-be-nash-she-wish bands and up to the 1950's. By 1940, a majority of former settlement members moved to residences which were immediately off the settlement or to the Salem area. By the 1950's, other MBPI families moved off the settlement land to Grand Rapids or other nearby towns or cities to secure jobs. After the 1950's and to the present, several families remained on settlement land while other MBPI families returned regularly to the settlement to attend secular and nonsecular functions at the Bradley Indian Mission. In recent years MBPI members began individually and collectively to purchase acreage within their ancestral 360-acre settlement. Several of these members see themselves as someday living on the Bradley settlement land[2] (Field Data 1995, MBPI Historical Report 1996).

From 1839 through 1903, as reported in the MBPI Historical Technical Report and as documented by the petitioner, a named line of leaders can be identified for the Band. However, that line ended with the death of Moses Foster in 1903 and from 1904 to 1992 the internal leadership of the MBPI was most clearly identified among its lay and

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[1]The 360-acre parcel was located in the Wayland Township of Allegan County:

> the S.E. ¼ of Section 20, 11 W (160 acres); and the west ½ of N.E. ¼; East ½ of the N.W. ¼, and the N.W. ¼ of the N.W. ¼ of Section 28 (200 acres), south and east of the village of Bradley (MBPI Historical Report 1996).

The parcel was first called the "Griswold Colony" and later the "Selkirk Reserve." Since the 1880's, this southwestern Michigan acreage has often been referred to as the Bradley settlement or the Bradley Indian settlement because it was located two miles southeast of the small town of Bradley and was populated by a majority of Indian families up through the early 1900's (MBPI Historical Report 1996).

[2]Richard Sprague was the first to return to the settlement in 1994. He, with the collaboration of other adult MBPI members, built first a pole barn and then a 2,000 square foot residence.

ordained ministers at the Bradley and Salem Indian missions.[3] In the summer of 1992, D.K. Sprague was elected chief of the MBPI. He continues in that capacity today.

Field Methodology. The Branch of Acknowledgment and Research's (BAR) anthropologist conducted an on-site study of the MBPI community and leadership from July 21 to July 28, 1995. Using ethnographic observation, evaluation, and collection techniques, the anthropologist interviewed 21 MBPI members in the southwestern Michigan communities in which they lived.[4] The communities visited by the anthropologist included the Bradley settlement area and three communities located within 10 miles of the settlement: Moline, Salem, and Hopkins. Other communities visited were Kentwood, Wyoming, Grand Rapids, and Grand Ledge. All of the towns and cities were located within twenty-five miles of the settlement with the exception of Grand Ledge.[5]

Each of the MBPI interviews was tape recorded and the taped sessions were subsequently transcribed. These interviews provided information about the community, which often corroborated documents focusing on MBPI activities from 1904 to the present, the period under review in this report. In sum, this field data and documents collected by the BIA researchers were used in combination with written and photographic material submitted in the MBPI petition to produce this anthropological technical report.

Early 20th Century Bradley and Salem

Bradley Settlement. Allegan County land plats, dated 1895 and 1913, showed that at the beginning of the century the MBPI households clustered in two Indian communities, the Bradley and Salem settlements. Salem was located approximately nine miles west of the Bradley Indian Mission (Allegan County Plat Book 1895, 1913; refer to maps on next pages). Members living in the Salem settlement became known as the "Salem Indians," according to a MBPI elder (Lewis Church to Stearns 1996). The entire MBPI population in Allegan County, which included the Bradley and Salem Indians, was 124 according to the 1900 census (U.S. Census 1900). Up to 1920, virtually all of the MBPI members resided in these two communities.

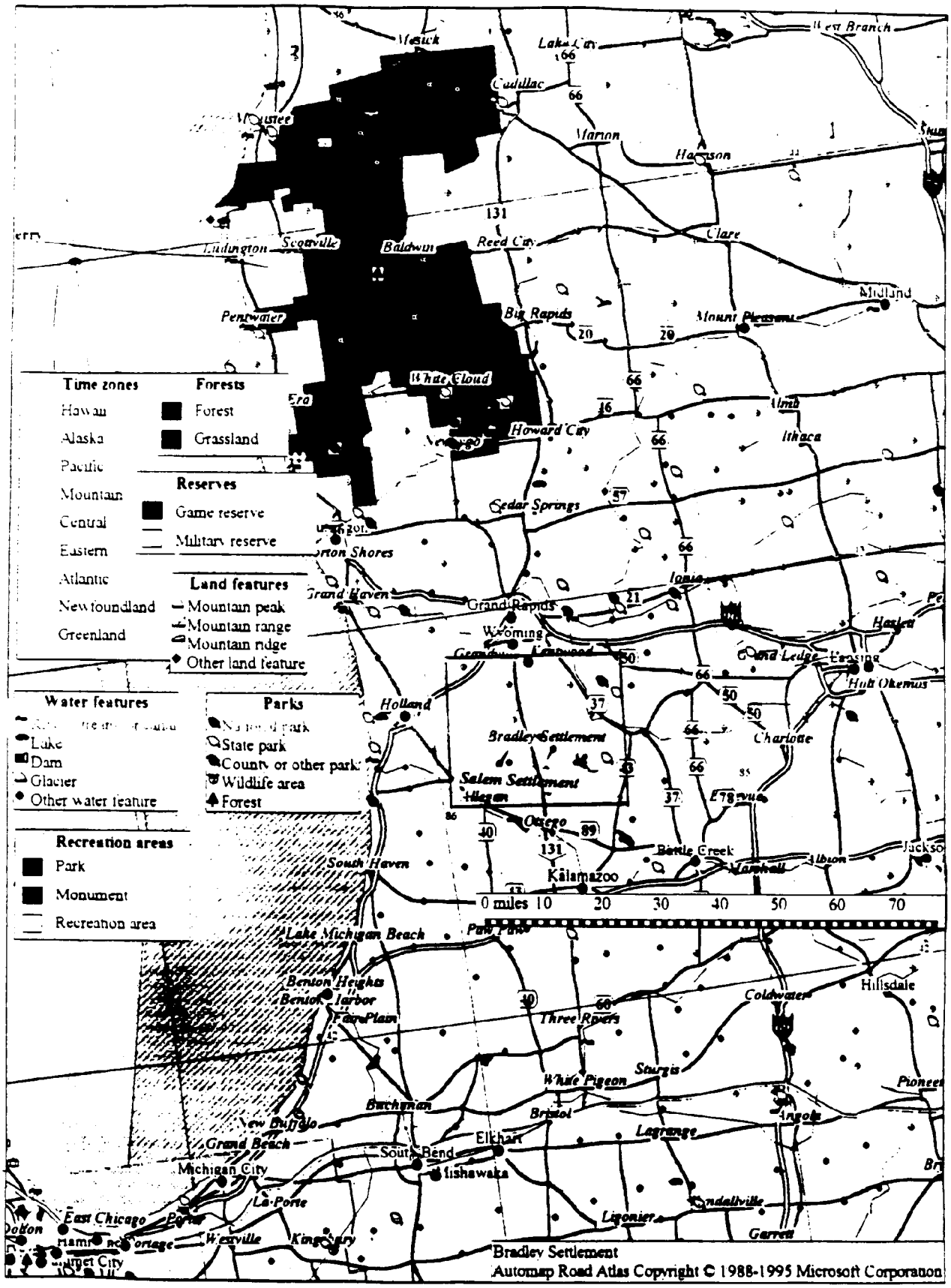
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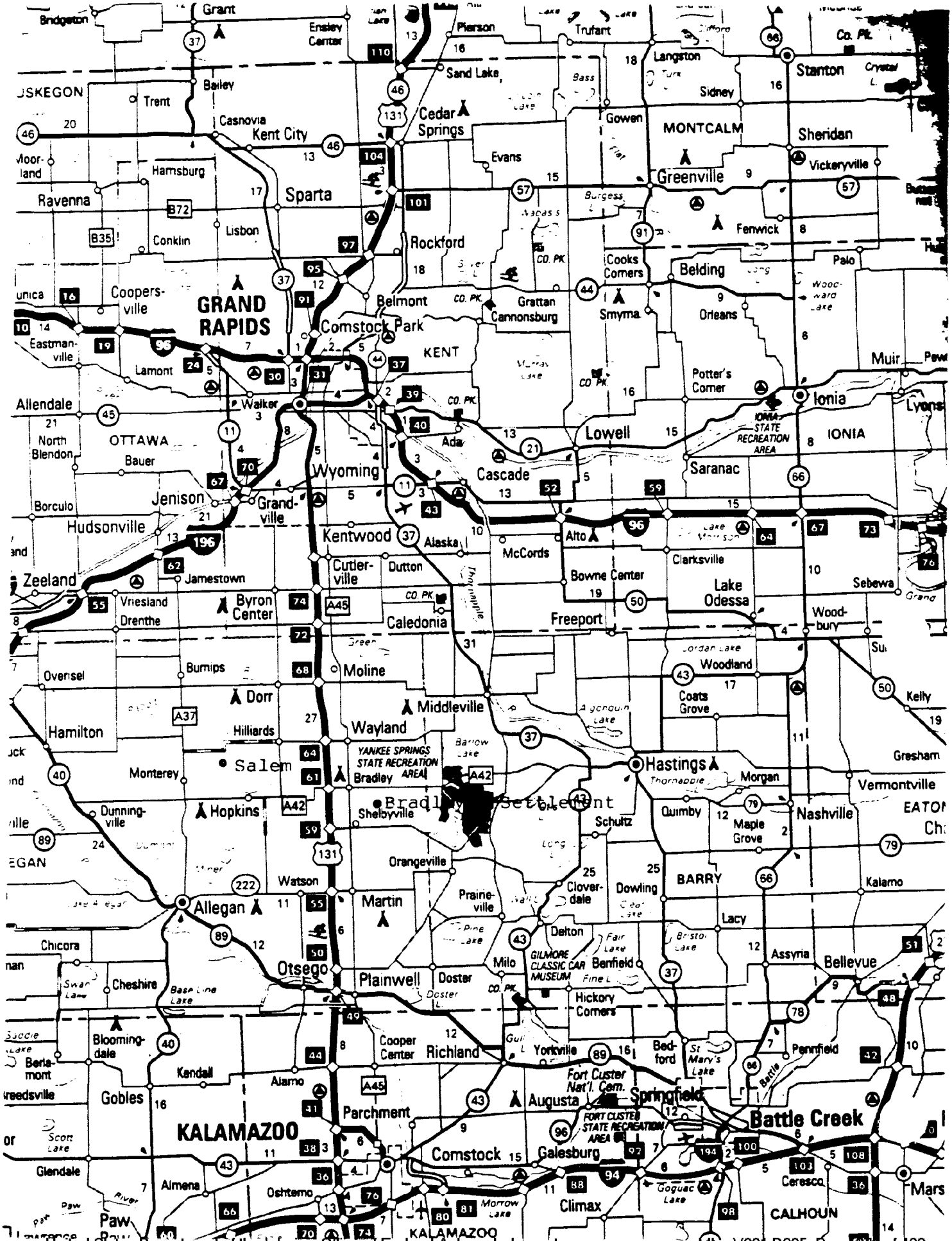
[3]The Salem Indian Mission was dedicated in 1921. Prior to the dedication of the Mission, Salem residents took turns holding Sunday school and service at their homes (Reuter 1993,276; Lewis Church 1995).

[4]The interviewees included two MBPI elected officials, four elder council members, and one secretary of state (equivalent to an executive director). The other interviewed members held no elected office or tribal staff positions. Eleven were female and ten male. Ages of the interviewees ranged from 19 to 76.

[5]Today, approximately 22 percent of the MBPI membership live within 10 miles of the Bradley settlement and 62 percent within 60 miles. This distribution does not constitute a geographical settlement, but is sufficiently concentrated to allow for frequent visits which contribute to the maintenance of community ties, as demonstrated by other forms of evidence.

BRADLEY AND SALEM SETTLEMENTS




GRAND RAPIDS
KENT
OTTAWA
IONIA
KALAMAZOO
CALHOUN
BARRY
MONTCALM
Grant
Bridgeton
Ensley Center
Pierson
Trufant
Langston
Stanton
Co. Pk.
Sidney
Sheridan
Vickeryville
Greenville
Fenwick
Gowen
Cedar Springs
Sand Lake
Bailey
Trent
Casnovia
Kent City
Hamsburg
Sparta
Ravenna
Conklin
Lisbon
Rockford
Evans
Burgess
Cooks Corners
Belding
Palo
Woodard Lake
Coopersville
Belmont
Grattan
Cannonsburg
Smyrna
Orleans
Comstock Park
Eastmanville
Lamont
Walker
Potter's Corner
Ionia
Muir
Lyons
Allendale
North Blendon
Bauer
Ada
Lowell
Saranac
Ionia State Recreation Area
Wyoming
Cascade
Jenison
Grandville
Borculo
Hudsonville
Zeeland
Jamestown
Vriesland
Drenthe
Byron Center
Caledonia
Kentwood
Alaska
McCords
Alto
Clarksville
Bowne Center
Lake Odessa
Sebewa
Freeport
Woodbury
Cutlerville
Dutton
Oversel
Burnips
Moline
Dorr
Middleville
Woodland
Coats Grove
Kelly
Hamilton
Hilliards
Wayland
Yankee Springs State Recreation Area
Bradley
Hastings
Morgan
Vermontville
Gresham
Salem
Monterey
Dunningville
Hopkins
Shelbyville
Schultz
Quimby
Maple Grove
Nashville
Orangeville
Watson
Martin
Prairieville
Cloverdale
Dowling
Lacy
Kalamo
Allegan
Chicora
Otsego
Plainwell
Doster
Milo
Gilmore Classic Car Museum
Benfield
Assyria
Bellevue
Cheshire
Hickory Corners
Bloomingdale
Cooper Center
Richland
Yorkville
Bedford
St. Mary's Lake
Pennfield
Berlamont
Kendall
Alamo
Gobles
Parchment
Augusta
Fort Custer Nat'l. Cem.
Springfield
Battle Creek
Fort Custer State Recreation Area
Comstock
Galesburg
Climax
Goguac Lake
Ceresco
Marshall
Glendale
Almena
Oshtemo
Morrow Lake
Paw Paw
Scott Lake
Base Line Lake
Swan Lake
Fine Lake
Bristol Lake
Jordan Lake
Thornapple
Long Lake
Gull Lake
Battle Creek
Yankee Springs
Settlement

Economy. From 1900 to 1929, MBPI families supported themselves primarily by truck gardening/farming, herb and berry gathering, trapping, hunting, and fishing. The women managed the home, including food preparation and child rearing. From spring to early fall, women formed small groups to work in their truck gardens or to gather herbs and berries. Some women were active along side the men in the cultivation of crops on the family's farm (Gladys Church to Stearns 1996). Men, sometimes accompanied by boys and an occasional girl, formed hunting, fishing, or trapping parties to nearby woodlands and marshes. Throughout the year, the objective was to find game to supplement their diet. Men also earned income seasonally by harvesting crops on the larger, nearby non-Indian farms (Lewis Church to Stearns 1996).

The MBPI had a "considerable reputation" for making baskets and maple syrup (The Allegan Gazette August 1, 1914). MBPI elder Ed Pigeon recalled that he had first learned the craft of basket making at age five from his grandfather.[6] He was taught to find the trunks of Black Ash trees that "look good, and bend just right." The trunks were cut in 7 ½' lengths and then hauled to a central location where other family members cut, pounded, split, scraped the Black Ash bark into strips sized for weaving (Penasee Press July 1988).

Women had a principal role in the making of maple sugar and syrup. They carried up to 100 sap buckets, each two-feet square, on their shoulders to a "sugaring off" area, a grove of suitable trees. Men and women poured the collected sap into large brass kettles in order to "boil off" the inedible elements of the sap. This boiling process left a sugar residue that was packed in "mococks," a container made by the MBPI members of birch bark. The containers, which held from 1 to 150 pounds of sugar, were decorated by the members with hedge-hog quills and stained bright colors (The Allegan Gazette March 4, 1954).

During the early 1900's, shared family activities outside of the home included visiting the homes of relatives or other MBPI members and attending Methodist mission services and camp meetings (Gladys Church to Stearns 1996). MBPI families also visited Indian friends outside of Bradley. And these MBPI families were, in turn, visited by Indian friends and relatives residing in other communities. Local newspapers documented visits

[6]A photograph submitted by the petitioner with the caption "Basket making to finance the new Church (Salem Indian Mission) – 1920" shows two generations of the Lewis Medawis' and Jim Pigeon's family posing in front of completed baskets. The men are standing toward the back and are holding axes (MBPI Petition 1995).

between the MBPI and their cousins living in the Pine Creek settlement, 60 miles south of Bradley:

> John Paul got home yesterday from visiting of [sic] Bradley, Michigan (The Athens Times October 13, 1900).
>
> Sam Mondoka and his family they went to Bradley, Michigan; to visit Indian friends this week (Vicksburg Commercial October 23, 1901).
>
> Big Indian campmeeting going to be at Bradley Aug. 14. Expect some Indian [sic] here to go attend the campmeeting (Vicksburg Commercial July 15, 1902).
>
> D.K. Foster, of Bradley, Mich., he died two weeks ago. He made a visit with his Indian froends [sic] three weeks ago at Indian Mission (Vicksburg Commercial March 24, 1903).
>
> Indian Campmeeting in old Simons grove one mile south of Athens, beginning August 23 and continuing until the 31st. The Indians of . . . Bradley . . . will be present (The Athens Times July 31, 1903).
>
> Having completed our new church we extend a cordial invitation to the Athens people and all the neighboring settlements. We will dedicate the church on Thursday May 14, 1914, at 2 p.m. (Vicksburg Commercial May 10, 1914).

Mission Leadership. During the first three decades of the twentieth century, the Methodist Conference appointed nine adult MBPI men to serve as lay ministers to the Bradley Indian Mission. Their tenures varied from one to six years and, for some, included more than one term: Joseph Shagonaby, 1900-1901[7]; Lewis Medawis, 1901-1902; John Pigeon, 1903-1904; James Wasagesig, 1907; Samuel Pigeon, 1908-1909; Lewis Medawis, 1910-1912; Sampson Pigeon, 1912-1913; Kelsey Isaac, 1914-1916; Lewis Medawis, 1916-1917; Samuel Pigeon, 1917-1919; Selkirk Sprague, 1919-1923; and Adam Sprague, 1923-1929 (Reuter 1993,268-269). These ministers are either ancestrally or collaterally linked to the present membership. All are direct ancestors of

[7]Lewis Medawis served as the community's minister from 1892 to 1900 (Reuter 1993, 268-269).

current MBPI members except James Wasagesig who was related to the group through marriage (MBPI Genealogical Documents 1995).

According to one member, the Methodist Conference officials consulted with MBPI delegates prior to the Conference's statewide annual meeting where local ministerial appointments were announced. Members representing the Bradley and Salem Indian mission communities sent delegates to the Methodist Conference's annual meeting. The local delegates informed the Conference board whom they wanted to serve as their lay minister. Typically, the board went along with the wishes of the community (Gladys Church to Stearns 1966).

The appointed lay ministers led the MBPI community in a variety of mission-related activities: Sunday services, Bible studies, mission fund-raisers, camp meetings, and individual counseling sessions. The influence of the ministers oftentimes extended beyond the mission and into the MBPI community where, for example, they coordinated a camp meeting trip and organized fund raisers to assist a member in meeting expenses associated with unforeseen medical emergencies (Lewis Church to Stearns 1996).

Increasingly, Bradley MBPI members participated in a variety of mission-related activities from 1900 to 1914: Sunday services, evening Bible studies, mission fund raisers, and camp meetings (Lewis Church to Stearns 1966). Reuter's Methodist Indian Ministries in Michigan reported that the Bradley Indian Mission congregation had more than doubled from a reported 20 to 22 to more than 50 attendees from 1903 to 1914 (Reuter 1993, 269).[8] No documentation was presented to explain why the attendance at Mission services doubled during this period.[9]

By 1910, the existing Bradley mission building no longer accommodated the growing congregation. The undersized mission was torn down and a new structure erected in its place. The Bradley minister organized and supervised the MBPI community as they worked together to construct the new facility. The mission building was dedicated in 1914[10] at a cost of $1200 (Advance July 19, 1983). The structure, with some additions, continues to be used by the group today (Lewis Church to Stearns 1996).

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[8]Sunday school attendance was reported to be at approximately 20 during the early years of the Mission (Reuter 1993 267-272; MBPI Pet. 1995).

[9]Federal census records show a 30 percent increase in the population of Indians in Allegan County which suggest that population growth may be a contributing factor (U.S. Census 1900, 1910).

[10]This was the fourth church to stand in this location. The first two churches, also built by community resources and labor, were modest log hewn structures completed in the 1800's. Again, the third church was built in the early 1900's.

Salem Settlement. By 1902, MBPI members began looking outside of the immediate Bradley area for larger tracts of land upon which they could grow crops and better support their families (Grand River Ottawa to Thomas April 2, 1902). Salem Township, only ten-miles to the west, was largely undeveloped and provided these members with an opportunity to purchase inexpensive, fertile, albeit somewhat sandy land. By 1902 the White Pigeon family, Peter Medawis, and Moses Foster were living in the Salem township or owned land there (Allegan County Land Plat Book 1895; Notarized Document April 2, 1902 BAR Admin. Files; Bill Church to Stearns 1966), and by 1910, Lewis Medawis and other MBPI families had joined them (Reuter 1993, 276).

Travel between Salem and Bradley. From 1900 to 1929, MBPI travel was by horse and buggy and took two hours each way between the settlements (refer to map). During this period Salem and Bradley members visited each other for social occasions several times a year (Lewis Church 1996). Members from one community attended a variety of activities that happened to be located at the other community. Examples included: weddings, birthday parties, box socials, community project bees, fund raisers, funerals, cemetery cleanings, hunting parties, and berry-picking excursions (Field Data 1995).

MBPI mission members attended religious activities such as Bible study and Sunday services at the nearest mission or at a nearby member's home. In the Salem area, prior to the building of the Salem Indian Mission, members met at the homes of residents Henry Medawis, George Pigeon, Peter Medawis, Peter Stevens, William Shagonaby, Alton Church, Lewis Medawis, John Pigeon, and James Pigeon. All are direct ancestors of today's MBPI membership (Field Data 1995, BAR Genealogy Report 1996).

In early 1917, the Bradley mission's minister, Lewis Medawis, expanded his pastoral outreach to include those members living in the Salem area. By late 1917, the Methodist Conference board had selected Medawis to serve as a minister for both the Bradley and Salem communities.[11] This circuit ministry arrangement has been used for extended periods by MBPI lay ministers to serve members who lived in either Bradley or Salem since 1917: from 1917 to 1929, from 1948 to 1951, and from 1972 to the present

[11]Lewis Medawis, an Ottawa who married into the petitioning group, was an ordained Methodist minister.

(Methodist Conference documents 1995, Field Data 1995).[12]

Building the Salem Indian Mission. In 1919, MBPI members[13] asked Bishop Thomas Nickelson to help the group fund the building of a mission structure at Salem. Lewis Church's handwritten account of the "Short History of the Salem Indian Mission" noted that Bishop Nickelson agreed to contribute $300 to help the Salem Indian community construct their own mission, with the stipulation that the community show their "good faith" for the project by first building the foundation for the new mission[14] (Short History of the Salem Mission 1953, 2).

MBPI Community and Fund Raisers. From 1904 and to the present, not everyone who was considered a MBPI member of the MBPI ancestral community was also a regular mission attendee. Those who were relatively poorer and who resided in the more remote areas of the community tended to be less likely to attend mission services. Also, those members who had a chronic alcohol problem rarely were found at mission-sponsored activities. Still MBPI lay ministers and, later, ordained ministers included the non-attendees in their home visits and attended to their needs. MBPI ministers, for example, would locate an inebriated member and then escort the member home.

Older MBPI members recalled that members, predominantly women, planned numerous "basket bees" to raise funds for the construction of the mission or to provide a member.

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[12]Between 1929 to 1948, the missions were assigned to the supervision of separate non-Indian churches. From 1951 to 1972, one or both communities preferred to have separate ministers. The respective communities' delegates to the Methodist Conference meeting were instructed to share that preference with the Methodist board, a request that the board honored from year-to-year (Gladys Church to Stearns 1966). In 1992, the Pawating Magedwin (gathering place) , the mission serving MBPI and other Indians in the Grand Rapids area, was added to the Bradley-Salem circuit.

[13]Members who resided in the Salem area during the years of 1919 to 1921, who met at members' homes, and to become charter members of the Salem Indian Mission included the following: Henry Medawis; Levi Pigeon; George Pigeon; Charles Rassett and wife; Alex Chippeway; Peter Medawis, wife and children; Peter Stevens, wife and children; William Shagonaby, wife and children; Alton Church, wife and children; Lewis Medawis; Sam Pigeon, wife and children; John Pigeon, wife and children; and James Pigeon, wife and children (Reuter 1993, 278).

[14]Lewis Church mentioned in his account of the origin of the Salem Indian Mission that the community was successful in building the foundation (Short History of the Salem Mission 1953, 2).

both mission goers and non-mission goers, with funds to help meet a personal need. The "bees" were social events among the community's women. Irrespective of their relationship to the local mission, non-mission attendees and attendees alike exchanged gossip while simultaneously volunteering to make Indian black ash baskets which were later sold to non-Indians. Men often limited their participation in the basket making "bees" to two steps in the process: first, selecting black ash trees for stripping and then, scraping and pounding the bark into suitable strip sizes for weaving. The coordination and leadership of specific "bees" almost always came from the ranks of the community's women and who were also avid mission attendees (Gladys Church 1966).

Such community "bees" also supported the operational or facility needs of the missions. The Salem Indian Mission, for example, benefitted from monies collected from several MBPI sponsored "bees." The moneys gained from selling the baskets circa 1920, when combined with the Bishop's $300 contribution, paid for the foundation and construction materials of the Salem Indian Mission during its construction in 1920 and 1921. Additionally, male community members contributed their manual labor and carpentry skills to the mission's construction while the MBPI women brought the men food and drink throughout the work day (Field Data 1995, Lewis Church 1996). Funds for the building of the mission were also raised through box socials, assessments to family heads by the congregation, and contributions of the members themselves as individuals (Gladys Church 1996).

In 1921, members completed the 20' by 30' Salem Indian Mission. By donating labor and holding several successful "bee" fund raisers, the Mission's building costs were paid in full prior to its completion. That same year Bishop Nickelson dedicated the church where MBPI Salem members reportedly "sang in rapture the Ojibway hymns in their native tongue" (Reuter 1993, 278). Lewis Church noted that until 1929 "the preaching was in Ojibway Indian" and that the MBPI members used a hymn book written in Ojibway (Short History of the Salem Mission 1953,3).

About 25 or two-thirds of the adult members of the MBPI who lived in the Salem area attended services in the new mission from its beginning in 1921 (Reuter 1993, 279).[15] MBPI elders recalled that families still spoke the native language at home and that ministers conducted services in Ojibway throughout the period of 1900 to 1928 (Field Data 1995, Lewis Church 1996).

[15]The names of the Salem adults who were considered regular service attendees included: James and Marthy Pigeon, John and Marion Pigeon, Sam and Eliza Pigeon, Lewis Medawis, Alton and Sarah Church, William Shagonaby and wife, Peter Stevens and wife, Peter Seamore and wife, Peter Medawis and wife, George Pigeon and wife, Levi Pigeon, Charles Rosel and wife, Mrs. Elic Steven, Elic Chipawa, and Henry Medawis (Lewis Church 1953).

Leadership. Following the death of Penasee in 1854, Moses Foster (Shabequounq), son of Penasee and grandson of Match-e-be-nash-she-wish, was selected to lead the MBPI by "the Indians of the Griswold Colony"[16] (MBPI Historical Technical Report 1996). The MBPI recognized Moses Foster as their leader for the next 50 years, until his passing in 1903. D.K. Foster, the younger brother of Moses served as the group's head administrator until his death, also in 1903. With the support of his older brother, D.K. Foster led the group's pursuit of land claims against the Government during the last two decades of the 19th century (D.K. Foster Papers, BAR Files).

Election of Chief Charles Foster. The death of Moses Foster in 1903 marked an end of an unbroken line of male MBPI leadership from the inception of the settlement in 1839. For several years after Moses Foster's death, eligible male descendants who were known to be direct descendants of Match-e-be-nash-she-wish and Penasee declined to be considered for the role of traditional chief. Also, immediately after 1903, the MBPI community did not support any of the eligible males for traditional chief, preferring instead the leadership found among the ranks of their lay ministers (D.K. Foster Papers, BAR Files). For the period following Foster's death from 1904 to 1929, two ministers, Selkirk Sprague and Lewis Medawis, shared leadership responsibilities and spoke on behalf of the MBPI (William Church to Stearns 1996). [17]

In 1911, MBPI family heads elected Charles Foster, the eldest son of D.K. Foster, as chief. A document from the D.K. Foster Papers referred to the "pay rolls of 1911" and noted:

> Moved and seconded that Charles Foster be elected Chief of Shaw-be-quo-ong's Band who is the legal heir in line of succession according to the Indian costum [sic] to represent our interests when the committee meet [sic] for the transactions of whatever business that may come before them (D.K. Foster Papers, BAR Files).[18]

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[16]As mentioned earlier, the Griswold Colony was to become known as the Bradley Settlement.

[17]Lewis Medawis was a full-blooded Grand River Band Ottawa who died in 1924 (MBPI Petition 1995). He was married to MBPI ancestress Lydia Sprague.

[18]The document was signed by several male and female MBPI members: Charles Foster, Lewis Medawis, Joshua Shagonaby, Peter Medawis, David Fox, John Pigeon, Adam Sprague, Henry Medawis, James Foster, Sampson Pigeon, Alice Johnson, Lucy Pokagon, Nancy Foster, Lincoln Foster, and Inman Foster (D.K. Foster Papers, BAR Files).

Petitioner documentation provided no information documenting Charles Foster's leadership style or the extent of his political influence over the MBPI community during his tenure as the MBPI chief from 1911 until his death in 1931. On the other hand, documentation from this period showed members responding to pastoral leadership in calls for the members, mission attendees and non-attendees, to assist in building or remodeling the mission facility, rebuilding member's homes destroyed by fire, or other emergency needs among the membership, as detailed below. Thus, the leadership remained, in effect, with the retired and active lay ministers and not with Charles Foster (William Church 1996). No evidence was submitted to document that MBPI members responded to Charles Foster's concerns during the period of his tenure as traditional chief, from 1911 to 1931.

Influence of Lay Ministers. From 1904 to 1929, the active lay minister served as the principal arbitrator for the MBPI in mission matters and, from time-to-time, community and individual member concerns. As recalled by MBPI elders and other members, both regular mission attendees and non-attendees consulted with Selkirk Sprague, Lewis Medawis, or other retired community ministers regarding issues of marriage, death, and family emergency needs. When an unforeseen emergency arose, perhaps a family home destroyed by fire or a member noting a disabled elder running out of firewood during a cold spell, Rev. Lewis Medawis, for example, would call on both the congregation and non-attendees to assist a family (Lewis Church 1996).

Oral histories and member-informant interviews provided examples of how members rallied to respond quickly to community or individual member needs within the years of 1900 to 1929. Adult members contacted others in-person, as telephones were not available in most MBPI homes until the late 1950's. The minister also attempted to contact both regular attending members and others who were most often absent on Sundays to inform them of upcoming activities which were being sponsored by the mission and which might be of interest to them as MBPI members. These mission-sponsored activities included special traditional feasts on Thanksgiving and on other holidays, Christmas pageants, or fund raisers where the money collected went to help to relieve a member's emergency need (Lewis Church 1996).

Less time-critical community projects addressed by the minister-leader included the organizing of standing committees to conduct routine repairs at the mission, clean the cemetery in which MBPI ancestors were buried, and prepare for fund raising socials and "bees" at the mission. Through these activities, the members and some non-members were kept "busy from month-to-month" (Lewis Church 1996).

Leadership Among Women Members. Leadership among the group's women was often demonstrated by their organizing and implementing community "bees" – the MBPI term for community work projects. The wife of the minister or a wife of a previously tenured minister met with other wives to plan, organize, and conduct quilting, basket-making, box-social, or other bees. Such bees were designed to assist the group in raising money to purchase materials for mission repairs, to pay a member's medical bills, or for other unforeseen expenses associated with the welfare of individual members (Field Data 1995).

Generally, then, both men and women participated in work projects, "bees," and other activities of import to the MBPI membership. Members, individually or in groups, irrespective of gender or level of mission attendance, showed a willingness to follow the direction of the lay ministers' leadership on projects which were designed to benefit the welfare of the MBPI community or that of specific individuals within the MBPI community.

Community Life

Education. From 1900 to 1930, the children from Bradley and other Indian settlements in southwestern Michigan typically attended a boarding school, most often the federally-operated school at Mount Pleasant. But for the MBPI school-age children, who lived with their respective families in a contiguous community near the Salem Indian Mission (Allegan County Plat Book, 1913), with very few exceptions, attended a one-room public elementary school. The total population of the school approached 30 students. A majority of the school's students were from MBPI families (William Church, 1996).

Bradley also had a one-room school that housed students from grades one to eight and was within walking distance of the students' respective homes. Some Bradley parents, like their Salem counterparts, favored keeping their children in a nearby day school for two reasons: first, the nearby school allowed parents to have daily input in guiding their children toward accepted community and/or Methodist values; and, second, after the school day the children had time to complete domestic chores or work on their family's truck farm (Lewis Church 1996). After graduating from the eighth grade day school, most students stayed home to help their parents cultivate their crops and gardens. A few of the graduating elementary students, however, continued their education at the district's high school or, up until 1934, at the boarding facility for Indian students at Mount Pleasant (William Church 1996).

Baseball. By 1914, the MBPI had become known in southern Michigan not only for their basket making but for their young men's ability to play baseball. A local newspaper reported:

> . . . everyone who has any knowledge of local history knows of the existence of the Bradley Indians, whose facility for making baskets and playing baseball have given them considerable reputation (Hastings Banner August 2, 1914).

MBPI community members first played baseball during recreation periods in lumber camps during the late 1800's. The skill level of the Bradley players improved steadily through the early 1900's. Bradley's Henry Sprague, for example, had already begun playing Triple A baseball in the New York Giants farm system. An injury forced him to end his professional career prematurely, and he returned to the Bradley area.
Once settled in Bradley, Sprague organized an all-Indian baseball team which was to be known as the Bradley Indians. The players were almost all MBPI members. As a team, they quickly achieved a reputation, in the words of reporter Paul Jackson, of "consistently clobber[ing] all Anglo challengers year after year." Part of the Bradley Indians successful

formula to winning games was linked to their native culture, specifically their knowledge of Ojibway. The Bradley Indians befuddled opposing teams by using the Ojibway language in communicating signals between catcher and pitcher, coach and player (Penasee Globe August 9, 1989; Field Data 1995).[19] Joseph Sprague recalled that "the whole community followed us" and Fred Sprague added that "the elders invited help for us" by dancing around the team before games (Penasee Globe August 9 1989, Field Data 1995).

[19]Informant interviews among MBPI members in 1995 and Huron Potawatomi members in 1994, some who had observed games during the pre-1930 period, shared the reporter's perception that the Bradley Braves were a winning team. Their winning tradition began during summer league play from the team's inception and, with a transition from hard ball to fast pitch softball in the mid-1950's, has continued up to the present.

MBPI Community Life and Political Influence: 1930 to 1965

Pre-War Years: 1930 to 1942

Prior to the assignment of the first non-Indian ministers to the missions at Bradley and Salem in 1929, MBPI members living in Bradley, Salem, or in other nearby rural communities primarily spoke Ojibway both at home and when attending community activities such as mission services. From 1929 to 1946, with the exception of MBPI member Silas Bush,[20] a string of monolingual English-speaking ministers conducted the services in English at both the Bradley and Salem MBPI Ojibway-speaking[21] congregations.[22] From 1929 on, conversations among the membership after the services and during mission-organized meetings were in English, in deference to the English-speaking ministers. From 1929 on, then, English was to become increasingly the community's principal language. Also from that date, MBPI parents began speaking English increasingly to their children in the home (Lewis Church 1996, William Church 1996).[23]

Although the English-speaking ministers had an impact on the MBPI community's ability to communicate with each other in Ojibway, the overall impact was gradual. After 1929, the youngest members of the group received little or no instruction in Ojibway at home from their parents and certainly no instruction at school. But because almost all the older siblings and adults were, at the time (about 1930), either fluent or had a working knowledge of Ojibway, the MBPI community was able to maintain a majority of Ojibway speakers, from the youngest to the oldest member, up until 1957.[24]

The MBPI Community and the Missions. From 1929 onward, mission services were always conducted in English. However, some Ojibway elements were to remain. The

[20]Silas Bush, a local MBPI member, served as appointed lay minister at Bradley from 1934-1935.

[21]The term Ojibway-speaking, as used here, refers to MBPI members who were of a Potawatomi, Ottawa, and/or Chippewa heritage and who used Ojibway as the lingua franca to communicate with each other.

[22]A few non-Indian families have been a part of the Bradley or Salem mission's congregation since the 1920's (Field Data 1995).

[23]Few members born after 1930 have more than a rudimentary knowledge of Ojibway (Field Data 1995).

[24]This fact is discussed later in the report.

Indian congregation continued to sing some hymns and the doxology in Ojibway, a practice that continues today.

World War II Years: 1942-1945

In the early 1940's, the young men of the Salem and Bradley settlements typically worked on their family farms along side their father, grandfather, mother, and other siblings. When the United States entered World War II (WWII) in 1942, military-eligible MBPI men joined the armed services. They served in the European and North African campaigns (William Church 1995).

Truck Farming, the Economy, and Group Cohesiveness. During the World War II years, the MBPI community remained cohesive and continued truck farming of beans and corn. Ultimately, the women and older children, who had always been involved in family farming, worked in concert with the non-enlisted men. Together, they were able to sustain productive crop yields throughout the WW II years. Because of the Government's rationing of food, fuel, and other commodities during this period, a majority of the MBPI families sought additional income to support their families. As some of them had done to acquire cash since the 1890's, members of a MBPI household migrated together with members of other MBPI households to Traverse City to pick cherries in July, then returned home to harvest blueberries back in the Bradley/Salem area in August. They left again in September to pick apples in northern Michigan. Also, when families were not actively farming their own acreage or harvesting other peoples crops, they grouped together to earn additional income by making traditional baskets (Gladys Church 1996).

Role of the Missions during the WWII Years. During the WWII years, records showed that fewer people attended mission services. The average weekly attendance at the Bradley Indian Mission, including both adults and children, fell from an average of 52 in 1941 to 40 in 1944 and Salem's fell from 36 in 1941 to 17 in 1944 (Methodist Church Minutes 1941, 1944).[25] The losses of MBPI members attending mission services can be attributed, in part, to the Government's war time policy of rationing fuel resources while restricting travel among the stateside American population. Thus, members who relied on an automobile to transport their family were sometimes prevented from attending Mission services because of the limited available gasoline or the Government's not allowing travel except for emergencies or travel associated with the War effort. Losses in

[25]Approximately one-third of the MBPI members were irregular or non-mission attendees (William Church 1996).

church attendance can also be attributed to the departure of young men from the MBPI community to enlist in the military.

The somewhat reduced congregations had little noticeable effect on the willingness of MBPI members to volunteer for various standing committees at the Bradley and Salem missions. Almost all regularly attending MBPI adults were involved in mission related activities such as Sunday school teacher, aide, committee chair, committee member, or mission caretaker (Gladys Church 1996).

Mission-sponsored functions and committee work continued during the absence of the young MBPI men who were serving in WWII. Members remaining in the Bradley and Salem communities filled the committee positions vacated by MBPI's enlistees. Still, the absence of MBPI servicemen was felt by the members in community and mission affairs. To help allay the members' concern for the welfare of their young men who were sent to European battle fronts, the minister performed a Sunday service ritual. The ritual consisted of the minister calling each enlisted man's name and then inviting the congregation to pray for the safe return home of all the MBPI servicemen (William Church 1996).[26]

Leadership: 1930 to 1945. Two retired MBPI lay ministers, Adam and Selkirk Sprague, continued in their capacity as the MBPI community's leaders from 1930 to 1945.[27] After 1934, MBPI member Silas Bush, the minister of the Bradley Indian Mission from 1934 to 1935, joined the Spragues as community leaders.[28] The three ministers retained their leadership status among the MBPI membership by leading activities associated with the Bradley and Salem missions (William Church 1996) and providing collective counsel to the 50 to 70 percent of the group's members who were regular attendees. Adult MBPI members also sought the counsel of the leaders, one-to-one, on issues of personal or community import (Reuter 1993,270; MBPI Petition 1995, Lewis Church 1996).

During the WWII years, Lewis Church, in his mid-twenties, served on various committees and began leading Sunday school services. To improve his leadership skills as a Sunday school teacher, Church sought the advice of Selkirk Sprague and Adam

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[26]One MBPI member died while serving in the Army in WWII, Amos Sprague who was the brother of Joseph Sprague (Gladys Church 1966).

[27]No documentation was provided by the petitioner detailing how these members led the community or conducted specific activities which they undertook.

[28]In 1939, members of a survey team from the U.S. Department of the Interior possibly contacted Silas Bush. In a report entitled "A Survey of Indian Groups in the State of Michigan, 1939," the writer noted that "Silas Bush near Middleville bought 80 acres for $750.00 and has plans for a comfortable home. He is building . . . rapidly" (Holst 1939,14).

Sprague. About that time Church made the decision to pursue a career path leading to, he hoped, a mission pastorship (MBPI Petition 1995, Lewis Church 1996).

Post WWII Years: 1946-1965

After WW II's conclusion, most of the returning MBPI veterans settled 25 miles north of Bradley/Salem in Grand Rapids which, at the time, was experiencing rapid repatriation population and economic growth. In Grand Rapids, unlike in the Bradley and Salem area, the young MBPI veterans found year-around, full-time employment. Their counterparts who chose to remain in the Bradley or Salem area were limited to either temporary or seasonal jobs (Gladys Church 1996).

Those veterans who migrated to Grand Rapids continued to maintain their MBPI community ties. Some traveled to Salem or Bradley almost every week to attend Sunday mission services. Others drove or hitch-hiked to participate in MBPI-sponsored community projects, "bees," camp meetings, socials, and other activities (Lewis Church 1996).

Camp Meetings. Indian camp meetings were held annually at different Michigan locations, typically on weekends during the summer. For the MBPI members, attending summer camp meetings was described as a pan-Indian extension of their Methodist mission service and was, accordingly, an important aspect to their identity as MBPI members (Lewis Church 1996). These members recalled that they went to camp meetings to reaffirm and publicly proclaim their faith, which was witnessed by other Indians from the other communities. One MBPI member recalled how, when he was a "little boy," he "grudgingly" attended a camp meeting with his parents. He reported that the purpose of the camp meeting was to "correct all the faults in the individual in one sitting through a public confession":

> Their meetings were exciting. Little boys . . . went to camp meetings grudgingly but anxiously awaited the end of services. There we watched the personal crashes and were mystified by the confession process. One gets the same feeling today when one witnesses a 200 MPH NASCAR auto racing crashes [sic] at Daytona (MBPI Pet. 1995).[29]

[29]The same "little boy" member recalled from his contemporary adult perspective that camp meetings were "social gatherings interrupted by an inspired sermon that usually lasted about "as long as it took a white man to leisurely eat his lunch" (Personal Conversation 1996).

MBPI adults who regularly attended mission services were often accompanied by their teenage sons and daughters. Similarly, when these adults attended summer camp meetings, they took their teenagers. At the camp meetings, the MBPI teenagers had opportunities to meet non-MBPI Indian teenagers of the opposite sex. A girl, for example, who met a boy at a camp meeting might, in time, become his good friend. From such Indian inter-group friendships came several marriages.[30] During the 1940's, MBPI member Lewis Church met and eventually married Gladys Mamagona. Similarly, MBPI member Phil Sprague met his future wife Eleanor Thomas at a camp meeting. Other MBPI members who met an Indian future spouse at a camp meeting included Richard Sprague, Frances Sprague, and Ruth Sprague (Gladys Church 1996).[31]

Couples who first met at a camp meeting knew that if their relationship evolved into a marriage, the marriage would be parent- and community-endorsed. Such intertribal marriages, between a MBPI member and an Indian from another group, served to unite the Bradley-Salem communities with other non-MBPI communities in Michigan's Lower Peninsula which had significant Indian populations. Such marriages, as the marriage between MBPI member Lewis Church and Gladys Mamagona served as a rite of passage into the adult world within the local Methodist mission infrastructure. As a newlywed couple, they could anticipate the first of many calls by the minister to serve on a mission committee or to help organize a mission or community activity (Gladys Church 1996).

Annual Meetings of the Methodist Conference. In 1947, the Bradley community nominated delegates to attend the Methodist Conference's annual meeting.[32] The nominated delegates decided that they wanted to "see one of their own" appointed to the Bradley pulpit, one who was trained at an early age in the fundamentals of Methodist principles. As Lewis Church recalled his preparation for the mission ministry:

> I began intensive Bible study at age 16, taught in church school and soon was put on a list of local preachers,[33] as they were called then.

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[30]The criteria for a suitable partner for a Bradley or Salem parents' son or daughter included a partner from a Christian, mission-attending family and who was no more closely related to the son or daughter than fifth cousin (Gladys Church 1996).

[31]Within the MBPI society, marriages to fourth cousin relations or closer were strongly discouraged. (Gladys Church 1996).

[32]Each year, one or two months prior to the annual meeting, both the Bradley and Salem congregations nominated delegates to attend the Methodist Conference annual meeting.

[33]The "list of local preachers" was not provided by the petitioner.

> Every 4th Sunday it was my turn to preach. I began to attend the Annual Conference for the Mission, which was a four-point charge with Burnips, Market Street, and Monterey. Our first appointment to Bradley Indian Mission was in 1947 by a request of this church (Lewis Church Autobiography 1991).

That request came from the Bradley delegation which informed the Methodist Conference Board that during the 1947 annual meeting of the Bradley and Salem communities, the MBPI adult attendees had decided that Lewis Church had the requisite skills to pastor the Bradley Indian Mission. After reviewing Church's qualifications and experience, the Conference Board affirmed the Bradley delegation's recommendation by naming Lewis Church minister of the Bradley Indian Mission in 1947. The following year, the Conference added the Salem Indian Mission to Lewis Church's charge (Kemp 1988; Reuter 1993, 271, 280; William Church 1995).

Mission Records: 1949-1955. For each year between 1949 and 1955, the mission minister, lay ministers, and trustees submitted quarterly and/or annual reports to the Methodist Conference offices which were located in either Grand Rapids or Kalamazoo.[34] These reports, collectively referred to here as the Methodist Church reports, were entitled the Pastor's Report to the Quarterly Conference, Quarterly Conference Roll and Record, Pastor's Report to the Annual Conference, and the Trustee's Annual Report. Additionally, other Methodist Church annual reports were submitted by the petitioner for various years within the 1949 to 1955 period: Women's Society of Christian Service (1949, 1951, 1953, and 1955), Report of the Local Preacher (1952, 1953, 1955), Treasurer's Quarterly Report or Annual Summary (1952, 1953, 1954, and 1955), Church School Superintendent's Quarterly Report or Annual Summary (1953, 1954, 1955), and the Report of Annual Audit (1955). Together, these reports provided triangulated[35] documentation of the group's leadership and community between 1949 and 1955, which is described in the immediate following sections of this technical report.

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[34]Until recently, the Salem Indian Mission records were sent to Kalamazoo and the Bradley Indian Mission records to Grand Rapids Methodist Conference's repositories.

[35]Triangulated, as used here, refers to three or more sources of information that would make the point under discussion less likely to be untrue. Triangulated information comes in several forms: primary sources of documentation (diaries, logs, and letters describing contemporaneous events/activities), written/taped petitioner first-hand accounts of an event/activity, and written/taped anthropologist first-hand accounts of an event/activity.

Lewis Church's Role in the Community and the Mission.[36] As the appointed minister to the Salem Indian Mission, Lewis Church submitted an annual "Pastor's Report" to the Methodist Church. The report summarized his ministerial activities at the mission and pastoral involvement among his parishioners in both the Salem and Bradley communities. His 1953 and 1954 report to the Conference provided examples of his annual summation of activities as a minister of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish community:

> During the conference year I preached 41 sermons, one funeral, one wedding, and 2 baptismals. . . . "Pastor's Report to the Quarterly Conference" May 9, 1953.
>
> Acted as chairman of board [trustee] meetings. Preached once in Lansing, Michigan and . . . . [during a] 4-day revival in Sarnia, Canada. [Led] communion service once. Have called at least once in every [parishioner's] home. When it is cold we have prayer meeting's in different homes [the mission then lacked a heating unit]. I have had to continue [employment] . . . days in Grand Rapids. Pastor's Report to the Quarterly Conference April 18, 1954.[37]

The trustee reports submitted by the petitioner to the Methodist Church from 1949 to 1955 showed that Lewis Church's personal observation that "as much as possible . . . I give or see [that] everyone has a job" (Methodist Church Trustees' Report 1949 - 1955; Methodist Church Pastor's Report September 3, 1951) was probably accurate. These trustee reports confirmed that mission parishioners filled the seven-member trustee board throughout the period from 1949 to 1955.

Eliciting MBPI Participation among Mission Attendees. Also, from 1949 to 1955, these Methodist Church reports provided evidence that Lewis Church was successful in eliciting MBPI member involvement in a variety of mission standing committees, as well

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[36]Lewis Church served as the Conference-appointed minister for both the Bradley and Salem missions until 1952 when Fred Sprague, the adopted son of Selkirk Sprague was appointed lay minister of the Bradley Indian Mission. The copies of the 1949 to 1955 reports discussed here were from the files of Lewis Church.

[37]Reports titled "Quarterly . . ." were actually annual reports. Clarification of this point was made on the "Quarterly" report forms that noted in small print that the Pastor's Report, for example, was a summary report for either the "Quarterly Conference (or Annual Church Conference) held at . . ." a named mission or church.

as volunteer service positions associated with the mission operations and Sunday school. From year to year, one or more parishioners served on one or more standing committees such as: the Committee on Records and History, the Committee on Hospitals and Homes, the Committee on Co-operation, the Committee on Policy, the Committee on Visitation, the Committee on Temperance, the Music Committee, the Parsonage Committee, the Committee on Church Property, the Committee on World Peace, the Committee on Good Literature, the Committee on Social Life, the Farm and Home Committee, the Flower Committee, the Nominating Committee, the Church Board of Education, the Membership and Evangelism Committee, the Finance Committee, the Committee on Pastoral Relations, the Committee on Christian Stewardship, and the Committee on Audit.

Through their participation in standing committees, MBPI parishioners had a voice in guiding mission affairs. This was particularly the case for members of the audit, pastoral relations, Christian stewardship, finance, [mission] music, church property, parsonage, and/or policy committees. Within the realm of secular affairs, the influence of the mission' leadership and ethos on the daily life and welfare of the MBPI community was evident by the group's active participation on the world peace, hospitals and homes, temperance, good literature, visitation, farm and home, social life, and/or co-operation committees. Members of these committees, such as the committee on hospitals and homes, provided outreach services to MBPI families that were both active and inactive mission attendees (Methodist Church Reports 1949-1955; Gladys Church 1996).

MBPI members further participated in mission activities by filling Sunday school teacher or administrative positions which included: the Sunday school superintendent, assistant Sunday school superintendent, Sunday school secretary, Sunday school treasurer, and Sunday school teacher.

Table I (on the next page) shows the names of MBPI adults who lived in the Salem area and the mission activities in which they participated during the 1949-1950 mission year.

TABLE I
MBPI MEMBER PARTICIPATION AT THE SALEM INDIAN MISSION, 1949-1955, BY ACTIVITY

Name	Trustee by term	Steward, by year	Mission Position/s	Mission Committee/s
Lewis Church	49-53		Minister	
Gladys Church (Wife of Lewis)		49	Asst. Supt. of Sunday School	Visitation, Flowers, Music
Leonard Church	49-53		Treasurer of Sunday School	Nominations
Mary Church		49		Membership/Evang, Finance, Farm/Home
Laura Mamagona		49		Membership/Evang, Cooperation, Good Literature
Alfred Marks	49-53			Church Property
Marian Medawis (girl, 16, lived with Church's)			Secretary of Sunday School	
Jennie Pigeon		49		Finance, Audit
Louis Pigeon		49	Janitor	
Elizabeth Pigeon		49		Temperance
Sampson Pigeon	49-53			Church Property
Gladys Sands		49		Hospitals/Homes
William Shagonaby		49		Finance
Peter Stevens	49-53		Supt. Of Sunday School	Finance, Pastoral Relations, Nominations, Church Property
Phoebe Stevens		49		Parsonage, Music
Robert Stevens	49-53			Pastoral Relations, Parsonage

Source: Methodist Church Report 1949, Genealogist's Report 1996

Table I shows 16 Salem members (20 percent of all MBPI adult members and two-thirds of the Salem area MBPI households) who, during the 1949 to 1950 mission year, assumed board, committee, mission and/or Sunday school positions at the Salem Indian Mission. Excluding the minister's household of Lewis and Gladys Church, the above table shows that members from ten different households in the Salem area assumed one or more volunteer positions at the Salem Indian Mission during the years of 1949-1955. The MBPI petition provided no minutes or attendance lists from board and committee meetings that took place during that mission year so the level of member involvement in

board and committee meetings cannot be determined. However, the 1949-50 "Pastor's Report to Annual Conference" stated that the Salem Indian Mission had 17 active, 10 inactive, and 30 Sunday school members (Methodist Church Reports 1949-1950).

Church documents also provided similar data for the Bradley charge. The 1949-1950 "Quarterly Conference Roll and Record" documented that 14 Bradley members (16 percent of all MBPI adult members) representing six[38] different Bradley households (one-third of the Bradley area MBPI households) participating in similar activities at the Bradley Indian Mission (Methodist Church Report 1949-1950).

Lewis Church's Influence within the MBPI Community. Lewis Church was 30 years old at the time of his first appointment at the Bradley Indian Mission. He maintained a personal adherence to the conservative Methodist mission behavior which contrasted to the behavior exhibited by his peers who had just returned home as young WWII veterans. These men brought with them a variety of acquired maladies which were induced, in part, by their War experience. The most egregious of these, as perceived by the older MBPI parishioners, was the uncontrolled drinking exhibited among some of the young veterans (MBPI Petition 1995, Field Data 1995).[39] These older MBPI members recommended, from time-to-time, that the veterans seek guidance in methods to modify their drinking behavior from Rev. Lewis Church (Field Data 1995).

The mission and the mission's minister were to play an important role in the eventual re-integration of the MBPI veterans into the MBPI community. Notwithstanding their WWII experience, the veterans, encouraged by their mission attending relatives, turned to the Indian mission for help in healing themselves. Lewis Church, as mission minister, was said to have counseled them to stop drinking. He invited the veterans to attend mission services. Some began to attend services, albeit somewhat irregularly (Field Data 1995).

Lewis Church's influence within the Salem community continued to grow steadily from the late 1940's up to the present.[40] The MBPI members attending the Bradley Indian Mission, however, did not always accept Church as their leader. In 1952, Church lost his

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[38]This figure, "6", assumes that the parents and unmarried children were living in the same household.

[39]Throughout these post-WWII years, the Bradley and Salem missions both maintained a Temperance Committee in an attempt modify the drinking behavior of the veterans and others who had this problem (Methodist Church Report 1949-1955).

[40]In subsequent decades, as is detailed later in this report, federal, state, and local officials sought out Lewis Church as the leader of the MBPI. Oftentimes, if another member was contacted by an outside official, that MBPI member would refer the official to Church.

pastoral charge at the Bradley Indian Mission. Retired minister Selkirk Sprague, the senior member and leader of the Sprague family, recommended that his adopted son, Fred, be nominated to replace Lewis Church as the Bradley congregation's choice lay minister. Selkirk Sprague's constituency— by and large, his family and other MBPI members living near the Bradley Indian Mission— joined in supporting the nomination of Fred Sprague as Bradley's minister. The Bradley delegation to the following annual meeting of the Methodist Conference identified Fred Sprague as the community's choice for minister. The Conference board ratified the community's choice and Fred Sprague was named to the post of minister of the Bradley Indian Mission. Church continued his ministry at Salem and the balance of MBPI leadership was to remain with him.[41] Several Bradley families still sought Church's counsel after the installation of Fred Sprague as their minister (Methodist Church Report 1952, Lewis Church 1996).

After the loss of the Bradley Indian Mission charge, Lewis Church began to formally study theology. The Methodist Conference had informed lay ministers such as Church that they must become ordained if they were to continue to conduct ceremonies.[42] In 1957, he took leave of his pastoral duties to attend the Garrett Theological Seminary.[43] He completed his studies in 1962. He sought this additional training, in part, to be able to continue to conduct marriages and funerals of his parishioners.

After his ordination in 1962, Church resumed his full-time pastoral duties at the Salem Indian Mission (Reuter 1993, 272). Mission-related communication exchange was not limited to the mission grounds. Rev. Church conducted evening prayer meetings in different MBPI member homes and visited all adult MBPI members, both active and inactive mission attendees, in their homes at least once a year, prior to 1962, he had noted: ". . . I have called at least once in every home. There is a lot of calling to do. People are hungry for the gospel" (Methodist Church Reports 1949-1955).

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[41]It was reported that several Bradley families traveled to Salem to attend services held at the Salem Mission (Field Data 1995).

[42]The Methodist Conference had decided a few years earlier that only ordained ministers have the requisite skill to be able to conduct such religious activities (Field Data 1995).

[43]Church attended the Seminary full-time for summer sessions only. During the academic year he completed course work through correspondence study (William Church 1996).

During Lewis Church's seminary training and absence from the pulpit, Fred Sprague continued as the lay minister at Bradley. Joseph Sprague served from 1957 to 1959, Cecil Scott from 1959 to 1960, and Earl Champlin from 1960 to 1962 at the Salem Indian Mission (Reuter 1993, MBPI Petition 1995).

Female Leadership. In the early 1940's Gladys Church, the wife of Reverend Lewis Church, attended meetings for Christian women, whose membership was predominantly non-Indian, which were held in neighboring communities. The women attendees planned service projects to benefit needy, primarily non-MBPI families. Gladys Church saw the need for such a women's service organization to assist families within the MBPI community. In 1950, Gladys Church established a Christian service group for women MBPI members to provide services and support to MBPI individuals and families. The women met at the Salem Indian Mission as members of the newly organized Women's Society of Christian Service and the Wesleyan Service Guild (Gladys Church 1995). Annual Methodist Church reports indicated that 12 MBPI women participated in the Society (Methodist Church Report 1953- 1954).

These women service groups raised funds for the mission by making and selling quilts and organizing box socials or pot lucks. Also, under the auspices of these organizations, women members were actively involved in charity work with needy families both inside and outside the MBPI community (Gladys Church 1996). Gladys Church served as the principal organizer and leader of the two organizations for women through the 1950's and for some years afterward.

Salem Sunday School. Mission attendance rose steadily from 1949 to 1955 at Sunday services and Sunday school sessions held at the Salem Indian Mission. Sunday school services were provided for three different age groups and categorized as either elementary, secondary, or adult. A photograph from the early 1950's showed the "Salem Mission Elementry [sic] Church School Class" meeting outside on the mission's grounds (Petition Photograph early 1950's).[44]

By the mid-1950's, Lewis Church led an MBPI drive to secure the resources necessary to build a Sunday school addition to the Mission (William Church 1996). In 1955, moneys were collected throughout the MBPI community, by members who attended mission services regularly and those who rarely or never attended. Contributions for the addition came from the general MBPI membership, the Woman's Society of Christian Service, and non-Indian benefactors.

[44]The photograph showed ten elementary age children along with their Sunday school teacher, Gladys Church. A handwritten caption stated: "Before the addition, classes were held outside. These Indians are children in Sunday School in the early 1950's.

Having collected sufficient funds to begin the Sunday school project, in 1956, under the coordination and leadership of Lewis Church, the MBPI men in the Salem area, mission attendees and non-attendees, and MBPI from the Bradley area volunteered their labor to build the addition. MBPI women, mission attendees and non-attendees, offered their food preparation skills to support the male community workers (Field Data 1995).

By the fall of that year, the Sunday school addition was ready for occupancy and on September 23, 1956, the Sunday school was dedicated. Members from Bradley and emeritus ministers of the Salem Indian Mission joined the Salem congregation in the dedication service (Salem Indian Mission Records 1956, Field Data 1995).

Mission Leadership: 1957 to 1962. From 1957 to 1962, Lewis Church took a leave of absence from his duties at the Salem Indian Mission so that he could attend Michigan's Garrett Theological Seminary. Joseph Sprague, a MBPI member who served in the capacity of pastor at the Salem Indian Mission, filled in for Lewis Church as the Salem Indian Mission's minister from 1957 to 1959; as did non-Indian Cecil Scott from 1959 to 1960; and non-Indian Earl Champlin from 1960 to 1962, when Church resumed his pastorship (Lewis Church's History of the Salem Mission April 26, 1953).

From 1957 to 1972, Fred Sprague continued his pastorship at the Bradley Indian Mission (Reuter 1993, 272; Lewis Church 1996). In 1972, Rev. Lewis Church as the Bradley Indian Mission pastor, a pastorship that he was to serve concurrently with his on-going ministerial duties at the Salem Indian Mission (Field Data 1995).

Land Claims. On June 6, 1948, Michigan Indians, including several MBPI members, who were of "one-quarter (1/4) or more Ottawa and/or Chippewa blood" and who were interested in pursuing land claims against the Federal Government, formed the Northern Michigan Ottawa Association (NMOA). The NMOA was one of scores of tribal land claims organizations that were established in the late 1940's all around the United States, a result of the passage of the 1946 Claims Act of Congress (1946 Claims Act of Congress BAR Admin. Files; Introductory Remarks of Waunetta Dominic, NMOA Chairperson circa 1949). The Act established an Indian Claims Commission (ICC) to review claims:

> Waunetta Dominic and her husband Robert Dominic, both Ottawa from the Petoskey area, were the principal organizers of the NMOA. During 1947 and 1948, the couple called on interested Ottawa and Chippewa Indians in Michigan to attend organizational meetings on land claims in Petoskey. NMOA minutes from the meetings stated that many Indians from Michigan's lower peninsula came to participate. The attendance of a

June 1948 meeting, for example, showed "nearly 600 Indians present" (NMOA Minutes October 23, 1950).

The petitioner provided documentation showing that Lewis Church initiated a community level group for the Allegan County Indians to discuss the land claims issues being considered by the umbrella NMOA organization. This predominantly Match-e-be-nash-she-wish group was designated "Unit #3" by the NMOA and was to include eligible Indians who resided in or near Bradley and Salem. Unit #3 members choose to call themselves the Allegan and Ottawa County Indian Organization (AOCIO) (AOCIO Minutes July 15, 1949; NMOA Minutes February 24, 1951) and met monthly at the Monterey Town Hall, less than five miles from the Salem Indian Mission. Another unit was established in nearby Grand Rapids, "Unit # 4." This NMOA subgroup was established for Indians, including Match-e-be-nash-she-wish members, who lived in homes located throughout the greater Grand Rapids metropolitan area.[45]

In addition to these two units, NMOA established three other units in communities having sizable Ottawa and Chippewa Indian populations in Michigan.

The purpose of unit meetings, as outlined in a NMOA document sent to unit leaders, was to "inform Indians about all tribal claims as asserted by our lawfully appointed attorneys" (NMOA Document October 23, 1950). Minutes of NMOA meetings indicated that the Unit #3 meetings were well-attended. Minutes from a Unit #3 meeting, in which an election for officers was held, stated that up to 40 interested Indians from the Bradley/Salem area met as frequently as monthly to discuss land claims issues. This information was shared in a report sent to NMOA regional units by President Robert Dominic (NMOA Document October 23, 1950). However, no attendance list from unit #3 was submitted by the petitioner to confirm Dominic's statement.

The petitioner submitted copies of minutes from nine AOCIO meetings which were held from April 14, 1949 to March 15, 1951. The AOCIO meetings were almost always held at the Monterey Town Hall, a meeting facility which was less than five miles from the

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[45]Returning WWII veterans, graduating high school seniors who chose not to attend college, and young married couples often opted to reside in Grand Rapids where full-time work was readily available. By 1950, approximately a third of the MBPI adults lived in or near Grand Rapids (William Church 1996).

Unit #1 was for Ottawa Indians from the Petoskey area, Unit #2 for Indians from Grand Traverse, and Unit #5 for Indians from Grand River (NMOA Minutes February 24, 1951). Unit #6 was added on June 21, 1952 for eligible Indians living in or near Lansing (NMOA Minutes June 21, 1952).

Salem Indian Mission. Generally lacking Ottawa ancestry, Bradley area MBPI residents rarely attended AOCIO meetings.

Lewis Church was asked by NMOA to organize Unit #3 or AOCIO, as it was called by the local membership and documented in the group's minutes from May through June, 1950. The AOCIO's first meeting was held near the Salem Indian Mission in Monterey on May 27, 1950. The purpose of that meeting was to elect the organization's officers and select a delegate to attend and represent them at NMOA meetings. The Indian attendees elected Rev. Lewis Church as their chairman. Others elected at the May 27 meeting by the reported 18 members who attended were: Gladys Church, wife of the Reverend Church, as secretary; Leonard Church, brother of the Reverend Church, as treasurer; and MBPI member William Shagonaby, an active Salem mission committee participant, as the group's delegate to NMOA.[46] These elected officers represented the NMOA for an approximate 14-day period, enough time for AOCIO representatives to attend the June 3 regional NMOA meeting which was to be held in Petoskey and then return to Bradley/Salem to report to AOCIO membership at a June 10 meeting (AOCIO Minutes 1950, NMOA Minutes 1950).[47]

Delegate William Shagonaby led an AOCIO delegation of voting Allegan County Indian members to the June 3 NMOA meeting. To help defray costs associated with the trip required the Allegan County Indian members to pool their money and cars in order to make the 200 mile journey north to Petoskey. The AOCIO delegation joined six other delegations representing local groups from Detroit, Lansing, Marquette, Peshabetown, Northport and Grand Rapids. The NMOA minutes of the June 3 meeting indicated that at least 165 members voted at the meeting, including Lewis and Gladys Church of Salem/Bradley. Attendees elected Robert Dominic of the Petoskey area to be the President of NMOA (AOCIO Minutes 1950, NMOA Minutes 1950).[48]

After the election of NMOA officials, Dominic, as President, took charge of the meeting. He noted that "considerable progress had been made toward the prosecution of the Ottawa-Chippewa claims [against the Government]" (NMOA Minutes June 3, 1950). He shared with the audience a historical-economic analysis of the Treaty of 1836. This

[46]The petitioner did not provide a list of other MBPI members who attended the meeting.

[47]Eighteen members voted in selecting AOCIO's treasurer, while 15 voted for chairman and 14 voted for delegate. The secretary, running unopposed, was elected by counting "upraised hands." No numerical count was given for the group's vote for secretary (MBPI Minutes May 27, 1950).

[48]The largest number of votes, 25, was for the nominees for treasurer and secretary or seven more voters than at the previous meeting in May.

treaty, Dominic observed, had been negotiated in good faith by their ancestors, but resulted in the ceding of their rights to over 13 million acres of prime Michigan land—land relinquished for 16.8 cents an acre (NMOA Minutes June 3, 1950). Dominic's discourse continued:

> The land alone was then worth more than $1.25 per acre; much of it was of fine quality; much contained valuable timber, a total perhaps exceeding 30,000,000,000 feet, with ample water power and transportation. It comprehended many large rivers, together with numerous bays, harbors, islands and fishing and hunting grounds, indispensable to the future growth and commercial prosperity of the State. In addition, there were known mineral resources of great value (NMOA Minutes June 3, 1950).

Accepting Dominic's historical rendering of the Treaty of 1836, the attendees, who represented the six units in Michigan's Lower Peninsula, were outraged over what they believed to have been the Government's role in manipulating their ancestors who signed the Treaty of 1836 (William Church 1995). Now, more than ever, the attendees were eager to assist Dominic and the other NMOA officers in achieving their goals. An immediate outcome of the Petoskey meeting was that the group established resolutions, publicity, financial, secretarial, and credentials committees. Lewis Church was elected to the resolutions, publicity, and credentials committees while his wife, Gladys, was elected to the secretarial committee (NMOA Minutes June 3, 1950).

The six official delegates, who included MBPI's William Shagonaby, and 150-plus other attendees from the six geographical areas, returned to their home communities after voting for committee members.

These delegates left determined to elicit support from their respective community members for the objectives of NMOA (NMOA Minutes June 3, 1950). Within a week of the Petoskey meeting, the members of the Allegan and Ottawa County Indian Organization (Unit #3) met on June 10, 1950 at the Monterey Town Hall. Unit #3's delegate, William Shagonaby, reported to the AOCIO group on land claim topics discussed at the Petoskey meeting. After the Unit #3 members discussed the viability of pursuing land claims, elder Sam Pigeon moved that a permanent AOCIO election be held immediately. Elected by a "standing vote" were Reverend Lewis Church, Chairman; William Shagonaby, Vice-Chairman; Eliza Mackety, Secretary; Leonard Church,

Treasurer; Chester Shashaguay, Delegate; and Sam Pigeon, Sub-Delegate.[49] Before adjourning, the attendees voted to hold a box social at their next planned meeting on July 15 in order to raise funds for the organization's treasury.[50] The NMOA group closed their meeting with a prayer by MBPI member Fred Sprague (future Bradley Mission minister) and with the song "Blest Be the Tie That Binds" (AOCIO Minutes June 10, 1950).

A special meeting of the AOCIO group was held so its members could meet and discuss land claims issues with Robert Dominic, the President of NMOA. The Rev. Lewis Church provided a prayer, Gladys Church was elected permanent AOCIO secretary, and, afterward, Dominic addressed the group on the importance of Unit #3 supporting NMOA's pursuit of land claims (AOCIO Minutes June 10, 1950).

At a following AOCIO meeting held in July, 1950, the leaders of the group updated the members on the status of the land claims being pursued on their behalf by the NMOA leadership. The regular July 15 meeting of AOCIO began with a prayer by Alton Church, the non-Indian father of Lewis Church, and the group singing "America."[51] A short meeting and a box social followed. The social produced $27.65 for the group's treasury (AOCIO Minutes July 5, 1950).

The fourth meeting of the group was a picnic at Dumont Lake, located six miles southwest of the Salem Indian Mission. At this outing, AOCIO members were again updated on the progress of land claims suits against the Federal Government. The AOCIO minutes noted that the meeting's emphasis was "good fellowship" and that it was concluded with a prayer by Rev. Lewis Church (AOCIO Minutes August 19, 1950).

The last documented AOCIO meeting for 1950 was held on September 11 at Monterey Hall.[52] Lewis Church provided the opening and closing prayer. Robert Dominic arrived

[49]Those elected were from the Salem area. MBPI members living around the Salem mission had Ottawa and Potawatomi ancestors. Ottawa ancestry was a requisite eligibility requirement for AOCIO and NMOA membership, a requirement which most Bradley MBPI members lacked. So Unit #3, AOCIO, was dominated by Salem MBPI members.

[50]The largest number of votes, 25, was for the nominees for treasurer and secretary or seven more voters than at the previous meeting in May.

[51]Both NMOA and AOCIO meetings began and ended with a prayer usually spoken in English (NMOA and AOCIO Minutes 1950).

[52]Copies of AOCIO's minutes were provided for the dates of March 17, 1951. Minutes documenting meetings of the NMOA in which MBPI members attended included: April 20, 1951; April 21, 1951; June 21, 1952; and June 20, 1953.

from Petoskey to give the featured address. Before adjourning the meeting, the AOCIO attendees approved $15 to help Dominic defray his traveling expenses (AOCIO Minutes September 11, 1950).[53]

On October 23, 1950, Robert Dominic nominated Reverend Lewis Church as an "Assistant Counsellor of the Northern Michigan Ottawa Association, Unincorporated" (NMOA Minutes October 23, 1950). As NMOA's Assistant Counsellor, Church was to "inform Indians about all tribal claims as asserted by our lawfully appointed attorneys, to contact and correspond with the officers of the Northern Michigan Ottawa Association on matters of importance pertaining to tribal claims, and to assist in research" (NMOA Minutes October 23, 1950). Church's eight-month appointment ended in June 1951.

The community planning meetings of AOCIO continued at least through 1953, as documented by copies of NMOA and AOCIO minutes provided within the MBPI petition. The NMOA minutes documented that Lewis Church was re-elected annually to the position of AOCIO Chairman by the attending delegates, of which about one-fourth of the voting membership were Church family members (Lewis Church 1996). Lewis Church was re-elected during this period as the NMOA's Assistant Counsellor. The minutes showed that Lewis Church, more than any other attendee, introduced resolutions or motions. Church was also called to give the group's opening and closing prayers (NMOA Minutes 1950-1953).

Election of a Tribal Chief. Esther W. Hettinger, a non-Indian friend of the Salem and Bradley Indians, wrote that "According to Selkirk Sprague, there will be a big meeting at the Bradley Indian church on September 27, 1954, to elect his brother, Jacob Sprague,[54] as chief" (Esther W. Hettinger Transcription September 24, 1954). This statement suggested that Jacob Sprague was to be elected unopposed.[55] No documentation was provided by the petitioner to suggest otherwise or provide the details of the election. Jacob Sprague, a respected elder among the MBPI community of the fifties, willingly

[53]No attendance list was attached to either the AOCIO or NMOA minutes.

[54]Jacob N. Sprague, Senior's (a.k.a. Jacob Noon-Wehr Jackson) ancestral line included Pash-Kish-Go-Quay (a female, born circa 1832, Taggart Roll #123) and Alice Sprague (born circa 1859, Taggart Roll #189). His siblings included Selkirk Sprague (a male, born circa 1880, Taggart Roll #38), Henry Sprague, Sr. (born 1883, Taggart Roll #190), James Sprague (born circa 1886, Taggart Roll #191), Adam Sprague, (born 1891, Taggart Roll #192) and Rose Sprague (a.k.a. Rose Walker, Rose Jackson, and Rose Johnson; born 1898, Taggart Roll #194) (Genealogy Technical Report 1996).

[55]In 1954, Church was occupied with a family which included four young children, a full-time job, and his pastorship of the Salem Indian Mission. During the middle 1950's, Church's priority was to find more time to spend with his family (William Church 1996).

accepted his nomination and eventual election as the group's chief (William Church 1996). [56]

The petition provided few documents on Jacob Sprague's brief tenure as the group's chief.[57] A local newspaper noted that Jacob Sprague was "elected . . . as their chief . . . and began to search for old (land) records" at the Kalamazoo County Courthouse (Kalamazoo Gazette December 14, 1954) along with Herman Sprague and Raymond Foster, both MBPI members. The MBPI chief and the accompanying members found no documents that supported their claim to an 80 acre section within the city limits of Kalamazoo.

William Church described Jacob Sprague's communication as a direct, "in-your-face vocal style" (William Church 1996). In a 1955 letter, an attorney working on Ottawa land claims described Sprague's communication in similar terms: "You will recall this is the Jacob Sprague who refused to relinquish the floor to Mr. Beery [an attorney] at Athens (Williams to Maloney July 26, 1955)." His assertive style apparently contributed to his election as chief in 1954 and his leading the MBPI community in their pursuit of land claims. Aside from the newspaper articles on claims research, the petitioner provided no documentation on Jacob Sprague's influence on the MBPI membership from 1954 to 1962, that is, from the year he was elected chief to the year of his death. Also, no information was provided as to the relationship of Jacob Sprague to Lewis Church during Sprague's tenure as chief.

In 1954, Church left his NMOA Assistant Counsellor post to head the Michigan Indian Workers' Conference, an advocacy group for Methodist missions serving Indians in Michigan. Church continued to participate in Conference activities until 1992, the year he retired as the minister of the Salem and Bradley missions (MBPI Pet. 1995, Field Data 1995).

[56]Thirty years would elapse before the MBPI elected another chief, Chief D.K. Sprague. Reverend Lewis Church continued the group's inter-community and organization leadership role by using his position in the church.

[57]The petitioner submitted many more documents and information on Lewis Church's activities than on those of Jacob Sprague and other MBPI leaders. Accordingly, Church's leadership activities are discussed in this report in some detail. Because of the lack of documentation provided by the petitioner on other MBPI leaders, the discussion of their leadership contributions and related activities is limited.

MBPI's Community: from 1946 to 1965

MBPI Ojibway Speakers. As mentioned, virtually all MBPI members spoke Ojibway until the arrival of the first white minister in 1929. With the arrival of the English-speaking minister, the MBPI elders and young alike attempted to speak English in the presence of the respected minister. It was also appears to be the year when MBPI parents decided to speak English to their children instead of their native language. Table II below shows evidence of this trend. Up until 1930, 99 percent of the members, children and adults, spoke Ojibway, the following decade the percentage declined to 96 percent. The rate of percentage decline has increased in every subsequent decade. Between 1950 and 1960, the percentage of Ojibway speakers fell to below 50 percent, as shown in Table II and Figure 1 on the following page[58]:

[58]The methodology to construct Table II included developing detailed, multi-generational descendancy charts for seven historical leaders and opinion leaders of the group. These drafted descendancy charts linked all 140 current MBPI members to one of the seven progenitors. Because birth and death dates were also included in the charts, it was possible to determine the approximate population of the group for any given year in the 20th century. From demographic information contained in the descendancy charts and the 1903 D.K. Foster Papers, along with MBPI informant interviews, it was also possible to determine how many of the group's adults and children were either Ojibway or non-Ojibway speakers for any given year in the 20th century.

TABLE II
MBPI DESCENDANCY AND NATIVE LANGUAGE COMPETENCY
BETWEEN 1910 AND 1960, BY FAMILY LINE AND DECADE

FAM.LINE	SPEAKER TYPE	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960
MATCH-E-BENASH-SHE-WISH	Adult Speaker	5	5	6	5	5	3
	Child Speaker	3	4	2			
	Adult Nonspeaker						
	Child Nonspeaker					1	1
JOSEPH SHAG-ONABY	Adult Speaker	7	11	7	10	11	7
	Child Speaker	5	5	6	2		
	Adult Nonspeaker						3
	Child Nonspeaker				2	4	1
PASH-KISH-GO-QUAY	Adult Speaker	8	18	20	22	26	23
	Child Speaker	14	9	17	13	1	
	Adult Nonspeaker				1	3	11
	Child Nonspeaker		1	4	10	25	45
BETSEY DAVID	Adult Speaker	6	3	5	5	5	3
	Child Speaker	2	3	1			
	Adult Nonspeaker						
	Child Nonspeaker						
SHAWA-WNEKE-ZHICK ISAAC	Adult Speaker	1	3	4	1	2	2
	Child Speaker	3	2	3	3	1	
	Adult Nonspeaker						1
	Child Nonspeaker				1	2	2
JOSEPH BUSH	Adult Speaker	11	10	12	11	10	10
	Child Speaker	1	2	5	5	1	
	Adult Nonspeaker						
	Child Nonspeaker				1	4	6
PHILLEL-MO WHITE PIGEON	Adult Speaker	10	13	12	11	16	15
	Child Speaker	11	9	8	8	1	
	Adult Nonspeaker						1
	Child Nonspeaker				2	2	7
	SUMMARY:	**1910**	**1920**	**1930**	**1940**	**1950**	**1960**
TOTAL	**MBPI POPULATION:**	**87**	**98**	**112**	**113**	**120**	**141**
TOTAL	**SPEAKER / NON SPEAKER:**	**87 / 0**	**97 / 1**	**108 / 4**	**96 / 17**	**79 / 41**	**63 / 78**
TOTAL	**% of MBPI Ojibway Speakers:**	**100%**	**99%**	**96%**	**85%**	**66%**	**45%**

SOURCES: U.S. Census, Field Data 1995 (includes cemetery records), MBPI Petition 1995, and MBPI Genealogical Report 1996.

Table III shows the last complete year that the MBPI community maintained at least 50 percent Ojibway speakers. The year was 1956. However, it was not until a few months into 1957 that the Ojibway speakers became the minority within the MBPI population. The progressive decline in Ojibway speakers was a result of death of the adult speakers and lack of MBPI children being taught their native language.

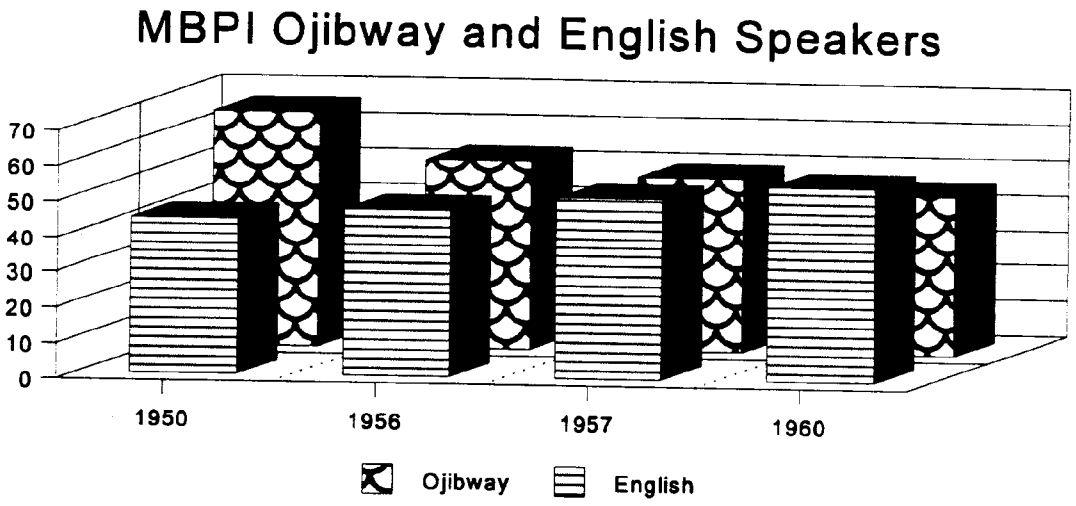
TABLE III

PERCENTAGE OF OJIBWAY AND ENGLISH SPEAKERS, BY SELECTED YEARS

SPEAKER TYPE	1950	1956	1957	1960
% MBPI Ojibway Speakers	66%	53%	49%	45%
% MBPI English Only Speakers	34%	47%	51%	55%

SOURCES: U.S. Census, Field Data 1995, MBPI Petition 1995, and MBPI Genealogical Report 1996.

Figure 1



SOURCES: U.S. Census, Field Data 1995, MBPI Petition 1995, and MBPI Genealogical Report 1996.

MBPI Members Residing within Salem. Unlike Bradley, Salem was not originally organized as a discrete land parcel or settlement. Rather, from the turn of the 20th century through 1958, as William Church has recalled, Salem MBPI members lived in a contiguous sub-community or enclave located immediately south and east of the Salem Indian Mission.[59]

In 1958, thirteen MBPI families lived in two geographical concentrations within a two-mile radius of the Salem Indian Mission. Eight non-Indian households also were located within this area, but only one of the eight non-Indian households also was located within one of the two residential concentrations of MBPI households. One concentration, located within one mile northeast from the Mission, contained the households of Sarah Church, Leonard Church, and Gladys Sands. The other, larger concentration, located a mile-and-a-half southeast from the Mission, contained the dwellings of Edmond Pigeon, Phoebe Hall, Joe Sprague, Joseph Pigeon, Lewis Church, Dan Pigeon, Agatha Lowery (niece of Elizabeth White Pigeon), Lewis White Pigeon, Henry Sprague, and Amos Pigeon. The latter concentration of MBPI homes also included the home of John Dedee, a non-Indian (MBPI Petition 1995, William Church 1996).

Using the Farm Plat Book of Allegan County for 1958, we can plot where MBPI members lived in Salem. One MBPI member, William Church, who was 13 at the time, provided a community analysis of Salem, circa 1958 when MBPI members lived in tightly formed settlement centered around the Salem Indian Mission. Using his recollection of the community in 1958 while referencing the 1958 plat book, William Church explained in a 1996 correspondence to BAR:

> I have chosen the 1958 year because information from this period can be corroborated by the Mission Treasurer's reports which we have submitted, the [1958] plat books from the County which shows land ownership, and the Mission membership records which will show addresses.
>
> **The Year of 1958**
>
> 1958 was the year after I had wasted all my hard earned money on collecting baseball cards. We had picked cherries in the area for each of the previous years that I can remember. My mother's father owned cherry trees up north in Kewadin and we went up there each summer to help harvest the cherries on his property. Others from our

[59]The 1958 Allegan County plat map included with the petition confirmed Church's recollections of the location of MBPI member homes.

> community traveled state-wide like migrant workers and picked cherries, pickles, blueberries, huckleberries, celery, peaches, apples, in about that order. Others of us baled hay for local farmers.
>
> In 1958 my father made a momentous decision. He quit traveling to each and every campmeeting held throughout the summer. He did so because of the cost. His car was always breaking down. He stayed nearer to home more often and put his effort into land ownership. Those [MBPI members] who did not follow this example began to lose their land as taxes began to take their toll on the community after the 1958 recession.
>
> In 1956 Mickey Mantle had won the Triple Crown. We boys collected every card from 1957 and spent all our money and chewed that pink gum till it was coming out our ears and our teeth were about to fall out. None of us had tooth brushes, bath tubs, nor inside plumbing (William Church to Stearns March 25, 1996).[60]

William Church continued with his recollections detailing which member's family lived where in the Salem community and who in the family continued to speak Ojibway in 1958. Church's recollections of MBPI households, are provided below, organized by head of household (William Church to BAR 1995):

> **Henry Sprague.**[61] Sprague, age 71 [in 1958], rented the Henry Harig farmhouse two miles southeast of the Salem Mission. He moved from Bradley in 1958 to the Salem area so that his son, D.K. Sprague [current MBPI chief], could attend the Hopkins High School along with other MBPI Salem high school students. He and his wife, Rose Smith (Chippewa, non-MBPI member) spoke Ojibway "all the time." They had no electricity or indoor plumbing. The three Lewis Church boys played Canasta with Rose by gas

[60] MBPI Chief D.K. Sprague, age 53, lived in a Salem area from about 1958 to 1961 and recalled "I guess we were considered poor, but if you didn't have it, you didn't miss it. We had no electricity, no running water, no indoor plumbing. We all worked in the muck. We never went hungry" (Field Data 1995).

[61] Of the 140 MBPI members on the group's roll, 59 or 42 percent of the members can list Henry Sprague as a direct ancestor.

light until "my dad found out and stopped the practice." [Playing cards was not an appropriate activity for the children of community's pastor.] Henry managed the Bradley Brave baseball team during the summer and continued to do so until his death in 1965. Rose, a Chippewa, spent days knitting, chewing tobacco, and listening to Detroit Tiger baseball "all at the same time."

Lewis White Pigeon. Lewis White Pigeon, age 59 and an Ojibway speaker, was married to Elizabeth Pego (Chippewa, non-member). Their home was one mile and a half southeast from the [Salem] Mission and was opposite the Dallas Elementary School (K-8) where 25 to 30 students, mostly MBPI children attended. He and Lew Church made a ball field in his back yard when Church was the School Director [of the Dallas School], a role which he took his turn at with the neighboring farmers.[62] The White Pigeon home had electricity. Lewis's brother Joe White Pigeon lived with them in 1958 after Joe's house burned down.

Daniel Pigeon. Daniel Pigeon, Edith (Burt Lake Ottawa), and three sons lived on 26th street about 3/8 mile north of the Dallas School.

Amos Pigeon. Amos Pigeon, an Ojibway speaker, lived several hundred yards north of his brother Daniel. He lived alone. Amos was a little man. In his day he came close to the world's record in the 100 yard dash while at Haskell.

Joe Sprague and Sarah White Pigeon Sprague. The Spragues, both Ojibway speakers, lived in a house west of the Dallas School on 134th Street which had been built by Leonard Church. In 1958 five children lived with them.

[62]Church added, "Across the road from Lew White Pigeon was the Dallas School (a one-room school house) which in 1958 was in one of its last years of operation. Typically the school had 25-30 students and was always a majority of [MBPI] Indian students. The teachers were white" (William Church to Stearns, 1996).

Phoebe Stevens Hall. Phoebe, an Ojibway speaker, was married to an Ottawa Indian from Lake City, Ike Hall. They lived down hill, south of the Leonard Church-built home.

Edmund and Jenny Stevens Pigeon. Both spoke Ojibway. Their house was located on 132nd Avenue, east of Leonard Church's house. The house was made of tar paper and had a dirt floor. Also living there were four of their children.

Lewis and Gladys Church. The Church's lived on 28th street between 132nd and 134th Avenue. Gladys is a fluent [Ojibway] speaker and continues to teach younger MBPI member their native language. Lewis Church, a nonspeaker of Ojibway, in addition to his pastoral duties, was the school director of the Dallas School. It [the Dallas School board] hired and evaluated the teacher. Three sons and a daughter lived there.

Leonard and Mary Church. Leonard and Mary (Pokagon) Church lived north of the Salem Mission on 136th Avenue, east of 28th Street. They lived with their children Helen, Betty, Leonard, Jr., and Lynne Kay.

Gladys Sands. Gladys Pigeon Sands lived east of Leonard and Mary. Gladys was married to Wallace Sand, an Ottawa, and was a fluent Ojibway speaker (William Church 1995).

In addition to the actual residents near the Salem community, several non-residents maintained strong ties to the geographical core. William White Pigeon was one of several members who lived outside the Salem settlement in 1958 and yet had links to the Salem Indian Mission. At the time, White Pigeon was living 17 miles northwest of Salem, at Holland. Levi White Pigeon and Joshua Shagonaby lived in Grand Rapids, approximately 20 miles away from Salem. The three adult Shagonaby daughters lived in Allegan, ten miles south of Salem. These adults and MBPI members also attended the Salem Indian Mission services.

Of the 15 adults who were age 21 or older in 1958 and who regularly or sometimes attended Salem Indian Mission services, 12 (or 80 percent) were native Ojibway speakers in 1958. In 1965, a majority of the MBPI Salem Mission attendees who were 21 and

older still spoke Ojibway. Sometime after 1972, the Ojibway speaking adult majority, for the Salem Mission area and for the entire MBPI community, became the minority (Gladys Church 1996).[63] Additionally, on any given Sunday the Salem Indian Mission's congregation included from 10 to 20 percent non-Indians.

MBPI Marriage Patterns. The two tables below provide MBPI marriage pattern data from 1940 to 1995, using only those marriages of members listed on either the MBPI council-approved 220-membership (1994) list of potential members (Table IV) or the current 140-membership (1995) list (Table V).

TABLE IV

MBPI New Marriages, by Stated Range of Years, from 1940 to 1995
(Based on MBPI Council-approved 1994 list of 220 potential members)

MATCH-E-BE-NASH-SHE-WISH: New Marriages

	to a MBPI Member	to an Other Indian	to a Non-Indian	TOTALS: by % -- married to MBPI member or other Indian
1940's	2	4	0	**100%**
1950's	1	6	2	**78%**
1960-1965	0	2	2	**50%**
1966-1985	0	6	34	**15%**
1986-1995	0	1	9	10%

Source: MBPI Pet. 1995; William Church to Stearns, 1996

[63]As William Church observed, no MBPI member in 1958 under the age of 21 was fluent in Ojibway. Today several of the MBPI youth have taken Ojibway lessons but no youth has yet to achieve a high level of language ability in Ojibway (William Church 1996).

TABLE V

MBPI New Marriages, by Stated Range of Years, from 1940 to 1995
(Based on MBPI Council-approved 1995 membership list of 140 members)

MATCH-E-BE-NASH-SHE-WISH: New Marriages

	to a MBPI Member	to an Other Indian	to a Non-Indian	TOTALS: by % -- married to MBPI member or other Indian
1940's	1	2	0	100%
1950's	0	5	2	71%
1960-1964	0	2	1	67%
1965-1985	0	5	24	17%
1986-1995	0	1	5	17%

Source: MBPI Pet. 1995; William Church to Stearns, 1996

Both tables show that 50 percent or more new marriages of a MBPI member to his or her partner were to other Indians through 1964,[64] although only a small number were endogamous within the MBPI ancestral community. Table IV shows a 35 percent drop in Indian/Indian marriages among the MBPI from the periods 1960-1964 and 1965-1985. Similarly, Table V shows a drop of 50 percent between the two periods. As noted elsewhere in this report, the mid-1960's was a MBPI milestone. Around 1965, MBPI high school students who graduated almost always relocated in order to continue their education, technical, or military training. The communities to which they typically migrated had large populations of non-Indians.

Table V shows the current list of MBPI members. Although most had other tribal options, they chose to stay enrolled with the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish. Table IV, an earlier roll that preceded the March 17, 1996, Federal acknowledgment of Huron Potawatomi, Inc., included 80 members who relinquished their MBPI membership for another tribal group – most often selecting Huron Potawatomi, Inc. Keeping in mind the small number analyzed, Table IV and V show that the 80 members who had relinquished the MBPI membership had a slightly greater propensity to marry non-Indians than did the group of 140 Table V non-relinquishers.

Baseball: 1955-1965. For the Bradley-Salem baseball players, the summer of 1955 marked the group's conversion from playing organized or league hard ball to fast pitch

[64]"Other Indian," as used here, is defined to include a marriage to any other individual who is a part of an Indian group inside or outside of Michigan.

softball. A supplemental narrative to the community section of the MBPI petition provided additional detail concerning the change that took place beginning in 1955:

> The young boys had already played softball for years in the one-room [K-8] country schools they [had] attended. There the teachers would schedule games, travel to a neighboring school with a car load of kids, and take pride in beating the other teachers brains out, on the scoreboard, if possible. Dallas School [the one-room, K-8 school located in the Salem area], District #9 where the Indians attended, was no pushover. There the young guys [ages 11-14] played softball and baseball interchangeably as a game. They just needed a place to continue their passion.
>
> To get the [school] team going Lewis Church donated a three-acre square of his corn field plot on 28th Street between 130th and 132nd Avenues in rural Allegan County where a diamond was staked out. A gravel, clay mixture was trucked in by Gerald Arnsman, and the community gathered together to rake the infield and pick out the big stones. A backstop was made from sassafras poles, a tree that is plentiful in the sandy soil of the Indian community, and mesh chicken wire completed the stop. A deep drainage ditch ran parallel to the third base line separating the field from a county dirt road. Cars would park along the road side for a furlong [220 yards or 1/8 of a mile] and those who got there early had the best seats in "the park."
>
> Everything was in play at the "Indian Field," as it was called, even the drainage ditch and the corn field behind the first base coaches box, if you didn't break your neck catching the ball.
>
> It was Joe Sprague [now Reverend Sprague and respected head of the MBPI Sprague line] and Joe White Pigeon who took the lead and managed the Indian softball teams that played from 1955 to 1964. That first team, named the "Salem Indians," used [former hard ball manager] Henry Sprague's baseball team's shirts. Henry's son Hank was the catcher. His son, D.K. [present chief of the MBPI] played third. His son, Joe [Reverend], played shortstop. His son-in-law Dale "Tiger" Badger played second. Bobby

> Church [son of Reverend Lewis Church and now a head pharmacist at a Allegan hospital] played center. Ron Lowery, half Chippewa and half Paiute [foster son of MBPI member Lewis White Pigeon], pitched. Eddie White Pigeon played third and short and Joe White Pigeon was a back up catcher. Isaac Hall, a Chippewa who married into the community, played outfield and so did Bob Stevens [MBPI community member]. Reverend Lewis Church played outfield when the team was short handed.
>
> Before a game was started the umpires were recruited out of the crowd [from MBPI members]. Usually it was Edmund Pigeon, or his brother Danny. The Indian fans lined up on both sides of the field's baselines and brought their own folding chairs and some snacks. This was the recreation before TV's and movies (Part I Supplemental Information-Community 1995).

Bradley and Salem Camp Meetings. Elders Richard Sprague, D.K. Sprague, and Gladys Church recalled that five camp meetings were held in either Bradley or Salem between 1949 and 1962. The earlier camp meetings were held at the Bradley Indian Missions since the facility had a basement suited for meal preparation, space which the Salem Mission lacked. After a wing was added in 1954, the Salem Indian Mission hosted the remainder of the camp meetings. D.K. Sprague, a Salem area resident in 1954, recalled that the 1954 camp meeting was held in a tent in an open area immediately west of the Mission and that Warren Pamp [of HPI] was one of the ministers invited to speak to the attendees (William Church to Stearns August 1, 1996). Minutes from an October 3, 1954, session of the Methodist Indian Workers Conference (MIWC) listed Salem as one of the six camp meetings scheduled for the following summer:

> Some camp meeting dates thus far:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Salem Indian camp | June 16-26 |
> | Northport Indian camp | July 17-24 |
> | Kewadin Indian camp | July 31-Aug. 7 |
> | Greensky Hill Indian camp | Aug. 14-21 |
> | Mt. Pleasant Indian Res. | Aug. 25-Sept. 4 |
> | Oscoda Indian Res. camp | [no date given] |
>
> (MIWC Minutes October 3, 1954; BAR Admin. Files)

The Rose Smith Sprague Funeral. The widow of Henry Sprague died on September 16, 1963, at the age of 64. Henry and Rose had ten children, of whom eight had begotten 34 grandchildren.[65] Their family formed the core of the Bradley community. The Reverend Lewis Church officiated at the funeral, which was held at a Wayland, Michigan funeral home on September 19. The guest list of Rose Sprague funeral listed 96 signatures which each signature represented an individual, family, or couple.[66] Comparing legible signatures from this guest list to those known to be a part of the MBPI community, 45 signatures, virtually all adult signatures, were from the 1963 MBPI membership (MBPI Petition 1995, MBPI Genealogical Technical Report 1996).

Adult Ojibway Speakers within the MBPI Community

Up to 1965, and through 1972, many adult MBPI members, age 21 and older, continued to speak Ojibway. Table VI below shows that over 50 percent of the MBPI adults spoke or understood Ojibway up to 1966 and through 1972.

Table VI
MBPI Adults Who Spoke Ojibway, 1966 to 1975

Summary -	Year:	1966	1970	1972	1975
Total -	Number of MBPI Adults:	71	76	81	94
Total -	# of Speakers / Non-Speakers:	48/23	43/33	41/40	39/55
Total -	% of Adult Ojibway Speakers:	68%	57%	51%	42%

KEY: S = Ojibway Speaker, x = English Only Speaker. Sources: MBPI Pet. 1995, Gen. Tech Report 1996.

[65] 59 of the 140 MBPI members on the current MBPI roll are descendants of Henry and Rose Sprague.

[66] A precise count from the funeral's guest list is not possible because of numerous entries that were signed, for example, "Mrs. Bush and Family" or "Jennie Pigeon and Children."

MBPI Community Life and Political Influence: 1966 to 1985

Post Secondary Education and Migrating Out. From the mid-1960's and afterward, almost all MBPI youth graduated from high school. The handful who did not graduate eventually earned a GED. Approximately 60 percent of those students who graduated from high school during and after the mid-1960's choose to leave the Bradley/Salem area to continue their education at Michigan vocational, community, or four-year colleges -- institutions which were located from 25 miles to 200 miles away from the Bradley/Salem area. These students maintained contact with their parents and other MBPI members by returning home on weekends, if their post secondary program was relatively close by, or during Thanksgiving, Christmas, spring, and summer breaks (Field Data 1995).

In decades prior to the 1960's, MBPI members were most apt to marry and start families before age 21 in the rural areas of Salem or Bradley. By the 1960's and afterward more than half of MBPI's young adults married and started their families after age 21 while residing in larger Michigan cities such as Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, and Mount Pleasant. Of the seven MBPI members born after WWII who graduated from high school in the 1960's, five (71 percent) waited until the 1970's to marry. From the 1960's to the 1970's, the total numbers of MBPI marriages and births nearly doubled -- from 7 marriages in the 1960's to 13 in the 1970's and 23 births in the 1960's to 40 in the 1970's. During these decades, progressively fewer of the newly married MBPI members settled near Bradley or Salem (BAR Genealogical Report 1966).

Maintenance of Ties between Removed Youth and the Bradley/Salem Communities. Although an increasing number of MBPI youth were leaving Bradley and Salem, most resettled within 50 miles of Bradley/Salem and very few moved outside the state. A majority of the employed youth found positions, usually after completing their academic or technical post secondary programs, in nearby Grand Rapids (population, circa 1970: 60,000) or Kalamazoo (population, circa 1970: 150,000). Older members recall frequent weekend visits of the members who had moved to these two cities which were only 25 to 30 miles from the Bradley/Salem communities (Field Data 1995).[67]

[67] MBPI members who lived or went to college within 50 miles of the core community indicated they had visited Bradley or Salem once or twice a month while attending college (Field Data 1995).

Examples of maintenance of community ties were demonstrated by cited incidents where a young worker, who had lost a job, or a college student, who lacked sufficient funding to continue schooling, chose to return to their homes in the MBPI communities in order to regroup and reassess their situation (Field Data 1995).

Homeward bound regrouping by the MBPI youth was not limited to the period under discussion, 1966 to 1985. This regrouping phenomena was cited by several MBPI members who noted instances of young people returning home when their career or college interests changed, funding was depleted, or other personal hardships were unexpectedly encountered. This researcher interviewed one such "regrouper" during his on-site visit to the Salem community in 1995. She was attending an out-of-state art school in which the tuition had been, without warning, increased significantly. She could not afford to continue and, in the tradition of other youth in similar situations, she returned home. In her case, she was able to live at home while looking for employment that, through moneys saved, would eventually allow her to return to art school (Field Data 1995).

The Missions. From 1966 to 1985, the relocated young and old members returned to the Salem and Bradley communities. They frequently returned on weekends, holidays, and extended visits to meet with relatives and friends while attending a mission-sponsored service or activity such as a potluck or a fund raiser. These special focus activities were held to share information of community import with as many members as possible, while providing an event to raise funds. Money raised in these events was used to help meet the needs of the mission or an emergency need of a MBPI member.

From 1966 to 1985, during these mission-sponsored gatherings, members residing at Bradley and Salem reported seeking out MBPI relatives and friends who shared community gossip with them. The mission minister or organizers of the services and events brought all attendees up to date as to the status of pending MBPI land claims cases and other political actions undertaken by the group (Field Data 1995).

Mission Expansion. Twenty MBPI members and five or six non-MBPI members typically attended the Salem Indian Mission services during the 1960's. In the 1970's Salem Mission's attendance doubled, to over 40 attending Sunday services (Reuter 1993, 280; MBPI Pet. 1995); however, this figure most likely includes children. On August 12, 1974, the Reverend Church asked the MBPI community to proceed with the Mission's expansion (Reuter 1993, 281).

Approximately 150 MBPI members responded to Church's request to build an addition to the Mission. Members, including those who rarely or never attended mission

services, contributed money and labor – men provided the physical labor while the women provided food and drink. On August 12, 1974, the MBPI men began by demolishing the undersized 1954 addition. The $34,000 construction project used community labor to build an addition which was much "larger, with four classrooms in its basement and a large fellowship room on the main floor" (Reuter 1993, 281-282). The addition was completed in four months (Reuter 1993,281).

In addition to his pastoral duties at Salem, in 1972, Reverend Lewis Church was asked by the Methodist Conference to resume his ministry of the Bradley Indian Mission. A congregation of 23 parishioners attended regularly in the 1970's and approximately 36 in the 1980's, which can be attributed, in part, to the doubling of births in the 1970's over the previous decade. In a Kalamazoo Gazette February 6, 1983, article Lewis Church was quoted as saying "the Bradley church has 18 members on its roster and there are 29 in Salem. But the congregation's constituency [those that attend from time to time but are not listed members] is larger than that." Gladys Church, who maintained church attendance records for both Bradley and Salem missions from 1980 to 1990, provided the following list of mission members:

1980	Bradley 16 members	
"	Salem 27	"
1981	Bradley 18 members	
"	Salem 28	"
1983	Bradley 16 members	
"	Salem 17	"
1986	Bradley 17 members	
"	Salem 22	"
1987	Bradley 16 members	
"	Salem 22	"
1988	Bradley 16 members	
"	Salem 32	"
1989	Bradley 19 members	
"	Salem 34	"
1990	Bradley 15 members	
"	Salem 34	"

(William Church to Stearns August 1, 1996; BAR Admin. Files).[68]

[68]From 20 to 30 percent of the above mission membership totals, by year, represented non-MBPI members – that is, either other Indian or non-Indian. Some of non-MBPI members were spouses of members; other were from non-Indian families. Eliminating these non-MBPI members from the yearly attendance totals in the above list, then 20 to 31 percent of the MBPI membership were members of either the Bradley or Salem Indian mission, depending on year.

From 1988 to the present, approximately 40 MBPI members or 28 percent of the total MBPI membership have been attending the Indian mission in Grand Rapids. Combining the total

Special services celebrating Christmas, the beginning of Advent, Easter, and other dates concluded with a community potluck. Members brought traditional Indian foods to the community dinners where they socialized and older members sang songs in their native tongue (Reuter 1993, 272-273; MBPI Pet. 1995).[69]

In the winter of 1979, an unusually fierce storm piled up ice and snow on the Bradley Mission's roof "to buckle the walls" (Kalamazoo Gazette February 6, 1983). Lewis Church informed the community's elders of the potential disaster. Church, with the elders' support, rallied the MBPI community. Across family lines, mission members and non-members alike responded to the call of Rev. Church by repairing the roof. In addition, the MBPI laborers added a combination fellowship hall/kitchen annex that served to house future Sunday school classes, Mission dinners, and community meetings (Reuter 1993, 273; MBPI Pet. 1995).

Grand Rapids. Reverend Lewis Church recalled that MBPI members were "leaving for the steady jobs of Grand Rapids" beginning with the post-WWII years (Field Data 1995). By the early 1960's an estimated 20 percent of the members lived in the greater Grand Rapids area (William Church 1996). In 1964, Lewis Church met with MBPI members living in Grand Rapids to discuss the possibility of establishing a Sunday service in the city (Gladys Church 1996). These young MBPI migrants voiced a desire to attend a church similar to the missions that they had attended while growing up in the rural Bradley and Salem communities. They added that they wanted to attend a mission in Grand Rapids where they could sing hymns in Ojibway and communicate socially with other MBPI members. Responding to their requests, Reverend Church and other Methodist officials made arrangements to establish an Indian mission. An abandoned Korean church was secured and then converted to hold services for the MBPI congregation (Reuter 1993, 284-285).

Beginning in September of 1964, Sunday services with congregations ranging from 30 to 50 were held in Grand Rapids in the newly dedicated Hope Methodist Indian Mission. Services were scheduled in the afternoon so that Mission attendees would not have to compete for parking spaces with non-Indian families attending nearby churches of other denominations. Lewis Church indicated that the majority of Mission attendees were

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MBPI membership total at the Salem and Bradley missions with the Grand Rapids mission, then for the years 1988, 1989, and 1990, approximately 48% of the membership were attending either the Salem, Bradley, Grand Rapids missions.

[69]From ten to thirty per cent of the attendees to such MBPI community wide activities included non-mission MBPI members (Gladys Church 1996).

young MBPI married couples with children. The congregation also included a few non-MBPI Potawatomi, Chippewa, Ottawa, and non-Indian families (MBPI Petition 1995, Field Data 1995).

Lewis Church conducted Sunday services and membership training classes at the Mission in Grand Rapids while Gladys Church, his wife, led church school classes. Within a few months of services, the congregation numbered almost 50 adults. Officials representing the Methodist Union, however, decided in 1965 that the Grand Rapids Mission was not one of their priorities. The "project was discontinued" in late 1965 (Reuter 1993, 285).

Another Grand Rapids mission "project" was initiated 13 years later. Reverend Lewis Church along with Alvin Chamberlain, a Chippewa pastor, and Joseph Sprague, who had moved from Salem to Grand Rapids in 1972, established the Interdenominational Indian Church of Grand Rapids in 1978 in a building owned by the Aldergate United Methodist Church (William Church to Stearns June 23, 1995).[70] These services ended abruptly when the owner sold the church facility in the summer of 1980, stating the current occupants did not cover the facilities' operating expenses (Reuter 1993, 285-286). However, the effort to establish a Methodist Indian Mission in Grand Rapids continued.

In November 1984, the Methodist organization held Sunday evening services for MBPI families at a rented community center in Grand Rapids. Reverend Joseph Sprague, an MBPI member of Mt. Pleasant, was appointed by the Methodist Conference to serve as the group's minister (Reuter 1993, 287).

Table VII shows three examples of varied activities in which MBPI members were drawn to attend: a bridal shower, a graduation party, and a funeral, with the number of members attending each of the activities from Bradley, Salem, Grand Rapids, other Michigan, or out-of-state home residences.

[70]Other Indians representing other acknowledged and yet to be acknowledged groups also played a role in the establishment of a Indian church in Grand Rapids.

TABLE VII

ANALYSIS OF THREE COMMUNITY EVENTS BETWEEN 1971 TO 1980

NAME OF EVENT	Bridal Shower for June Fletcher	GED Grad. Party: G.Church	Alex Chlebana[1] Funeral
Year of Event	1971	1980	1979
Total # MBPI Attending	16[71]	23	51
Location of Activity or Interment	G. Church home, Salem	G. Church home, Hopkins	Bradley Indian Cemetery
# MBPI - Bradley Area		2	17
# MBPI - Salem Area	10	14	5
# MBPI - G.Rapids Area	3	3	24
# MBPI - Other MI	1-Kalamazoo	4-Ste.Marie	2-Ste.Marie, 1-Battle Creek, 2-Mt.Pleas.
# MBPI - Out of State	1-NM, 1-WV		

Source: MBPI Petition 1995, Field Data 1995

The majority attending the bridal shower were from the Salem area, but this might be expected since the shower was for the niece of Gladys Church, a Salem area resident. The 1980 GED graduation party for Gladys Church was attended by larger numbers of MBPI members from Salem and Grand Rapids, since she was most active in MBPI mission and women's organization activities in the Salem and Grand Rapids areas. The third activity, a funeral for member whose family was from the Bradley area, was attended by relatively large numbers from the Bradley area. By the late 1970's the number of MBPI members living in the Grand Rapids area was almost equal to the combined total of the members living in the Salem and Bradley areas. The high number of Grand Rapids area members who attended the 1979 funeral reflects not only the attendees' personal tie to the deceased, a young man, but also the large pool of MBPI members who happened to live in Grand Rapids by 1979.

[71]Total # MBPI and other #MBPI figures are likely to be undercounted. Only legible names of MBPI members are included in the count. If a signature is given as John Doe and Family, only John Doe is counted. Also, often only one member of a family signs on behalf of the entire family. Again, only the one signer is counted.

Education. Since 1965, very few MBPI students have dropped out of school. Students living in the Salem area have all graduated from high school with many continuing on to post secondary training. The greatest number of drop outs of MBPI during the last 20 years has occurred in those families living in the greater Grand Rapids area, approximately four, and two in the Bradley area (William Church 1996).

For several years Salem parents served on the Hopkins Public School District's Indian Advisory Board and, in that capacity, had the final say as to how to expend Department of Education grant funds on Indian Education Act projects that were designed to reduce student drop out rates. The Board used the moneys to send their Indian students on extended field trips. But by 1982, the Board noted that this money was not being used as the Government intended, since all their Salem students were staying in school from year-to-year from first grade through high school.[72] That year the Board, whose members were from the Salem MBPI community, could no longer justify its participation in the program and, therefore, ended its affiliation with the District's Indian Education Act projects (MBPI Pet., William Church 1996).

Baseball: 1971 to 1985. By 1970, few baseball players remained in the Bradley-Salem area. Some left the area for military service and others to attend college. Some moved to Grand Rapids for better jobs. The Indian ball team was reorganized in Grand Rapids, 25 miles north of the Bradley-Salem area:

> The focus of the Indian softball which began in Allegan County on Lewis Church's farm, fed by the Hank Sprague tradition, next moved to Grand Rapids. There [Reverend] Joe Sprague organized church teams for recreation and challenged other teams to games. After 1971 Roger Sprague, fresh out of the Navy, fielded a team in Grand Rapids. Roger and his brother Hank "Spinore" Sprague,

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[72]The MBPI provided some historical context for the caliber of MBPI students:

> Education in the 1980's has also been a force for the Allegan County Indians to contend with and harness. The Allegan County Indians have had a drop out rate of less than 1 percent since before the introduction of the Indian Education Act in the schools in 1972. The first Indian graduates from Public schools in Allegan County began in the late 1950's. Support for education has long been promoted by the Mission leaders [ministers]. . . The Griswold Mission at Bradley and the day school education provided there was one of the first successful public day schools for either Indians or non-Indians in the state of Michigan (MBPI Pet. Part I Supplementary Information-Community 1995).

> Jr., scouted the city of Grand Rapids and recruited Indians to make up a new team there. Or at times, Indians sought them out to get on the team. The new Grand Rapids team had elements of the Allegan County Indians but had new blood, and new talent from other Tribes.
>
> Roger recruited new members because the old Allegan County Indians were increasingly going off to college for the very first time in the community's history. Others were off to the service during the Viet Nam War. From 1968 to 1972 Bill Church [MBPI current Secretary of State] played Triple A softball in Kalamazoo, Dick Church [now Assistant Surgeon General for PHS] played in Ann Arbor, Bob Church played in Kentucky, and D.K. Sprague [MBPI Chief] played in Viet Nam. Roger Sprague managed the team until 1985 (Part I Supplementary Information - Community 1995).

Political Activity: 1965 to 1985

The NMOA and Land Claims. In 1969, the Northern Michigan Ottawa Association (NMOA) leadership announced to the MBPI membership that NMOA had been successful in its suit against the Federal Government for Ottawa claims to lands below the Grand River. The NMOA leadership explained that the payment was to be awarded to Indians who were historically located in northern Michigan. The payment was not to include Indians whose ancestors were on the Taggart Roll of 1904. Under those terms, few if any MBPI members, other than Leonard Church and Lewis Church, appeared to qualify for payment by right of their Ottawa ancestry.

Hunting and Fishing Rights. In 1970, Elmer Peters, Jr. of Bradley, Charles "Moose" Pamp [of the HPI], and Willard "Colonel" Bush, son of Bradley traditionalist Silas Bush, formed the Michigan Indian Hunting and Fishing Rights Association. The purpose of the organization was to preserve the "right to hunt and fish all the time [without fees or licenses], anywhere in Michigan, on and off a reservation" (MBPI Petition 1995). The group was primarily made up of Indians, but whites also belonged:

> You do not have to be an Indian to Join, But. . ., it would be of some help if you were Indian to begin with. Young and old are welcome to join. The most welcome are:

> Chippewa, Ottawa, Pottawatamie [sic], and one-quarter (1/4) of the above tribes.
>
> Whites are welcome to join also.
>
> (Indian Hunting Association Letter to Whom It May Concern November 25, 1970).

In 1971, Colonel Bush attempted to be the MBPI's opinion leader on the issue of land claims. When he took his interpretation of the group's land claim message to the MBPI community, the community was not receptive to his message. Reportedly, the community's lack of support angered him. He then directed his message to various governmental and judicial forums found in Michigan. His message beseeched the United States to abide "by the terms of its treaties with various Indian tribes" (Kalamazoo Gazette March 28, 1971; MBPI Pet. 1995).

Later in 1971, Bush hunted deer without a license and then turned himself over to the local authorities at the Allegan jail. They arrested him. As soon as he was jailed, Bush posted bond and later appeared before a judge. He based his "not guilty" plea on 19th century treaty provisions between the Federal Government and the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band (MBPI Pet. 1995).

Through these actions, Bush aimed to show other Indians and government officials that Indians maintained certain treaty rights, including rights to land claims and resources, which had been negotiated in treaties, government-to-sovereign government. The Allegan County prosecutor agreed with Bush that the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish had indigenous rights to hunt in the county without a state license. A news article described reasons why George Greig, the prosecuting attorney, decided to drop prosecution:

> He based his conclusion on a 1964 U.S. Supreme Court decision (Tulee vs. Washington) in a similar case. The court held in that case that all state fishing regulations had been complied with, "only the fee was missing." The decision went on to point out that numerous Indian treaties "foreclose the state (of Washington) from charging Indians a fee of the kind in question here."
>
> The Allegan prosecutor pointed out that Bush was complying with all state laws and regulations when he was arrested for hunting deer without a license on opening day last fall (Kalamazoo Gazette March 28, 1971).

Modern Era: 1986 to Present.

Bradley Area Profile. Today, few MBPI members are currently living on what constituted the 360-acre Selkirk Reserve of the nineteenth century.[73] Most of that acreage is now owned by non-Indians.[74] Today's MBPI leadership, with the support of its members, is attempting to purchase available tracts of land within the boundaries of the historical settlement. These tracts and others to be acquired in the historical settlement area will be placed, it is hoped by the MBPI, into Federal trust status once the group achieves Federal acknowledgment.

Land. Thus far, the MBPI have acquired the title to 70 acres of historical settlement land. They claim ownership of the two-acre Indian cemetery, which is also located on settlement land. The group's first 10-acre parcel was secured in the fall of 1992 with a down payment of $5,000 from a grant secured by a young MBPI member living in Oakland, California. The amount was matched by action of the leadership of the Bradley Indian Mission (Bradley Board Minutes September 15, 1992).[75] A second 10-acre parcel was donated by long-time neighbor and farmer C. Richard Walker whose father owned the Walker Pickle Company in Bradley.[76] The land donation was featured in the local Wayland newspaper:

> A deep spring feeding the chain of lakes east of Bradley mirrors the blood of time and traditional Indians feel for this sacred land.
>
> We are at Bradley Indian Mission, where C. Richard Walker is signing papers giving the Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa 10-acres between the church and a 19th-century graveyard, including headwaters of the lakes (Penasee Globe November 24, 1993).

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[73]Currently, 31 members or 22 percent of the MBPI membership live within 10 miles of the Bradley settlement and the Indian Mission. Within 25 miles of the Mission, 86 members, or 61 percent of the membership, are domiciled.

[74]Beginning in the late 1800's, parcels of this acreage were sold to the highest bidder whenever the MBPI owners of the parcels had failed to pay their land taxes.

[75]The September 15, 1992 minutes of the Bradley Indian Mission Board stated: A motion was made by Margaret [Sipkema] to get $5,000 from undesignated funds for payment to buy our historic lands. Seconded by Anna Chlebana. Motion passed.

[76]Older MBPI males recalled working in the Walker Pickle Company and on the Walker farm baling hay. The MBPI Vice-Chief, Richard Sprague, was named by his mother "in honor" of Richard Walker (Field Data 1996).

A dinner to honor Richard Walker and his family for the land donation and also to help the group raise funds was held on December 11, 1993, as reported in a local newspaper:

> A fund-raising feast, to help the tribe with its land purchase, will be held Saturday, Dec. 11, in the Moline Township Hall. Indian corn soup, fry bread and other treats will be served, plus there will be bake and white elephant sales. All are welcome to attend (Penasee Globe November 24, 1993).

On July 26, 1995, a tribute feast was again held to honor C. Richard Walker. Approximately 25 members came to the dinner, including the MBPI elders. Honoring gifts were exchanged (Field Data 1995). Most recently the group received title to 30 acres which were acquired from a 40-acre parcel owned by Richard Sprague, son of Elizabeth and Adam Sprague (Richard Sprague 1996).

Other land within the former Selkirk Reserve (also referred to here as the Bradley Settlement) near Bradley has been purchased by MBPI families or has been set aside by non-MBPI owners for the group's option-to-purchase at a later date. Today, five MBPI families own a combined total of 28-acres on former Bradley settlement land. Cumulatively, if the group acquires the 20-acre parcel and the 12-acre Huron Potawatomi, Inc.-purchased land,[77] then, with the 28-acres of MBPI family owned and 72-acres of group owned land, MBPI members or the group would have ownership of 132-acres of the historical 360-acre Bradley site.

Since early 1992, about 30 MBPI families agreed to contribute $60 per year to the group's Land Preservation Fund. The accrued fiscal resources of the Fund were to be used for land acquisition. In 1992, moneys in the Fund were used to pay off the balance of the land contract on the first 10-acre acquisition and, later, to pay toward the principal of the 30-acre parcel purchased from MBPI member Richard Sprague (The Grand Rapids Press December 1, 1992; Kalamazoo Gazette December 1, 1992; Field Data 1995).

The petitioner has stated in its petition and shared with several reporters what the MBPI wants to do with group-owned land. Tribal offices, a campground, and a community

[77]This acreage on historical settlement land was purchased by HPI to help assure that Indians would have access on the road that leads from the Bradley Indian Mission to the Bradley Indian cemetery.

center were given as the three development priorities for the land (The Grand Rapids Press December 1, 1992; Kalamazoo Gazette December 1, 1992).

People. Four members are currently living within the historic boundary of the 360-acre Bradley settlement.[78] Another 39 MBPI members are living within 15 miles of the settlement. People from these MBPI members' households, representing 31 percent of the MBPI's total membership, form the congregation of the Bradley Indian Mission.

In interviews with 20 members who lived off of the 360-acre settlement, 80 percent of the interviewees hoped to live on land set aside by the group for a MBPI reservation, if the group became acknowledged, if reservation jobs were to become available, and/or if they retired. In 1994, Richard Sprague, age 65, did retire and returned to the Bradley settlement. He began building on land previously owned by his parents, Adam and Elizabeth Sprague, who had raised him on the same acreage. He noted that returning to the settlement gave him "deep satisfaction" and, he added, "it is good to be home." He recalled why he wanted to return and how the community responded to his return:

> I always wanted to come back here [to the Bradley settlement] and build my home. We, me and my wife, just started clearing the brush and the big trees [when] word got around [the community] that I was going to build a [32' X 60' pole] barn [to live in prior to building the house]. When I got started, here came the help. Bill [Church] came over from Grand Ledge whenever he was not working on his job. He saw our [my wife and me] coming back here was a part of our people coming back [here] together. His dad came over [to help]. D.K. [Sprague] was here. Bill had a nephew who came over. Steve Collins [daughter of Jacob Sprague], which is Luella's husband, came over. A couple of nephews came over (Field Data 1995).

[78] Three other Indian families who live on settlement acreage and who are eligible to enroll with the MBPI have indicated their desire to do so. To date, however, they have not relinquished their membership in another southern Michigan Indian group to reassign with the MBPI.

MBPI families and other Indian families living within the Bradley settlement socialize several times a week. It is what one MBPI interviewee called Indian "neighborliness": "They [the Indian neighbors] want us to cut across their property, and, while we are at it, stop in and visit them" (Field Data 1995).

Bradley Indian Mission.

A recent newspaper article stated:

> Today, you can barely find Bradley on the map—it is midway between Shelbyville and Wayland on old US 131. The mission, however, is located in the center of "Indian territory" just east of [the town of] Bradley" (Allegan County Roads July, 1988).

The Mission is the settlement's most prominent landmark. Its indoor facility and its outdoor grounds provide a setting for members to "just talk" or plan a social activity to conduct a fund raiser or make arrangements to car pool to support the competing Bradley Braves at a neighboring community baseball park (Field Data 1995). Some members living outside of the Bradley settlement, in the Grand Rapid and Kalamazoo areas, come to the Mission to participate in Bible study with the local MBPI members on Thursday evenings or to attend church services on Sundays.

The Bradley Indian Mission's general purpose area was used for a variety MBPI-wide community activities. Mission board meetings were held there once every month or every quarter.[79] The petitioner provided intermittent copies of the Bradley Mission board's minutes for 14 meetings held between June 10, 1980, and October 6, 1993. The minutes documented outstanding mission bills to be paid, fund raisers to be held, Sunday school reports, and other routine business. No list of attendees was provided with any of the submitted minutes, although the Mission minutes for March 22, 1981, indicated that nine members (no names given) were present (Bradley Mission Minutes 1980-1989).[80]

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[79]During the summer months, Richard Sprague, the MBPI sub-chief, hosted the smaller board and elder meetings outside of his community-built pole barn residence.

[80]The Mission minutes for 1992 and 1993 indicated that Reverend Knapp led the meetings and that Reverend Lewis Church still attended the meetings. Church led the opening prayer and continued to make motions and otherwise participate as an active board member.

Salem Profile. The Salem Indian Mission continues to be a center of community activity for the Indians who have decided to enroll with the MBPI and for other MBPI-eligible Indians who have yet to enroll with an Indian group, or who have enrolled elsewhere. Together, the Indians living in this area can be placed into four groups[81]: 1.) Indians who are members of both the Salem Indian Mission and MBPI; 2.) Indians who are members of MBPI, but not of the Mission; 3.) Indians who are members of the Mission, but not MBPI; and 4.) Indians who are not members of either the Mission or MBPI,[82] but are eligible to be enrolled in the MBPI. The non-member group lives within two miles of the Mission and often supports Mission activities such as the annual taco sale fund raiser (held at the Mission to raise money for Mission-related expenses).

Sunday attendance at the Salem Indian Mission varies significantly depending on the season. From fall through spring, attendance varies from 50 to 60 each Sunday – a total which includes both Sunday service and Sunday school attendees. Of the total number at the Salem services, approximately 70 percent are MBPI members, 20 percent other Indian, and 10 percent non-Indian. For summers, because families are often on vacation or attending camp meetings, attendance is reduced by half. Irrespective of the season and congregation size, fund raisers, visits to the sick, and other mission/community related activities go on, as the need arises (Field Data 1995, Gladys Church 1996).

Grand Rapids Profile. Forty-nine members, or 35 percent of the MBPI membership, live in the greater Grand Rapids area. Slightly over one-half of these members in Grand Rapids, 26 of the 49, are age 21 or older, with a mean age of 35.

Although Grand Rapids has the highest concentration of MBPI adults of age 21 or older, the mean age of the Grand Rapids adults is 12 years younger than those adults who live near the Salem Indian Mission and 7 years younger than those adults who live near the Bradley Indian Mission.[83] The mean age of adults of the three communities is affected by the number of elders, age 62 or older, in each of the three communities. Currently,

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[81]A non-resident fifth group is possible for MBPI members who live out-of-state but who attend one of the three missions whenever they visit the area. Maryland resident Richard Church noted that he and his family typically attend mission services while making biannual visits to relatives residing in the Salem/Bradley/Grand Rapids area (Field Data 1995, Gladys Church 1996).

[82]Specific named examples in BAR files.

[83]The mean age of adults, ages 21 and older, for Kalamazoo is 34 (N=9), a mean age statistically insignificant to that of Grand Rapids' 35.

the Salem area has two elders (33 percent of the Salem's adults are elders), Bradley has four elders (25 percent of the adults are elders), and Grand Rapids has no elders.

Such data suggests that the younger adults continue to move in relatively large numbers to urban communities to take advantage of the long-term employment opportunities, which will allow them to better provide for their families rather than will the typically short-term jobs found near Salem or Bradley.

MBPI elders appeared to be content to live in Bradley and Salem, the communities in which they grew up. With a MBPI base population of 141 and an overall MBPI elder population of only 8,[84] no reliable elder migration trends could be established.

Pawating Magedwin Indian Mission. In 1989 the Korean Christian Reformed Church building again became available for sale.[85] Several Christian ministries combined their resources to purchase the church that was to become the "Grand Rapids gathering place," or Pawating Magedwin, for Indians living in the area. The Indian mission had its first service on July 9, 1989. A Grand Rapids reporter attended one of the July, 1989, services and wrote of his experience:

> Inside the small church, fans blow the midsummer heat from side to side. The 25 people at Pa-Wa-Ting Ma-Ged-Win United Methodist Church also try to break the swelter, waving their orders of worship to stir the muggy air.
>
> Informally dressed, and acting more like a family at a reunion than a congregation at a formal service, they sing from the old Methodist hymnal: "Open wide thine ears of love, Lord I'm coming home." For the 100-member Native American Church at 441 Knapp St. NE, the words hold extra meaning. Until three weeks ago they did not

[84]The names of the eight MBPI elders, along with residence, are, from the oldest to the youngest: 1.) Lewis White Eagle Church, Salem area; 2.) Gladys Mamagona Church, Salem area; 3.) Joseph Sprague, Sr., Mt. Pleasant; 4.) France Maple Sprague Montour, South Dakota, 5.) Ana Mae Sprague Chlebana, Bradley area; 6.) Margaret Marie Sprague Sipkema, Bradley area; 7.) Richard Charles Sprague, Bradley settlement; and 8.) Ardis Sprague Badger, Bradley area.

[85]The Native American Ministry of the Methodist Church had considered purchasing the same church in 1980.

> have a building to come home to, wandering like nomads from place to place to worship their God.
>
> "Anytime we get anything from our Lord, it takes an effort on our part," the Rev. Joseph Sprague tells the congregation (The Grand Rapids Press July 29, 1989).

One year later, MBPI member Joseph Sprague became the full-time minister (Reuter 1993, 288-289). Attendance averages 30 to 40 members at the Sunday service with an equal number attending Sunday school. Approximately 30 MBPI adults and children attend mission or Sunday school services there.

Pawating Magedwin has offered the Grand Rapids Indian community a variety of social and cultural activities in addition to formal church services since its first services in 1989. Services have been provided to the congregation included: a twice weekly elder meal program,[86] an after school Ojibway language program, camping excursions, and basket-weaving training (The Grand Rapids Press July 19, 1989; Reuter 1993, 290).

Importantly for MBPI members who attended Pawating Magedwin services or activities, they learned from the mission bulletin, mission announcements, or through word-of-mouth about meetings, fund raisers, and other issues of import taking place at the Bradley or Salem missions. After learning of such activities, Grand Rapid members would often attend fund raisers which took place at either the Salem or Bradley missions. Similarly, Bradley and Salem area residents supported fund raisers taking place at Pawating Magedwin (Field Data 1995, Gladys Lewis 1966), as the section below documents.

Intergroup Communication. Four factors help to promote communication among MBPI group members:

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[86]Levi Rickert, grandson of Levi White Pigeon of Salem and executive director of the Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council, noted to a reporter his weekly involvement with the elder lunch program:

> Twice a week he eats with Indian elders in a lunch funded by the Pawating Magedwin United Methodist Church. Waiting in line for his turkey and stuffing, Rickert says, "A lot of them remind me of my grandparents. . . It's nice to listen to Indian stories" (The Grand Rapids Press December 1, 1992).

1. MBPI are closely related;
2. Sixty-one percent, 86 of 140 members, maintain homes within 25 miles of each other with the center being the Bradley settlement area;
3. A majority of the 27 out-of-state members spend one or more weeks per year during visits to MBPI members residing in southern Michigan; and
4. Approximately 40 percent of the membership regularly attends Sunday services at either the Bradley Indian Mission, the Salem Indian Mission, or Grand Rapids.

As documented in detail in the Genealogical Report, the 140 MBPI members are linked by consanguineal ties and/or intermarriage. Because 70 percent of the MBPI members are related as second cousins or closer, and because almost two-thirds of the MBPI live within 25-miles of each other, communication among the MBPI membership is usually timely and expansive – that is, reaching a large percentage of the membership within a short period of time. To cite one recent example, a women parishioner of the Salem Indian Mission telephoned two other parishioners who in turn called other MBPI members about a need to hold a taco sale fund raiser to provide money for a Mission administrative need. Within two days, using a telephone tree networking approach, virtually all members from Kalamazoo to Salem, Bradley to Grand Rapids were notified. On Saturday of that week, July 6, 1996, the Salem Indian Mission parishioners conducted a taco sale that was attended by more than 50 MBPI (over 36 percent of the membership) who came in from Grand Rapids, Bradley, Kalamazoo, and other southern Michigan communities (Gladys Church 1996).

In conducting interviews with MBPI members in southern Michigan and out-of-state, the anthropologist collected triangulated evidence that affirmed the closeness of members who lived out-of-state. One younger member living in California, after learning the community wanted to purchase land within the traditional Bradley settlement boundaries, promptly secured a $5,000 grant to be used as a down payment for such a MBPI land acquisition. Beside maintaining regular telephone contact and letter correspondence, out-of-state members indicated that they annually return to the Bradley/Salem/Grand Rapids area – a statement confirmed by MBPI members living in this area.

The missions have also unified the group, as 40 percent regularly attend one of the three missions. In addition, the missions have provided the MBPI membership with the key to timely communication. For any fund raiser, any individual MBPI member need, or MBPI community activity such as a scheduled Bradley Braves baseball game, the three missions provide a forum "to get the word out."

The missions' facilitating the "getting the word out" contributed to increasing the turnout at MBPI functions and activities that are summarized in the following two tables.

TABLE VIII
ANALYSIS OF THREE COMMUNITY EVENTS BETWEEN 1987 TO 1990

NAME OF EVENT	Elizabeth Sprague Funeral	Church's 50th Wedding Annv.	Rev.Church's Retirement Party
Year of Event	1987	1990	1990
Total # MBPI Attending	35[87]	47	69
Location of Event	Bradley Indian Cemetery	Burnips Township Hall	Salem Indian Mission
# MBPI - Bradley Area	12	8	12
# MBPI - Salem Area	7	28	21
# MBPI - G.Rapids Area	10	8	26
# MBPI - Other MI	2-Mt.Pleas.,1-Portage		3-Merrit, 1-AArbor, 4-Plainwell,2Mt.Plea
# MBPI - Out of State	1-AZ, 2-OH	3-MD	

Source: MBPI Petition 1995

Table VIII shows that more MBPI members are likely to attend if the event or function is connected to their immediate community. For example, Elizabeth Sprague was a longtime resident of Bradley. Still, a significant number of MBPI members came from the Salem area, Grand Rapids area, and six from more distant Michigan communities or out of state. The latter group of funeral attendees represented significant numbers of MBPI members from across family lines. Sizeable numbers of MBPI members, representing various MBPI family lines, also attended the 50th wedding anniversary and Rev. Church's retirement party.

[87] Total # MBPI and other #MBPI figures are likely to be undercounted. Only legible names of MBPI members are included in the count. If a signature is given as John Doe and Family, only John Doe is counted. Also, often only one member of a family signs on behalf of the entire family. Again, only the one signer is counted.

TABLE IX
ANALYSIS OF THREE COMMUNITY EVENTS BETWEEN 1993 TO 1995

NAME OF EVENT	Henry Sprague, Jr. Funeral	Softball Team Fund Raiser	Eye Surgery Fund Raiser
Year of Event	1993	1994	1995
Total # MBPI Attending	42[88]	24	29
Location of Activity or Interment	Bradley Indian Cemetery	Moline Softball Park	Wayland VFW Hall
# MBPI - Bradley Area	12	6	9
# MBPI - Salem Area	11	5	6
# MBPI - G.Rapids Area	16	11	11
# MBPI - Other MI	2-Hastings, 1-Mt.Pleas	1-Portage, 1-Grand Ledge	1-Portage, 1-Grand Ledge, 1-Hastings

Source: MBPI Petition 1995

For three different MBPI activities – one funeral, one sport fund raiser, and one eye medical emergency fund raiser – the support is relatively constant among the membership, as measured by significant levels of member attendance from either Bradley, Salem, or Grand Rapids areas. The percent of MBPI member attendance at any of these activities, then, does not change appreciably from any of the three areas where the variable is the event's location. For the three listed activities in Table IX that took place between 1993 and 1995, a significant number of MBPI members attended — 30 percent of the MBPI members attended the Sprague funeral, 17 percent attended the softball fund raiser, and 21 percent attended the surgery fund raiser. Fifty-eight (41.4%) of the MBPI members attended at least one of the three activities.

For series of activities and functions reviewed in tables IV, V, and VI, MBPI member participation does not appear to be driven by specific activity or function type. Most members were willing to help out other members, or the mission, in times of need. To a certain extent, MBPI members are more likely to attend either a funeral or a fund raiser as a function of the closeness of their consanguineal ties and/or friendship to the

[88] Total # MBPI and other #MBPI figures are likely to be undercounted. Only legible names of MBPI members are included in the count. If a signature is given as John Doe and Family, only John Doe is counted. Also, often only one member of a family signs on behalf of the entire family. Again, only the one signer is counted.

deceased, for example, or, in the case of the MBPI member in need of financial support, the urgency of that need.

MBPI members do not appear to prefer participating in only funerals or only mission activities to the exclusion of other MBPI activities or functions, with one notable exception. The exception was found in collecting the data for Table VI. The list of the MBPI attendees who attended the sports fund raiser included several names from two MBPI households, the only time the names of these members appeared on any of the guest lists of the nine activities and functions reviewed in tables IV, V, and VI. Sports, baseball in particular, are likely to be important to members of these two households.

Baseball: 1986 to 1995. By the 1986 season, D.K. Sprague became the team's manager. The majority of the team's players continued to come from the ranks of the MBPI rolls. Now, in the 1990's, the team has resumed playing in Allegan County and is called the Bradley Braves. The day the BAR anthropologist viewed a game in a Moline ball field, seven miles north of the Bradley settlement, the game had to be halted in five innings because of the "mercy rule" – the Bradley Braves were ahead of the team called the No Names by 8 to 0.[89]

The Bradley Braves that evening was supported by about 50 MBPI spectators who, as in earlier decades, brought their folding chairs to watch the game and chat with their friends and relatives. Several of the Bradley Brave fans traveled 30 miles to support the team, a trip they say they make once a week during the team's softball season. It was some of the players and diehard fans who had supported the softball fund raiser of June, 1994 as reviewed in Table VI and described in the MBPI petition:

> This past June [1994] our community held a fund raiser. It was a softball game. It featured all the old time players and the men faced the women. It was staged as a fund raiser for paying for the reservation land. The Indians called themselves the Allegan County Clowns and each old-timer dressed up as he pleased, some as clowns, and some as "Indians." The day netted $600.00 and provided a great day of getting together and sharing a great meal. Even some of the folks from the Pokagon Band came to once again "play for Henry Sprague's teams" (Part I Supplementary Information-Community 1995).

[89]The "mercy rule" is invoked if one team leads by 8 or more runs at the end of the 5th inning.

Golf. Almost all of the former baseball and softball MBPI stand-outs have taken up golf, which has allowed them to remain active in a sport. These golfers played regularly every Friday during the golfing season, which, for them, began immediately after the spring thaw and ran until the first snows in late fall. One of the regular participants was the Reverend Joseph Sprague, age 73, who commuted 110 miles every Friday from Mount Pleasant in order to play with, typically, six to ten other MBPI male and female golfers.

The majority of the golfing regulars tend to be older MBPI males, over age 50, from the group's leadership ranks. Some of the group's business is conducted informally on the golf links, but the emphasis is on friendly competition. The Friday players usually select the golf course that is located approximately three miles south of the Bradley settlement. Otherwise, they choose from two other courses that are nearby.

Every July they host the MBPI Invitational Tournament. The Tournament is primarily MBPI players and relatives of the Friday "regulars." Some players are non-MBPI members who are friends of the Friday "regulars." Tournament participants are grouped in foursomes. If they are lacking a player to complete a foursome, the organizers might elicit the participation of a non-golfing visitor, as was the case when this anthropologist went from observer to participant-observer during the 1995 Tournament.

1994 Building Bee. Adam and Elizabeth Sprague were among the few Bradley Indians to pay their taxes on land within the Bradley settlement and by so doing, retain their parcel. For a short period after the death of Elizabeth Sprague at age 93 in 1987, no family member resided on the family's 40 acre parcel. Richard Sprague, Adam and Elizabeth's son, continued to pay the land taxes so that he or other family members might someday relocate there. In 1994, Richard Sprague retired from his job in the Kalamazoo area and, with his wife, moved to the 40 acres.

His plan was to clear enough of the land to build a pole barn. The barn was to be used as their temporary living quarters while they completed the second phase of their Bradley

retirement project, that of a house.[90] Sprague had just begun to clear the trees and brush when a member of the greater MBPI community volunteered to help him:

> I always wanted to come back here and build my home. We, me and my wife, just started clearing the brush and the big trees. Word got around that I was going to build a barn. When I got started, here came the help. Bill [Church] would come over from Grand Ledge when he was not working on his job. He would stay with his dad. He saw our [my wife and me] coming back here as a part of our people coming back together. His dad [Reverend Lewis Church] came over. D.K. [Sprague] was here. Bill had a nephew who came over. Steve Collins, which is Luella's husband, came over. A couple of nephews came over (Field Data 1995).

The MBPI community had, as described by Richard Sprague, established a "building bee" – a MBPI tradition where adult members collaborate to conduct a work project by contributing their labor to build, remodel, or repair the homes of others in the community (MBPI Photographs 1995; Personal Observation July 1995; Field Data 1995). Richard Sprague recalled building and types of bees when he was growing up:

> I can remember several building bees, as they'd call them, where the neighbors would go over and help out. In the late 1930's, when we remodeled our home, we had a lot of community help then – the old home where I was born.
>
> Did your Dad help out?
>
> No, he was sick. His contribution for something like that would be moral support [for a building bee project]. He and mom would bring food stuffs. And I can remember

[90]Sprague added, "This pole barn [32' X 60'] will be our garage for the house [that we will be building]. [It was] $22,000 for materials. The labor was free. Excavation, concrete, and lumber was $12,000. House is going to be 17,000 sq. ft. When I applied for my permit, I said I hoped I could build it for $60,000" (Field Data 1996).

> some harvesting bees. We would go and harvest some farmers crops. My uncle Selkirk had a hay crop. They would have to sickle it down. Everything was done by hand. But it had to be done before it got rained on. They had a lot of help.
>
> I can remember women getting together. Seems like most of their work was quilts and baskets. Many of their blankets they gave away to needy families -- down through the 1930's and the 1940's. And when the men got together [for building bees], the women would make fantastic meals [for the men].

Political Influence: 1986 to 1995

Up until the mid-1980's, today's MBPI considered themselves to be "Bradley Indians" or "Allegan County Indians" with kinship ties to the Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa of other southern Michigan Indian communities. That political identification of the MBPI was to change temporarily in the next few years.

Beginning in 1986, David Mackety, Chairman of Huron Potawatomi, Inc. (HPI), contacted MBPI member William Church, who at the time worked in a leadership position on the Michigan Commission on Indian Affairs in Lansing. Mackety believed that if the Bradley Indians were on the HPI rolls, HPI's case for Federal acknowledgment would be stronger. After first lobbying Church for his support of this acknowledgment approach, Mackety petitioned other MBPI leaders in meetings in Allegan County during the next two years.

In 1988, with David Mackety representing HPI and with William Church, Margaret Sipkema, and Joseph Sprague representing the Allegan County Indians (ACI), an agreement was attained.[91] The ACI side wanted to assure a measure of autonomy for the members they represented. The final agreement reflected the position held by the ACI.

[91]The petitioner did not provide BAR with a copy of the document, however.

The negotiated agreement provided for ACI organizing a "northern council" which would be politically autonomous from Athens's "southern council." A "grand council" would be convened to mediate difference and facilitate consensus (William Church 1995).[92]

David Mackety encouraged Joseph Sprague, who was living in Grand Rapids at the time, and Margaret Sipkema, who was from the Bradley area, to run for two vacant HPI council seats. Both Sprague and Sipkema agreed to run and were elected to the HPI council in 1988. Their election provided the HPI council with wider regional representation on a council that was considered by some to be dominated by members living on the Pine Creek Reservation. Also, their election was thought to support Mackety's leadership, which had suffered from disputes among factions within the HPI membership.

Mackety's then-current council term was to end in April 1991. One of the HPI factions represented by HPI young adults actively lobbied the membership to vote Mackety out of the council during the April election. The faction succeeded. The reconstituted council then elected new officers:

Chairperson: Margaret Sipkema from the Bradley area [now a MBPI member]

Vice-Chairperson: John Chivis from the Grand Rapids area

Treasurer: Alberta Wells from Pine Creek

Member-at-Large: Joseph Sprague from Grand Rapids [now a MBPI member]

Elma Gabow from Pine Creek was subsequently added to the council.

Margaret Sipkema's tenure as HPI's Chairperson was to be short. Her leadership, along with Joseph Sprague, was viewed by the Athens/Pine Creek-based HPI members with suspicion. Alleged, but never substantiated, charges of impropriety were leveled at Sipkema. Chivis, Wells, and Gabow united to request Sipkema's resignation. Sipkema, unequivocally maintaining her innocence of any improprieties, refused to resign. With Joseph Sprague absent, John Chivis made the motion that Sipkema be removed from

[92]William Church was the only source provided by the petitioner to discuss this interaction between the two groups; see also the HPI proposed finding and accompanying technical reports.

office. Chivis, Gabow, and Wells voted for the motion. Reverend Joseph Sprague was then accused of being a co-conspirator, based on being a close Sipkema ally. Upon hearing the charges, Sprague resigned (HPI Minutes December 6, 1991). "With that meeting, the Bradley-HPI collaboration effectively ended" (HPI Anthropological Report 1995).

Establishing a Political Organization. The end of the HPI collaboration meant that the MBPI leaders and the membership were able to return:

> their focus to Allegan County and began to discuss under what circumstances, and conditions, they would consider re-organizing their Tribe and filing for Federal Acknowledgment (MBPI Pet. 1995).

The group's motivation for reorganizing or formalizing their organization was not limited to "filing for Federal Acknowledgment" and then successfully completing the process. Land and mission leadership were also factors. Land speculators were looking at developing acreage near to the Bradley settlement lands. The group feared that the pending development might raise land values and taxes so high that families living on or near settlement lands would be forced to move. Further, the group's hope to purchase the land within or adjacent to the traditional settlement boundaries might not be possible if land values escalated dramatically.

Although Reverend Lewis Church has been honored by the MBPI community with a retirement celebration on July 21, 1990, he did not relinquish his pastoral duties until 1992,[93] when he was replaced by a non-Indian minister. It was decided in early 1992, after Church collaborated with Reverend Joseph Sprague, that the Methodist mission boards at Bradley and Salem would relinquish their "governing role in the community in favor of a community wide governing body made up of both Mission and other family heads from the community" (William Church to Stearns May 28, 1996).[94]

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[93] Reverend Lewis Church, at the request of the Methodist Church, agreed to stay on as mission minister for both Bradley and Salem two years after his official retirement in 1990 to January, 1992.

[94] The missions in Bradley, Salem, and Grand Rapids continued their active support of the petitioner's organizational evolution of today's MBPI. As will be documented later in this report, the missions were to provide the petitioner with fiscal assistance in purchasing land, office space, and status as a special mission of their outreach program.

Secular Path to a MBPI Organization. To establish a formal secular governing body for the "Bradley Indians," a series of community meetings ensued, with the first one being held on March 5, 1992. The meeting was organized by the group's university-trained historian, William Church. He had spent several months researching the group's history and developed a presentation that included roles of the traditional leaders, settlement patterns, and treaty negotiations with the Federal Government (Allegan-Barry Indians Meeting Minutes March 5, 1992).

The March 1992 meeting was held at the home of Elder Margaret Sipkema and had an attendance of approximately 40 community members. William Church posited that the Bradley-Salem Indians "could file for Federal recognition . . . since they did not fall under the protection of any other tribe's legal territories." Through D.K. Sprague, Church distributed a 9-page abbreviated history of the group to the attendees and other interested community members. The group decided that Lewis Church would arrange a follow-up meeting of the community after trying to elicit the support of the Methodist mission leadership for the group's secular organizing activities (Allegan-Barry Indians Meeting Minutes March 5, 1992; William Church 1996).

The new Bradley-Salem minister, Reverend David Knapp, a non-Indian and Reverend Lewis Church's replacement, and the Bradley Indian Mission board gave their "unqualified support" to Reverend Lewis Church when he contacted the leadership in March, 1992. The Mission leadership followed this correspondence to the group with a proclamation designated "the Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Tribe (i.e., MBPI; see below for the significance of this terminology) as a special mission of the Bradley Indian Mission," a move designed to make Mission and Methodist Church funds available to the group (Mission Board Minutes November 18, 1992). Several months later Reverend Knapp wrote to the group's Secretary of State:

> The Bradley Indian Mission community and the Tribe have worked very cooperatively. It is no wonder. Since Treaty times the Mission Church has held the Tribe in its protection and care. At this time we are very pleased to see the community take the self-reliant steps it is taking to prepare itself for the future (Rev. Knapp to William Church May 11, 1993).

Organizational Meeting: April 18, 1992. A meeting for the forming "Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawas" was held on April 18, after the Methodist leadership voiced no objection to the formation of such a group. The meeting was held at Bradley Indian Mission and was attended by a reported 25 members, including almost all of the group's elders (William Church 1996). The meeting was chaired by William Church.

Numerous topics were discussed by those in attendance, including the development of boundaries for the group's service area, eligibility to sit on the Council of Elders, possible submission of Administration for Native Americans grant proposal, signing of the incorporation papers, and fund raising options (Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawas Minutes April 18, 1992).

Anna Mae Chlebana, a Bradley elder, proposed raising funds to assist the group in securing title to parcels of land within the 360 acres that constituted the historical Bradley settlement. She suggested that each family unit of the group donate $5.00 per month or $60 per year. The money raised would be deposited in a United Bank account for the Land Preservation Fund. The assembled members agreed to pursue Chlebana's proposal (Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawas Minutes April 18, 1992).

A letter detailing the group's decision to purchase Bradley settlement land was sent to the membership under the title: "Dateline: Bradley, Michigan. April 18, 1992."

> **TODAY**, April 18, 1992, as your elders we have made a decision that will insure that you will also, like your grandfathers and your grandmothers before you, be able TO **REMAIN IN YOUR HOMELAND**, forever. We have taken a modern day stand. We've decided to purchase land for our tribe. We have also asked the United States to restore our status as a **Nation.** [Capitalization, bolding, and underlining duplicate original document.]

The letter then suggested how members could help the group to acquire land.

> **We need your help.** You don't have to give your life anymore. Just a few dollars. We are asking you to contribute if your are an adult single person out there on your own, or the head of a family **to help us buy back our reservation**. Or at least a part of it before it is too late and it is all sold to others. We cannot afford to wait. We are asking for a donation of $5.00 a month form each of you. $60.00 at one time would be preferable. It will only be spent on land (Dateline April 18, 1992).

Recognizing that many of the members had limited incomes, the "dateline" correspondence added the following language:

> $5.00 per month is $60.00 per year; less than .17 cents per day. This $5.00 contribution by comparison is the cost of a movie theater ticket; or

> two Big Macs; or a six pack. You can probably think of many other small things it may buy. . . .If we combine our $5.00 contributions we can buy our tribe a future. We're asking each of you to sacrifice and help us rebuild our Nation. Please help us (Dateline April 18, 1992).[95]

State Incorporation. A total of ten leaders and elders of the group signed the Articles of Incorporation application at the April 18 meeting. On April 21, 1992, William Church submitted the group's incorporation application to Michigan's Department of Commerce at its state office in Lansing, Michigan. The MBPI, then under the name of the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan, Inc.,[96] became a "domestic nonprofit corporation" under Michigan law on April 27, 1992. The stated purposes of their incorporation were, as listed in their application, to:

> assist the Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians, hereafter referred to as the Gun Lake Band, to achieve economic and social independence, and preserve their traditional ways of life;
>
> work cooperatively with the United Methodist Indian Missions to maintain and enhance the social and cultural values of the Community;
>
> assist the Gun Lake Band to assess, plan, and implement health care, housing, and other programs necessary to meet the needs of enrolled members;
>
> secure or provide technical assistance, training, and leadership development services to Gun Lake Band members in cooperation with the Confederated Historic Tribes, Inc., the State of Michigan, or other agencies;

[95]A son of Roger Sprague who lives in Oakland, California had secured a $5,000 grant from a California funding agency which was matched by the MBPI. The MBPI had already negotiated a land contract to purchase a 10-acre parcel for approximately $2,000 per acre or $20,000 for the entire parcel. Those funds were used a deposit on the 10-acre parcel. The $5.00 monthly contributions from the group's families was to be used to pay off the balance.

[96]During this period the petitioner used several variant names. The group apparently believed that it had to adopt a name consistent with 19th-century treaty terminology.

execute contracts, land purchases, and authorize creation of necessary sub-units of governance to increase the tribe's capacity building efforts;

seeking funding, grants, and expertise to develop a non-gaming based economy to allow furtherance of the ideals of the corporation and it's projects;

raise funds as well as receive funds from church organizations, state, federal, private and other sources to organize and implement programs;

oversee and monitor such funds and contracts (Michigan Incorporation Application 1992).

The address of the incorporated group's registered office was given as "5721 Grand River Drive, Grand Ledge, Michigan" with the name of the resident agent given as "Mr. William L. Church, Secretary of State, Gun Lake Band Grand River Ottawa Indians." The MBPI members who signed as incorporators included: Reverend Lewis W.E. Church, Norman Pigeon, Rudolph John Bush, Richard C. Sprague, Luella Collins, Mary Shagonaby Grigsby, David K. Sprague, June Mamagona Fletcher, Margaret Sipkema, and William L. Church (Michigan Incorporation Application 1992).[97]

Letter of Intent to Petition. The BIA received a "Letter of Intent to Petition from Gun Lake Village Band (a.k.a. Match-she-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians) on June 24, 1992. The letter, signed by representatives of their Elders Council, formally established the group as a petitioner in Federal process of acknowledgment (BAR Admin. Files 1992).

Summer 1992 Newsletter. A newsletter from the group's office was distributed among members in which it announced D.K. Sprague's selection as tribal chief.

[97] Norman Pigeon, Rudolph John Bush, and Luella Collins are currently on the HPI tribal roll. William Church has reported that Rudolph John Bush will relinquish his membership in the HPI for membership in the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band (William Church 1996).

> In a move to insure leadership continuity from one generation to the next the Gun Lake Band Elders selected D.K. Sprague as a Tribal Chief in the month of July, 1992. He joins Lewis W. E. Church as a representative [traditional chief] of the tribe (Gun Lake Band Newsletter Summer 1992).

The newsletter detailed the selection process of the tribal chief.

> Mr. Sprague's elevation to chief status for the tribe was not the result of an election with a campaign. The custom of the community is to consider those who have stayed near the community for leadership. He was selected by the Elders (Gun Lake Band Newsletter Summer 1992).

Council of Elders Meeting. The next documented meeting was convened on September 10, 1992, at the Bradley Indian Mission and was an organizational meeting for the group's Council of Elders. In attendance were four elders (two other elders had excused absences), D.K. Sprague, and William Church. No minutes were read, since this was the Council of Elders first regular meeting. William Church discussed the ANA grant and the need to proceed immediately to implement the project, as set forth in the research design of the grant application. William Church was appointed Interim Director of the ANA project. Other topics reviewed by the Council included office space, location, and equipment; development of a tribal roll; placement of the group as 9A on BAR's petitioner list; and the establishment of a procedure to sign checks on an already opened bank account (Council of Elders Minutes September 10, 1992).

On October 21, 1992, a follow-up Council of Elders meeting was held at the Bradley Indian Mission. Eleven members were present and the minutes from the previous meeting were read after a quorum was declared by Chair D.K. Sprague. William Church gave an update on the progress of the group's ANA project. The status of the Land Preservation Fund was discussed. The group decided to place ANA and Land Preservation Fund moneys in the same bank. The requirement for office space to conduct the group's business and implementing the project design of the ANA grant were considered by the attendees. The Grand Ledge address was to continue to be used as the group's headquarters address and the multi-purpose room of the Bradley Indian Mission was to serve as an auxiliary office (Council of Elder Minutes October 21, 1992).

Church read an October 21, 1992, draft of a one-page document titled "Draft criteria for membership of Indians to be listed on the base roll of membership of the Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians of Michigan." Before adopting the criteria for membership draft, the Board requested that Interim ANA Director, William Church, write a companion draft to define "community" for the purpose of accurately defining

and developing the tribal base roll. After reviewing both drafts the Board would consider their adoption. The Board then elected William Church to Director of the ANA project after noting that he was best qualified for the "highly technical nature of the job" (Council of Elder Minutes October 21, 1992).

Clarification of Membership of the Council and Board. William Church sent a letter, dated November 25, 1992, to Traditional Chief Lewis Church, Business Chief/President D.K. Sprague, and members of the Elders Council to clarify the membership on the Council of Elders [the group's tribal council]. The Council was composed, Church noted, of 18 members who were members on one of three Council's sub-groups: the Board of Directors of the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan, Inc.; the Bradley Indian Mission Board; or Community Representatives, as identified in correspondence to the BIA[98] (William Church to D.K. Sprague/Lewis Church November 25, 1992).

Church's other purpose for sending the letter was to clarify who on the Council should be a voting member for making decisions on group's base roll for membership. He argued that "only official members, recognized by the community up to this time, be directly involved in the membership decision. . ." (William Church to D.K. Sprague/Lewis Church November 25, 1992).

Church closed the letter by noting the upcoming community dinner that would also serve as a meeting to inform the community of recent Council actions:

> Our Thanksgiving/tribal enrollment dinner with the community at 1:00 P.M. at the Porter Hall in Hopkins on December 19 will kick off the enrollment campaign and serve to inform the community about the United Nation and tribal development to date. I will prepare a newspaper

[98] As of November 25, 1992, the six members of the Bradley Indian Mission Board included Eliza Fought*, Margaret Sipkema, Anna Mae Chlebana, Fred Sprague*, Lewis Church, and Ann Bixler*; the seven Board of Directors of the United Nations of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan, Inc., included D.K. Sprague, John Bush*, Dick Sprague, June Fletcher, Luella Collins*, Wanda Ritsema, and Roger Sprague; and the five Community Representative included Ardis Badger, Joe Sprague, Carol Barker, Henry Sprague, and Lee Sprague. Together the three groups form the 18-member Council of Elders (William Church to D.K. Sprague/Lewis Church November 25, 1992). Members identified by an '*' are Indian and not MBPI members, with the exception of Ann Bixler, a non-Indian church member.

to distribute at the meeting (William Church to D.K. Sprague/Lewis Church November 25, 1992).

December Community Letter. William Church drafted a letter which was sent to members of the MBPI community inviting them to attend the December 19 meeting. The letter summarized recent actions taken by the Council and described the anticipated social and tribal activities planned for the December 19 meeting:

> On April 18, 1992, the Gun Lake Band of Ottawa Indians' Council, a body which had been preserved in the Indian Mission structure since the 1830's, officially incorporated itself with the State of Michigan as a non-profit organization named the **United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan, Inc.** We have formally petitioned the United States for federal recognition. The United States Bureau of Indian Affairs has placed our petition as **9th in the list of petitions for federal recognition.**[99] Our official name is the Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa as we became known in 1839.
>
> Recently we received a federal [ANA] grant to research our history, gather important documents, **and to develop our Base Roll of Membership.** Mr. Bill Church is directing the overall activity for the tribe.
>
> **You and your descendants** (your extended family members) are eligible for membership in the Gun Lake Band of Ottawa Indians. We have arranged a dinner, **at our expense,** to launch our tribal enrollment campaign. On the **19th of December at the Porter Hall in Hopkins,**

[99]This statement was a slight misunderstanding of BIA procedure. The MBPI was originally assigned an independent number (#128) by the BIA. At the time, under the 1978 regulations, priority for active consideration was governed by the petition number. As their families had previously been included on the HPI roles, the BIA reconsidered. Subsequently, the BIA assigned the MBPI the number of 9A, considering the MBPI as a derivative group from the HPI petition. Their assigned number has no impact under the 1994 revised 25 CFR Part 83 regulations.

> **Michigan, at 1:00 PM,** we are holding an informational social get together where you can pick up information about the tribe and learn about what we have been doing. Call it a Christmas dinner if you like.
>
> Rather than lengthy speakers we will have booths where you can discuss history, learn about your family tree, and review tribal plans that have been developed. The younger generation is doing the work on this dinner in honor of all the elders who have worked so hard to keep the community together all these years (William Church to Community December, 1992).

Elders Council Meeting: December 19, 1992. The Council was convened the morning of the afternoon community-wide meeting on December 19, 1992. Traditional Chief Lewis Church called the meeting to order at 11:00 A.M. Eight members of the Council were present. William Church provided the Council with an ANA project update and the reminder that the Council was a "formal government representing a sovereign nation once recognized by the United States" (Elders Council Minutes December 19, 1992).

Council member Ardis Badger asked that the Council consider membership eligibility. She made a motion that the Band require Indian descent, not a specific percentage or blood quantum, in determining member eligibility. Anna Mae Chlebana seconded the motion and the motion was passed unanimously. Wanda Ritsema motioned that the Draft Criteria for Membership, dated October 21, 1992, be adopted. Ardis Badger seconded the motion and the motion was accepted unanimously (Elders Council Minutes December 19, 1992).

A review of William Church's draft of community was then discussed. Church had delivered a November 25, 1992 draft of a four-point definition of a community member to the Council:

> Member of the "GLB Grand River Ottawa community" means:
>
> Indians currently residing in Allegan or Barry Counties;
>
> Gun Lake Band Grand River Ottawa Indians born or raised in Allegan or Barry Counties but now residing elsewhere;

> The off-spring of Gun Lake Band Grand River Ottawa Indians who formerly resided in Allegan and Barry Counties but now reside elsewhere, (and all their off-spring); and,
>
> have maintained regular contact with the Indians of Allegan and Barry Counties, or the Bradley or Salem Indian Missions (Church "Community" Draft November 25, 1992).

After the Council's discussion on Church's definition of community and its impact on developing the group's membership roll, Roger Sprague motioned that the four-point definition be adopted. The motion was seconded by Ardis Badger and passed unanimously (Elders Council Minutes December 19, 1992).

Group Name Change and Acknowledgment/Constitution Drafts. By the fall of 1993, the group changed its name to "reflect its true historic roots," the name currently used by the petitioner:

> Thus, the Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Tribe, also known as the Allegan County Indians, or the Bradley-Salem Mission Indians, formally became known to the U.S. and others near the local community as the **Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan**. Match-e-be-nash-she-wish was a former Principal Chief of the Band and most of the members of the Tribe today are descended from him (William Church to Stearns July 10, 1966).[100]

In October of that year, the MBPI developed a preliminary list of its potential members and a draft of its constitution. On May 20, 1994, BAR received a copy of their 220-member list and a draft of their constitution. (Refer to Genealogical Report for analysis of this roll and the submitted constitution.) The draft list was later revised downward to 140 members in October 24, 1994. The revised list reflected an 80-member adjustment for those former MBPI members who did not formally relinquish their membership in other groups (BAR Admin. Files 1994).

Council Downsizing and Constitution Review. The revised 140-membership list included four fewer members of MBPI's Council of Elders. From that point the Elders Council had 13 members.

[100]Members also descend from Match-e-be-nash-she-wish's contemporaries.

In 1996, the Elders Council evaluated its leadership structure and decided to make further reductions in its size to conform to the reduction in its membership rolls from 220 to 140 members.

> We have reached a very important stage of development in our Tribe. We have finally reached an agreement on the total number of Elder's Council members which will make up the representatives of the community (William Church to Elders Council April 22, 1996).

The agreed upon size of the reconstituted Council was seven members. As presently constituted, the members and their respective districts include:

At-Large District [members listed below reside in Grand Rapids]:

D.K. Sprague

Roger Sprague

Luella Collins[101]

Gun Lake District [greater Bradley area]:

Richard Sprague

John Bush

Carol Barker

Rabbit River District [greater Salem area]:

June Fletcher

Lewis Church

Council-Approved Constitution. William Church completed the final revisions of the MBPI Constitution in April, 1996. In a cover letter to the members of the Elders Council he noted the major modifications which were incorporated into the final draft:

[101]Luella Collins is listed in the current MBPI membership list has Luella Sprague. She is the daughter of Jacob Sprague.

1. Language was added to show [the] boundary between Gun Lake and Rabbit River voting District as requested by Exec. Council.

2. Language was added to show possible addition to membership based on the June 9, 1995, Elders Council decision where we agreed that "Direct descendants" of existing members could be added.

3. Language added to refine and define Territory, Sect. 1.

4. Language added to modify Elders Council to seven members and to regulate how future addition[s] may be made in Elders Council representation for increases of an additional 30 members in any one voting district (William Church to Elders Council April 22, 1996).

Church sent the final draft of the Constitution to the Elders Council with the instructions to "Please read this document" (William Church to Elders Council April 22, 1996).

On July 10, 1996, the MBPI Elders Council approved by a vote of seven for and zero against to approve their tribal constitution for submission to the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Executive Council and the Secretary of State. The day-to-day leadership of the MBPI's current government resides in the three-member Executive Council. The Elders Council selects the Executive Council members from their Elders Council's ranks. The selected chief may come from any of the three districts and is considered to be an operational or business chief.[102] The sub-chief is selected from the Council members who represent one of the two other districts which is not represented by the selected chief. The member is selected from the third district and is also considered a sub-chief.

D.K. Sprague, an at-large representative who lives in Grand Rapids, serves the MBPI community as their Council-elected Chief. His term expires in 1998 at which time the

[102]In a May 28, 1996 letter to BAR, William Church explained:

> After 1992, the Tribe once again created a Business Chief (as in the case of Charley and Inman Foster in 1910, and Jacob Sprague in the 1950's and 1960's). D.K. Sprague has been elected by the community as a Business Chief to handle the business affairs of the Tribe as it proceeds to achieve government-to-government status with the U.S.

Council will reaffirm Sprague or select another chief. Richard Sprague, representing the Gun Lake District and living in the Bradley settlement, is the MBPI sub-chief (also referred to as vice-chief). Reverend Lewis Church, the oldest living direct descendant of Penasee on the current MBPI roll and a representative of the Rabbit River (Salem) District, is also a sub-chief, but is considered by the membership as MBPI's traditional chief. The Constitution, ratified on July 10, 1996 empowers:

> these three men [to] represent the Tribe as the Executive Committee in between meetings of the Tribe and have the power to conduct business for the Tribe in lieu of the assembly of the total Elder's Council (William Church to Stearns May 28, 1996).

William Church, one of three sons of Lewis Church, serves as the group's historian and as the Secretary of State for the MBPI. He reports to the Executive Council and is directly supervised by Chief D.K. Sprague. William Church's term is "effective until the Tribe's next mandated elective process" in 1998, at which time the Executive Council will decide to retain him or not. The Secretary of State is the group's liaison to local, tribal, state, and federal government and agencies. He has served as the principal MBPI contact in the Acknowledgment process.

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"The names on these [annuity] lists are the Grandfathers and Grandmothers of those who appear on the 1905 Quarterly Conference Report in our Church records which illuminates a 150 year-old vine that follows our roots to the present. The Grand children of those listed in 1905 now make up the Mission Board, are all Indians. We, I would suppose are only the latest fruit (MBPI Pet.)

GENEALOGICAL TECHNICAL REPORT

Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan

SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE.

Governing documents. The Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan, Inc. (hereafter cited as MBPI or the petitioner) petition for Federal acknowledgment, as certified by the Elders Council, included an unratified, undated constitution and by-laws which were prepared in the period 1992-1993. Article X provided that this constitution should take effect "when adopted by a majority vote of those members entitled to vote at a special election held pursuant to Section 4 (a.) of P.L. 99-346, in which at least (30) percent of those entitled to vote shall vote and a copy shall be submitted to the Secretary of the Interior."

A modified version of the draft constitution was adopted by the Elders Council and submitted to the BIA on July 10, 1996. There was no indication that the 1996 constitution had been adopted by vote of the membership. Essentially, therefore, the petitioner does not have a formally adopted current governing document, but only a proposed governing document, which has been analyzed for the purposes of this report.

Prior to 1993, all but eight of the petitioner's members were carried on the membership lists of Huron Potawatomi, Inc. (HPI), a petitioner acknowledged through 25 CFR Part 83 procedures in 1994. The former governing documents of HPI were discussed extensively in the HPI Proposed Finding, Genealogical Technical Report.

Enrollment history. In October, 1993, during the active consideration phase of the HPI petition, 126 HPI members descended from the Potawatomi settlements near Bradley and

Salem in Allegan County, Michigan, formally withdrew from HPI. Their names now appear on the MBPI membership rolls and this group now constitutes the largest body of the MBPI membership, augmented by 6 additional Allegan County withdrawals from HPI between October 1993 and December 1, 1995, and 8 individuals from the Allegan County, Michigan, settlement who were not enrolled with HPI as of 1994. Some Allegan County families opted to continue their HPI enrollment.

Descent from the historical tribe. The descent of the petitioner's members from the historical Matchepehashshewish Band of Michigan Potawatomi is thoroughly documented on the basis of BIA annuity rolls from 1839 through 1870; extensive depositions pertaining to U.S. Court of Claims cases relating to Michigan Potawatomi taken in the early 1890's, by judgment rolls dated 1904 (Potawatomi), 1908 (Ottawa), and 1984 (prepared by the BIA in connection with the 1978 ICC judgment award to Michigan Potawatomi); by Federal census records; by state and county level vital records; and by auxiliary documentation such as real estate, probate, and Civil War military pension records.

All current members of the petitioning group descend from individuals listed specifically on all three of the following documents: in Shau-be-quo-ung's Band on the 1870 "Ottawa and Chippewa of Michigan" annuity commutation (or final annuity) roll, the 1904 Taggart Roll of Michigan Potawatomi, and persons identified as descendants of Shau-be-quo-ung's Band of Grand River Ottawa on the 1908 Durant Roll of Michigan Ottawa. The historical circumstances which led the OIA to make an administrative amalgamation of this particular Potawatomi band with the Grand River Ottawa for payment purposes are discussed in the Historical Technical Report.

The Griswold Mission settlement in Wayland Township, Allegan County, Michigan, was listed on the 1850 Federal census, with the names of some ancestors of Taggart Roll listees identifiable. The Indian names followed those of the settlement's Episcopalian missionary, the Rev. James Selkirk. In the 1860 and 1870 Federal censuses, the band was divided between Allegan and Oceana Counties, in accordance with the provisions of the 1855 Treaty of Detroit. By the later 1870's, however, the core families had returned to the old mission site from the government's attempt to relocate them on reserved land in Oceana County, Michigan. In the 1880 Federal census, these families were enumerated as an "Indian Colony," with ethnicity column

filled in as "I" in Wayland Township, Allegan County, Michigan. The 1900 Federal Census of Wayland and Salem Townships used the "Indian Population" schedule sheets to enumerate the Allegan County MBPI antecedent families, including those who would appear on the Taggart Roll in 1904.

In 1910, the settlements in Wayland and Salem Townships were again enumerated on the "Indian Population" special schedules. The tribal identifications indicated a mixed Ottawa/Potawatomi community, with a few Chippewa at Bradley. The Salem settlement was also enumerated on the "Indian Population" schedules. In 1920 in Wayland and Salem Townships, Allegan County, Michigan, the individual families were identified as Indian.

From the first appearance of ancestors of the MBPI in the marriage and death records kept at the Allegan County, Michigan, courthouse, in 1872, shortly after the 1870 annuity compensation, through the last date at which the records were open to inspection by the public in the 1930's, the members of the MBPI antecedent group were consistently identified as Indian and in only two instances were identified by any ethnicity other than Indian. These county copies of the state vital statistics records did not, however, provide any tribal identifications.

As a consequence of the 1978 ICC judgment award, eligible individuals were required to file copies of vital records documenting Potawatomi ancestry with the Michigan Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs. Copies of these files, which included birth, marriage, and death certificates, were provided with the HPI petition for all members who were living in 1978, including those who withdrew to become part of the MBPI petition. These folders documented the connection of each to the ancestor listed on the 1904 Taggart Roll. The remainder of the MBPI membership consists of direct descendants of members who were living in 1978.

GENEALOGICAL TECHNICAL REPORT

Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan

Introduction

Size. The current membership list of the MBPI shows 140 members. This number is consistent with the group's history. The Allegan County settlement has never been large since the re-establishment of the band on the former Griswold Mission land near Bradley, Michigan, about 1870. The residential population of the group has varied from approximately 75 in the 1870's and 1880's to a low of 50 about 1920 (see discussions of the demographic development in the Historical Technical Report). Not all living descendants of the Bradley and Salem settlements are on the petitioner's current membership list of 140 individuals, as many individuals who are eligible for MBPI membership also have ancestry from HPI, the Pokagon Potawatomi, or other federally recognized groups in Michigan, and have chosen to enroll with the tribe of the other parent. Some may exercise the option of choosing MBPI membership at a later date (see discussion below). For the period since 1970, the 1994 HPI Proposed Finding presented the following chart:

TABLE I
POPULATION GROWTH 1920-1978
BRADLEY AND SALEM, ALLEGAN COUNTY, MICHIGAN

Estimated total population in 1920: 50[1]

Date	Known Births	Known Deaths	Total Pop.
1920-29	15	2	1930: 63
1930-39	16	1	1940: 78
1940-49	21	2	
1920-1949 deaths, exact date unknown		14	1950: 83
1950-59	34	9	1960: 122
1960-69	48	10	1970: 160
1970-78	36	6	1978: 176

The ending date of 1978 was chosen to conform to that of the earliest HPI membership list submitted.

1 Estimate based on 1920 census (23 adults and 22 children, total 45) and genealogical records submitted by the HPI and MBPI petitioners indicating 28 adults and 20 children living in 1920 (total 48).

Source: genealogical records submitted by HPI and MBPI.

In connection with the petition for Federal acknowledgment, the MBPI submitted a list containing 220 names on May 16, 1994. This list represented the maximum anticipated membership under the petitioner's current membership criteria, if all eligible persons chose to enroll.

Geographical distribution of the membership. A large majority of the group's membership resides in Michigan, with the historical focus in Allegan County (in 1990, about 100 of the 140 members).[1] Since 1960, an increasing number of persons born in the Bradley and Salem settlements have resided in the Grand Rapids, Michigan, area. The petition indicates that the members reside primarily in an area which extends no farther than Grand Rapids to the north, somewhat beyond Kalamazoo on the south, nearly to Hastings in the east, and a few miles beyond Hamilton to the west (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994 Part III, n.p.). For a closer analysis of the current geographical distribution, see the Anthropological Technical Report.

Governing Documents

Introduction. For discussion of the interrelationship of the Indians of the Bradley settlement in Allegan County, Michigan, and the HPI prior to the end of 1991, see the Historical Technical Report to this Proposed Finding. A special HPI "board" meeting was held on December 3, 1991, to discuss the fact that Tribal Chairperson Margaret Sipkema had laid off the Project Director without full council approval (Memorandum, HPI Tribal Office). Ron Chivis stated that the meeting also "confronted" Ms. Sipkema and Joe Sprague "about notes that they were planning to form a non-profit organization for the community living in Allegan County, thus forming a 'splinter group'" (Chivis 1993, [5]; HPI Tribal Minutes, December 6, 1991).

On January 10, 1992, Margaret Sipkema and Joe Sprague re-signed from the HPI Board (Chivis 1993, Attachments). At that time, apparently, in so far as the Allegan County group had a governing structure, it was the "Bradley Mission Board of Directors," which as of April 18, 1992, consisted of: Mrs. Eliza Fought, Mrs. Margaret Sipkema, Mrs. Anna Mae Chlebana, Mr. Fred Sprague, Rev. Lewis Church, and Mrs. Ann

[1] The petition specifies that although there were about 400 Indians counted in Allegan County in the 1990 census, by no means all were members of the petitioner: some were Pokagon Potawatomi, some were HPI Potawatomi, some were Ottawa or Chippewa from elsewhere in Michigan, and some from non-Michigan tribe (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994, Part III).

Bixler (Church to Church and Sprague 11/9/1992; MBPI Pet. 1992f, [1]).

> "Early in 1992 Allegan County Indians asked recognized Allegan County Indian community leader Lewis Church (Grand River Ottawa) to call together Allegan County Indian leaders. The recognized leaders in Allegan County held their position in the community through participation in the Methodist Missions placed there by the War Department in 1838, Allegan County leaders, by tradition, have been Grand River Ottawa in an unbroken line since treaty times. The combined Allegan County Indian leaders met and agreed to enlarge the leadership body beyond that protected in the Mission. A community wide Elders Council was created.
>
> In 1992 a provisional government called the Bradley Settlement Elders Council was empowered to organize the Allegan County Indians. Political leadership thus was formally removed from the Mission where it had been lodged since treaty days, and a "modern Tribal government" was created (MBPI Pet. 1993b, 3).

On April 18, 1992, the Bradley group "agreed to expand" its governing body beyond the Bradley Mission Board of Directors and created an organization called the "United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan, Inc." (MBPI Pet. 1992f, [1]).[2] On June 4, 1992, the "United Nation" responded to an inquiry from AS-IA Eddie Brown by defining its leadership as follows:

> Chief: Rev. Lewis White Eagle Church
> Business Chief and President: Mr. D. K. Sprague
> Bradley Mission Board of Directors: (as listed on April 18)
> Board of Directors of the "United Nation":
> Mr. D. K. Sprague, Mr. John Bush, Mr. Dick Sprague, Mrs. June Fletcher, Mrs. Luella Collins, Mrs. Wanda Ritsema, Mr. Roger Sprague
> Community Representatives "as recognized by Gun Lake Band community leadership":
> Mrs. Ardis Badger, Mr. Joe Sprague, Mrs. Carol Barker, Mr. Henry Sprague, Mr. Lee Sprague (MBPI Pet. 1992f, [1]).

[2] Incorporation papers filed with the Michigan Department of Commerce, Lansing, Michigan, on April 27, 1992 (MBPI Pet. 1992b).

By November 9, 1992, the group was developing a "Tribal Council" or "Elders Council," but had not yet fully defined it. William L. Church wrote to Lewis White Eagle Church and D. K. Sprague enclosing a draft of the proposed membership (MBPI Pet. 1992g) and stating that:

> I am writing this letter to clarify whom [sic] should be a voting member of the Elder's [sic] Council **at this time** based on official action of the Gun Lake Band community. I have highlighted the words "at this time" to relate that this is not the full and complete membership of the Elder's [sic] Council as it will appear following the completion of our Base Roll of Membership. Other family heads will undoubtably [sic] be added following this process (MBPI Pet. 1994f, [1]).

At the end of 1992, the split between Huron Potawatomi, Inc. and the Bradley settlement became public knowledge. On December 1, 1992, an article entitled "Land of My Fathers" appeared in the Grand Rapids Press. It stated that:

> Bill Church, former Project Director for Huron Potawatomi, Inc., and other Council members of the "Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians" have been piecing together the history of the group to satisfy Bureau of Indian Affairs requirements for federal recognition status since 1975 (Land of My Fathers 1992).

During 1992, in preparation for a filing for Federal acknowledgment by the Allegan County settlement, the church elders voted to allow the government to be formally separated from Mission Boards and leaders. The Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band Elders Council was formed, and the group began to develop a constitution with assistance from a Health and Human Services/ANA grant.

A "Clarification" submitted in 1993 in relation to the separation of the Allegan County group from the HPI petition for Federal acknowledgment (MBPI Pet. 1993c) stated that the MBPI:

> permanent Elders Council was formally seated in 1993. It has 16 members, heads of extended families who represent their families and geographic community for the Tribe, and are the recognized Grand River Band government. Mr. D.K.

> Sprague serves as the Gun Lake Band Tribal Chairman" (MBPI Pet. 1993b, 4).

Development of the current governing document. The MBPI as an organization had no governing document prior to the 1993 unratified constitution. For a discussion of the development of the governing documents of HPI, with which the great majority of MBPI members were enrolled prior to 1993, see the Genealogical Technical Report to the HPI Proposed Finding.

In 1994, the MBPI submitted to the BIA a list of the "Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians Elders Council" (MBPI Pet. 1993d)[3] and "The Constitution of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan" (MBPI Pet. 1993a; MBPI Pet. Doc. 402), both of which were undated and unratified. The 1993 constitution draft contained a section entitled by-laws, also undated and unratified. It appears that although this document had not been formally ratified, the petitioner followed its provisions from 1993 through 1996. For a detailed discussion of its provisions, see below in the section on prior governing documents.

In the 1993 draft, Article X - Ratification of Constitution and By-laws provided that:

> This Constitution and By-Laws shall take effect when adopted by a majority vote of those members entitled to vote at a special election held pursuant to Section 4 (a.) of P.L. 99-346, in which at least (30) percent of those entitled to vote shall vote and a copy shall be submitted to the Secretary of the Interior (MBPI Pet. 1993a).

The petitioner did not submit copies of minutes of the meetings at which either of the proposed constitutions and by-laws (MBPI Pet. 1993a; MBPI Pet. 1996d) were discussed by either the Elders Council or the general membership.

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[3] Gun Lake District: (5 members). Mrs. Anna Mae Chlebana, Mrs. Wanda Ritsema, Mr. John Bush, Mrs. June Fletcher, Mrs. Carol Barker. Rabbit River District: (4 members). Rev. Lewis Church, Mrs. Margaret Sipkema, Mrs. Ardis Badger, Mrs. Mary Grigsby. Michigan at Large District: (4 members). Mr. D. K. Sprague, Mr. Richard Sprague, Mr. Roger Sprague, Mrs. Luella Collins.
Other members eligible for seats: (1) Joe Sprague (ex-officio, At-Large), 2) Lee Sprague, At-Large, 3) Bill Church, At-Large, 4) John Pigeon, Rabbit River.

Current governing document. On July 10, 1996, MBPI submitted a revised constitutional draft, adopted by the Elders Council on a vote of 7 for, 0 against, and signed by D.K. Sprague, Tribal Chairman, and Lewis Church, Traditional Chief (MBPI Pet. 1996d).

The resolution indicated that MBPI, with assistance from the ANA, had been refining the 1993 draft constitution over a period of three years. The key changes modified the boundary between the Gun Lake and Rabbit River voting districts; modified the language on membership eligibility based on a June 9, 1995, Elders Council decision; redefined the territory described; and modified the size of the Elders Council to seven members. The 1996 constitution contains no attached by-laws, which were Articles VIII and IX of the 1993 unratified constitution (see below).

Structure of the governing body. Article IV - Governing Body, Section 1, provides that the governing body shall be known as the Elder's [sic] Council, composed of seven members, elected by popular vote of qualified tribal members from each of the three voting districts (see below).

Article IV.5 provides that the Elders Council shall elect from its number the following officers: tribal chief, subchief, tribal secretary, and tribal treasurer. The chief and subchief shall be from different districts; if the chief is from Rabbit River or Michigan at Large, then the subchief shall be from Gun Lake. In addition to the elected officials, the chief shall nominate and the council shall appoint a Secretary of State. The elected officers shall constitute the Executive Council. The Elders Council shall appoint all necessary subordinate officers, boards, and committees, with additional provisions for the Executive Council in IV.6.

Article VI, Section 1, elaborately defines the powers of the Elders Council in 21 subsections. Section 2 provides for the exercise of further powers, specifically excluding the development of casino gaming enterprises (class III) (see below). Section 3 covers reserved powers.

Voting and elections. Article IV, Section 2 (1) defines the Gun Lake voting district, with three members. It includes the statement:

> A minimum of (2) of the members elected to the Elder's [sic] Council from the Gun Lake District shall be members who reside on or near to the Griswold Mission Reservation created subsequent to action of the President following the modification of the March 28, 1836 Ottawa and Chippewa Treaty (7 Stat., 491) by the Compact of June 5, 1838; or those lands approved by the Elder's [sic] Council prior to the elective process and stipulated as part of the Tribe's Reservation, and any other lands within or without such boundaries which are contiguous or adjacent to such reservation, or have been or hereafter be added thereto (MBPI Pet. 1996d, IV.2(1)).

Article IV.2(2) defines the Rabbit River District with two members; Article IV.2(3) defines the Michigan At Large District, with two members. Article IV.3 provides that the Elders Council may modify the boundaries of any voting district. Article IV.3 provides that the Elders Council may modify the number of its members, provided that the Gun Lake District shall not contain less representation than either the Rabbit River or the At Large districts. Article IV.4, it provides that the total number of seats may be modified to reflect increases in tribal membership, on a mathematical ratio, and that the Elders Council shall always have an odd number of seats.

Article IV.8 and IV.9 prescribe election procedures. IV.9 and IV.10 regulate the timing and quorum for Elders Council meetings. IV.10 sets voting qualifications; IV.12 sets qualifications for holding office;[4] IV.13 establishes procedures for the Elder's Council, including for removal from office. Article V covers referendum procedures upon petition of at least 30 percent of the eligible voters.

Article VI, Section 4, provides that the tribal council, presumably meaning the body elsewhere termed the Elders Council, may fill any vacancy for an unexpired term.

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[4] "No person shall be qualified to hold office who is an employee of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, or who has been convicted of a felony" (MBPI Pet. 1996d, Article IV.12).

Amendment procedure. Article VII of the 1996 draft constitution provides that the constitution and by-laws may be amended by:

> a majority vote of the qualified voters at an election called for by the Secretary of the Interior: Provided that, at least (30) percent of those entitled shall vote in such election; but no amendment shall be effective until it shall have been approved by the Secretary of the Interior (MBPI Pet. 1996d).

One constitutional provision constitutes an exception to the above amendment procedure. The unratified, undated 1993 constitution contained a similar provision. Article VI, Section 2, provides:

> The Elder's [sic] Council may exercise such further powers as may in the future be delegated to it by members of the Tribe, or by the Secretary of the Interior, or any other duly authorized official of the State or Federal Government, or any federal statute, or regulation, except the development of casino gaming enterprises (class III) in those counties within the stated jurisdiction of the Tribe where the population of Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band Tribal members exceeds (20) percent of the Tribe's total membership. This proviso limiting certain forms of Tribal casino gaming enterprises near the heart of the Tribal community shall be permanent and shall not be altered by any future Elder's [sic] Council decisions or subsequent Elder's [sic] Council decision or subsequent Constitutional amendment (MBPI Pet. 1996d, VI.2).

Prior governing document (1993 unratified constitution). Overall, the 1996 draft constitution makes only minor modifications to the 1993 unratified constitution.

Structure of the governing body. Article IV, Section 1 of the undated, unratified 1993 constitution established a 13-member Elders Council as governing body for the MBPI. As in the 1996 draft, the specific powers of the Elders Council were enumerated in Article VI. Section IV.2 established three voting districts: Gun Lake, with 5 members; Rabbit River, with 4 members; and Michigan At Large District, with 4 members. Section IV.3 stated that the Elders Council might modify the boundaries of any voting district. Section

IV.4 stated that the Elders Council might modify the number of members to be elected from each district, provided that the Gun Lake District should not have fewer than five members and the total number of Elders Council seats might not be modified.

Article IV.5 provided that the Elders Council should elect the tribal officers from its own membership. These were the same as provided for in the 1996 draft constitution. Article IX of the By-laws provided that three members of the Executive Council shall constitute a quorum to transact business at all regular and special meetings (MBPI Pet. 1993a, Article IX). The duties of each officer were specified in Article VIII of the By-laws (MBPI Pet. 1993a, Article VIII).

Voting and elections. The undated, unratified 1993 constitution, Article IV.7 - IV.12 established provisions for holding elections, quorums, a schedule for meetings of the Elders Council, and qualifications for voting and office-holding. Article IV.13 established procedures for removing a member of the Elders Council from office. Article V established a provision for holding a referendum upon petition of at least 30 percent of the eligible voters.

Amendment procedure. Amendment procedure was identical to that in the 1996 draft constitution (MBPI Pet. 1993a, Article VII).

Membership Criteria

Background. Prior to 1992, the overwhelming majority of the MBPI members were carried on the rolls of HPI, and were subject to HPI's membership criteria. After the MBPI formally separated from HPI in late 1991, the petitioner was required to formulate its own membership criteria.

On November 10, 1992, William L. Church, the "Secretary of State" of MBPI, which at that time was using the name "Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa" (GLB) made the following recommendation "regarding the definition of **'community'** for the purpose of tribal base roll development" (MBPI Pet. 1992e, [1]) [emphasis in original]. It stated:

> It is no longer enough to be simply able to trace your ancestry to an annuity roll or census roll to qualify for membership in a tribe. When the Bureau of Acknowledgment [sic] reviews petitions for acknowledgment it also makes judgments about

> whether a member is still an **active member of the community.** There is no federal definition as to what this means and the BIA is famous for it's [sic] use of unwritten policies.
>
> Besides being an active member of acommunity [sic] the BAR will make judgements [sic] about our BASE ROLL as to the amount of Indians who are **already members of federally acknowledged tribes.** If our rolls contain too many it will hurt our chances. What is too many? That is the question [emphasis in original] (MBPI Pet. 19923, [1]).

In accordance with the above considerations, the document sent to the Elders Council on November 10, 1992, recommended the following language:

> Member of the "GLB Grand River Ottawa community" means:
> (1) Indians currently residing in Allegan or Barry Counties;
> (2) Gun Lake Band Grand River Ottawa Indians born or raised in Allegan or Barry Counties but now residing elsewhere;
> (3) The children or grand children of Gun Lake Grand River Ottawa Indians who currently reside in Allegan and Barry counties, or were born or raised in Allegan and Barry Counties but now reside elsewhere; AND,
> maintain regular contact with the Gun Lake Band Community (MBPI Pet. 1992e, [1]).

Membership criteria in the 1993 unratified constitution and 1996 draft constitution. Article III - Membership of the 1993 unratified MBPI constitution and the 1996 draft constitution contained the following provisions. Where the data below has no modification in the second column, the 1996 wording remained the same:[5]

[5] The MBPI sent the following statement to the BIA:

> **Since October 20, 1994, our Elder's Council has made provisions for addition of a limited number of persons to our rolls of the following type or classification of individuals. "Direct relatives" (defined to mean, brothers, sisters, sons, daughters, grand fathers, and grand mothers of those listed on previous rolls submitted by our Tribe to BAR may also be added** to the Tribe's Rolls once each of the three S.W. Michigan Pottawatomi groups have been acknowledged by the U.S. . . . By leaving open an

1993

Section 1. Membership of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band shall consist of:

a.) All persons whose names appear on the following roll:

(1) The roll of October 25, 1993.

b.) All children of Indian descent born to any member of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians.

c.) All descendants of persons whose names appear on the roll enumerated in subsection (a) of this section who are of Indian descent and born prior to or within one year of the effective date of approval of this constitution by the Secretary of Interior; provided that such descendants duly apply for membership in the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band within 18 months of the effective date of the constitution (MBPI Pet. 1993a).

1996

Section 1. Membership of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band Tribe shall consist of:

(2) All persons who are direct relatives of those on said Roll of October 25, 1993, or any subsequent Roll approved by the Elder's [sic] Council and submitted to the BIA prior to approval of Federal Acknowledgment by the Secretary of the Interior.

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for some additions south west Michigan Pottawatomi Indians will have the full opportunity to affiliate themselves with their ancestral Tribe rather than be forced to accept other Bands enrollment requirements **simply to access Federal Services. We want no one to be excluded from our rolls once we are acknowledged** (Church to Stearns, 3/8/1996). [emphasis in original]

For the provision of Section 1(d) pertaining to adoption, see under that topic in the discussion on membership criteria.

Proposed enrollment modifications to the 1993 unratified constitution. On February 2, 1994, the "United Nation Board of Director's [sic] who were chosen to represent the best interests of the Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians" presented the following recommendation concerning the historic basis of membership eligibility to the Elders Council through the "Interim ANA Project Director and Tribal Historian" (MBPI Pet. 1994d). It stated:

> The Supreme Court has ruled that a tribe has right to determine it's [sic] membership. Of course this ruling is primarily designed for federally recognized tribes. However it serves as a basis for understanding the role of a tribal council in the development of a Base Roll.
>
> Since the Bureau [sic] of Acknowledgment and Research of the BIA will eventually rule on our petition for acknowledgment and our Base Roll it will be effective for us to understand whom [sic] they feel have the right to be a member of the tribes they approve and recommend for Federal Acknowledgment. In a nutshell they must have an **historical base** that can be documented and a tribe must be able to prove this base, and the tribe must have continued to function as a "community" until the present day. The idea of community is only now in the 1990's being defined so that it can be understood by tribes trying to access federal [sic] acknowledgment. . . . [W]e as a tribe next need to draft membership criteria. This document would state who is eligible for membership, blood quantum requirements, which rolls we should use as a basis for tracing our ancestry to, and whether we wish to be able to adopt other Indians into our membership (MBPI Pet. 1994d, [1]).

No minutes were submitted to show that the "Draft Criteria"[1] were incorporated into the undated, unratified constitution (MBPI Pet. 1993a), but the copy contained in the MBPI Response contained the notation: "Date approved 2-2-94" (MBPI Response Doc. 70). The "Draft Criteria" were not included in the 1996 constitution (MBPI Pet. 1996d). In the absence of the 1996 constitution's provision (2), the

"draft criteria" would have potentially qualified for MBPI membership numerous individuals whose families had not historically been part of the Bradley/Salem community.

The MBPI petition submitted no evidence of member participation, beyond the Elders Council, in the adoption of the membership criteria. In this case, as a result of time and financial restraints, the BIA genealogist did not make a site visit to the MBPI headquarters to examine the petitioner's enrollment records. Therefore, the BIA has not determined if there is member concern over such issues as what criteria are used, how the criteria are applied, who makes decisions relating to eligibility, or who is a member. Specifically, the BIA did not receive any description of the procedure by which the MBPI formulated the "roll of October 25, 1993" mentioned in the undated, unratified constitution (MBPI Pet. 1993a, III.1.a(1)).

Application of membership criteria. Although the petition did not describe the procedure by which the "roll of October 25, 1993" was formulated, all persons who appeared on the October 1993 membership list met the criteria in the 1993 unratified constitution.

Blood quantum. The unratified, undated 1993 MBPI constitution submitted to the BIA does not contain a blood quantum requirement for membership. Membership eligibility is determined through lineal descent (see discussion of membership criteria, above).

Adoption criteria. Both the unratified, undated 1993 MBPI constitution and the 1996 draft constitution submitted to the BIA contained the following provisions concerning adoption in Article III, Section 1. The MBPI may adopt:

> d.) Any person of Indian descent who is an adopted child of any member of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band or is married to any member of the Tribe pursuant to any adoption ordinance which the Elder's [sic] Council may enact. Every person adopted pursuant to this section shall be deemed to be amember [sic] of the Tribe for all intents and purposes, EXCEPT that no person so adopted into the Tribe shall be eligible to hold the Office of Chief, Subchief, Tribal Secretary, Tribal Treasurer, or Tribal Council member.

SECTION 3 of both the 1993 and 1996 constitutions added the following provisions:

Any adopted member of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band Pottawatomi Indians Tribe may be subject to disenrollment in the Tribe for the following reasons:

a.) The individual became an adopted member of the Tribe by reason of marriage to a member of the Tribe and such marriage has been terminated by annulment or divorce and such adopted member has neither maintained a principal residence in the Tribe's service area nor remarried to another member of the Tribe for a period of twelve or more consecutive months preceding Tribal disenrollment action; or,

b.) The individual became an adopted member of the Tribe by being an adopted child of a member of the Tribe, upon reaching the age of 18 or older, elected to abandon Tribal relations with the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians Tribe, in favor of re-establishing relations with the Tribe from which he/she was descended by blood.

c.) Individuals so disenrolled shall thereafter not be entitled to share any subsequent rights of membership (MBPI Pet. 1993a).

Article III, Section 3 contains a substantial ambiguity in its wording, indicating that adopted individuals "may" be subject to such disenrollment actions, but not that they "will" be subject to such disenrollment actions. This leaves open the possibility that the provisions might be applied inconsistently, allowing individuals in favor with the Elders Council to retain tribal membership, while those out of favor with the Elders Council could be disenrolled.

It does not appear from the membership roll that any of the current members of the group is adopted.

Enrollment Process

In this case, because of time and financial restraints, the BIA genealogist did not make a site visit to the MBPI headquarters to examine the petitioner's enrollment records. The documentation submitted with the MBPI petition did not make the actual enrollment process clear. Specifically, it did not indicate who reviews applications, who makes the final decision on applications, and whether the governing body is involved in the review process. Neither the undated, unratified MBPI constitution itself nor the by-laws established a structure for the screening of membership applications under the criteria, nor did they indicate

whether or not the Elders Council is involved in the screening and/or approval of membership applications.

However, it does appear from the material submitted that some formal process is in place. The November 9, 1992, letter from William L. Church to Lewis White Eagle Church and D. K. Sprague contained the statement:

> We will have a draft membership form developed for the November 18 meeting. We need to have this document approved or order changes to be made to allow approval of the document before we can begin our Base Roll process. It is currently being prepared by our Enrollment Project.[2]
>
> We are suggesting that our tribal rolls be officially opened for membership to the tribe on December 1, 1992, and end on February 1, 1993. . . We will need official action from the Elder's [sic] Council on this matter . . . Our **Thanksgiving/tribal enrollment dinner with the community at 1:00 P.M. at the Porter Hall in Hopkins on November 28th** will kick off the enrollment campaign and serve to inform the community about United Nation and tribal development to date (MBPI Pet. 1992f, [2]).

The MBPI genealogical submission dated October 20, 1994, contained the following statement concerning the enrollment process:

> We have again contacted each member of the Tribe, and informed them that each member whose name had also appeared on the Huron Potawatomi Roll of 1990 (or earlier; later) must make an individual decision as to whether they wished to remain an active member of our Tribe. A form was provided them (as well as a stamped addressed return envelope) and members were afforded the opportunity to relinquish membership in our Tribe; or relinquish their membership in the Huron Pottawatomi (Church to Reckord 10/20/1994).

Copies of the signed relinquishment forms mentioned in the above paragraph were submitted to the BIA.

Membership Lists

Current membership list. In connection with the petition for Federal acknowledgment, the MBPI submitted a tentative list containing 220 names on May 16, 1994, headed "Membership Roll of United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan, Inc." (MBPI Pet. 1993a, Doc. 406), and a final list containing 140 names, which is used for this petition, dated October 20, 1994, received October 27, 1994. It bore the title BASE ROLL OF THE MATCH-E-BE-NASH-SHE-WISH BAND OF POTTAWATOMI INDIANS OF MICHIGAN aka, the Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa. The May 16, 1994, list contained full information (names, addresses, date of birth, Taggart Roll reference number and relationship to Taggart Roll ancestor, names of parents, and tribe of parents). The October 20, 1994, list provided the tribal roll number, the full name of each member, including the maiden name of married women, and the date of birth for each member (MBPI Membership List 10/20/1994). The list itself did not include addresses,[3] but was also accompanied by ancestry charts for the 140 persons it contained.[4] Since all individuals on the October 20 list had also appeared on the May 16 list, the BIA received the necessary information on all of the petitioner's members.

In connection with the October 20, 1994, submission, the MBPI's representative stated:

> Enclosed please find the genealogical materials you requested in your letter dated June 8, 1994. We have purposely been very deliberate in our development of these materials in order to reply on this matter. While we know whom we consider to be members of our Tribe, there seems to be a lingering question posed by some as to which of the three south and west Michigan Indian Tribes any individual Indians are truly affiliated. During the past few months we have undertaken an additional process which allows our Tribe to be assured of the answer to this question (Church to Reckord, 10/20/1994).

The MBPI membership list submitted to the BIA on October 20, 1994, was prepared specifically in connection with the group's petition for Federal acknowledgment. The current MBPI membership list was prepared during 1993 by the petitioner under supervision of MBPI member Wanda Ritsema with the assistance of consultants employed by the group, under a grant from the Administration for Native Americans

(ANA). "The names on the list were approved on October 25, 1993 and the total persons on the list were individually researched and files created, and supporting documents collected for each file, . . ." (MBPI Pet. Narr. 1994 Part IV, n.p.). Membership records are kept at the tribal headquarters.

It includes the names of children under 18 years of age. Enrollment procedures make provision for the addition to the list of infants born to persons listed on either the list submitted May 16, 1994, or the smaller final list submitted on October 10, 1994 (MBPI Membership List 10/20/1994, [1]). This roll was not separately certified by the governing body of the petitioner (the Elders Council).

Former membership lists. No former membership lists of the MBPI as such, preceding the group's petition for Federal acknowledgment, were ever prepared, since the group only adopted a formal constitution and established formal membership criteria in 1992. All earlier listings of the group were prepared for other purposes--Federal annuity rolls, judgment rolls, or as part of the enrollment of HPI. The HPI membership lists are discussed in this section. The other types of documents are discussed elsewhere in this report under the appropriate categories.

Documentation submitted to the BIA in connection with the Pokagon Potawatomi petition for Federal acknowledgment indicated that in 1951, Albert Mackety, HPI claims activity leader and church committee co-chairman, compiled a Huron Potawatomi membership roll (Pokagon Petition, Ex. Correspondence). However, this roll was not submitted as part of the HPI petition and the BAR researcher was not able to locate a copy during active consideration of the HPI petition. A reference by Michael B. Williams, the Pokagon Potawatomi tribal chairman in 1952, indicated that for claims purposes the Potawatomi at Bradley, Michigan (now the MBPI) had "long been enrolled" with the HPI, but were, under the leadership of their newly elected chief Jacob N. Sprague, attempting to develop their own, separate "census" (Pokagon Petition, Ex. Correspondence). This "census," if ever taken, was not submitted as part of the MBPI petition and was not located by the BIA researcher.

The HPI submitted several former membership rolls, dated 1978 (sometimes referred to in the HPI petition as the "1979 roll"), 1986, 1991 (sometimes referred to in the HPI petition as the "1992 roll"), and 1993. The BIA received from HPI the tribe's Resolution #7-1994 dated January 25,

1994, by the tribal council, stating that "the Nottawaseppi Huron Band of Potawatomi Tribal council do duly recognize and approve the census rolls of 1979 [sic], 1986, 1991 and 1993" (BAR Files). Each of these rolls was prepared as a record of HPI membership: the membership component from the Allegan County settlement varied from one to another.

The 1978 HPI membership list was compiled specifically in connection with the claims payments, although it also was to be used for election purposes, since it distinguished between the HPI voting membership and lineal descendants. The 1986 roll was prepared to accompany the HPI Federal acknowledgment petition. All were prepared by the HPI with some assistance from outside consultants or contract employees.

1978 HPI Roll. By 1971, the HPI were conducting their claims activity independently of other Michigan Potawatomi, having hired New York attorney Paul G. Reilly as Huron Potawatomi legal counsel in prosecuting land settlement claims (HPI Pet., Historical Overview 1986, 49).[6] The

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[6] Department of the Interior. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Potawatomi Nation of Indians; Plan for the Use and Distribution of the Potawatomi Nation Judgment funds in Dockets 15-C, 29-A and 71; 29-E; 15-P, 29-N and 306; 29-D, 15-D, 29-B and 311; 15-I, 29-G and 308; 216, 15-L and 29-I; 128, 309, 310, 15-N, O, Q and R, and 29-L, M, O and P and 150#, 29-C and 338 before the United States Court of Claims. August 24, 1983.

> "Section 4. For the purposes of distributing the apportioned share of the funds of the lineal descendants of Potawatomi Indians of Michigan and Indian, including the Pokagon and Huron Bands and other bands, the Secretary shall bring current to the effective date of this plan, the descendant payment roll prepared pursuant to the Potawatomi judgment use plan of March 6, 1978, as published in the Federal Register of April 14, 1978, Vol. 43, No. 78:(i) by adding the names of persons living on the effective date of this plan who would have been eligible for enrollment under the 1978 plan, but who were not enrolled; (ii) by adding the names of children born and living on the effective date of this plan to persons who were eligible for enrollment , regardless of whether such parents are living or deceased on the effective date of this plan; (iii) by adding the names of children born to enrollees on or prior to and who are living on the effective date of this plan; and (iv) by deleting the names of enrollees who are deceased as of the effective date of this plan. Entitlement to share in the judgment funds under this section shall be limited to lineal descendants who are United States citizens, and who are not enrolled or entitled to be enrolled with any of the four federally recognized tribal organizations named in this plan, whose (Federal Register 48(175), 40567, September 6, 1983) names appear on or as lineal descendants who can trace their Potawatomi ancestry to persons on the Cadman Payment Roll of 1896,

awards were decided October 19, 1973, 87 Stat. 466, 468 (Historical Overview 1986, 51).[7] The 1978 judgment funds were paid in 1984, on the basis of a BIA-prepared roll, which is not the same document as the HPI 1978 membership roll.[8]

Of the 191 household heads and other adults on the 1978 HPI membership list, 23 household heads and other adults (11.5 percent) showed Allegan County Potawatomi ancestry only. The remaining household heads and persons over 21 on the 1978 HPI Membership Roll had ancestry from the Pine Creek settlement in Calhoun County, Michigan (approximately 85 per

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the Taggart Census Roll of 1904, or on official payment or annuity rolls of persons designated as "Potawatomi Indians of Michigan and Indiana," Huron Band, Pokagon Band, or "Notawasepi and other bands," or other records which are acceptable to the Secretary (Federal Register 48(175), 40568, September 6, 1983).

Copy of Descendancy Roll from Michigan Agency, dated 3/04/1987 (BAR Files).

[7] See also: Results of Research on the Judgments in Indian Claims Commission Dockets Numbered 15-K, 29-J, and 217, and Dockets Numbered 15-M, 29-K, and 146, Potawatomi Tribe or Nation. This was an 18-page summation of the legal status as of that date (COIA Morris Thompson to Area Director, Anadarko Area; Acting Area Director, Minneapolis, March 20, 1975, BAR Files).

[8] The 1978 HPI Roll was entitled, "Updated Tribal Roll of the Huron Band of the Potowatomi [sic]: descendants of the Taggart Roll of 1904 who possess one-quarter (1/4) blood quantum. or more" (BAR Files). This roll, attested to by David Mackety, Tribal Chairman, was signed October 5, 1978, by Leona Bush, Enrollment Clerk, and witnessed by Joseph George Wesley, Jr., Notary Public, Calhoun County, Michigan, also a HPI member. Neither addresses nor ancestry were included on the 1978 HPI Roll. It contained the names of 276 persons who met the 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum membership requirement for HPI [voting] membership (191 of whom were listed as being either adult heads of households or individual adults). The name of each adult who qualified for HPI [voting] membership was followed by the names of his/her minor children. Ninety-two minor children had asterisks (*) by their names. These were annotated as "* indicates minor children who are less than one-quarter (1/4) blood quantum" (BAR files). Eighty-five minors met the 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum requirement. Thus, there were 368 individuals listed on the 1978 HPI roll proper.

A supplementary section to the 1978 Roll contained two pages listing names and addresses of 26 adults (including the name of the person's parent and the name of the Taggart Roll ancestor) who were known to be Taggart Roll descendants, but who had less than 1/4 degree Potawatomi blood quantum. These persons had a total of 16 known minor children (HPI Petition 1986, Ex.). Adding these and one adopted child to the 368 persons on the 1978 Roll proper, there was a total of 411 persons.

cent) or, in the case of a very few, from other Taggart Roll ancestors. It was primarily a roll of the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi Band's descendants within the formal HPI organization.

1986 HPI Roll. In 1986, HPI submitted a membership roll with its petition for Federal acknowledgment.[9] The 1986 HPI membership list contained the names of 249 individuals. Six more qualified members were handwritten at the end of the typed list, for a total membership of 255.[10] The distribution of 1986 HPI ancestry by settlement area was as follows for those persons on the 1986 HPI list for whom genealogical charts were submitted to BIA,[11] showing a slight increase of Allegan County representation since 1978:

[9] This was headed "Nottawasippi-Huron Potawatomi (*NHP)," dated July 1, 1986. This was far more elaborate than the 1978 roll, containing columns for name and address, gender, birthplace, 1904 Taggart Roll ancestor's number with a key for the individual's relationship to the Taggart Roll ancestor, blood degree, name of father and maiden name of mother. For each parent, the roll provided birth date, birth place, tribe, and blood degree. Blood degree was not computed consistently, being sometimes expressed as a fraction and sometimes as a percentage.

[10] In 1986, there were 273 persons in the "less than 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum" category. In addition, the "less than 1/4 blood quantum" roll contained 18 names that were noted by the HPI enrollment clerk as duplicates of those on the 1/4 quantum roll, and were verified by BAR as having been listed on the 1986 Roll proper.

In 1986, therefore, the HPI counted a total of 528 known individuals, of whom 255 qualified as tribal members and 273 were lineal descendants of less than 1/4 blood quantum. Of the 255 tribal members, 32 (12.5 percent) were minors under the age of 18. Of the 273 lineal descendants with less than 1/4 HPI blood quantum, 117 (42 percent) were minors under the age of 18.

On March 9, 1994, BAR received from the petitioner a copy of additional pages of the 1986 membership roll form, filled out in handwriting, and headed "less than 1/4 blood quantum." Although the 1979 HPI constitution did not provide for maintaining a roll of persons who fell into this category, as a practical matter, HPI had done so since 1978 at least.

[11] HPI did not submit charts for those persons on the 1986 list who died prior to 1994.

TABLE II
HPI Ancestry Charts/Folders Submitted in 1986

1842 Pine Creek Reservation "six families"	133	59%
Pine Creek late 19th-century families	52	24%
Bradley settlement, Allegan County	38	17%
Other Taggart Roll	3	1.6%
Total	223	

1991 HPI Roll. The 1991 HPI membership list[12] was contained in the HPI "Deficiency Response" later withdrawn by the HPI Council. It was a product of the 1987-1991 period during which the "old" HPI group from the Pine Creek settlement had merged politically with the Bradley settlement in Allegan County, Michigan (see Historical Technical Report for details). Therefore, it counted Bradley Potawatomi ancestry on the Taggart Roll as NHPB [Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi Band] in listing the tribal affiliation of parents.[13]

On April 6, 1991, David Mackety, HPI Chairman since 1970 and architect of the merger of HPI with the Bradley settlement (see HPI Proposed Finding, Historical Technical Report), was defeated in the HPI tribal election. On April 9, 1991, the new HPI Council chose Margaret (Sprague) Sipkema, from the Bradley settlement in Allegan County, as chairperson. On April 19, 1991, the HPI tribal council passed a resolution that for enrollment purposes, all persons on the 1904 Taggart Roll would be counted as full-blooded American Indians, per action of the tribal council on February 11, 1991 (OD Response, Attachment 23).[14]

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[12] On January 9, 1991, La Sanda "Sandy" Williams, a genealogist employed by HPI, presented the Tribal Council with a new "Application for Enrollment" form for "NHP" [Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi], i.e. HPI, members to complete and sign. John Chivis, Jr., Vice-Chairman, moved that the new form be approved; Margaret Sipkema seconded the motion, and it was approved (HPI Tribal Minutes, January 9, 1991, 2).

[13] On February 11, 1991, "Joe [Sprague] made a motion that Council approve a resolution that all on the 1904 Taggart roll be considered as Nottawaseppi-Huron Potawatomi full bloods unless otherwise indicated or genealogy research proves otherwise." The motion was seconded by John Chivis, Jr., and passed (Tribal Minutes, February 11, 1991).

[14] The 1978 and 1986 HPI rolls listed members with 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum and placed Taggart Roll lineal descendants with less than 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum in a separate supplement. The 1991 and 1994 HPI rolls listed the same families, but in 1991 all Taggart Roll

The resulting "Membership Roll of the Nottawaseppi-Huron Potawatomi Band" dated June 27, 1991, contained 849 names. It was accompanied by the following statement from La Sanda K. Williams, Native American Genealogical Research Service, 100 Maple Hill Village, No. 11, Hartford, Michigan 49057:

> June 27, 1991. This is to certify, based on available Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi Band office records, submitted documentation/information, Native American Genealogical Research Service records and rolls, that all persons listed on this membership roll are at least one-quarter degree Indian blood and trace to the 1904-5 Taggart Roll (HPI Deficiency Response 1991).

It should be noted that this roll no longer distinguished between individuals with 1/4 *Potawatomi* blood quantum (as required by the HPI 1979 constitution) and other lineal HPI or Taggart Roll descendants, although the HPI's constitutional membership requirement had not been changed. The certification was simply for 1/4 *Indian* blood quantum.

On August 2, 1991, HPI held an "informational meeting regarding enrollment of band members of the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi tribe." It was stated at the meeting that: "the 850 names forwarded to the BIA are not to be construed as a new base roll, but a 'supplementary list' developed for the tribe and BAR . . . [a] listing of potential members . . ." (Church to Sipkema, August 5, 1991, BAR Files). At the August 16, 1991, HPI tribal council meeting, Alberta Wells moved, "that the motion made in the February 11, 1991, council meeting be expunged, which is unconstitutional since it artificially raises the blood quantum of persons on the 1904 Taggart roll" (HPI Tribal Minutes, August 16, 1991). John Chivis, Jr., seconded. Margaret Sipkema, the tribal chairwoman, did not call for a vote, since

> she feels vote was improper because Joe did not rescind the motion that he made. Vice-Chairman, John Chivis, called for the vote. Joe made a statement that he did not rescind that motion that

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descendants were listed together irrespective of blood quantum, which was computed in one of the information columns. In 1994 the blood quantum was not computed at all. It should be noted that under 25 CFR Part 83, blood quantum is not a requirement for Federal acknowledgment of a petitioner as an Indian tribe.

> he made in the February 11, 1991 council meeting (HPI Tribal Minutes, August 16, 1991).

The Vice-Chairman, John Chivis, Jr., called for the vote, and the motion to expunge carried (HPI Tribal Minutes, August 16, 1991). On December 6, 1991, at a tribal council meeting, John Chivis, Jr., moved that Margaret Sipkema, the tribal chairperson, be removed from office. One issue cited was:

> notes that were found about the forming of a non-profit organization of Selkirk Reserve Community made up of Indians born or residing in Allegan county, will need further looking into to check the validity if any further action has been done on the forming of a non-profit within an alrady [sic] existing non-profit, i.e., Huron Potawatomi, Inc. (HPI Tribal Minutes, December 6, 1991).[15]

The motion to remove the Chairperson from office passed. On January 10, 1992, Joseph Sprague resigned from the HPI Council (HPI Pet., Chivis Submission 1992).

1993 HPI Roll. The 1993 HPI membership list reflected the controversies of the second half of 1991: it contained only 221 names. Many of the 221 individuals on the 1993 HPI Roll had Taggart Roll ancestry from the Bradley settlement, even though the 1993 roll was a product of the split in the HPI that took place late in 1991, as a result of which the HPI Council attempted to exclude the Bradley (Allegan County, Michigan) Potawatomi who had been brought into HPI membership by David Mackety (see HPI Proposed Finding, Historical Technical Report).

1994 HPI Roll. The effective HPI membership list submitted with the HPI petition for Federal acknowledgment was dated 1994. The total HPI ancestry chart submissions 1986-1994 were for a total of 834 individuals (a few of whom were not on the current HPI membership list because they had died between 1986 and 1994). Of these individuals:

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[15] On December 1, 1992, an article entitled "Land of My Fathers" was printed in the Grand Rapids Press. It indicated that Bill Church, former Project Director for HPI, and other HPI Council members, were planning to present the history of the "Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians" to the BIA for acknowledgment purposes. Pictured with Church and D.K. Sprague was Margaret (Sprague) Sipkema (Land of My Fathers 1992).

TABLE III
COMPILED STATISTICAL BREAKDOWN OF HPI ANCESTRY

1842 Pine Creek "six families"	377	45%
Late 19th-century Pine Creek families	241	29%
Bradley/Allegan County	187	22%
Other Taggart Roll	26	3%
Miscellaneous	3	1%
Total	834	100%

There was, thus, again a slight increase in the proportion of HPI members with Allegan County/Bradley settlement ancestry between 1986 and 1994. Between 1978 and 1994, the increase was as follows: 1978, 11.5 per cent; 1986, 17 per cent; 1994, 22 per cent. Of the 187 individuals with only Allegan County/Bradley settlement ancestry included on the 1994 HPI membership list, 126 (69 per cent) chose to disaffiliate and become part of the MBPI petition. Six more subsequently chose to do so.

Interrelationship between HPI membership and MBPI membership. With the exception of the 1993 roll, each of the membership rolls presented by the HPI represented the full HPI membership at the time it was compiled. No new families appeared on the later rolls who were not represented by family members on the earlier rolls. This statement is also true in applying to families from the Bradley settlement, all of whom had at least a few members enrolled with HPI prior to the 1991 roll. The 1991 HPI membership list expanded the number of enrolled individuals with Bradley Potawatomi ancestry, but did not introduce new ancestral lines.

Only eight of the 140 persons on the October 10, 1994, MBPI membership list had never enrolled with HPI.[16] All eight persons were first-degree or second-degree relatives of HPI enrollees. The HPI and MBPI have had a long, complex interrelationship, as illustrated by the following example. As of 1996, the 1991 HPI chairperson (Margaret Sipkema) is a member of MBPI. Sipkema, who has Taggart Roll ancestry from Allegan County, but no Pine Creek ancestry, was listed on the 1978 and all subsequent HPI membership rolls until 1993.

[16] The former HPI members included the 126 on the October 10, 1994, MBPI submission plus the additional six indicated by HPI as having disaffiliated prior to December 1, 1995.

She is a sister of the current MBPI chairperson (D.K. Sprague), who had not been included on the HPI membership lists since 1978.

In October 1994, 126 persons on the HPI 1993 membership list signified to the BIA their wish to be considered as part of the MBPI petition for Federal acknowledgment (BAR priority #9A), but had not yet been formally removed from the HPI membership roll.[17] At that time, the MBPI representative stated:

> The genealogical materials which we forward along with this cover letter to add to our Documented Petition contains the documents you requested from the files of those individuals who wish considered [sic] as Members of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band, and have signed a form to relinquish their membership in the Huron Potawatomi group. We have placed these signed relinquishment documents in their individual files. The process was lengthy but necessary (Church to Reckord 10/20/1996).

On October 20, 1994, the MBPI submitted the genealogical portion of its petition for Federal acknowledgment. The MBPI membership list contained a total of 140 names of persons who had certified in writing that they wished to be considered with the MBPI petition. Of these, 126 appeared on the 1994 HPI membership list. A BAR researcher placed the supporting HPI genealogical folders for these individuals in a separate category. They have been used as documentation for the Genealogical Technical Report pertaining to the MBPI petition.

Judgment rolls. Three major judgment rolls (Taggart 1904; Durant 1908; ICC 1978) are available for use in analyzing the composition of the MBPI, but none pertained exclusively to the MBPI. For use of the judgment rolls in membership criteria by the MBPI, see the above discussion on enrollment criteria and the discussion of the individual rolls, below.

[17] The Gun Lake Roll, submitted October 27, 1994, contained 140 names. However, nine of the adults had not been listed on the HPI roll, and five were young children.

Records Utilized

Identification. Ancestors of the petitioning group have consistently been identified in all the available documentation as American Indian. No documentation identified the qualifying ancestors of the petitioner as having any other ethnicity than American Indian. While the MBPI members are primarily of Michigan Potawatomi ancestry, the petitioner's Indian ancestry is intermixed with Ottawa, particularly Grand River Ottawa, and to a lesser extent Chippewa, particularly Saginaw Chippewa. There has also been considerable intermarriage with non-Indians since 1960.

BIA rolls. This section discusses BIA rolls other than the judgment rolls.

1839 Grand River Ottawa annuity roll. This document, headed "Payment to the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan, obtained from the Henry Schoolcraft papers at the Library of Congress, enumerated under Gun Lake Village the heads of families of Sagamah's[18] Prairie Ronde and Matchepenashshewish's Kekalamazoo bands of Potawatomi Indians. For a full listing, see Appendix I.

1842 OIA "Census of Indians within the Superintendency of Michigan." This was a listing of the Griswold Colony Band, headed by Sagamah. It is not fully clear whether or not the "Chip en seu wish" listed as a member was intended to be Matchepenashshewish. For a full listing, see Appendix II.

OIA 1847 census, Griswold Colony Band. In one instance, the petitioner indicated that the OIA's 1847 census of the Griswold Colony Band, Allegan County, Michigan, showed in total 32 families with 146 persons (MBPI Pet.; citing NARS M-234, Roll 785). This census number was not correct, and no document pertaining to the Griswold Colony was located at this M-234 citation. The actual census for the Griswold Colony Band has not survived. The BIA researcher located parallel censuses for three other bands (NARS M-234, Roll 426, 303-324). Armstrong and Pahl gave 146 as the number at

[18] This name had numerous variant spellings. Sagamah or Sagamaw were ususally used by the missionary, James Selkirk. See the Historical Technical Report for data to distinguish him from the Ottawa chief, Saginaw.

Slater's mission,[19] "and 96 with Selkrig in Wayland Township" (Armstrong and Pahl 1985, 144). The numbers were listed in the published: "Census Returns, 1847" (Bureau of Indian Affairs, History, Condition, and Prospect of the Indian Tribes of the United States, authorized by Congress, 478-487; MBPI Pet. Doc. 227).

Annuity rolls, 1842-1870. Several additional annuity rolls are available between 1850 and 1870. For listings of the 1853, 1857, 1859, 1864, 1865, and 1868 annuity rolls for the band, see Appendices V-VII.

Descendancy from the 1870 final Ottawa annuity payment roll. Thirteen of the 28 heads of families enumerated in Shaw-be-quo-ung's Band on the final 1870 roll for the commutation payment of the Grand River Ottawa annuity (NARS RG 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. 1870 Annuity Pay Rolls of the Ottawas & Chippewas of Michigan; MBPI Pet. 1993; Lantz 1991, 29-30) either had remained at Bradley or returned to Allegan County from Oceana County in 1870. The family of James David (1870 annuity Ref. 5-64 [Aishquaib]; see Lantz 1991, 96) came to Bradley with them in 1870, lived there quite some time, and then settled at Pine Creek. One family (Wakefield) left the settlement at some undetermined date between 1886 and 1900 and has no descendants in the petitioning group.

Of the other 15 of the 28 family heads listed in 1870 , six were dead with no descendants as of 1908. Two more probably left no descendants (a 72-year-old man who was childless as of 1908 and a 55-year-old woman who was childless as of 1908 were their only known survivors). Two other 1870 households were represented in 1908 by individual women, one age 35 and one age 21. Thus, seven heads of families of Shau-be-quo-ung's Band as constituted in 1870 did not return to Allegan County and:

(1) do not have descendants among the petitioner (as far as the BIA was able to determine the family lines); but

(2) may have descendants among Ottawa groups in northern Michigan, or in Canada, or in Nebraska, or wherever else they were as of 1908 or have moved subsequently. However, even as of 1908, descendants of these families were

[19] "Census Return of Families in the Ottowa Colony Band of the Ottowa Tribe of Indians, residing on the lands held by them, and lying in the County of Barry and State of Michigan, and statistics of that Tribe, taken and colected [sic] for the year 1847, under the 5th section of the act, approved 3d March, 1847, amending the act organizing the Indian Department" (NARS RG75).

scattered out: there was no cluster which might represent an alternative successor group to the band which had prior unambiguous Federal acknowledgment as of 1870 (for detailed analysis, see Durant Roll Correlations, BAR Files).

Twelve heads of families from the 1870 enumeration list, plus the James David family, have descendants in the MBPI petitioner (and also among the HPI because of the extensive intermarriage between the two groups, which was explicated extensively in the HPI PF). One head of family (Mackety) lived at Bradley into the 20th century, but now has actual descendants only at Pine Creek.

Between 1870 and 1955, there was intermarriage with HPI and other Indian groups, mainly HPI. The most significant 19th-century Ottawa in-marriage was that of Lewis Medawis to Lydia Sprague;[20] of the Solomon family members (1870 annuity Ref: 6-52; see Lantz 1991, 246); and in the 20th century Gladys Mamagona to Rev. Lewis White Eagle Church. Since 1955, limited intermarriage with other Indian groups, but not with HPI, has continued.

Judgment rolls. This section analyzes the genealogical content of the BIA-compiled judgment rolls.

Taggart Roll, 1904 (Potawatomi). After the commutation of the Grand River Ottawa annuities stemming from the prior treaties in 1870, no further BIA rolls were prepared until the 1904 Taggart Roll, which was not a census of the Allegan County settlement, but rather a judgment roll resulting from a U.S. Court of Claims decision and pertaining to Michigan Potawatomi other than the Pokagon Band. BAR has a microfilm of the original, a typed copy submitted with the HPI petition, and the published version (Lantz 1992, 83-92). The 1904 Taggart Roll was compiled by the BIA in response to a claims suit (see Historical Report for details). Essentially, it was compiled in order to make payment authorized by Congress to Potawatomi descendants in Michigan of persons entitled to compensation under the Potawatomi treaty of 1833 (Treaty of Chicago) who had not already been

[20] Place Bradley. Headed "Information from Lucy Andrews." Louis Me-tay-wis note: spell (Medawis) age 60, Dorr, MI. m. Lydia Medawis, age 52, see 25/53. Child (1) Martha Pigeon, 38, Dorr, MI, m. James Pigeon, 45, 233 [illegible] with children; child (2) Mary Ann Pigeon, 40, m. John Pigeon 40; child (3) Nancy Foster, 32, m. James Foster; child (4) Sarah Nada, 22, Dorr, MI, separated from Wm. Nada Traverse; child (5) Eliza Pigeon 21, Dorr, MI, m. Sampson Pigeon 35; child (6) Henry Medavis (Durant Notes 1908b).

paid on the 1895/96 Cadman Roll with the Pokagon Potawatomi. The Taggart Roll contained 105 families (268 individual names) (Lantz 1992, 83-92).

Durant Roll, 1908 (Grand River Ottawa). The 1908 Durant Roll (Durant Roll 1908) was compiled by the BIA as a basis for the distribution of a claims award to the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan. It was prepared by Special Agent Horace B. Durant, and has been described by the editor who prepared it for publication as:

> a census of those persons enumerated in the 1870 census [and annuity payment records of the Grand River, Mackinac, Sault Ste. Marie and Traverse Bands of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan] and all their known descendants found living on March 4, 1907 as taken by Special Agent Horace B. Durant, Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian affairs [sic]. Entries in this section contain English name, age, sex, current roll number, band name, Indian name, 1870 reference number(s), residence, remarks. The 1870 reference number refers to the 1870 census line number-page number which identifies this person or this persons ancestor(s) as they appeared on that census. These records are essentially 100% complete except for a few 1870 reference numbers which are unreadable on the first page of the records (Lantz 1991, v).

The Durant Roll was arranged in a dual system: alphabetically by first letter of last name, and within each letter of the alphabet, according to the 1870 major category--that is, all the Grand River bands were lumped together. Within the Grand River category, however, the cross-referencing to the specific 1870 band number (see Appendix VIII) allowed the BIA researcher to determine all the individuals on the 1908 Durant Roll who descended from Shaw-be-quo-ung's Band as it was constituted in 1870.

In addition to the completed roll, which was published by Lantz (Lantz 1991), the notes on each family taken by Durant in preparation for making the roll are also extant at the Michigan Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs. Durant's notes on the families were collected under the names of the individual 1870 chiefs. The subsections of these notes used in preparation for this report were for the Grand River Roll, Me-tay-wis Chief--1870 (Durant Notes 1908a) and Grand River Roll, Shaw-be-quo-ung Chief---1870 (Durant Notes

1908b). The nature of these notes allowed the determination of what had become, as of 1908, of all persons who were members of Shau-be-quo-ung's band in 1870, whether they remained part of the Allegan County, Michigan, settlement or not (see Durant Roll Correlations, BAR Files). They also provided prior band identifications for some of the members of the Allegan County settlement who had not been members of Shaw-be-quo-umg's band in 1870.[21]

1978 ICC judgment distribution award (Potawatomi). The Michigan Agency, BIA, provided BAR with a copy of a descendancy roll (dated 1984) prepared for Michigan Potawatomi in 1978 in connection with the 1978 Potawatomi claims judgment award by the ICC. This roll contained the names of 3,670 lineal descendants of Michigan Potawatomi entitled to share in the award. The information columns included those for identity number, name (including maiden name and any previous names), gender, birthdate, base roll relation, enrollment date, and identity numbers of the person's father and mother.

The "base roll relation" column was keyed to make a distinction between Pokagon Band Potawatomi (descendants of the 1895 Cadman Roll) and descendants of the 1904 Taggart Roll Potawatomi. A small number of entries (128 persons) did not have this key filled out. The 1978 judgment roll identified 1,904 persons as Taggart Roll descendants. The majority of the BIA-identified descendants of those Michigan Potawatomi who had been listed on the Taggart Roll are not MBPI members. At that date, there were approximately 175 known living persons descended from the Allegan County settlement, comprising only a small minority of the judgment-fund eligibles. Conversely, most current MBPI members who were alive (and therefore eligible) at the cutoff date set by the court participated in the award. The exceptions were the few who had previously been deemed eligible to participate in the Ottawa judgment award. The petition included one sample BIA notification of approval to a member of the group as an exhibit.

[21] BIRCH, Henry 28 m GRV 996 Ref: 38-65 Res: Bradley Rem: #84 Pottawatanie roll, 1905; Lydia wife 20 f 997 Ref: 2-54 Rem: #85 Pottawatamie Roll, 1905; nee Shaygonably (Lantz 1991, 70).
The "38-65" cross reference indicated that Henry Birch descended from Naw-o-quay-shaw-mo-quay, listed as a woman with one child in A-ken-bell's Grand River Ottawa band in 1870 (Lantz 1991, 36-37). The "2-54" cross-reference indicated that Lydia (Shagonaby) Birch descended from Shay-go-nay-be, a head of household with a wife and six children in Pay-baw-me's Grand River Ottawa band in 1870 (Lantz 1991, 30).

Federal censuses. Federal census records for the petitioner were available from 1850 through 1920. Although it is sometimes asserted that Federal censuses did not identify Indians prior to 1870, both the 1850 and 1860 settlements listed the settlements in which the petitioner's ancestors lived and identified the ethnicity of those ancestors as Indian.

1850 U.S. Census, Allegan County, Michigan. On the 1850 Federal census of Allegan County, Michigan, Griswold Colony was enumerated as a separate group of 199 persons (U.S. Census 1850, 57-59r; Monteith [1955], 88-92; MBPI Pet. Doc. #216).[22] The inhabitants were identified as Indians. The MBPI petition included a typed "List of Homes of Indians belonging to the Griswold Colony for the year 1851", totalling 199 persons, with a photocopy of the original attached (MBPI Pet. Part II). This was apparently taken directly from the 1850 Federal census, rather than being a separate enumeration.

1860 U.S. Census, Allegan County, Michigan. The 1860 Federal census indicated that some of the families of the former Griswold Colony had gone to Oceana County. However, in Allegan County (U.S. Census 1860a), ten former Griswold Mission Indian households containing 44 individuals were residing near James Selkregg, 70, minister, born in New York.[23] Four other Indian households containing 17

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[22] See Appendix III for a listing of the individuals.

[23] Dwelling #1650, Household #1584, Quion, John, 24, m. Indian, farmer, MI; Betsey, 19; Caroline, 2; 2; Sally, 5/12;
#1651/1585, Johnson, John, 47, m, Indian, farmer, b. MI; Chitosquey, 33; Horatio, 10; Margaret, 8; Susat, 6; John, 2, and Ann, 2/12;
#1652/1586, Whitepigeon, John, 30, m, Indian, farmer, b. MI; Nobeshig, 24; Louis, 2/12; George, Peter, 27, m, Indian, hunter, Combesquam, 25; Samson Whitepigeon, 3;
#1654/1588, Maggush, John, 30, Indian, farmer; Arnike, 36; Myron, 7.
#1656/1590, Indian, Blind, 60, m; Noon Day, 100, f, chieftainess;
#1657/1591, Bish-in-nick, 50, m. Indian, farmer; Na-hoo, 80, f;
#1658/1592, Thomson, John, 25, Indian, farmer; Martha, 30; Eliza, 3; Joseph, 9; Louisa, 2;
#1659/1593, Sprigg, James, 34, Indian, farmer; Jane, 30; Adamah, 3; Sansheke, 2; Nettie, 4; David, 10; John, 9;
#1660/1594, Sheson, John, 25, m, farmer; Wahping do, 18, f; David, 2;
#1662/1596, Mann, Marcus, 30, m. Indian, hunter; Petenor, 30, f; Moona, 10, f; Sam, 8, m; Henry, 5, m (U.S.

individuals were nearby.[24] This represented the low point of the Indian population living at or near the Griswold Mission. The 1860 census indicates that the Sprague and Whitepigeon families had remained in Allegan County, but the majority of the band had resettled temporarily in Oceana County, in accordance with the provisions of the 1855 Treaty.

1860 U.S. Census, Oceana County, Michigan. The 1860 census for Oceana County, Michigan (U.S. Census 1860b) showed three clearly identifiable households on the "Indian Reserve," Post Office Pentwater.[25] All were identified as "Ind" for ethnicity (U.S. Census 1860b, 43-44). Several additional households enumerated in the immediate vicinity could be matched to the heads of households listed in the 1870 OIA final annuity payment roll (see Appendix VII for a full copy of the 1870 annuity roll).[26] The group as a whole was residing near a non-Indian clergyman named David R. Latham and a school house (U.S. Census 1860b, 44, Dwelling #496, household #484).

Census 1860a, 464r-4654).

Ethnic identities for all individuals were "Ind" and all birthplaces were Michigan. Most household heads were listed as landowners.

[24] #1701/1635, John Cramppon, 26, m, Ind, hunter; Mary, 22; David, 1;
#1702/1636, John Pashininie, 40, m, Ind, trapper; Amona, 40; John, 22; Robert, 8; Susan, 10;
#1706/1637, Peter Pashininie, 45, m, Ind, farmer; Sippee, 41; Dan, 20; John, 19;
#1708/1639, Peter Muckataw, 38, m, Ind, hunter; Sapper, 25, f; John, 7; Margaret, 4; Peter, 1 (U.S. Census 1860a, 471-471r).

Ethnic identities for all individuals were "Ind" and all birthplaces were Michigan.

[25] Dwelling #483, household #472, Shob qum, 40, m, farmer, $500 real estate, $200 personal estate, born in Michigan, with Sha no bum, f, 20; dwelling #484, household #472, David Foster, 24, m, teacher, $100 real estate, $100 personal estate, born in Michigan; and dwelling #486, household #474, Charles Hickey, 28, m, farmer, born in Michigan (U.S. Census 1860b, 44).

[26] For example, dwelling #485, household #473, Squah joh ung, 45, m, farmer, $100 real estate, $100 personal property, born in Michigan, with Shib A She qua, 40, f; Slub me qua, 11, f; Na ga sa ge, 8, m, and Ke ta sa no qua, 1, f (U.S. Census 1860b, 44) matching to: Squaw jaw ung with one man, one woman, one boy, and 3 girls on the annuity roll; dwelling #488, household #476, Wa sa qu-um matching to the Waw say quo um family on the annuity roll.

1870 U.S. Census, Allegan County, Michigan. The 1870 census of Wayland Township, Allegan County, Michigan (U.S. Census 1870a; Monteith 1963) provided a count of the returned population, again residing near the Reverend James Selkirk at the former mission, with the 14 households representing 64 individuals listed sequentially and contiguously.[27] All were identified as "Ind" for ethnicity (U.S. Census 1870a, 414-415).

1870 U.S. Census, Oceana County, Michigan. The remainder of the band's households, including those of Moses Foster, David K. Foster, Mrs. Sprague, and Lewis and Lydia (Sprague) Medawis, were still in Oceana County in 1870, enumerated in Crystal Township, Pentwater post office, counted

[27] #114-115, Selkrig, James, 79, episcopal clergy, b. NY, and family:
#115-115, Fox, Charles, 32, laborer (Indian);
#116-117, Na qua twa, James, 30, farmer, Indian; Melinda, 20, white; Martnin, 9/12, f., b. Aug., Indian;
#117-118, Kah we taw we ge sick, David, 50, m, farmer, Indian; Owannce, 60, f; Kobashkomo, 20, f; Nah ah quah, 18; Keo kish cum, 60, m. farmer, Indian; Dogah, 45, f; Martha, 11, f.;
#119-120, Sash Zush, 80, f; Kenequah, 50, f; Sagehchewaquah, 10, f;
#120-121, Ke tah we num, 40, m, Indian, farmer; Magua quah, 20, f; Ket tah me she kak kas, 12, m; Ne pe non e meet, 10, m; Tuh ke ke meese, 7, f;
#121-122, Pashinin ne, Eliza, 25, f; May, 1, f; Nah e we no quah, 59, f; We zo, 15, m;
#122-123, Ash tay quot, 51, m. farmer, Indian; Saw wun, 51, f; Nam qua twa, 24, m, laborer; Sine e mo quah, 7, f;
#123-124, Mastah, John, 33, farmer; Pe Zuh, 28, f; Angeline, 10; Frank, 8; Solomon, 5; Jackson, 1; She to wan, Joseph, 20, m, laborer; Caroline, 12;
#124-125, Ma goose, John, 50, farmer, Indian; Ashe E Neak, f; Lucy, 10, f;
#125-126, Wah pe me me, 40, m. farmer, Indian; Nom be zhe quay, 38, f; Billy, 19; James S., 6; John s., 3; Janie, 9/12, b. Aug.; Margaret, 17; Qua me, 2/12, f, b. Mar.; Pe mah e wun, m. laborer;
#126-127, Johnson, Tah quah, 38, f, Indian; Jerry, 6, m; Jimmy, 4; Charley, 2;
#127-128, Wezo, Thomas, 25, m, farmer, Indian; Sophia, 20, f; Addie, 2, f;
#128-128, Fox, David, 26, farmer, Indian; Mary, 28; Solomon, 4; Norton, William, 21; Susette, 16;
#129-130, Pe azh e way, 80, m. Indian; Nancy, 50, f; Jon nok, 20, m, laborer; Tah we nah, 16; Betsey, 8 (U.S. Census 1870a, 414-415).

contiguously. All were identified with "Ind" for ethnicity (U.S. Census 1870b, 651-653).[28]

1880 U.S. Census, Allegan County, Michigan. The 1880 U.S. Census of Wayland Township, Allegan County, Michigan, showed Charles Fox, I[ndian], m[ale], 39, laborer, born in Michigan, in household #253/291 of James G. Selkrig. Starting with #292/299 (the Isaacs family) there followed a group described by the census taker at the beginning as an "Indian Colony." The settlement contained 16 households representing 82 individuals. After #307/313, the enumerator wrote, "This Ends the Indian Settlement." The core families by 1880 were using the following anglicized surnames: Isaacs, Fox, Sprague, Hinman, Foster, Solomon, Whitepigeon, Weaso, Paul, Mastay [later Walker], Johnson, and Shagonaby (U.S. Census 1880, 236-236r). Additional Indian family names found in the 1880 U.S. Census of Wayland Township were Wakefield (see Durant Notes 1908b) and Redbird.[29]

1900 U.S. Census, Allegan County, Michigan. In 1900, the Indian population in Wayland and Salem Townships, Allegan County, Michigan, was enumerated on the special "Indian Population" census schedules (U.S. Census 1900, 274-275). In many cases, the schedules provided a tribal identification for the parents as well as the enumerated individuals: all tribal identifications were either Ottawa or Potawatomi. In some cases, these identifications reached into the distant past, and while not necessarily completely accurate, did indicate how the individuals were regarded at the time.[30] Nine households containing 47 individuals were

[28] #42/42, Foster, David K., 35, m, farmer, $800 real estate, with Angeline, 28, f, Ind, keeping house; Charles, 10; Lincoln, 7; and John, 2/12; #43/43, Shob Co Ung, 50, m, farmer, $800 real estate, with Saw weh bun, 50, f; #44/44, Pash ge sa go qua, 45, f, keeping house, with Selkrig, 11, and Pesaw, f, 8; #45/45, McTaywis [sic], Lewis, 21, m, farmer, Lilly, 16, f, keeping house, and Martha, 2/12; #46/46, Shaw me gesick, 45, m, farmer, $400 real estate, with Martha, 50, keeping house; Kelsey, m, 19, farmer; Thomas, m, 15, at home; Aury, 10, f, at home, John, 9, m; and #47/47, Say Moo, 25, m, farmer, and Mary, 24, f, keeping house (U.S. Census 1870b, 651).

[29] Simon Rid bid and John Red bird were identified in 1894 as part of Topenebee Band of Potawatomi (MBPI Response, D.K. Foster Papers). Durant Roll 1907: Redbird, Simon 42 m TRA 5699 Ref: 21-23 Res: Genoa School, Neb. Rem: carpenter at school (Lantz 1991, 221).

[30] Solomon Walker, born in 1864, head of household, had a father identified as Potawatomi and a mother identified as Ottawa. His mother Bessie, Ottawa, born in 1840 in Canada, stated that her parents had been born in Michigan (U.S. Census 1900b, 274, Dwelling #90, Household #81).

enumerated as contiguous to one another in Wayland Township,[31] while five households containing 20 individuals

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Lewis Medawis, a head of family, born in August 1849, in Michigan, had been married for 31 years to his wife Lydia, born in 1857, a Potawatomi, whose Indian name was Ogemarqua. Lydia had borne 11 children, of whom six were living. In addition to the children, their household included John Macktay, uncle, born in 1801 in Michigan, age 98, whose father had been Ottawa and whose mother had been Potawatomi, both parents born in Michigan; and Rosetta Macktay, aunt, born in 1821, Potawatomi (U.S. Census 1900b, 274, Dwelling #91, Household #82).

David K. Foster, head of household, had been born in April, 1838. His father was Ottawa, his mother Potawatomi (U.S. Census 1900b, 274, Dwelling #92, Household #83). Both Moses Foster, age 71, and Pash-kesh-go-quay [Pashkeshgogua] Sprague, age 68, Potawatomi, were residing in the household of her son David Fox (U.S. Census 1900b, 274, Dwelling #97, Household #97).

[31] The numbers for dwelling and household were overwritten in such a way as to make them difficult to read.

#181/181: Walker, Solomon, head, b. 1864, father Potawatomi, mother Ottawa, m. 12 years, b. MI, father b. MI, mother b. Canada; Ida, wife, b. 1876; Maggie, dau, b. 1890; Alice, dau; Jennie, niece, b. 1895; Bessie, mother, Ottawa, b. 1840, b. Canada, parents b. MI; Hiram, brother, b. 1886, single.

#182/182: Medawis, Lewis, Head, b. Aug. 1849, MI, m. for 31 years; Lydia, wife, Potawatomi, name Ogemarqua, wife, b. 1857, has born 11 children, 6 living. Nancy, dau., b. June 1876; Sarah, dau., b. Jan. 1884; Eliza, dau., b. May 1886; Henry, son, b. Dec. 1893; Macktay, John, uncle, b. 1801, age 98, father Ottawa, mother Potawatomi, b. MI, parents b. MI; Rosetta, aunt, b. 1821, Potawatomi.

#183/183: Foster, David K, head, b. Apr. 1838, age 62, father Ottawa, mother Potawatomi, m. 6 years, b. MI. Ellen, wife, b. May 1845, m. for 40 years, has borne 6 children, 6 children living. Charles, son, b. May 1862; Lincoln, son, b. Oct. 1863; James, son, b. Oct. 1872; Lucy, dau., b. Feb. 1876; Inman, son, b. Oct. 1880.

#184/184: Bush, Mary, head, b. 1843, MI, parents b. MI; Frank, son, b. 1871, age 29; Agnes, dau-law, b. 1875; Foster, son, b. Oct. 1880; Joshua, son, b. July 1889;John, son, b. 1891;

#185/185 Mackey, Peter, head, b. 1830, age 70, b. Michigan, widower;

#186/186: Isaac, Kelsey, b. Mar 1851; Elizabeth, wife, b. Mar 1860, married 26 years, she has born 3 children, 1 living; Rosa, dau, b. July 1888; Charles, son, b. Jan 1893.

#187/187: Jackson, Alice, cousin, b. Aug. 1860, widow, has borne 7 children, 7 children living; Selker, son, b. Mar 1880; Henry, son, b. Mar 1886; James, son, b. Aug 1885; Jacob, son, b. Apr. 1888; Adam, son, b. Feb 1890; John, son, b. Sept. 1893; Rose, dau., b. Apr. 1898.

#188/188: Fox, David, b. Apr. 1849; Adam, son, b. Jan. 1878; Sprague, mother, age 68, Potawatomi, name Pashkeshgogua; Foster, Moses, 71, boarder

#189/189: Kaykake, Isaac, head, b. May 1846, Michigan; Mary, wife, b. Sept. 1838, Michigan (U.S. Census 1900, 274-275).

were enumerated as contiguous to one another in Salem Township.[32]

1910 U.S. Census, Allegan County, Michigan. As in 1900, the 1910 Federal census contained special schedules for the enumeration of Indian population. These schedules were used by the census enumerators in Allegan County, Michigan, to list the six households (31 individuals) of the Indian settlement in Wayland Township,[33] near Bradley, and the

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[32] The dwelling and household numbers were overwritten, making them difficult to read.

#33?/335: Medawis, Peter, head, b. 1852; Maggie, wife, b. 1853; Ellen, daughter, b. 1877;
#33?/336: Whitepigeon, Julia, b. May 1836; Mandoka, Guy, grandson, b. 1890;
#33?/337: Whitepigeon, John, head, b. 1867; Mary A., wife, b. 1873; Rosa, daughter, b. 1895; Wallace, son, b. 1898;
#33?/338: Whitepigeon, James, b. August 1863; Martha, wife, b. June 1870; Sarah, b. 1889; Jennie, b. 1895; George, b. 1900; Mosher, Sarah, lodger, b. February 1888;
#33?/339: Stephen, Alax, head, b. January7 859; Lucy H., b. 1860; Joseph, son, b. 1883; Ailet, son, b. 1896; Johnson, James, srvant, b. 1865.

The ethnicity of all was identified as "In" and all birthplaces were Michigan (U.S. Census 1900, 200).

[33] 1910 U.S. Census, Wayland Twp., Allegan Co., MI: NARS T624, Roll 634, p. 299A, #1/1: Mark, Alfred, Head, male, Indian, 36, 1st marriage 16 yrs, father Chippewa, mother Ottawa; Nancy, wife, 5/16 white, age 32, borne 9 children, 7 living, b. MI, father Pot b. MI, mother Pot b. Can.; Jennie, dau, 14; Albert, son, 12; Angeline, dau, 10; Robert, son, 8; Stephen, son, 4; Peter, son, 2; Guy, son, ?/12.
1910 U.S. Census, Wayland Twp., Allegan Co., MI: NARS T624, Roll 634, p. 299A, #2/2: Mendoka, Caroline, 5/16 white, head, female, Indian, 51, 2nd marriage 18 years, has borne one child, 0 children living, b. MI; father Pot b. Ind; mother Pot b. Can; basketmaker. Mendoka, Frank, stepson, 25; Walker, Betsy, mother, female, Indian, 1/8 white, 72, widow, has borne 14 children 7 living, Potawatomi b. Can French, father Pot b. Can French, mother Pot b. MI; married twice.
1910 U.S. Census, Wayland Twp., Allegan Co., MI: NARS T624, Roll 634, p. 299A, #3/3: Foster, Inman, 1/2 white, male, 27; Maggie, wife, 20; Fred, son, 3; Raymond, son, 7/12.
1910 U.S. Census, Wayland Twp., Allegan Co., MI: NARS T624, Roll 634, p. 299A, #4/4: Birch, Henry, Head, male, Indian, 35, 2nd marriage 3 years, b. MI, father Pot b. Can; mother b. MI; Lydia, wife, f, Indian, 21, has borne 1 child, 1 child living; father Ottawa, mother Potawatomi; Rebecca, dau, 1; Isaac, Sarah, Aunt, female, Indian, 60, b. Can French, parents b. MI, father Ottawa, mother Potawatomi, married twice.
1910 U.S. Census, Wayland Twp., Allegan Co., MI: NARS T624, Roll 634, p. 299B, #5/5: Foster, Abraham L., 3/8 white, Head, male, Indian, b. MI, farmer, father Potawatomi, mother Ottawa; Angeline, mother, female, Indian, 65, father French/white, mother Ottawa, Angeline 1/2

four households (20 individuals) in Salem Township.[34] All heads of household in Wayland and Salem Townships were either the same individuals who had been in the settlement in 1900, or their siblings, children, or spouses. As in 1900, the forms provided tribal identification for both enumerated individuals and their parents. In 1910, one related household was also enumerated in Saugatuck Township.[35]

1920 U.S. Census, Allegan County, Michigan. While the 1920 census no longer provided the special "Indian Population" schedules, it did provide a useful overview of the continuity and geographical distribution of the Allegan County families in Wayland Township (nine households

white; widow, has borne 7 children, 4 living, b. MI; Charles, brother, 47, single, b. MI; Andrews, Joshua, brother in law, Ottawa, 1/4 white, male, Indian, 25, stone mason, widower, b. MI; Wayne, nephew, 3.
1910 U.S. Census, Wayland Twp., Allegan Co., MI: NARS T624, Roll 634, p. 299B, #6/6: Johnson, Alice, Head, female, Indian, 47, widow, has borne 7 children, 6 living; Sprague, Henry, son, 26; Sprague, James, son, 24; Jackson, Jacob, son, 22; Jackson, Adam, son, 20; Johnson, Rose, dau, 12.

[34] 1910 U.S. Census, Salem Twp., Allegan Co., MI: NARS T624, Roll 634, p. 218A, #1/1: Whitepigeon, John, Head, male, Indian, 43, 1st marriage 20 years, b. MI, parents b. MI, farmer, father Potawatomi, mother Ottawa; Mary A., wife, 36, born 11 children, 5 living, b. MI, speaks Ottawa, father Ottawa, mother Potawatomi; Wallace, son, 12; Lewis, son, 9; William, son, 7; Joseph, son, 4; Anna, dau. 2.
1910 U.S. Census, Salem Twp., Allegan Co., MI: NARS T624, Roll 634, p. 218A, #2/2: Medawis, Lewis, male, Indian, 60, 1st marriage 41 years, b. MI, farmer, both parents Ottawa; Lydia, wife, 54, has borne 11 children, 6 living, speaks Ottawa, father Potawatomi, mother Ottawa; Henry, son, 16; Nada, Sarah, dau, 25, 1st marriage 6 years, has borne 1 child, 0 children living.
1910 U.S. Census, Salem Twp., Allegan Co., MI: NARS T624, Roll 634, p. 218A, #3/3: Pokagon, Alex, male, 53, 1st marriage 35 years, both parents Potawatomi; Lucy, wife, 50, has borne 12 children, 2 living, speaks Potawatomi; father Potawatomi, mother Ottawa.
1910 U.S. Census, Salem Twp., Allegan Co., MI: NARS T624, Roll 634, p. 218A, #4/4: Whitepigeon, James, 46, 1st marriage 24 years, father Potawatomi, mother Ottawa; Martha, wife, 40, has borne 7 children, 5 living, father Ottawa, mother Potawatomi; Jennie, dau, 15; George, son, 9; Lena, dau, 3; Levi, son, 5/12; Madoka, Guy, nephew, 19, both of his parents Potawatomi.

[35] 1910 U.S. Census, Saugatuck Twp., Allegan Co., MI: NARS T624, Roll 634, p. 244A, #3/3: Shongonaby, George C., head, male, Indian, 24, father Ottawa, mother Potawatomi; Medawis, Johnson, cousin, male, Indian, 29, father Ottawa, mother Potawatomi.

representing 28 individuals)[36] Salem Township (four households representing 21 individuals),[37] and Monterey Township, directly south of the Salem Township line (one household representing six individuals).[38] In Douglas Village in Saugatuck Township, there was one household with eight individuals that functioned as a part of the Bradley community,[39] while another Saugatuck Township Indian family

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[36] ED41, Sheet 4, #77/83: Walker, Salaman, head, rents, male, IN, 54, widower, b. MI, parents b. MI, farm laborer.
ED41, Sheet 4, #79/85: Mark, Alfred, head, owns free, male, IN, 46, b. MI, parents b. MI, farmer and trapper; Nancy, wife, 42, IN; Colbert, son, 7, IN.
ED41, Sheet 4B, #81/87: Burch, Henry, head, m, Indian, 46, b. MI, father b. Canada, mother b. MI; Sarah, mother, female, Indian, 84, b. Canada, American citizen, parents b. MI; James, son, 7; Henry, son, 4; Eliza, dau, 3.
ED41, Sheet 4B, #81/88: Fox, David, male, Indian, 80, b. MI; Marion, female, Indian, wife, b. MI; Jackson, Paul, grandson, male, Indian, 19.
ED41, Sheet 4B, #81/89: Foster, James, Head, male, Indian, 46, b. MI; Nancy, wife, 44, b. MI; John, son, 17, b. MI.
ED41, Sheet 5A, #89/98: Pigeon, Samson, Head, male, Indian, 46, b. MI; Eliza, female, Indian, 33, b. MI; Rose, dau, 15; Gladys, dau, 13; Amos, son, 10; Daniel, son, 8; Alice, dau, 6; Edmund, son, 2.
ED41, Sheet 5A, #90/99: Sprague, Selkirk, male, Indian, 39, b. MI; Ellen, female, Indian, 43, b. MI.
ED41, Sheet 6B, #125/36: Medawis, Peter, head, male, Indian, 68, b. MI; Margaret, wife, F, Ind., 67, b. MI.
ED41, Sheet 7b, #141/153: Foster, Lincoln, Head, male, Indian, age unknown, b. MI (U.S. Census 1920).

[37] ED33, Sheet 4B-5A, #82/82: Whitepigeon, John, Head, 52. Indian, b. MI; Marion, wife, 45; Lewis, son, 18; Joseph, son, 14; Madelane, dau, 9; David, son, 7; Elijah, son, 5; Whitepigeon, Elizabeth, dau, 3.
ED33, Sheet 5B, #97/97: Whitepigeon, James, male, Indian, 55, b. MI; Martha, wife, 50; Lena, dau, 13; Levi, son, 11; Iva, dau, 5.
ED33, Sheet 5B, #99/99: Stevens, Lucy F., Indian, 58, widow, b. MI; Peter, son, 21; Angeline, dau in law, 21; Andrew, grandson, 6/12; Whitepigeon, Anna, niece, 11 (U.S. Census 1920a).
ED34, Sheet 1, #4/4: Seymour, Peter, head, owns with mortgate, mle, IN, 29, b. KS, parents b. KS; Jennie M., wife, female, IN, 25, b. MI, parents b. MI; Angeline L., dau, 1 9/12, b. MI.

[38] 6 January 1920, Dwelling #28/Household #28: Church, Alton C., head, owns free, IN, 47, b. MI, father b. MI, mother b. NY; Sarah, wife, f, IN, 35, b. MI, parents b. MI; Naniega, dau, IN, 7; Lewis, son, IN, 2 5/12; Foster, Lucia I., adopted dau., IN, 6; Chipaway, Ellie, mle, IN, uncle, 56, b. MI, parents b. MI, widower (U.S. Census 1920, ED 27, Sheet 2).

[39] ED35, Sheet 6, #15/15: Shagonaby, William, head, Rents, m, IN, 37, b. MI, parents b. MI; Mary, wife, IN, 32; Francis, son, 13; Charlie, son, 11; Victoria, dau, 9; Alexander, son, 5; LaRose, dau, 1 1/2;

was not part of the petitioning group[40] (U.S. Census 1920). The Bush family was not located in the 1920 census of Allegan County.

Land records. The materials relating to the proposed allotments in Oceana County under the 1855 treaty and the history of the Griswold Mission land are discussed in detail in the Historical Technical Report to this Proposed Finding.

State and county vital records. Vital records kept by the State of Michigan began to list ancestors of the petitioning group in 1872, shortly after the 1870 annuity commutation payment. Since that date, the group's ancestors and members have been consistently identified as Indian in the vital records. However, Michigan vital records did not provide tribal designations.

Allegan County, Michigan. Allegan County, Michigan, death records 1867-1880 (Monteith 1959) and marriage records 1835-1870 (Monteith n.d.) have been abstracted and published. For Allegan County, Michigan, the wills and estates have also been abstracted and published for the years 1835-1872 (Monteith 1956). Prior to 1872, they showed only one relevant estate: the will of "Waso, Pottawattomi Indian," of Cheshire Township, age 75, was made May 18, 1872, and filed December 2, 1872, leaving his estate to his daughter Agnes Waso (Monteith 1956, 181). The probate was File No. 929. It stated that Waso, of Cheshire, died October 23, 1872, leaving as his heirs at law Agnes Waso, now Agnes Fox, only child of the deceased; and Nancy Waso, Elizabeth Waso, and Notta Waso of Hartford, Van Buren County, daughters of the late John Waso, who was a son of the deceased (Monteith 1956, 180).

In Allegan County, Michigan, vital records, the ancestors of of the petitioning group, and the collateral relatives of these direct ancestors, were regularly identified as "Indian" in the public vital records as early as the 1870's and consistently thereafter.[41] No member of the Bradley

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Moogarsos, George, father-in-law, m, IN, 74, b. MI, parents b. IN.

[40] ED36, Sheet 1, #21/23, household of Joseph Snay, with wife and five children.

[41] (Allegan County, Michigan, Death Record Book 1, nos. 73, 109, 171, 202; Allegan County, Michigan, Death Record Book 2, nos. 4, 21, 36, 50, 64, 66, 79, 110, 115, 132, 142, 169, 177, 203, 205, 239, 240, 241, 269, 282, 288, 309, 322, 324, 329, 358; Allegan County, Michigan, Death

settlement claimed as a Taggart Roll qualifying ancestor by the petitioner nor any member of their immediate families was ever identified with any ethnicity other than "Indian" in the Allegan County, Michigan, death and marriage records, with the exception of two designations as "colored," both in the same 1898 record (Allegan County, Michigan. Marriage Record Book 6, p. 249, #3680).

Other counties. The BIA did not systematically examine the records of other Michigan Counties, since the geographical focus of the group had been in Allegan County. Calhoun County, Michigan, records identified in connection with the HPI petition consistently identified individuals from the Allegan County settlements as "Indian." Those records from other Michigan counties contained in files of the Michigan Agency, BIA, in connection with eligibility for the 1978 ICC judgment award, consistently identified the individuals therein named as Indian.

Church records. Because there were ample public records documenting the genealogy of the MBPI, the BIA researchers did not utilize church records systematically for genealogical research purposes in this case.

Genealogical Selection/Documentation

Certain types of specific problems are of concern to the BIA in the case of all petitions for Federal acknowledgment. Accordingly, a deliberate genealogical selection (not random) is normally made on single, straight lines of descent in families which represent the following categories considered to be of concern: lines not on judgment rolls, problem lines, 19th-century families, the historic leadership, the current leadership, all other major subgroups, geographic dispersion, political factions, and families with a large representation in the current membership. In the case of MBPI, the total membership of

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Record Book 3, nos. 31, 38, 39, 50, 67, 84, 90, 97, 108, 225, 248, 255, 256, 267, 296, 315; Allegan County, Michigan, Death Record Book 4, nos. 21, 44, 55, 57, 72, 74, 76, 95, 109, 117, 122, 138, 155, 156, 166, 169, 171, 173, 175; Allegan County, Michigan, Marriage Record Book 5, nos. 29, 61, 75; Allegan County, Michigan, Marriage Record Book 6, nos. 3, 38, 155, 249, 250, 264, 267, 295, 306, 333, 339; Allegan County, Michigan, Marriage Record Book 7, nos. 46, 47, 95, 96, 124, 180, 194, 261, 262, 263, 305; Allegan County, Michigan, Marriage Record Book 8, nos. 46, 57, 65, 70, 77).

the group was so small that it was considered more practical to consider the entire group than to make selections.

Documentation from the HPI petition for Federal acknowledgment. At the time of submission of the HPI petition for Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe (1987), HPI submitted for all persons on its 1986 membership list a genealogical folder containing a copy of each adult member's HPI membership application, an ancestry chart and family group sheet (listing the member's children) on BIA forms, and backup documentation (always a birth certificate; frequently other vital records). In 1994, HPI supplemented this documentation with a folder for each member added to the HPI rolls between 1986 and 1994 consisting of copies of the individual records maintained by the Michigan Agency, BIA, based upon records generated for the 1978 claims payment. Each of these folders contained the 1978 claims payment application, an ancestry chart, a birth certificate, and in many cases additional vital records documentation such as marriage certificates. For those HPI members who chose to withdraw from HPI and become part of the MBPI petition, this material from the HPI petition records was separated from the remainder of the HPI documentation and used by the BIA genealogist to document lines of descent for MBPI.

Lines not on judgment rolls. This was not a problem in the instance of the MBPI petitioner. All family lines of the MBPI membership are represented on the Taggart Roll, the Durant Roll, and the 1978/1984 ICC judgment award.

Problem lines. No specific problem lines were identified.

19th-Century families. All of the petitioner's current members descend from families that were part of the antecedent band in the 19th century (see discussion above concerning descent from the 1870 final annuity payment). Of the 22 heads of families who participated in the allocation of the former Griswold Mission lands in 1883 (see Appendix VIII), nine (Shagonaby, White Pigeon, Pogagon, Sprague, Isaacs, Isaacs, Bush, Johnson, Walker) have direct descendants in the petitioner's current membership. As a result of intermarriage among southwestern Michigan Potawatomi groups, seven now have known descendants only among the HPI and Pokagon Potawatomi (Paul, Fox, David, Macktay, Macktay [Mackety], Mandoka, Solomon), while five others (Foster, Foster, Hinman, Shaw, and Wakefield) have no descendants in MBPI, HPI, or Pokagon, but may have surviving lineal descendants. One other (Embre) left no known

descendants. See also the discussion on demographic development of the petitioning group in the Historical Technical Report.

Direct ancestors of MBPI members. Of the families which were part of the Griswold Mission and of Shau-be-quo-ung's Band in the 19th-century, the following are known to be direct ancestors of current MBPI members:

(1) Matchepenashshewish, through his son Penassee, and through Penassee's children, most importantly Pash-kish-go-quay, a daughter, who married James Sprague, another Indian of the Griswold Mission.
(2) White Pigeon (Wa be me me), through two sons and a daughter who married into the Stevens family.
(3) Aken Pokagon/Stevens, also in a secondary line through the Ottawa Mamagona family.
(4) John and Betsy Walker, through the Mark and Stevens families, and also through Solomon Walker's children by Alice Sprague, who carried the Sprague surname.
(5) Johnson/Mickseninne, through the Shagonaby, Sampson Pigeon (We we say, not Whitepigeon), and Peter Medawis families.
(6) Joseph and Mary (Nahnee) Bush.

Most of the above families also have descendants on the HPI rolls (see Genealogical Technical Report, HPI Proposed Finding), as do many historical Bradley families, such as Mackety, which do not have descendants enrolled with MBPI. This is a consequence of birth rates and marriage patterns. For example, in the late 19th century, the Mackety line at Bradley was reduced to two children. The daughter never married, while the son married a Pine Creek Potawatomi woman and settled in Calhoun County.

Numerically, the most important Ottawa family that merged into the settlement during the 19th century was that of Joseph Medawis, son of Blackskin. Joseph Medawis' sons, Lewis and Peter, both married into the settlement: Lewis to Lydia Sprague, and Peter to Margaret Micksininne/Johnson, widow of William Wewesay/Pigeon.

Non-Indian elements. The 1847 census of Michigan Indians indicated that the Griswold Colony had one "half-breed" child, while the remainder were Indian full-bloods. Other documentation indicates that this child would have been Aken [Etienne] Rosette, whose father is said to have been French-Canadian. Aken Rosette married back into the band; his descendants lived at Bradley as late as 1920. No other

non-Indian elements were introduced during the 19th century. The next out-marriages to non-Indians did not occur until the World War I era, when three women from Bradley married non-Indians (Marie Medawis to Carl Pahl in 1914, Sarah Medawis to Alton E. Church in 1916, and Rose Johnson/Sprague to Roy Chivis, also in 1916). Descendants of the Pahl marriage did not appear in either HPI or MBPI records. Descendants of the Church marriage remained part of the Bradley settlement and are on the MBPI rolls. Descendants of the Chivis marriage became identified with HPI and are currently on the HPI rolls.

Large representation in current membership. The Sprague family is numerically the largest of the families which had been basically associated with the Bradley settlement (Allegan County, Michigan) throughout the 19th century: in the maternal line, it descends from the Selkirk Reserve chiefs Matchepenashshewish and Penassee. Some persons bearing the Sprague surname have HPI/Pine Creek ancestry by intermarriage, but this is not universally the case. Additionally, many of the members who do not bear the Sprague surname are descended from Sprague daughters.[42]

Because of the small number of founding families for the Bradley settlement and repeated intermarriage in succeeding generations, it is in many ways misleading to try to divide the membership into individual family lines. Almost all current members descend from several of the families of the band as it was constituted in 1870.

Historic leadership. The historic leadership of the group was drawn primarily from the Foster/Sprague family, all descendants of Matchepenashshewish and Penassee. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, the group's practice (there were no known formal guidelines) allowed for cooptation of external leadership through intermarriage with these families, as in the case of the Reverend Lewis Medawis, husband of Lydia Sprague.

Current leadership. From one perspective, it would appear that the current leadership continues to be concentrated with individuals descended from the Foster/Sprague family,

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[42] 1953. Potawatomi Indians Certificate of Relationship, Jacob Noon Wehr Jackson #no 195 Payroll no 21,300 schedule. Father Jacob Jacson sr. [sic] [Taggart Roll] No. 235, Potawatomi Phineas Panto-pee Chief; mother Alice Jackson [Taggart Roll] No. 189, Potatomi Shaw-be-coung Band; grandparents Pash-kich-go-quay no. 123 and James Sprague both Potawatomi (attached to MBPI Pet. 1996c).

although none currently carry the Foster name.[43] From another perspective, because of intensive intermarriage, the great majority of the petitioner's current members have acquired at least one line of descent from the Sprague family, so this result is statistically probable.

Major subgroups. Historically, the major subgroups consisted of the families which remained in the Bradley area and those which moved to the Salem area. There has been little genealogical distinction between these two groups, with the exception that the Salem settlement was somewhat more heavily descended from the Medawis, Pigeon, and Whitepigeon families, while Bradley was somewhat more heavily descended from the Sprague family.

Geographic dispersion. Geographic dispersion does not appear to be related to genealogical issues, except as mentioned in the paragraph immediately above.

Political factions. No data identifying specific political factions within the group was submitted.

20th-Century endogamy rate. The BIA did not have the data to make a complete demographic survey of the residential Indian communities in Wayland and Salem Townships, Allegan County, Michigan, throughout the 20th century. For example, census records were open only for the period 1900-1920. No listings were obtained from county directories or other

[43] A petition submitted to the AS - IA on September 24, 1994, listed the following members of the Elders Council:
D.K. Sprague, Band Chief, Elders Council Chairman-Michigan-at-Large Representative
Rev. Lewis White Eagle Church, Penasee-Church Descendants at Salem, Past Head Chief
Rev. Joseph Sprague, Penasee-Sprague Descendants from Mt. Pleasant-Methodist Elder
Richard Sprague, Penasee-Sprague Descendants of Kekalamazoo
Roger Sprague, Penasee-Sprague Descendants at Grand Rapids
Mrs. Margaret Sipkema, Penasee-Sprague descendants at Moline, Liaison-Bradley Mission
Mrs. Anna Mae Chlebana, Gun Lake District Representative
Mrs. Ardis Badger, Rabbit River District Representative
Mrs. Luella Collins, Penasee-Sprague Descendants at Grand Rapids
Mrs. June Fletcher, Stevens-Marks Descendants at Wayland, Bradley and Salem
Mr. Rudolph John Bush, Bush-Jackson Descendants at Bradley
Mrs. Mary K. Grigsby, Shagonaby-Johnson Descendants at Allegan
Mrs. Wanda Ritsema, Elders Council Treasurer-Gun Lake Representative
Mrs. Carol Barker, Gun Lake District Representative-Reservation resident.

substitute publications. The BIA genealogist surveyed Allegan County vital records only through 1920 because of time limitations, although they were open to inspection through 1933.

Bradley/Salem settlements as a whole. For Table IV, which attempts to develop an impression of the endogamy rate, the following parameters were used: (1) the table refers to the date of new marriages, by decade, but does not track the continuation of already existing marriages at any point in time; (2) all first marriages of Indians known to have been born within the Bradley/Salem settlement are included, even if descendants of the marriage are now enrolled elsewhere, or not enrolled; (3) all first marriages of Indians who resided as adults within the Bradley/Salem settlements are included, even if descendents are now enrolled elsewhere, or not enrolled; and (4) all first marriages of persons who appeared in the MBPI Historical Technical Report to this Proposed Finding as active participants in the Allegan County Indian mission churches, claims activities, etc. are included, even if their descendants are currently enrolled elsewhere, or not enrolled. Marriages subsequent to the first marriage are included only if they changed the matrimonial category of the Bradley/Salem partner. That is, marriage to one "other Michigan Indian" in the 1940's, followed by a subsequent marriage to "other Michigan Indian" in the 1960's is counted only once. Similarly, three successive marriages to non-Indians are counted only the first time.

Because of extensive intermarriage among Michigan Indian settlements, it should be noted that the following table used a very conservative definition of "Bradley" (including Salem). To be categorized as "Bradley," the person had to be both descended from a family who was part of the historical band and resident in the general area of the Allegan County settlements at the time of marriage. Therefore, persons with a Matchepenashshewish Band grandparent whose ancestor had moved to northern Michigan or Calhoun County are here categorized as "other Michigan Indian." This has the consequence of understating the degree of actual genealogical interrelationship within the petitioning group, but attempts to follow the functional social patterns.

Descendants of Bradley/Salem families who were both **born elsewhere** and **did not participate actively in the Bradley/Salem settlements** on the basis of the historical record were excluded from the computations in Table IV.

This is the case even when the BIA had genealogical information on the family from the 1978 ICC judgment award files.

TABLE IV

Endogamy Analysis, Bradley/Salem Indian Settlements, Including Persons with No Descendents, Unenrolled Descendants, and Descendants Enrolled Elsewhere

New Marriages, 1900-1996

Date	Total	Non-Indian	Bradley*	Other Michigan	Other Indian
1900-1909	14	1	9	3[1]	1[2]
1910-1919	15	4 [+2?]	1	7[3]	1[4]
1920-1929	12	1	5	5[5]	1
1930-1939	10	1	0	8[6]	1[7]
1940-1949	22	7	2	12[8]	1[9]
1950-1959	11	5	1	4[10]	1[11]
1960-1969	14	10	0	2[12]	2[12]
1970-1979	31	22	0	5[14]	4[15]
1980-1989	9	9	0	0	0
1990-1995	12	11	0	0	1[16]
	150				

[1] One HPI Potawatomi, one other Taggart-Roll Potawatomi, one Ottawa.
[2] "Western" Indian.
[3] Two Pokagon Potawatomi, two HPI Potawatomi, two other Taggart-Roll Potawatomi, one Ottawa/Chippewa.
[4] Kansas Potawatomi.
[5] Three Pokagon Potawatomi, two Ottawa, one Ottawa/Chippewa.
[6] Two Pokagon Potawatomi, two HPI Potawatomi, two Ottawa, two Chippewa.
[7] "Canadian" Indian.
[8] Four Chippewa, four Ottawa, three HPI Potawatomi, one "from Flint, MI."
[9] Delaware.
[10] One HPI Potawatomi, one Chippewa, two Ottawa.
[11] Seminole.
[12] Two Chippewa.
[13] One Navajo, one "Canadian" Indian.
[14] Three Ottawa, two Chippewa.
[15] Two Sioux, one Shoshone, one Canadian "Walpole Island Reserve" Indian.
[16] Navajo.

* Number of marriages. Double-count to get number of individuals.

Direct ancestors of current MBPI members. Table V represents a subset of Table IV, including only those individuals from the Bradley/Salem settlement areas who have descendants on the current MBPI membership list. In the case where both spouses were from Bradley, it is further

ancestry (e.g. Ottawa) in addition to Allegan County Potawatomi.

TABLE V

Endogamy Analysis, Bradley/Salem Direct Ancestry of Current MBPI Membership. and Current MBPI Members New Marriages, 1900-1996

Date	Total	Non-Indian	Bradley*	Michigan Indian	Other Indian
1900-1909	0	0	0	0	0
1910-1919	1	1	0	0	0
1920-1929	4	0	3[1]	1[2]	0
1930-1939	0	0	0	0	0
1940-1949	8	3	3[1,3]	1[4]	1[5]
1950-1959	6	3	1[6]	2[4]	0
1960-1969	5	5	0	0	0
1970-1979	22	19	0	1[4]	2[7,8]
1980-1989	6	6	0	0	0
1990-1995	8	8	0	0	0

[1] Ottawa/Bradley Potawatomi
[2] Ottawa/Chippewa
[3] Chippewa/Bradley Potawatomi
[4] Chippewa
[5] Delaware
[6] HPI/Bradley Potawatomi
[7] Sioux
[8] Shoshone

* Number of marriages. Double-count to get number of individuals.

Endogamy rate for new marriages. On the basis of the above figures, the following table provides percentages of endogamous new marriages entered into within the Bradley/Salem Indian settlements by decade, 1900-1995.

TABLE VI

Endogamy Percentages, New Marriages, Bradley/Salem Settlements, (Inclusive, Not Just Direct Ancestors of Current Members)

Date	Indviduals Entering Marriage	Bradley/Bradley %	Bradley/Other MI Ind %	Total %
1900-1909	23	78%	13%	91%
1910-1919	16	12.5%	44%	56.5%
1920-1929	18	48%	48%	96%
1930-1939	10	0	80%	80%
1940-1949	24	17%	50%	67%
1950-1959	12	16%	33%	49%
1960-1969	14	0	14%	14%
1970-1979	32	0	15%	15%
1980-1989	9	0	0	0
1990-1995	12	0	0	0

Dual Enrollment

The unratified, undated constitution (MBPI Pet. 1993a) prohibits dual enrollment with other federally recognized tribes. Article III, Section 2 of the 1993 unratified, undated MBPI constitution submitted to the BIA provides that:

> SECTION 2. Any enrolled member of the Tribe who applies for and becomes an enrolled member of any other federally recognized Indian Tribe, Band or group subsequent to their enrollment in the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians Tribe shall thereby forfeit membership in said Tribe and be disenrolled and thereafter shall not be entitled to any subsequent rights of membership (MBPI Pet. 1993a).

The handling of the issue of separation of the petitioner's membership from HPI indicates that the policy prohibiting dual enrollment has been applied.[44]

Potential for Membership Growth

The current MBPI membership is 140 persons. Under the membership criteria used, the petitioning group has indicated to the BIA that it has a maximum possible membership of approximately 220 individuals. These represent, primarily, immediate relatives of MBPI members who are currently enrolled with other federally acknowledged tribes, and who might, or might not, opt to change their enrollment if MBPI were acknowledged. There are numerous cases where the siblings, nieces, and nephews of MBPI members are enrolled with HPI, for example. Bradley/Salem-area leadership and families encourage their near relatives to affiliate with MBPI rather than other federally acknowledged tribes for which they may be eligible, but that is the only effort made to increase membership.

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[44] However, the undated, unratified 1993 constitution makes no specific provision for the following circumstances, nor has MBPI adopted an enrollment ordinance which clarifies these matters:

(1) methods for determining that an individual is dually enrolled;
(2) processing membership applications from persons already enrolled members of other federally recognized groups. It discusses MBPI enrolled members who subsequently apply elsewhere, but not persons enrolled elsewhere who apply for enrollment with MBPI;
(3) handling the possible membership eligibility of the children or more distant descendants of individuals who have been disenrolled under this provision.

Neither the constitution and by-laws (MBPI Pet. 1993a) nor any adopted enrollment ordinance make provisions for consulting the person being disenrolled, nor is it clear that the dually-enrolled individual is given the option of choosing which tribe he/she wishes to affiliate with. There is no indication of any process for appeal from a disenrollment.

Summary Statement: Descent from the Historical Tribe.

The conclusion of the BAR analysis of the genealogical documentation presented by the petition is that 100% of the petitioner's members are of American Indian ancestry, that 100% are of Michigan Potawatomi ancestry, and that 100% of the MBPI members descend from persons listed on the 1870 final annuity roll for Shau-be-quo-ung's Band and the 1904 Taggart Roll of Michigan Potawatomi. Specifically, they descend from the Potawatomi Band which from the 1830's through 1903 was headed by Matchepenashshewish, by his son Penassee, and by his grandson Shau-be-quo-ung, aka Moses Foster. While the petitioner's constitution makes provision for the adoption of individuals, no current MBPI members are known to be adopted.

The above conclusion is based upon the BIA annuity and judgment rolls, Federal census records, Michigan vital statistics records, and auxiliary evidence cited above. No evidence was located to the contrary. Most MBPI ancestors also descend from other Potawatomi groups in southwestern Michigan and in addition, many have Ottawa, particularly Grand River Ottawa, and/or Chippewa ancestors. This falls well within the parameters of outmarriage customary for Michigan's Indian groups.

Appendix I:

1839 Payment to the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians, Gun Lake Village

Receipt: "We the chiefs, Warriors Heads of families and individuals without families, of the Ottowa and Chippewa Tribes of Indians within the Agency of Michilimackinac, acknowledge the receipt of Seven Thousand One Hundred and sixty six Dollars, proportional Annuity, and Two Thousand nine hundred and sixty five dollars and twenty four cents interest, of Henry R. Schoolcraft Indian agent at Michilimackinac and Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs, in the sums appended to our names, being our proportion of the limited annuity due said Tribes, for the year 1839, Agreeably to the Compact of the 5th of June 1838" (MBPI Pet.; attachment to Church to Reckord 10/31/1994).

1839 Payment to the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians: From Henry Schoolcraft Papers, Library of Congress (MBPI Pet. Doc. 74).

Gun Lake Village

	[Prairie Ronde]:[44]	
1.	Sah-ge-naw (chief), 1 man, 1 woman, 2 children	total 4
2.	Waw-ce-che-won, 1 man, 1 woman	2
3.	Naw-gee, 1 man, 1 woman, 1 child	3
4.	Ke-che-pen-a-cee, 1 man, 1 woman, 1 child	3
5.	Ke-way-keesh-com, 1 man, 1 woman, 1 child	3
6.	Pay-maw-gee-won, 1 man, 1 woman	2
7.	Ken-na-be-go-quay, 1 woman, 4 children	5
8.	Y-aw-ba-maw-sa-wint, 1 man, 1 woman, 1 child	3
9.	Mis-sin-o-na-say, 1 man, 1 woman, 10 children	12
10.	Ken-a-aw-wee, 1 man, 1 woman 3 children	5
	[Kekalamazoo]:	
11.	Pen-a-cee, 1 man, 1 woman, 8 children	10
12.	Mudge-a-pen-a-cee-wish,[45] 1 man, 1 woman, 6 children	8
13.	Ka-gwe-taw-sink, 1 man, 1 woman, 3 children	5
14.	Pen-a-cee-quay, 1 woman, 1 child	2
15.	Kee-tay-way-num, 1 man	1
	Total	69

[44] Material in brackets not on original copy of list, but rather marginal comments added by MBPI researcher William L. Church.

[45] Probably the Matchepenachewich whose village was on the site of Kalamazoo, MI--grandfather of Moses and David K. Foster. Penacee was their father according to the 1896 depositions given in "Phineas Pam-To-Pee and 1,371 Other . . . ."

Appendix II:

1842 Census of Indians within the Superintendency of Michigan

"Census of Indians within the Superintendency of Michigan in 1842." Griswold Colony Band (MBPI Pet. Doc. #77):

Say gee maw (Chief)	1 m over 40, 1 f over 40, 1 f 10-40;	total 3
Chip pen seu wish	1 m over 40, 1 m 10-40, 1 f 10-40	3
Penacee	1 m 10-40, 1 m under 10, 1 f 10-40, 1 f under 10	4
Edaw waw ge won	1 m over 40, 2 m 10-40, 1 f over 40, 2 f 10-40	6
Scut tanee	1 m 10-40, 1 f 10-40, 1 f under 10	3
Pen asee waw bun no	1 m 10-40, 1 f 10-40	2
Pay baw mus say	1 m over 40, 2 m und 10, 1 f over 40, 2 f und 10	6
Ush skib a gosh	2 m 10-40, 2 f 10-40	4
Mish Kay way-gaw	1 m over 40, 1 m 10-40, 1 f 10-40	3
O maw beenee	1 m 10-40, 1 f 10-40, 1 f under 10	3
Pay shin mininee	1 m 10-40, 2 m under 10, 1 f 10-40	4
Muccatay way gush	3 m 10-40, 1 f over 40, 1 f under 10	5
A Kay way	1 m 10-40, 1 f 10-40	2
Naw-gee	1 m over 40, 1 f over 40	2
Keezhick in num	1 m 10-40, 1 f 10-40, 2 f under 10	4
Nay cee maw	1 m 10-40, 2 m under 10, 1 f 10-40, 1 f under 10	5
Chip pin na cee	1 m over 40	1
Peter Cotay	1 m 10-40, 1 f 10-40	2
May sin no say	1 m 10-40	1
Au nay way co bwaw	1 f 10-40, 1 f under 10	2
Sag gay go nunk	1 m 10-40, 1 m under 10	2
Tig won	1 m over 40	1
Pem may she won	1 m 10-40	1
Pee ton nay gezhick	1 m 10-40, 1 m under 10, 1 f 10-40, 1 f under 10	4
Maish a kee osh she	1 m under 10, 1 female over 40	2
Au chee mo	1 m over 40, 1 f 10-40, 1 f under 10	3
Osh a tay gut	1 m under 10, 1 f 10-40	2
May Kake	1 m 10-40	1
Nee gon nay quonk	1 m 10-40	1
Shay quonk	1 m over 40	1
Wee so	1 m 10-40, 1 f 10-40, 1 f under 10	3
Shaw wuck [wusk?]	1 f over 40	1
Waw boose quay	1 f 10-40	1
Waw oh	1 m 10-40	1
Be taw	1 m 10-40, 1 f 10-40	2
Ne bay din	1 m under 10, 1 f 10-40	2
Kin nay way gezhick o quay	1 m 10-40, 1 f over 40	2
Pot a quay	1 f 10-40, 1 f under 10	2
Shig gway num	1 m over 40, 1 m under 10	2
Naw she way quay	1 f over 40, 1 f under 10	3 [sic]
	Total	102

Appendix III

Griswold Colony Population, 1850 and 1851

1850 U.S. Census, Wayland Twp., Allegan County, Michigan: (for another transcription, see Monteith [1955], 88-92; MBPI Pet. Doc. 217).

Dwelling #880/Household #928: Selkrig, James, 59, m. P.E. Clergyman, b. NY, $200; Hannah ", 43, b. CT; James E ", 18, b. NY; Jeremiah ", 16, b. NY; Charles C.T., 13, b. MI; Caroline O. Sheldon, 31, b. NY; William Hunnicutt, 24, b. NY; Uzena Savosink, 22, b. Holland.

All of the following individuals were assigned birthplaces in Michigan; all adult males were assigned a value of $75.00 for "real estate owned."

#883/931: Pe na ce, 61, m, chief, Mis in ego equa, 50, f; Rop a ke zick, 18, m, hunter; Nany e quah, 16, m, none; Wah be kinne equa, 8, f.
#884/932: Us ta qut, 30, m, farmer; Saw sonn, 25, f; Num qua tah wah, 8, m.
#885/933: Pe na s wah big ow, 40, m, farmer; Pies ge Ron, 30, f.
#886/934: Muck ka ta wah qush, 55, m, farmer; Wequash quo to equa, 55, f; Mun zhah weh, 20, m, hunter; Wah Keah, 18, f; Otta wah, 13, m; Oak quan ze aze Kunk, 20, m; Paze Ro ma quash, 13, m.
#887/935: Pash an in ne, 30, m, farmer; Nage won equa, 30, f; Lauze win quots, 10, m; Miske to equa, 6, f; Pa bam e za, 2, m; Us to an sun, 25, m, farmer.
#888/936: Mish-ne-ma, 25, m, farmer; Paze ke qua equa, 25, f; David, 4, m.
#889/937: Shoupe quo nuk, 28, m; Shaw wn a bun, 25, f; Adam, 4, m.
#890/938: Mak ka ta, 30, m, farmer; Kitche wa equa, 20, f; Marche won equa, 2, f.
#891/939: Squaw Jon uk, 25, m, farmer; She be she equa, 40, f; Sa gt Ko no uk, 18, m; Kezis Zis, 12, m; Ro bash com equa, 10, f; Zan wusk, 6, f; Sha ga me ta equa, 2/12, f; Sha be ne, 8, f.
#892/940: Se wa qut, 25, m, hunter; Ne be no equa, 25, f.
#893/941: Mak in onk 45, m, farmer; Hene-weh, 40, f; Mary, 14, f; Pe son, 12, m; Orse me aK, 6, m; Ne se equa, 2, f; Susan, 5, f.
#894/942: Maw be se, 30, m, interpreters; Fan qu wah, 30, f; Martha, 8, f; Jim, 6, m; Zo Zaid, 4, f.
#895/943: Es cu ta minne, 50, m, farmer; Ne batten Equa, 50, f, C.
#896/944: Skip a kause, 60, m, farmer; Kena be ke koequa, 55, f; Skin ese, 20, m, farmer; Shaw wun, 20, m.
#897/945: Ke wa quoin, 40,m, farmer; Ke so equa, 25, f; Shlape queequa, 7, f; Thomas, 4, m; Skipe o gosk, 3/12, m.
#898/946: Arche onaw, 30, m, hunter; No to won equa, 28, f; Mah ne, 10, f.
#899/946: Chip pe wa, 45, m, farmer; Wah ba equa, 30, f; Wah says Kunk, 12, m; Nancy, 14, f; Ah zen ek, 7, f; Ge ke to equa, 5, f; Margaret, 2/12, f; Wah wah sum, 40, m, farmer.
#900/947: Shaw wun ske zick, 30, m, farmer; She bug mum, 40, f; Mas ta, 15, m; Kel sie, 2, m.
#901/948: Wah so, 40, m, hunter; Sha be wos, 45, f; Ken ze ick, 16, m; Shah pe qua, 12, m.
#902/849 [sic]: Es kipe a Kause sing, 35, m, farmer; See bee equa, 40, f; She qua Ko zing, 12, m; Mem do wa ba, 10, m; Ga be un, 6, m; Naw ba mik, 4, f.

#903/950: Chip in a see, 35, m, farmer; So zett, 45, f.
#904/951: Ka re e weh, 45, m, hunter; Squi n um, 30, f; Dah wa equah, 10, f; Warsa be no equa, 8, f; Ne quon be equa, 6, f.
#905/952: Ogh She, 35, m, farmer; Kut tise, 30, f; Ka be ne gon, 10, m; Es qua kum mic, 12, m; Ko wa o we, 20, m.
#906/953: Wun zah weh, 20, m, hunter; Wah Ko, 14, f.
#907/954: Kaw ta Ke zick, 30, m, farmer; Kon ze bin, 40, f; Ke wy qush ge equa, 16, f.
#908/956: Nich Ka nish, 50, m, hunter; Wa h - o, 50, f; A.kan, 18, m; Bak wan age Kung, 16, m.
#909/957: Peto we Ke zik, 30, m, hunter; Ke wy gish ge equa, 30, f.
#910/958: Wah sa to, 50, m, farmer; Keh ke, 45, f; Zub bet, 20, f; Joseph, 18, m; Shap cum equa, 15, f; Nah cum equa, 6, f.
#911/958: We zo, 40, m, hunter; Tis qui ah, 46, f; Mary, 20, f; Peaah, 15, f; Joseph, 6, m; Jina, 15, f.
#912/959: Suk Kon ga, 70, m, none; Zo on dah, 50, m, hunter; Kinne equa, 40, f; Jim, 1, m.
#913/960: No ton os, 25, m, hunter; Sha wak equa, 30, f.
#914/961: No tum a gee, 40, m, hunter; O wea, 30, f; Sha ba gee, 20, f; Ze an qum, 15, m; Ko ko shes, 13, m; Phhe Keh, 10, m; Pas to ke zik, 6, m.
#915/962: Ah zen Ke, 40, f; Me a me, 25, m, farmer; Ma quose, 20, m, farmer; Bash ucum equa, 20, f.
#916/963: Bat tize, 28, m, farmer; Tim e ses, 25, f; Euka ben e sink, 10, m; Po be ah, 6, m; Mary, 3/12, f.
#917/964: Ke zik, 25, m, farmer; Margaret, 25, f; Wezoo, 2, m.
#918/965: Jim, 30, m, hunter; Mary, 28, f; Susan, 3/12, f.
#919/966: Muk ke ta nin um, 28, m, hunter; Man ko to equa, 15, f; Squa bin equa, 8, f; Sha win e gea equa, 6, f.
#920/967: Mik Koune, 40, m, hunter; Ke wa gish go equa, 40, f.
#922/969: Gua ton qu wa, 50, m, hunter; four "unknown" household members.
#923/970: Pa sha bon, 25, f; Ma nee, 1, f.
#924/971: Ta zhe, 45, f; Pas Ke zhick, 10, m.
#925/972: Skin kan bun, 50, f; Margaret, 12, f
#926/973: Wa soo, 45, m, hunter; Unknown, 45, f; two "unknown."
#927/974: Sea quin equa, 40, f; Ke wa ge wis ge kwa, 11, f; Tub tus san, 4, m; Pa cot te an, 1, m.
#928/975: She won equa, 60, f; Puk way e qun, 25, m.
#929/976: Nauts ma equa, 41, f; Sha twas shon, 24, m.
#930/977: Na tah, 45, f; Petom, 20, m; Na tum, 16, m; So ke po, 10, m.
#931/978: Wau pe sa, 35, m, farmer; Oka bah an, 34, f; Jim, 8, m; We o equa, 6, m; Ma qui zin, 4, f.
#932/979: Ne pe, 25, m, hunger; Ka ga be go equa, 24, f; John, 1, m.
#933/980 Ra qua che me, 30, m, hunter; Ka ba o wis, 24, m, hunter; Shaw we be na, 22, hunter; Jo Fisher, 22, m, hunter.

(U.S. Census 1850; NARS M-432, Roll 436, 57-59r).

List of Homes of Indians Belonging to the Griswold Colony for the Year 1851 (MBPI Response Doc. 1; Allegan County Historical Society; variant, less accurate, transcription as "Copy of List of Names of Indians Belonging to the Griswold Colony for the Year 1851 as Compiled by Rev. Selkrig," copied from list which was photostated by John Pahl for Allegan Co. Hist. Soc.; MBPI Pet. Doc. 216):

Heads of Families		Women	
Penace, Chief	5	Se-be-qua "	2
He o kese Kum	2	Wah O " "	2
Pe na-ce-wabon-O	1	Ne bat-tin-o-qua	1
Muk-ka-la-wah-gush	3	She be-she-equa	4
Sash a minne	3	We Quas-quo-to-ta-equa	2
Us-ta-aw sun	3	Nah-ge won o qua	4
Sha pe quo unk	2	Pase-kese-ko-equa	3
Squaw yon isk	3	Sko gin e qua " "	3
Shaw bese " "	4	Sha-on e qua " "	2
Es as ta aninne	2	Pash-shaw-bun " "	4
Se wah qut	2	Raw pa o no equa	4
Skip a kaur	4	Puk ke kah "	1
Ke wa quom	2	Sha pe quom O qua	1
Skin ese " "	2	Shaw-win-aw bun "	2
Arche maw " "	1	Re so equa " "	3
Chippe wa "	2	Wah los qua " "	5
Sp u wan eke zih	4	Shak qua num " "	3
Es kip a kau sang	4	Ah-zen eke " "	2
Chip en a ce	2	Wak she equa " "	3
Ra ze e woh	3	Nah te " "	3
Es qua kam ik	1	Tau ze e wah "	1
Maw quah tas	4	Osh che kah bun "	2
Mem zaw weh	1	Wah says kum o qua	1
Rah tah ke zek	2	Qua me " "	3
Sa gah kon onk	1		60
A kan " "	2		
Bak quam ase kunk	2		
Pe to we ke zik	1	60	
Mak a ta	3	54	
Us ta qut	3	77	
	77	195	
Ko-pa-ke-zik	1	4	
Naw-mah-kose	3	199	
We zo " " "	4		
Ke-Zik " "	3		
Kah-pe minne a gaw ne	1		
Miz-aninne " "	4		
Sah-pe-to " "	2		
Wah zo " "	7		
Wap seigh " "	5		
Suk kon ga " "	2		
Men-sa no-za " "	2		

Wah-sa-to	5	
Battese " "	5	
Waij-O-dun-quo-unk	5	
Mah-mish-kah-ta " "	3	
Na-tum-a-gae	5	
		58
Ma guis	4	
Rah weh o-weh	2	
		62

Appendix IV:

1853 Annuity Receipt, Griswold Colony Band

1853 Annuity Receipt, dated January 11, 1854, Grand Rapids, MI:
WE THE CHIEFS, Headmen, Heads of Families and Individuals without families of the OTTAWA tribe of Indians within the Michigan Agency of the United States Indian Department do hereby acknowledge the receipt and payment to us by Henry C. Gilbert Indian Agent (in distribute shares of $1.37 dollars each) of the sum of ONE THOUSAND and SEVEN HUNDRED DOLLARS in coin, in the several sums appended to our respective names: it being our proportion of the Annuity due the said tribe, for the year 1853 under the treaties of Aug. 3, 1795 - Nov. 17, 1807 - Sep. 17, 1818, and Aug. 29, 1821.

Griswold Colony Band:
1. Pe nay se, Chief;
2. Shaw be quo ung, 3. Pe nay se waw baw no, 4. Pay she nin ne,[46]
5. Mawbeece,[47] 6. Chippe waw, 7. Key o cush cum,
8. Nsh/Ush tay aw sung, 9. Maw caw tay nawgosh,
10. Squaw jaw nug, 11. Aish co tay nin ne, 12. Ne saw waw quot,
13. Aish kebaw gosh, 14. Kin neece, 15. Aw che maw,
16. Chippeway, 17. Shaw waw nay gezhick,
18. Aish ke baw gaw sung, 19. Ke che be nay se,
20. Kay she aw nay, 21. Aish quay caw mick,
22. Aken, 23. Maw cawtay, 24. Ush tay quot, 25. Cooay gezhick,
26. Naw may guse, 27. Wezo, 28. Ke zhick, 29. Mick se nin ne,
30. Waw saw toe, 31. Battise, 32. Se be quay,[48] 33. Waw oh,
34. We quaish co to quay, 35. Pay quay naish kung,
36. E so we naw be, 37. May se tay, 38. Shay gwaw co shing,
39. Shaw con gay, 40. Waw bay kee, 41. Was say quo um,
42. Ke sis o quay, 43. Waw says caw mo quay,
44. Me shang gway quay, 45. Shing go kee, 46. Waw so.

40 men
34 women
74 children
Total: 142 persons.

(MBPI Pet. Doc. 78; typescript).

[46] Dwelling 1702, Household 1636: John Pashininie, 40, m, Ind, trapper, $25, b. MI; Amona, 40, f, Ind; John, 22; Robert, 8; susan, 10; 1706/1637: Peter ", 45, m, Ind, farmer, $100/200; Sippeee, 41, f; Dan, 20, m; John, 19, m (U.S. Census 1860a, 471).

[47] Aka Adoniram Judson, interpreter for the missionaries--see various anecdotal historical references to him.

[48] NOTE BY VED: Was this the same Se-be-qua who was at Pine Creek in 1842-43? The same one from whom land was purchased in Mason Co. later? (see D.K. Foster Papers; Church submission 14 April 1995).

Appendix V:

1857 Annity Roll, Grand River Ottawa of Michigan

1857 Annuity Roll, Grand River Ottawa of Michigan (Lantz 1993, 23-24):[49]

SHAW BE QUO UNG'S BAND.
#1 Shaw be quo ung, Chief
#2 She she bause
#3 Waw be ge ne quah
#4 Pay she nin ne
#5 Me shaw quaw do quay
#6 Cotay, Peter[50]
#7 Ush tay aw sung

---

[49] Lantz alphabetized these names. This list puts them back in numerical order.

[50] NOTE: Check MBPI Pet. Doc. 86(2), Michigan History XLIV 1960, p. 399, part of an article "The Kalamazoo Mound."

> Again I produce the statement of another person, some what more advanced in such matters than old Pe-pe-yaw; namely one Peter Cotay[33] (Chippewa for length) a singular half-breed of French Lower Canadian--and either Ottawa or Ojibewa [sic] (certainly of Alonquin [sic] descent. Peter is well versed in all Indian mtters of his generation, and speaks fluently several Indian languages as well as his mongrel French, and better English. I think he now lives at Pent Water [sic], though I have been informed that lately he has talked of going back to his old farm in Allegan County on the banks of Lake Che-be-sink,[34] lately Griswold[35] Mission. Peter was with Genl Cass when in 1820, he penetrated to Leech and Cass Lakes, and interpreted in part at the Green Bay Convention of that (I think) year.

[33] This may be Peter Cota of Elbridge Township. Oceana County, in whose home government payments were made to the Ottawa in 1859. Muskegon Chronicle, February 11, 1937.

[34] The Indian name for Selkirk Lake has been verified by Selkirk Sprague, Ottawa Indian still living at the mission site. He pronounces it as "Chim-bis-sink" and says it means "Bit Lake". No mention of the lake has been found otherwise than with its present name of Selkirk Lake.

[35] The Griswold mission to the Ottawas was the only missionary effort of the Episcopal Church in Michigan. It was supported by government funds as provided in the 1836 treaty with the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians. The Rev. James Selkrig, father-in-law of Alexander Sheldon, took charge of the mission in 1839 and operated it until its abandonment some forty years later. Its northwest corner was less than one-half mile southeast of Bradley. Franklin Campbell Smith, The Diocese of Western Michigan, A History, 65ff (Grand Rapids, 1948).

#8 Maw caw day waw gosh
#9 Squaw jaw ney
#10 Saw naw quot
#11 Aish ke baw gosh
#12 Shaw waw
#13 Ikin Neece
#14 Pay she caw no quosh
#15 Shaw wqw ne ge zhick
#16 Aish ke baw gaw dung
#17 Josette
#18 Shaw waw no quay
#19 Kay she aw way
#20 Daw waw quay
#21 Aish quay caw mig
#22 Aken Resette
#23 Key way ge zhe go quay
#24 Maw caw tay
#25 Ush tay quot
#26 Naw may goosh
#27 Mick se nin ne
#28 Naw saish aw mo quay
#29 Naw oh
#30 Me she kay
#31 Caw way o way
#32 Pe nay se waw bun
#33 Pay quay nay skung
#34 Atow we naw bay
#35 A de do & Bro.
#36 May se taw
#37 Jones, John
#38 Tong quist
#39 Walk she quay
#40 Saw saw quo um
#41 Waw be pe nay se & Sister
#42 Ke sis so quay
#43 Kaw ge gay quo ung, Bro. & Sis.
#44 Aebay de no quay
#45 Saw gaw se gay
#46 Saw gaw quaw nung
#47 Pe show
#48 Ke sis
#49 Kaw she gay, David
#50 Aw zhe waw naw quaw do
#51 Waw be me me
#52 Kay baish kung

Total number: 119.

Appendix VI:

Annuity Rolls from the Oceana County Period.[51]

1859 Annuity Roll, Grand River Ottawa of Michigan (Lantz 1993, 37):

A gaw waw #6; Aish se baw goosh #4; Aw de do #25; Aw be taw quaw do #26; Bingham, Sarah #29; Crampton, John, #16 [1857 in Paw baw me's Band (Lantz 1993, 22); E to we naw bay #24; Kaw way o way #23; Kaw she gay, David, #12; Ke sis so quay #9; Ke sis #11; Maw caw day #19; Maw caw day waw goosh #2; May se tay #8; Me shaw quaw do quay #15; Mick se nin ne #21; Naw may guse #20; Naw be me me #28; Pay she caw mo goosh #5; Pay she nin ne #14; Pay quay nay skung #7; Say gaw quay hung #10; Shaw be quo umg, Chief, #1; Shaw naw she ke zhick, #17; Shaw aw no quay #18; Squaw jaw meg #3; Ush tay quot, #13; Waw say quo um #30; Saw oh #22.

Total number: 80.

1864 Annuity Roll, Grand River Ottawa of Michigan (Lantz 1993, 45):

Shaw Be Quo Ung's Band. A gaw waw; Aw zhe waw waw quaw; Crampton, John; Foster, David K.; How de do & Bro.; Kaw ge gay quo ung; Ke sis so quay; Maw caw day waw goosh; Maw caw day; May se tay; Me sun zee; Naw may guse; Pay she nin ne's Infant; Pay quay nay skung; Pay she nin ne; Pay she ge zhe go quah; Say gaw quay nung; Shaw waw ne ke zhick; Shaw be quo ung, Chief; Squaw jaw meg, Waw say quo um, Waw oh; Waw be me me.

Total number: 73.

1865 Annuity Roll, Grand River Ottawa of Michigan (Lantz 1993, 51).

Shaw Be quo ung's Band: A gaw way, Ain ne me ke waw, Aw she waw waw quaw do, Crampton, John; Foster, David K.; How de do & bro.; Kaw ge gay quo ung; Maw caw day waw goosh; May se tay; May co tay; Me sun zee; Me co pe way se, Wm.; Me sun Zee's Infant; Me zhaw quaw do quay; Naw may guse, pay she nin ne; Pay Quay nay skung; Pay zhe ge zhe go quay, Say Gaw quay nun, Shaw be quo ung, Chief; Shaw waw ne ke zhick, Squaw jaw nug, Waw we eoto; Waw oh; Waw be me me; Waw say Quo um.

Total number: 78.

1868 Annuity Roll, Grand River Ottawa of Michigan (Lantz 1993, 99-100).

Shaw be quo ung's Band: A gaw waw, Ain ne me ke waw, Crampton, John; Domineke, Simon; Foster, David K.; How de do; Kaw ge gay quo ung, Key sis o quay, Maw caw day waw goosh, May se tay; May co tay; Me shaw quaw do quay, Me sun zee, Mick se nin ne; Mick se nin

[51] Each of these rolls contains the number of men, women, and children in each household, and the amount of the payment.

ne's Infant; Naw may guse, No zhe waw waw quaw do, Pay she nin ne; Pay quay nay skung; Say gaw quay nung; Shaw waw ne ke zhick; Shaw be quo ung, Chief; Squaw jaw nug; Ush tay quot; Ush tay quot, Wallace; Waw we estoe; Waw we nay me; Waw be me me; Waw say quo um.

Total number: 94.

Appendix VII:

1870 Annuity Pay Roll, Ottawas and Chippewas of Michigan:

Name	Men/Women/Children/Total		
Shaw-be-quo-ung, Chief #5	1/1/1/3	$45.90	1-53 GRV
Me saw zee	1/1/6/8	$122.40	2-53 GRV
A gaw waw	1/0/2/3	$45.90	3-53 GRV
Shaw waw ne ke zhick	1/1/4/6	$91.80	4-53 GRV
Mick se nin ne family	0/1/4/5	$76.50	5-53 GRV
Waw say quo um family	0/1/3/4	$61.20	6-53 GRV
John Crampton	1/0/3/4	$61.20	7-53 GRV
May co tay	1/1/4/6	$91.80	8-53 GRV
Waw be me me	1/1/3/5	$76.50	9-53 GRV
David K. Foster	1/1/2/4	$61.20	10-53 GRV
How de do	1/1/1/3	$45.90	11-53 GRV
May se tay	1/1/3/5	$76.50	12-53 GRV
Pay quay nay skung	1/1/2/4	$61.20	13-53 GRV
Nay che min[win?] ne quot	0/1/1/2	$30.60	14-53 GRV
Squaw jaw ung	1/1/1/3	$45.90	15-53 GRV
Naw may guse	1/1/1/3	$45.90	16-53 GRV
Ush tay quot	1/1/1/3	$45.90	17-53 GRV
Nin ne me ke wan	1/1/0/2	$30.60	18-53 GRV
Waw we es toe	1/0/1/2	$30.60	19-53 GRV
Me shaw quaw do quay	0/1/2/3	$45.90	20-53 GRV
Aw zhe waw qua do	1/0/1/2	$30.60	21-53 GRV
Simon Domineke	1/0/0/1	$15.30	22-53 GRV
Say gaw quay nong	1/1/0/2	$30.60	23-53 GRV
Wallace Ush-tay-quot	1/0/1/2	$30.50	24-53 GRV
Mrs. Sprague	1/0/2/3	$45.90	25-53 GRV
William We we say	1/0/0/1	$15.30	26-53 GRV
Say say gow	1/1/1/3	$45.90	27-53 GRV
Me nase	0/1/0/1	$15.30	28-53 GRV

Total number: 93.

(MBPI Pet.; Lantz 1991, 29-30).

Me-Tay-Wis [Joseph Medawis] was Grand River Chief #3 in 1870; the GRV reference number for his band was 51. The band also contained 28 heads of household: the only one with major relevance for the petitioner was Louis Me-tay-wis 1/1/1/3 $45.90 12-51 GRV (Lantz 1991, 28). The other 1870 Ottawa Bands have little genealogical relevance for the petitioner.

Appendix VIII:

1883 Purchasers of former Griswold Colony Land, Allegan County, Michigan

Sections 20 and 28, 360 acres, Bradley, Michigan, May 29, 1883 (MBPI Pet. Doc 248, including a copy of the plat map showing which lots went to which allottee):

1. Isaac Embre, 20 acres[52]
2. Joseph Shagonaby, 5 acres
3. James Johnson, 10 acres
4. David Fox, 10 acres
5. White Pigeon, 25 acres
6. Ida Solomon, 15 acres
7. James David, 10 acres
8. Alex Pogagon, 5 acres
9. Wallace Hinman, 10 acres[53]

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[52] 1880 U.S. Census, Wayland Twp., Allegan Co., MI: #307: Embrie, Isaac, I, m, 60, b. MI; Mrs, I, f, 50, wife; Ida, I, f, 3, adopted; Amy, I, f, 2, adopted.

[53] 1880 U.S. Census, Wayland Twp., Allegan Co., MI: #298/305, Hindman, Wallace, I, M, 36, b. MI; Mary G, I, f, 35; Rogers, Mrs, I, F, 64, mother, basketmaker.
HPI 1880 Annuity Roll:
Num Qua To We 34 [see below, 1885]
Mary, wife 34
1883 HPI Annuity Roll:
Num-qua-to-wah 35 [see below, 1885]
Mary, wife 35
1885 HPI Annuity Roll:
Num-qua-to-wah (Wallace Hinman) 37. Rem: Not paid absent
Mary wife 37
1889 HPI Annuity Roll 1st Qtr:
Qua-te-nah, Mary (Hinman) 41 [see above, 1885]

Allegan County, Michigan. Death Record Vol. 2, p. 269. Jan. 12 1898. Wallace Hinman, M, Ind., Married, 60, Heath Tp., Pneumonia lobar, b. Michigan, farmer, parents unknown.

A marginal comment on the 1883 Bradley land distribution list sent by Bill Church identifies him as a son of Moses Foster--apparently based on Durant's 1907 field notes.

1899 listing #231, Five children of Wallace Hinman (CtCl "Phineas Pam-To-Pee and 362 Other . . ." 1899, 8).

Durant Roll 1907: WAWMEGOOSE, Jennie, 48, f, wife of John Wawmegoose; res. Chief Lake; 7730 Ref: 1-53 rem: nee Hinman; 1st husb, John Theodore (T); dau of Wallace Hinman (Lantz 1991, 275). Durant Roll 1907: Theodore, John 48 m GRV 6787, 1st wife Marian--Charlevois; 2nd wife, Jennie Wallace Hinman Wawegwas; 3rd wife Jennie Antoine; children by 2nd wife were Ben, 23; Nelson, 19; Maggie, 17; James 14; Paul, 11 (Lantz 1991, 257).

HINEMAN, Andrew 20 m GRV 2621 Ref: 19-49 Res: Millerton Rem: also called Andrew Foster; one child on 2nd Roll; Clara wife 17 f 2622 Ref:

10. Amos Wakefield, 30 acres
11. Moses Foster, 30 acres
12. Samuel Macktay, 10 acres
13. David K. Foster, 70 acres
24. John Macktay, 10 acres
14. P. Sprague, 20 acres
15. Jacob Shaw, 10 acres[54]
16. Charles Isaac, 5 acres
19. Kellsy Isaac, 20 acres
23. Mary Paul, 5 acres
21. John Walker, 20 acres
22. Joseph Bush, 10 acres
20. Joseph Mandokay, 10 acres

"I believe the above is correct. Every one was present when I drawn the Plat on section (20) and also section (28) 360 acres.
Bradley, Michigan, May 29th, 1883. Signed D.K. Foster."

19-53 Rem: nee Eaton (Lantz 1991, 121).
1890 CtCl Listing: "The following reside at Bass River, Ottawa county, Mich.: William Hinman and wife, Margaret; their children, Andrew and Martha. Josie Sha-go-na-by. Martha Wallace Hinman." See also under "Halfday" on the Court of Claims listing and Durant Roll for additional information.

[54] To the Ottawa and Chipewa Chiefs and people residing at the Indian Reservation Pent Water, Oceana Co., Michigan. Signed: Ching-quosh, Kah Ke Ka Kah bah we, Naw-gon-Koo-ung, No-de-no-Ka, Sow beegh, Joe Queese, Show-nos-se-ga, Ke wah be na se, Be too won quod, Jacob Shaw, Ah be naw be, Jos. Do ne gay, Mis Koo de ne wun, Ane-ne-Ke we, Kah-Ke-ga-be (document dated 7 January 1870, Church submission 14 April 1995, D.K. Foster papers).
The following reside at Bass River, Ottawa county, Mich.: . . . Jacob Shaw and his wife, Mary; their children, Julia, Samuel, Adam, and Elizabeth (Ct.Cl. 1890).

Appendix IX:

1891 Lists, Living Descendants of the former Prairie Ronde and Kalamazoo Reservations

At left is "number in family"

1. Alexander Moso
1. Peter Moso
1. Shay-go-na-by Moso
2. Mary Elizibeth Moso and Child Martha
1. Darseen Moso
4. Ne-Zate and Children Julia, Mary & Thomas
3. Shaw-noote and Children, Mary & Elizabeth
6. William Kah-we-tah-Kah-mick & wife Marh-ji-wah Children Se-Done, John, Me-Shane, & Ah-zhe-neek
1. Mary Ann Moso
4. Joseph Moso & Children, Chiney, Louisa & Daniel.
1. Peter Kah-we-tah-Kah-mick.
2. Mo-Ke-je-won & wife, Ne-be-no-quay
2. Mary Jane & Brother Lowe.
2. Sarah David & Child Mary.
3. Martha Que-go-no & Children, Dominick & Susan
2. Eliza Que-go-no & Child, Mary
1. Elizebeth Bird Meshan
1. Josett Pe-quaw-go-zee
1. Betsy Pe-ya-she-way
1. Angeline Lewis
1. Wah-Kay Moso
4. Solomon Gulpin & wife Mary - Children Boy & Girl
1. She-me-nah-ne-nah-quot
3. James Sah-ge-mah & wife Nancy. Child Angeline.
2. Francis Ash-Ke-be & Wife Tah-be-dah, Boy Batice
5. Mary Rapp & Children, Magie, Elizebeth, Julia & Susan
1. John Wah-o-gon Sr.
3. John Wah-o-gon Jr. Children, Pe-nah-se-way & Sah ge mah
1. Betsy Nah-o-da-ge-zhe-go-quay
3. Moses Aish-quaib & Children, Julia, Charles & Wah-sa-yah
2. Daniel John & Wife Betsey
1. Mary We-Zoo
1. Madline To-paush.
1. John Que-go-no
1. Peter Gibson
1. John Ka-Kake. Rosomb Station Ont.
3. William Batis Sa wock & wife Eliza & Child Mary.

There has been an increase in the family of Joseph Bush 1 Boy Joshua, and Wallace Hinman 1 Girl Martha. Since the first list was made out (MBPI Response 1995, D.K. Foster Papers 50-52).

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