INTRODUCTION

Drive down ½ Mile Road in Wakeshma Township, Kalamazoo County Michigan and you will pass a small building that houses the tribal administration offices of the Nottawaseppi Huron Band of the Potawatomi; the tribal government provides health and human services support to its 1,146 members. Adjacent to the administration office is the powwow dance circle, where the band holds its annual powwow in late June. This community has a fascinating history, one that is intimately tied to this pleasant but seemingly unremarkable tract of land along Pine Creek. The story of the "Pine Creek Reservation" is one of interactions between a small group of Potawatomis and the large influx of Euro-American settlers during two decades of the 1830's and 1840's in the Kalamazoo area. This thesis explores the events leading to United States Government removal efforts, the Potawatomis efforts to resist removal, and the resulting shared community that grew from that effort.

At its creation in 1845, the Pine Creek Reservation provided a home to a group of six families. From that small start the modern Nottawaseppi Huron Band of the Potawatomi came into being. The members of this group, led by John Moguago from 1839 until his death in 1863, were able to remain in their "homeland" through the creation of a shared community with their new neighbors despite a clear asymmetry of military, political, and economic power between the two groups. During the decade of the 1840's the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomis who remained after removal were able to adapt to the new form of government, religion, education and social mores of the

newcomers. At the same time, however, they retained their Potawatomi identity through marriage within Indian circles, language use, and residence on the geographically distinct Pine Creek Reservation.

As the Pine Creek residents maintained their distinctiveness, "discourse" between the Indian and settler communities continued, but evolved as the social, economic, and political relationships changed. Potawatomis transitioned from older forms of discourse between Native Americans and Europeans and Euro-Americans to new ones. To understand this progression in discourse, it is necessary to trace the changing relations between the Potawatomis and European and American authorities and settlers, in both formal and everyday settings, and at the individual and community levels. In doing so, the change in discourse must be examined in two different senses. Firstly, in the sense of linguistic acts between individuals, and secondly - as explored by Michael Foucault - statements that reflect historically constructed systems of knowledge. Such systems can come into conflict with others, thus creating an epistemological power struggle between cultures.

Richard White's seminal work, *The Middle Ground*, provides this thesis with its theoretical starting point. White defines the middle ground as "a realm of constant invention, which was just as constantly presented as convention."[1] The middle ground existed as long as neither side could use force to press its world view upon the other. White masterfully traces the evolution of the political and economic balance of power that was expressed as a diplomatic and social intercourse based upon shared "creative,

1. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 52.

and often expedient misunderstandings," from which arose "new meanings and practices" of the middle ground that incorporated both Native and European forms of relationships.[2] For White, the middle ground collapsed under the weight of the advancing United States during the early 1800's. Those Indians who did not relocate, according to White, were essentially forced to assimilate into the dominant culture and accept Euro-American forms of discourse. White's thesis is powerful, and there is no question that life for the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomis was drastically altered, especially after the influx of settlers and subsequent removal efforts. But it was not the case that the Indian and white attempt to create a shared universe of meaning totally collapsed after Tecumseh's struggles and the related War of 1812. Settlers continued to interact with their Potawatomi neighbors in ways that acknowledged and - in some cases even admired - their different outlook.

Both the Potawatomis and the 19th century Michigan settlers have been the subjects of much scholarly work. R. David Edmunds in his book *The Potawatomis: Keepers of the Fire* traces the history of the Potawatomis as a whole in considerable detail, and ethnohistorian James Clifton has made the Potawatomis his life's work; *The Prairie People: Continuity and Change in Potawatomi Indian Culture 1665-1965* is his magnum opus. The book provides an excellent resource for the Potawatomis, tracing the group through the era of removal, and thereafter focusing on bands that were actually removed. Clifton has been so prolific in his scholarship that one has to be diligent to not become dependent on his work. Even if one "crosses over" to anthropology, he

2. Ibid, x.

reappears. For example, he wrote the chapter on the Potawatomi in the *Handbook of North American Indians*, a standard reference tool in anthropology.[3]

The Nottawaseppi Huron Band was the subject of substantial historical, genealogical, and anthropological research by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) as part of the process of receiving Federal recognition. The resulting document, *Summary under the Criteria and Evidence for Proposed Finding, Huron Potawatomi, Inc.*, provides a very detailed history of the band.[4] The BIA produced an analogous document for the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan. That document is also relevant, as the two groups are very closely related, both historically and genealogically.[5]

Arizona State University history professor Susan E. Gray's work, especially *The Yankee West: Community Life on the Michigan Frontier*, is a key scholarly resource regarding the Michigan settler population. This work focuses specifically on the settlers to the region around Kalamazoo, Michigan – the immediate area where the two Potawatomi groups noted above resided for much of the 19th century. Gray's settlers were another link in a "chain migration" of family groups of Protestant farmers and shopkeepers who were extending the New England model of life from the coast, through

3. James Clifton, "Potawatomi," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Northeast*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger, Handbook of North American Indians (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978).
4. Bureau of Indian Affairs. *Summary under the Criteria and Evidence for Proposed Finding Huron Potawatomi, Inc.* (Washington, D.C., 1995). Note that the "Huron Potawatomi, Inc." later changed their name to the current Nottawaseppi Huron Band of the Potawatomi after recognition.
5. Bureau of Indian Affairs. *Summary under the Criteria and Evidence for Proposed Finding Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan.* (Washington, D.C., 1997). The Notawaseppi Huron Band and the Match-E-Be-Nash-Wish "bands" are so closely related that many members could (and did) claim membership in both bands, or changed memberships in the 1980's and 1990's based on political and community events. Note that the Match-E-Be-Nash-Wish spells "Pottawatomi" with two "t's," rather than one.

New York, to Michigan. Thus, Gray refers to them as "Yankee-Yorkers." These settlers brought with them a community model that was built upon the township government, the church, and schools as key social institutions. They were largely farmers, but farmers who were comfortable with rapid change that fostered economic growth. "They wanted more of the same, only better."[6] While these new Michigan residents had serious prejudices regarding Native Americans, they seldom had engaged directly with Indians in conflict and they did not share the virulent hatred of Indians which those survivors of the Ohio Valley conflicts possessed.[7]

Yankee-Yorker migration to Calhoun, Branch, St. Joseph and Kalamazoo counties in the 1830's and forties was extensive. They quickly outnumbered both the Native American and existing white residents in the band of fertile farmlands that ran from Lake Erie to Lake Michigan through Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois. Therefore, unlike other areas of the Old Northwest where populations included a more heterogeneous mix of New Englanders, Southerners, and European immigrants, settlers to these four counties could create a new "homeland" with only local Native Peoples. At the time it this area was a part of the southern Great Lakes known as "Yankeeland," in acknowledgment of this development.[8]

The relationship between the Potawatomis and their Yankee-Yorker neighbors did not take place in a vacuum; it was part of a wider tale of the emergence of the State of

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6. Susan E. Gray, *The Yankee West: Community Life on the Michigan Frontier* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 15
7. May, 146.
8. See John C. Hudson, "North American Origins of Middlewestern Frontier Populations," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 78, no. 3 (Sep., 1988); and Robert P. Swierenga, "The Settlement of the Old Northwest: Ethnic Pluralism in a Featureless Plain," *Journal of the Early Republic* 9, no.1 (Spring, 1989).

Michigan. Willis Dunbar's classic *Michigan: A History of the Wolverine State* provides a general historical backdrop, [9] and Helen Hornbeck Tanner's *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* is invaluable for helping to trace the location of different native villages throughout the region.[10] A number of other scholarly books and articles from the fields of history and anthropology supplement the key works discussed above.

The primary sources cited include correspondences between John Moguago and various officials, newspaper articles, treaties, and settler reminiscences. Settler accounts are largely drawn from the various volumes published between 1874 and 1916 by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society; these accounts were presented at annual conferences held by the Society, and are usually first-hand, or in some cases second-hand, through the author's parents or other relatives. These reminiscences provide valuable information regarding the relationship between the Potawatomis and the "pioneers." Because they were recorded many years after the fact, they must be considered critically; but they provide accounts of events that are of relevance, and they relay expressions of how settlers felt about their Native American neighbors.

Settler accounts can also be carefully mined for information regarding the Potawatomi point of view. The settlers' accounts can be used in conjunction with anthropological and ethno-historical information regarding Potawatomi culture. Such "upstreaming" can be misleading, but many aspects of Great Lakes Native American

9. James A. Clifton, *The Prairie People: Continuity and Change in Potawatomi Indian Culture 1665-1965* (Lawrence: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1977); R. David Edmunds, *The Potawatomis: Keepers of the Fire* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978); Willis F. Dunbar and George S. May, *Michigan: A History of the Wolverine State*, Third ed. (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1965; reprint, 1995).
10. Helen Hornbeck Tanner, ed. *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987).

culture show remarkable resilience and flexibility. For example, tobacco is still ubiquitous as a medium for prayer for many Potawatomis, just as it was when the Jesuits established contact with them. In 1667 Father Allouez was assured by a recent convert "'know, my brother,' said he, 'that I am continually throwing tobacco into the fire, and saying, thou art maker of Heaven and Earth, I would honor thee.'"[11]

Moguago's correspondence and the responses from the Office of Indian Affairs were meticulously transcribed by historian Elizabeth Neumeyer and contain invaluable information. These documents were translated and dictated by his friend, local settler Lucius Buell Holcomb, and provide a window into Moguago's world view. Niemeyer published these in three parts in a local history journal, *Heritage Battle Creek.*[12] Newspaper articles referenced are largely drawn from the *Calhoun County Patriot*. A very interesting journalistic source is the "Indiantown Inklings" columns that ran from the late 1800's to 1940 in the *Athens Times*. "Inklings" recorded day-to-day events in the Potawatomi community at Pine Creek and other nearby families as reported by community members.

Late 19th century Calhoun and Kalamazoo County histories are interesting resources. Technically they are secondary sources, but as they were published over 100 years ago they are, in a sense, primary sources themselves. These histories are very revealing as to what Euro-Americans considered important to record about the past at the

11. Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. *JR* 51:91, Burrows Brothers http://puffin.creighton.edu/jesuit/relations/ (accessed September 30, 2010).
12. Elizabeth Neumeyer, "A Michigan 'Trail of Tears:' The Holcomb Reminiscence" *Heritage Battle Creek* (1991); Elizabeth Neumeyer, "'A Few Words to Our Great Father:' The Holcomb-Maguago Letters (Part II)," *Heritage Battle Creek* (1992); Elizabeth Neumeyer, "'The Dark Is All around Us:' The Moguago Letters," *Heritage Battle Creek* (1993).

time, and how the Potawatomis fit in that history. They illustrate an interesting contrast between how "Indians" existed as a cultural construct and the everyday reality experienced by the settlers.

This manuscript consists of four main sections. The first traces the story of the Potawatomi tribe from pre-contact times to the creation of the "Na-to-wa-se-pe" reserved tract in the 1821 Treaty of Chicago.[13] The group that became known as the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomis began to separate from the more general history of the Potawatomi people in the late 1700's; from this point forward they become the central focus of the narrative, although other Native groups continue as part of the story. The second section covers the years from 1821 to the spring of 1841 and encompasses key events such as the "Black Hawk Scare," the 1833 Treaty of Chicago, the removal efforts that resulted from the terms of the treaty, and the Potawatomis' response to removal efforts. The third section focuses on the small group of Potawatomis, led by John Moguago, and the Kalamazoo area settlers' cooperative creation of the Pine Creek Reservation. These events occurred between 1841 and 1849. The fourth section is both an epilogue and a summary. It comments on the continuity of the culture and leadership to the present day and summarizes the thesis' argument. Throughout each section the ever increasing settler population, primarily Yankee-Yorkers, are an important part of the narrative.

"We Wish to Remain Among the Whites" covers a long period of time, but seeks to narrow its examination from the Potawatomis in general to Moguago's period of leadership. It is small in geographical focus: most of the events take place in an area

13. Although "Na-to-wa-se-pe" was the spelling that appeared in the treaty, the modern spelling, "Nottawaseppi," which remains currently in use is used throughout this manuscript.

roughly only nine hundred square miles surrounding the nexus Kalamazoo, Calhoun, St. Joseph and Branch counties. This thesis, however, casts a broad net in other ways, as it examines events from various perspectives. The land itself, treasured by both the Potawatomis and the settlers for different reasons, provides the metaphoric bedrock for the story. On that land, the interactions between the two groups build.

Interactions between the Potawatomis and settlers took place on many levels. On a day-to-day basis the two groups engaged in economic transactions such as trades of honey for bread, in addition to social interactions such as shared meals, hunting trips, or conversations. Potawatomis dealt with the government through treaty negotiations, annual annuity payment sessions, and written communication. Traders bartered furs and sold supplies for specie acquired at annuity payments. Often these traders provided alcohol, which caused disruption and violence within Native American communities and between Native Americans and settlers. This was decried by the Protestant clergy who established missions for the local Native groups along with churches for their settler flock. Violence, on the personal level at least, represented a physical form of discourse utilized by both Indians and settlers. Sometimes violence was only threatened; but fights and outright murder were a part of the interactions between the two groups.

Newspapers published accounts of crimes involving local Native Americans as well as news stories involving Native Americans on both the local and national levels. Local newspapers also published fictional stories for the entertainment of their readers, sometimes involving important Native American characters. Two such stories are examined, one a tale of unrequited love, the other a tale of British and Indian intrigue.

They reveal many conceptions Americans held about Native Peoples (and themselves), and formed a part of the universe of meaning that Moguago and his people had to operate within in order to maintain their homeland.

Examining the relationships between the Potawatomis and the settlers from multiple perspectives provides a more complete picture of their shared world. That picture provides the context in which the actions of Moguago and other Potawatomis are examined. The degree to which settlers and Potawatomis used older "middle ground" forms of discourse and the emergence of newer forms of discourse used to broker the accommodation starts to come into focus. This accommodation allowed them to maintain a remarkable degree of cultural, biological, and linguistic distinctiveness from the burgeoning Yankee-Yorker population that surrounded them. This cultural continuity is explored as a part of the concluding section of the thesis.

It can be difficult to determine the proper terminology to use when writing about Native Americans. Defining which individual or groups of individuals are "Indian," to say nothing of what particular cultural or political group they belong to, has been very elastic over time.[14] In this thesis, the terms "Native American(s)," "Native People(s)," and "Indian(s)" are all used when referring to this population as a whole or when more than one or two distinct groups of Native Americans are being discussed together. Potawatomi(s) is used when referring to the entire population of people at the point in time under discussion that referred to themselves as such.

14. James A. Clifton, "Michigan's Indians: Tribe, Nation, Estate, Racial, Ethnic, or Special Interest Group?" *The Michigan Historical Review* 20, no. 2 (Fall, 1994).

For the majority of the time period under consideration, Potawatomis, like many Native American groups, were organized into relatively autonomous villages. These usually contained families from one or more longstanding familial clan groups and - as time went on - often members of other Native or European groups. Individual villages are generally denoted in the historic record by a geographic feature, or by the name of the individual recognized (at least by European or American officials) as the chief of the group. These designations are used in this text. The term "band" appears in the legal name of some native groups, and appears in government documents in the 19th century. Anthropologists use the term to describe a small, kin-based autonomous social group of a generally egalitarian nature, which does not differ much from the village as defined above; but in some cases several villages were linked together by Potawatomis and Americans alike as a distinct group, such as "the Potawatomis of the Huron." The term "Tribe" has also been used in a variety of ways over time. In this thesis the terms "tribe" and "nation" are used when they appear in a legal name, quote or when discussing a quotation where the terms are used.

From the start, Europeans and Indian personal interactions sometimes resulted in children. In New France, such offspring were generally known as *métis*, and most such offspring were the result of interrelationships between male French-Canadians and Indian women. *Métis* often were influential individuals during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. In this thesis the term is so used, while those individuals of mixed Indian and British or American parentage are referred to as "mixed-descent." Mixed-descent replaces "half-breed," or other terms once in common usage that are now

considered derogatory. While intermarriage between Potawatomis and Yankee-Yorker settlers was not frequent, where it did occur the familial ties created proved very valuable.

This thesis will hopefully provide a richer understanding of a time and place and meeting of peoples of different cultures that has relevance to other researchers. In a small way it contributes to historian Daniel Richter's "emic history," one that "entwines" the heritages of all the different peoples that make up the United State's history into a coherent whole.[15] As a case study that illustrates tolerance between very different cultural groups in a time when such behavior was rare, it resonates with current events both within the borders of the United States and abroad.

15. Daniel K. Richter, "Whose Indian History?," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (Apr., 1993).

CHAPTER 1

PRELUDE TO REMOVAL

The St. Joseph and Kalamazoo Rivers wend their way from their sources in the south-central Lower Peninsula of Michigan, traveling generally westward until they empty into Lake Michigan. Like the Great Lakes themselves, these rivers are - to a great degree - the result of the most recent retreat of glaciers from the landscape. This process began roughly 15,000 years ago. By 3,000 BCE these two watersheds consisted of gently rolling hills and flats with rich soils, supporting oak-hickory or beach-maple forests and areas of prairie oak savannas. The rivers, wetlands, and forests provided habitat for a variety of animal species, including large herbivores such as deer, elk and - not far south of the St. Joseph River in modern day Indiana and Illinois - bison. Predatory species such as wolves, pumas, and bear also roamed the forests. These two watersheds were also home to human beings, beginning many thousands of years ago.[16] When faced with pressure from the United States to leave southern Michigan, local Potawatomis worked desperately to remain in this verdant region. When did this area become "home" for the Potawatomis? Where did they originate? Archeology, history, and the oral tradition of the Potawatomis themselves are possible sources for an answer.

In 1923, anthropologist Alanson Skinner interviewed several Potawatomi men regarding the origins of the earth and the Potawatomis. One informant related that in the

16. John R. Halsey and Michael Stafford, eds., *Retrieving Michigan's Buried Past: The Archaeology of the Great Lakes State*, Cranbrook Institute of Science Bulletins (Bloomfield Hills: Cranbrook Institute of Science, 1999). Chapter one discusses research on lake levels and glaciation, chapter two the changing climate and vegetation.

beginning, there was only the culture-hero Wi'saka, floating alone in his canoe on an endless sea. A muskrat approached him and offered to bring earth from beneath the waves. Other animals spread the soil about, and the earth was created. Wi'saka placed plants and rivers on the earth. While exploring he met the Potawatomis, who had been placed on the earth from the heavens near the Atlantic Ocean. Wi'saka taught them many useful skills, including arts of war to defend themselves from other nations placed on earth. He also gave them medicine bundles to assist them. But Wi'saka also taught these skills to other nations, and turned nation against nation, and then was carried away by birds to the far side of the northern ocean.[17]

The preponderance of scientific evidence supports the theory that Native Americans migrated to the Americas in several waves from Asia. The oldest evidences for human habitation in Michigan are spear points dating from about 11,000 BCE.[18] During the thousands of years between the first appearance of these Paleo-Indians to the arrival of "historic period" (in the form of French explorers and missionaries) many generations of people lived and died. Lower Michigan was the northern frontier of a vast cultural complex of mound builders known as the Hopewell from about the time of the birth of Christ to 400 CE. Hopewell sites dot the landscape, often near the St. Joseph River. The fate of these "mound builders" has long occupied the minds of Euro-Americans, laymen and scholars alike. Inquiring settlers found no answers by asking their Potawatomi neighbors. "Persistent questioning of the Indians, who had been lords of the

17. Alanson Skinner, "The Mascoutens or Prairie Potawatomi Indians - Part III - Mythology and Folklore," *Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee* 6 no. 3 (1927): 332-8. Note there are other versions of the creation story.
18. Halsey and Stafford, eds., 63.

country for hundreds of years, could gain no answering tradition of the builders thereof."[19]

By examining sites in the Great Lakes, archaeologists have been able to differentiate several distinctive cultural groups for the time period extending from the apparent dissolution of the Hopewell culture to the time of European contact. This work places the archaeological "phases" of Oneota and Berrien in the region around the southern end of Lake Michigan.[20] At least one site, Moccasin Bluff in Berrien County, Michigan has been suggested as a Potawatomi "type" site[21]; however, it is very difficult to tie archaeological sites to specific historical Native American groups.[22]

Although this evidence is only suggestive of Potawatomi residence in pre-contact Michigan, oral and written historical records help identify when the region became home for the Potawatomis. William Warren, born in 1825, was the son of a white fur trader and a *métis* woman. Because he was accepted as a part of the Ojibway community, Warren's scholarship is still highly regarded by anthropologists, available today as *History of the Ojibway People*. According to Warren's calculations, the migration started around 1300 AD, and it included the ancestors of the Ojibways, Ottawas and Potawatomis traveling as a unified group. He conjectures "The final separation of these three tribes took place at

19. Henry B. Pierce, *History of Calhoun County, Michigan* (Philadelphia L. H. Everts & Co., 1877; reprint, Mt. Vernon: Windmill Publications Inc., 1998), 11.
20. George R. Milner, David G. Anderson, and Marvin T. Smith, "The Distribution of Eastern Woodlands Peoples at the Prehistoric and Historic Interface," in *Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians, A.D. 1400-1700*, ed. David S. Brose, C. Wesley Cowan, and Robert Mainfort Jr.(Washington Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001).
21. Charles Cleland and James E. Fitting, "Late Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Upper Great Lakes," *Ethnohistory* 6, no. 4 (1969).
22. David S. Brose, "The Direct Historic Approach to Michigan Archaeology," *Ethnohistory* 18, no. 1 (1971).

the Straits of Michilimacinac from natural causes..." around 1500 CE.[23] Although Clifton has noted that oral historical accounts are subject to error, the story recorded by Warren - which is corroborated by other accounts - placed the Potawatomis in the Great Lakes region at the time of French contact.[24]

The French first mention the Potawatomis living in a specific location in 1634. The Hochunk (also known as Winnebago) people spoke of the Potawatomis to the French, and placed the Potawatomis along the west coast of the Lower Peninsula, which takes in the Kalamazoo and St. Joseph watersheds. By the time the French established direct contact with the Potawatomis, they had relocated to the Green Bay area due to the pressure from Iroquois war parties eager to expand into new beaver territories. They were described by Reverend Claude Allouez in the Jesuit Relations of 1667-8 when he met them at Chequamegon Bay on Lake Superior. "Their country is excellently adapted to raising Indian corn, and they have fields covered with it...Of all the people with whom I have mingled in these regions, they are the most docile, and the best disposed toward the French."[25] Allouez later journeyed to the mixed refugee communities of Green Bay and established a mission in 1669. At Green Bay the Potawatomis were a key political group, and actively sought to develop a role for themselves as prominent trade and diplomatic partners with the French.

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23. William W. Warren, *History of the Ojibway People*, reprint ed. (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1984):82-92.
24. Birchbark scrolls also exist with abstract maps of the migration route, used in *Midewiwin* society ceremonies. See Charles E. Cleland, *Rites of Conquest: The History and Culture of Michigan's Native Americans* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), p. 9 for an example. Skinner., pp. 333-4 has a short accounting that agrees with the Ojibway version presented by Warren.
25. *JR* 51:28.

The Potawatomis participated in a French-Algonquian military alliance that chastened the Iroquois. This re-opened the Michigan peninsula to the various Algonquin groups that had retreated westward. Some Potawatomis returned to the St. Joseph River watershed, as well as other locales around southern Lake Michigan. Allouez established a mission at Fort St. Joseph (near present day Niles, Michigan) in 1688, where he died the following year. When Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac established Fort Ponchartrain (later known as Fort Detroit) on the Detroit River in 1702, a number of Potawatomis established a village nearby, as did several other groups of Native Americans.

For the Potawatomis, the first half of the eighteenth century was generally characterized by prosperous fur trade relationships with the French. This was punctuated by the violence of the Fox Wars and several inconclusive Wars between the French and their Native allies against the English and their Native American allies. In 1755 Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil acknowledged the King of Monguagon [Village] three miles south of Fort Detroit. "We, on good evidence, which has been produced to us, of the religion, the zealous attachment to the French, and the devotion to the service of the King of Monguagon, of the village of the Pottawatamies, have nominated and appointed him chief of the said Pottawatamies, with authority and command over the warriors of said village."[26]

Later, John Moguago would identify "Moguago" as one of three Potawatomi leaders during this time in the Detroit area, and it seems likely that Moguagon and Moguago is the same individual. In the Potawatomi language the suffix "ing" or "ong," depending on the preceding word sound, translates as "place of." It is possible that

26. *MPHC*, 8 (1885): 459.

Moguagon might have been better recorded as "Moguagong" or "place of Moguago's village." The text of the letter suggests that the villagers were at least nominally Catholic.

For the French, their Canadian claim was literally and metaphorically a series of rivers. They established a series of outposts along these waterways in an Indian world. Once beyond musket range of such outposts, Native Americans were still very much their own masters. Vast land distances and the difficult climate only added to France's difficulties in managing their American ventures. This made them more willing to use Native forms of discourse in matters of diplomacy, trade and interpersonal relationships to maintain communications. LaSalle, for example, was quick to recognize the value of calumets (ceremonial tobacco pipes) when dealing with various Native groups. Sexual relationships in and out of Christian marriage also resulted in a significant population of *métis*, who frequently acted as cultural brokers between the French and Indian groups. The spatial relocation and societal dislocations caused by the Iroquois Beaver Wars and the establishment of new multi-ethnic village communities near trading centers resulted in the Potawatomis changing from a social arrangement of family clan villages to one of mixed-clan villages. [27]

27. For France's difficulties with command and control in New France, see Kenneth J. Banks, *Chasing Empire across the Sea: Communications and the State in the French Atlantic, 1713-1763* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003). For New France as a literal and metaphoric river network, see Gordon M. Sayre, *Les Sauvages Americains: Representations of Native Americans in French and English Colonial Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997). Regarding LaSalle's explorations and the use of Native forms of diplomacy, see Francis Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West, 12th Ed.* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1886; reprint, New York: Rinehart, 1956). For the importance of pipes in Native diplomacy refer to James Warren Springer, "An Ethnohistoric Study of the Smoking Complex in Eastern North America," *Ethnohistory* 28, no. 3 (1981). Potawatomi social organization changes are detailed in Clifton, *The Prairie People: Continuity and Change in Potawatomi Indian Culture 1665-1965*, 1977.

The British defeated the French and their Native Allies, including the Potawatomis, in the Seven Years War. Afterwards, Indian dissatisfaction with British policies led to an attempt by a loose alliance of Indians to seize British occupied forts throughout the Great Lakes. This effort is generally known as Pontiac's War, or Pontiac's Rebellion. A small force of Potawatomis, led by a war leader named Washee, overpowered the tiny garrison at Fort St. Joseph. Ninevois led 150 Detroit area Potawatomis who assisted Pontiac in his effort to seize Fort Detroit.[28] Warriors from the St. Joseph River region joined Pontiac at Detroit, bringing along prisoners from Fort St. Joseph. While they were involved in several battles with the British, disagreements with Pontiac led to the St. Joseph warriors' early departure from the battlefield. The war diminished the following year, and the British re-established their control of the string of forts scattered throughout the Great Lakes.[29]

By 1768 the Detroit area Potawatomis moved to a location 40 miles west on the Huron River, and were soon after identified as the Potawatomi of the Huron.[30] By 1774 another village was established nearby, on the Saline River. This village was known as the "Naudewine Sippy" or "Waudagon Sippy," both of which are variant spellings of Nottawaseppi. (Nottawaseppi translates as "Iroquois River,"or *River aux Iroquois* in French). Tanner's maps for 1768 and 1787-1794 show both villages, along with two

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28. Edmunds, 78.
29. Pontiac's War has been chronicled by several notable historians over the years. Richard White covers it in *The Middle Ground*, who views it as an attempt to restore the middle ground with the British. For a slightly different take on the War, see Gregory Evans Dowd, *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations & the British Empire* (Baltimore & London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2002).
30. BIA*, Summary for Huron Potawatomi*, *Inc*.,1.

others listed as mixed Potawatomi and Ojibway along the Rouge River to the north nearer to Detroit, as well as the St. Joseph Villages to the west.[31]

During the Revolutionary War the Detroit area Potawatomis remained loyal to the British, and may have participated in raids on American forces. The St. Joseph River villages, in contrast, opposed the British and actually raided Ft. St. Joseph, illustrating the autonomous nature of Potawatomi villages. While Fort Detroit was ostensibly under American control after 1785, the British occupied the post until 1795, and Potawatomis continued to receive presents from the British at the location during this time. Between 1765 and 1795 the Detroit area Potawatomis participated in the raids and battles that took place along the Ohio River between American troops and the pan-Indian village "republics" of the Ohio Valley. However, when the pan-Indian alliance was defeated in battle, the Potawatomis joined other Indian groups in negotiations at Fort Greenville in June of 1795. There Chiefs Okia, Chamung, Segagewan, Nanawme, Marchand, and Wenameac signed on behalf of the Huron River Potawatomis. This treaty ceded much of southern Ohio to the United States, along with several other parcels of land, including Fort Detroit and its environs.[32]

Huron Potawatomis were involved in other treaty proceedings. Two Huron Potawatomi representatives, Noname and Mogawh, signed the 1805 Treaty Fort Industry. In 1807 the Huron Potawatomis, along with local Ojibways, Ottawas and Wyandots, negotiated the Treaty of Detroit, ceding the southeast quadrant of the Lower Peninsula.

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31. Tanner, Map 13 on pages 57-8 and Map 18 on page 88.
32. The Potawatomis' participation is covered in Clifton, *The Prairie People: Continuity and Change in Potawatomi Indian Culture 1665-1965*. (1977), 140-56. The cession of Detroit area is detailed in article 3 of the. "Treaty with the Wyandot, Etc.," 1795, *Kansas Heritage Group.* http://www.kansasheritage.org/pbp/books/treaties/t_1795.html. (accessed September 25, 2009).

Tonquish (spelled Toquish in the treaty), Noname, Nawme, Ninnewa and Skush signed for the Potawatomis. The treaty did set aside several reservations, including Tonquish's, a second village near the Rouge River, and another on the Raisin River. Detroit area Potawatomi leaders signed other treaties prior to the War of 1812 that ceded lands they did not occupy, but which they held to be in their sphere of influence as part of a larger Potawatomi polity.

Between 1810 and 1815 a portion of the Huron Potawatomis led by John Moguago, also identified as Moguago II, relocated west. They established a village on another river known as the Nottawaseppi or Nottawa Creek, in present-day Leonidas Township, St. Joseph County. There they were near other Potawatomi villages that were already established on the St. Joseph River. This movement occurred during a period of upheaval throughout the Northwest Territory, as the Shawnee prophet Tenskwatawa and his brother Tecumseh instigated a movement to expel the Americans from their territory. Their efforts led them to ally their followers with the British in the War of 1812.

The historical record is unclear regarding the specific involvement of the Huron Potawatomis as a group in these events, although Chiefs Sagamah and Noonday readily told settlers their stories of fighting with the British.[33] During the War of 1812 many Potawatomi communities backed the British; but others did not, including some villages in the St. Joseph River valley. In the infamous massacre of the garrison and residents of Fort Dearborn at Chicago, Pro-British Potawatomi warriors executed numerous prisoners, including women and children. Pro-American Potawatomis saved some of the Chicago

33. Darius B. Cook, *Six Months among Indians, Wolves and Other Wild Animals, in the Forests of Allegan County, Michigan, in the Winter of 1839 and 1840* (Niles: Niles Mirror Office, 1889; reprint, Reprinted by Hardscrabble Books, Berrien Springs, MI in 1874).

residents. The war was a defeat both for the British and the Potawatomis' aspirations for continuing military power and political independence. The memory of wartime atrocities committed by some Potawatomis in their alliance with the British would later have a strong effect on the outlook of Americans in Michigan.

Following their loss, the Potawatomis faced renewed pressure from American settlers, primarily in the Ohio Valley, but also in southeastern Michigan. In an 1817 treaty they relinquished their reservations near Detroit. Four years later, Territorial Governor Lewis Cass and U.S. Attorney Solomon Sibley met with a large delegation of Ottawas, Ojibwas, and Potawatomis in Chicago to negotiate a large land cession which resulted in the 1821 Treaty of Chicago. Considerable maneuvering and judicious use of alcohol by Cass and Sibley marked treaty debate. Cass withheld the supply of alcohol that had been brought until the treaty was signed. After a number of days of negotiations, St. Joseph Potawatomi representative Topinabee pleaded, "We care not for the land, the money, or the goods, it is the whiskey we want – give us the whiskey."[34] Another noted Potawatomi representative, Metea, spoke eloquently in opposition to removal; but after twelve days, the Potawatomis, urged by Ottawas, Chippewas, mix-descents and traders, acquiesced.

The Treaty ceded a large swath of southwest Michigan in exchange for cash and annuities. Five parcels of land were reserved for communal Potawatomi villages, along with a number of parcels of land reserved for individuals:

> ART. 2 From the cession aforesaid, there shall be reserved, for the use of the Indians, the following tracts:
> One tract at Mang-ach-qua Village on the river Peble, of six mile square.
> One tract at Micke-ke-saw-be, of six miles square.
> One tract at the Village of Na-to-wa-se-pe, of four miles square.

34. Edmunds, 220.

> One tract at the Village of Prairie Ronde, of three miles square.
> One tract at the Village of Match-e-be-narb-she-wish, at the head of the Kekalamazoo River.
> ART. 3. There shall be granted by the United States to each of the following persons, being all Indians by descent, and to their heirs, the following Tracts of Land:
> To John Burnet, two sections of land
> To James Burnet, Abraham Burnet, Rebecca Burnet, and Nancy Burnet, each one section of land; which said John, James, Abraham, Rebecca, and Nancy, are children of Kaw-kee-me, sister of Top-in-be, principle chief of the Potawatomi nation...[35]

The Na-to-wa-se-pe site was the village of Huron Potawatomis that had migrated from their old villages on the Huron River. The site of Mang-ach-qua Village is not known. Micke-ke-saw-be Village, located near present day Coldwater, Michigan, remained active, and Joseph Godfroy, a white settler, opened a trading post there in 1822. Many of the Indian residents were Ottawa, and their descendents later joined a Congregational mission near Holland, Michigan. Eventually they relocated to the Grand Traverse Bay area. The Village at Prairie Ronde was led by Sagamah. Match-e-be-narh-she-wish Village was named for its leader of the same name, spelled more accurately as Match-e-be-nash-she-wish later in the treaty, which translates to "Bad Bird." Eventually members of these two communities became associated with the Selkirk Mission, along with a number of Ottawas from the Grand River watershed.

Many of the people who were assigned individual tracts of land, such as the Burnets, had either French surnames or both Indian and French names. These included "Pierre Moran [sometimes spelled Pierrie Moreau] or Peerish, a Potawatamie Chief, one section of land, and to his children two sections of land, at the mouth of the Elkland

35. "Treaty with the Ottawa, Etc.," 1821, *Kansas Heritage Group,* http://www.kansasheritage.org/pbp/books/treaties/t_1821.html. (accessed September 25, 2009).

river."[36] Moran/Moreau was a white trader who moved from Detroit to the St. Joseph River, married a local Indian woman, and fathered seven children. His eldest son, Sau-au-quett, would go on to have considerable influence until his murder.
This illustrates the continuing importance of *métis* members within the Potawatomi communities.[37]

However important *métis* were on the borderlands, other mixed-descent persons also had influence on events affecting the Potawatomis. Billy Caldwell was the illegitimate son of a British officer and an Iroquois woman. He was one of the military leaders operating for the British in the Great Lakes during the War of 1812, leading local warriors in battle. Switching his loyalty to the United States, Caldwell moved to Chicago, working as a trader. While evidently not a part of the 1821 negotiations, Caldwell later offered his services to the Americans as a treaty negotiator to lobby for cessions, and the Americans appointed him as a Potawatomi "chief" for just that purpose. This is borne out by the name Potawatomis used for him, "Sakonosh." In modern orthography this is written Zhaaganaash, meaning "Englishman" or "English speaking man."[38]

Caldwell was one of many of English speakers that the Potawatomis dealt with over the years. Some were of mixed-descent; others adopted captives, while English speaking outsiders were Zhaaganaashug (Englishmen), Bostoniniwug ("Boston men," Yankees) or Gitchimookmanug ("Long knives," hostile Virginian militia). After the War

36. Ibid.
37. S. C. Coffinberry, "Incidents Connected with the First Settlement of Nottawa-Sippi Prairie in St. Joseph County," MPHC 2 (1878). The importance of métis members of the Potawatomi community, and their involvement in treaty negotiations and resulting personal profits from them are detailed in Edmunds, "The Ploughshare is Driven Through Our Tents," in *The Potawatomi*.
38. James A. Clifton, "Personal and Ethnic Identity on the Great Lakes Frontier: The Case of Billy Caldwell, Anglo-Canadian," *Ethnohistory* 25, no. 1 (1978).

of 1812, English speaking Americans- primarily Yankees and Yankee-Yorkers- began to arrive in ever greater numbers, bringing with them their own world view based on decades of colonial experience. Like the Potawatomis, the newcomers were a product of their own history, even as they were creating a new one in Michigan. The colonial experience of the Yankees and Yankee Yorkers was different from that of the French and their interactions with Native Americans were bound to be different as a result.

Migration from the British Isles to the Atlantic colonies, after a slow start in the early seventeenth century, far exceeded French migration to Canada. The remarkable fecundity of the English colonial population combined with massive reductions in coastal Indian populations due to virgin soil epidemics led to different patterns of relationships with Native Americans than those that developed in New France. New England colonies, often dominated by Protestants with very clear ideas of God's plan and their unique place in it, saw in Native cultures their antithesis. Egalitarian, indolent, idolatrous, and reliant upon nature's whim rather than one's hard work, Indians were often viewed by the New Englanders as potential converts at best, benighted pawns of the Devil at worst.

The English colonists recognized a clear division between frontier and colony; but, when necessary, they sought to cross the linguistic and cultural divide. Like the French, English colonial governments as well as Crown officials learned the value of wampum belts, pipes, and other forms of discourse. However, once the British held the upper hand in trading relationships and military power, Indians discovered that "the path between peoples was becoming a one-way street, the [Iroquois covenant] chain was

becoming fetters. Once the fetters were in place, colonial officials demonstrated the depth of their commitment to treaty forms by abandoning them."[39]

American colonists participated as militia units in the French and Indian War; but when the Crown established the Proclamation Line down the Alleghenies to placate the still powerful Native Americans of the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley it added fuel to the revolutionary fire. Several of the Colonies had already laid claim to lands west of the Alleghenies and the Proclamation nullified them. This frustrated colonial speculators, traders and prospective settlers. In New England, many coastal farming areas were becoming exhausted, and farmers struggled to pass on viable farms to multiple sons. They looked to the rich forests and native fields for the solution to their problem.[40]

While a few Native groups fought with the rebellious colonists, the majority remained neutral or sided with the Crown, which only exacerbated the hatred and fear already a part of many colonists' psyche after the French and Indian War. The continued conflict between the newly independent colonies and the Native "republics" of the Ohio Valley did nothing to ameliorate the situation.[41] Even as bitter conflict wracked much of the Northwest Territory, in New York a wave of developers from New England were busily creating new farming communities modeled on the towns of their youth. Quaker businessman and politician William Cooper, for example, founded Otsego (renamed Cooperstown after his death) in 1786. These Yankee-Yorkers were largely removed from the violence that characterized the Ohio Valley, as the once powerful Iroquois

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39. James H. Merrell, "The Customes of Our Countrey' Indians and Colonists in Early America," in *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991).
40. Robert A. Gross, *The Minutemen and Their World*, 25th Ann. ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976).
41. White, "The Contest of Villagers," in *The Middle Ground.*

Confederacy had been bloodily driven from their own farming communities into Canada by American forces in 1779.[42]

The lack of direct experience with the cruelties of frontier war did not prevent Yankees from bringing their fear and loathing of Native culture with them when they came to Michigan. In general, the Yankees who came to Michigan after the War of 1812 viewed Native Americans much as their Puritan forefathers had: savage, heathen, slothful people who lived like animals. That such a life could tempt white men was evidenced by the local French Canadians and *métis* who, along with being Catholic, seemed to exhibit many of the same traits as the "savages." Worse, Protestant whites, taken as captives by Indians, could become more savage than civilized.[43] Yet many settlers believed that Indians could be redeemed, just as whites could, through acceptance of Jesus Christ. As the Second Great Awakening progressed, Methodist missionaries eagerly sought to gain converts among the Potawatomis.

Growing Yankee and Yankee-Yorker dominance after the War of 1812 started at the top. Michigan's first United States territorial governor was William Hull, a Massachusetts native and Yale graduate. After Hull's disastrous turn as Governor, New Hampshire native Lewis Cass became Governor in 1813. Solomon Sibley, the attorney who negotiated the 1821 Chicago Treaty along with Cass, was also from Massachusetts.

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42. Alan Taylor, *William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic* (New York: Albert A. Knopf, 1995). For commentary of the impact of Sullivan's expedition, see William Kerrigan, "Apples on the Border: Orchards and the Contest for the Great Lakes," *Michigan Historical Review* 34, no. 1 (2008).
43. For a discussion on the Yankee and Yankee-Yorker view of Michigan Indians, see James Z. Schwartz, "Taming the 'Savagery' of Michigan's Indians," *Michigan Historical Review* 34, no. 2 (2008). For the relationship between the *métis* and Yankee-Yorkers during the 19th century, see Wallace Genser, "Habitants, Half-Breeds, and Homeless Children: Transformations in Metis and Yankee-Yorker Relations in Early Michigan," *Michigan Historical Review* 24, no. 1 (1998).

Sibley went from being the U.S. Attorney to a member of the Michigan Territorial Supreme Court in 1823. Cass' opinion of Native Americans was in step with the general Yankee viewpoint, illustrated by this excerpt from an article he penned in 1830:

> Their [Indians] habits were stationary and unbending; never changing with the change of circumstances...As civilization shed her light upon them, why were they blind to its beams? ...Their moral and their intellectual condition have been equally stationary...That it is not to be attributed to the indifference or neglect of the whites, we have already shown. There must then be an inherent difficulty, arising from the institutions, character, and condition of the Indians themselves.[44]

Cass later rose to national political prominence, and his low opinion of Indian "Institutions, character, and conditions," was shared by Andrew Jackson, who formalized their removal policy.

The Potawatomis who met with the Americans to negotiate the 1821 Treaty of Chicago were descendents of a people that had migrated to the Great Lakes three hundred years earlier, and considered the southern Great Lakes their homeland. They had two centuries of contact with the French, resulting in technological and cultural change. Potawatomis sought to maintain parity first with the British and then with the Americans. Neither the British nor the Americans were willing to do so. Instead, they wished to dictate the political and cultural terms of the relationship.

The Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomis drew upon their mythic history, two centuries of occupation in the lower Great Lakes in general, and two decades of village life along several tributaries of the St. Joseph River in particular for their claim upon the area as their homeland. The Yankee-Yorkers claimed the area as "home" based upon God's will, the superiority of "civilization" versus "savagery," and ideas of ownership

44. Lewis Cass. "Removal of the Indians," *North American Review* 30, no. 66 (January 1830):72-3

versus mere occupancy. Native Americans could only retain their "home" through adopting Christianity and the private property concept. It was a clash of religious and cultural claims: Native American conceptions of the sacredness of place versus that of Euro-American belief that their religion and civilization. Euro-Americans believed that they were destined to sweep aside those who did not adopt their views.[45] In order to create a shared community, a new paradigm for relationships between Potawatomis and settlers was required.

45. Vine Deloria Jr., God Is Red: A Native View of Religion, 30th Anniversary Edition (Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing, 2003), 61-7.

CHAPTER 2

SETTLEMENT AND REMOVAL, 1821-1840

The 1821 Treaty of Chicago ceded the majority of southwestern Michigan to the United States. As was usual for treaties of the time, the Potawatomis were free to continue using the land until it was sold for settlement. Large scale settlement of the region was nearly a decade away, delaying any massive change in the everyday situation for the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomis. Tanner's 1830 map of Indian villages in the region shows three villages on or near the Nottawaseppi reservation, with a cluster of nine villages to the north around Match-e-be-nash-she-wish, five more to the west, and another eight farther down the St. Joseph River towards its end at Lake Michigan.[46] A report detailing a treaty annuity payment disbursement made at Coldwater in 1826 gives a breakdown of local leaders and the number from each band present. Nottawaseppi Reservation area leaders and the numbers they represent suggest a population of approximately 260:

> O-chaik, River Huron (40)
> Che-Ka-na-buck, Macon ta-wa-se-pe (17)
> Wau-bee-gay, res. Nan-ta-wa-se-pe (12)
> Ash-ke-be, res. Mon-go-quoi (114)
> Cou-sha-wasce, R. Iroquois (39)
> So-au-quet, Slippery Elm R. (38)[47]

During the 1820's, fur trading remained a viable enterprise in Michigan. John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company dominated the trade in the Great Lakes from its

46. Tanner, 134
47. The document is from the Woodbridge Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, Reel 3. Cited from BIA, 40.

post on Mackinaw Island. Trading posts were established or re-established in Lower Michigan. Indians continued to bring pelts to these posts, which they generally "swapped" - in the trade vernacular of the time - for goods, including alcohol. The Potawatomis remained highly involved, as evidenced by an account provided by fur trader Louis Campau. "Before and a short time after the war of 1812 there was a line of Indian villages from Ypsilanti to the mouth of the St. Joseph River, located as follows: At places where now Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor, Jackson, Battle Creek, Gull Prairie, Kalamazoo, Prairie Ronde, South Bend, and St. Joseph – all of the Pottawattomie tribe."[48]

Yankees joined existing French and *métis* in the trade and, like their predecessors, became involved with area Indians on personal, as well as economic levels. Rix Robinson was involved in the Kalamazoo area trade during the 1820's. Robinson was fluent in the Potawatomi language, well acquainted with their culture, and noted for his good temper. These traits helped him become and remain a successful trader. Like the French merchants before him, Robinson married a local Native American woman, an Ottawa. Robinson would later go on to become a state senator. After separating from his first wife, he re-married, again to a Native American woman.

The fur trade continued to supply the Potawatomis with manufactured goods such as cloth, firearms, trade silver, and whiskey. Fur trade income, as well as annuity money, temporarily allowed the Potawatomis to continue to live as they had before the War of 1812. Chicago trader Gurdon Hubbard noted:

> I was a trader with the Indians for twelve years, embracing the Pottawattomies, Ottawas, Kickapoos, Winnebagoes and Sacks...The

48. Samuel W. Durant, ed. *History of Kalamazoo County, Michigan, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Philadelphia: Everts & Abbott, 1880): 81-2

> Indians the first two years were not fully reconciled with the Americans. Their habits were, wild rovers over the hunting grounds in the winter, and in the summer at their villages, the men amusing themselves at games and visiting from village to village till the squaws had planted corn and beans...If they could get whiskey they had a gay time, as well as fighting and killing each other...They became more dressy; all, with few exceptions, dressed in shirts, and wore expensive clothes and silver ornaments, with more ambition for the riches of this world, consisting in horses, rifles, and clothing...I think both Catholic and Protestant missions resulted, in the end, in good, but the evidence did not show itself for eight or ten years.[49]

Hubbard's letter illustrates the continuing importance of the fur trade and points out the impact of alcohol on the frontier. The re-appearance of Catholic missionaries and the arrival of Protestant missionaries began to be a major cultural force in the area.

Protestant missionaries ardently worked to stamp out alcohol use among the Indians (and whites, for that matter) but despite attempts to curb or eliminate its sales it was generally available for purchase or barter. Trader A. H. Scott noted, "He seems (as many writers have said) to take in all the vices of the white man and reject all of his virtues. Whisky (the great demoralizer of the white man) was and is the principal factor in the destruction of all that is good in the Indian character."[50] Scott's observations did not prevent him from selling alcohol, if "only for three years." It is important to note that the emphasis on temperance on the part of the clergy was not limited to Indians. The Kalamazoo Emigration Society, a corporate venture created to promote settlement, forbade its members to use alcohol except for medicinal purposes.[51]

The missionaries sought to bring both the gospel and civilization to Native Americans. To these devout men the two were intertwined and providing education was

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49. Ibid., 82.
50. Ibid.,79.
51. Gray., 19-20; 167-170.

the key to achieving both. This idea fit well with the government policy of "civilizing" Native Americans that held sway during the Jefferson administration through James Monroe's administration. The Chicago Treaty of 1821 included an article that established a blacksmith shop and a mission school, and allotted $1,000 a year for fifteen years to fund the effort. As a result, Baptist minister Isaac McCoy established the Carey Mission on the St. Joseph River near present day Niles, Michigan in January of 1823. By 1825 the school had 70 pupils, many of mixed-descent, and a small acreage of fields was established.

The energetic McCoy opened another mission on the Grand River in 1826, despite initially hostile responses from local Ottawas. Reverend John Slater took over the Carey Mission in 1826. McCoy did not look down upon Native Americans as inherently inferior, writing "We have always found it difficult to persuade our correspondents among the white people that the Indians were naturally like all other human beings, and that the same means which were necessary to improve society among the whites were necessary among the Indians."[52] He continued to travel between missions preaching, but he became convinced that for the Indians to progress, they needed to be removed from the negative effects of white contact. In 1824 McCoy traveled to Washington to submit a plan to remove his charges to the Board of Foreign Missions. Soon after, he communicated his plan to the Secretary of War in the Monroe administration, John C. Calhoun, who endorsed the idea.

In September of 1827, McCoy was present at the negotiation of the Treaty With the Potawatomie, also known as the Treaty of St. Joseph. The purpose of the treaty was

52. Durant, ed., 79-80.

"to consolidate some of the dispersed bands of the Potawatomie Tribe in the territory of Michigan at a point removed from the road leading from Detroit to Chicago." The treaty eliminated two small reservations on the River Rouge and one on the River Raisin near Detroit. It also eliminated the reserves at Mang-ach-qua, Micksawbe, Prairie Ronde and Match-e-be-nash-she-wish that had been created in the 1821 Treaty of Chicago. In return the Nottawaseppi Reservation was enlarged.[53] In an interesting contrast, the Michigan Potawatomis agreed to remove themselves from the route of the oncoming Chicago Road; while farther to the south, some of their fellow Potawatomis lobbied hard to route the Michigan Road by their village sites, in order to maintain economic viability and residence.[54]

By December of 1827 McCoy was in Washington pressing for a removal act to the John Quincy Adams administration. Although a 1828 attempt to pass such legislation failed, McCoy continued to advocate for removal, an idea which enjoyed the support of the incoming Andrew Jackson administration. Since the Jefferson administration, it had been government policy to encourage land "reductions" among Indian peoples in order to make way for U. S. settlement. Jefferson envisioned Indians assimilating with the American whole as they became civilized farmers under the patriarchal eyes of the government, although he pondered relocation of those who refused to assimilate.[55]

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53. "Treaty with the Potawatomi,"1827, *Kansas Heritage Group.* http://www.kansasheritage.org/pbp/books/treaties/t_1827.html. *(accessed September 25, 2009).*
54. Ben Secunda, "The Road to Ruin? 'Civilization' and the Origins of a 'Michigan Road Band' of Potawatomi," *Michigan Historical Review* 34, no. 1 (2008).
55. For examinations of Jefferson's Indian policy, see Bernard W. Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1973).; and Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Jefferson And the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans* (Boston: Belknap Press, 1999).

Under Jackson, this policy of civilization and integration officially changed to one of wholesale removal and isolation from the burgeoning new nation. Jackson had fought against southeastern Indians during his military service, including as a Tennessee militia officer, and always envisioned their displacement. He felt that treaties were "an absurdity," but was willing to go through the trouble of creating them, provided the government did so from a position of clear dominance. Once elected to the Presidency in 1828, he immediately pushed for removal as official policy.[56] Territorial Governor Cass was appointed Secretary of War in Jackson's cabinet, which placed him in charge of United States' relations with Native Americans. His Indian Commissioner, Thomas McKenny, also endorsed removal as the best course of action for the Indians:

> What are humanity and justice in reference to this unfortunate race? Are these found to lie in a policy that would leave them to linger out a wretched or degraded existence...if continued in they must perish? Or does it not rather consist of drawing them from this certain destruction, and placing them, though even at this late hour, in a situation where, by the adoption of a suitable system for their security, preservation, and improvement, and at no matter what cost, they may be saved and blest?[57]

The Indian Removal Act was passed in 1830. Treaties and policies were in place to effect the removal of the Michigan Potawatomis, although actual removal was yet to come.

At this time, an older generation of Potawatomi leadership was beginning to pass on. In 1826 Topinabee, the leader who had so pitifully begged to sell land for whiskey at the 1821 Treaty of Chicago negotiations, died following a drunken fall from his horse. Metea, always a staunch opponent of land cessions, died in 1827. Other, once formidable,

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56. Robert V. Remini, *The Legacy of Andrew Jackson: Essays on Democracy, Removal, and Slavery* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988): 48.
57. Thomas L. McKenney, "Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1828 (Excerpt)," in *Major Problems in American Indian History*, ed. Albert L. Hurtado and Peter Iverson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2001), 203.

war leaders among the Michigan Potawatomis, including Shavehead and Sagamah, were aging men. Younger men such as Topinabee's son-in-law Pokagon (also known as Leopold Pokagon) were coming into their own. Among the Huron Nottawaseppi Potawatomis, John Moguago (AKA Moguago II) – later succeeded by his son, also named John Moguago – remained an important local leader, along with Cushewess and Sau-au-quett. Nearby, Match-e-be-nash-she-wish and the elderly Ottawa leader Nawequa Geezhis ("Noonday") continued to be key figures.

New infrastructure that began to bring more white settlers to southwest Michigan emerged. Steamship service to Detroit from Buffalo began in 1818, and in 1825 the Erie Canal connecting Lake Erie to the Hudson River opened, greatly accelerating pace of settlement from New York to Michigan. From Detroit, overland routes snaked north to Saginaw and south to Toledo. Congress authorized the construction of the Chicago Road westward through the lowest tier of counties in the late twenties to mid-thirties, with two stagecoaches a week running from Detroit to Chicago by 1835. Territorial Road was constructed to run through the second tier of counties.[58]

These new roads were still primitive, but they opened the way for settlement in southwest Michigan. Because most land around Detroit had already been purchased by the late 1820's, new settlers followed the westward route into country often perceived as being beyond the Pale. Michigan had a reputation as being essentially an unhealthy, swampy forest; but once past the central Lower Peninsula, settlers found highly desirable potential farmland. At the same time, they entered lands still occupied by the

58. Dunbar and May, 160-1.

Potawatomis and Ottawas, and Yankee-Yorkers' accounts of their first meetings are telling. Frank Little recounted:

> My first acquaintance with the Indians of Michigan began at Detroit in October, 1831, when, as an emigrant boy, I landed from the steamboat *William Penn* at the foot of Woodward Avenue. Numbers of them stood on the banks of the river gazing at us as we came ashore. I had read of Tecumseh and the cruel Indian massacre of the early settlers of the West, and I looked at them with mingled feelings of curiosity and dread...[Traveling from Detroit to Kalamazoo county]...Nearly every day we encountered roving bands of Indian men, squaws, papooses, ponies and dogs traversing the woods in various directions. They seemed peacefully inclined, making no effort to tomahawk or scalp us. Every Indian had a weapon of some kind, rifle, tomahawk, bow and arrows, … They were usually in full Indian dress, their hair long and braided, a badger, beaver or fox skin worn as a turban and surmounted with hawk or eagle feathers; Mackinaw blanket, deer skin hunting shirt, leggings and moccasins ornamented with porcupine quills...The men were tall, straight and stern looking, their faces usually hideously and grotesquely painted, well calculated to strike terror into the heart of the timid, pale-faced New England boy...the women were short, thickset, mild-mannered, kind-hearted, and of cheerful disposition – good, motherly hospitable creatures I thought, as I frequently visited their wigwam homes in early boyhood.[59]

Mr. Little's preconceptions were simultaneously enforced by the appearance of the Native Americans he met and proven incorrect by their benign behavior. While Indians to some extent remained "the other," as evidenced by referring to women as "hospitable creatures," they did not prove to be the bloodthirsty savages he expected.

Five months earlier, another party of "hardy pioneers," led by "Mr. Brown, who was a genuine son of old Vermont" arrived in southwest Calhoun County. They likewise soon encountered their new neighbors. Like Little, their preconceptions proved inaccurate, as party member Alfred Holcomb's experience demonstrates:

> When he came in he had a stove belonging to Ms. Nichols on his wagon, and when they came through the Indian village warriors, squaws, and

59. Frank Little, "Early Recollections of the Indians About Prairie,' *MPHC* 17 (1895): 331.

> pappooses piled upon the vehicle to examine the tinware on the stove, which they supposed was silver. After satisfying their curiosity they alighted and went on their way...The next day, while the Holcomb family were enjoying their frugal midday meal, lo! Some score of braves, war-paint, tomahawks, and all, came riding along single file on their ponies. The first thought that presented itself to the family was that they were trespassing on the Indians' hunting ground, and momentarily expected to be ousted, minus their scalps. But their fears were happily unfounded, for the savages only came to procure ocular demonstration of what they had heard concerning the stove and its adjunct utensils. After a careful inspection and much wonderment they departed. The next day they came again, and brought with them a fine quarter of venison, as a token of their friendship and goodwill.[60]

These new Calhoun County residents discovered that their new Potawatomi neighbors may have been savage in appearance, but were welcoming in demeanor. The same was true of next door Kalamazoo County. Here, local traders were joined by settlers beginning with Titus Bronson, who had lived in and out of the area since 1823. Bronson first squatted on the Match-e-be-nash-e-wish reservation, annoying its Native residents. He moved a short distance away and in 1829 settled in the same area again. Bronson platted out a town that bore his name in 1831. (Bronson was later re-named Kalamazoo.)

Numerous other first-hand accounts of Michigan settlers recorded in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Journal* comment upon the good relations between Indian residents and settlers. Such positive comments include those regarding Indian appearance, deportment and hospitality. In reminiscing about the history of Calhoun and Kalamazoo counties, one writer noted that, "[Potawatomi Chief John Moguago] was a man of noble bearing, and was succeeded by his son, John...[who] was in the full sense a most noble specimen of his race." The Potawatomis were "friends and very kind neighbors to the early settlers. They treated us so much like kith and kin, that we called them our 'country

60. Pierce, 116.

cousins'...we could not have wished for kinder and more accommodating neighbors. To use an Indian simile, 'the smoke from the wigwam ascending upward united with the smoke ascending from the white man's cabin, into one volume. So white man and Indian became one in friendship.'" While acknowledging there were frictions, the same writer recorded that another resident stated "We could not have done without the Indians. They were our market-men and women. They brought us venison, huckleberries, maple sugar and many other things that we in a new settlement needed."[61] This goodwill between settlers and Potawatomis was not unique to the southwestern portion of the state. Members of Meteau's band, in present-day Washtenaw County, "were always doing such acts of kindness as a close friendship would merit and these kindnesses were invaluable to the early settlers."[62]

Social interaction requires the use of language, and the types of language people use when communicating across language and cultural borders is a good indication of the "balance of power" between the different parties. In the 1820's and 1830's in Michigan, some Indians could speak English, at least in a limited fashion. Many did not, as demonstrated by the need for translators at diplomatic functions such as treaty negotiation and church services. Some whites found it advantageous to learn Indian languages, and Indian loan-words quickly made their way into settlers' vocabularies. Settlers purchased "mokirks" [*mukak* means birchbark box] of maple sugar, often from "squaws" [*ikwe*, meaning woman] with their "papooses" [a loanword from the Narragansett language of the East Coast]. "The bargaining was conducted mostly by signs, certain words or

61. George Torrey, "The 'Indian 'Johnson, and Some of the Pottawattomie Bands to Which He Belonged," *MPHC* 10, (1885): 156-7.
62. F. A. Dewey, "Me-Te-Au, a King, and Where He Reigned," *MPHC* 13, (1888): 72.

phrases, as whiteman, Indian, deer, venison, pork...and some others in Indian language comprised the vocabulary of trade."[63] Trader A. H. Scott arrived in Kalamazoo County in 1833 and "I soon picked up enough of the Indian language to enable me to trade with them."[64] The use of Indian language by settlers was not limited to men. When a Native American offered a dry honeycomb in trade for bread, one Mrs. Allen responded "Kow in nisheshin," or "no-good [honey]"[65] French was also still in use in conversation between and among Indians, *métis*, and the remaining French Canadians, and as loanwords used by both Indians and Yankee-Yorkers, such as "marchee" [French *marche*, to walk or march].[66]

The Potawatomi and Ottawa locals also chose to give settlers names in their own language. Through the simple but powerful act of assigning the newcomers a name in their own language, they were attempting to bring them into their social sphere. Usually this name referenced the person's physical appearance or demeanor. Barry County resident Henry Goodyear noted "I had the name of Mo-quah, this means black bear, and was given to me because of my heavy, dark, curly hair...by announcing my Indian name, they recognized me at once by greeting me in their usual way, 'Bush-ue Ma-quah.'" Mr. A. C. Parmalee, a blonde-haired man, was named Kes-see, or "Sun." A stern looking fellow with the English name of William Hayes became known as Jim-na-tow, or "Devil." When Jim-na-tow's wife chastised a Native American with an ax handle, the

63. A. B. Copley, "The Pottawattomies," *MPHC* 14, (1888): 262.
64. Van Buren, 15
65. George Sutton, "The Battle of the Bee Tree at Sutton's Corners, Northfield, Washtenaw County, in 1826," *MPHC* 18, (1887): 510. In modern orthography this is rendered gawiin neshishin.
66. Helen Nichols Caldwell, "Indian Reminiscences," *MPHC* 21, (1892): 300.

man thereafter referred to her as "Cowin-nees-heen Jim-na-tow squaw," or "Devil's no-good woman."[67]

Settlers and Native Americans had to work out the rules for cross-cultural social encounters. Settlers were taken aback by the Indian habit of simply entering a home without knocking, or at best simply peering first in the window to see if anyone was present.[68] The newcomers quickly learned that placing a stick or a pair of crossed sticks across the doorway indicated a desire for privacy.[69] Products of a communal village society, Native standards of privacy were simply different than the bemused Yankee-Yorkers. Likewise, Indian visitors expected to be well fed, and would directly ask for food or even take it under protest from the hapless home-owners. This fit with a tradition of reciprocity between community members. "They loved deeds of kindness done towards themselves, and remember them and return the favor if they ever had an opportunity. It was counted no shame to beg, and when they came into a home they would say: 'Howe-shum-bo-shin, quas-quis chebuckatah, we are very hungry!'"[70]

The Potawatomis freely took part in public events as well, "They turned out *en masse* on all public days and at horse races and shows. Shooting matches and foot races

67. Henry A. Goodyear, "Indians of Barry County," *MPHC* 35, (1906): 640-1. In modern orthography and spelling Kes-see is rendered Gizis; Mo-quah becomes Mukwa, Jim-na-tow Jii-manido, and Cowin-nees-heen Jim-na-tow Squaw becomes Gawiin niishin Jii-manido-kwe. "Squaw," which now carries a negative connotation is an eastern dialect rendering of the word for "woman," which in the Anishiinabe language is Ikwe. When words are combined in the language into an aggregate word, initial vowel sounds are sometimes lost, so "Ikwe" becomes "kwe" in Jii-manido-kwe. "Jii-manido" literally translates as "bad spirit" and the word was often used in a Christian context to refer to the Devil. "Bush-ue," or "boozhoo" is believed to be a borrowing of the French "bon jour."
68. Ibid, 641.
69. John Nowlin, *The Bark Covered House: Or Back in the Woods Again*, ed. Milo Milton Quaife, 5th ed. (Dearborn: Dearborn Historical Commission, 1973): 96.
70. S. E. St. John, "Family Life, Manners, and Customs of the Indians in Kalamazoo County," *MPHC* 10, (1884): 22.

they took great interest in."[71] Wrestling was also a popular pastime for settlers and Native Americans alike at social events. Young boys of both cultural groups formed close, if sometimes competitive friendships that involved periodic wrestling matches of both "back-hold" and "catch-as-catch can." House and barn raising parties drew Native Americans and Yankee-Yorkers together in a social context: "Pottawattomies, the settler's country cousins, may said to have been the main help in raising the first log houses in this part of the state. They lifted cheerfully and lustily in rolling up the logs. They also assisted much at raising in after-years. Only let them know that 'che-mo-ko-man raise wigwam, like Indian come help him,' and you could count on their aid."[72]

Despite the misgivings and fears the settlers arrived with, the Potawatomis used the simple act of neighborly behavior and participation in community activities of commerce, feasting, and competitive events to fit the newcomers into their existing social order. Sharing language, food, social activities and even practical jokes all built bridges between the two groups. It is worth noting that this is one of the few areas in which Indian and *métis* women appear in the writings of Yankee-Yorkers. In their roles as healers, food producers, and mothers, women were instrumental in bridging the cultural divide.[73] Although there were vast cultural differences between them, some Potawatomis and Yankee-Yorkers built sincere friendships with another that, over time, paid important dividends for the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomis. Yet this goodwill proved fragile in

71. Van Buren, 160.
72. For an account of wrestling, see Ibid., 157. For house and barn raisings, see: Durant, ed., 89.
73. Lucy Eldersveld-Murphy, "Public Mothers: Native American and Metis Women as Creole Mediators in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest," *Indiana University Press* 14, no. 4 (2003). Although Eldersveld-Murphy's article focuses on Wisconsin, Indian and *métis* women filled similar roles as traditional healers and providers to Indians and non-Indians alike in Michigan. One example is "Granny Rodd," from the Port Huron, Michigan/Sarnia Ontario area. Chief John Moguago's sister was a noted "doctoress" in the region.

times of stress, and negative interactions such as acts of implied or actual violence, along with an ever-growing settler influx, severely strained delicate ties.

The Black Hawk Scare of 1832 exposed just how easily past hostilities could sour friendly relations between Indians and settlers. In April of 1832, Sauk leader Black Hawk and his band crossed the Mississippi from Iowa into Illinois to plant corn. In the 1804 Treaty of St. Louis, the Sauk had ostensibly ceded the land. However, many Sauk, including Black Hawk, considered the treaty fraudulent. White settlers to the region responded by calling out the militia and requesting Federal troops. A series of skirmishes culminated in the Battle of Bad Axe on August 2 that same year. Meanwhile, a small party of Illinois Potawatomis, accompanied by a few Sauks, attacked a group of settlers, killing fifteen and taking two women as prisoners. The rest of the Potawatomis actually assisted the Americans.[74]

Despite the peaceful stance taken by the vast majority of Potawatomis, widespread panic spread throughout the region, including Calhoun and Kalamazoo counties. Years later, at an annual meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, S. C. Coffinberry related the tragic comedy of events that ensued between the Nottawaseppi Reservation Potawatomis and the local settlers when word of Black Hawk's War reached the area:

> A panic seized the new settlement. It was certain, from the various reports from these daring couriers, that the Pottawattomie Indians on the Nottawa reservation were instruments in the hands of Black Hawk....These Pottawatomies it was true, could only muster about fifty warriors, enervated, enfeebled and trembling with dissipation and its concomitant

74. Edmunds. 235-9.

> diseases and infirmities, and although they had no arms, nor means to procure them, still, their war-whoop might prove fearful.[75]

The settlers, noting that the Potawatomis were keeping to themselves, became convinced they were plotting attack. When Marche-no-qua, Moguago II's daughter, was discovered "skulking" about the village, she was accused of being a spy, despite her protestations that she had only come to trade a pair of beaded baby moccasins for some food for her children. The settlers drove her away, with the threat of hanging. Likewise, when a settler encountered the elderly, normally friendly local leader Muckmoot, both hid from one another, leading to the assumption by the settlers that Muckmoot was up to no good.

The militia began to build a fort and sent a courier to request military assistance. Not all the settlers were convinced their Potawatomi neighbors had nefarious plans. Cyrus Schellhous went to Cushewess's village, where he learned that the Potawatomis were terrified that the militia was massing to seize their reservation, citing the Black Hawk War as their rationale. Schellhous was able to broker a meeting between Cushewess and militia leader Captain Powers the next day. Schellhous was present at that meeting, and related the conversation that took place to Coffinberry:

> Cush-ee-wes approached that officer and presented his hand in token of friendship, then retired a pace or two with easy grace, and thrusting his thumbs between his person and his belt of wampum, stood facing the bold commander with an ease and unaffected dignity which contrasted strangely with the fidgety manner of the captain. Thus he stood for several minutes, motionless and silent, awaiting the announcement of the wishes of his white neighbors, though the captain was as silent as the Indians. At length, through the interpreter, said: 'What does the white man want? He has sent for his red brother. Let the pale-face speak.'

75. Coffinberry, 495.

> ‘We want to know,’ returned the captain, ‘what we have done to induce you to set about cutting our throats and scalping our women and children.’
>
> ‘The pale-face,’ returned Cush-ee-wes, ‘does not speak the words of wisdom, or he would not ask the red man what the pale-face has done...The Sac is the enemy of the Pottawattomie. There was never a friendship between our nations...The few young warriors of our tribe who could still follow the warpath and not make a crooked trail went with the white chief, Captain Hatch, to fight with our brothers...We were not wise, for when the pale-face saw that our few, strong young warriors had gone with the white chief, Captain Hatch, to fight the Sac, then our white neighbors made war upon us...he raised the tomahawk against us. What has the pale-face to say? Let our white brother speak.’
>
> After a few inquiries of the interpreter and other French settlers who had mingled with the assembly, it was ascertained to a certainty that a few of the Pottawattomies of the reservation had volunteered, with Capt. Hatch, a trader, among them, and several days before had gone to join the war forces at Chicago, under Gen. Atkinson...This denouement was hailed by the crowd with a loud shout of relief, in which no small degree of ridicule was manifested in derisive hisses.[76]

In short, the incident was the result of mistrust and misunderstandings and was resolved with a brief meeting that featured traits of older forms of discourse. Cushewess wore a wampum belt, and referred to Captain Powers in the third person or as “our white brother” and himself as “his red brother.” This continued the long practice of couching the political relationship in kinship terms, while acknowledging the perceived racial difference between “white” and “red” men.[77]

Had the nervous residents been present at a council meeting in nearby Gull Lake Prairie, they would have been privy to the same information as settler Frank Little, who many years later recounted the story:

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76. Ibid., 498-9.
77. For a discussion of Indian conceptions of race and themselves as “red men” see Nancy Shoemaker, “How Indians Got to Be Red,” *American Historical Review* 102, no. 3 (1997). See also George Edward Milne, “Rising Suns, Fallen Forts, and Impudent Immigrants: Race, Power, and War in the Lower Mississippi Valley” (University of Oklahoma, 2006).

> I attended a grand council of Indian chiefs held in a mammoth wigwam near the west shore of Gull Lake. This was to ascertain the temper of the Indians of the locality in reference to the Black Hawk insurrection. The chiefs in full dress were seated in great circle upon valuable robes, mats and skins of animals spread upon the ground. A more dignified, grave, imposing body of men I never saw. The calumet, or pipe of peace, of elaborate, ornamental workmanship was slowly passed around the circle, and each one took a whiff in silence. Then the speeches began in regular order, according to age and rank. It was found that the young men were for war, but the older, experienced sachems counseled peace. Rev. Leonard Slater, Baptist missionary, and two converted Indians, Jonathan Going, and Joseph Elliot, acted as interpreters.[78]

Aside from the use of the calumet, it is notable that council proceeded in deference to age and experience. Also, it is evident that this was an open council, at which non-Indians were apparently welcome and expected, as there were three interpreters present. This is strong evidence that settlers were considered part of a shared Indian/white community, or at least accepted as neighbors free to observe their council debates.

Although the Huron Nottawaseppi Potawatomis immediate neighbors did not intend to seize their land, the United States recognized that Black Hawk's War had made the remaining Native Americans of southern Michigan, Indiana and Illinois vulnerable. Lewis Cass quickly moved to negotiate new treaties designed to extinguish all Native American land claims in the area and implement Jackson's removal policy. Three treaties with different groups were signed at Tippecanoe in October of 1832. The next year Cass appointed Michigan Territorial Governor George Porter, Indian agent Thomas Owen and William Weatherford to gather representatives from the "United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatamie Indians" to effect the relinquishment of Potawatomi lands east of the Mississippi River, "As it is the wish of the Government of the United States that

78. Frank Little, "Early Recollections of the Indians About Gull Prairie," *MPHC* 27, (1897): 332.

the said nations of Indians should be removed to the country as soon as conveniently be done."[79]

The Native contingent selected Billy Caldwell and another mixed-descent individual, Alexander Robinson, to lead negotiations on their behalf. After days of negotiations, the assembled Indian "nation" ceded a large area of land in exchange for $175,000 in debt relief owed to various traders, payment of goods, an annual annuity for fourteen years and the promise of a five million acre reservation along the Missouri River. In addition, $100,000 was meted out in individual payments to various individuals, mainly *métis* members of trading families. Caldwell and Robinson each received a $5,000 award for their services. Both men signed the treaty using their "Indian names," illustrating their ready willingness to culture-switch when it served their needs.[80]

The main treaty, signed on September 26, 1832, did not directly impact the Huron Nottawaseppi Potawatomis, however, a supplementary agreement signed the next day did. Article 1 of this supplement ceded the Nottawaseppi Reservation land and the St. Joseph River lands reserved under the 1827 Treaty of St. Joseph. Article 2d stated that the signers and the members "of their immediate tribes" would be eligible for a share of the annuities from the main treaty. In addition they were to receive $25,000 in goods, provisions and horses, and an annual annuity of $2,000 per year for twenty years. Article 3d indicated that:

> All the Indians residing on the said reservations in Michigan shall remove therefrom within three years of this date, during which time they shall not

79. "Treaty with the Chippewa, Etc., September 27, 1833." 1833, *Kansas Heritage Group,* http://www.kansasheritage.org/PBP/books/treaties/t_1833_s.html. (accessed September 25, 2009).
80. Ibid. Schedule A lists cash paid to individuals "in lieu of reservations." Schedule B lists the amounts claimed by 228 different traders.

> be disturbed in their possession, nor in hunting upon the lands as heretofore. In the mean time no interruption shall be offered to the survey and sale of the same by the United States. In case, however, the said Indians sooner remove the Government may take immediate possession thereof.[81]

The Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomis had three more years, and then they would have to leave. The sentence regarding non-interference with surveyors stemmed, in part, from a fight that broke out between a group of surveyors and several Potawatomis, including Maguago II, in 1825. The spot became known as Battle Creek, where the city of the same name exists today.[82] Additionally, the supplement included an additional $10,000 in payments to individuals. Pokagon received $2,000, while the remainder went to twenty-nine others, most of whom were members of the Bertrand, Burnett or Chandonai families. These three families all ran local stores. Finally, a clause was added that seemed to provide a way to avoid removal by relocating to Harbor Springs, Michigan, due to their adoption of Christianity.[83]This clause is attributed to be the work of the nominally Catholic Pokagon, although he did not sign this addendum; and his group never relocated to Harbor Springs. Despite this, Pokagon later claimed the exemption was meant for the St. Joseph River villages.[84]

The proceedings of the Treaty of Chicago were conducted in an atmosphere of debauchery, graft and corruption. When the Treaty went to Congress for ratification, it was opposed by representatives from Missouri, because the state hoped to claim much of the land granted to the Potawatomis. Missouri representatives successfully lobbied to

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81. Ibid., *Articles supplementary.*
82. Jane Faux Ratner, "The Battle of the Creek, or, the Invention of History," *Heritage Battle Creek* (1991).
83. "Treaty with the Chippewa, etc.," *Articles supplementary.*
84. Ibid., *Articles supplementary*.

have the treaty modified to provide lands in Iowa. Many Potawatomis refused to agree to the modified document, and only Caldwell and several of his associates signed the final document, which Congress duly ratified in February of 1835. Caldwell's group received an additional $10,000 for agreeing to sign.[85]

The Treaty of Chicago had immediate - and sometimes life-changing - repercussions for the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomis. Topinabee signed the original main treaty document, although Moguago and Muckmoot did not. As for the articles supplementary, Topinabee, Chushewess, Moguago, and Pokagon signed the first three articles. Sagamah, whose village was near the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish cluster of villages, also signed the articles supplementary, although Match-e-be-nash-she-wish himself did not.

In a brawl that took place at the Treaty proceedings, Moguago II was injured. His daughter, Marche-no-qua, took him home in a wagon, but he died *en route*. It is unclear if Sau-au-quett signed the treaty supplement; but local trader Marantette's granddaughter claimed he said, "I did sell this land, and I would sell it again for two gallons of whiskey." In 1834 when government agents met with the Potawatomis to disburse treaty goods, the Potawatomis at first refused to accept them, and Sau-au-quett was attacked by a Potawatomi named Quau-sett. Sau-au-quett wounded Quau-sett with a sword given to him by Governor Porter. Later Sau-au-quett's wife stabbed Quau-sett to death. This violence indicates the stress that the treaty and cession placed on the Potawatomis.[86]

85. Edmunds, 247-52.
86. BIA*, Summary Report for the Huron Potawatomi, Inc., 49.*

Pierre Moran, Potawatomi leader, died soon after the Treaty of Chicago was signed. Cushewess died in 1836, and leadership of his village passed to Pee-oqoit-ah-kis-see; but Sau-au-quett and Muckmoot contested his authority.[87] In the midst of this internal turmoil, more and more settlers were arriving in the area, some staking claims on reservation lands. In March, 1833 Lucius Buell Holcomb, Alfred Holcomb's brother, established a trading post on the St. Joseph River, near present-day Athens, in Calhoun County. He later moved a short distance away into Branch County. Holcomb lived with Marche-no-qua, Moguago II's daughter. The relationship lasted for over twelve years, and Lucius became a very sympathetic supporter of his companion's people. Still, such a rapid influx of settlers, friendly or otherwise, was bound to create difficult issues.

The Yankee-Yorkers were busily altering the geographic and cultural landscape, focusing on churches, schools, township governments, and commerce. Near Sagamah's village, located at Prairie Ronde, settlers streamed in, joining Bazel Harrison, William Henry Harrison's cousin, who had moved there in 1828 and established friendly relations with Sagamah. By 1838 there were 128 tax-payers on the roll for the newly organized Prairie Ronde Township. The first school opened in 1830, and a church was framed in 1837. Chief Noonday's village of forty families at Gull Prairie became part of Richland Township. In May of 1830 Isaac Barnes settled there, and was greeted cordially by Noonday and his community. Two weeks later a group of Presbyterians arrived. "As they sung the songs of the church, read the Bible, and bowed in prayer, the Indians, who were encamped not far away, gathered around and listened attentively to their devotions. In this manner they took possession of the land for Christ." The first Township meeting was

87. Ibid., 51-2.

held in 1833. The first school class was taught in 1830; by 1837, several school houses had been built and 180 land patents had been issued.[88] Nearby in Athens Township, Calhoun County, settlers from Vermont, New York, and Pennsylvania joined Alfred Holcomb. The first township meeting was held in 1835.[89]

Census figures from the 1830's illustrate the explosive growth of the settler population. In 1820 the non-Indian population for Michigan Territory was 8,765. A decade later it had grown to 31,640. A special census in 1834 showed that number had skyrocketed to 87,278. In 1837, the year Michigan became a state, the figure was 174,543. The vast majority of this new population moved into the lower two tiers of counties, including Barry, Calhoun, Kalamazoo, and St. Joseph counties.[90] Meanwhile, the three year grace period established in the Treaty of Chicago articles supplementary was drawing near. Figure 1, shows the locations of selected Native American and settler communities along the St. Joseph River and several tributaries in 1830. Figure 2, a map produced in 1831 illustrates the rapid development of the lower two tiers of counties relative to the rest of Lower Peninsula, and also shows the four county areas (outlined in a box) from Figure 1. Figure 3 provides detail from Figure 2, including the area from Figure 1.

To the south of Michigan, removal was already underway. In 1834 the government removed a group of Indiana Potawatomis to Missouri. One year later, groups from Illinois and Wisconsin joined them. At the same time, Indian Agents faced vigorous

88. Durant, ed., 470.
89. Washington Gardner, *History of Calhoun County Michigan: A Narrative Account of Its Historical Progress, Its People, and Its Principle Interests* (Chicago & New York: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1913): 164-6.
90. Dunbar and May, 165.

opposition from other Illinois groups, supported by St. Joseph River Potawatomis from Michigan. Indian agent Lewis Sands organized an 1837 removal that included 170 St. Joseph River Potawatomis. The removal was plagued with problems. Bad weather, theft of provisions and the pressuring of Indian women for sexual services in exchange for food by the hired removal agents combined to make the undertaking into a fiasco that ended Sands career. The St. Joseph group, led by Topinabee, the son of the Topinabee who died in 1826, was relocated to a reservation in Iowa.

Figure 1. 1831 Map of Michigan, note box around four county area [91]

91 Michigan State University Library, "Footpath to Freeway: The Evolution of Michigan Roadmaps," Michigan State University, http://img.lib.msu.edu/exhibits/map/MIRoadMaps/burr1831.htm (accessed March 3, 2011).

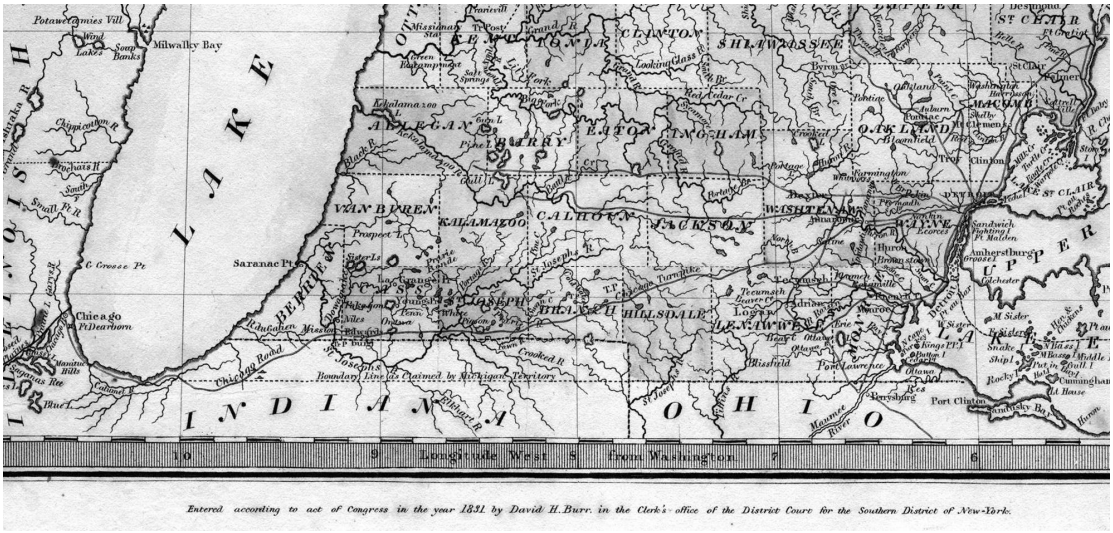

Figure 2. 1831 Map of Michigan (Detail)[92]

[92] Ibid.

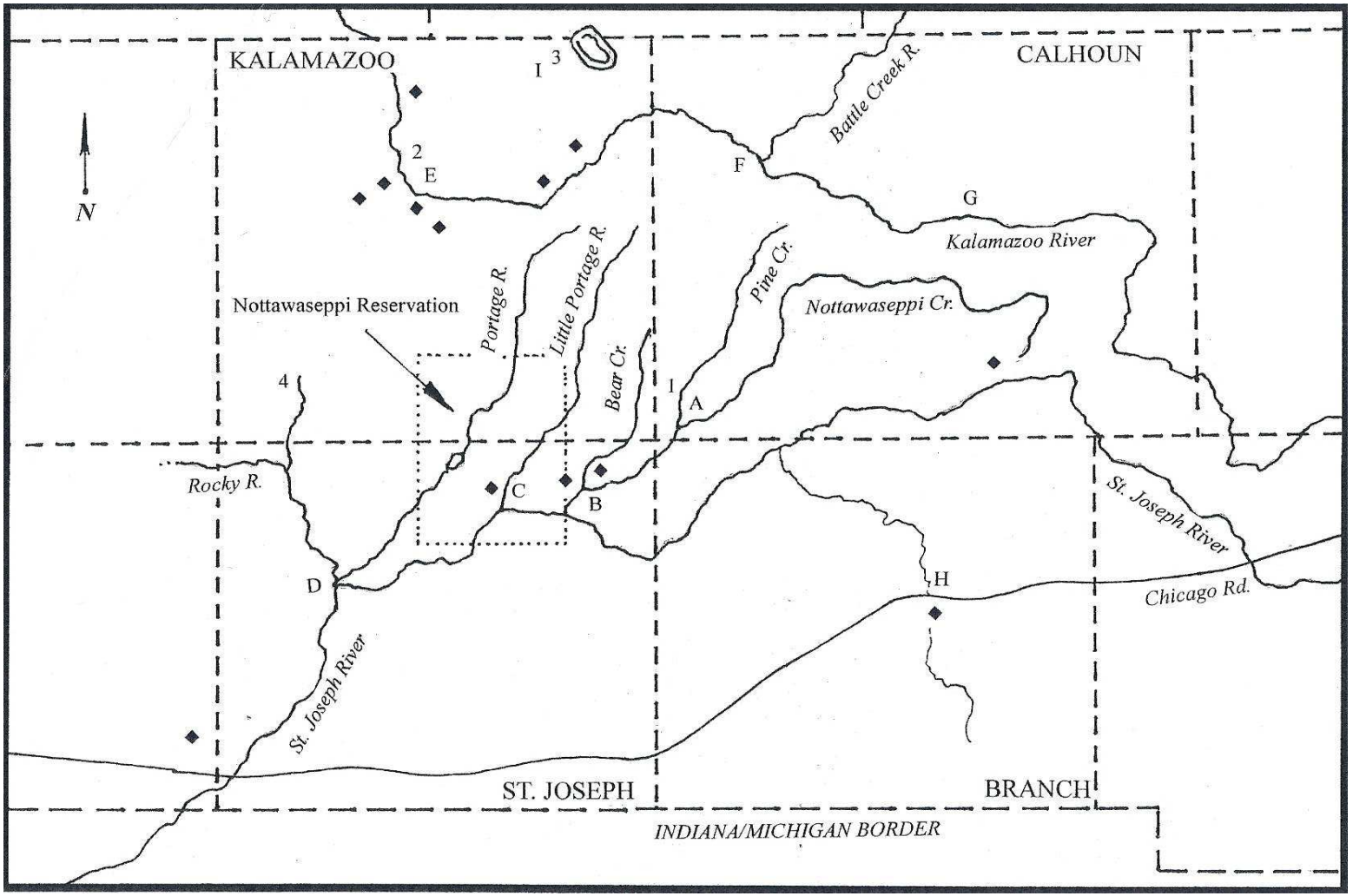
KALAMAZOO
CALHOUN
ST. JOSEPH
BRANCH
INDIANA/MICHIGAN BORDER
N
Nottawaseppi Reservation
Battle Creek R.
Kalamazoo River
Nottawaseppi Cr.
Pine Cr.
Portage R.
Little Portage R.
Bear Cr.
Rocky R.
St. Joseph River
St. Joseph River
Chicago Rd.
1
2
3
4
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I

Figure 3. Map of the Pine Creek Area c. 1832

Legend:

Indian Communities:

1. Pine Creek Reservation. This is the location of the land purchased by Moguago.
2. Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Village location
3. Noonday Village location
4. Sagameh Village location

◆ Other Potawatomi village sites

Settler Communities:

A. Athens
B. Leonidas
C. Mendon
D. Three Rivers
E. Bronson (later Kalamazoo)
F. Battle Creek
G. Marshall
H. Coldwater
I. Richland

Note that the Pine Creek Reservation was not purchased until the 1840's, it is included for informational purposes.

Indian Agent Abel Pepper coordinated the disastrous removal effort of 1838. Government agents forced a group of Indiana Potawatomis led by Chief Menominee from their villages. Meanwhile, militiamen rounded up a number of Michigan Potawatomis from the Nottawaseppi Reserve and from the Coldwater area. Father Benjamin Petit accompanied his Indiana Potawatomi flock on the journey west, which today is marked by historic markers that refer to it as "The Trail of Death." Poor food and an outbreak of typhoid fever led to the deaths of forty-two Potawatomis. Petit wrote of the hardships of the journey:

> On the flanks of the line [of Potawatomis] at equal distance from each other were the dragoons and volunteers, hastening the stragglers, often with severe gestures and bitter words. After this there came a file of forty baggage wagons filled with luggage and Indians. The sick were lying on them, rudely jolted, under a canvas which, far from protecting them from the dust and heat, only deprived them of air, for they were as if buried under this burning canopy – several died thus.[93]

Petit died shortly after the trip, weakened by illness and exhaustion, making him, arguably, the forty-third casualty of the removal. Not surprisingly, fifty-eight Potawatomis deserted during the removal.

Many of the deserters made their way back to the Nottawaseppi area by the spring of 1839. Without territory to plant or hunt the local Potawatomis were destitute, but resolute in their desire to stay. That summer, the *White Pigeon Republican* reported on Indian agent Isaac Ketchum's attempt to convince the Potawatomis to relocate, "Your Great Father has had several councils with you to carry this [removal] into effect...He

93. Excerpted from a letter dated November 13, 1838, which appears in Irving McKee, *The Trail of Death: Letters of Benjamin Marie Petit* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1941).

now wants these lands for his white children." Muckmoot responded, "We wish to die where our forefathers have died. We wish to remain among the whites, and we wish to be connected to them, and therefor we will not go." Ketchum insisted removal was preferable to staying. He polled those whites present, and all raised their hands signifying they wanted the Potawatomis to leave. Red Bird responded, "Father, you have heard our decision: we shall never go. The reason the whites lifted their hands is they are afraid of you." Forms of address that harkened to the 18th century were still very much in evidence. Both sides used kinship terms, and the Potawatomis argued they wished to remain close to both their ancestors and their white neighbors. Further, Red Bird attempted to place the local whites on his side against Ketchum.[94]

Tensions continued to rise after the murder of Kincaid Weisner, a newly arrived settler, by Joseph Sin-bin-nim, also known as Joseph Muskrat. The January 31, 1840 edition of the *Calhoun County Patriot* reported the story under the headline "Shocking Murder." Sin-bin-nim and an unnamed "squaw" asked to stay the night at Weisner's house, and later that night Sin-bin-nim stabbed Weisner to death and then chased after a boy of twelve staying with them. The boy escaped, and locals pursued the killer and his companion. Sin-bin-nim was wrestled down and disarmed by Thomas Knowlin. Sin-bin-nim was tried and convicted of the murder, but Michigan Governor William Woodbridge commuted the sentence of death by hanging to life imprisonment.[95]

Weisner's murder was not an isolated incident. The *Calhoun County Patriot* reported on the "horrible death" of three white settlers in nearby Ionia County in April of

94. "Indian Council," *White Pigeon Republican*, August 28 1839. The meeting took place on July 6th.
95. "Shocking Murder," *Calhoun County Patriot* January 31 1840.; and Thomas Knowlen, "Sin Bin Nim," *MPHC* 28, (1900):142-5.

1838. The murderers robbed the home and burned it to the ground, leading to "the strong presumption that they were massacred by the Indians.[96] Violence continued within the stressed Potawatomi community as well. A Potawatomi named Kakamoto reputedly killed Sau-au-quett in 1839 for signing the Treaty of Chicago. Sagamah was killed in a drunken brawl a year later. Settlers placed some of the blame for the violence on alcohol sales, "thereby bringing upon the needy nation impoverishment and misery, greatly endangering the lives and property of our citizens and causing intense anxiety and alarm to the remote and isolated inhabitants."[97]

The rising tide of inter- and intra-group violence, settler-Potawatomi squabbles over land ownership, and the Indian Office's determination to enforce the articles supplementary of the Chicago Treaty led to yet another removal effort in 1840. This time the Government turned to the venerable Brigadier General Hugh Brady to lead the round-up. The seventy-six year old Brady was a veteran of the American Revolution, the Ohio Valley conflicts during the 1780's, the War of 1812, and Black Hawk's War. The War Department directed Brady to round up those Potawatomis who lacked private land titles. Some Potawatomis had legal cover, others did not.

Leopold Pokagon received confirmation from an Associate Justice of the Michigan Supreme Court that they were protected under the "religious exemption" clause in the articles supplementary of the 1833 Treaty of Chicago. They also had support from the local Catholic Clergy. Match-e-be-nash-she-wish, Noonday, and Sagamah's villages had already joined their Grand River Ottawa neighbors at the Selkirk Mission. The

96. "Horrible Death," *Calhoun County Patriot*, April 13 1838.
97 . "Meeting at Battle Creek," *Calhoun County Patriot*, May 25 1838. The article covers the meeting of the local temperance society.

mission, also known as the Griswald Colony, was on private property owned by the sponsoring Mission Society. This made the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomis around the old reserve and at Coldwater Brady's primary targets. Some sympathetic local whites tipped off the Potawatomis that the military was coming, and many quickly fled into the back country. Most chose to head to Upper Canada, hoping to cross at Port Huron.

Brady's forces pursued the fleeing Potawatomis, recruiting local men as trackers. John Nichols was commissioned as a Captain by Brady, and he led the force that tracked Muckmoot and his family after they fled their village near Olivet, Michigan. Nichols led the militia through the swamps and forests of the Grand River, finally capturing him near Owosso, in Shiawassee County.[98] By November of 1840, Brady's forces had rounded up 65 individuals in his sweeps, making for a total of 439 Potawatomis detained at Marshall, Michigan. They were sent west under guard to Missouri. Lucius Holcomb was approached to aid in Brady's efforts, but he refused. Instead, he went with a Native American named Shak-wah and met some of the fleeing Potawatomis. He promised to go with Moguago and the others on the removal and then assist them in sneaking back to Michigan.

Holcomb kept his word, and went with his in-laws as they made their way by foot and horseback to Peru, Illinois. Moguago slipped away on this portion of the trip, and spent the winter, alone, back at Nottawaseppi. The rest of the Potawatomis were compelled to abandon their horses to travel by boat from Peru to St. Louis. Holcomb later wrote, "they left all of their horses, turned them loose. That was they ought to have paid for them but [the] government does nothing to benefit the Indians if they can help it." The

98. Caldwell, 305-8.

majority of the Potawatomis were taken from St. Louis up the Missouri River to reservation land on the Osage River on the twenty-fifth of November. Holcomb and his companions wintered over in a rented house and then made their way back to Michigan the following Spring. "We came to the town of Athens [and] everyone was glad to see the Indians once more...some thought it was wicked to take them away among wild Indians where they would be so lonesome; and on the open prairie they can't make no sugar to eat."[99]

The 1840 removal was the last serious attempt to remove Potawatomis from Michigan. Wisconsin Potawatomis faced additional removals until 1852. Overall, the Government's removal efforts in the Michigan area were dismal failures. Graft and corruption tainted most of the attempts.[100] Neumeyer estimates that only 651 Native Americans were permanently settled on designated reservations. Clifton's research indicates that approximately 2,500 Potawatamis made their way to Canada, where they remained with the blessings of the British Government. Other groups relocated to remote areas of northern Wisconsin and Michigan, where the United States government

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99. For a general overview of the Potawatomi Removals, see: Edmunds, "Removal," in *The Potawatomis*; Clifton, "Migration and Resettlement, 1835-1847," in *The Prairie People: Continuity and Change in Potawatomi Indian Culture 1665-1965*; and Elizabeth Neumeyer, "Michigan Indians Battle against Removal," *Michigan History* 55, (Winter 1971):275-288; Elizabeth A. Neumeyer, "Indian Removal in Michigan, 1833-1855" (masters, Central Michigan University, 1968). Holcomb's account of the removal is presented by Neumeyer in Neumeyer, "A Michigan 'Trail of Tears': The Holcomb Reminiscence," 54-9. Neumeyer presents Holcomb's account verbatim, which is rife with spelling and grammatical errors. The first quote presented above actually reads "they Left all of their horses Turned them Loose that was they aught to have payd for them But Govments Does Nothing to Benefit the Indians if they can help it..." I have chosen to correct spelling and grammar, hopefully without changing Holcomb's essential meaning.

100. Robert A. Trennert, "The Business of Indian Removal: Deporting the Potawatomi from Wisconsin,"*The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 63, no. 1 (1979) for details on government and contractor malfeasance.

eventually allowed them to remain.[101] The Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomis who remained looked to John Moguago to help them negotiate a way to remain on their beloved Michigan lands. This would require not only older forms of discourse between the Potawatomis and settlers, but a willingness to persevere through creative accommodation.

101. James A. Clifton, *A Place of Refuge for All Time: Migration of the American Potawatomi into Upper Canada, 1830-1850* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975).

CHAPTER 3

THE CREATION OF A SHARED COMMUNITY

John Moguago was approximately sixty years of age in 1841. At the time of his birth, his people were allied with other Native groups in a struggle with the United States for control of the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley. As a young man, he moved with his family from southeastern Michigan westward to the Kalamazoo River region. In his 30's, he was caught up in the events of the War of 1812 that led to the end of effective military resistance against the United States. At age forty his people ceded the majority of the land of his youth to the United States. At age fifty-three, his father was purportedly one of several leaders who signed the articles supplementary to the Chicago Treaty of 1833 that eliminated the Nottawaseppi Reservation, although he protested that his father had not actually done so. In 1841, entering his sixth decade of life, a tiny group of two dozen or so of his kin looked to him for leadership. As he reflected upon his life and the current situation, it must have seemed a heavy burden.

He was born into a Potawatomi culture that had adapted to the arrival of the French, absorbing some French technology, religious beliefs, and genetic heritage into their society. The Potawatomis, in fact, prospered and expanded their influence during the era of French influence and the brief span of British control. Moguago's life had seen the gradual loss of Potawatomi territory, military might, and political power to the rapidly expanding United States. His people had done their best to assimilate a tidal wave of Yankee-Yorker newcomers into their community only to quickly become a minority, and

a largely displaced minority at that. However, along the way, Moguago saw both the older "middle ground" forms of discourse and the Yankee-Yorker dominated United States modes of discourse. A respected elder, a man who had seen both the old and new, good times and bad, Moguago was the right man to keep his people on the land of their ancestors. To do this he needed to take stock of his people's situation, marshal his friends, recognize the obstacles in the way, and devise a strategy to meet that goal.

The situation he faced was tenuous at best. The Nottawaseppi Reservation land was in the hands of settlers. Most of the reservation's former residents had either accepted removal or fled to Upper Canada and the remote woods of the southern side of Lake Superior. Yet Moguago's group still had Indian peers. Match-e-be-nash-she-wish, Sagamah and their relations were now situated farther north, at the Selkirk Mission. Although Noonday died the year before, his followers were also at the Selkirk Mission. Leopold Pokagon's band resided nearby. Moguago's people kept in contact with their Native American neighbors, frequently exchanging visits and intermarrying. Farther to the north, the Ottawas and Ojibwas continued lobbying to remain in Michigan.

Moguago also had non-Indian friends and allies that he looked to for assistance as well. Lucius Buell Holcomb was a friend of the earlier fur trade sort. Holcomb had married into the Potawatomi community, spoke Moguago's language, and delighted in hunting and socializing with his Native American friends. Although Holcomb and Marche-no-qua had no children of their own, Holcomb was on good terms with her children by a previous relationship. The Potawatomis also received the assistance of several local officials, including Norton P. Hobart, Isaac L. Acker, and Benjamin F.

Farris. Hobart served as a township supervisor and Farris as the township commissioner of highways. Moguago's community also found a friend in Methodist minister Manassah Hickey. These local administrators and clergymen represented allies of a newer variety. They assisted Moguago through the Yankee-Yorker mode of local government, church, and school.

In order to stay in Michigan, the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomis needed to do what their fellow Potawatomis had done: secure private property and the acceptance of their white neighbors. The first required money. The second required a willingness to adapt to the dominant Yankee-Yorker culture by becoming sober Christian agriculturalists. Acquiring the money needed to buy land happened quickly. Creative adaptation took more time, as Native Americans were already beginning to "vanish" so far as Michigan's new residents were concerned. At the same time, the Yankee-Yorkers were incorporating them into their own mythology, in part through works of written fiction. To Moguago's people the greatest obstacle was remaining relevant in the current order of things.

In an article entitled "Grand River Country" the journalists at the *Calhoun County Patriot* wrote

> This section of Michigan, in the early settlement of the state, was very much neglected, and even now is considered beyond the pale of civilization. A larger Indian population was found here than in any other part of the state...But few remain in the Grand River District to remind the present generation of whites of the existence of the once powerful nation of Ottawas, and in a few years, their graves, the traces of planting grounds and their rude habitations which now frequently attract the attention of a stranger and exhibit to the eye the customs of the savage, will disappear and exist only in history.[102]

102. "Grand River County," *Calhoun County Patriot*, June 1 1838.

The article acknowledges the Ottawas humanity through the shared "attachment" that they share with the Yankee-Yorkers for the land. Yet the *Patriot* already consigned them to the past, safely incorporating them into the story of the settlers' creation of a civilized Michigan. In 1840, the *Patriot* also published two works of fiction that illustrated how Native Americans were being integrated into an American narrative.

The March 27, 1840 edition ran "The Native's Love – A Tale." This melodramatic story is set on the Susquehanna River in New York, "when but few white steps were hanging on the retreating native's steps." The protagonist is Albert Everard, the son of a wealthy settler and loyal suitor of the golden-haired Helen. While hunting, Albert falls from a precipice and is knocked unconscious. He is rescued by Miema, the Great Eagle's daughter. She is a "gentle Indian girl" with "a form of most beautiful proportions." As she nurses Albert back to health she falls in love with him. She protects the weakened Albert from a jealous Native rival, even though Albert remains faithful to Helen. "I love the white girl" he says, "Miema can be my sister." Albert returns to his home and marries Helen. The next summer, Helen is sitting in her parlor with her sister when Miema shows up at her window, gaunt from love-sickness. She kneels at Helen's feet, "He loves his white flower. If she can love Miema, his love can make him happy." "I will love you, gentle one," replies Helen. Then Miema dies, and is buried by the two white sisters on the banks of the Susquehanna.[103]

"The Native's Love" is a slight story, and its barely concealed subtext is difficult to overlook. Albert is a Yankee-Yorker, faithful to his blonde, pale white beauty. Miema yearns for the white man, but passively accepts that he does not love her. Instead, she

103. Oriel, "The Native's Love - a Tale," *Calhoun County Patriot*, March 27 1840.

places herself below Helen, who responds with kindness and an offer to be as family. Yet Miema dies, resolving the lover's triangle. The Indian vanishes from the story. The white man and woman are kind, treating the Indian as a "sister" before she dies. The platonic love expressed by the white for the vanishing Indian resolves both the sexual tension and political tension inherent in the situation. In September of the same year the *Patriot* ran a two-part story of intrigue and action; in this story the American hero was to face not only Indians, but a plotting Englishman and his French crony as well.

"The Last Council Fire: A Tale of the Potawatomies" appeared in the September 4 and October 9, 1840 editions of the paper. The story is set in September of 1839. Brownlee, an Englishman of "portly form and sanguine complexion" on a "stately charger" and Amidant, a young Frenchman "mounted on a Canadian-Indian half-breed [horse]" travel to a secret meeting of Indians in remote Calhoun County. Their goal: to bring the Potawatomis over to the side of "the provincial authorities of Canada at the root of this Indian tempting scheme." The duo meets up with an Indian scout, who takes them to meet the Indian council.

Meanwhile, the story's hero, Alfred Hanson, a "tall young man...with a dress half-Indian that set off gallantly his muscular form, and intelligent though melancholy countenance," meets with local merchant Colonel Waldron to discuss the rumors of British plotting. The following evening at the Indian's council, they discuss Brownlee's offer. The Indians intend to take the British bribes but not support them militarily. Yet the old Potawatomi warrior, Checonoquett, seems on the verge of rousing them to actual battle. Then an Ottawa visitor cautions against this, noting that "The [American] white

men are the waves that roll over us...they sweep us not away, but leave us polished brighter in the eyes of our friends." Later the devious Amidant, desiring Colonel Waldron's daughter, kidnaps her with the aid of renegade Indians intent upon carrying her away to Canada. She is rescued by the visiting Ottawa chief, who turns out to be Alfred Hanson in disguise. The Potawatomis gather in the spring to prepare for removal, the machinations of the British agents evidently unsuccessful. Checonoquett chooses to head north, as the other chiefs sob and lament their imminent departure, "A tear unbefitting the warrior is telling, that hope has abandoned the Potawatomi." The vigilance and "sagacity" of General Brady prevails and the Indians peacefully depart. One of the last lines reads, "A noble race is passing away."[104]

This story resolves three American cultural tensions. First, it deals with the fears that many Americans still harbored towards their British-Canadian neighbors. In fairness, these fears were not entirely without basis. For many years after the War of 1812 Native Americans had routinely visited Upper Canada for "presents," that Americans viewed as bribes to keep the Indians available for future hostilities. Americans had also been drawn into an abortive rebellion in Upper Canada in 1837 and a tense border stand-off in Maine in 1839. The fat, scheming Brownlee embodies American's distrust of the British. Amidant represents the fear of the *métis.* Although described as being French, the description of his horse is a clear reference to his real parentage. Brownlee attempts to politically corrupt the Potawatomis, while Amidant attempts to kidnap and sexually assault an American woman. Hanson embodies the best of both white and red, a paragon

104. "The Last Council Fire: A Tale of the Potawatomies," *Calhoun County Patriot*, October 9 1840.

of the noble American frontiersman. He uses the Indians' own oratorical venue to politically defeat the Englishman. Then he rescues the girl, foiling the Frenchman.

The story also resolves the third tension, Native American/Yankee-Yorker conflict, through the simple expedient of their literal and metaphoric disappearance from Calhoun County. The Potawatomis are potentially dangerous, yet for all their fearsome potential and oratorical abilities they could be swayed by both the British and the Americans. The story acknowledges their ancestral claim to the land but sees their passing from it as part of the inevitable course of history. Of course, this trope was already part of the United State's cultural milieu. "The Last Council Fire" even goes so far as to open with a line from "Logan's Lament," the archetypical vanishing Indian speech.

The news articles and fiction that appeared in the *Calhoun County Patriot* reflect the real life, changing arena of discourse in which the Moguago's band operated. To counter their weak position and establish themselves as a local community they worked within the new system, using both old and new forms of discourse. The money they needed to purchase land came their way as a result of old treaty obligations. Assistance from their local friends, won through years of positive social relationships, allowed them to make the most of it.

In 1842 Holcomb accompanied some of his Potawatomi friends to an annuity disbursement at the Ottawa Mission in Barry County. There he assisted the minister and Indian sub-agent, a Mr. Lee, in handing out the payments to the Ottawas. The agent asked about his Potawatomi friends, and noted that his agency had been holding funds for

"Potawatomis of the Huron" for nine years, but none had come forward to claim them. This began a chain of correspondence between Holcomb and Moguago with the state general auditor, C. S. Hammond. Hammond in turn dealt with the Office of Indian Affairs agent, Robert Stuart. Stuart requested that Moguago establish their *bona fides* as Huron Potawatomis. He also requested that local white residents sign an affidavit affirming that Moguago's group was intending to stay in the United States. Holcomb and five other local whites signed for Moguago's band, and Hammond in turn vouched for the residents, "the names are among the most respectable citizens of Calhoun and Branch Counties [and they] are the oldest inhabitants of their township."[105]

Correspondence continued between Calhoun County and Detroit, as Moguago provided a listing of treaties his people had signed, as well as a brief account of the removal of 1840. Based on Moguago's information, Stuart determined that Moguago's group of thirty to forty individuals was all that remained of the Huron Potawatomis in Michigan (a few Potawatomis who fled to Upper Canada in 1840 had recently returned, slightly increasing the number in Moguago's group.). Secretary of War T. Hartley Crawford concurred. Moguago's band was eligible for nearly $2,000 in back annuities from the 1833 Treaty of Chicago. The funds were disbursed on June 9, 1845; but the money was not given to the Potawatomis directly. Instead, it was entrusted to the citizen's committee consisting of Hobart, Acker, and Farris. Stuart requested the arrangement, so that the money would not be diverted to local traders or used for alcohol.[106]

105. Neumeyer, "'A Few Words to Our Great Father' : The Holcomb-Maguago Letters (Part II).": 64.
106. This series of events is outlined in Ibid.

This trusteeship arrangement implies that Moguago's band was, in effect, a total ward of the committee members, but a letter dated November 12, 1845 belies this: "Moguago and his band direct that the following sums be paid to Hobart, Acker, and Hammond to pay the following debts and make purchases herein stated..." In the letter Moguago instructed his trustees to purchase eighty acres of land and have six log houses (one for each of the six families in the group), a barn, and a school house built for the band's use, as well as tools for farming.[107] Hammond purchased the land from private sellers in New York. The parcel joined an earlier purchase of forty acres of land from the government. Moguago and the trustees gave deeds for the combined one hundred-twenty acres on Pine Creek to Michigan Governor John S. Barry to hold on the band's behalf. The Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomis now had a privately held homeland.

The specific language Moguago used in the letters reveals both his reliance upon older forms of discourse, and his willingness to accommodate the wishes of the Americans. Moguago typically used kinship terms when addressing the government agents. "Our great Father in Detroit," is the most common title. In the Eastern Native American mode of diplomacy, a father was generous to his children. Such a father was expected to listen to the needs of his "children," ritually expressed in pitiable terms. Moguago's letter to Stuart regarding the 1842 annuity disbursement illustrates this:

> Our Great Father Mr. Cass, he would be like a mother, his breast was always full. I have spoken [for] some time, I am afraid you will get out of patience with me; but our children do suffer with the cold and we are in want from our Great Father. It seems as though the white man was brother to us...they help us a great deal. Our red brethren at Grand River sent word for us to come out there [so] that their Great Father would give us money too. But not so, he said we are of a different nation...And now Father we

107. Neumeyer, "'The Dark Is All around Us': The Moguago Letters.": 62.

> leave you thinking he will remember us when you read this from your Children in Nottawaseppi.[108]

Moguago's transcribed speech identifies Lewis Cass as both mother and father. Local white residents are identified as brothers, just as the Grand River Ottawas are brothers, albeit red brothers, rather than white. Moguago's letters do sometimes open with a salutation to "Mr. Stuart." Sometimes both kinship terms and "Mr." are combined, as in Moguago's letter dated December 8, 1843, which opens with "Mr. Stuart," and closes with "So no more to our Father, Mr. Robert Stuart, Detroit. From your respectful friend Moguago, Chief of the Nottawaseppi Band."

Moguago was keen to impress upon the Indian Agency their desire to "fit in" with their white neighbors. "By our industry and you helping us we can be able to live like the white man." Moguago ritually begged Stuart to approve the annuity money they need to adapt:

> Father we want to have you speak to us to stand along and not forget us. For it is often when children lose their parent they cry and feel sorry, and we feel so now...If you forget us now we shall always crouch; but we hope not. We want to rise with our white brethren. We think we have lived in the bark house long enough. We are ashamed when we have so many white folks around us.[109]

In addition to expressing a desire to be industrious and rise from a "crouch" to stand with their neighbors, Moguago provided Stuart with a temperance pledge, signed by himself and thirty-seven others of his band:

> We think by giving way to our appetites to drink liquor we are subjected to great expense which we are unable to bear. And thinking it will have a tendency to make us more independent and do more as we are a mind to

108. Neumeyer, "'A Few Words to Our Great Father: The Holcomb-Maguago Letters (Part II).": 65.
109. Ibid., 67.

> and not be obliged to beg our bread, we agreed never to use poisonous drinks again.[110]

Now property owners and novice farmers with a trustee relationship with local governance, the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomis were on their way to meeting the expectations of their Yankee-Yorker neighbors. The relationship did have frictions, however. In February of 1846, Norton Hobart wrote a letter to the new Indian agent for the Michigan office, William. A. Richmond, complaining that Moguago's group was not working hard enough at producing crops and income. "For they think if they have enough today, tomorrow must take care of itself. They know nothing about laying up provisions for the season and Moguago scolds at them when they go hunting and if somebody don't provide for them they will be in a bad fix before next harvest." Hobart had a suspicion as to why the Indians were being troublesome. "There has been a Catholic priest among them and since then it seems as though the Devil is in them instead of being cast out..."[111]

Moguago's band, like their fellow Potawatomis and Ottawas locally, had contact with both Catholic and Protestant clergy during the 1830's and 1840's. Their Pokagon band neighbors were Catholic, the Ottawas of Barry County were a part of Reverend Leonard Slater's Baptist mission, and the Selkirk mission Indians were Episcopalian. Moguago was nominally Catholic, but in 1846 he was visited by the Methodist minister Manasseh Hickey. Hickey was the new "circuit rider" for area Methodist churches, and he convinced Moguago and the forty-seven members of his band to convert. Two of Moguago's daughters, Mary and Sarah, were educated at the Wesleyan Seminary in Albion, Michigan. Later, when Moguago was visited by a Catholic priest, he reputedly

110. Ibid., 67.
111. Neumeyer, "'The Dark Is All around Us': The Moguago Letters.": 62.

said he preferred the "Yankee preaching" over the "French preaching."[112] Hickey served the Nottawaseppi Mission until 1849. There he gave sermons in English, while Moguago's daughter Mary translated them to Potawatomi for the congregation:

> They had a hymn book and a New Testament, I believe, in the Indian language. To hear these worshipers sing 'Oh, for a thousand tongues to sing, my great redeemer's praise,' in the Pottawattomie language, with its liquid accent and beautiful syllabic distinctness, when uttered by Indian lips, was a great pleasure...After the hymns and prayer, Mr. Hickey began his sermon. He would deliver a sentence in English and then pause until Mary repeated it to the Indians in their own tongue...As Hickey became more animated, or emotional, his interpretess would also, until, at times her feelings would so overpower her, that her head would fall back to the wall...Of the two sermons, his to the whites in English, and Mary's to the Pottowattomies in Indian, I think Mary's was the most effective.[113]

Mary was clearly taken by the faith, as was her sister Sarah, who worked with Reverend Slater. They were not unique in this regard. In many Indian congregations ministers, lay and ordained, were themselves Indian by the early 1850's. After Hickey's departure, other missionaries preached to Moguago's band until the mission society withdrew in 1854. From then on, the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomis provided their own church leadership.

Hickey left his Nottawaseppi post in part to encourage unconverted Grand River Ottawas to join the church. When he met with the assembled Ottawas in 1848, their leader asked "Where is the tobacco for us to smoke? We shall not listen to you unless you furnish tobacco to fill our pipes so that we make smoke while you speak." As Hickey had none, he had to send a runner on a twelve mile round trip to get some before he could proceed. Once their pipes were filled, they agreed to listen. Hickey noted, "They seemed

112. BIA, *Huron Potawatomi, Inc.,*74.
113. Van Buren, 149

most of them very respectful. When any stranger appeared among them with his interpreter and requested the chief to call his people together and listen to him they always said, 'furnish tobacco.'" Hickey learned that in order to make inroads with Native Americans, adopting their modes of discourse was still essential.[114]

Moguago continued to correspond with Richmond, with either his daughter or Holcomb as interpreter. Later letters sometimes expressed his frustration with his trustee partners not delivering their services in a timely manner. "After these monies were received, they appeared more like wild folks, not showing themselves or coming near them ["us" was possibly meant here]. At first they made much of the Indian but now they treat them as of no consequence." Moguago also expressed a desire to get possession of the deed, held by the State of Michigan. "My young men often ask me about the deed...now my brother after you see this letter I want you should take your pen and write me and tell me what I shall do to get the deeds for my land." There are some subtle shifts in language taking place. Richmond is now an "older brother," rather than a father, a temporary demotion perhaps expressing impatience. Moguago also refers to "my land."It is possible he is beginning to alter his word choice to emphasize private ownership to strengthen his appeal.[115]

In a letter dictated on December 22, 1849, Moguago carefully incorporated old and new forms of discourse in a single letter. In this letter he asked for a personal meeting with an Indian agent to follow up on issues he raised in previous letters quoted above:

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114. Charles Adam Weissert, *An Account of Southwest Michigan and Calhoun County: With Special Matter Relating to Calhoun County*, ed. George Newman Fuller, III vols., Historic Michigan; Land of the Great Lakes, vol. III (Dayton: National Historical Association, 1928), 205.
115. Neumeyer, "'The Dark Is All Around Us,' : The Moguago Letters": 64

To Our Great Chief, the Friend of the Indians

> We wrote a letter last fall to the man that takes care of the Indians...I tell you I ask my brother to pity us. I want you to look upon us and see how poor we are. I ask you for your kindness, I want you to do this business right away. As the Lord blesses us, we want you to bless us too...We want you to come see us. My young men all speak to you this way. They have got most discouraged working this land. They think they are working it for someone else. They have not got the deeds and they keep going off hunting, and I can't hold them. They don't want to do this way. They wish to be like white men, now come and help us. The dark is all around us, come and lead us to the light. *App pe may u jah aheba no o be iou dah pe won, we are jon set nein dush ah be no fir kein dush nin do o ce nah tre yo.* 'When the child cries, the father comes and takes it. I am the child, you are the father.'

Yours Truly,
John X Moguago
his mark
Chief Pottawatomis of Huron

Moguago uses kinship terms, and even includes a sentence in his native language that stresses both kinship and supplication. He references an inability to control his "young men," who choose to hunt rather than farm, echoes of past statements by elders that they could not control the warlike temper of their youths. He also incorporates a Christian appeal, and stresses that his people wish to live like their white neighbors. Couched in the rhetoric of pity are two very direct requests for action, "we want you to come and see us...now come and help us."[116] Moguago was polite, but demanded action.

In less than a decade, Moguago's band had successfully worked with their neighbors, the clergy, and local, state, and federal officials to purchase land, establishing themselves as a permanent part of the Calhoun County community. Moguago skillfully combined older forms of discourse with new ones. He and his people accommodated

116. Neumeyer, "The Dark Is All around Us' : The Moguago Letters.": 63-5.

settlers through accepting Protestant Christianity, promoting education, and working through local government. This allowed them to continue to reside in Michigan and continue to exist as a distinctive cultural group. It was a remarkable achievement, one that has allowed them to remain on the land of their ancestors to this day.

CHAPTER FOUR

AFTER JOHN MOGUAGO

John Moguago continued as the Chief of the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomis until he died, aged about eighty-three, in 1863. Leadership of the band passed briefly to his brother-in-law, Pamptopee, who died the following year. Pamptopee's son, Phineas Pamptopee served as Chief from 1864 until his death in 1914. During Phineas's tenure their church operated with minimal contact with the Methodist missionary society. They continued to collect annuity monies under the 1807 Treaty; but as they did not reside on a federal reservation, they were not a recognized tribe. Despite this lack of recognition, Phineas vigorously pursued tribal claims with the government. Various government censuses of the group show that their numbers remained steady, rising from thirty-two members in 1843 to seventy in 1880 and remaining in the seventies to 1900.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, some members of the band moved north to an area near Bradley, Michigan, while others bought land only a few miles from the Pine Creek Reservation, forming a community known locally as "Indiantown." Both groups remained in close contact with their relations on the Reservation. The original six families continued to form the majority of the group's membership. Although the Moguago name did not continue, Shawgoquet, Mandoka, Meme, Mackey, Pamptopee (today shortened to Pamp) and Cawcawba remained.

During this time the group remained a part of the Calhoun County community, yet culturally distinct from their Yankee-Yorker neighbors. Between 1840 and 1901, only one

member of the band married outside of the local Indian community.117 Potawatomi continued to be the household language for the band well into the twentieth century. Likewise, band members supplemented their farming activities with traditional activities such as hunting, trapping, making maple sugar, and berry gathering. Basket-weaving provided much needed cash for the band's members, as did seasonal employment on nearby white farms.[118]

Their unique culture did not seem to bother their neighbors. Norton Hobart spoke well of the band and their leader in a letter written in 1878, "His name is Phineas Pamp-to-pee; he is a good, honest man. There are now about forty on the farm – men, women and children; the younger ones attend school, and most of them can read, write, and do their own business."[119] Lucius Buell Holcomb commented upon the status of his longtime friends in a letter he wrote in 1891, "They are all there and on their different homes and appearances doing very well. They have a minister [to] hold every Sabbath and most all belong to the church. There is no Indians that I know of that have progressed any better than these..."[120]

The goings-on of the Pine Creek Reservation and nearby Indiantown were woven into the fabric of the wider community through the "Indiantown Inklings" column that ran sporadically in the local weekly newspaper from the late 1880's through the 1940's. The daily activities of the Indian residents were duly recorded in the *Athens Times* just as were the visits, church socials, marriages and funerals of the white community. What the

117. BIA, 91.
118. Ibid., 3-11.
119. "Correspondence of Colonel Charles Dickey with Various Persons with Regard to the History of the Indians Who Formerly Lived in Calhoun County," *MPHC* 3 (1903): 368-9.
120. Neumeyer, "A Michigan 'Trail of Tears' : The Holcomb Reminiscence.," 58.

Potawatomis reported to their white neighbors reflected their status as a group at once part of, yet distinct from, the dominant culture. Selections of the one or two sentence news items from the summer of 1906 illuminate their interests and concerns, examples include talk of both traditional economic activities and wage labor. “Water pretty higher on Pine Creek and Nottawa Creek. Injuns can’t get no fish for a while. Mackey Show-go-quat, he tans deer skins, make smoke buckskin. Old Ah-she-da-yah-son he plant squaw corn yesterday. Old Chief Me-ma got well so he can peddlered [sic] round his baskets.” These subsistence activities were supplemented by wage labor. “David Nottawa and his family, they went west of Bronson working saw mill and shingle mill. Simon Ketoh he went to Union City get job in cement work.”

The Indiantown residents reported setbacks in personal health, as well as crime and punishment. “Mrs. John Paul, she is bad up. She almost blind. Both of her eyes awful bad. Geo. Pamptopee got out police station of Battle Creek when Bartsen paid his fine five dollars. Rodney Pamptopee one day last week he miss one sack of flour from his wigwam. Must be someone who stole it, he a starved cuss.” Social calls and small triumphs were also noted. “Mrs. John Mackey she came home last week from visiting her daughter in Hartford. Old Tak-nes he got good nine colts. Awful nice colts.”

The wider social network of Native Americans, and church connections were also important. “Great Indian camp meeting, Aug. 25 to Sept. 3 Hamilton conveniently located on the Pere Marquette railway... Walpole Island will be camp meeting sometime this season. Next Friday night will have social at Mandokey place, for paying the church. Have been repairing.” One story provides a glimpse into their worries for the continued

survival of their language. “Pottawattomies Indian says will be one language use in town Athens before many years from now, after died out the old Pottawattomies.” Finally, the legal dealings Michigan Native Americans had with the Federal Government were noted. “The Ottawas, they will get payment from the government this fall or next winter.”[121]

The “Indiantown Inklings” were presented uncorrected for spelling or grammar, on the same page as other notes from local white communities, who also reported day-to-day minutia such as “Ruth Harman, of Athens, spent Sunday with her parents,” along with council minutes, church schedules, and the like. This local news generally appeared on the fifth page in the *Athens Times*, which by 1906 ran around six pages with local, state, national and international news, as well as an extensive section devoted to religion. The grammar and vocabulary of the “Inklings” strikes modern ears as very stereotypical, almost a parody from an old movie. However, an individual named Ah-she-da-yah-son, a Potawatomi name, is listed as the reporter.[122] The columns are neither edited nor editorialized; they are simply included in with other local items. “Indiantown Inklings” were merely a few lines in intermittent issues of the *Athens Times.* The column is significant because it indicates that the Potawatomis were interested in sharing their unique lives with their neighbors, who duly recorded what they shared in print.

As they recorded the day-to-day events in their newspapers, the local Yankee-Yorkers were also busily recording their recent past. Southwestern Michigan residents participated in a statewide organization dedicated to preserving Michigan’s history: the

121. Ah-She-Da-Yah-Son. “Indiantown Inklings.” Athens Times, 11, 18, 26 May; 8 June; 16 November 1906.

122. The *Burr Oak Acorn,* another local newspaper noted that Peter and Ida Nottawa had a “papoose” on August 18, 1910, named Ah-She-Da-Yah-Son. It seems likely then that the reporter for the “Inklings” column in 1906 was a member of the Nottawa family.

Pioneer Society of Michigan, created in 1874. That organization's annual publication, *Michigan Pioneer Collections,* provided a record of events involving Native Americans and documented the relationship between whites and Indians. Native Americans appear relatively frequently throughout the *Collections*, generally in first- or second-hand accounts by settlers, sometimes as the subject of "scholarly" papers dedicated to the topic of Native Americans specifically or as part of the State's history.

In the *Collections*, the various contributors generally recall specific interactions with Native Peoples as individuals that are members of distinct, local villages. Settlers' accounts clearly show an understanding that Native Americans had their own motivations and agendas. Sometimes Indians are presented in a negative light, however, they are more frequently held in high regard. Settlers often placed the blame for negative behavior on the effects of alcohol, rather than on any inherent character flaw of Native Americans as individuals or as a "race." Crude generalizations about the Potawatomis and other Native Americans, as well as justifications for their displacement, appeared more frequently in the *Collections* when the author was presenting a scholarly paper, instead of a reminiscence.

"When civilization first entered Michigan, it met substantially the same conditions that confronted the English pioneers of Virginia and Massachusetts. They found a barbarous people that were hopelessly unchangeable in their habits as the river on their eastern border." So wrote Melvin Osband in an article entitled "The Michigan Indians" that appeared in volume 29 of the *Collections*. Osband (a frequent contributor to the *Collections*) was steeped in the Social Darwinism of late nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries. “Civilization stands for a higher development of humanity. It is, when at its best, both progressive and aggressive.”[123] After presenting an overview of the various Native American groups in Michigan and their interactions with whites, the author concedes that “we cannot read the records of these border wars, without emotions of sympathy for these simple children of the forest.” The author concludes, however, “There is a law that proclaims the survival of the fittest...We know that the world of humanity has been elevated in the scale of true excellence because of the removal of the savage.”[124]

The county histories, published during the same time frame as the *Collections*, are similar in tone. These books contain personal reminiscences from settlers, sometimes exactly the same as those that appear in the *Collections*. The County Histories also have more general overviews of the history of Michigan in addition to local history. These frequently reveal a more negative view of Native Americans. *The History of Calhoun County* notes, regarding the Potawatomis, “their history is not especially striking or interesting.” Further, the typical Indian was an “...implacable, untamed, bloodthirsty savage, ready to cut the throat and take the scalp of helpless women and innocent babes.” Only Moguago’s group received any accolade, as their efforts were “a commendable attempt to improve upon their condition, and as such is worthy of preservation, as it is in marked contrast to the general history of their race.”[125] For this particular editor, only those Potawatomis who adopted white ways were worthy of being a part of written history.

123. Melvin D. Osband, “The Michigan Indians,” *MPHC* 29, (1901): 697
124. Ibid, 708.
125. Pierce, 11.

The *History of Kalamazoo County,* published in 1880, included a large section on the history of Michigan that incorporated then current ideas in anthropology, such as a clear progression from Stone Age to Bronze Age (and onwards, at least in the case of Europeans, to Iron and "civilization"). Indians remained primitive savages – men are sometimes referred to as "bucks" and women as "squaws." "In respect to cultivation and humanity, the Pottawattomies were no better and no worse than their congeners of other tribes and nations." In discussing the 1840 removal, the author notes, "Notwithstanding the long and bloody history of these wild children of the forest, it is with a tinge of sadness, even at this day, we contemplate their sorrowful departure, for they possessed human feelings..."[126] Indians were human yet, somehow, not *as* human as whites.

Taken as a whole, the writings of the Yankee-Yorkers regarding their Potawatomi neighbors reveal an interesting dichotomy. In the abstract, American Indians were savages without meaningful history, a noble but ultimately inferior group that was destined to be replaced by white, European-American civilization. This viewpoint was created by the scholarly opinion of anthropologists at that time, as well as by those who chose to apply Darwin's theory of evolution to societies. As individuals, families, and as several local villages, however, the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomis became fully human to the local whites. Yankee-Yorkers separated their stereotypical conception of "Indian," which owed much to distant but respected scholars, from the reality of their Potawatomi neighbors. No doubt overtly hostile and prejudiced attitudes and resulting actions existed among non-Indians towards their Potawatomi neighbors, but even if

126. *History of Kalamazoo County, Michigan. With Illustrations and Biographical Sketches*, (Philadelphia: Everts & Abbott, 1880; reprint, Salem: Higginson Book Company): 75-8.

viewed as inferior members of the local community, the written record indicates that they were still indeed *members*.

From their contacts, Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi Band and their Yankee-Yorker neighbors built a shared community, using the "tools" of friendship, linguistic and cultural exchange, along with diplomatic and bureaucratic action. The Potawatomis first attempted to incorporate the Yankee-Yorkers into their community; however, the sheer numbers of newcomers necessitated accommodation in order to remain in southwest Michigan. The result was the Pine Creek Reservation community; no longer were they part of a Potawatomi nation that held sway over much of the lower Great Lakes. Decades had passed since they forced the French, and later the English to meet them half-way on military, political, and economic middle ground.

Instead, when Moguago died, they were a group of only six families with one hundred-twenty acres of property surrounded by Yankee-Yorker communities. The band consisted of about seventy Native Americans looked upon as part of a "vanishing race" by the dominant culture, getting by through farming, gathering, and providing labor to their wealthier neighbors. Moguago's community survived as a culturally distinct entity by successfully accommodating the new, militarily and economically dominant Yankee-Yorkers. The Potawatomis adopted Protestant religion, sent their children to local schools, and worked well with local township officials. By doing so, they were able to continue to speak their language and maintain a defined, albeit tiny, homeland within the bounds of their ancestral range. They gained not merely the tolerance, but the active support of local white clergy and officials who were able to get past the prevailing

opinion that saw Indians as, at best, a noble but vanishing race. Moguago's efforts and that of his local white supporters had a long-lasting impact.

For the next seventy years, until World War II most members of the band married within the wider Potawatomi/Ottawa community. Many still spoke their language, and continued to press their claims with the Federal Government for annuities owed. Like other Indian communities in the Great Lakes, they struggled to balance accommodation and resistance to changes imposed on them.127 They maintained cordial relations with their neighbors while they insisted upon their rights in court. Beginning as early as 1889 many children attended boarding schools that imposed a regimen designed expressly to "save the man, kill the Indian." Although they endured many hardships, Indian students who went through the boarding school experience gained an education and created inter-tribal networks.[128]

After World War II many members of the band moved to urban centers to pursue employment opportunities. Marriage outside of the Indian community increased, and the use of the Potawatomi language declined. Despite these cultural and demographic changes, the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomis continued to identify themselves as a unique group. Efforts to achieve Federal recognition for the band progressed in small fits and starts in the 1950's and 1960's, but these efforts increased with the creation of the non-profit entity, Huron Potawatomi, incorporated in 1970. After a twenty-five year bureaucratic odyssey, the group received Federal Recognition in 1995.[129]

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127. Edmund J. Danziger, Jr., *Great Lakes Indian Accommodation and Resistance During the Early Reservation Years, 1850-1900* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009).
128. BIA, *Summary for Huron Potawatomi, Inc.*, 93.
129. "Final Determination for Federal Acknowledgement of the Huron Potowatomi, Inc.", *Federal Register*

John Moguago would hardly recognize the Pine Creek Reservation. The descendents of his fellow band members lead a life vastly different from the life he led. Then again, John Moguago lived a life that would have been alien to his ancestors one hundred-fifty years earlier. For Native Americans, as with all peoples, change is perhaps the only universal constant. Chief John Moguago was able to successfully use both old and new forms of communication to provide his band a successful transitional place in Michigan. The Nottawaseppi Huron Band of the Potawatomi now interacts with the United States as a Native American tribe, semi-sovereign nation within the nation of the United States.

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