Summary under the Criteria and Evidence for

Proposed Finding

Huron Potawatomi, Inc.

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

Approved MAY 10 1995

Ada E. Deer

Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

SUMMARY UNDER THE CRITERIA

83.7(a) as modified by 83.8(d)(1)
83.7(b) as modified by 83.8(d)(2)
83.7(c) as modified by 83.8(d)(3)
83.7(d)
83.7(e)
83.7(f)
83.7(g)

HISTORICAL REPORT

ANTHROPOLOGICAL REPORT

GENEALOGICAL REPORT

MAP SUPPLEMENT

BIBLIOGRAPHY

INTRODUCTION

This report has been prepared in response to the petition received by the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs (Assistant Secretary) from the Huron Potawatomi, Inc. (HPI) seeking Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe under Part 83 of Title 25 of the Code of Federal Regulations (25 CFR 83).

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

Applicable Regulations

Under the revised Acknowledgment regulations which became effective March 28, 1994, section 83.8 modifies the standards of evidence for those petitioners who demonstrate evidence of unambiguous prior Federal acknowledgment. As Huron Potawatomi, Inc. was determined to have had unambiguous previous Federal acknowledgment at least through the date of the "Supplementary Articles" to the Treaty of Chicago dated September 27, 1833, this finding has been prepared under the provisions of section 83.8. The applicable sections of the regulations read:

> **83.8. Previous Federal acknowledgment.**
>
> **(a) Unambiguous previous Federal acknowledgment is acceptable evidence of the tribal character of a petitioner to the date of the last such previous acknowledgment. If a petitioner provides substantial evidence of unambiguous Federal acknowledgment, the petitioner will then only be required to demonstrate that it meets the requirements of section 83.7 to the extent required by this section. . . .**
>
> **(d) To be acknowledged, a petitioner that can demonstrate previous Federal acknowledgment must show that:**
>
> **(1) The group meets the requirements of the criterion in 83.7(a), except that such identification shall be demonstrated since the point of**

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

Latest date of unambiguous Federal acknowledgment. Under the revised regulations, the petitioner needs to demonstrate tribal existence only from the latest date of prior Federal acknowledgment. In the case of this petitioner, the date of September 27, 1833, that of the "Supplementary Articles" to the Treaty of Chicago, was used as the last date of unambiguous previous Federal acknowledgment. It is not to be taken as a determination by the Department that this was necessarily the latest date of prior Federal acknowledgment. As the petitioner had already completed the research process and had submitted a complete, documented petition at the time the revised regulations became effective, expenditure of staff time to determine the latest date of prior acknowledgment would not have reduced the research burden on the petitioner. Acceptance of the obvious date of the last in a series of treaties was sufficient to enable the petitioner to proceed under the provisions of section 83.8.

Introduction -- Huron Potawatomi, Inc.

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

Procedures

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

The petitioner shall have a minimum of 60 days to respond to any submissions by interested and informed parties during the response period. At the end of the period for comment, the Assistant Secretary will consult with the petitioner and interested parties to determine an equitable time frame for consideration of written arguments and evidence submitted during the response period. The petitioner and interested parties will be notified of the date such consideration begins. The Assistant Secretary will make a final determination regarding the petitioner's status, a summary of which will be published in the FEDERAL REGISTER within 60 days from the date on which the consideration of the written arguments and evidence rebutting or supporting the proposed finding begins. This determination will become effective 90 days from its date of publication unless a request for reconsideration is filed pursuant to 83.11.

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[1] Citizens' Band, Oklahoma; Prairie Band, Kansas; Hannahville Community, Upper Peninsula of Michigan; Forest County, Wisconsin (Clifton 1978, 738-739); Potawatomi of Michigan and Indiana, Inc. (Pokagon Potawatomi), legislatively recognized 1994.

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

Administrative History

Huron Potawatomi, Inc. (HPI) has been seeking Federal acknowledgment since prior to the institution of the Federal Acknowledgment Process. The group sought to organize under the Wheeler-Howard Act (Indian Reorganization Act, or IRA) in 1934, but fell under Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier's general decision in 1940 not to further extend Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) services to the Indians of Michigan's Lower Peninsula. On March 11, 1972, the group submitted another request for recognition and organization under the IRA to the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

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

HPI's first response to the OD letter was submitted in 1991, but withdrawn by the tribal council in July 1992; a second response to the OD letter was received by BAR on February 5, 1993. The petition was declared ready for active consideration on February 5, 1993, and was placed on active consideration on July 27, 1993. Because of staffing problems within the BAR, a six-month extension of the active consideration period, to December 27, 1994, was requested and granted by the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs. A second extension for preparation of the Proposed Finding, to February 27, 1995, was also requested and granted, as was a third to April 25, 1995.

ABBREVIATIONS AND/OR ACRONYMS USED IN REPORT

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

BIA = Bureau of Indian Affairs

COIA = Commissioner of Indian Affairs

Ex. = Documentary Exhibit submitted by the Petitioner

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

HPI = Huron Potawatomi, Inc.

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

NHPB = Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi Band

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

PINI = Potawatomi Indian Nation, Inc. (aka Pokagon Potawatomi Band)

STANDARDIZED SPELLINGS

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

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

HURON POTAWATOMI, INC.

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

Evidence submitted by the Huron Potawatomi, Inc. (hereinafter the petitioner or HPI) and obtained through other interested parties and independent research by the BAR staff demonstrates that the petitioner does meet all seven criteria required for Federal acknowledgment. In accordance with the regulations set forth in 25 CFR 83, failure to meet any one of the seven criteria requires a determination that the group does not exist as an Indian tribe within the meaning of Federal law.

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

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

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

83.8(d) To be acknowledged, a petitioner that can demonstrate previous Federal acknowledgment must show that:
(1) The group meets the requirements of the criterion in 83.7(a), except that such identification shall be demonstrated since the point of last Fed-

eral acknowledgment. The group must further have been identified by such sources as the same tribal entity that was previously acknowledged or as a portion that has evolved from that entity.

In the case of criterion 83.7(a), the modification in section 83.8(d)(1) extends the time period for which criterion 83.7(a) must be demonstrated: not merely since 1900, but since the point of last Federal acknowledgment. In the case of HPI, this date was determined to be September 27, 1833, the date of the "Supplementary Articles" to the Treaty of Chicago. This date was used for purposes of this finding not to determine that this was necessarily the last date of previous unambiguous Federal acknowledgment of HPI, but because (1) the treaty clearly constituted unambiguous Federal acknowledgment; and (2) since the petitioner had already completed the research for its documented petition and submitted the completed petition, ascertaining a later date would not in this case have reduced the burden of research for the group.

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

Between the date of the Treaty of Chicago, 1833, and 1840, the petitioner's ancestors continued to reside on the Nottawaseppi Reserve in southwestern Michigan, which had been established by an earlier Federal treaty in 1821. During the removal period (1838-1840), several individuals and families of southwestern Michigan Huron Potawatomi either managed to evade removal or returned to their former homes after having been taken to Kansas. The original families of the Nottawaseppi Huron Band (predecessor of HPI) belonged to both of these categories: evaders and returnees. By 1842, they had settled in the area of Dry Prairie in Calhoun County, Michi-

gan, within the former Nottawaseppi Reserve. In 1842, they resumed contact with the Federal Indian agent in Michigan.

Federal Identification. Ancestors of the petitioning group have consistently been identified in all the available documentation as American Indian, and as Potawatomi. No documentation identified the qualifying ancestors claimed by the petitioning group as having any other ethnicity than American Indian and Potawatomi. More specifically, the Pine Creek settlement and its residents have been historically, and are currently, consistently identified as Potawatomi, as Huron Potawatomi, and as the Nottawaseppi Band of the Huron Potawatomi. In 1845-1846, after a challenge, the Michigan Superintendency, Office of Indian Affairs (OIA, nineteenth-century name of the Bureau of Indian Affairs), made an extensive study of the Pine Creek settlement's claim to annuity monies under the 1807 treaty and expressed itself as satisfied as to the group's identity and origins.

BIA Records. The petitioner was consistently identified on BIA annuity rolls, censuses, and school records from the establishment of the Pine Creek settlement in 1842 through the correspondence of 1934 associated with the passage of the Wheeler-Howard Act and the closing of the Mt. Pleasant Indian School. BIA (OIA) records relating to the Pine Creek settlement and its residents exist from the date of its founding. Examples include the 1842 OIA census of the Potawatomi of Huron, two lists received by the the Michigan Superintendency, OIA, in 1843, the OIA annuity rolls (for a payment stemming from the 1807 treaty) for 1843 and 1844, and the 1847 OIA census of the group.

After 1844, the series of surviving annuity rolls was interrupted. The next BIA annuity roll was prepared in 1861. It indicated both continuity of population and continuity of leadership under John Moguago as chief. After the single roll remaining for the 4th Quarter, 1861, the series of annuity rolls for the Potawatomi of Huron is again interrupted until 1874. In that year, the series resumed, and continuing through 1889, there are annual rolls.

After the commutation of the Potawatomi of Huron annuity (stemming from the 1807 treaty) in 1889, no further BIA rolls were prepared until the 1904 Taggart Roll, which was not a census of the Pine Creek settlement, but rather a judgment roll resulting from a U.S. Court of Claims decision pertaining to Michigan Potawatomi other than the Pokagon

From the time of the opening of the Mount Pleasant Indian School on the Isabella County, Michigan, reservation in 1893, the children of the Huron Potawatomi group were regularly educated there. This practice continued until the school was closed in 1934. Numerous Huron Potawatomi children also attended the BIA schools at Genoa, Nebraska, and Haskell Institute in Kansas.

A descendancy roll, prepared by the Michigan Agency, BIA, as the result of a 1978 decision of the Indian Claims Commission, was completed in 1984. Although it included the HPI population, it, like the Taggart Roll, was a Potawatomi descendancy claims roll and not exclusively a description of the HPI.

Court of Claims suits, 1890's. In 1882, Chief Phineas Pamptopee began to press the issue of Huron Potawatomi claims interests. An Act of Congress (March 19, 1890, 26 Stat. 24) granted jurisdiction to the U.S. Court of Claims, after which both the Huron Potawatomi and the Pokagon Potawatomi filed suits on behalf of "all the Potawatomi Indians in the States of Michigan and Indiana" in Potawatomi Indians v. The United States and Phineas Pam-To-Pee and 1,371 Other Potawatomi Indians v. The United States. A 1897 "census" of the Indians at Athens, Michigan (the Pine Creek settlement), taken by Sam Mandoka on behalf of the Indians' attorney, Judge Shipman, for claims purposes, found 120 Indians (Athens Times, January 1, 1898).

U.S. Federal Censuses. The Pine Creek settlement in Calhoun County, Michigan, was not listed on the Federal census prior to 1860. The 1860 Federal census of Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan had a header "Indians." Then, beginning with John Maguago, the chief, and his family, the listing of the Pine Creek reservation continued consecutively. The 1860 Federal census shows that the portion of the petitioner's ancestral group that had moved to Allegan County was also living as a unit. Later in the 1860's, that portion of the population returned to Pine Creek as a unit.

The 1870 Federal census of Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan, did not have a "header" prior to the enumeration of the Pine Creek Reservation, but the households were listed consecutively, with all residents identified as "Ind" in the column for ethnicity. The 1880 Federal census of Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan, also listed the families on the Pine Creek Reservation consecutively. All residents were identified as Indian. At the end of the listing, the census taker wrote, "Here Ends the Indian Village, or Hamlet - of the 'Patowatamies of Huron'."

The originals of the 1890 Federal census were burned and are not available for use. Extant Federal census material for 1890 does not list Indians as individuals. The Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed published on the basis of that census indicated the presence of 71 "civilized, self-supporting" Indians in Calhoun County, Michigan.

The 1900 Federal Census of Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan enumerated the residents of the Pine Creek settlement (both the reservation and East Indiantown) on the special "Indian Population" census schedules. Therefore, the information provided is not only the standard Federal census data but also the additional information requested for Indians.

In 1910, a few members of the Pine Creek settlement who were working off the reservation were enumerated on the regular census schedules. Even off-reservation families, however, were enumerated as "Ind" for ethnicity. The Pine Creek Reservation residents were also enumerated in 1910 on the "Indian Population Schedules" and the tribal affiliation of the great majority was given as Potawatomi. The most recent Federal census open to the public is that of 1920. For Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan, the 1920 census consistently identified the families of the petitioner's members and ancestors as "Ind."

State Records.

From Calhoun County, Michigan, the petitioner submitted copies of the deeds and Federal public land certificate pertaining to the Pine Creek Reservation. This land was purchased on behalf of the founders of the Pine Creek settlement with money owed to the Potawatomi of Huron under the 1807 treaty with the Federal government. From 1845, it has been held in trust by the Governor of Michigan on behalf of the settlement as a state Indian reservation.

The Pine Creek Reservation is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. During the early 1970's, the State of Michigan's Attorney General took the position that the Pine Creek land had been accepted only as a "passive trust," and that the State had no specific responsibility for it.

HPI has been a Michigan state-recognized tribal entity since the 1970's and is a member of the Michigan Commission on Indian Affairs.

Local Records.

Realty records.

In the mid-1840's, with assistance of local settlers and of Charles G. Hammond, Michigan State Auditor, the group purchased land collectively, which it placed in trust for its permanent use with the Governor of Michigan. This land is today the Pine Creek Reservation. The 120-acre tract has remained exempt from property taxes in Calhoun County, Michigan, as an Indian Reservation, since its establishment.

When several ancestors of the petitioner (residents of the Pine Creek settlement) purchased land in Cheshire Township, Allegan County, Michigan, in the mid-1850's, selling it again to return to Pine Creek in the mid-1860's, they were identified by such terms as "Macie Shakoqua an Indian" and "Maker Shogoquoit (a Pottowattmia Indian)," and "Nawme Shogoquoet (Pattawattoma Indian)."

When the Federal annuity of $400 annually paid to the Potawatomi of Huron under the 1807 treaty (see above) was compounded in 1889, these funds were used by members of the Pine Creek settlement to purchase land in fee simple in Athens Township. The deeds reflect that the purchasers were Indian, and the lands which they bought came to be known as "East Indiantown." The landholdings are shown on the 1894 Atlas of Calhoun County, Michigan.

Public vital records. In the matter of public vital records in Michigan, death and marriage records until the early 1930's are open to the public, with indexes open until the present day. Birth records are closed to public inspection. The Potawatomi of the Bradley settlement in Wayland Township, Allegan County, Michigan, appeared in the public vital records earlier than did the Potawatomi of the Pine Creek settlement in Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan. In Calhoun County, the public vital records did not take note of events on the Pine Creek Reservation until after the 1889 compounding of the annuity payments from the U.S. government for a one-time lump sum payment and the use of the lump sum to purchase land in fee simple by members of the settlement. Beginning in 1890, the Pine Creek Potawatomi regularly appeared in the Calhoun County, Michigan, death and marriage records, consistently identified as "Indian."

No person identified by BIA records, and Federal census records through 1920, as a resident of the Pine Creek settlement was ever identified as any ethnicity other than "Indian"

in the Calhoun County, Michigan, vital records, with the exception of one family in which the father was white and the children were sometimes classified as white rather than Indian.

Church Records. During the mid-1840's, the Nottawaseppi Band was converted from Catholicism to Methodism by the Reverend Manasseh Hickey, designated as a missionary to the Indians of Michigan by the statewide Methodist organization. From this time onward, until the church at Pine Creek joined the Holiness movement in 1948, Methodist records contain regular reports of the progress of this designated Indian mission. The large camp meetings (3,000+ persons) which the Pine Creek church sponsored from the 1890's through the early 1930's provided one focal point for gatherings of Michigan Indians, as well as being open to the public. Under the sponsorship of the Indian Holiness Church, these camp meetings were revived in the late 1940's and continued through the 1960's.

Newspapers. From the 1880's until the present, a variety of Michigan newspapers have published feature articles about the Pine Creek settlement, the state reservation, and its residents. Additionally, HPI has the almost unique feature of the "local news" segment written by various members of the community between the late 1890's and the 1960's, called "Indiantown Inklings," published in the Athens Times newspaper on an almost weekly basis, and giving a regular recitation of such activities as church services, berry picking, visiting back and forth between families, births, marriages, and deaths. These columns were often reprinted in other local papers, such as the Vicksburg Commercial.

Scholarly books and academic studies. Surprisingly few academic studies have been published pertaining to the Pine Creek community (Quimby 1939, Fabin 1955, Leatherbury 1977, Manassah 1983). Ordinarily, it appears in either a passing reference or a footnote in more extensive studies of larger Potawatomi groups (Adams 1934, Kinietz 1940; Claspy 1966; Edmunds 1978; Clifton, Cornell, and McClurken 1986; Tanner 1987). The settlement received a brief notice in Hodge's 1907 Handbook. Most scholars who have mentioned the group, such as James Clifton (Clifton 1977, Clifton 1978a, Clifton 1984), have assumed its Potawatomi identity as a basis for any additional comments made. No scholar has made an intensive study of its internal structure, or of the relationship of dispersed HPI members to the central Pine Creek settlement.

Local histories. During the later nineteenth century many pioneer anecdotes and reminiscences concerning the Pine Creek

settlement and the predecessor villages on the Nottawaseppi Reserve were collected and published in the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections. Many of these specifically mentioned prominent leaders and colorful characters from the treaty period. The Nottawaseppi Reserve and the Pine Creek settlement were also discussed in county and local histories (History of Calhoun County Michigan 1877, Gardner 1913). The 1931 Athens Times centennial edition contained extensive articles about the group, as did a historical series published from 1946 through 1948 in the Kalamazoo Gazette.

Summary. The Pine Creek Reservation settlement of the Potawatomi of Huron evolved from the band of Potawatomi of Huron who signed a Federal treaty in 1807, who resided on the Nottawaseppi Reserve established by a Federal treaty in 1821, and whose leaders were among the signers of the Articles Supplementary to the 1833 Treaty of Chicago. Between 1833 and 1840, when the Federal government attempted to remove the Nottawaseppi Reserve Potawatomi to Kansas, the Huron Potawatomi continued to collect Federal annuities under the Treaty of 1807. The band's leaders were also identified by neighboring pioneer settlers during the period 1833-1840. The HPI, or Nottawaseppi Huron Band of Potawatomi, have consistently been identified in Federal, State, and local records, by the BIA, and by academic scholars, as an Indian group, specifically as a Potawatomi group who were successors to treaty signers, from the reestablishment of the community in 1842, and use of Federal annuity monies in 1845 to purchase the Pine Creek Reservation land which was placed in trust to the Governor of Michigan, until the present day.

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

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

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

demonstrate existence as a community historically.

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

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

Historical community until 1960. Although a demonstration of historic community under 83.7(b) was not required for this finding, nonetheless the evidence submitted by the petitioner and evaluated for this Proposed Finding indicated that community did exist historically among the HPI from the date of last unambiguous Federal acknowledgment until the modern period. Until 1960, this historical community meets and demonstrates the evidence levels listed under section 83.7(b)(2).

Unquestionably, the HPI have had a named, collective Indian identity continuously since 1842, a period of significantly more than 50 years, thus meeting criterion 83.7(b)(1)(viii). Throughout the nineteenth century, Federal and BIA census records and annuity rolls indicate that the predecessors of the petitioning group were living in close residential proximity on the Pine Creek land and, after 1889, in the nearby "East Indiantown" settlement, both in Calhoun County, Michigan.

During the twentieth century, the group meets the geographical criterion under 83.7(b)(2)(i) at least through 1934, on the basis of the Federal census records for 1910 and 1920 (which is the most recent Federal census open for research use) and the list of Pine Creek residents compiled in 1934.

While the existence of the Pine Creek reservation provided a strong geographical focus, the Methodist church at Pine Creek provided a focus for activities which encompassed most of the group from the 1840's until at least 1960. From 1900 through 1959, with gaps of four years during the Depression and six years during World War II, the Pine Creek church organized

Methodist camp meetings which hosted up to 3,000 guests and received Potawatomi groups from throughout Michigan and from Walpole Island in Canada, indicating that the group meets the standard under 83.7(b)(2)(iv) for that time period.

Between the date of Marcheonoqua's childless third marriage to a white man prior to 1840 and that of Nancy Watson's 1901 marriage to a white man who established a home on the reservation, all marriages of the petitioner's members were either within the group or to members of other Indian groups within Michigan--primarily to Potawatomi from the Bradley settlement in Allegan County and to Pokagon Potawatomi. Until 1960, more than 50 percent of the new marriages of HPI members were either within the band or were culturally appropriate, patterned outmarriages to other Michigan Indian groups, primarily Potawatomi (Pokagon and Allegan County) or Ottawa. Therefore, the HPI meets criterion 83.7(b)(1)(i) with significant levels of evidence as late as 1960. Additionally, the group continued customary use of the Potawatomi language as late as 1960, thus meeting criterion 83.7(b)(2)(iii) to that date.

Although the above analysis of historical community was not required under section 83.8(d), it was undertaken by BIA researchers because the extensive evidence for HPI historical community until 1960 had an impact on the analysis of evidence for criterion 83.7(c), which is discussed below.

Evidence pertaining to the existence of modern community. Under section 83.8(d)(2), the petitioner does need to demonstrate the existence of modern community. For purposes of section 83.8(d)(2), "modern" is defined as covering, essentially, the last ten years--in this case, 1984-1994. Therefore, the period 1960-1984 is discussed only very briefly, to indicate how the transition from the situation in 1960 to the modern period took place.

Transition: 1960-1984. The HPI have been, historically, a small and closely interrelated group. As late as 1978, there were only 217 adults, of whom 191 qualified as voting members (1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum). Reflecting the coming of age of the high-birth rate generation, by 1986, there were 379 adults over 18, of whom 223 qualified as voting members (1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum).

In 1960, for the members still living at Pine Creek, life continued to be traditional, in the sense that they worked together and shared resources. Leader Levi Pamp organized work teams of adult men who pruned orchard trees, picked

fruit, harvested corn, and performed other agricultural functions on nearby non-Indian farms. Women and children grouped together to pick berries, manufacture baskets for commercial sale, and work in small garden plots, indicating the existence of community under 83.7(b)(1)(iv).

By 1960, however, a majority of the group's members were no longer living at Pine Creek, but had moved to cities in southern Michigan that provided employment opportunities. Continuing a trend to seek off-reservation employment that had begun in the 1940's, more and more of the young adults moved out of the core geographical area centered at Pine Creek. The dispersal resulted from a rapidly increasing birth rate which caused significant population pressure on the limited Pine Creek land: the HPI population had 30 known births from 1930-39; 77 known births from 1940-49; and 204 known births from 1950-59.

The out-migration was not random. Field data showed that it took place as a migration chain, in which neighbors and relatives who had moved invited other HPI members to follow and assisted them with housing and employment. A clear pattern emerged by which HPI members who left the core area settled in five specific towns or cities where, today, 20 or more other HPI members also reside. These are: Grand Rapids, Bradley, Hartford, Mount Pleasant, and Lansing. Two of these, Hartford and Bradley, were centers of other surviving southern Michigan Potawatomi bands (Pokagon at Hartford and Match-e-be-nash-she-wish at Bradley). Two others, Grand Rapids and Mount Pleasant, were centers of Indian settlement and activity in the Lower Peninsula. Beginning in the 1960's and continuing to the present, more than 80 percent of the HPI outmigration would move to one of these five locations.

Beginning with 1960, the level of HPI marriages either within the group or culturally appropriate patterned outmarriages with other Indians dropped from a rate of over 50 percent to a rate of approximately 20 percent. However, the rate remains a significant indicator of continuing community. Since the drop which occurred in the 1960's, there has been no further diminution: the rate of marriage within the group, or to other Indians, remained stable at approximately 20 percent through the 1970's and the 1980's, indicating the continuing existence of significant marriage rates as defined in 83.7(b)-(1)(i).

Summary under the Criteria -- Huron Potawatomi, Inc.

Modern community: 1984-1994.

It was determined through analysis of the HPI kinship structure that the modern HPI community continues to demonstrate extensive primary kin links among residents in the social core area centered around Pine Creek and the outlying areas--the five other towns with more than 20 HPI members which have developed since World War II. This indicates that geographical dispersal has not led to a breakdown in social contact. Field data confirmed that informal communication is, in fact, maintained along primary kin lines, and that there continues to be rapid transmission of information of interest to the tribe along this network. It was verified that the type of information transmitted was not just "formal" tribal business information along a structured telephone tree, but included items of personal interest. Communication paths were not one-directional, but multiple; not just from Pine Creek outward, but also from one outlying area to another.

These significant social contacts, as described in 83.7(b)(1)-(ii) and (iii), were not limited to primary kin groups. There is extensive, informal "visiting" among HPI members resident in the various geographical areas (back and forth from Pine Creek to the other towns and cities listed above, but also among residents of, for example, Grand Rapids and Mount Pleasant). Analysis of three events within the recent period for which there were documented sign-in sheets, two funerals of HPI elders and a graduation party, indicated that a broad section of the HPI population, cutting across nuclear kin group, does attend events which are perceived to be of concern to the tribe as a whole.

The development of the powwow sponsored by one branch of the Pamp family since the early 1970's has come to involve significant numbers of HPI members, between 100 and 200, not only as attendees, but as workers in the organization of the gathering. These gatherings enable the maintenance of friendships and have also been used by Indian traditionalists within the group to teach Potawatomi customs and values.

Evidence provided by the petitioner supported the position that the HPI membership identifies with Pine Creek as the social core area of the Huron Potawatomi and continues to regard it as a home community. Migration among the group is not exclusively out-migration: of 18 adults who were living outside of Michigan on a 1983 HPI list of eligible voters, six had, as of 1994, returned to southern Michigan. Two of these had returned to the Pine Creek social core area. Of moves that took place between 1991 and 1994, eight members

relocated from out of state to the Pine Creek social core area. Twenty-four of the 39 address changes were from one of the six communities with significant populations of HPI members to another. Three members relocated from out of state to Michigan, but not into a HPI geographical area; only two members moved from a HPI geographical area to elsewhere in Michigan. These statistics confirmed field data which indicated that HPI adult members place a high value on maintaining relationships among family and HPI friends.

Therefore, we conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(b) as modified by criterion 83.8(d)(2).

83.7(c) The petitioner has maintained political influence or authority over its members as an autonomous entity from historical times until the present.

83.8(d)(3) The group meets the requirements of the criterion in section 83.7(c) to demonstrate that political influence or authority is exercised within the group at present. Sufficient evidence to meet the criterion in section 83.7(c) from the point of last Federal acknowledgment to the present may be provided by demonstration of substantially continuous historical identification, by authoritative, knowledgeable external sources, of leaders and/or a governing body who exercise political influence or authority, together with demonstration of one form of evidence listed in section 83.7(c).

Under criterion 83.7(c), the changes introduced under section 83.8(d)(3) reduce the burden of evidence for previously acknowledged tribes to demonstrate continued tribal existence. The revisions, however, still maintain the same requirements regarding the character of the petitioner. For petitioners which were unambiguously previously acknowledged as tribes, the revisions recognize that evidence concerning their

continued existence may be entitled to greater weight. Such groups, therefore, require only a streamlined demonstration of criterion (c). Although these changes have been made, the revisions maintain the essential requirement that to be acknowledged a petitioner must be tribal in character and demonstrate historic continuity of tribal existence. Thus, petitioners that were not recognized under the previous regulations will not be recognized under the provisions of the revised regulations.

Sequence of Leadership. Between the signing of the Articles Supplementary to the Treaty of Chicago in 1833 until removal in 1840, leaders of the Huron Potawatomi were known to local pioneer settlers and mentioned in reminiscences and anecdotes of the period. From the foundation of the Pine Creek settlement in 1842, the Huron Potawatomi have had clear leadership: from 1842 until his death in 1863, John Moguago was chief. From 1843 through the 1850's, he and other leaders of the group regularly corresponded with the Federal Indian agents in Michigan on group economic concerns--on farming practices, etc.

In 1864, for an interim period of one year, Pamptopee was chief. After Pamptopee's death in 1864, for 50 years, from 1864 until 1914, Phineas Pamptopee functioned both internally as a chief for the Pine Creek/East Indiantown settlements in Calhoun County, Michigan, and, from 1882 until 1905, externally as a major spokesman for all those Michigan Potawatomi who were not a part of the Pokagon Bands in their claims against the Federal Government.

At the death of Phineas Pamptopee, he was succeeded for a 10-year period by his youngest son, Stephen Pamptopee. As, however, he had apparently designated his son without the formality of an election, and Stephen Pamptopee is recalled as having been of a mild and retiring disposition, during these ten years, Samuel Mandoka often acted as public spokesman for the group. From 1924 until his death in 1934, Samuel Mandoka continued to function as public spokesman and was ordinarily referred to as "chief," but again without a formal election. At his death, administration of tribal affairs was publicly assumed by a three-man committee which, until 1948, doubled as the Board of Elders of the Pine Creek Methodist church. During the 1950's and 1960's, the major leaders were Albert Mackety and Levi Pamp. The church committee continued to function until the establishment of a formal tribal government with officers and council in 1970.

HPI oral histories indicate that prior to the 1970's, although no formal procedure existed for granting permission for residency on the Pine Creek reservation land, it was, in fact, necessary that permission be obtained from the band's leadership and the existing residents. From 1860 through the 1920's, census records confirmed that all permanent residents at Pine Creek were, in fact, affiliated with the tribe, while even temporary residents were guests, relatives, or in-laws from other Michigan Indian groups. The sole exception was the white husband of one HPI woman who, in the early 1900's, built a home on the reservation.

In 1934, Albert Mackety, Levi Pamp, and Austin Mandoka organized a petition to the Federal Government which listed the residents on the Pine Creek Reservation and requested permission to organize under the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). However, the 1939 decision by Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier not to extend services to Indian groups in the Lower Peninsula of Michigan meant that this initiative did not succeed. The group resumed efforts for formal acknowledgment in the mid-1960's, and has been actively pursuing Federal acknowledgment since 1972.

Since the incorporation of HPI in 1970, there has been an elected President (title changed to Chairman by the 1979 constitution) and council. The leadership of the group since its incorporation has been regularly identified in official documents by both the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the State of Michigan.

Carryover from criterion 83.7(b) through 1960. Under the revised Federal acknowledgment regulations which became effective March 28, 1994, the presumption is made that at any period of time during which the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(b) with more than minimal levels of evidence, they simultaneously meet criterion 83.7(c) under provision 83.7(c)-(1)(iv). As the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(b) with extensive evidence until 1960, under 83.7(c)(1)(iv) it meets criterion 83.7(c) during the same time period. Therefore, detailed discussion of criterion 83.7(c) is limited to the period 1960-1995.

Evidence pertaining to political authority and influence, 1960-1984.

Levels of political participation. Between 1934 and 1970 HPI had neither a traditional chief nor a formally [illegible] leadership. However, evidence presented in the petition indicated that the group did have acknowledged [illegible]s

throughout that period, who were active both as lay leaders of the Methodist Indian mission on the Pine Creek reservation and in pursuit of claims activity, as well as organizing the economic activities of the Pine Creek residents.

HPI incorporated formally in 1970. There is documentation to indicate that the membership was aware of, and participated in, the activities of the corporate body. In 1972, 102 HPI adults signed a petition requesting that the group be allowed to organize under the IRA. The precise population of HPI adults in 1972 is not known, but as late as 1978, there were only 217 adults, of whom 191 qualified as voting members (1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum). Approximately 34 percent of the adult members who were not on the council are documented as having attended one or more meetings during the 1970's. In 1981, a petition gathered to protest an election (a petition which, presumably, represented only one of the contending factions) contained 57 names, or approximately 29 percent of the HPI adults.

Reflecting the coming of age of the high-birth rate generation, by 1986, there were 379 adults over 18, of whom 223 qualified as voting members (1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum). Recently, the HPI have gone to an actual voter registration system, rather than simply maintaining lists of those who would be, by 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum and over age 18, eligible to vote. In the 1994 election, 80 persons registered to vote and approximately 50 voted. The 1995 list of registered voters contains 116 persons, of approximately 400 members over age 18 on the 1994 membership list. No data was available to enable calculation of what percentage of actual eligible voters the 116 registered voters represented.

HPI council meetings, while open to the membership unless held in executive session, are not designed or intended in the constitution to be general membership meetings. Larger attendance should only be expected at the annual or semi-annual membership meetings. The council has made repeated attempts to involve the membership in committee service, with some degree of success. There have been multiple sites for council meetings, in at least three of the six HPI geographical areas (Pine Creek, Bradley, and Grand Rapids). The council has also experimented with multiple voting sites for elections, with one always being at Pine Creek, and the other in one of the northern communities. The council has maintained a long-term newsletter distributed to all members.

Council members have been drawn from most of the six defined HPI geographical areas, and represent most of the major family

lines (in so far as anybody, in such an interrelated group of people, can be said to represent only one family line). There has been significant turnover in council membership, which on at least two occasions (1981 and 1991) has resulted in turning the council majority from one faction to another.

During the past 15 years, the HPI have experienced factional divisions (factions are defined as political groups which persist over time, cross kinship lines, and are concerned with more than one issue). Within the HPI, the major factions have been represented by the Christian conservatives, the Indian traditionalists, and the younger generation. These factions have had major impact on political interaction within the group, leading to challenged elections, at least one extra-constitutional change of leadership, and significant conflicts over major issues.

Examples of such controversies within the past 15 years include the refusal of permission for an Indian traditionalist to be buried in the Pine Creek cemetery, which has always been closely affiliated with the conservative Christian Indian mission church on the reservation. Another was the differences of opinion in the late 1970's over the War on Poverty initiatives, which were initiated by members of the younger generation, and resented by many of the Pine Creek residents themselves.

Significant current developments reflecting the existence of political authority and influence. Documentation exists which indicates that the HPI membership considers issues acted upon or actions taken by group leaders or governing bodies to be of importance, thus meeting criterion 83.7(c)(1)(ii). Additionally, this evidence indicates that the actions of the leadership are subject to sanctions from the membership as a whole.

Attempted amalgamation with Bradley and its defeat, 1987-1991. The most significant political initiative undertaken by HPI during the later 1980's was the merger which took place between 1988 and 1991 with the Bradley settlement Potawatomi (aka at various time periods, Selkirk Reserve; Gun Lake; Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band) from Allegan County, Michigan. This merger was engineered, beginning in 1987, by David Mackety in an effort to strengthen the HPI conservative faction and to obtain support for his position on use of the Pine Creek land base. By September 1989, HPI had an office at 118 W. Maple St., Wayland, Michigan, in addition to the office on the Pine Creek reservation. Additionally, tribal funds were used to purchase 12 acres of land in the Bradley area, with the intent of using that tract, rather than the [illegible] issues

at Pine Creek, as the group's "land base" for Federal trust purposes.

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

Conflicts concerning control and use of the Pine Creek Reservation land, and resolution of the conflict in 1992. Criterion 87.3(c)(2)(1) indicates that a petitioning group shall be considered to have provided sufficient evidence to demonstrate the exercise of political influence or authority at a given point in time by demonstrating that mechanisms exist which allocate group resources such as land, residence rights, and the like on a consistent basis. Throughout the past 25 years, extensive documentation exists to demonstrate that authority over and use of the Pine Creek reservation land has been a major concern of the petitioner, and that strong differences of opinion have been resolved through the use of political processes.

The 120 acres of land at Pine Creek, purchased with treaty annuity monies in the 1840's, has remained in trust with the State of Michigan. In 1965, the Indian Affairs Commission of the Michigan Department of Social Services considered requesting the Federal Government take the land and make it a Federal reservation. Negotiations about the status of the Pine Creek land continued throughout the 1970's. In 1972, the Nottawaseppi Huron Band of Potawatomi Tribal Council adopted a resolution notifying the State of Michigan of its decision to apply for Federal status as an Indian reservation and to ask the State of Michigan to have the Pine Creek Reservation transfered to the Federal Government as Federal trust land.

Differences of opinion between Pine Creek residents and non-resident HPI members came to a head in 1979, when the State of Michigan Attorney General's Office repudiated the trust status under which the State had held the land on behalf of the Band.

The same year, a legal opinion by Eleesha M. Pastor, Attorney for the Michigan Indian Legal Services, Inc. expressed the view that "individual members of the Band should not be permitted to obtain title to portions of the trust land. The entire Band not just some individuals should have the opportunity to benefit from the trust."

In 1979, an "Ad Hoc Land Committee" was formed by Pine Creek residents who asserted that they had heirship rights to the reservation land and specifically did not want it to be commonly held by the band as a whole. On May 16, 1981, HPI director Ruth Ann Chivis wrote a memo to the tribal council requesting direction on organizing public hearings concerning the issue. Two public meetings were held in July 1984, to deal with the land situation on the Pine Creek reservation; the first in the public room, Kalamazoo Library; the second at the Athens Fire Station, which houses the village Public Hall. At this second meeting, the Ad-Hoc Land Committee, feeling it had fulfilled its basic goal, declared itself out of existence. The duties of implementation were assigned to the Council Chairman. Before the meeting adjourned, the chairman announced an invitation for "input by written submission that would influence findings so far."

Discussions about the implications of possible removal of the land from state trust status continued through 1985, with legal consultation. By this time, HPI chairman David Mackety chose to back the "heirship rights" of the residents and attempted to have the state name him as "Successor Trustee" for the Pine Creek land. He completed paperwork for certain members of the Band to file quit claim deeds.

The ongoing dispute about the status of the Pine Creek land was one of the motivations for Mackety's encouragement of a merger between the Pine Creek and Bradley (Allegan County) Potawatomi groups in the later 1980's. At the January 9, 1991, HPI tribal council meeting at the Bradley office, Joe Sprague moved "that the land at Athens be removed from consideration for trust status, in pursuant of federal recognition, until federal recogniton has been achieved." The motion passed. After Mackety's defeat in the April, 1991 HPI elections, on June 11, 1991, a tribal council meeting was held to deal with grievances, closed to the membership. Joe Sprague's February 11 motion on land trust was expunged from the record.

On July 11, 1992, at the HPI annual meeting, a resolution that the Pine Creek land was to be under tribal control--unsigned--

was passed "by unanimous vote by Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi Band members present."

Based on the foregoing evidence, we conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(c) as modified by criterion 83.8(d)(3).

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

The petitioner (HPI) presented a copy of the 1979 constitution, duly adopted by the membership, which contains membership criteria. No copy of the by-laws referred to in the 1979 constitution was received or located: BAR's review of HPI minutes led to the conclusion that no by-laws were ever formally adopted. The 1979 constitution has never been formally amended. There have, however, been changes: for example, the alteration of the petitioner's name from "Nottawaseppi Huron Band of the Potawatomi," as established in Article I, to "Huron Potawatomi, Inc.," the name of the incorporated entity. The group uses these two names interchangeably in the petition documents.

Currently, the petitioner is working on a constitutional revision. However, the 1979 constitution remains the formal governing document as of the date of this Proposed Finding.

The petitioner submitted no prior formal, written governing documents. However, one must have existed, for in a 1979 meeting of the tribal council, reference was made that, "by our old Constitution BIA has no authority to dictate our roll, on whether we should have adopted members on roll."

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

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

Under the provisions of section 83.8, the petitioner must show that it meets criterion 83.7(3), ancestry from the historic tribe. Collectively, the petitioner's members descend from the Potawatomi bands resident on the Nottawaseppi Reserve as they existed at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Chicago in 1833. Previous acknowledgment decisions have allowed for the movement of families between bands and tribes, as well as the formal or informal merger of bands and tribes. This phenomenon is allowed for in this finding by discussing both families descended from the original settlers at Pine Creek, 1842-1843, and families descended from other Indians who joined the Pine Creek settlement later in the nineteenth century. For the HPI, the arrival of new families had essentially been completed by the date the Taggart Roll was compiled by the BIA in 1904.

The HPI have had a functioning Enrollment Committee since prior to the adoption of the 1979 constitution. The committee's procedures were formally approved by Tribal Council on March 1, 1979. The petitioner uses an application form for membership. The enrollment process has gone through several phases since 1978.

The general requirement is that "everyone" has to fill out an application for membership. Generally, each adult member completes the form on behalf of himself/herself and minor children. There was in the later 1970's an Enrollment Clerk to assist in the process and provide advice on obtaining genealogical documentation. At various times subsequently, HPI has employed a genealogist. The form and documentation are then submitted to the HPI tribal office for approval by the enrollment committee and the tribal council.

The petitioner requires that an applicant for enrollment be able to trace descent from a person listed on the 1904 Taggart Roll. The enrollment application for a child of a current member is to be accompanied by a copy of the infant's birth certificate. An adult applicant must provide standard genealogical documentation (birth certificates and other vital records) back to the 1904 Taggart Roll ancestor. The application is reviewed by the Enrollment Committee.

Summary under the Criteria -- Huron Potawatomi, Inc.

On the basis of ancestry charts and backup documentation submitted by the petitioner, it appears that all 819 members of the petitioner listed on the January 1994 roll are of American Indian ancestry, all are of Michigan Potawatomi ancestry, and all but one adopted child are documented to be of 1904 Taggart Roll descendancy. All persons listed on the current roll meet the petitioner's constitutional membership qualifications, although not all have the 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum that the HPI constitution requires for voting membership.

The 1978 constitution sets the 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum as a requirement for "membership." In practice, however, the rolls have distinguished between voting members (adults who meet the 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum) and lineal-descent members, whose names are included on the rolls, but who do not meet the 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum requirement.

The situation of dual enrollment of HPI members with the Pokagon Potawatomi (Potawatomi Indian Nation, Inc.), which was legislatively recognized in 1994 (171 individuals), will need to be clarified prior to the issuance of the Final Determination in order to have the HPI membership list conform to the petitioner's constitution. The situation relative to another petitioner, the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band (Priority #9A) (126 individuals) should also be clarified.

These situations are not parallel. In the case of dual enrollment with the Pokagon Potawatomi, many HPI members have ancestry which makes them eligible for membership in both of these Potawatomi bands--an individual may have ancestors on both the Taggart Roll (HPI) and the Cadman Roll (Pokagon). As long as neither group was Federally recognized, this did not present a problem in terms of the HPI constitution, which prohibits dual enrollment with other federally recognized tribes. However, the legislative recognition of the Pokagon Potawatomi in 1994 makes it essential that persons eligible for membership in both groups make a decision as to the one in which they wish to enroll, since the constitutions of both tribes prohibit dual enrollment in other federally acknowledged tribes.

In the case of HPI dual enrollment with the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Potawatomi (Priority #9A), the situation presented is not problematic for HPI enrollment in itself. Since the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band is not federally acknowledged, the dual enrollment prohibition in the HPI constitution does not apply. However, the situation should be clarified because of its potential impact on the evaluation of

the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish petition for Federal acknowledgment. Many persons have dual ancestry from both HPI and the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band in Allegan County, Michigan. While 126 of these persons with dual ancestry committed themselves to the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish petitioner in writing in October, 1994 (see Petition #9A), their names were included on the previously submitted HPI membership roll, which was dated January, 1994.

For this proposed finding, the BIA evaluated the HPI membership both with and without the dually enrolled individuals, and found that it met criterion 83.7(e) in either case. While steps need to be taken to rectify the Pokagon situation prior to the issuance of the HPI Final Determination, in order that the petitioner's membership conform to the dual enrollment prohibition in its own constitution, nonetheless, the 1994 membership roll as it stands does consist of persons who possess descent from the historic tribe and who qualify for HPI membership under the petitioner's 1979 constitution. Therefore, neither of these situations is sufficient to find that the petitioner does not meet criterion 83.7(e).

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

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

vided written confirmation of their membership in the petitioning group.

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

The membership of Huron Potawatomi, Inc. does not represent a splinter of any acknowledged tribe. There is present, however, a situation which has not previously been encountered under the 25 CFR Part 83 regulations. The HPI constitution prohibits dual enrollment with other federally acknowledged Indian tribes. At the time the HPI petition was submitted, the Potawatomi of Michigan and Indiana, Inc., aka Pokagon Potawatomi Band (PINI), was not a Federally acknowledged tribe, so dual listing on the rolls of both groups did not represent a problem under the requirements of section 83.7(f). The Pokagon Potawatomi Band was legislatively acknowledged during 1994, while the HPI petition was under active consideration in the administrative process.

BAR researchers have identified 171 persons (out of a total membership roll of 819) who descend from both Pokagon Potawatomi and Huron Potawatomi ancestors, and who were as of 1994 carried on the rolls of both groups. In order for the HPI membership to conform with the provisions of the petitioner's own constitution and the Pokagon Potawatomi constitution, this situation will need to be clarified before issuance of the HPI Final Determination, with those persons eligible for enrollment in both tribes making a choice.

A few HPI members (approximately 5 percent) are married to enrolled Chippewa and Ottawa. The children of these individuals are ordinarily enrolled in the other parent's tribe, but some are listed as well on the HPI membership roll. Such situations will also need to be clarified to conform to the petitioner's constitution.

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

83.7(g) Neither the petitioner nor its members are the subject of congressional legislation that has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship.

There is no evidence that the petitioner is subject to congressional legislation that has terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship.

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

Huron Band of Potawatomi: 1934 to 1970

Historical Overview. The petitioner, known as the Nottawaseppi-Huron Potawatomi Band or as Huron Potawatomi, Inc., was first identified as a sovereign entity by the United States in the Treaty of Greenville in 1795. The Band continued treaty negotiations with the Government through 1833. By signing the "Articles supplementary" attached to the Treaty of Chicago in 1833, the Huron Band leaders agreed to transfer the remainder of their southern Michigan land to the Federal Government. The Huron Potawatomi signatories also agreed that they and other members would be removed by Government designees from their land (Kappler 1904, 2:410-411).

Their forced removal of the Band was delayed on the Nottawaseppi Reserve until 1840. Escorts paid by the Government had orders to take the Band to a reserve west of the Mississippi. Once on the way to the reserve, Chief Moguago and a few other Band members escaped from their armed guards while their escorts reconnoitered at Skunk Grove, Illinois. They returned to the Athens, Michigan area, where others, including Chief Pamptopee, had evaded capture. In familiar land and recognizing white settler friends, they reestablished their community with the assistance of other Band members who returned from reservations west of the Mississippi and others who arrived from outlying Michigan areas during the next few years.

By 1845, these members, for whom estimates range from 40 to 60, formed the core community of the Huron Potawatomi on 120 acres of land (the same 120 acres that comprises the Pine Creek Reservation of today). The land was purchased by the Huron Potawatomis with annuity monies and then transferred to the State of Michigan (Leatherbury 1977, 99). Governor William A. Booth accepted the land to be held "forever in [state] trust" on behalf of a "certain band of Indians [Huron Band of Potawatomi] residing in Calhoun County Michigan" (Booth August 12, 1845, HPI Admin. File, BAR).

From 1845 to 1934, the Huron Potawatomi at Pine Creek maintained its political leadership through a succession of tribal chiefs. The Huron Band's leaders established their authority within the group and were generally respected as

the group's leaders by other members and non-Indians (Leatherbury 1977).

From 1845 to 1960, the Band maintained a distinct community under criteria 83.7(b)(2). As documented in the history section of this proposed finding, a majority of the Band established endogamous marriages, spoke Potawatomi, and lived in or near the Pine Creek settlement (HPI Pet. 1986).

Because the petitioner meets community criteria established under criteria 83.7(b)(2) to 1960, the group must only provide documentation for present day community and politics -- in the case of the Huron Potawatomi, from 1970 to the present -- which is evaluated in detail in the second (last) section of this report. The first section of this report, that immediately follows, provides a summary evaluation of the group's community and politics from 1934 to 1969.

The Community: 1934-1969

Field Methodology. From October 2 to October 15, 1994, the BAR anthropologist conducted an on-site field study of the Nottawaseppi-Huron Potawatomi Band in southern Michigan. Using ethnographic field techniques, the anthropologist interviewed selected members of the group in the communities where they lived. The interviews, all tape recorded, added invaluable "insider" or group member analysis of personal, family, and/or group activities to the body of written material already submitted by the petitioner. The interviewees' first-hand and, in some instances, second-hand accounts provided new or substantiating documentation on the HPI community from 1934 to 1969 and from 1970 to the present -- the petitioner's modern era.

To assure reasonable geographical and age representativeness of the petitioner's population in the interviewee sample, selection criteria were established: by age (in age ranges of 21 to 39, 40 to 59, and 60 plus) and by home residence location. Using the February, 1994, tribal roll and the selection criteria, a list was drafted naming possible interviewees who lived in six geographical areas[1]: Pine

[1]Geographical area is defined as a cluster of communities within an approximate 20-mile radius from

Creek, Hartford, Bradley, Grand Rapids, Mount Pleasant and Lansing (refer to map on next page[2]).

The list of possible interviewees was sent to the HPI's executive director. Prior to the arrival of the anthropologist, the executive director scheduled appointments with HPI members on the list, based on the proposed daily itinerary of the anthropologist and the time availability of the interviewee.

Four of five board members, three of three HPI staff members, and nineteen adults representing the general HPI membership were interviewed and tape recorded during the Michigan field trip.

Although interviews were conducted in only five of the six geographical areas,[3] the anthropologist was able to visit all six geographical areas. Additional interviews were conducted with non-Indians. They were asked to share with the anthropologist their perceptions of the distinct qualities and social cohesion of the petitioner's community.

Pine Creek Profile: 1934.

For the Huron Potawatomi Band at Pine Creek, 1934 was a year of endings and beginnings. It was the last year when one leader, the traditional chief, exercised political authority over the group. It was the first year when co-leaders collaborated with the group's adult members to make political decisions. It was the year that members of the community worked collaboratively to resolve community issues involving state and Federal agencies.

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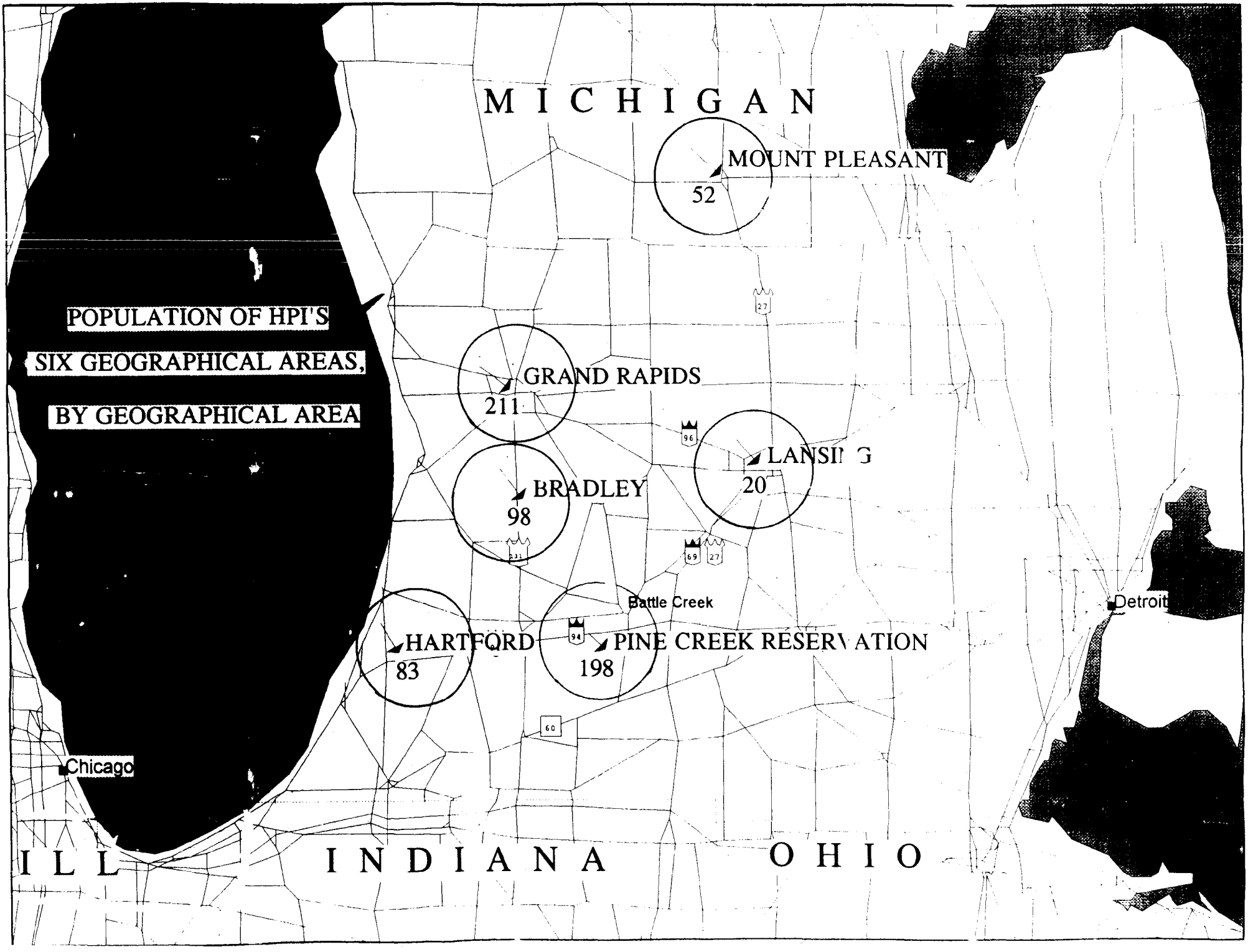
central community, Hartford, for example, in which 20 or more Huron Band of Potawatomi members reside.

[2]The map on the following page shows the following: five HPI geographical areas and the Pine Creek social core (circled communities). Also, the linear distance from the center of each geographical area to the Pine Creek Reservation (HPI social core) is given in linear miles.

[3]Interviews were conducted with members who had been brought up in the sixth geographical area, Mount Pleasant, and who had moved to other HPI geographical areas after marriage.


POPULATION OF HPI'S
SIX GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS,
BY GEOGRAPHICAL AREA
MICHIGAN
MOUNT PLEASANT
52
GRAND RAPIDS
211
LANSING
20
BRADLEY
98
Battle Creek
HARTFORD
83
PINE CREEK RESERVATION
198
Chicago
Detroit
ILL
INDIANA
OHIO

In 1934, the Huron Band of Potawatomi's population was between 114 and 120 members (BAR genealogist 1994). A majority of the members, 62 (33 adults and 29 children), resided in the southern Michigan community of Pine Creek, a 120-acre settlement called "Indiantown" by its non-Indian neighbors. Approximately 38 other members lived immediately off the settlement but within a 20 mile radius of Pine Creek -- the geographical radius defined as the social core area of the group. Only between 15 to 20 members lived outside the social core area with a handful of these members living out of state. All the members were closely related, with kin ties no more distant than second cousin (BAR Genealogist 1994).

By 1934, the people of Pine Creek were moving from a traditional to a more mainstream American lifestyle (Littlefield 1993:18). Nevertheless, important features of the Potawatomi community could be observed (discussed in the following section), as visitors discovered upon arriving at the Pine Creek settlement.

After traveling 2.6 miles on paved and graveled roads from Athens to Pine Creek, the visitor found a settlement sited on the western bank of a meandering river also called Pine Creek. In 1934, ten extended families lived in ten clapboard homes where most of the homes needed repair and paint (Field Data 1994; BAR genealogist 1994).

1934-1949

Community Spirit and Cooperation. From 1934 through 1949, members who lived in the Pine Creek settlement, called "Indiantown," were, by Western standards, poor. Unlike their non-Indian neighbors who lived three miles away in Athens, their "Indiantown" homes lacked the standard modern conveniences of indoor plumbing, electricity and telephones. In a community of approximately 50 people, only a handful of adults held full-time jobs. Most families generated a small income by selling Indian baskets or securing low paying seasonal work, such as harvesting corn or other crops and picking fruit in orchards of nearby farms owned by non-Indians.

Still, there was no mind-set of poverty in Pine Creek. One member recalled Pine Creek community life during that period:

> I didn't realize that over the years we were poor [while living in Pine Creek]. As poor as we was, I didn't realize that. 'Cause I never had anything so I didn't have no way of knowing the difference, you know (Field Data 1994).

Cooperation among members and their willingness to share their limited personal resources with other community members was commonplace during this period. When a Huron Potawatomi family or a member of a family experienced an emergency or illness, other Pine Creek members residing in the "settlement" would typically offer their financial support and personal labor. One HPI elder who currently resides in Pine Creek provided an example of such community support when a resident became ill:

> . . . every time somebody was sick [in the 1930's], the women would all gather together and they'd send the word around and they'd go there [to the home of the ill member] and they'd clean that place out. They'd wash blankets, wash dishes, cook and just do everything. Take care of the baby and everything (Field Data 1994).

Community unity and cohesiveness were defined by the group's members as a willingness to support each other during difficult times. If a member required money for a medical operation or for emergency travel, one of the residents would host a box social to raise money to help meet the member's financial need (Field Data 1994).

Community's Elders. Prior to 1950, older Pine Creek residents were sometimes found wading in the Pine Creek River looking for a birch or ash tree that had the "perfect" bark that could be removed to build a canoe or basket. Elders took pride in the design and construction of their baskets and canoes. As they constructed them, the elders often had a small audience of younger adults and older children who closely observed their work step-by-step. The young observers hoped to design and build their own "perfect" baskets or canoes someday (Field Data 1994).

An elder's expertise was not limited to the construction of the canoe. Some elders were noted navigators of their hand-built craft, too. An obituary in the Athens Times for Chief Mandoka, who was considered to be the "last traditional chief" -- particularly to non-Indian neighbors -- mentioned his skill in building canoes and then navigating them: "he built his own birch bark canoes and, just to show how it was done [navigating], used to go through rapids standing in the frail craft" (July 9, 1934).

Elders were highly respected by the younger generation for their general knowledge of the group's history and of ways to subsist successfully off the land. The Huron Band of Potawatomi elders, fond of telling jokes, were important to the community in imparting a humorous outlook on life. Further, elders were sought after by children to tell stories or play musical instruments. Elder and community leader Levi Pamp was particularly popular with the children as he was considered a master storyteller, a capable fiddle player, and spinner of humorous yarns (Battle Creek News and Enquirer November 25, 1971; Field Data 1994). From 1934 to the present, elders have continued to be held in high regard by children and young adults members of the petitioner (Grand Rapid Press 1985; Field Data 1994).

Subsistence Lifestyle and the Economy. During the summer, also before 1950, Pine Creek children might be found at one of two swimming holes along the banks of the river, rolling tires along the gravel road that ran through the community, or helping their mothers in the garden. The men tended their crops of corn, squash and other assorted vegetables, if not working for a day's wages at a nearby non-Indian owned farm or orchard.

The limited land under cultivation provided a limited food supply for families in the Pine Creek area. Their food supply was augmented by their children and visiting relatives' children banding together to raid off-settlement field corn on land owned by white farmers Field corn was a type of corn expressly grown by the farmers to feed their livestock. But for the Pine Creek residents, the pinched or "borrowed" field corn was a welcome supplement to their meager food supply (Field Data 1994).

The subsistence needs of families prompted men to hunt, fish and trap whenever possible. Men generally grouped together

to form hunting, fishing or trapping expeditions, sometimes taking along a son or daughter. Men and children could be seen fishing on the banks of the river or, after wading some distance, in the river. Men would use their dug-out canoes to go either up stream or down stream to find a favorite fishing hole. Also, canoes were a favorite transportation mode for male residents traveling to remote areas to set their traps. Hunting of wild game, as was fishing, was less sport and more of another form of subsistence food gathering for the males of the group.

Women spent a good part of their day gathering and preparing food. Women helped to supplement their family's diet by growing vegetables in gardens. Picking wild berries in season was a requisite subsistence activity, but it was also considered a diversion. Women looked forward to going together and having the opportunity to socialize with each other on berry picking excursions to remote, outlying areas (Field Data 1994).

To stretch the food gathered from gardens, cultivated crops, and the wild berry patches, Pine Creek women and their daughters canned much of what they could spare beyond their immediate needs; thus helping to assure a food supply for their family during the winter (Field Data 1994).

From 1934 to 1949, adults, mostly men, tried to find scarce wage paying jobs to supplement their subsistence lifestyle. If they were "lucky," as they would put it, these Pine Creek adults found seasonal work picking fruit or corn on nearby orchards and farms (Field Data 1994). During the 1940's, Levi Pamp was asked by farmers to organize Pine Creek workers to help harvest their crops (Peterson to Pamp July 2, 1946).

From 1934 to 1949, the economy in Pine Creek was shaped by the nationwide depression, the agrarian environment of Pine Creek, and Potawatomi culture. The depression's effect depressed the job market in southern Michigan. Lacking jobs that offered annual salaries, members resorted to day and seasonal work opportunities that came up from time to time at nearby farms and orchards. The irregular income gained from these part-time jobs meant that, by necessity, adult members had to supplement their income. For the Potawatomi, basket making was the hold card that could provide them with an income when pay jobs were in short supply.

Until the 1930's and 1940's, basket making was a Potawatomi family activity, particularly of the women, to generate income to buy necessities, primarily clothing and food.[4] Many of the group's younger family members, older than toddler age, assisted their parents and older brothers and sisters in making traditional baskets. Money gained from selling completed baskets was the primary source of the family's disposable cash. To acquire spending money, Pine Creek adults took their completed baskets to a fair, to Athens, or from door to door where eager buyers were found to purchase their baskets (Field Data 1994).

Basket making was not limited to Pine Creek adults and elders. Young members learned by observing their parents and grandparents as they collected the black ash bark and then constructed baskets. For the teenagers, basket making provided a small income and was essentially a substitute for an allowance that they knew non-Indian children received in the nearby towns and cities.

An elder recounts when she and her sister were bored teenagers in the 1940's and were thinking how they might generate some spending money:

> . . . my older sister said, "You know, seeing that you're not doing anything, you know what we ought to do? Get some Black Ash and make ourselves some baskets." I said, "Good idea." And it was probably December. So we went and got some [Black Ash], and she said, "Right in time to make Easter baskets." She says, "We'll make all kinds." So we made all kinds of samples and we took them to [a store in town], and he [the owner] said, "You just bring in all you can make. I'll take 'em." We couldn't make enough baskets (Field Data 1994).

Games, Sports and other Diversions. Although families in the greater Pine Creek area spent much of their time in subsistence activities in and around their homes, they found time to enjoy some diversions. The Potawatomi games of

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[4]Basket making had been a cottage industry in the community for several decades. The 1880 census listed the occupation of several of Pine Creek's women as "basket maker" (U.S. Census 1880a).

"quoits, ball, moccasin, dice, [and] lacrosse" that Chief Mandoka talked about some years earlier were no longer being played at Pine Creek (HPI Pet. 1986).

From 1934 through 1949 the most popular sport was baseball at the Pine Creek and Bradley settlements.[5] To accommodate a baseball field, community leaders enjoined members to work collectively in clearing the brush and weeds from land so as to be suitable for playing baseball. Once the field was cleared, the men of Pine Creek practiced baseball while the women and children provided animated support of the players. The Pine Creek team played nearby town teams with virtually the whole Pine Creek community finding a way to the playing field to cheer them on (Field Data 1994).

Like the church campmeetings, baseball provided a way for different Potawatomi communities to interact. Bill Church, a former Bradley resident, discussed the evolution of baseball in the Bradley area:

> The Indians of southwest Michigan, especially the Potawatomi, learned this game [baseball] at Carlisle and Haskell and brought the game home to the Bradley region. It has provided an opportunity for the Tribe to gather and watch their teams, usually all Indian members, play teams from the surrounding regions. Charlton Park, near Hastings, Michigan and the site of an historic Indian trail used by the Potawatomi, was a favorite summer gathering point. There Potawatomi teams would play baseball against some of the best amateur teams in Michigan, usually with the help of a "ringer", a former big leaguer past his prime, donning the wool uniforms worn by the Potawatomi to the delight of hundreds of Indian fans (HPI Pet. 1991, 7).

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[5]Baseball was a favorite pastime for members of the Pine Creek and Bradley settlements since the 1880's. Several of their players had the distinction of playing minor league teams. Also, Bradley's Henry Sprague had coached baseball at Carlisle Indian School (BAR History 1994).

Language. During the 1930's and 1940's, Potawatomi was spoken in most of the petitioner's homes on and near the reservation. Contemporary Potawatomi adults who were children during these decades not only remember parents and grandparents speaking Potawatomi, but many of these older adults spoke, or at least understood, Potawatomi as children. No documentation was provided by the petitioner to show that parents taught Potawatomi to their children after WWII. Nevertheless, children living in households where adults spoke Potawatomi to each other noted that they learned a few words and phrases on their own which they were able to recite during a 1994 interview (Field Data 1994).

Outside World: 1934 to 1949. Young adults, unlike their parents and other older relatives in previous decades, were more likely to be looking for permanent work opportunities off the 120-acre settlement. By the 1940's, the economic opportunities in southern Michigan's cities seemed much more attractive to high school graduates and young parents. Factory and service jobs were more plentiful than during the earlier depression years. The exodus to the cities began in earnest during the 1940's.

Migration to the Cities. Huron Band of Potawatomi youth often lived in the home of their parents after high school. The high school graduate helped to provide for the welfare of all family members residing in the household. Sometimes the pressures of this expectation prompted the son or daughter to find work and, subsequently, housing in a nearby city.

Newly married couples also often began their marriage at the residence of one of their parents. But living "at home" became impractical because the parent's home was typically small and crowded with younger siblings. Further, the couples of the 1940's were procreating steadily. Young parents in the 1940's had more than twice the number of children (N=77) than couples in the 1930's (N=30; BAR Genealogist 1994).

Married couples with expanding families had to look to the cities in southern Michigan for employment. During the 1940's, Kalamazoo, Battle Creek, and Detroit were the most popular city destinations for young Pine Creek couples seeking employment. A current Pine Creek resident recalled:

> Early 1940's where would people go [with no housing or employment available]? They usually moved to the cities where jobs were available. My own brothers went to Detroit before the war (Field Data 1994).

After a spouse secured employment, the earnings allowed the spouse to find a city house or apartment to rent and to otherwise support his or her family.

Formation of Geographical Areas. With the outward migration of the high school-educated young adults, Huron Potawatomis were forming geographical areas (population concentrations of members) outside of Pine Creek in several locations in southern Michigan. By the late 1940's, three HPI geographical areas were established north of the Pine Creek social core (which includes the cities of Kalamazoo, Battle Creek, and outlying towns): Bradley, Grand Rapids, and Mount Pleasant. Hartford and Lansing geographical areas were to form in subsequent decades.

Grand Rapids Geographical Area. During the late 1940's, young adults began to leave Pine Creek for the employment possibilities found in Grand Rapids, a city located approximately 58 linear miles northwest of the settlement. These first arrivals easily secured jobs and were instrumental in scripting a migratory path that brought a flow of young adults from the Pine Creek area to Grand Rapids.

The salary from a full-time job allowed the relocated Pine Creek member to find a suitable home and then enjoy the conveniences of indoor plumbing, telephones, grocery markets, electricity, and movie theaters -- conveniences not available in Pine Creek.[6] Once settled in his or her new Grand Rapids apartment, the new arrival would write his or her peers left behind in Pine Creek of the exciting life in the big city and include an invitation for them to visit Grand Rapids.

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[6]Electricity was available in Pine Creek in 1943; however, indoor plumbing and telephones were not installed in the community until 1952. To date, the Pine Creek residents must travel to Athens to purchase groceries or to Battle Creek to see a movie.

Eventually, a young relation from the settlement area would come to Grand Rapids, find city life appealing and stay as a house guest until he or she found a job. After securing employment, the visitor was able to afford his or her own Grand Rapids housing and then moved out of the relative's residence (Field Data 1994).

The newest Pine Creek transplant to Grand Rapids would write a letter to other young adults in Pine Creek describing the many options of city life, the availability of jobs, and housing. Again, the Pine Creek to Grand Rapids migration cycle would be repeated -- over and over.

Today, the Grand Rapids geographical area has the highest population concentration of Huron Band of Potawatomi members -- 211 members or 26 percent of the current 819 membership.[7]

Mount Pleasant and Bradley. During the 1940's, Mount Pleasant, 103 miles north of Pine Creek, and Bradley, 39 miles northwest of the settlement, were attractive communities to Pine Creek members. Pine Creek church-going adults felt at home in Mount Pleasant and Bradley because both communities had large Indian populations and conservative Indian Protestant churches. The church-going parents and grandparents of marriageable Pine Creek youth considered young people from Bradley and Mount Pleasant as suitable marriage partners (Field Data 1994).

During the 1940's, several Indian-to-Indian marriages resulted from youth attending informal church gatherings at either Bradley, Pine Creek or Mount Pleasant. Pine Creek parents, traveling with their children, attended a church activity at Bradley or Mount Pleasant. Once at the Mount Pleasant or Bradley destination, the children had the opportunity to meet new friends.

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[7]Pine Creek, the social core of the Huron Potawatomi, has 198 or 24 percent of the current members residing within its geographical area; Hartford 83 members or 10 percent; Pradley 98 members or 12 percent; Lansing 20 members or 2 percent; and Mount Pleasant 52 members or 6 percent. The balance of the membership, 20 percent, lives outside the geographical areas in Michigan or out-of-state (HPI Membership List 1994).

Couples who met during the church activities and subsequently married had to choose a community in which to reside. The initial choice of residence for the newlywed couple, whose financial resources were limited, was typically at one of the parents' homes. For Warren and Charles Pamp of Pine Creek, who met two eligible women from Mt. Pleasant, it meant leaving Pine Creek for Mt. Pleasant after marriage. After a 1940 marriage, Agnes Smith from Mount Pleasant joined her Pine Creek husband, Herbert Mackety, in Pine Creek. Leona Medawis of Pine Creek moved to Bradley upon marriage to Henry Bush in the early 1940's (Field Data 1994).

Other newly married couples went to a third community because of employment of one of the spouses or the lack of space in a parent's or relative's home. Gladys Medawis of Pine Creek and John Chivis of Bradley were in that situation after marrying in 1946. They moved to Grand Rapids, where John was employed (Field Data 1994).

1950 to 1969

Huron Band of Potawatomi Profile. The table below shows the numbers of known births, deaths and composite population totals for each decade from the 1920's to the 1960's.

HPI POPULATION: 1920 to 1969, BY DECADE			
DECADE	KNOWN BIRTHS	KNOWN DEATHS	YEAR: TOTAL
1920-29	41	11	1930: 114
1930-39	30	20	1940: 124
1940-49	77	9	1950: 192
1950-59	204	6	1960: 390
1960-69	143	10	1970: 523

Source: Bar Genealogist, 1994

The petitioner experienced a baby boom in the 1950's that was much greater than the boom of the 1940's. The total of known births for the 1950's was 204, as compared to 77 known births for the preceding decade. Birth rates climbed

dramatically for the decade 1950-1959 as compared to 1940-1949. Using the known births of the 1930's (30 total births) as a benchmark, the 1940's parents produced a 143 percent increase of births and the 1950's parents produced a 580 percent increase of births in HPI families as compared to the 1930's. The 204 known births in the 1950's represents a 165 percent birth rate gain over the 77 known births in the 1940's.

The aforementioned statistics show that the HPI population from 1930 through 1960 was becoming progressively younger. By 1960, the population of the group was 360 and only 79 members (18 percent) were adults who were 20 years of age or older, while 281 members (72 percent) were younger than age 20. These figures indicate that the group's adult members (and some non-member spouses) of child-producing age were prolific during the 1950's. It is reasonable to assume that these younger adults were busy rearing and maintaining the general welfare of their respective expanding families. The attention of the young adults during that period was primarily family-directed or quality of life-centered. They had little time to devote the group's political agenda; a job left to the elders.

Language. Children in the 1950's and 1960's gained some exposure to Potawatomi. Approximately 20 percent of the parents spoke conversational Potawatomi, as did their grandparents and older aunts and uncles. However, a 1957 newspaper article cited community elders complaining that young mothers were no longer speaking Potawatomi to their babies (unidentified newspaper clipping, hand-dated May 8, 1957). In church, hymns were sometimes sung in Potawatomi. Children attempted to sing the hymns in Potawatomi along with older members. Because the ministers were from outside the community and non-Indian, they preferred to conduct the sermons and sing the hymns in English (Field Notes 1994).

Influence of the Church. By the 1930's, and certainly by the 1950's, the political leadership of the Huron Band of Potawatomi was interwoven into the lay leadership of Pine Creek Indian Mission, Bradley Indian Mission, Salem Indian Mission (10 miles west of Bradley), Allegan Indian Church, the Catholic church in the Hartford area, and the Grand Rapids Indian Mission. According to Bradley's historian, Bill Church:

> The fact is that the Huron Potawatomi so thoroughly internalized the missions into their lifestyle that it is very difficult to ascertain what the difference is between political and spiritual leadership among the Huron Potawatomi (Church 1991, 31).

From the early 1900's through the mid-1960's, the Pine Creek church was the center of religious and social activities among residents. The orientation of the church had always been conservative Protestant -- Methodist until the 1940's, when the church affiliated with the evangelical Holiness Church (Littlefield 1993, 36; BAR Historian 1994).

The church, painted a bright white, was the most prominent structure in the rural community of mostly unpainted clapboard homes. Outside of the old Mandoka home, it was the only facility large enough to hold community meetings, as was true in other small communities with Indian missions.

From 1934 through 1970, numerous secular and non-secular relationships and social interactions were established, maintained and, from time to time, reaffirmed at the church. Lay church leaders were often also community leaders. Church members were often close friends. Secular meetings might be held in some of the missions, but never on Thursdays or Sundays when the missions held services (HPI Pet. 1991). Members used the church to conduct political meetings, community socials, funerals, and, later, meetings with outside attorneys (Field Data 1994).

During this same period, the conservative Christian church influenced the values, social interactions, and political discussions within the Pine Creek community (Littlefield 1993, 34-35). The fundamental bonding element of Pine Creek to other communities with Indian populations, for example, Bradley and Mt. Pleasant, was sharing similar Christian ideals and conservative religious practices (Field Data 1994).

Campmeetings. An institutional derivative of these churches, summer campmeetings, were initiated to provide their members with an evangelical revival experience. Campmeetings, such as the ones sponsored by Pine Creek since the early 1900's, were religious festivals where church members from other communities were welcome. Attendees camped out in tents and between services enjoyed socializing with old

friends and relatives, as well as establishing new friendships with like-minded Christians.

As late as the 1940's and 1950's, young Huron Potawatomi members who were too closely related to potential partners in their own communities could look forward to the campmeetings. These meetings were considered a most appropriate place where a young Potawatomi might meet an eligible Indian marriage partner from another community (Field Data 1994).

The Pine Creek community's collaborative approach to organizing the annual campmeeting, which up to 3,000 Indians and non-Indians attended, demonstrated the unity and social cohesion of the group. By the 1950's, Charles R. "Chuck" Pamp and his brother Elliot "Jack" Pamp provided the spiritual leadership for the campmeetings. Both were state and nationally-recognized Indian ministers. Chuck Pamp, a minister at Mount Pleasant, promoted the campmeeting, in which he also participated vigorously. A July 26, 1950, Athens Times article promoting an August 20 to September 3 annual campmeeting was written by a reporter after interviewing Pamp:

> I [Chuck Pamp] have been chosen as night evangelist for the duration of the camp this year; however, at the opening of camp for at least three nights there will be a guest speaker from Cincinnati, Ohio, who is a very successful radio preacher of the gospel, not a preacher of ideas or notions, Rev. Merle Vaugh who will have with him some of his corps of radio singers.
>
> Rev. O.C. Rushing and his family will have charge of the music throughout the camp and Rev. Rushing will be doing some preaching. These people are the fiery southern type of musicians, singers, and preachers (Athens Times July 26, 1950).

Donations from participants in the campmeetings defrayed expenses and, with additional monies, allowed for a limited number of special projects. Donations from the early 1950's underwrote the cost of building a new church in Pine Creek, while Pine Creek's men and women, having formed a community work project, provided the labor to build the church.

On October 18, 1953, the new church was dedicated. The church, to be later called the Athens Indian Church, provided a pulpit from which preachers extolled the doctrines of the Holiness Church, doctrines requiring members not to smoke, drink, wear jewelry, wear short sleeves (women), or wear slacks (women)(Littlefield 1993:36). The church's strict adherence to the aforementioned appropriate behavior and dress doctrines, along with an increasingly more mobile Huron Potawatomi society, contributed to fewer community members participating in church services from the mid-1950's to the present (Field Data 1994).

Funerals. Intragroup cohesiveness has been demonstrated for several decades by the willingness of members to travel long distances to attend funerals. From the 1950's to the present, scores of community members have traveled from locations throughout Michigan to attend Pine Creek or Bradley funerals. During this period, from the 1950's to the present, the number of Huron Band members traveling to a respected elder's funeral sometimes numbered several hundred, as documented by guest lists and oral histories (HPI Pet. 1991; HPI Pet. 1993, Attachment E, List of Attendees; Field Data 1994).

From the 1950's and afterward, most funeral services for the group's deceased blended the mainstream ceremony with the traditional. After arriving at the funeral site, attendees often went to the home of the deceased where they held a traditional all-night vigil or wake. The wake, a Potawatomi tradition honoring the deceased, was followed by relatives' attending a funeral service at a nearby town's funeral parlor or at the community's church. Services were followed by a cemetery burial and community feast (HPI Pet. 1991).

A Band member did not have an inalienable right to be buried at either the Pine Creek or Bradley Indian cemeteries. The Indian cemetery at Pine Creek, for example, was considered to be under the authority and sanctions established by a community committee charged with overseeing the cemetery. The committee, consisting of community leaders, believed that they could not give permission for a deceased traditional Indian to be buried in the cemetery, although they would occasionally allow a "good Christian" non-Band burial privileges in the cemetery (Field Data 1994). Most intra-community conflicts associated with burial rights

the Pine Creek cemetery demonstrated evidence of the group's distinct community.

Marriages: 1950's through 1960's. Earlier in the 19th century, according to James A. Clifton, kinship ties held the "widely scattered [Potawatomi] villages together," and were "important means of maintaining solidarity, particularly on a regional basis" (Clifton 1978a:732). Later in the 20th century, consanguineal and affinal kinship linked dispersed members living in separate population centers or geographical areas together (BAR 1994, Genealogy Report). Such marriages among members living in different ones of the six HPI geographical areas[8] promoted social interaction and relationships among the dispersed membership. Mount Pleasant families, for example, looked forward to trips "home" to visit their Pine Creek relatives and elders. Pine Creek relatives, in turn, anticipated visits to Mount Pleasant (Field Data 1994).

Historically, the Huron Band encouraged patterned out-marriages to initiate "favorable trade and political ties" with other "Potawatomi bands" and "with bands of the culturally and linguistically similar Ottawa and Chippewa" (Littlefield 1993, 30). In recent decades, particularly the 1950's and after, marriages to non-Indians became common. Several informants noted that relatives of marrying age must "look elsewhere" to marry, as the Huron Band community, informally, does not sanction marriages with fourth-generation or closer ties to a marriage partner. Using this criterion, virtually every Band member was too closely related to each other for a suitable marriage within their own community. By 1960, marriages where both spouses were Huron Band members and lived in Pine Creek were virtually unknown (Field Data 1994), although 20 percent of the new marriages continued to be with other Indians as late as the 1980's.

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[8]The six HPI geographical areas in southern Michigan are Pine Creek (the social core), Bradley, Grand Rapids, Hartford, Lansing, and Mount Pleasant. Demographic and kinship ties related to the six geographical areas are discussed in the Modern Day Community section of this report.

Although o -marri es to -Indians wer occurring increasingly from 1930 to 1960, documentation available to BAR staff underscores that the majority of Band members still married other Huron Potawatomis (intraband) or other Indians (non-HPI Indians) during that period. During the same years, a minority of the Huron Potawatomi married non-Indians, as the table below reveals:

DATA: HURON POTAWATOMI BAND NEW MARRIAGES, BY DECADE				
	H.POT MEMBER	OTHER INDIAN	NON-INDIAN	TOTALS
1930's	6	4	7	17
1940's	12	12	16	40
1950's	7	11	18	36
1960's	3	9	48	60

Source: HPI Pet. 1994; BAR Genealogist 1994.

The table shows that marriages of Huron Potawatomi Band members to non-Indians became the majority after 1960. The shift in the group's marriage pattern can be attributed to several socio-economic factors. Michigan's cities were experiencing an economic boom period. Jobs in factories, cereal plants, and automotive assembly lines were plentiful. So after 1960, when high school students of the petitioner graduated, they immediately sought employment in the city or left the area to gain new skills and expertise at college. The pool of available marriage partners in either their new work or college settings expanded dramatically and was almost entirely non-Indian.

Community Life: 1960's. In the early 1960's, nearly 100 members lived in Indiantown where "humble homes line the

unpaved road that runs through the community. . . a spot marked unmistakably by poverty" (Detroit News December 17, 1961). Still, members who had lived in Pine Creek during the early 1960's recall an active, booming community. In their memory, the population had never been larger and most of the homes had been recently equipped with plumbing and electricity (Field Data 1994). A few of the homes even had a telephone. As the same Detroit News reporter observed about the community spirit of the residents:

> Yet few complaints are heard among the families who somehow communicate a rugged independence (Detroit News December 17, 1961).

Mackety and Pamp as Gatekeepers. With the death of the "last chief" in 1934, Albert Mackety and Levi Pamp jointly assumed the leadership role of the petitioner. Their co-leadership of the group spanned four decades, from the mid-1930's through the 1960's. During this time, both were highly respected by Huron Potawatomi members living on and off the reservation.

Throughout the period, from 1934 to 1970, the two leaders, sometimes in consultation with other elders, established standards that were de facto moral, conservative, and Christian-appropriate for the community. Pamp and Mackety, as community and church leaders, attempted to assure that a high level of moral integrity was observed by all community members. Informants recalled several instances in the 1950's and 1960's when Pine Creek adults were asked by the leadership to move from the community permanently or temporarily because of misbehavior associated with excessive drinking (Field Data 1994).

During the 1950's and 1960's, Huron Potawatomi members who moved off the reservation, or who had never lived on the reservation and who married a non-Indian, were typically turned down by Mackety and Pamp when the off-reservation member requested to live in Pine Creek with the non-Indian spouse. Also, Mackety and Pamp, as church board members, were active in maintaining the sanctity of the cemetery burial grounds. If a member died and had not lived the life of a "good" Christian, as perceived by the Mackety and Pamp-led church board, the deceased was not allowed to be buried in the Pine Creek Indian cemetery (Field Data 1994).

During the 1960's, Mackety and Pamp were instrumental in helping to organize community projects. They elicited community support by securing resources or labor commitments from other elders or heads of households to, for example, clean the cemetery grounds, refurbish the church, share clothing, take care of neglected children, chop fire wood for elderly widows, and raise funds for family emergencies (Field Data 1994).

A Decade and an Era Ends. During the late 1960's, everything in Pine Creek was "pretty good," as one resident put it, in spite of Pine Creek's lackluster economy where the median income was a meager $1,800 a year (Kalamazoo Gazette October 13, 1978).

By the end of the 1960's, some features of Pine Creek had changed dramatically while others had remained the same. Levi Pamp, who looked much younger than his 75 years in 1969, still took out his mandolins and violins from the living room closet to play a song or two. From his living room he lamented changes taking place among the Huron Band members, but saw a brighter future for the younger generations:

> The Indian is going to better schools now and getting smarter in a way. But he has lost touch. Younger Indians talk English to the babies, not our tongue.
>
> But things are going to get better, I'd say (Battle Creek News and Enquirer November 25, 1971).

Levi Pamp and other elders realized, as the 1960's came to a close, that change was in the air for the Huron Band Potawatomi.

Political Authority and Influence: 1934-1970.

The 1930's. In 1934, the succession of recognized tribal chiefs ended with the passing of Chief Sam Mandoka. None having their father's charisma and leadership qualities, his sons declined the responsibility of chief (Litt 1993, 18). Two of the male adults, Albert Mackety and Pamp, who had worked closely with Mandoka and were in the community's church, served Pine Creek as co

beginning in 1934 and continuing until about 1970 (HPI Pet. 1986; Littlefield 1993), as discussed in the above section.

Early in 1934 Congress reviewed proposed legislation that was to be called the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). This proposed legislation was heralded by the press as an "Indian New Deal" program. The Act provided tribal participants assurances that their land would be held forever in Federal trust and that eligible tribes could develop their economies. Albert Mackety, Levi Pamp, and another HPI member, Austin Mandoka, Chairman of the Athens Indian Committee, learned of the IRA and believed the legislation could benefit the community.

The leaders collected 62 signatures from the adults of the group. The list of signatures was attached to Austin Mandoka's letter asking John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to clarify the group's eligibility status relative to the IRA legislation. The letter pleaded their case:

> The Indian children have been attending Mt. Pleasant Indian School in the past years, but due to the Government's economic program, were forced out, making it doubly hard for the parents to obtain more food and clothing at home. . . . We as a body are praying for aid, in the form of more land, and farm implements for the purpose of making our living. . . . Will you kindly send us a reply, regarding our status in the Indian Bill S.2755. (Mandoka to Collier March 20, 1934).

The 1940's. Not until 1940 did the Pine Creek community receive a reply to their letter to John Collier requesting his assistance in making the Huron Band an eligible IRA Indian group:

> That there be no further extension of Organization under the Indian Reorganization Act in Lower Michigan.
>
> That the Indian Office shall not attempt to set up any additional or supplementary educational or welfare agencies for the Indians of Lower Michigan that in any way tends to recognize Indians as a separate group of citizens (Collier to Cavill May 29, 1940).

The Huron Potawatomis' hope of federal services and aid through Collier's assistance ended with this letter.

Collier's letter was based, in part, on BIA field research findings on the economic and assimilation status of Indian groups in southern Michigan. These studies had been conducted the previous summer and concluded that local and state agencies were fully capable of providing services to the small "remnant" bands of Indians in southern Michigan. With the closure of Mt. Pleasant Boarding School, the study also concluded that Interior could move the last BIA monies from Lower Michigan to other U.S. locations where tribes resided.

Walter Woehlke of the Interior's staff summarized the Government's position:

> Unless we have the funds and personnel to do a real job in Lower Michigan, we should stay out of that territory. We all know that neither the personnel nor the funds are available. Hence, it would be a crime to disturb the present excellent relations between the State, Counties, and Indians. I doubt whether it is possible to obtain from Congress special legislation and special appropriations for the benefit of the Lower Michigan Indians; even if it were possible to obtain such aid, I doubt the wisdom of establishing such a precedent (Woehlke to Collier 1940).

Given Collier's decision, underscored by Woehlke, Pine Creek leaders had to look elsewhere for services to support their subsistence economy.

Little documentation has been provided to BAR on the group for the period between the late 1930's and the conclusion of the War years in the 1940's. Joan Webkamigad, daughter of Charles Pamp who was a brother to Levi Pamp, provided some background on the period during an interview. Having lived in Pine Creek from the early 1940's, she recalled adults speaking Potawatomi and discussing topics concerning the group's tribal status, land acquisition, and acquiring their "Indian Money" [annuity payments] from the Government. She said that her older Pamp relatives had told her that they had met on these topics in the 1930's and early 1940's. Other HPI elders recalled similar meetings of Pine Creek adults during this period (Fie

Data 1994). However, no documentation of these meetings has been made available to BAR.

In 1942, the sons of the Mackety, Wesley, and other Pine Creek families were inducted into the Army (Athens Times 1945). The attention of the Pine Creek adults turned to the United States World War II effort and to the well-being of their sons serving in the military.

Stella (Bennett) Pamp noted in an interview with the BAR anthropologist, that she came to live in Pine Creek after WWII as the new bride of Leonard Pamp, in April, 1947. Stella (Bennett) Pamp, who is of mixed Indian background (1/4 of which is Huron Potawatomi) and who continues to reside on the Pamp family compound on the reservation, remembered numerous meetings in 1947 and afterwards when the men of the community met to discuss political "recognition" and annuity [treaty] claim issues (Field Data 1994).

The HPI petitioner was not the only southern Michigan band seeking tribal status and pursuing annuity or land claims in the immediate post WWII period. The Pokagaon Band of Potawatomis, who lived approximately 50 miles southwest of Pine Creek near Hartford, had similar political goals, as did the members of the Bradley/Salem settlement in Allegan County, 40 miles northwest of Pine Creek. Like the HPI, the Pokagon leaders met for years with their members to consider their tribal status and treaty claims options (Pokagon Pet. BAR, Pokagon Admin Files).

For both the Pokagon and Huron bands, interest in Indian claims was heightened by the passage of the 1946 Indian Claims Act. The act allowed descendants of treaty signatories to file suit against the Government if the Government had not paid the full value of the land at the time of sale. Tribal members of the southern Michigan groups realized that they could be due sizeable payments if they pursued Potawatomi claims (Claspy 1966, 29-35).

Albert Mackety, described as the "patriarch of the tribe" by the Battle Creek Enquirer (August 26, 1951), and Levi Pamp, de facto co-leader of the group along with Mackety, embraced the challenge of pursuing Potawatomi land claims, in behalf of the group. The two elder-leaders made land claims their leadership priority.

In collaboration with leaders and members from other Michigan groups, Pamp and particularly, Mackety were to expend much of their time from the late 1940's to 1970 in the quest for government monetary settlements, as authorized by the 1946 Act. General members were aware of their leaders' involvement in attempt to secure land claims settlements. During this period, meetings were held periodically to inform the general membership on claims progress.[9]

The 1950's. By 1950, the HPI, the Pokagons, and the Allegan County Potawatomis collaborated on these mutual concerns. With Albert Mackety representing Pine Creek and Michael B. Williams representing the Pokagons, the two groups signed a contingency contract for the services of attorney James Beery of the Walter H. Maloney Law Firm on April 1, 1950 (BAR 1994, HPI Admin Files). The purpose of the contract was to pursue and settle Potawatomi annuity claims associated with treaties from the first half of the nineteenth century.

Mackety and Williams kept Attorney Beery busy. On September 27, 1952, they asked the attorney to research a bill that had been introduced in Congress approximately thirty years earlier "in which the issue of title of the Chicago Lake Front as being in the Potawatomi Nation, was presented against the United States government" (Williams to Beery September 27, 1952).

In May 1952 Mackety and Williams traveled to Washington, D.C. to represent the HPI at the Indian Claims Commission hearing on Potawatomi claims based on the 1846 Potawatomi Nation Treaty. Upon conclusion of the 1952 Washington trip, Mackety and Williams sent a 3½-page newsletter to all Pine Creek members describing the background of the

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[9]The extent to which the general members participated in claims activities with their leaders during the 1950's was difficult to evaluate because of lack of supporting documentation. However, the petitioner did present evidence showing significant rates of intermarriage, native language usage, and adherence to a code of moral conduct (public drunkenness was cause for ostracization from Pine Creek for example). Such evidence provided BAR with evidence of petitioner's community during the 1950's.

Potawatomi claim, the activities that took place in Washington, and the responsibility of the Huron Band of Potawatomi membership (Newsletter June 15, 1953). The co-authors of the newsletter also mentioned that their team of attorneys had incurred thousands of dollars of expenses, had not charged the Potawatomi groups a penny, and might "not get a thin dime" if the case were lost (Newsletter June 15, 1953).

Maloney wrote a letter directly to Mackety, dated February 13, 1953, noting that the law firm's recently concluded research:

> reveals beyond any doubt, the Potawatomis of the Huron were an integral part of the Potawatomi Nation of Indians. They were so recognized on numerous occasions by the Government and were dealt with as such; they were parties to the treaties of 1795, 1805, 1807, 1827, and 1833 (Maloney to Mackety February 13, 1953).

Maloney's letter suggested that other members besides Mackety were active in Potawatomi claims activities: "We will let you know in advance of our coming to Michigan so that you and your people will be prepared to receive us" (Maloney to Mackety February 13, 1953).

On June 1, 1954, Attorney Walter H. Maloney notified Albert Mackety that the Indian Claims Commission had "made an award to the Potawatomi Tribe in the sum of $384,000" (Maloney to Mackety June 1, 1954). Maloney added that the positive resolution of cases No. 111 and 15-A, should favorably affect the pending case involving a treaty and a Potawatomi land claim in Iowa. He urged Mackety "to get your groups together; show them [the membership] how important it is for them to sign up their membership blanks and get ready to make claims for a share of the money that is to be distributed" (Maloney to Mackety June 1, 1954).

Available evidence suggests that adults in the Pine Creek community in 1954 were informed on the status of treaty claims. Mary Mandoka, who at age 94 (born 1860) was considered the community's traditional spokesperson, was interviewed by news reporter Cecil Munson. In his article he noted that "she'd rather talk about the government and its failure to keep its promises of paymen[t] to the Indian"

(HPI Pet. 1986, Ex.: unidentified newspaper clipping, hand-dated 1954).

Attorney Maloney wrote another letter on September 22, 1954 to Williams and Mackety. Maloney stated that the "Government will now claim that the $447,339 paid (1913-1928) to the Wisconsin Potawatomis, was paid out of government funds and not out of Potawatomi funds, and must now be set off against the amount of the award recently given by the Commission" (Maloney to Mackety September 22, 1954). This action meant that the Michigan Potawatomi groups would get nothing. Maloney recommended that the Pokagon and Huron Band withdraw their claim for part of the 1846 Treaty settlement monies. However, subsequent correspondence suggests the Michigan Potawatomis did not withdraw their claim (Maloney to Mackety September 22, 1954).

The Indian Claims Commission finally settled claims under the treaties of 1846 and 1861 in 1959. The Commission decided that the Prairie and Citizen bands had the only legitimate claim and were, accordingly, awarded a settlement. The Huron Band members received nothing at this time (HPI Pet. 1986, Doc.).

The 1960's. During 1960 and 1961, Albert Mackety and Levi Pamp continued to exert their influence as the group's de facto leaders and "spokesmen" (Detroit News December 17, 1961). The two used their political standing among the membership living in and outside of Pine Creek to organize, with the support of other elders and members, benefit suppers to help member families defray emergency expenses. In March, 1960, for example, the two leader-elders coordinated a supper to generate donations to help the Medawis family pay for the heart surgery for "Mrs. Medawis" (Athens Times March 17, 1960). During the 1960's, Mackety and Pamp organized committees to plan community activities (Athens Times January 12, 1961), board meetings to organize upcoming campmeetings (Athens Times March 2, 1961), and work groups to prune apples at a local orchard (Athens Times April 27, 1961).

Box socials were organized by the Huron Band, Bradley and Pokagon leadership to motivate members to attend meetings such as the land claims meeting described above. Monies collected from members during these box socials (and

potlucks) helped the leadership to defray costs incurred while pursuing land claims against the Federal Government.

Word-of-mouth communication and post card mailings were the two methods employed to inform community members of a pending box socials that doubled as community meetings. Copies of two post cards addressed to Levi Pamp by Joshua Shagonaby of Bradley documented that he was invited as a Huron Band of Potawatomi member to attend a box social where, after members had the opportunity to socialize, issues related to Huron Potawatomi claims would be discussed.

> The Pottawatomies [sic] are holding a meeting [regarding treaty claims] at the Monterey Hall, in Allegan County. 3½ miles west from the Village of Bradley and west till you come to Monterey road, turn right one mile....A Pot luck supper will follow the meeting, bring along something to help the supper (Shagonaby to Pamp, May 6, 1961).

Another post card addressed to Levi Pamp dated May 31, 1962 acknowledges:

> Rec'd your card this Morning. Yes! we are calling a meeting and a box social at Monterey Village Hall. Saturday June 9th 1962 at 1:30 P.M. (Shagonaby to Pamp May 31, 1962).

Box socials provided marriage-minded male Potawatomi members a venue to meet females. A male attendee, for example, made monetary bids on a box lunch made by a female member that he had his eye on. If he made the highest bid, then his reward was the young women's box lunch which he then would share with her. Several long-term relationships among the group began in this manner (Church 1991; Field Data 1994).

In collaboration with Mackety, Levi Pamp was encouraged by the leadership of the Potawatomi Indians of Indiana and Michigan (Pokagons) to assume the Huron Potawatomi leadership position on the cases where the Huron Band was listed as one of the treaty claimants. On January 12, 1963, Levi Pamp wrote to Chairman John Winchester of the incorporated Potawatomi Indians of Indiana and Michigan stating, "I was glad to receive your invitation of your meeting. . . . if I can help you at any time, I'm willing

to" (Pamp to Winchester January 12, 1963). Winchester wrote in reply: ". . . it's wonderful that you accepted an interest to see the Potawatomi Indian Claims all the way through" (Winchester to Pamp 1963, HPI Admin Files).

In early 1963, Albert Mackety and Levi Pamp, along with Bradley area member Joshua Shagonaby, coordinated a meeting of Huron Potawatomis who resided in the greater Pine Creek, Bradley, Grand Rapids, and Mount Pleasant areas. The purpose of the meeting was for the membership to discuss the group's continued involvement in Potawatomi claims settlements and to introduce their new claims attorney, Robert Bell. After some discussion, the assembled members acknowledged the importance of the leadership to continue to pursue land claims and authorized Albert Mackety and two other members to represent the group at claims hearings in Washington, D.C. (Huron Potawatomi Minutes March 30, 1963).

By March, 1963, Mackety "stepped down" after years of adverse Indian Claims Commission decisions that produced no treaty annuities for the Huron Band members. Winchester noted that Pine Creek's Levi Pamp would be representing the Huron Band in future meetings with the Potawatomi Indians of Indiana and Michigan, Incorporated (Winchester to Shagonaby April 22, 1963). Robert Bell continued to represent the Huron Band in its claims against the Government until the end of the decade. A letter dated September 23, 1969, and addressed to "all tribal members" urged them to attend a claims meeting with Attorney Bell. The letter added that Bell would advise all members of "recent claim progress" and "other very important matters" (Bell to "all tribal members" September 23, 1969).

After a hiatus of a few years in the mid-1960's, Albert Mackety again became active in the group's continued pursuit of claims monies. Mackety invited other Huron Band members to represent the membership as named members on claims documents submitted the government. One such claims document listed three co-petitioners in addition to Albert Mackety: David Mackety (his son and HPI Tribal Chairman from 1970 -1980, 1981-1992), Shirley A. Simmons (niece and [illegible] Tribal Chairperson from 1993 to the present), and El[illegible] S Pamptopee (unrelated, evangelical minister). Also, [illegible] document showed that Paul G. Reilley of New York was serving as the Huron Band's attorney. Reilley was to provide legal counsel for the Band during the seventi[illegible]

the group elected to incorporate and petition the Government for Federal recognition (HPI Pet. 1986, BAR Admin. Files).

By the end of the decade, it was clear the a younger generation was preparing to assume leadership of the group. In fact, 1969 proved to be the last year that Albert Mackety, age 81, and Levi Pamp, age 77, would lead the Huron Potawatomi community members. The decade of the 1960's proved trying for the two elders, but their unshakable Christian faith helped to sustain them in their advanced age, along with having each other to share leadership responsibilities, as in 1963, when Pamp replaced Mackety as the group's leader in pursuit of land claims settlements.

Initial Recognition Efforts: 1965 to 1970. Pine Creek's David Mackety, Albert Mackety's son, and Elma Gabow, granddaughter of Chief Sam Mandoka, met informally with other Huron Potawatomis at funerals, campmeetings, weddings, and other group-wide activities during the latter half of the 1960's. At such events, Mackety and Gabow discussed with members the need to establish an incorporated tribal entity and to seek Federal acknowledgment. By incorporating, the two argued, the group would be eligible for a comprehensive set of federally supported social and economic development programs. It became clear to Mackety and Gabow, who had informally polled members at community-wide events (funerals, campmeetings, etc.), that the members were supportive of establishing a federally-approved tribal organization (Field Data 1994).[10]

In 1969, David Mackety, age 49, urged Elma Gabow, age 43, to run for chairman, once the group's non-profit entity was incorporated. Mackety recognized Gabow's ability and interest in the group's welfare, as well as her heritage -- her grandfather was Sam Mandoka, generally considered the last recognized chief of the group. She declined, stating that the position of chairman should be reserved for a male, in keeping with the traditional leadership succession of the Huron Potawatomi (Field Data 1994). The following year the group would elect its first chairman -- David Mackety, whose wife was another of Sam Mandoka's granddaughters.

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[10]This information was provided by several informants including Elma Gabow during an on-site field trip by the BAR anthropologist in 1994.

The Modern Era

Modern Day Community: 1970 to 1995

Pine Creek Reservation Profile. The physical, cultural and social fabric that makes today's Pine Creek community has changed somewhat since the 1950's and 1960's. The church and parsonage remain the most prominent landmarks of the community, but fewer Pine Creek residents attend Thursday evening and Sunday services. Six of the ten clapboard houses are still in evidence. A few of the houses have been remodeled extensively, while others have been abandoned or replaced by modest mobile homes.

The 120 acres are well-maintained by Pine Creek residents, young adult and elder head-of-households, who take pride in the reservation's upkeep. Visitors remark how the reservation resembles a scenic, park-like setting. The road through the community is still unpaved and the Pine Creek River still flows along the east boundary of the reservation, but at a swamp pace since the off-reservation, non-Indian farmers drained much of the river for irrigation purposes.

The population of Pine Creek was reported to be between 45 and 50 in 1970, down from a high of approximately 100 in the 1960's.[11] As younger members continued to move to southern Michigan urban areas for employment, the Pine Creek population continued to slide. The population was 35 in 1977 (Leatherbury 1977, 102) and approximately 15 in 1985 (Field Data 1994). For the past ten years, the Pine Creek Reservation population has remained at or near the current population of 15.[12]

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[11]The source for the 1970 Pine Creek population estimate were members who had lived in Pine Creek in 1970. The 1960's population estimate of "100" was from the Detroit News, December 17, 1961.

[12]The social core of the Huron Potawatomi includes the 15 members living on the 120 acres and, additionally, another 183 members living within a 20-mile radius of the Pine Creek Reservation. The aggregate total of 198 members living within the Pine Creek social core constitutes 24 percent of the petitioner's total membership.

Of Pine Creek present population of 15, 13 of the residents are listed as members on the February, 1994, Huron Band of Potawatomi enrollment list (two children lack the minimum required Huron Potawatomi blood quantum). Five of the residents are in the age range of elders (64 to 75) and five others are middle aged (38 to 64). Two of the remaining five are in their twenties and three are children (Field Data 1994).

Intra-Resident Activities. Three of the four oldest Pine Creek women meet each other at least twice a week at the Thursday and Sunday services at the community's church. Two of the women, sisters-in-law who live across the road from each other, visit several times a week. The third older women (a first cousin to one and not related to the other) lives some distance down the road and was in poor health. She seldom visits the other two except before and after church services (Field Data 1994).

The middle aged and younger residents were the most likely to visit homes of each other or the homes of Pine Creek's elders. Interviews with a resident in her forties and another in his twenties revealed that both enjoyed socializing at elders homes where they might learn new Potawatomi words and phrases. The elders enjoyed the visits from the younger residents, as one observed: "If I can just help a few young boys and girls get a good start in life, I will have accomplished something" (Field Data, 1994).

Cooperative Work Projects. The two 50-plus, head-of-household males at Pine Creek maintained the kempt appearance of the reservation. The younger of the two (age 50) unrelated males pushed a lawnmower to mow 10 acres of lawn, a task he completed weekly from spring to fall. Both men have shown a willingness to assist other Pine Creek residents in the repair of their homes. Additionally, the same older, non-churchgoing males, along with the three older churchgoing women, painted and otherwise maintained the church. This collaborative activity showed the importance of Pine Creek's church among both churchgoing and non-churchgoing members of the petitioner (Field Data 1994).

Three Factions. By the end of the 1970's, the "younger generation," the "Indian traditionalist," and the "conservative" factions within the HPI membership had staked their respective claims and remained, for the most part,

separate political factions.[13] In the 1970's and 1980's, collaborative HPI projects were seldom realized because of the existing factionalism within the HPI membership (Field Data 1994).

Members aligned with the "younger generation" have typically lived off-reservation and have been under age 50. They often practiced a form of Western religion, but many explored traditional Indian rituals. Besides strongly supporting the group's Federal acknowledgment petition, this faction sought to promote HPI programs that, after being implemented, would affect tribal economic development and social programs for youth and elders.

The "younger generation" faction believed that the reservation land was owned collectively by the tribe and not by families currently residing on reservation land. Some faction members showed, however, a willingness to make some heirship allowances for families already residing at Pine Creek (Field Data 1994).

The "Indian traditionalists" were (and are) led by the Leonard Pamp and Frank Bush families. These families' members and others of the faction promoted the transmission of traditional Potawatomi values among the youth. Also, the faction participated in traditional Indian religion and ceremonies.

Most "Indian traditionalists" felt that the Huron Potawatomi would benefit from Federal acknowledgment, but in an organization more tradition-oriented than the Mackey-led HPI organization appeared to be. Because the core of the Pamp family resided on the reservation, they held a preference for maintaining heirship rights for residents, as was true of those members aligned with the "conservative" faction.

The "conservative" faction was composed of members, usually older than 50, who aspired to have title to the land in Pine Creek (and Bradley) where their families had lived for several generations. The faction also highly valued the Christian faith, while regarding traditional Indian forms of religion with disdain or contempt. Because the factions

[13]A faction is defined as a dissenting group persisting over a period of time with members who cross kinship and are concerned with a variety of political issues.

composed of older members, it continued to diminish. Despite dwindling membership, the faction remained influential in the 1980's because its members were revered as elders and some resided on the reservation land base. Leaders and others representing the "younger generation" faction would poll or elicit opinions from the conservative-minded elders on ideas or projects that "younger generation" hoped would benefit the Huron Potawatomi community (Field Data 1994).

The table below illustrates the underlying dynamics of the factionalism within the community of the petitioner during the earlier decades.

Huron Potawatomi Band Factions during the 1980's			
	Younger Generation	Indian Traditionalist	Conservative Potawatomi
Example Family	Gordon Bush	Leonard Pamp	David Mackety
Residence	Off-Res	On- & Off-Res	On-Res
Religion	Open	Trad. Indian	Christian
Res Land Owner	Tribe	Pine Creek Fam	Pine Creek Fam
HPI Priority	EconDev/SocPro	H.Pot.Values	LandOwn/Faith
HPI Fed.Acknow	Yes	Qualified Yes	Yes
percent in Faction	30 to 50 percent	30 to 40 percent	10 to 20 percent

Source: HPI Pet. 1986; HPI Admin Files; Field Data, 1994.

HPI's factionalism, as represented in the table above, began in the late 1970's, peaked in the 1980's, and subsided by 1993 -- shortly after David Mackety's death and the election of a new council.

Interaction with Non-Resident Members. As late as the 1970's, only a few of the Pine Creek residents had a telephone in their home. Not only were telephones in each of their homes in the 1990's, but they were used by the residents frequently: "Hardly anyone ever writes anymore [as they prefer to telephone]," one Pine Creek resident commented (Field Data 1994).

Residents use their telephones to keep in regular contact with other members, related and unrelated, living outside the reservation. Of the seven Pine Creek residents interviewed in 1994, most acknowledged a high use of the telephone to communicate with members living within the Pine Creek social core and in the five other geographical areas of the group. One Pine Creek resident observed:

> Oh yeah, we [HPI members] keep in contact all the time -- probably about six or seven times a year [with' about 25 [different members] at least (Field Data 1994).

The same Pine Creek informant went on to describe the group's "moccasin telegraph" (where a message is sent to one HPI member and then relayed to another):

> When there's anything going on [with HPI, relatives, or other HPI members] they'll call here and tell you to call somebody else (Field Data 1994).

Pine Creek Social Core Travel. Since 1970, travel among relative and non-relative HPI members was frequent within the Pine Creek social core (an area including communities within an approximate 20 mile radius from Pine Creek). Members from Athens, Kalamazoo, Battle Creek and other communities within the social core came to Pine Creek to visit relatives or HPI staff. Interviewed members stated that they were likely to visit, or be visited by, a member from once or twice a year to once or twice a month, depending on the closeness of the relationship.

Pine Creek residents also traveled some distance to visit members and relatives. One of the women elders left the community for a weekend visit to a sister-in-law in Mount Pleasant, an HPI geographical area located 130 miles north of Pine Creek. On her way back she encountered "car trouble up there and everybody here [adults in Pine Creek] knew [about] it [within a 24-hour period]. We all use the grapevine" [another name for the moccasin telegraph] (Field Data 1994)

Since 1970, if a funeral, wedding, house warming, graduation party, campmeeting, powwow, or other group activity occurred outside the reservation, Pine Creek residents, as well as those living in any of the other five geographical areas would decide to car pool and travel to such an event.

Pleasant was a popular destination among reservation residents. Mount Pleasant members participated in hosting campmeetings and the bi-annual powwows. Pine Creek residents noted they looked forward to attending such Mount Pleasant activities in spite of the 2 one-half hour drive to get there. Also, residents living within the Pine Creek social core made long trips on short notice for unforeseen emergencies and funerals involving close relatives or other HPI members (Field Data 1994).[14]

Distinct Community: Lack of Public Services. During the 1970's, HPI members residing at Pine Creek had almost no outside public services provided to them. This lack of services meant that the Pine Creek residents became more self-reliant, resourceful and interdependent since such services, if the services were to be provided, had to come from the Pine Creek residents themselves. For example, younger residents supplied older members with cut wood when the older members' supply was low. Community members also assisted other families in making emergency house repairs (Kalamazoo Gazette October 13, 1978; Field Data 1994).

In 1981, the HPI offices were raided by HPI members associated with the "conservative" faction. Six files filled with HPI budget, genealogical, and program administration documents were taken. When HPI staff called state police, an official responded that the state police had no authority on a reservation. The state official's position was that the reservation was the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. So the HPI staff member called the FBI. An FBI representative passed the buck back to the state, saying the jurisdiction belonged to the state. "As a result of that," one HPI member observed, "no one [no law enforcement officer] really got in to [the HPI office to] find out who the culprits were or tried to identify them" (Field Data 1994).

In the late 1970's, Calhoun County officials provided fire alarms to several heads of households at Pine Creek. The only other service the county officials provided was the warning to the residents if the fire 'alarm goes off, they [the residents] would have 10 seconds to get out."

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[14]An affinal and consanguineal analysis of HPI members attending funerals (N=2) and/or a graduation party, by home residence, is provided in the pages that follow.

Outside officials perceived Pine Creek not only to be a distinct Indian community, but such a unique one that county, state and Federal officials all claimed the reservation was not a part of their service constituency (Field Data 1994).

Distinct Community: Public (Non-Indian) Perception. Interviews with non-Indian school officials, business owners, home owners, and public officials who lived and worked near the reservation perceived residents of Pine Creek as being a distinct Indian group. Businessmen commented on the cordial relations they had established with members residing in "Indiantown over the years" (Pine Creek). One grocer recounted numerous instances where he and his father before him allowed Huron Potawatomi members to keep a grocery "tab," so an "Indiantown" parent could put food on the table for their family and then pay when they had secured a wage-paying job (Field Data 1994).

During a 1994 interview with a school principal, he noted how the teachers respected Huron Potawatomi students and the cultural background they brought to the school. He cited instances when Pine Creek students provided Indian oral history accounts of early Michigan history to supplement instruction during a history class. The principal also commented on the artistic ability of one "Indiantown" student who painted the Indian logo on the east wall of the gym (Field Data 1994).

Non-Indian homeowners living near the reservation knew that "just Indians" lived in Pine Creek and could give good directions on how to get there. Contacted public officials in Battle Creek, Grand Rapids and Lansing all knew that Pine Creek was an Indian community south of Battle Creek. Non-Indians interviewed within the Pine Creek social core area were aware of the group's future investment plans, as well (Field Data 1994).

Discrimination. From 1970 to the present, not unlike earlier, members of the Huron Band of Potawatomi experienced different forms of overt and tacit discrimination from non-Indians. Most informants cited specific examples of how they personally discriminated against by non-Indians. Other members of Huron Potawatomi friends discriminated against as elementary and/or high school students (Field Data 1994).

Members who had attended Athens High School as Pine Creek residents recalled their experiences as Indian stud-

The consensus was that disparaging remarks in high school were less frequent than during the years that they attended elementary school. Several informants remarked that their non-Indian high school peers knew them as Indians from "Indiantown" and as students with a different cultural background than their own (Field Data 1994).

Some non-Indian parents of high school students held a negative image of all Indians living within the Pine Creek social core. These parents, according to some HPI informants, observed a "negative" behavior of one of the area's Indians and then would attribute that behavior, such as excessive drinking of alcohol, to all Indians in the Pine Creek area. Non-Indian parents holding this view did not allow their son or daughter to date an Indian high school student (Field Data 1994).

One former Pine Creek student who attended Athens High School recalled his chances of dating a white girl who had a parent holding a negative view of Indians (by speaking in the voice of a prospective white female date): "Oh, it's [his name], he's going to ask me [a white girl] out! [back to his own low voice] Oh yeah, sure" (Field Data 1994). For this Athens High alumnus who now lives in the Lansing geographical area, the emotional impact of that discrimination was still felt some 28 years later (Field Data 1994).

Religion. In 1844, ancestors of today's members had established a foothold of Christianity in the Pine Creek, as Marcheonoquay's sons Mackey, Meme, and Mandoka became lay preachers (Methodist Episcopal Church 1844-66)" (Littlefield 1993, 9). In the 1970's, and to a lesser extent in subsequent decades, the church's influence was evident in the community. Most affected were those who regularly attended church services. The influence of Pine Creek's conservative form of religion was not limited to the general ethos and spiritual milieu or the well-being of the Pine Creek churchgoers, because the church's lay leadership concurrently held political leadership roles. David Mackety, for example, served both as HPI's first tribal chairman and as the lay preacher of the Indian Mission Church. That link would not be broken until his failure to retain his council seat in the 1991 elections.

The 1970's saw the resurgence of interest in the evangelical campmeetings which were held annually approximately eight

miles southeast of Pine Creek. Most Pine Creek residents, their Huron Band of Potawatomi counterparts living off the Pine Creek Reservation, and hundreds of other Indians attended the popular campmeetings (Field Data 1994).[15]

For some, the annual summer campmeetings served as a religious renewal experience. The renewal might help them, as active Christian participants, sustain their religious fervor until the campmeeting held the following year. For others, particularly the children, the campmeetings provided a meeting place to renew friendships. For leaders, they reaffirmed alliances with their Indian peers who represented Indian communities throughout Michigan. For several Huron Potawatomi members who were of marrying age, the campmeetings provided the place to meet a friend who later became their marriage partner. The campmeetings, along with funerals, provided dispersed Huron Potawatomi members the opportunity to catch up on familial and political gossip or discuss issues relative to the HPI organization (Field Data 1994).

In Pine Creek certain families rarely attended the community church. If they did attend, it was most likely for a Christmas, Easter, or other special service. Those Pine Creek residents would say that they had a greater interest to practice really "old-time religion" -- traditional Potawatomi religion. Such traditional practitioners did not look down upon their Christian counterparts, for they held a pluralistic view toward religion (Field Data 1994).

Athens Indian Church. For the 1990's and after, the fate of the conservative Christian followers who attend Pine Creek's Athens Indian Church is uncertain. Today, a core group of three Pine Creek women elders attend the church. They attend the Thursday evening, Sunday morning, and Sunday evening services without fail, unless illness intervenes. A few non-Indians who live off the reservation augment the small congregation. Where services were conducted in the Potawatomi language decades earlier, now only on rare

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[15]Ignoring a 300-plus year gap between precontact and the modern era, a Potawatomi historian, Bill Church, described these campmeetings as socially necessary experiences: "They replaced, almost intact, the social experience of the great summer gatherings experienced by precontact tribal societies" (HPI Obvious Deficiency Response 1991).

occasions is a hymn sung in Potawatomi by the Indians in attendance.[16]

Up until the mid-1970's, the church was the Western religion center of activities for the community. Alan Mackety, grandson of David and Hazel Mackety, remembers going to the church in the early 70's:

> There was a full house, lots of kids. Full Sunday school and what have you. Yeah, there used to be quite a few people. Parking lot would be filled (Field Data 1994).

Church attendance dropped off after a popular minster left in the mid-1970's. A Pine Creek informant speculated that the minister left because his "wife wasn't really faithful to him. . . somebody found out about it and word spread and so they moved away" (Field Data 1994). A succession of non-resident, non-Indian, part-time ministers followed the departure of the popular minister. In recent years, a series of lay ministers have provided the Pine Creek community with a religious forum in which to practice their faith and socialize between and after services.

From personal observation, the religious intensity of the three Pine Creek women elders who continue to attend church services has not suffered from the lack of attendees.

Powwows. Pine Creek's Pamp family[17] became increasingly active in traditional Indian practices from the early 1960's. In 1977, Leonard and Stella Pamp started a powwow. That powwow became known as the Leonard J. Pamp Memorial Powwow after Leonard's death. For 18 years, the Pamp family, with the support of other HPI families, held the Pamp Memorial Powwow in nearby towns. In recent years, they

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[16]A hymn was sung in Potawatomi during a Sunday service in October, 1994 -- partly for the benefit of the attending BAR anthropologist.

[17]A few off-reservation Pamp family members such as Elliot "Jack" Pamp, who were devoted conservative Christians, took offense at their relatives' participating in "heathen" rituals. These Pamp family members, representing a couple of family sublines, did not participate in any powwow activities (Field Data 994).

have held the popular powwows in Burlington, eight miles from Pine Creek.

All HPI members have been encouraged by the Pamp Memorial Powwow organizers to become powwow participants, and many have from year to year. Yet, Huron Potawatomi members did not merely participate as attendees. Each year since 1977, over 50 HPI members have helped the Pamps to plan and coordinate the two-day powwow, an event with a growing annual attendance of 2,500 to 4,000 non-HPI Indians and 100 to 200 Huron Potawatomi members (Field Data 1994).

The Annual Pamp Memorial Powwow has served an important socialization and Potawatomi transmission function for many HPI members since its inception. The powwows, conducted outdoors, offered a conducive learning environment in which Huron Potawatomi adults taught young people traditional dancing styles and ceremonial etiquette. Further, the annual Pamp powwow, along with funerals in Pine Creek, has provided a Pine Creek homecoming venue for the several hundred members, 20 to 25 percent of the membership, who live in the satellite population or geographical areas of Hartford, Bradley, Grand Rapids, Lansing, and Mt. Pleasant, Michigan (Field Data 1994).

Six HPI Geographical Areas. Petitioner enrollment data shows that 778 (95 percent of the 819 members) HPI members live in Michigan. The same data indicates that 662 members, 81 percent of the membership, live in six geographical areas or population concentrations[18] in southern Michigan: Pine Creek, 198 members in the social core area; Hartford, 83 members, 48 miles[19] west of Pine Creek; Bradley/Hopkins, 98 members, 39 miles northwest; Grand Rapids, 211 members, 58 miles northwest; Lansing, 20 members, 50 miles northeast; and Mt. Pleasant, 52 members, 103 miles north. Further, 24 percent of the HPI membership resides within 25 miles of Pine Creek (roughly the social core area of the group), 50

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[18]The Hartford geographical area, for example, is defined by an approximate 20-mile radius around the town of Hartford. HPI members living in Hartford, another community, or rural area within the 20-mile radius are considered to be residing within the Hartford geographical area.

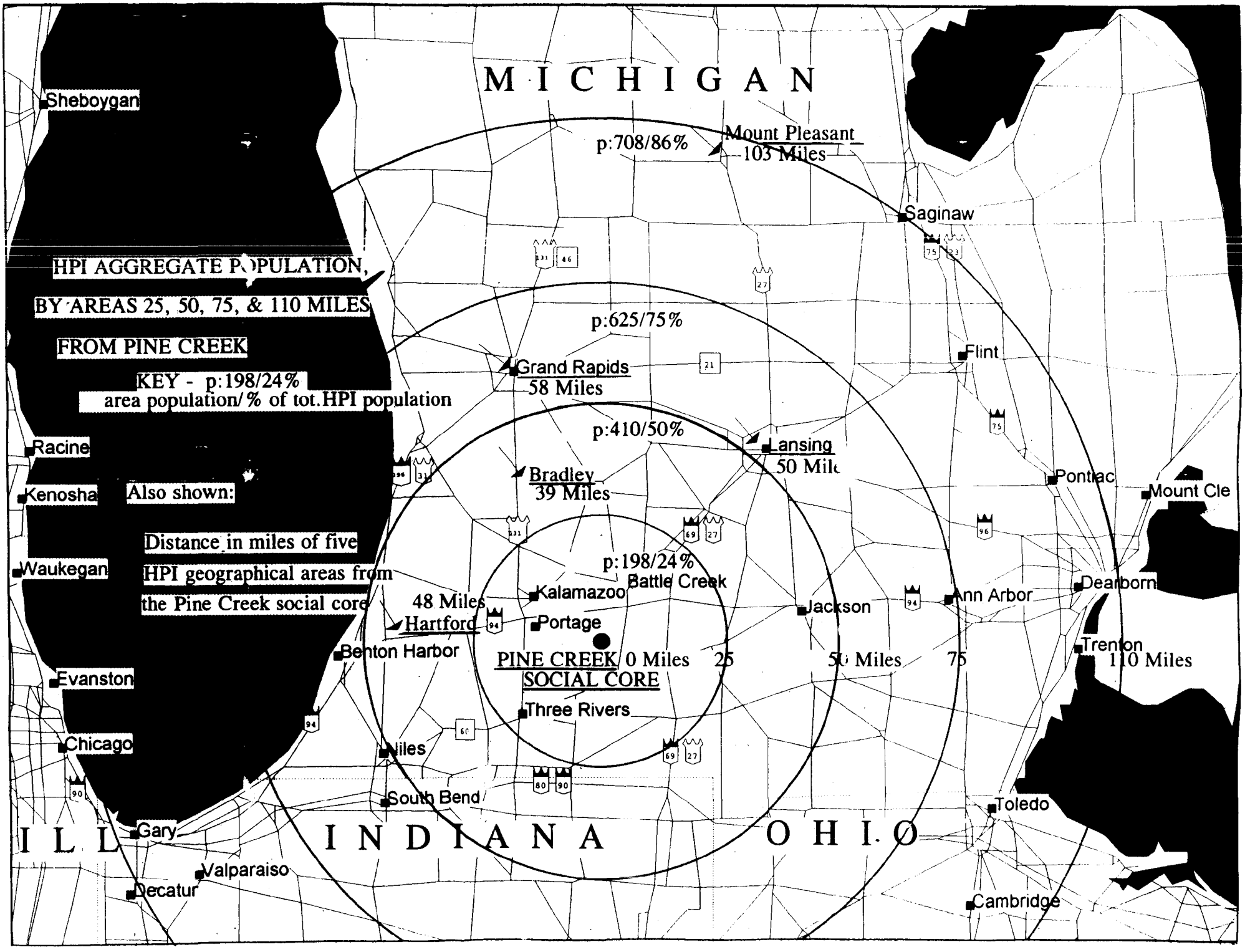
[19]Listed distances are in linear miles.

percent within 50 miles, 75 percent within 75 miles, and 86 percent within 110 miles (refer to map on next page).

Pine Creek: Social Core Area. Pine Creek is the social core area of the petitioning group. The core area approximates a 20-mile radius around the 120 acre reservation. This area encompasses the historic Huron Potawatomi mid-1800's encampments and villages which were located at or near Coldwater, Mendon, East Indiantown, and Leonidas -- sites within the Pine Creek social core area (Leatherbury 1977). Although few are living on the Pine Creek Reservation (N=15), 198 (24 percent) of the group's members live within a 20 mile radius of Pine Creek, within the area defined as the Pine Creek social core. Today, the cities of Kalamazoo (population: 223,411) and Battle Creek (population: 54,000), along with other outlying contemporary towns, are within the core area.

Contemporary members residing in Pine Creek, elsewhere in Michigan, and out-of-state see the 120-acre reservation as their physical link to being Huron Potawatomi (Field Data 1994). Pine Creek, where the group's office is located, continues to be the political center of the greater HPI community, too. As geographically inconsequential and sparsely populated as Pine Creek may appear to outsiders, for the 819 Huron Band of Potawatomis, resident and non-resident, Pine Creek matters.

Bradley Geographical Area. Bradley, in Allegan County, is a community that resembles Pine Creek. It, too, has a dirt road running through it and has a small, conservative Christian church as its most prominent landmark. With approximately 40 member-residents, Bradley's HPI population is somewhat larger than the member population found at Pine Creek. Additionally, many Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Potawatomi Band members reside in the Bradley area, which is that group's traditional social core. The communities of Wayland, Moline, Dorr, Hopkins, Cutlerville, Hastings, and Plainwell are small towns lying within the geographical area centered at Bradley.


MICHIGAN
Sheboygan
HPI AGGREGATE POPULATION,
BY AREAS 25, 50, 75, & 110 MILES
FROM PINE CREEK
KEY - p:198/24%
area population/% of tot.HPI population
Also shown:
Distance in miles of five
HPI geographical areas from
the Pine Creek social core
p:708/86%
Mount Pleasant
103 Miles
Saginaw
p:625/75%
Grand Rapids
58 Miles
Flint
p:410/50%
Lansing
50 Mile
Racine
Kenosha
Bradley
39 Miles
Pontiac
Mount Cle
Waukegan
p:198/24%
Battle Creek
Kalamazoo
48 Miles
Hartford
Portage
Jackson
Ann Arbor
Dearborn
Benton Harbor
PINE CREEK 0 Miles 25
SOCIAL CORE
50 Miles 75
Trenton
110 Miles
Evanston
Three Rivers
Chicago
Niles
South Bend
Toledo
Gary
ILL
INDIANA
OHIO
Valparaiso
Decatur
Cambridge

HPI members living in the Bradley geographical area were evenly split between those who attended conservative Christian churches and those who attended more liberal churches or who were Indian traditionalists. Members living in this area noted that visiting and telephoning each other within the Bradley geographical area were popular activities. Members also noted that they visited or telephoned other HPI members living in other nearby communities several times a week (Field Data 1994).

Members living within the Bradley geographical area had community and consanguineal kin ties to both Mt. Pleasant (Pigeon, Whitepigeon, and Sprague families) and Grand Rapids families (Chivis and Bush). Up until the mid-1950's, young people married partners in the Pine Creek core area, since their families were not likely to be related and yet shared the similar Christian values (related families: Watson, Mackety). Because of the blood, marital family, and community (powwows and church activities, for example) ties to Mount Pleasant, Grand Rapids, and Pine Creek, members from Bradley periodically visited or telephoned relations living in one of the other three areas.

Grand Rapids Geographical Area. The population of Grand Rapids is 193,700.[20] The 211 HPI members residing in the greater Grand Rapids area live within Grand Rapids or outlying communities of Wyoming, Jenison, Coopersville, and Grandville.

Members first came to Grand Rapids in the 1940's to secure employment. The availability of jobs and low-cost housing, and a comparatively large Indian population (mostly Grand River Ottawa) that supported Indian churches, continued to draw young HPI adults for the two decades following the 1940's. Today, the Grand Rapids area has the highest number of HPI members[21] living within its geographical area (again, within an approximate 20-mile radius from the center of Grand Rapids). Grand Rapids today has several Indian organizations and hosts an annual powwow. Rarely have

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[20]Population figures for communities larger than 1,000 are from the 1990 U.S. census summary statistics, U.S. Census Bureau.

[21]Grand Rapids has a population of 211, as compared to Pine Creek social core's population of 198.

family members moved away from Grand Rapids once settled there.

The Medawis, Day, and Mandoka families of Grand Rapids have maintained strong ties with their consanguineal relatives from the Pine Creek social core (other Grand Rapids families and their immediate family ties, by geographical area include: Wesaw - Hartford area; Chivis, Bush, Sprague - Bradley area; and Sprague, Chamberlain - Mount Pleasant). These Grand Rapids families have periodically hosted other HPI families who enjoy going to the "big city" to attend pan-Indian meetings, powwows, or other activities. During the fall of 1994, approximately 150 members came from out of town for a house warming at the new Grand Rapids home of a HPI council member (Field Data 1994).

Mount Pleasant Geographical Area. Mount Pleasant, population of 23,746, is the most distant geographical area from the Pine Creek social core (approximately 103 linear miles away), yet it is one of the most visited by Pine Creek members. Pine Creek members and members from other geographical areas enjoy visiting the community because of special church activities, campmeetings and the bi-annual powwows held there. Some enjoy gambling or other recreational activities available at the Isabella Indian Reservation. Although the BIA Indian boarding school at Mount Pleasant has now been closed for 61 years, as late as the 1980's, some HPI elders who had attended the boarding school held informal reunions in Mount Pleasant (Field Data 1994; BAR Historian 1994).

From the 1930's through the 1950's, Pine Creek youth met in Mount Pleasant unrelated, or at least not closely related, Huron Band members of the opposite gender who, in some instances, became marriage partners. These meetings among the young of the Pine Creek and Mount Pleasant communities were made possible when a son or daughter accompanied their parents to church gatherings held at Mount Pleasant (Field Data, 1994).

Mount Pleasant families are linked by marriage to members who live in other geographical areas including: Chamberlain, Sprague families- Grand Rapids; Pamps, Mackety, Sprague - Pine Creek; and Sprague - Bradley.

Lansing Geographical Area. Lansing has a population of 128,100 and is Michigan's state capital. The Lansing area has only 20 members; nevertheless, the area has se[illegible]

consanguineal relationships with families living in the Pine Creek area (Mandoka, Watson, Snyder, and Sprague) and Bradley (Church, Sprague).

Lansing members have strong ties to Pine Creek, since most of the Lansing head of household members were raised on the reservation. One such head of household stated in an interview that he would like to move to the Pine Creek Reservation in 1998 or 1999. He would commute to the Lansing area for five years. After the five-year commuting period, he would retire at Pine Creek (Field Data 1994).

Hartford Geographical Area. Hartford HPI members are, typically, part Huron Potawatomi and part Pokagon, since Hartford lies in the center of what was once Pokagon territory. The only widespread Pokagon influence affecting the lives of HPI members is their choice of religion -- virtually all are practicing Catholics, as is true of their Pokagon relatives (Field Data 1994).

The Hartford area HPI members maintain very close affinal and consanguineal family relations. It is not uncommon for primary kin or Hartford area members related by marriage to see or telephone each other several times a week. This interest in other family members extends beyond the borders of the Hartford geographical area. Hartford HPI members are apt to load up the car with family members to visit relations in other geographical areas "just for the fun of it" (Field Data 1994).

Hartford members have kin ties with the Watson, Wesaw, Day, and Medawis families of the Pine Creek area; the Wesaw family of Bradley; the Watson family of Lansing; and the Wesaw and Medawis families of Grand Rapids.

The six geographical areas of the petitioner, described above, are linked by Michigan's excellent road and telephone network. Members can easily visit by car or communicate by telephone with members residing in other geographical areas (Field Data 1994).

HPI member Bill Church has described the Huron Band of Potawatomis' form of telephone communication among members as the "Indian Grapevine":

> The greatest single communication link the Tribe [HPI] has, however, is still the "Indian Grapevine" of its members who more often than not

> pass messages from person to person, greatly aided today by the telephone (Church 1991, 8).

Telephone communication among members, as a way to communicate information, has also been called the "moccasin telegraph" (Field Data 1994).

Primary Kin: Communication Links in HPI's Modern Community. The telephone is a major information source for the members to receive gossip, notice of Potawatomi/Indian activities, HPI information, and affinal/consanguineal family member updates. The task for BAR staff was to verify the extent of reported use of the telephone among the HPI membership.

Moccasin Telegraph: HPI Primary Kin Network. The BAR anthropologist, in consultation with BAR's historian and genealogist, established a method to approximate communication among the HPI by assuming it was likely that the petitioner's primary kin[22] maintained communication ties with each other by using the telephone network or the "moccasin telegraph." A communication link was defined as a HPI adult member in telephone contact with one other adult primary kin relation, as either a sender or receiver of the message.

Using enrollment data submitted by the petitioner and genealogy summaries supplied by the BAR genealogist, possible primary kin communication links of members living in different geographical areas were analyzed. The sample was derived from using the HPI genealogical descent list developed by the BAR genealogist. The first 440 names of living members on the list that matched names on the petitioner's 819 enrollment list of February, 1994 were used. Thus, the potential communication links among primary kin of 440 members of the petitioner (representing 54 percent of the HPI members) were evaluated.

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[22]Primary kin was defined as an individual's mother, father, brother, sister, or child.

The table below summarizes the findings:

HPI COMMUNICATION LINKS OF PRIMARY KIN BETWEEN GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS (excludes children under 21 living with a parent)						
NAME	BRADLEY	GRAND RAPIDS	HARTFORD	LANSING	MT. PLEASANT	PINE CR
BRADLEY	X	13	11	21	1	29
G.RAPIDS	13	X	3	5	21	35
HARTFORD	11	3	X	2	5	11
LANSING	21	5	2	X		21
MtPLEASANT	1	21	5		X	1
PINE CREEK	29*	35	11	21	1	X

Source: HPI enrollment list 1994; BAR Genealogist 1994.

*Key: 29 -- The 29 refers to 29 possible communication links (Example) between Pine Creek and Bradley related primary kin. Pine Creek Core Area Sample = 146 of 198 Pine Creek members (74 percent)

Overall Sample = 440 of 819 HPI members (54 percent)

The above table shows members living within the Pine Creek social core area as having the most possible communication links with primary kin residing in the other five geographical areas with the exception of Mount Pleasant. The Grand Rapids area has significantly more primary kin communication links to Mount Pleasant than is true for Pine Creek.[23]

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[23]A message communicated via telephone and sent through primary kin households will, for example, be sent from Pine Creek to a primary kin relation in Grand Rapids. The Grand Rapids relation will, in turn, telephone the message to a Mount Pleasant member. A more typical route of communication between Mount Pleasant and Pine Creek members is through members not so closely related. So, some telephone communication goes directly to and from Pine Creek to Mount Pleasant via members who are cousins, aunts, nephews, in-laws, etc. (Field Data 1994).

Using the communication links of primary kin, information originating from Pine Creek's HPI office radiates outward to non-resident members living in the other geographical areas or in other states and Canada. For members living in Canada and in other states (findings not shown on table), 90 percent of the members had at least one direct link and generally several links to primary kin residing in the Pine Creek social core area.

When a message from Pine Creek is sent to a primary kin or other Band member living in another geographical area, the message will be communicated by telephone or in person to consanguineal relations living within the other geographical area. As the message spreads throughout that geographical area, the greater the likelihood that the message will be sent on to a third geographical area or to a related band member living in another state (Field Data 1994).

A charting by the anthropologist of the possible communication links between a member and his or her primary kin living inside and outside of the six geographical areas provided evidence of an extensive "moccasin telegraph" network. Multi-communication paths lead to and from Pine Creek social core area and the other geographical areas. For the 14 percent of the members living out-of-state, all had at least one primary kin communication link to one of the six geographical areas. As one Pine Creek member observed, "We [no matter where we live] still keep in contact" (Field Data 1994). A Lansing member mentioned she telephoned her sister twice a month -- a sister who lives on the East Coast and who is one of the few of her generation that knows the art of Huron Potawatomi basket making (Field Data 1994).

Personal messages, gossip, and HPI information transferred via telephone was not limited to primary kin within the petitioner's dispersed group of families. Within the HPI membership, if you are not related to someone else as primary kin, than you are probably blood-related and communicating to him or her as a first or second cousin. Alan Mackety, living with his grandmother Hazel Mackety in Pine Creek, was asked if he had telephone contact with other cousins living off the reservation. He responded, "Oh yeah. All the time." Similar responses were given by other members who were interviewed and lived in one of the other geographical areas (Field Data 1994).

Marriage Patterns. Until 1960, a majority of Huron Band members' marriages in a given decade were within the group or to a non-Huron Potawatomi Indian. With the advent of the "1960's" and with more post-high school-age members leaving their communities to attend college or work, the trend of Band member marriages moved decidedly to the exogamous end of the continuum.

The rate of Huron Band members marrying non-Indians for the 1960's, 1970's, and 1980's has been constant, between 80 to 82 percent. During the 1960's, 48 of the 60 marriages (80 percent) were with non-Indian partners; 71 of 87 marriages (82 percent) were with non-Indian partners in the 1970's; and 39 of 49 marriages (80 percent) were with non-Indian partners in the 1980's (BAR genealogist 1994). Thus, the rate has held essentially stable since 1960: there was no statistical evidence of a continuing downturn of marriages to non-Indians.

A swing to more intraband (within the Huron Band of Potawatomi) and interband (with other Indians) marriages is likely if younger Huron Band of Potawatomis meet unrelated Potawatomi or other Indians of the opposite gender at pan-Indian activities. Too, if HPI adds land to its 120 acre reservation and if the land can be converted at a future date to Federal trust land, many families have indicated an interest to moving to the Pine Creek Reservation -- 60 percent in a recent HPI-conducted survey of their membership (Communication with HPI Executive Director 1994). A larger Huron Potawatomi community in a concentrated reservation area and increased numbers of younger HPI members participating in Indian activities would likely promote more intraband marriages (Field Data 1994).

Traditional Potawatomi Values. Other Michigan Indians consider traditional-minded Bush, Pamp, and other Huron Potawatomi elders to be leaders in living the Potawatomi Indian way in a modern world. Through their example and that of other Indian traditional-mined families in Michigan, more of HPI's general membership is investigating traditional Potawatomi values and culture, as evidenced in the increasing numbers of membership attending powwows and traditional ceremonies (Field Data 1994).

The Pamps' popular annual powwow has attracted from 100 to 200 HPI members. More HPI members are participating in other powwows during the summer powwow circuit. At these

gatherings, not only are friendships established and maintained by HPI participants, but band members learn new Indian dances, songs and ways to share experiences in an almost all-Indian setting (Field Data 1994).

Frank Bush stated in a 1985 article written in the Grand Rapids Press that more young members were coming to him to discover traditional Indian knowledge. Bush and other elders teach members about Potawatomi spiritual, health and living practices. A number of the younger generation are studying under elders to help assure that the knowledge continues to be passed on to future generations (Field Data 1994).

Frank Bush, other elders, and respected adults representing the six geographical areas participated in or produced a video to document HPI's history and traditions, as remembered in first-hand accounts by HPI's elders. The two volume video series provides anecdotal accounts of life in Huron Potawatomi households representing several geographical areas from the 1920's to 1994 (HPI Heritage Video 1994).

The Modern HPI Community: Today. As already discussed, the majority of HPI's population is distributed among six geographical areas with one of the six, Pine Creek, serving as the group's social core. Approximately 81 percent of HPI's members reside in one of the six geographical areas. Only five percent of the members reside in Michigan but outside the six geographical areas; 14 percent reside out of state (HPI Member List February 1994).

Moving Back or Near to the Social Core. Evidence provided by the petitioner supported the position that the HPI membership identified with Pine Creek as the social core of the Huron Potawatomi -- a home community to which non-resident members hoped to move in the near future. In December, 1994, HPI staff surveyed its membership asking the following questions:

> Would you be interested in Housing [and moving] around the Pine Creek Reservation next year? If so, would you complete a 'Needs Assessment Survey' for the tribe and return the survey for an application for Land Assignment of one (1) acre on or adjourning [sic] lands by the Pine Creek

Reservation? (HPI Needs Assessment Questionnaire December, 1994).

Of those responding to HPI's question about Pine Creek housing -- returning to the Pine Creek area if housing were available, 72 percent of the 83 head-of-household HPI respondents indicated 'yes', that they would be interested in moving their family on or near the Pine Creek Reservation next year.[24] This finding, demonstrating widespread interest among off reservation members in moving on or near to Pine Creek, was consistent with interviews of members conducted on-site in southern Michigan communities and, importantly, showed general membership ties to the Pine Creek social core. The majority of off reservation interviewees stated an interest in moving to or near the Pine Creek reservation if inexpensive housing were available. If HPI became federally acknowledged, younger adults said that then they would be interested in moving to Pine Creek because of the improved employment possibilities (Field Data 1994).

Interaction Across Family Lines and Geographical Areas. The petitioner supplied lists of HPI members who had attended from one to three events held within the greater HPI community between 1980 and 1993: a 1980 funeral, a 1991 high school graduation party, and a 1993 funeral. The three lists of members' names were used to construct a chart displaying sociometric relationships of the attendees to the immediate family associated with one of the three events.[25]

1980 Funeral. Forty-eight HPI members attended the 1980 funeral at Bradley for John Chivis, Sr., a respected elder

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[24]Of those members who answered the survey question, 60 (82 percent) answered 'yes' and 23 (18 percent) answered 'no'.

[25]The chart also illustrated potential communication links between primary kin living in different communities within the Pine Creek social core; HPI staff and council, by home communities; HPI member attendees to 1980 funeral at Bradley, by home community; HPI member attendees to 1991 graduation party at Leroy (2 miles from Pine Creek Reservation); and HPI member attendees to 1993 funeral at Athens (3 miles from Pine Creek Reservation).

who lived in the Bradley/Grand Rapids area.[26] Sixty-five percent of the HPI guests (N=31) came from the nearby Bradley and Grand Rapid geographical areas. Twenty-three percent of the HPI members (N=11) came from the Pine Creek social core area, eight percent (N=4) from the Hartford area, and four percent (N=2) from the Mount Pleasant area. Fifty-two percent of the attendees (N=25) were from across family lines, as linked to John Chivis, Sr.

1991 Graduation Party. Forty-six related and unrelated HPI members attended the high school graduation party in the honor of Mon-ee Chivis, daughter of Ruth Ann (former HPI staffer) and Terry Chivis (current council member). The celebration was held at their home which was located two miles from the Pine Creek Reservation. Sixty-four percent of the members (N=29) came from the surrounding Pine Creek core area communities, four percent (N=2) from Hartford, twenty-six (N=12) percent from Grand Rapids, two percent (N=1) from Lansing, and four percent (N=2) from Bradley. Forty-three percent of the HPI members (N=20) who attended were from across family lines, as linked to Mon-ee Chivis.

1993 Funeral. Fifty-five members attended the funeral of David Mackety, former HPI chairman, at Athens on March 1, 1993. Sixty percent of the attending members (N=33) came from the Pine Creek area, two percent (N=1) from the Hartford area, two percent (N=1) from the Lansing area, nine percent (N=5) from the Bradley area, sixteen percent (N=9) from the Grand Rapids area, and seven percent (N=4) from the Mount Pleasant area. Four percent of the members (N=2) came from out of state. Sixty percent of the attendees (N=33) to

[26]The number attending this funeral and the other two activities represents an extremely conservative approximation -- listed totals may represent only a third of those members who actually attended. Many signatures on the guest lists were illegible. Only names that could be matched to a current membership list were counted. Where a guest signed "John Smith and Family," only John Smith was counted (assuming he was on the current HPI membership list).

Mackety's funeral were not related or from across family lines.[27]

These three events occurring in the petitioner's modern era demonstrate the widespread interest of members, related or non-related, in attending functions of import to the HPI community. Older adult members showed interest and solidarity by attending the high school graduation party of a female youth, as about half of the attendees to that event were older adults. Younger members attended the funerals of John Chivis, an elder, and David Mackety, an elder/leader, in about equal numbers of older member attendees which suggests that the HPI elders and leaders have followers in all age groups.

The table on the next page compares demographic data and findings related to the three HPI community-wide activities.

[27]Attendees to any one of the three HPI activities who were more distantly related than second cousin were considered to "non-related" or from across family lines.

ANALYSIS OF THREE HPI COMMUNITY EVENTS			
	John Chivis, Sr Funeral	Mon-ee Chivis Graduation Party	David Mackety Funeral
Year of Event	1980	1991	1993
Parents Names	Henry Medawis Mary Pamptopee	Terry Chivis Ruth Ann Bailey	Albert Mackety Elizabeth Wezoo
Grandparents	p:Lewis Medawis p:Lydis Sprague m:Steve Pamp- m:Agnes Wezoo	p:David Chivis p:Daisy Medawis m:WillardBailey m:Elma Mandoka	p:Samuel Mackety p:Susan David m:Thomas Wezoo m:Rosa Johnson
# HPI Attendees	48	46	55
# or percent Related	# = 23 or 48 percent	# = 26 or 57 percent	# = 22 or 40 percent
# or percent Not Related	# = 25 or 52 percent	# = 20 or 43 percent	# =33 or 60 percent
Pine Creek Core	**# = 11 or 23 percent**	**# = 29 or 64 percent**	**# = 33 or 60 percent**
Bradley Area	Brad. + Gr.Rpds	#=2or 4 percent	#=5 or 9 percent
Grand Rapids	# = 31 or 65 percent	# = 12 or 26 percent	# = 9 or 16 percent
Hartford Area	#=4or 8 percent	#=2or 4 percent	#=1 or 2 percent
Mount Pleasant	#=2or 4 percent	0	#=7 or 4 percent
Lansing Area	0	#=1or 2 percent	#=5 or 9 percent

The importance of the six geographical areas to the HPI membership, particularly the importance of the Pine Creek social core area, can be further demonstrated by relocation patterns of members during the modern era.

Movement Patterns since 1983. A 1983 eligible voting list for out-of-state members was established by the HPI council and its election committee. That list contained the names and addresses of eighteen (18) adult eligible out-of-state voters. By using the 1983 HPI out-of-state member list and comparing members' addresses in it to the addresses of the same members listed in the February 1994 HPI membership list, it was possible to document member migration to and from southern Michigan.

Although most of the out-of-state members (N=12) on the list have continued to live outside of Michigan since 1983[28], six members returned to southern Michigan communities. The following movement patterns were observed:

- four of six members (67 percent) returned to one of the six HPI geographical areas in southern Michigan; only two of six members (33 percent) returned to communities in southern Michigan that were outside of the six geographical areas;
- three of six members (50 percent) returned to the Pine Creek social core area (HPI Documents 1983, 1994).

For those members who, later, did return to Michigan from out of state locations, a significant number -- fifty percent -- established a new residence within the social core area of HPI.

Movement Patterns since 1991. Almost all of the names and addresses from the petitioner's 1991 membership list were transferred without address changes to the 1994 HPI membership. The petitioner recently sent to BAR the updated addresses for 39 members who were listed on both the 1991 and 1994 membership lists. It can be assumed, therefore, that the address changes for the 39 members took place sometime after 1991.

From the list of updated HPI member addresses, 11 of the 39 address changes showed members relocating from an out-of-state place of origin to either a community within or without one of HPI's six geographical areas in southern

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[28]Two of twelve members (17 percent) moved from one state to another state. Ten of twelve members (83 percent) stayed in the same out of state community.

Michigan. The findings associated with these moves were the following:

- 8 of the 11 members (73 percent) moved to one of the six HPI geographical areas in southern Michigan (to Pine Creek, see next finding); only three of eleven members (27 percent) moved to communities outside the six geographical areas;
- further, all of the 8 or 11 members (73 percent) moved to the Pine Creek social core area from an out of state location since 1991 (HPI Documents 1991, 1994).

In comparing these percentages of members moving to an HPI geographical area from out of state, 73 percent moved to one of the six geographical areas since 1991, as compared to [illegible] percent listed on the 1983 document. However, 73 percent of members moving from an out of state location since 1991 relocated to a community within the Pine Creek social core area. A significantly smaller percentage of the members [illegible]0 percent) returned to the core area who were on the 1983 out of state list.

These findings suggest that a migration pattern may be forming for out-of-state HPI members: when out-of-state HPI members decide to return Michigan, it is highly likely that they will chose to relocate in one of the six geographical areas, particularly the social core area of Pine Creek.

Inter-Geographical Core Area Movement. From HPI's updated membership address list, 26 of 39 members moved from one southern Michigan community to another southern Michigan community -- mostly from one HPI geographical area to another HPI geographical area. Since 1991, HPI member relocation within Michigan showed the following patterns:

- 24 out of 26 members (92 percent) moved from one HPI geographical area to another (N=21) or from outside a geographical area into one (N=3). Only 2 of 26 members (8 percent) moved from a HPI geographical area to a southern Michigan community not in a geographical area.
- 16 out of 26 members (62 percent) moved from one community to another that was closer to or in the Pine Creek social core area.

The high percentage (92 percent) of the members moving to another HPI geographical area supported field data collected on-site from adult members who noted the high value of

on maintaining relationships among family and Huron Potawatomi friends. If a member received a higher paying job offer, which was located in another community, he or she might refuse the job offer if the job location was perceived by the member to be too far from family and friends.

Importantly, the movement pattern of HPI members since 1983, based on the evidence discussed above, suggests a steady two-decade trend of members relocating closer to the Pine Creek social core.

Modern Political Influence and Authority

The 1970's: a Political Overview. The decade of the 1970's proved to be a pivotal period in the development of the petitioner's political organization. Since the late 1960's, David Mackety had met with Elma Gabow and other members urging that the group establish a formal structure through which to apply for funds, elicit additional member involvement and gain outside organizational support. By 1970, the petitioner's leaders felt no time could be lost, if the group was to achieve its objective to become a federally recognized tribe. To this end, on July 17, 1970, the group registered with the State of Michigan to become an incorporated non-profit entity. The newly registered group became known as Huron Potawatomi Incorporated or HPI[29] (HPI. Pet. 1986, 41-42;). Shortly thereafter in 1970, HPI, through polling approximately 50 members attending a meeting held in Athens, elected its first tribal council with David Mackety as council chairman (HPI Pet. 1986, 41; Field Data 1994).

In the spring of 1972, HPI approved a resolution to "inform the Minneapolis Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs Land Operation of its decision to apply for a Federal status Indian reservation . . . ." (HPI Pet. 1986, Doc. 61). A year later, several HPI members were successful in gaining a measure of historical recognition when the "Indiantown" settlement was listed in the National Register of Historic Places as Pine Creek Indian Reservation (HPI Pet. 1986, Doc. 65-A).

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[29]HPI is used in this report to identify the petitioner.

The political and organizational development of HPI continued through the remainder of the decade. In 1975, for example, HPI sent a letter to Commissioner Morris Thompson of the BIA informing him of their intent to petition for Federal acknowledgment. To conduct the costly historical and genealogical research necessary to support their petition, HPI applied for outside funding. In 1977, the group wrote several grant proposals. The Administration for Native Americans and the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare awarded grant monies to HPI. In 1979, after much community input (to be discussed later), the membership approved the HPI constitution.

These milestones in Huron Potawatomi Incorporated's early political and organizational life shaped the infrastructure of its council and support staff during the 1970's and later.

Political Influence and Authority. The Huron Band saw the decade of the 1970's as a decade of opportunity. From the younger generation of the Mackety and Pamp families, David Mackety and Leonard Pamp emerged as the leaders representing the conservative Christian and Indian traditionalist factions, respectively. These two new leaders hoped that the 1970's would be the decade that a collaborative-oriented membership achieved Federal acknowledgment. As one member recalled: "Recognition. That was our key goal [in the 1970's] and to try to get as many people involved as we can" (Field Data 1994).

Political Structure of HPI's Tribal Organization: 1970-1977. On March 11, 1970, "Potawatomi [members] from the southern part of Michigan (Bronson) to the city of Grand Rapids [to the north] gathered at a meeting held in the Athens High School" (HPI Newsletter circa April, 1970). Attending members voted to incorporate under the statutes of the State of Michigan. They also elected officers to represent the membership and to conduct the group's business at council meetings. Four officers were elected: President, David Mackety; Vice President, Elliot "Jack" Pamptopee; Secretary, Shirley Simmons (current 1995 HPI chairperson); and Treasurer, Henry Medawis.

Some group geographical and familial representativeness was achieved by electing the four officers. Each new council member came from a different community: Pine Creek (Mackety), Battle Creek (Pamptopee), Marshall (Simmons), and

Grand Rapids (Medawis). Medawis represented the geographical area of Grand Rapids, while the others resided within the greater Pine Creek social core. Further, three of the four council representatives were not closely related, although Medawis was married to Elliot Pamp's second cousin. Shirley Simmons' father was the brother of David Mackety. Mackety and Pamp were first cousins once removed, as Pamp's mother and Mackety's grandmother were sisters (BAR Genealogist 1994).

Geographical and familial representativeness was important to the new council in their quest to involve general members in the group's political process. A first HPI newsletter sent to the membership underlined the significance of member participation in the group's political development, as viewed by the council:

> The incorporation [HPI] cannot exist without your support. If you are of Huron heritage, you are invited to be a part of our organization (HPI Newsletter circa April, 1970).

One of the council's first official actions was to establish five committees. The purpose of the committees was twofold. First, the committees were to be the organization's operational and advisory arm. Second, the committees were to serve as a member-initiated communication and information conduit to the council -- a vehicle allowing interested members to have an active role and voice in the group's political or organizational evolution from the outset. Seventeen members representing several geographical areas volunteered to serve as committee members in March, 1970:

HISTORIAN, TREATIES AND ADVISORY: Henry F. Bush, Balaam Pamptopee [Pamp], Samuel Mackety, Jack Pamptopee, Levi Pamptopee, A.N. Mackety.

REGISTRATION: Louise Medawis, Mike Mandoka, Geneva Mackety and Elsie Buddy.

NEWSLETTER AND PUBLICITY: Leona Bush, Ruth Ann Bailey [Chivis], David Mackety and Irene Wesley.

EDUCATION, HOUSING, LAND, CEMETERY: Al Simmons [non-Indian spouse], Jack Pamptopee, Gladys Chivis and Joe Wesley.

LEGAL COUNSEL: William Funk (HPI Newsletter circa April, 1970).

For the decade, council meetings were held once a month, as long as a quorum of at least three of the five council members were present.[30] During the meeting, committee reports were given by a committee member, usually the committee chairperson. The committee spokesperson provided the council with a progress report on active committee projects. Available documentation showed a range of three to fifteen members from the general membership attending monthly board meetings, while 27 to 50 members (12 percent to 23 percent of 217 adult HPI members, who were eligible to vote) attending annual or semi-annual meetings during the [illegible]'s.[31]

The council organized bi-annual or annual meetings to provide a forum for gathering the general membership's position on issues of political import to HPI. During the early part of the decade, the issues addressed the group's goal of achieving Federal acknowledgment and to update its tribal list. Toward the end of the decade, members were invited to share their opinions on a broader range of topics: the group's constitution amendments, funding possibilities, committee assignments, and HPI program priorities (HPI Minutes October 16, 1976; Field Data 1994).

To help defray the costs of holding council meetings and to provide an opportunity for membership fiscal support of [illegible], member contributions were collected at each board or annual meeting. The contributions were, in fact, voluntary contributions made by council and other members at official HPI meetings. The member contributions collected at each meeting were nominal, reportedly from $10 to $40; but, importantly, members, by contributing, could show their support of their organization (Field Data 1994).

Early HPI Political Objectives. From the outset, Mackety and the HPI council considered various routes to gain [illegible] acknowledgment expeditiously. Not unlike the leaders of [illegible]

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[30]By 1975, a member-at-large was added to the original member council. The member-at-large served a one-year [illegible] and had to be an adult (21 or older) who resided at the [illegible] Creek Reservation (Field Data 1994).

[31]Using the petitioner's 1978 membership list, 217 [illegible] were over 18 and eligible to vote in annual elections [illegible] council members (HPI Membership List 1978).

group in 1934, the council believed they were eligible to organize as a tribal entity under the Indian Reorganization Act. A Department of the Interior memorandum dated June 11, 1971, written by BIA Minneapolis Area Office's Elmer T. Nitzschke, a Tribal Operations Field Solicitor, agreed with the council's assessment:

> The two groups which have requested assistance are the Huron Potawatomi Band and the Lac Vieux Desert Band of Chippewa Indians, both in the State of Michigan. Assuming that neither band has ever voted to reject the Indian Reorganization Act, and we have been assured verbally that neither band has voted at all on the question, it would appear that the only remaining requirement that they need to meet to be eligible to organize is to have a land base which qualified as a reservation. **Regarding the Potawatomi group, this requirement would appear to this office to be met by the tract of land held in trust for them by the State of Michigan and on which the bulk [closer to 18 percent or 50 members] of the Potawatomis reside** [emphasis added].[32] The State of Michigan has further expressed an interest in transferring the property to the United States to be held in trust for the band (Nitzschke to Associate Solicitor for Indian Affairs June 11, 1971, 3; BAR, HPI Admin Files).

Convinced of their eligibility under the Reorganization Act, the council unanimously passed a resolution which they sent to the BIA through the Minneapolis Area Office. The 1972 resolution implied the support of its 300 plus members and proclaimed HPI's intent or "decision to apply for a federal status Indian reservation" (HPI Pet. 1986, Doc. 61).

Through lobbying by the group's leaders, HPI successfully gained support of the Governor of Michigan to transfer the State trust lands at Pine Creek to the Federal Government. A letter from Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Department

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[32]The percentage of 18 percent was calculated by using the 1978 HPI membership list. The list showed the number of members who have at least 1/4 Huron Potawatomi blood quantum to be 276.

of the Interior, W.L. Rogers, to Governor Milliken acknowledged the State's willingness to transfer the Pine Creek trust land:

> We appreciate the letters you have written indicating the interest of the Huron Potawatomi Band of Indians located in Calhoun County, Michigan, coming under Federal trusteeship and your willingness to transfer the State reservation to the Federal Government to be held under Federal trusteeship.
>
> The legal and policy aspects of this proposal are being considered. We will be in touch with you further when decisions are reached (Assistant Secretary Rogers to Governor Milliken July 10, 1973, BAR, HPI Admin Files).

Others supporting the conversion of Pine Creek land from a State to a Federal trust included Michigan's native son, President Gerald R. Ford. Ford assured David Mackety in a January 18, 1973 letter that he, the President, had "forwarded your complete letter to the Secretary of the Interior Rogers C.B. Morton with the recommendation that he give it favorable consideration" (President Ford to Mackety January 18, 1973, BAR, HPI Admin Files).

During the months that followed, however, the Department of the Interior's solicitor did not come to a favorable finding regarding the HPI petition for Federal trust status for the reservation.

By 1974, Mackety and the council realized that seeking Federal acknowledgment was a protracted process. From the perspective of the general members, however, months had passed without discernable evidence that the leadership was making progress toward Federal acknowledgment. HPI general members began asking each other whether or not the acknowledgment goal was worthwhile and how the Federal acknowledgment, once achieved by the group, would benefit members (BAR Admin. Files; Field Data 1994).

David Mackety felt the pressure from the membership. He was able to schedule a personal meeting with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Morris Thompson and left for Washington, D.C. in early 1974.

After Mackety returned from his Washington trip, Commissioner Thompson sent a letter to Mackety outlining the services members would be eligible to receive, if the Huron Band of Potawatomi became acknowledged:

Revenue sharing

Scholarships

Johnson-O'Malley funds

Adult vocational training

Direct employment assistance - transportation to the site of a position and subsistence until one's first paycheck

Realty services

Road services

Law and order - Michigan does not service Federal Indian reservations

Housing assistance through HUD and home improvement

Tribal government services

Forestry

Social services (Commissioner Thompson to Mackety March 15, 1974, BAR, HPI Admin Files).

On April 13, 1974, during a council meeting, the council shared the list of BIA services with attending members. This list of BIA tribal services reignited the interest among HPI's general membership.

In November 1975, Mackety and the council resubmitted a petition for "recognition" to Commissioner Thompson documenting the support of the group's general membership for "recognition." Mackety submitted the HPI petition with a letter of support signed by 99 members, "which constitute approximately a good third of [closer to half of the adults in] our Tribal Band" (Mackety to Commissioner Thompson November 12, 1975, HPI Pet. Doc. 72).

HPI leadership acquired support for their tribal acknowledgment initiative from state and national leaders. Senator James Abourezk appealed to BIA Commissioner Morris Thompson to "provide us with the status of the recognition application for the Huron Potawatomi Band of Indians" (Abourezk to Commissioner Thompson, July 8, 1974,

Michigan Representative Garry Brown wrote several letters to the BIA Commissioner on the status of the Band's acknowledgment petition. Brown voiced his frustration in an April 26, 1976, letter noting that the matter "still remains unresolved and, frankly, the reasons therefor have not been forthcoming" (Brown to Commissioner Thompson, 1976, BAR).

Chairman Mackety received a letter dated September 13, 1976, from White House staff's Bradley H. Patterson. Patterson stated that President Ford approved of Interior's plan to standardize the acknowledgment process for benefit of groups such as the "Huron Potawatomi tribe":

> I have checked carefully here at the White House and find that it is the President's preference to have the Secretary go ahead with his present plan to identify and set forth standards and procedures for recognition of Indian tribes -- a plan which means that all the pending applications for recognition would be deferred for a short time longer until those standards and procedures have been clarified.
>
> I have checked with Interior, and find that this work is nearing completion.
>
> I think the Huron Potawatomi tribe will find these new standards reasonable. . . (Patterson to Mackety, September 13, 1976, BAR).

In the fall of 1976, Mackety and the council drafted a newsletter to provide the general membership information HPI activities. The intent of the newsletter was to not only inform the membership, but also to stimulate their interest in supporting HPI initiatives. HPI's council members knew that they had to have the support of the general membership, if they were to be successful in the bid for tribal acknowledgment. Further, contacts with Interior staff emphasized the importance of broad based community support (Commissioner Thompson to Mackety May 15, 1974; Area Director Lightfoot to Bienenfeld April 1974, HPI Admin File, BAR).

A September, 1976, HPI newsletter was sent to the mem and noted that HPI representatives had met with Presid Ford's "top aides" in Washington. The newsletter's unidentified author also requested the membership to the leadership in reaching the group's Federal acknowledgment goal by volunteering to serve on HPI

committees. The newsletter editor urged members to show their support by attending the next HPI business meeting:

> Now in 1976, the call has gone out for a concentrated support [of membership] in our bid for federal recognition. Support us [HPI council] by your presence at this important business meeting -- October 16, 1976. Your input is vital to the HURON band! (HPI Newsletter September, 1976).

Posters announcing the October 16, 1976 "Semi-Annual General Meeting of the Huron Potawatomi, Inc." were sent to the membership by the council with the hope of increasing attendance (HPI Poster undated, BAR, HPI Admin Files). The meeting was held near Kalamazoo and featured a noon pot-luck dinner. No record was provided to BAR documenting the number of general members attending, although the minutes noted that $33.00 was collected from the membership (HPI Semi-Annual Meeting Minutes October 16, 1976).[33]

The minutes from the meeting also showed a title change for David Mackety. Formerly, he was addressed as HPI's president. Beginning with the October 16, 1976 minutes, he was called Chairman Mackety, a title consistent with the revised officer titles in the group's working draft of their constitution (HPI Semi-Annual Meeting Minutes October 16, 1976; Field Data 1994).

The minutes for the regular council meeting of November, 1976 disclosed the names of the current council members along with their term of office, by office held:

> David Mackety, Chairman, 3 Years
>
> Henry Bush, Jr., Vice Chairman, 3 Years
>
> Mary Church, Secretary, 2 Years
>
> Jesse Schwoebel, Treasurer, 2 Years [HPI staff employee]

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[33]Some documentation was provided by the petitioner for the attendance of members at other annual meetings. Using that documentation, the range of members attending of members attending a HPI annual meeting was between 30 and 50. The 1976 semi-annual meeting likely had an attendance within that range (14 percent to 23 percent of the total adult voting membership).

Elizabeth Pamp, Member at Large, 1 Year (HPI Minutes November 6, 1976).

This HPI council reflected a higher degree of geographical representativeness of their membership than had earlier councils. By 1976, half of the membership resided 39 to 103 linear miles north of Pine Creek in the Bradley, Grand Rapids and Mount Pleasant geographical areas. The 1976 council had two of its members residing in these northern areas: Henry Bush, Jr. from the Grand Rapids and Mary Church from the Bradley areas. David Mackety and Elizabeth Pamp, residents of Pine Creek, represented the Indiantown constituency. The working draft of the group's constitution mandated that two council members have their residence in Pine Creek (HPI Constitution 1979).

Committee Structure. The December 11, 1976 council minutes highlighted the infrastructure of the council's committees. David Mackety appointed one of the elected council members to serve as a committee chair. The other members of the committee were to come from the general membership. "Each [committee] chairperson was responsible to establish the goals and objectives of that committee and report back to the Tribal Council for ratification of the goals and objectives" (HPI Minutes December 11, 1976).

The leadership structure of the committees, where one council member served as committee chair for one of the five standing committees, was designed to foster two-way communication between the council members and general members. This committee format allowed general members serving on one of the five committees to have a direct communication link to the council member who was assigned as the committee's chair (Field Data 1994).

Louise E. Reznik, who served as the Federal liaison for Michigan's Commission on Indian Affairs, was among the first State officials enlisted to lobby for HPI. She saw HPI's petition as unique -- distinct from other groups' petitions already submitted to Department of the Interior -- and, therefore, urged special, immediate processing by the Department of the Interior. In a letter to President Carter, Reznik expressed her views:

> I would, at this time, like to make you aware of the Huron-Potawatomi of Michigan who have State Recognition, land base and are part of a Nation of which four other segments of the same tribe ha

> Federal recognition. This segment has not received Federal Recognition and have sought Federal status since March 1972.
>
> I feel they should not be categorized with the 40 tribes who are now seeking Federal Recognition.
>
> I respectfully request immediate action favorable to the Huron-Potawatomi of Michigan in obtaining Federal Recognition (Reznik to President Carter, February 17, 1977, PAR).

Reznik's letter prompted a quick response from Daniel P. Beard who served on President Carter's Domestic Council Policy Staff dated February 28, 1977:

> The President is, indeed, very much aware of and concerned for the problems encountered by American Indians and will be making every effort to seek solutions to those problems.
>
> However, the matter of Federal Recognition is still in the hands of the Department of the Interior. Therefore, I am taking the liberty of forwarding your letter to Secretary Cecil Andrus so that he can review and consider your request (Beard to Reznik, 1977, BAR).

The HPI council realized that the Carter administration would not be as proactive in pushing for HPI tribal acknowledgment as had been former President Ford. However, upon receiving news from a letter written to Louise Reznik (dated March 31, 1977) by Acting Director of the Office of Indian Services John D. Geary, the HPI leadership and members hopes were raised. Geary noted that the Interior's Office of Indian Services staff "agree that possibly the Huron-Potawatomi Indians may fall into a special category, with regard to their Federal status." He added that the issue of special category status was "currently under review" and that they would inform Reznik of the outcome at the earliest possible date (Geary to Reznik March 31, 1977; BAR, HPI Admin Files).

HPI, through a letter written to Louise Reznik from Acting Deputy Commissioner of Indian Affairs Raymond V. Butler, dated June 22, 1977, received word on the status of their petition:

> After careful review of the documentation provided us in conjunction with the petition for acknowledgment of Federal recognition of the Huron-Potawatomi Indians and your letter of February 17 requesting special consideration based on your assertion that the group is categorically unique, we have concluded that such consideration should be deferred until final publication of the regulations governing such determination are published in the Federal Register (Butler to Reznik, June 22, 1977, BAR).

Butler added what probably is the reason for not beginning the formal review and evaluation of HPI's petition:

> In the interest of equitable consideration of all petitioners it could be difficult for the Bureau to justify a departure from the proposed procedures on behalf of the Huron-Potawatomi (Butler to Reznik, June 22, 1977, BAR).

This Department of the Interior decision, in effect, ended the first formal bid of HPI in petitioning Interior for acknowledged tribal status.

Council and Community: 1975-1980

Member Involvement: 1975. In November 1975, 100 adult HPI members (46 percent of the group's adults[34]) signed a petition supporting HPI's bid to become federally acknowledged (HPI Member Petition November, 1975). The 100 signatories represented all of the major families, suggesting no significant intra-group bias. Further, comparing the 100 adult member names on the 1975 petition to the names listed on HPI's 1979 "Voter Eligibility List," 68 of the 100 HPI petitioners could be found on the 1979 list.

Because the 1979 list included the addresses of the HPI petitioners, it was possible to determine the geographical representativeness of the 68 petitioners: 34 came from the Pine Creek social core, 20 from the Grand Rapids geographical area, 10 from the Bradley geographical area, 2

[34]The total number of 219 HPI adults used to determine the percentage of 46 percent was derived from a HPI 1979 voters eligibility list submitted by the petitioner.

from the Mount Pleasant geographical area, and 2 from out-of-state. Thus, the geographical distribution of the 68 petitioners, within the four geographical areas, was representative, in that the distribution of members was consistent with the HPI population totals of the respective areas -- Pine Creek and Grand Rapids are the largest and have roughly equal populations, followed by Bradley and Mount Pleasant areas.

Committee Member Involvement. From 1976 to 1980, 30 different adults (15 percent of the total HPI adult membership) volunteered to serve as members of HPI committees. Most of the committee participants came from the Pine Creek social core area (N=19) with a few members from the Grand Rapids (N=7) and Bradley (N=3) areas. One member on the history and treaty committee completed his duties from out of state.

Committee meetings, similar to council meetings, were held once a month. The committee chair or another committee member reported monthly to the council at its monthly and annual meetings (HPI Minutes 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979).

Five standing committees were established and maintained by the council during the latter half of the 1970's. HPI minutes document committee representatives, usually the committee chairs, giving a committee report during each monthly council meeting during this period, assuming a committee representative was present. The committee spokesperson typically reviewed committee work in progress and other issues of concern, as illustrated in this 1978 Enrollment and Election Committee example:

> The enrollment is progressing well. The Michigan Educational office [sic] at Baraga, Michigan was informed to send applications for educational benefits to the Huron Potawatomi and not to some other office. They agreed.
>
> Leona Bush [enrollment and election committee member] should be reimbursed for expenses incurred on carrying out functions for enrollment such as mileage (HPI Minutes May 27, 1978).

The extent of individual committee member participation in a given committee was not well documented, however. The only information demonstrating committee productivity in the HPI

minutes was sketchy and general in nature (HPI Minutes 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979).

From 1976 to 1980, the HPI leadership attempted to use committees as a mechanism to garner greater membership support and participation in the organization. Approximately 15 members were involved as committee members during this time. The history and treaty committee provided historical research that would help the group develop its case for Federal acknowledgment and Potawatomi land claims. The registration and enrollment committee refined application procedures for those individuals who wanted to become council-certified HPI members. The newsletter and publicity committee drafted and mailed newsletters to the members that informed them of HPI issues, pending initiatives and council meeting -- meetings that members were encouraged to attend. The housing, land and cemetery committee was to determine the needs for elderly housing, acquiring additional tribal land and maintenance of the cemetery. Finally, community members were invited to participate in the construction of the bylaws and constitution by being on the bylaws and constitution committee[35] (HPI Minutes 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979; Field Data 1994).

Member Involvement in HPI's Political Process. From HPI's inception, elected council members encouraged members to attend upcoming council meetings through newsletter mailings. The newsletter message to the membership was typically straight forward, as this 1976 example suggests: "Support us by your presence at this important business [council] meeting -- October 16, 1976. Your input is vital to the Huron band!" (HPI Newsletter circa September, 1976).

Approximately 34 percent of the members who were not council members did come to one or more meetings during the

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[35]Members of the bylaws and constitution committee were particularly dedicated. Members collected bylaws and constitutions from other Michigan Indian groups to use as models in establishing the bylaws and a constitution for HPI. Further, committee members informally sought input from HPI friends and relatives as to possible bylaws and constitution options (Field Data 1994).

1970's.[36] General members commented on the council's pending resolutions and were entitled to submit their own resolutions to the council. During a March, 1978, council meeting, HPI's staff developed two resolutions designed to improve communication between the council and staff (HPI Minutes March 10, 1978). Four women elders, living within the greater Pine Creek social core and not closely related, submitted a resolution to the council urging them to develop a "step by step procedure" in hiring new staff or developing new projects:

> . . . we further recommend that Council begin tonight to move in the right direction. Think about what we have said; discuss what we have said; write down on paper a step by step procedure on how Council will accept new programs [and employees]. Then act accordingly (Mackety, Wells, Bush, and Wesley to HPI Tribal Council March 17, 1978).

The council acted on this member-initiated resolution as it acted on by-laws, constitution, HPI staff, and Federal acknowledgment issues of tribal import.

From 1976 to the end of the decade, more council minutes and HPI-related documents/letters were generated, as evidenced by HPI materials submitted to BAR.[37] The minutes submitted by the petitioner showed that three times the number of the general members attended council meetings after HPI launched its program arm, from the fall of 1977 to 1980, than had

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[36]To determine the approximate percentage of 34 percent, HPI minutes were used to document individual members attending specific council meetings and the 1979 voters eligibility list was used to provide a total number of HPI adults (N=202).

[37]BAR has on file copies of the HPI minutes or correspondence referencing HPI council meetings open from 1976 through 1980 that include: 4/10/76, 10/16/76, 11/6/76, 12/11/76, 2/19/77, 4/16/77, 6/4/77, 7/16/77, 8/1/77, 8/6/77, 9/17/77, 1/20/78, 3/10/78, 3/17/78, 4/1/78, 5/27/78, 8/16/78, 9/15/78, 9/29/78, 11/2/78, 12/15/78, 3/1/79, 4/7/79, 6/9/79, 6/19/79, 7/23/79, 7/31/79, 8/21/79, 9/24/79, 10/5/79, 10/17/79 (BIA).

attended during the seven earlier years in the decade (HPI Minutes 1970-1979).

Dues-Paying Plan. Members were invited by the council to pay tribal dues -- money that was collected by the HPI treasurer to help defray HPI administrative costs. The council considered the implementation of a dues-paying plan as a method for members to invest in the future of HPI. Investing members would, it was hoped, play a more active role in supporting HPI.

The council nominated members to a four-person subcommittee to develop a "dues-paying plan." The committee created what they called a "reasonable system that is fair to the individual" and one that met "the financial needs of the organization. . . ." They proposed a graduated fee system and gave members the option of paying dues on a monthly, quarterly, or semiannual basis (HPI Minutes January 10, 1976). However, continued HPI membership was never contingent upon the payment of dues to the incorporated organization.

No record has been provided to BAR that demonstrated the success of the dues paying plan. For a time it was taken seriously by some. The minutes from the February 19, 1977 meeting held in Fulton (a few miles from the Pine Creek Reservation) showed that "Jesse Schwoebell gave $20.00 toward his dues" (HPI Minutes February 19, 1977). The same minutes stated that some monies collected from members' dues were to pay for securing a copy of the Taggart Roll from the National Archives.

During the late 1970's, the council developed other strategies to elicit broader membership participation. To accomplish this, they held council meetings in various communities in Michigan, generally alternating between a southern and northern community location. The council hoped this action would draw more members from the respective areas to their meetings (Field Data 1994). Because minutes of the 1970's rarely included member sign-in lists, the overall success of this approach cannot be determined.[38]

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[38]Attendance lists from the late 1970's were attached to five HPI minutes submitted to BAR: April 1, 1978 - [illegible]ing members, 7 visitors; May 27, 1978 - 11 voting members; June 23, 1978 - 13 voting members, 1 visitor; March 1, 19[illegible]8

The council set up other strategies designed to enhance tribal member participation: 1) establishing a suggestion box with the new suggestions to be read at council meetings, 2) sending members agendas of pending open council/annual meetings with an invitation for them to attend, 3) instituting business meetings which doubled as community pot luck dinners, and 4) mailing newsletters that detailed issues important to the membership (Field Data 1994).

The Pamp Powwow: an Informal Political Process. For members of the Pamp, Bush, and other Huron Potawatomi families, the 1960's was a decade of traditional Indian discovery and activism. These members became increasingly more aware of their traditional heritage during the decade and joined other Indians in practicing traditional religion, health cures, sweats, and powwows. Some joined the American Indian Movement, an activist group. By the latter half of the 1970's, members of the Pamp and Bush families wanted to further promote Indian traditionalism among their own group, the Nottawaseppi Huron Band of Potawatomi.

In 1977, Leonard Pamp, Betty Pamp, Stella Pamp, Julie Snyder, and Frank Bush formed a board to organize a Huron Potawatomi-sponsored powwow. They met several times prior to the powwow being held in August to vote on who would MC the event and who would be the host drum and head dancer. To draw Indian participants, they decided to hold contest powwows where the best fancy dancer, for example, receives a monetary prize. From the outset, the two-day event was successful. For the first three years of the event, attendance organizers estimated that 100 Huron Band of Potawatomi members, 700 other Indians, and 2,200 non-Indians attended the powwow (Field Data 1994).

After 1980, the organizers decided to eliminate the contest element of the powwow in favor of holding a traditional powwow, a powwow that provides no prize money, but a gift or "give-away" to each Indian participant. The powwow board, consisting of HPI members, also decided to implement a strict behavior code at their powwows -- no drugs or alcohol would be allowed on the powwow grounds or in the camping and parking areas (Field Data 1994).

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voting members; and September 29, 1978 - 8 voting members (HPI Minutes BAR, HPI Admin files).

HPI members who have participated on the powwow board or as powwow attendees estimate that the HPI member attendance has grown from the first year of the event. Eighteen annual powwows have been organized and implemented by the board and the HPI members who produce the two-day activity. HPI participants estimated that from 150 to 200 HPI members attend what is now called the Pamp Memorial Powwow. Members from the Collyer, Watson, Bush, Pamp, Medawis, White Pigeon, Chivis, Day, Mandoka, Wesaw, and Sprague HPI families regularly attend. Only the Macketys refrain from participation, as it is a practice, they believe, contrary to conservative Christian values (Field Data 1994). But for an increasing number of HPI members -- unaffected by such values, powwows have reignited an interest in their Huron Potawatomi culture and provided a vehicle for them to demonstrate collectively their community's solidarity to others.

Enlarging HPI's Funding Base. The initial 1972 petition request gave the HPI organization and its members the foundation from which to collect data to better understand and address the socio-cultural needs of the group. By 1975, the council knew and the community members were beginning to realize the need for accessing outside resources to develop their economy and provide social services. To establish some social and economic development programs for the HPI community, the leadership in 1977 decided that the time was right, politically and socio-economically speaking, to apply for public sector grants.

Late in 1977, members of the council wrote a grant application to the Administration for Native Americans (ANA). That September, members learned that HPI had received ANA funding of $85,000 and matching funds from the State of Michigan to "hire a staff to pursue Federal Recognition and (tribal) development" (HPI Pet. 1986, 43). Complying with grant guidelines, the council hired a program staff, led by executive director Gordon Bush from Grand Rapids, an HPI member.

From late 1977 through 1980, Bush, a trained sociologist, set a precedent of commuting 90 minutes from Grand Rapids to the Pine Creek HPI office. (A HPI staffer makes the same daily commute today). After hiring his staff, whose salaries were funded by the ANA and state matching grants, Bush initiated a Huron Band community needs assessment. Findings associated with the needs assessment had a two-fold

purpose: to provide information useful in writing the group's acknowledgment petition and in writing future grant applications to benefit group members' welfare (HPI Pet. 1986, BAR, HPI Admin Files).

Bush's tenure as HPI's executive director spanned from 1978 to 1980. In that short period, Bush, with assistance from his staff, established and implemented several projects designed to meet the objective of developing a quality acknowledgment petition. Working projects for the period included updating HPI's tribal enrollment records, researching the group's history, developing a tribal constitution that the membership would ratify, rewriting the narrative of HPI's petition, and expanding the base of support for acknowledgment. Bush, described as a workaholic, also relied on the expertise of HPI members to accomplish these tasks (HPI Pet. 1986; Field Data 1994).

Gordon Bush was confident that he and his team could successfully write grants. After receiving such grant monies, he reasoned, the staff could implement programs designed to benefit the needs of the youth, parents and elders living in and outside of Pine Creek, especially those needs identified in the findings of the completed community needs assessment (Field Data 1994).

In conducting HPI business in Michigan, Bush realized that many groups and individuals in the region of Pine Creek were unaware of the Huron Potawatomi's current economic and political status. In late 1978 and 1979, he set out to inform the Michigan public with what some detractors called a "media blitz." A series of articles appeared in the state's newspapers describing Pine Creek's social, cultural, economic, and political condition[39] (Field Data 1994).

Most of the newspaper articles were emotional in their support for the Huron Band of Potawatomi: "Barely sheltered, Athens Indians make do in snowbound ghetto"

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[39]Dates of articles covering HPI activities and the Pine Creek community published in southern Michigan newspapers: Kalamazoo Gazette: October 9,13,16, 1978; The Grand Rapids Press: October 31, November 1,2,3, 1978; The Detroit News: November 1, 1978; Coldwater Chronicle: October, 1978; Battle Creek Enquirer and News: October 10,15,16,18, November 19,25,29,30, December 7,15, 1978 and January 18,27, February 13,16, September 7, 1979.

(Battle Creek Enquirer and News January 18, 1979), "Planted in Poverty, Roots Never Grew" (Grand Rapids Press October 31, 1978), "Indians ask [Governor] Milliken to Live up to Treaty" (The Detroit Press November 1, 1978) and "Shame changes to hope, Gordon Bush seeks self-sufficiency for Potawatomis" (Battle Creek Enquirer and News November 19, 1978). This genre of news article did much to inform the public of the general political and economic conditions existing on the Pine Creek Reservation.

Some conservative leaders and community members residing at Pine Creek were offended by the tone which most of the reporters used to describe the "impoverished" economic and living conditions of people residing at Pine Creek. The offended older residents of Pine Creek, who included HPI Chairman David Mackety, united as a faction to oppose actions of the young, non-resident, voting members who saw the Pine Creek Reservation as land belonging collectively to the group, not to the current residents of Pine Creek. Even though Pine Creek residents were considered poor by outsiders, collectively they were proud of their Indian community.

The Mackety faction resented the Pine Creek settlement's being characterized as a "ghetto in the snow" and blamed the non-resident faction for allowing the article to be published:

> The Pine Creek Indian Reservation, above, sits in quiet desolation north of Athens, its old buildings creaking in the wintry wind like a wilderness ghost town. Here (also photographed), Elizabeth "Grandma" Sprague, far left, waits for the state aid that might move her from her tattered 30-year-old trailer to a new senior citizen housing project on the reservation. Others wait for plumbing to work so they will no longer have to trek to outhouses in the snow (Battle Creek Enquirer and News January 18, 1979).

Sociologist Alice Littlefield recounted, "Some band members felt he (Bush) was too successful, and that press coverage of reservation poverty would reflect badly on those who lived there" (Littlefield 1993, 23).

The incident of the published newspaper account calling Pine Creek a "ghetto" and Grandma Sprague's news photograph to the attention of the council and members attending

April 7, 1979, HPI Annual Meeting. The minutes of the meeting recorded a heated exchange between members and HPI staff. Richard Sprague, a member and son of Grandma Sprague, mentioned that, "People have been approaching him that he should take care of his mother." Margaret Sipkema, a member from Bradley, noted that Elizabeth (Grandma) Sprague was elderly and "we have to be careful of what we do" -- allowing newspaper photographers to take pictures of elders. Gordon Bush responded that the HPI staff did "have feelings for our people" and that "many times we can not control what the newspaper says" (HPI Minutes April 7, 19[illegible].

Although some HPI elders were uncomfortable with the media and the message, the discomfort masked the underlying issue, that of a growing rift between the evangelical-oriented elders and the younger generation. Each faction became increasingly suspicious of the other.

More Factionalism and Federal Acknowledgment. By the end of the 1970's, three factions were established within the larger HPI community: the conservatives, who were the evangelical churchgoers; the Indian traditionalists, who had rediscovered their Potawatomi traditions; and the younger generation, who envisioned a new Huron Potawatomi entity linking the best features of the modern world with that of the traditional Potawatomi. The minority, but the dominating faction since the 1930's, was the conservative or evangelical churchgoers. This faction consisted of older members living in Pine Creek and other off-reservation communities that maintained active conservative church populations, such as Bradley and Mt. Pleasant. The conservative faction was also the most powerful political faction. The faction's membership was approximately 20 percent of the HPI adults (participant rates in the respective factions are approximations based on BAR analysis of HPI minutes and voting patterns).

The second faction was composed of Potawatomi Indian "traditionalists," joined by ever-increasing numbers of youth and younger adults. Approximately 30 percent of HPI's members over 18 held the traditional view that HPI's redemption for today and tomorrow could be found only by adhering to the principles of Huron Potawatomi's traditions -- traditions as they had existed prior to the founding of

the settlement at Athens, and been maintained by other Potawatomi entities.[40]

The third group consisted of young, educated members and leaders who emerged in the 1970's (and later). This faction had about 30 percent of the membership, and subscribed to the belief that younger members had more energy and sufficient education to administer HPI's organization and programs efficiently and effectively. Still, the members of this faction who were from 18 to 40 years old, valued the wisdom of HPI elders (Field Data 1994).

The remainder of the membership, approximately 20 percent, did not neatly fit into one of the faction categories. This members of the HPI adult population were not associated with the three factions during the 1970's. These members did not hold strong views for or against Pine Creek resident ownership of land. They favored HPI Federal acknowledgment, lived some distance from the reservation and were not as politically active as those members in one of the three factions.

The factions of the evangelical churchgoers and the Indian traditionalists had coexisted, vis-a-vis surviving intense arguments, since the late 1930's. The depth of the factionalism between the two groups remained great through the 1970's, as one incident suggests.

Charles "Moose" Pamp, Jr. was of the younger generation, born in the 1949 at Mount Pleasant. His father, a charismatic Holiness minister, died when he was only two years old. His mother, a Saginaw-Chippewa, became an adherent of Indian traditionalism. She raised her son to learn and respect the tenants of Indian traditionalism.

By the 1970's, "Moose" was seen by his peers as a traditional spiritual leader and a friend who could provide wise counsel. Members of that group sought him out for his advice and what they believed was his ability to see the world through Potawatomi eyes of generations past. Because of his increasing popularity among a growing number of younger HPI members, the older conservative church-goers saw "Moose" Pamp with some disdain, for, in their eyes, he had

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[40]The "traditionalist" faction members rediscovered their "Indian traditions" primarily from other Indian groups in the region, such as the Ottawa (BAR Historian 1994).

left Christianity for Indian, pagan beliefs. His traditionalism directly split one influential family group, as his uncle, Elliot "Jack" Pamp, was a nationally-known Indian Holiness minister and an active "conservative" faction member of HPI.

On September 12, 1979, "Moose" unexpectedly died from bronchitis. His wish was to be buried in the Pine Creek Indian Cemetery. But the leadership of Pine Creek, led by David Mackety of the conservative faction, denied the Pamp family the right to bury "Moose" in the Pine Creek Indian cemetery. The cemetery gatekeepers of the conservative faction did not want a person who embraced Indian traditionalism to be buried among the Christian true believers.

Thus rebuffed, the Pamp family sought another burying ground. After consulting with Huron Potawatomi members living in Bradley, the family gained permission to bury "Moose" Pamp in the Potawatomi Indian cemetery located 50 miles northwest in Allegan County (Field Data 1994).

The 1979 decision of the Pine Creek cemetery gatekeepers to not allow "Moose" to be buried at the cemetery of his choice -- Pine Creek -- still stirred bitter memories in the minds of several HPI informants who were interviewed in 1994 by the BAR anthropologist and who were not aligned to the conservative faction (Field Data 1994).

Younger Generation Faction. By the late 1970's, Gordon Bush, as HPI Executive Director, represented the "younger generation" opinion leaders on HPI's program staff, along with his brother, Henry Bush, Jr., who was serving as vice-chairman on the HPI Tribal Council. While Gordon directed development projects, met with reporters, and lobbied for the group's Federal acknowledgment drive, Henry Bush, Jr. took the lead within the council as its chief historian and promoter of tribal acknowledgment.

In February, 1979, Henry Bush Jr. assumed the role of advocate for HPI. He wrote a letter directly to President Carter "with the belief and hope against hope that it [the letter] will serve in some way to create a memorial event to the Huron Potawatomi Tribes' [sic] existence." In this letter he described the frustration felt by those who had earnestly worked to achieve Huron Potawatomi acknowledgment during the 1970's and before:

> The Huron Potawatomi Tribal Council has listened, followed suggestions, guidelines of government and procedures. After many years and many reams of paper it seems that the end of the trail is once again back to the point of beginning (Bush to President Carter, February 9, 1979, BAR).

Bush concluded with an appeal to the President: "The Huron Band of Potawatomi Indian people need help in their quest for Federal Recognition. Anything that your expertise could or would contribute in this direction will certainly be appreciated" (Bush to President Carter February 9, 1979). Using documents gathered during the previous and current council administrations, Bush attached several boilerplate letters of support and resolutions from local government entities to underscore his appeal.[41]

No documents were submitted to BAR that showed a response from Jimmy Carter's White House to Henry Bush, Jr.'s letter. White House staff probably referred Bush's letter to the Department of the Interior for review and comment.

During the 1970's, using a variety of communications methods, the HPI council brought the economic and Federal acknowledgment concerns of this small petitioning group to the attention of several prominent State and Federal officials. Officials of Michigan agencies, U.S. Department of the Interior staff, and two Presidents became aware of, and then wrote supportive letters on behalf of, the petitioner during the 1970's. A fusillade of newspaper articles transmitted the message of the economic desolation of the indigenous members of Pine Creek, members whom the newspapers presented as exotic and different from the mainstream population.

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[41]Letters of support received by HPI: Letter from the Governor of Michigan - May 13, 1976; letter from Kalamazoo County - June 17, 1976; resolution from Kalamazoo County June 15, 1976; resolution from the city of Kalamazoo - June 17, 1976; resolution from the township of Athens - March 1978; letter from the city Battle Creek - March 8, 19[illegible] resolution from the city of Battle Creek - March 7, [illegible] letter from the city of Springfield - March 21, 1978. resolution from the city of Springfield - March 20, [illegible] and resolution from Calhoun county - April 19, 1978 [illegible]

The message carried in those news articles surfaced again in the halls of the State of Michigan's legislature. The State House passed Concurrent Resolution No. 76, which supported HPI's request for Federal acknowledgment, as its title suggests (adopted by the House on April 3, 1979, and by the Senate on May 23, 1979):

> A CONCURRENT RESOLUTION URGING THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS TO GIVE EXPEDITIOUS CONSIDERATION TO THE HURON POTAWATOMI INDIANS' REQUEST FOR FEDERAL RECOGNITION

HPI's young program staff and council members contributed most to having House Concurrent Resolution No. 76 introduced and then passed. In the communities of Pine Creek, Bradley and Mount Pleasant, the members of the conservative faction would still complain at the close of the 1970's that such "achievements" of the younger generation had been gained at the expense of the older residents -- residents who had prided themselves on being able to cope from day-to-day at Pine Creek with limited resources (Field Data 1994).

Council, Constitution, and Membership. The preamble of the HPI's constitution, ratified by the membership in 1979,[42] stated that the authority of the "tribal organization" was extended to the council from the general membership. Further, the organization was to serve as a "corporate mechanism," from which the tribal organization was to conduct tribal business in a manner that provided "free expression of the community will":

> We, the members of the Nottawaseppi Huron Band of the Potawatomi Tribe of Michigan, in order to establish a recognized and approved tribal organization to provide a means for the orderly transaction of community business, and the free expression of the community will; to insure treaty

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[42]HPI mailed a copy of the constitution and the by-laws to each eligible voting member. Each voting member was invited to attend a general membership council meeting to be held on September 8, 1979. The minutes of the September 8, 1979 meeting indicated 26 members attended the meeting. All 26 (approximately 10 percent of the total membership) voted in favor of ratifying the constitution (HPI Minutes September 8, 1979).

> rights and establish an affable relationship with the Federal Government via the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other agencies; to promote the betterment of the socio-economic welfare and the best interests of our society, and to implement any corporate mechanism to achieve these goals, do establish and adopt the following Constitution for the government, protection, and common welfare of the Huron Nottawaseppi Band of Potawatomi. (HPI Constitution, Preamble Ratified by membership in 1979).

The group's constitution also showed how members became voters and could be elected council members. Members must be eighteen to vote and twenty-one to be a nominee for the HPI council. An election board appointed by the council "shall recommend rules and regulations governing elections" and "elections shall be held yearly at the annual membership meeting for those tribal council seats whose holders' terms have expired" (HPI Constitution, Article V Ratified by membership in 1979).

The HPI constitution's article VI defined a broad range of council authority. The council was authorized to contract legal services; confer with local, state and Federal officials; regulate the acquisition and disposition of property; appropriate tribal funds; promulgate and enforce ordinances; establish taxes and assessments; manage the corporate economic affairs of the Band; protect the interests of minors and the elderly; exclude non-members from residing on tribal lands; regulate domestic relations of members; regulate the inheritances of members; promulgate and enforce ordinances intended to promote the safety, peace, and welfare of the Band members; and appoint standing and regular committees needed to achieve the goals of the Band (HPI Constitution, Article VI, Ratified by the membership in 1979). The five-member council also served as HPI's board of directors (HPI Pet. 1986, 46).

1970's: Exercising Political Authority. HPI's council exercised its political authority in several ways as authorized by their constitution:

> 1. Contract legal services. The council contracted for the services of attorneys throughout the decade.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

HURON POTAWATOMI, INC.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL TECHNICAL REPORT

Huron Band of Potawatomi: 1934 to 1970 1
Historical Overview 1
The Community: 1934-1969 2
Field Methodology 2
Pine Creek Profile: 1934 3
1934-1949 5
Community Spirit and Cooperation 5
Community's Elders 6
Subsistence Lifestyle and the Economy 7
Games, Sports, and other Diversions 9
Language 11
Outside World 11
Migration to the Cities 11
Formation of Geographical Areas 12
Grand Rapids Area 12
Mount Pleasant and Bradley 13
1950-1969 14
Huron Band of Potawatomi Profile 14
Language 15
Influence of the Church 15
Campmeetings 16
Funerals 18
Marriages: 1930's through 1960's 19
Community Life: 1960's 20
Mackety and Pamp as Gatekeepers 21
A Decade and an Era Ends 22
Political Authority and Influence 22
The 1930's 22
The 1940's 23
The 1950's 26
The 1960's 28
Initial Acknowledgment Efforts: 1965 to 1970 31
Modern Era 32
Modern Day Community: 1970 to 1995 32
Pine Creek Profile 32
Intra-Resident Activities 33
Cooperative Work Projects 33
Intra-Group Disputes 33
Three Factions 33
Interaction with Non-Residents Members 35
Pine Creek Social Core Travel 36
Distinct Community Lack of Public Services 37
Distinct Community: Public Perception 38
Discrimination 38

Religion 39
Athens Indian Church 40
Powwows 41
Six Geographical Areas 42
Pine Creek Social Core Area 43
Bradley Geographical Area 43
Grand Rapids Geographical Area 45
Mount Pleasant Geographical Area 46
Lansing Geographical Area 46
Hartford Geographical Area 47
Primary Kin: Communication Links in Community 48
Moccasin Telegraph: HPI Primary Kin Network 48
Marriage Patterns 51
Traditional Potawatomi Values 51
Modern HPI Community: Today 52
Moving Back or Near to the Social Core 52
Interaction Across Family Lines and Geog. Areas 53
1980 Funeral 53
1991 Graduation Party 54
1993 Funeral 54
Movement Patterns since 1983 57
Movement Patterns since 1991 57
Inter-Geographical Core Area Movement 58
1970's: Political Overview 59
Political Influence and Authority 60
Political Structure of HPI's Tribal Organization 60
Early HPI Political Objectives 62
Committee Structure 68
Council and Community: 1975-1980 70
Member Involvement: 1975 70
Committee Member Involvement 71
Member Involvement in HPI's Political Process 72
Dues-Paying Plan 74
Pamp Powwow: An Informal Political Process 75
Enlarging HPI's Funding Base 76
Factionalism and Federal Acknowledgment 79
Younger Generation Faction 81
Council, Constitution, and Membership 83
1970's: Exercising Political Authority 84
1980's: Political Influence and Authority 85
Decline of HPI Programs 86
Gordon Bush's Final Months at HPI 90
Gordon Bush's Resignation 93
HPI Chairman Joe Wesley 94
Wesley's Removal as Chairman 94
Moccasin Telegraph 96
Pursuing Federal Acknowledgment 101
Elections, Council Meetings, and Participation 102
Member Attendance at HPI Council Meetings 103
Member Participation in HPI Committees 103

Member Participation in the HPI Body Politic 104
1990's: Political Settling 104
Reestablishing HPI's Program Arm 105
Meeting Membership Needs 105
Descent of Mackety, Ascent of the "Younger Gen." 105
Chairperson Margaret Sipkema 107
Hiring New HPI Staff 108
Final Resolution: Pine Creek Land 108
HPI Staff and Programs 110
Bradley Group Petition BAR 110
Removal of Council Chairman Chivis 111
Current Council 111
Political Authority: Today 112
Political Direction: 1995 and into the Future 112
1990's Factionalism 113

TABLES

HPI Population: 1920 to 1969, by Decade 14
Huron Potawatomi Band New Marriages, by Decade 20
Huron Potawatomi Band Factions: 1980's 35
HPI Communication Links of Primary Kin between Geographical Areas 49
Analysis of Three HPI Community Events 56

MAPS

Current HPI Population, by Geographical Area 4
HPI Aggregate Population, by Areas 25, 50, 75, and 110 Miles from Pine Creek 44

2. Confer with local, state, and Federal officials. Members of the council represented the group in numerous meetings with local, state and Federal officials during the decade.

3. Appoint standing and regular committees needed to achieve the goals of the Band. The group's government appointed standing/regular committees from March, 1970 through the end of the decade.

4. Exclude non-members from residing on tribal lands. The council excluded non-members from residing on tribal lands (with the exception of the church's minister who resided at the parsonage).

5. Appropriate tribal funds. The council used available funds, from members' donated pocket change to ANA grants, to conduct the group business affairs and programs.

6. Manage corporate economic affairs of the Band. The five-member council supervised HPI's operational or program staff who were responsible for establishing economic development programs for the group.

The late 1970's saw the political force of HPI transferred from the older conservatives to the younger members who lived outside of the settlement. The divisive nature of the two factions' relationship was to come to a head in the next decade -- the 1980's.

1980's: Political Influence and Authority. The 1980's began with conflict among the HPI leadership. The "younger generation" faction held a majority of the seats on HPI's Tribal Council and their members constituted the entire HPI program staff. Together they sought closure on HPI's goal of Federal acknowledgment. The younger generation faction wanted Federal acknowledgment as soon as possible, so that HPI could implement a variety of economic and community development projects on Pine Creek Reservation land. The older conservative faction, represented by all the heads of households at Pine Creek, had no problem with HPI achieving acknowledgment quickly except if it involved "their" rights to "their" land.

Bush, along with many of the other younger off-reservation members, saw the land as owned collectively by the membership and under the control of the council. After receiving Federal acknowledgment, the land, Bush and his "younger generation" counterparts reasoned, would be allotted to selected members by the council. The allotment formula, they reasoned, would allow for individual homes and community facilities, such as a tribal headquarters, a complex for elders, and a community center, on the 120-acre reservation.

Nearly all of the older residents at Pine Creek considered the land surrounding their homes as "their" land, which they were not willing to share or divide. With the prospect of losing "their" land to projects benefitting outside members, the residents were ready to do battle. If need be, the conservative faction would fight those younger members who insisted the Pine Creek settlement was sited on communal, tribal lands (Field Data 1994).

Decline of HPI Programs. The older Pine Creek residents became increasingly wary of HPI program projects. They saw the possibility that the projects might "usurp" their home and lands. They cited the plan of HPI's program staff, who were drafting a fourth-year ANA continuation application as an example. The ANA fourth-year plan was orally presented by HPI staff during a council meeting on March 8, 1980. The plan offered:

> Expansion of the Indian Housing Authority to include the nonreservation and non-Huron Potawatomi populations.
>
> Implementation of Economic Development Program.
>
> Implement solar, wind, and alcohol production as a energy conservation project on the reservation.
>
> Conduct a Comprehensive Needs Assessment of the Potawatomi in Southwestern Michigan as justification for an Indian Health Services Program (HPI Minutes March 8,1980).

HPI staff promoted the ambitious development plan, outlined above, as a program designed to benefit all members. Whether or not a member lived on or off the reservation was not important in their plan, although HPI membership was mandatory, the staff was quick to point out. Not unexpectedly, the staff encountered resistance from the

hostile Pine Creek residents, who continued to be suspicious of the staff's ANA plan that involved portions of "their" [the current Pine Creek residents] 120-acre reservation.

The two sides argued their points during a heated council meeting held on April 12, 1980. The minutes from the meeting revealed that the proposed ANA project was an "emotional issue" for attendees (HPI Minutes April 12, 1980).

The council authorized the tape recording of the April 12 meeting. The tape was later transcribed by the petitioner and submitted with other documents in their application for Federal acknowledgment. The transcription of the April 12 meeting documented the passion evoked by the two sides who argued their respective positions on the issue of land ownership at Pine Creek. With the battle lines drawn, a mother vociferously defended her position, which was at odds with that of her son, while cousins argued with cousins.

Elizabeth Pamp, a council member and the chairman of the Land Committee, began the discussion by suggesting that Pine Creek residents did not have clear title to the land on which their homes were located:

> . . . from a historical point of view, I havent [sic] seen where the land was deeded to any individuals. (The land) Seems to be held jointly for the entire tribe and as such there are no Primary Heirs. We (tribe members) are all Primary Heirs (HPI Transcription of Council Meeting April 12, 1980). She had synthesized the underlying root of the land ownership problem at Pine Creek. "The real problem is not the heirship at stake," Pamp summarized, but "the problem is the residents now living on the reservation (who see the land as theirs), as opposed to the nonresidents [who see the land as collectively owned by all tribal members]" (HPI Transcription of Council Meeting April 12, 1980).

Prior to the April 12 meeting, the HPI Tribal Council established an Ad Hoc Land Committee to advise council members on how to address the issue of reservation land ownership. The chairman of the committee met with HPI Executive Director Gordon Bush "to clarify what the problems are."

David Mackety, Gordon Bush and other members were involved in the following discourse:

> Dave: you [Gordon Bush] say you have some residents who want to work with you?
>
> Gordon: that's right. The Chairman of the Ad Hoc [Land Committee] came to me.
>
> Dave: That is not the primary concern at this time. The staff [Gordon Bush and his staff] is to administer what TC [tribal council] has determined to do. What we are trying to do is get the data regarding all the concerns historically speaking and it is a big issue. There are going to be people on one side and one on another side. Whenever we get too many agencies involved it only complicates the picture. Administratively speaking, that is why we have a council. Council has a committee to work in this area. When we have an intrusion up on the process it becomes more complicated as it goes along.
>
> Liz [Pamp, tribal council member and head of Land Committee]: If my sister is the Chairperson of the Ad Hoc Comm. she has the right to go to Gordon and get advice from him. A lot of that stuff out there, I don't understand it all and if we don't have a right to go to somebody who has a little more knowledge than we do, that is our legal right and you can't say [not] to do that.
>
> Leona Bush [member of the Ad Hoc Committee and mother of Gordon Bush]: I'm part of that Comm. and as of now, this is the first I've heard of it. Our Chairman [of the Ad Hoc Committee] has not conveyed this idea to us [the committee members]. We're part of the Comm. and we should know about this and we don't at this paint [sic]. The thing I want to say is let's back up on this whole Federal Recognition project (Transcription, Council Meeting of April 12,1980).

Gordon Bush justified his pursuit of pan-tribal development projects as a direct outcome of prior HPI Council policy decisions:

> What I basically am concerned about. . . is the fact we started as a particular project to achieve F/R [Federal recognition]. Part of that was goals to produce low-income housing and [a] community center on the reservation. The documents I have indicating there was full support for that. There was full understanding for what that meant. There was to be construction on the reservation that involve(d) construction of housing units and the center. We [the HPI program staff] have worked hard to achieve that goal. We built bridges where there were no bridges to achieve that goal. We're down to a time period now where in the next month the proposal will have to be submitted. . . (Transcription, Council Meeting of April 12,1980).

Bush's concern was to resolve the land ownership issue at Pine Creek so that upon receipt of construction grant funds, the staff could immediately carry out the construction plan (HPI Minutes April 12,1980). Although he had mentioned his resolve not to become involved in the political dispute, he forcefully presented his position which precipitated a rebuttal by a Pine Creek resident:

> Gordon:. . . Now you're [HPI Tribal Chairman and members of the conservative faction] changing your complete view point. Now they're saying they have Rights to that land. Inheritable Rights and I disagree with that and that's what I'm looking at. Let's resolve those things because within the next year were goint [sic] to start getting into construction.
>
> Alberta [Wells, a Pine Creek resident and sister of David Mackety]: If they're not resolved, you're not going to [get started with the new construction] (Transcription of Council Meeting April 12, 1980).

The discussion turned to the Band's constitution and the lack of an Indian Housing Authority (IHA) amendment in HPI's constitution. HPI staff and other nonresidents supported the inclusion of an amendment to assure that the council would establish an IHA oversight, as mandated by Federal guidelines.

The principal proponent for including the IHA amendment had been Gordon Bush; and a principal opponent to the

amendment's inclusion and Gordon Bush's position was Leona Bush, Gordon's mother:

> Leona Bush: OK, I'd like to ask a more basic question. This is all emotional. . . . Let's get back down to the basics and start thinking straight and not being so emotional. What has the TC [tribal council] done about the IHA?
>
> Gordon: Mr. Chairman, I'd like to back up two more steps here. When the Constitution was put together, I think Aleesha [the attorney] you could point this out too. The fact is a part of the Constitution we asked that there was specific powers formed in IHA. The person who voted down IHA is sitting down over there now (referring to his mother, Leona Bush) and blaming you (tribal council) for not having an IHA. That's the same person who had that (amendment) voted out. The entire clause (Transcription, Council Meeting of April 12, 1979).

Leona Bush responded that she had in fact voted against the amendment. She saw no need to put any governmental agency into the tribe's constitution.

The transcriptions of this meeting revealed a tone of strained factional relations. That tone continued to permeate future council meetings and other meetings that addressed the petitioner's political and community development priorities.

At the start of the decade, the younger nonresidents had a majority on the HPI Tribal Council. With the nonresident majority, the younger faction on the council had the votes necessary to pass a resolution to support the 4th-year ANA grant plan that HPI staff had developed (HPI Minutes April 12,1980).

Gordon Bush's Final Months at HPI. On May 3, 1980, the HPI Tribal Council held a membership meeting where three council members were elected, but not Leona Bush. Leona Bush thought she had been nominated. She wrote a one-page outline objecting to 11 alleged irregularities that took place during the May 3 election, for example: no final nominations slate sent to voters, procedure for counting ballots, tellers were relatives of nominees (HPI Minutes May, 1980).

With these alleged 11 irregularities, Leona Bush asserted that her personal rights as a tribal member had been violated. She alleged that the election committee chairperson had asked her for her acceptance or rejection to become a nominee. She stated that she accepted a nomination at the April 12 meeting, although the April 12 minutes did not refer to such action.

In response to Leona Bush's allegations, Gordon Bush, as HPI executive director, issued an April 14 memo to all current tribal council members which discussed tribal council nominee eligibility, as established in Title 45, Part 1336, Paragraph (5) (I) under Native American Programs:

> No grantee or delegate agency shall hire, or permit the hiring of, any individual in a position funded in whole or in part under this part if a member of that individual's immediate family is employed by the Grantee in an administrative capacity or is a member of the Governing Board. In Addition, no person may serve on a Governing Board if a member of that individual's immediate family concurrently is serving in an administrative capacity in a position paid in whole or in part with ONAP Grant funds. [Emphasis added by Gordon Bush] For the purposes of this part, the term "immediate family" means wife, husband, son, daughter, mother, father, brother, sister, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, mother-in-law, father-in-law, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, or other legal dependent; the term "Administrative Capacity" means a position having responsibilities relating to the selection, hiring, or supervising of employees (Bush HPI Memo April 14, 1980).

David Mackety understood the political necessity of withstanding charges of nepotism, as defined in the above regulation. One of David Mackety's last official acts as chairman was to request a legal opinion upon nepotism and other election irregularities linked to the May 3 election by Leona Bush's allegations. HPI's attorney assured Mackety that the recently held election had no basis to be declared invalid.

On May 23, 1980, the tribal council members, as their constitution provided, nominated and elected council officers from their own ranks. The council members elected

Joe Wesley, who had served under Gordon Bush as HPI Associate Director, as new tribal chairman. His fellow members elected David Mackety as vice chairman. Ronald Chivis was to remain as treasurer, Sarah Day was elected Secretary, and Elizabeth Pamp remained member-at-large.

With the installation of these council officers, the progressive younger voices of HPI's community had established effective control of their tribal council. Only David Mackety represented the conservative faction. The council majority supported Gordon Bush and the HPI staff's push to undertake community housing and economic projects.

The newly installed tribal council took immediate action to establish a HPI Indian Housing Authority (IHA). The council nominated six members -- members who had indicated their willingness to volunteer their services -- to serve on the IHA board.

The Wesley-led council authorized HPI staff to apply for a $300,000 HUD grant to develop a plan for a HPI community center and to submit another HUD grant application to construct 30 detached houses for the elderly. Because both the community center and elderly housing were to be built on the 120 acre reservation, the conservative faction of the group showed no support for these council initiatives.

Within the Pine Creek community, the conservative faction was active during this period. Alberta Wells, a sister and supporter of David Mackety, led a petition drive for a "reelection of the Council of the Huron Potawatomi" that was dated August 1, 1980. Fifty-seven members signed the petition calling for new elections. However, the petition drive did not force a new election (HPI Petition August 1, 1980).

Under the heading of "From the Director" in the September 5, 1980 newsletter, Bush provided a status report of his tenure as HPI executive director. He noted that HPI received a three-year grant from the Administration of Native Americans (ANA). Seven Federal acknowledgment and community development projects were scheduled to be completed by September 30, 1980. To date, he noted: "only four activities have been completed, two activities are scheduled for completion in November, and the last activity may never be completed" (HPI Newsletter September 5, 1980).

Bush added more detail to the projects undertaken by his staff:

> The Tribal Roll has been updated, an architectural contract for a community center has been completed, and a community center application has been submitted and rejected three times, and as of September 2nd, the Federal Recognition Petition was completed.
>
> Scheduled for completion in November is the Senior Citizen Housing Project and an Economic Development application (HPI Newsletter September 5, 1980).

The ownership of the 120 acres was an issue that consumed much of Bush's time and was what he characterized as "Our [the tribe's] greatest stumbling block" (HPI Newsletter 1980). He presented his side of the issue, stating that:

> history shows that the 120 acres of land were owned by the entire band and their descendants. The land could not be sold without the consent of the entire band. Yet, some residents claim ownership to the land based on quitclaim deeds. Other tribal members are claiming ownership to the land because of previous occupancy (HPI Newsletter September 5, 1980).

The tribe's attorneys agreed with Bush's position, noting that the quitclaims of the Pine Creek residents were not binding, legal documents (HPI Pet. 1986).

He was concerned with what he saw as counter-productive actions of the "individual ownership" or conservative group. He observed that HPI program operations have been audited and "the results have shown that there is nothing wrong in the administrative or financial management of our organization" (HPI Newsletter 1980). Yet, he added, conservative faction members were spreading rumors that grant monies received by HPI staff have been illegally spent.

Gordon Bush's Resignation. HPI's current executive director (1992-1995), Jo Ellen Leith, has described what Bush was experiencing as "burn out." Bush had a more specific explanation. Bush said that the pressures of the job took a physical toll on his well-being. He had developed a chronic kidney problem and for that health reason, along with having secured a less stressful and better paying job, Bush tendered his resignation (Field Data 1994).

Gordon Bush's resignation became effective on October 24, 1980. The "individual ownership group" or conservative faction at Pine Creek was relieved, but Bush's supporters and staff were saddened. In a November 6, 1980, newsletter, the HPI staff stated that the staff had "great respect and admiration for him [Bush] as a Director, a friend, and a Native American" (HPI Newsletter November 6, 1980).

HPI Chairman Joe Wesley. Joe Wesley, as newly installed HPI chairman, gave his support to the HPI staff. He authorized the staff to complete the economic community planning and the Federal acknowledgment projects to which Bush had devoted much of his work and personal time before his resignation. But without Gordon Bush's "day and night" drive to push projects to completion and, later, with the resignation of two more HPI staff, the remaining staff made little progress toward completing the projects.

On December 11, 1980, Wesley submitted, on behalf of HPI, the petition that Bush had completed before his departure. Wesley continued to schedule council meetings twice a month. But he neglected to inform the general members and, allegedly, sometimes the council members of the time and location of meetings (Field Data 1994; see Historical Technical Report for details).

HPI staff problems were compounded by minimal fiscal resources to administer on-going projects. Because of the lack of administrative funds, the council voted to "eliminate" the executive director position on August 14, 1981 (HPI Memorandum to the Membership August 19, 1981). The HPI operational arm had, in effect, ended with the departure of the executive director. The executive director position and a functional HPI program arm were not to be reestablished until the next decade.

Wesley's Removal as Chairman. David Mackety felt less than comfortable in his new role on Wesley's council, having been demoted from chairman to vice-chairman as a result of the last election. Mackety believed Wesley lacked the skills necessary to lead the council and conduct HPI business. Mackety kept notes on Wesley's performance as chairman. From the "Personal Log of D. Mackety" the former chairman made handwritten notes of Wesley's performance. Mackety's written notes allege several improprieties, including these examples:

> Sep 18-80 - Council Mtg 7:00pm Chivis Res. No Quorum postponed to Sep 25. J. Wesley A (absent) S.Day A (absent)
>
> Nov 11-80 - Council Mtg - no quorum mtg place change from Res to Chivis [home] on 1 Day notice (Mackety' notes, undated, HPI Admin Files). [Constitution requires five-day notice to the membership.]

Wesley's "frequent" absences and his "poor" scheduling of council meetings had upset David Mackety. With the exception of David Mackety, other council members had numerous instances of unexcused absences in violation of Article IV of the HPI constitution. Article IV, Section 4 provided for council members in good standing to remove others who had three consecutive unexcused absences.

After a year of tolerating Wesley's leadership as chairman, Mackety and several other members representing HPI's general membership, particularly from the "conservative" faction, decided the time had come to remove Wesley and the other non-performing council members. (David Mackety was considered by these "representatives" to be the only "performing" member on the council.) With David Mackety's encouragement, a handful of members formed the Membership Action Committee.

On June 6, 1981, the Membership Action Committee called a general membership meeting at which committee members cited charges of council member non-performance. The committee recommended the removal of non-performing council members and the election/installation of an interim council. Only 25 members attended the June 6 meeting (HPI Newsletter July, 1981). No documentation exists as to how many of the nearly 300 heads of households were informed of the time and place of the meeting.

After some discussion, the 25 HPI members decided that Wesley and the council -- with the exception of David Mackety -- were unfit to continue in office. The membership action committee had accused the Wesley-led council of "gross neglect of council responsibility" and his council members were told that they were to be immediately "replaced by a new council appointed by a membership action committee and approved by the members who were present on June 6, 1981" (HPI Minutes June 6, 1981).

The attendees of the June 6 meeting elected Mackety as chairman by unanimous vote. Other interim council members elected included the following HPI members: Jenny Pigeon, vice-chairperson; Leona Bush, secretary; Katherine Stinger, treasurer; and Homer Mandoka, Jr., member-at-large (Membership Action Committee Minutes June 6, 1981).

On June 11, 1981, the new council mailed a one-page newsletter informing HPI members of the action taken by the 25 members who had been present during the June 6 meeting. Before the newsletter of June 11, 1981, arrived at the homes of the membership, it was reported that virtually all HPI households had already heard what had happened during the June 6 meeting (HPI Newsletter June 11, 1981).

Moccasin Telegraph. Members learned of the June 6 political manipulations through a HPI telephone network that links virtually all members -- a communication network that HPI members call the "moccasin telegraph." Several members who were informed of the June 6 events by telephone or newsletter demanded that a membership meeting be held as soon as possible, so that they could better understand what had taken place at the June 6 meeting. Some of these members noted that HPI's constitution provided the right of the deposed council members to appeal their removal at the "next scheduled meeting" of the general membership (HPI Constitution Section 4, 1979).

On June 13, 1981, six days before the scheduled June 19 special council meeting took place, three individuals broke into the tribal office. They took six files containing all of the HPI administrative and financial files.[43] Some time later, Sam Mackety, David Mackety's brother, acknowledged that his brother, David, and two others broke into the tribal offices and took HPI's file cabinets containing HPI budgets, genealogy records, and legal history. Sam Mackety was quoted as saying in a June 1985, Detroit Magazine article that the "files had to be taken, in part, because [Gordon] Bush was misusing tribal money [an unsubstantiated allegation held by some conservative faction members]."

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[43]The minutes from the meeting held on June 19, 1981, give the break in date as June 15, 1981.

This charge was denied by Bush who in the same article commented:

> There were two different viewpoints: [Some] said do what benefits the entire tribe [as established by members needs assessment conducted in 1979] and others. . . were more interested in what would benefit themselves" (Detroit Magazine June, 1985).

On June 19, 1981, 29 HPI members attended the special meeting held near Grand Rapids to discuss the events that had taken place during the June 6 evening meeting -- the meeting where 25 members had voted to disband Wesley's council. Members not present at the earlier June 6 meeting questioned the procedure for selecting the new Mackety-led council. After hearing the membership action committee (also called the volunteer action committee) representative's explanation, the majority of members attending the June 19 meeting believed that too many legal questions remain unanswered and that the Mackety-led and assembled council of June 6 was "not viable" (HPI Minutes June 19, 1981).

It was determined that those members attending the June 19 meeting were more representative of the general membership than the members who had attended the June 6 meeting. At that point the "duly called tribal council meeting" convened by David Mackety was canceled by the attending membership. By majority vote of attending members, the meeting was to be under the control of the members and not Mackety's council.[44] The membership declared the Mackety-led council's "election" on June 6 to be null and void.

The 26 members attending the June 19 meeting nominated an election committee. The election committee, in turn, nominated eligible members (voting members who were over the age 21) to three slots on an interim council. Ronald Chivis, Elizabeth Pamp and David Mackety were nominated and then elected by the voting members. The three elected council members were to hold their council positions for up to 90 days, until the next HPI-wide election could be held (HPI Minutes, Membership Meeting June 22, 1981).

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[44]The justification for this unprecedented action was found in the preamble of the group's constitution. The HPI constitution preamble states that the ultimate authority of HPI comes from the eligible voting members.

As a follow-up to the June 19 meeting, David Mackety called an emergency council meeting to appoint two additional members to serve on the interim council. Ronald Chivis was the only other interim council member attending. Two general members were also present, Jenny Pigeon and Katherine Stinger, who was Ronald Chivis's sister. David Mackety nominated Katherine Stinger and Ronald Chivis nominated Jenny Pigeon to serve on the interim council.

At the same meeting, the interim council, now with five members, nominated among themselves for the five council officer positions, a nomination procedure authorized in HPI's constitution. The installed interim council nominated and elected their fellow members for the following council offices: chairman, Ronald Chivis; vice-chairman, David Mackety; secretary, Jenny Pigeon; treasurer, Katherine Stinger; and member-at-large, Elizabeth Pamp (HPI Interim Emergency Council Meeting June 22, 1981).

During the council meeting held the following month, Chairman Ron Chivis read a resignation letter from Jenny Pigeon. Chivis asked for nominations for her vacated seat. Mackety and Stinger suggested Leona Bush, who lived near Pine Creek in Kalamazoo. Mackety and Bush voted to appoint Leona Bush to the interim council. Elizabeth Pamp, a Pine Creek resident and a part of the Indian traditionalist faction, voted no. The interim council, with the newly added Leona Bush, was to serve until April, 1982 -- 120 days beyond the 90 days authorized by the group's constitution.

For the next few years, tribal elections seemed to head the list of council priorities, with Federal acknowledgment the second priority. An election to replace the interim council took place on April 24, 1982. That election simply reshuffled the council to Mackety's benefit, a reconstituted council of Mackety supporters. He became the elected chairman; Ronald Chivis, from the Bradley area was vice-chairman; Leona Bush, from Kalamazoo (Pine Creek area) was secretary; Jennie Pigeon, from the Bradley area was treasurer; and Alberta Wells, from Pine Creek and David Mackety's sister, became member-at-large (HPI Minutes June 5, 1982).

The following, 1983, election produced minor changes in the council's make-up. The council positions of Wells and Pigeon were switched. Pigeon became the member-at-large and Alberta Wells moved to the treasurer slot, a position of

somewhat more prestige for the Chairman's sister (HPI Minutes April 26, 1983).

During 1983, HPI council meetings were held once per month. The opportunity for member participation was reduced significantly, since the Mackety-led council often met in closed executive sessions (HPI Minutes January 15, 1983; April 14, 1983, etc.). The general membership's opportunities to participate in the HPI's decision making process were further limited when the 1983 annual membership meeting was not held, for reasons not documented in material submitted to BAR.

From 1983 and later, the Mackety-led council seemed to have limited ability to write successful grant applications. Further, council members could not reconcile the budget figures of previous grants; consequently, they failed to meet grant reporting deadlines and were ordered by funding agencies to return large sums of monies. From the minutes of a council meeting held on October 8, 1983, the treasurer reported a balance of only $1,814, with disallowed cost from three grant funding agencies totaling $156,182. (HPI Minutes October 8, 1983).[45]

In the same minutes, the Chairman Mackety reported that "there is a faction [the "younger generation"] of the Huron Band that is not politically sound." Mackety questioned the younger generation faction's continued belief that Pine Creek's 120 acres belonged to the tribe collectively. He went on to blame the same faction for HPI's then current factional problems (HPI Minutes October 8, 1983).

The political climate in Washington reduced Federal funding opportunities for HPI and other non-profit groups during the 1980's. In the mid-1980's, the only steady incoming funds for HPI came from state block grants. These limited funds did not allow the chairman and council to maintain a full-time project staff for the remainder of the decade (Field Data 1994).

A June 17, 1984, meeting provided a forum for the members to discuss Pine Creek land ownership and Federal acknowledgment concerns. A transcription of a tape recording of the meeting was typed by HPI's secretary, Leona Bush. The

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[45]The individual disallowed cost totals were: ANA = $92,555; CSA = $26,317; and HUD $37,310.

transcription documented the interest among members of the Huron Band of Potawatomi community for HPI to continue to pursue the goal of Federal acknowledgment:

> Julie [Pamp Snyder]: What's holding up the Fed. Recog Project?
>
> Joan [Pamp Webkamigad][46]: I think they are quieting [slowing the process] down. If they get FED Recg [Federal recognition], they [the Mackety-led council] have to let all the claimants be enrolled in it (HPI Membership Transcription June 17, 1984).

Non-resident members speculated that the Mackety-led council's self-interest in retaining control of the Pine Creek land was the underlying cause of the slow progress of the group's acknowledgment petition in Washington. As the above discourse suggests, members, particularly those from the Indian traditionalist and younger generation factions, were highly suspicious of David Mackety and the council's role in the Federal acknowledgment process.

Council members who had family ties to Pine Creek were encouraged by Mackety, the non-residents believed, to consider themselves as primary heirs of Pine Creek land parcels and, therefore, to file quit claim or warranty deeds with the State of Michigan.[47] In fact, Mackety and other

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[46]Julie Pamp Snyder and Joan Pamp Webkamigad were eligible to be HPI members but during the 1980's elected not to enroll. Aligned to the "Indian traditionalist" faction, they held misgivings about the possible undue influence of Chairman Mackety's Christian values on HPI political decisions. Also, they believed that Mackety had no use for those members who, like themselves, embraced Indian traditions. Additionally, they were enrolled in their mother's federally recognized tribe.

[47]Listed below are those Huron Potawatomi members who filed quit claim or warranty deeds: Hazel Mackety, "surviving Granddaughter & Heir of Samuel & Mary Mandoka," on March 31, 1988; Morris Sullivan, "sole surviving primary heir of Mackey Shawgoquett," on August 6, 1984; Grace Helen Mandoka, "sole surviving heir of Josephine (Caw-Caw-Be) Henry," on April 4, 1986; Grace Helen Mandoka, "sole

Pine Creek residents were concerned about retaining their ownership rights to land surrounding their homes. Consequently, Mackety, Mackety's brother Samuel, his sister Alberta, and councilperson Leona Bush formed a group called "Concerned Members." The purpose of the group was to lobby for their land ownership rights associated with parcels on the 120-acre reservation.

The "Concerned Members" decided to take their case to Michigan's capital in Lansing. They wanted a private audience with a state official who would assist them in securing power of attorney rights relating to Pine Creek land ownership. However, members of the other factions heard of this unannounced Lansing meeting and were also present during the meeting with the state official. These representatives of the younger generation and Indian traditionalist factions were able to convince the state official not to provide Mackety and his group power of attorney rights over Pine Creek land (Field Data 1994).

Pursuing Federal Acknowledgment. In 1984, having had three years to reestablish his support base since deposing Wesley in 1981, Mackety once again took the leadership role in pursuing Federal acknowledgment for the group. His brother Sam, a BIA tribal operations officer, was the most vocal supporter among the Mackety clan. So with Sam's urging, David and Sam went to Washington to submit HPI's genealogical charts to BAR. Despite submitting the additional charts, Mackety learned from Interior officials that the HPI petition was still incomplete. A letter signed by Interior's Deputy Director of the Office of Indian Services listed several categories of documents needed before their petition would be considered complete: added genealogical materials, a membership list certified by the governing body, an expanded discussion of the governing process of the group from 1936 to 1970, and a full description of the community as it was in 1984 (Elbert to Mackety 1984).

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surviving heir of Homer Mandoka," on March 21, 1986; Gezella C. Pamp, "Independent Personal Representative of the Estate of ELLIOT S. PAMP, Deceased," on June 12, 1986; and Gilbert L. Holliday, III and James M Schabel and Anna Marie Pamptopee Holliday and Fern Pamptopee Wright, "sole surviving heirs of Joseph & Eliza Pamptopee," on May 27, 1985.

Progress in completing the HPI petition was slow. The council lacked monies to maintain a HPI program staff. The completed petition would not be submitted until 1987.

Toward the end of the 1980's, HPI had access to limited grant funds from ANA, from a Presbyterian organization, and private estate grants. Alberta Wells treasurer's report during an April, 1986, council meeting revealed that HPI had a total balance of $3,124.46 from two grants: a Presbyterian and a Wickham Estate grant (HPI Minutes April 5, 1986).

The HPI minutes of April 5, 1986, showed some slight changes in the makeup of the council. David Mackety continued to serve as chairman, Ronald Chivis as vice chairman, Alberta Wells as treasurer; and Jennie Pigeon as secretary. But Leona Bush, a fifth council member and mother of Gordon Bush, had died "on the threshold of this New Year [1985]." The council had yet to appoint a replacement for Leona Bush.

Not until February 3, 1987, did HPI submit the documented petition for Federal Acknowledgment under 25 CFR 83 (BIA 1987). On October 13, 1987, BAR's obvious deficiency review letter was mailed to Chairman David Mackety (BAR 1987, HPI Admin File).

Through the end of the decade, David Mackety remained as chairman. His sister, Alberta Wells, continued as a council member. After the 1989 election, three newcomers joined the council: John Chivis, Jr., vice chairman, from Grand Rapids; Margaret Sipkema, treasurer, from Bradley; and Joe Sprague, Sr., member-at-large, from Grand Rapids (HPI Minutes July 5, 1989).

With the push of the new council members, Mackety and the council began an earnest attempt to elicit ideas and diverse opinions from community members. The 1989 council adopted a system of meetings where for every executive HPI business meeting, another, open, community-council meeting would be held. Community members could freely voice their views, with no time restraints, during the open community-council meetings which were usually held every other month.

Elections, Council Meetings, and Community Participation. Throughout the 1980's, elections for expired council seats occurred annually, generally in the late spring or early summer. A 1981 "Eligible Voters Roll" listed 203 adults as members authorized to vote (HPI 1981 Voters List; BAR, HPI Admin Files). Data documenting how many Huron Band members

voted during a given election was not provided to BAR by the petitioner. However, in the handwritten "Personal Log of D. Mackety," he noted that 45 ballots were cast during the May 2, 1980, election (using the 203 total of eligible voters from the 1981 list, the percentage voting in 1980 would be approximately 22 percent).

A 1983 newsletter attributed low voter turnout to the requirement that most voters must travel long distances to the HPI polling site. For many voters, this requirement was a hindrance to their being able to vote. The HPI council in early 1983 provided an additional polling site for voters. Now HPI members could vote at the closest site, either one located in the north area around Grand Rapids or one located in the south area near Pine Creek. Although this was a better polling arrangement than having just one site, many eligible voters still lived 50 or more miles from either polling site. Very few of the adult HPI members, approximately 25 percent, who lived an hour or more from a polling site exercised their right to vote (HPI Newsletter January 29, 1983; Field Data 1994).

Member Attendance at HPI Council Meetings. During the 1980's, from five to ten community members (non-HPI officers) typically attended monthly council meetings, while 30 to 50 members attended annual meetings. Members were given opportunities to submit resolutions and policy questions to council members for the council to review during regular meetings. Annual meetings allowed members to have a forum to question HPI council policy decisions, to share their ideas on ways the HPI council might better attain its goals, and to support or not support council policy (HPI Pet. 1986; Field Data 1994).

Member Participation in HPI Committees. During the 1980's, 27 members participated in the political process of HPI as volunteer committee members. By volunteering to serve on a committee, members shared ideas, worked collaboratively on projects, and voiced their political concerns to HPI council members. Several committees with a variety of topic areas were available for members to join, for example: Indian housing authority, policy and procedures, election, newsletter, land base, history, enrollment, council on aging, election worker, and ad hoc land committees (HPI Pet. 1986).

Member Participation in the HPI Body Politic. A total of 58 different adult members attended one or more HPI council meetings or participated in one or more committees during the decade. The 58 members represented 29 percent of HPI's adult voting membership, based on HPI's 1986 list of 202 adult members. A total of 24 members, 12 percent, attended two or more meetings and 12 members, 6 percent, attended four or more meetings.[48] Also, 9 of the 58 members served on two or more committees and 10 members attended 4 or more council meetings during the 1980's (HPI Pet. 1987, 1994).

1990's: Political Settling. Members residing in the conservative Christian enclave of Bradley, and others who had migrated to Grand Rapids and Mount Pleasant, gave support to HPI's leadership, particularly David Mackety, for over a decade. In 1987, David Mackety saw a need to harness this Christian support base to boost his political position as HPI's leader. He encouraged leaders from the Bradley geographical area and Grand Rapids to run for vacated HPI council positions. By 1988, a member from each of these outlying communities was elected to the council and was to remain through the end of Mackety's three-year cycle as chairman in 1991.

Mackety's purpose for establishing working ties with Bradley and conservative Christian off-reservation members was linked to the still unresolved issue of ownership of Pine Creek land. As noted by Bradley's historian Bill Church, Mackety sought political ties with such off-reservation members to:

> energize a Tribe [HPI] that had lost momentum due to its internal stalemate over who had ownership rights of the Pine Creek Reservation (Church 1993,34).

David Mackety continued as the Huron Potawatomi's principal leader and its elected tribal chairman through April, 1991. He maintained a cordial working relationship with the other four council members: John Chivis, Jr., born 1950, vice chairman from Bradley area who espoused "younger generation"

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[48]For the 1980's, these totals of general members attending council meetings are significantly undercounted. The petitioner submitted only 20 percent of attendance lists possible for the decade.

faction views; Alberta Wells, born 1931, treasurer from Pine Creek who was David Mackety's sister, staunch Mackety ally, faithful churchgoer, and council note taker; Margaret Sipkema, born 1931, secretary from Bradley community and conservative oriented; Joe Sprague, born 1923, member-at-large from Grand Rapids, and conservative oriented (HPI Minutes November 12, 1990; HPI Pet. 1993).

Reestablishing HPI's Program Arm. The revitalized council was successful in developing proposals that were selected by funding agencies for support funding. The incoming grant monies allowed the council to reestablish its HPI program staff. The council hired Bill Church from the greater Bradley area, who was known for his knowledge of the history of Michigan Indians and his writing ability. His first assignment was to complete the group's response to BAR's Obvious Deficiency letter (Field Data 1994).

In 1990, HPI had received a $130,000 bequest from a private source, the Faben estate. Most of the Faben funds went into money market accounts. Some Faben monies were reserved by the group for equipment needs, member emergency expenses, and for seed money for a HPI cultural center.

During a September 26, 1990, council meeting, Bradley area HPI members convinced HPI leadership of the necessity of purchasing 12 acres of land. Bradley proponents argued that the purchase of the acreage would provide easier access to their landlocked Indian cemetery for funerals or for family members wanting to visit graves of relatives. The council voted to approve $20,000 from the Ester Faben monies to purchase the 12 acres. Another $5,000 was authorized to secure a lease from the non-Indian land owner for 50 acres. The intent of the proposed 50-acre lease was to assist the Bradley residents in establishing a land base. The option for this acreage was never exercised (Field Data 1994).

Meeting Membership Needs. By the end of 1990, the council began using some of its monies to meet unforeseen needs of HPI members, families, and/or groups. From the fall of 1990 to the present, the council approved funds to defray a variety of unforeseen costs among it membership: funeral costs, HPI baseball uniforms, medical bills, pills, housing repairs, and food expenses (HPI Minutes 1991-1994; Field Data 1994).

Descent of Mackety, Ascent of the "Younger Generation." In early 1991, a land resolution was approved during a council

meeting led by David Mackety. The fact that the resolution reaffirmed the heirship rights of Pine Creek residents angered HPI members of the "younger generation" faction. The HPI minutes of January 9, 1991 document the vote for the resolution, which was introduced by Mackety's ally, Joe Sprague:

> Joe made a motion that the land at Athens be removed from consideration for trust status, in pursuit of Federal Recognition, until Federal Recognition has been achieved. Margaret seconded move. Vote: John-abstained, Joe-yes, Margaret-yes, Alberta-yes. Motion carried (HPI Minutes June 11, 1991).

The "conservative" faction proponents who voted for the resolution justified their decision based on historical precedents. They pointed out that the Pine Creek land parcels of current residents had been kept in their respective families for generations. These council members added that the land was originally purchased from personal annuity funds made payable to their ancestors prior to 1845 (HPI Pet. 1986; Field Data 1994).

HPI Vice Chairman John Chivis, Kathy Stinger, and others of the "younger generation" faction voiced their concern about the resolution and other problems. The resolution was symptomatic, the younger generation claimed, of David Mackety's self-interest or proclivity to be in control. In the minds of the opinion leaders of the "younger generation," it was time for a leadership change.

Representatives of the "younger generation" attempted to transmit their anti-Mackety position to a majority of HPI eligible voters. They lobbied intensively among the membership and, as subsequent election results showed, they were successful.

The tribal election held on April 6, 1991 replaced David Mackety with Pine Creek resident Elma Gabow. The others on the council were retained or their terms had not yet expired. In April 1991, the council elected the following officers: Margaret Sipkema from the Bradley area, chairperson; John Chivis from the Grand Rapids area, vice-chairperson; Alberta Wells from Pine Creek, treasurer; and Joe Sprague from the Grand Rapids area, member-at-large (HPI Minutes May 23, 1992).

Chairperson Margaret Sipkema. During 1990-1991, Bill Church was completing the research and writing required to respond to BAR's obvious deficiency letter. As a part of the response document, Church included references to the marriage, trade, and spiritual activities that took place among the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi. Although this pan-Indian review of Potawatomi history and culture was acceptable to HPI Chairperson Sipkema (whose ancestry came from the Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Chippewa tribes), other council members with greater Huron Band of Potawatomi blood quantum were upset by these changes (Field Data 1994).

In late 1991, council members Chivis, Wells, and Gabow charged that Sipkema had acted inappropriately in laying-off Church without HPI council consent. With the survival of HPI program arm at stake, the "conservative" and "younger generation" factions collaborated to investigate the alleged impropriety. Added to this charge, the three council members contended that Sipkema might be partly responsible for notes found during the investigation "about forming of a non-profit organization of Selkirk Reserve Community made up of Indians born or residing in Allegan county [the Bradley geographic area]." The three council members, and other general members who were aware of this situation, questioned Sipkema's loyalty to HPI (HPI Minutes December 6, 1991; Field Data, 1994).

The minutes of the special council meeting of December 6, 1991, recorded council member John Chivis asking for the resignation of Sipkema. The council charged her with alleged complicity in authoring the discovered "Selkirk" notes and other "unresolved issues brought up before the Board today." Sipkema stated that she would not voluntarily resign. John Chivis made a motion that Margaret Sipkema be removed as chairperson. The motion carried, with Chivis, Wells, and Gabow voting in the affirmative. Joe Sprague was absent. Sprague, a close ally of Sipkema, was accused at the meeting of co-planning an Allegan County "splinter group." After being informed of the council's charges of his complicity with Sipkema, he resigned (HPI Minutes December 6, 1991). With that meeting, the Bradley-HPI collaboration effectively ended.[49]

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[49]HPI had a office at Bradley where the council periodically held council meetings and Sipkema conducted

The remaining council members chose to appoint Ron Chivis from Grand Rapids, brother of John Chivis, and Shirley English from Marshall, niece of David Mackety, to the vacated council seats. In April, 1992, the HPI constitutionally mandated election of council officers took place (whereby the five council members nominate and, by majority vote, elect a council member to a council office). Ron Chivis was elected chairperson; Elma Gabow, vice-chairperson; Shirley English, treasurer; John Chivis, secretary; and Alberta Wells, member-at-large (HPI Minutes May 1992).

Hiring New HPI Staff. ANA awarded the council a grant to complete their Federal acknowledgment materials and update their tribal rolls. Allotted $65,000 by ANA for the 1992-1993 grant year, the council had the funds to hire a new project director and a project secretary. At a special council meeting held on May 30, 1992, the council interviewed Jo Ellen Leith from Sherwood (near Pine Creek) for the project director and Toni Medawis from Grand Rapids for the project secretary positions. Leith and Medawis, both HPI members, were hired by the council; and they continue in their respective positions today.

With HPI staff in place, chairman Ron Chivis wanted other members of the Huron Potawatomi community to know that the highest priority set by the council was for HPI to achieve Federal acknowledgment. To that end, he encouraged the newly hired HPI staff to develop a tribal enrollment system to collect new tribal roll and genealogical data. Through HPI meetings and newsletters, chairman Chivis requested individual tribal members to update their addresses, marriage status, children's birth dates, and other information useful in completing HPI's petition for Federal acknowledgment.

Final Resolution: Pine Creek Land. For two decades, ownership rights to Pine Creek's 120 acres had remained unresolved. David Mackety, chairman for most of that period and a Pine Creek resident, favored ownership and heirship rights assigned to present residents. Most of the "younger generation" and the "Indian traditionalist" faction members

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HPI-related business. After Sipkema's ouster, the Bradley office was closed by a council resolution on July 1, 1992 (HPI Minutes May 30, 1992).

firmly believed collective ownership should be under the purview of the council, as provided for in the 1979 membership-ratified constitution.

In a June, 1992, newsletter, Chivis invited Huron Potawatomi members to discuss Federal acknowledgment and Pine Creek ownership issues on July 11. Each member was given up to 15 minutes to make a presentation on issues relating to the group's future, land, Federal acknowledgment, and the status of the 1979 ratified constitution (Huron Potawatomi Notes June, 1992). No list of attendees for the July 11, 1992 meeting was made available to BAR.

A subsequent July 11, 1992, newsletter summarized the result of the community meeting. By "unanimous vote by Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi Band," the attendees agreed that HPI continue to seek Federal acknowledgment "in keeping" with the group's constitution, particularly Article VIII on tribal lands.[50] Attached to the newsletter that was mailed to all member households was a copy of Article VIII and its seven sub-sections focusing on different aspects of tribal land (HPI Newsletter July 11, 1992).

Section 1 of Article VIII provides for all lands acquired by the group, the Federal Government, or State of Michigan be held in trust for the group as tribal lands. No part of the tribal lands can be sold or mortgaged without eighty percent of the membership's approving such action. The group cannot allot present or acquired tribal land, but can assign the use of parcels to members.

Section 2 addresses ownership rights. Members presently residing on an "assignment," or parcel of land on the 120 acres at Pine Creek, can continue to reside there unless the assignee leaves the property for one year. If the assignee is absent from the property for a one-year period or more, the council can reassign the property to a "needy member." The assignee must seek permission of the tribal council to lease, sub-lease, or transfer his/her land assignment.

Heirship rights are controlled by the council, as provided for in Section 3. The council shall give preference to heirs of the deceased assignee, if the heirs are in need of land and are enrolled HPI members. If the land is

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[50]No count of members present at the July 12, 1992 meeting was provided to BAR.

reassigned by the council, the new assignee shall pay the value of the improved property, as determined by the council (HPI Constitution Article VIII, Section 5).

The sections of HPI's constitution, as outlined above, provided the newly constituted HPI council with the authority to oversee and resolve land ownership and land heirship issues. This authority, a key element of HPI's constitution, was never acknowledged by former councils led by David Mackety.

With ownership and heirship land issues behind them, the council, along with the HPI membership, was free to address "more pressing" issues confronting HPI (Field Data 1994).

HPI Staff and Programs. During Chivis' tenure as chairman, the administrative organization of HPI was emphasized. Jo Ellen Leith was delegated the responsibility to reorganize and generally streamline HPI administrative operations. Within a few months Leith designed and implemented new administrative fiscal and program procedures.

After completing a site evaluation, ANA monitors were impressed with Leith's reorganization of the HPI offices. An ANA representative stated that HPI business operations "meet all of the federal guidelines" (HPI Newsletter August, 1992).

This positive ANA appraisal represented an important turnaround in HPI's relationship with its funding benefactor. Because of irregularities in the fiscal management of previous ANA grants, HPI had to return funds from several projects to ANA. However, in September 30, 1993, an ANA official praised the quality of HPI's recent administrative reorganization and adherence to grant guidelines. HPI was later awarded a $134,596 grant by ANA to continue the staff's reorganization of the group's infrastructure (HPI Newsletter October, 1993).

Training of staff and council was a high priority for chairman Ron Chivis. He supported a variety of training programs designed to serve their professional development needs. Chivis encouraged council members to participate in Falmouth Institute training courses on leadership, developing tribal constitutions, and other topic areas of import to the group (Field Data 1994).

Bradley Group Petitions BAR. By November 1993, Chivis had learned that the Bradley "Splinter Organization," as

called them, had been in contact with BAR about petitioning. The Bradley group had sent BAR a letter of intent to petition under the name of the Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians on June 4, 1992. He and the HPI council decided to support the Gun Lake (now called Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Potawatomi) petition, particularly if the Bradley group did not interfere with the already submitted HPI petition (Field Data 1994).

Removal of Council Chairman Chivis. On November 18, 1993, the council held a special meeting. This time the focus was on Ron Chivis. The December 4, 1993, minutes review the action taken: "Ron was voted off the Tribal Council because of allegations of criminal activity involving the tribe's private checking account and forging of Elma Gabow's name on a tribal check." The 1994 transcribed interviews with council members English and Gabow showed that they believed that they had made the correct decision in removing Chivis (Field Data 1994).

The council, now less Ron Chivis, who had been removed and Elma Gabow, who had resigned for health reasons, held a special council meeting to comply with Article IV, Sec. 2 of their constitution which stipulated that in the case of vacancies, the council:

> by a majority vote shall appoint a qualified member for the period to end at the next scheduled meeting of the membership [annual meeting] at which time, the Council shall hold a special election to fill the seat for the unexpired term of office (HPI Constitution Article IV, Sec. 2 1979).

Current Council. On December 4, 1993, the council met to fill two council vacancies and to nominate council officers. Members Amos Day, Jr. and Marianne Butcher accepted nominations to fill the vacated posts (Newsletter Jan. 1994). The minutes of the December 4, 1994, meeting listed the current council members and their position:

> Shirley A. English, Tribal Chairperson from Marshall [Pine Pine Creek Social Core Area]
>
> Terry A. Chivis, Vice Tribal Chairman from East Leroy [Pine Creek Social Core Area]
>
> Julie A. Snyder, Treasurer from Pine Creek [she spends equal time in Pine Creek and Lansing where her children live]
>
> Marianne Butcher, Secretary from Pine Creek

Amos Day, Jr. Sergeant-at-Arms from Grand Rapids (HPI Minutes December 4, 1993).

Political Authority: Today. During the 1990's, the HPI Tribal Council used its constitutionally-derived powers, ratified by HPI membership in 1979 and 1992, to broaden its political authority over its membership. The HPI council continues to establish its political authority among its membership by inviting members into the policy making process. Most general members living in one of the six HPI geographical areas know, on a personal level, HPI's current leadership. General members have noted the accessibility of HPI's chairperson, council members, and staff, as such leaders and staff have traveled to activities of HPI community import (housewarmings, for example) in the HPI geographical areas (Field Data 1994).

Political Direction: 1995 and into the Future. In January, 1994 a reporter from the Battle Creek Enquirer interviewed Chairperson Shirley (Mackety) Simmons English. The article recorded English's view of HPI's future: "Tribal Chairperson Shirley English believes federal recognition will bring many benefits to Pine Creek Reservation in Athens" including a cornucopia of federal aid programs (Battle Creek Enquirer January 30, 1994). English detailed projects endorsed by HPI's council which were being planned or implemented:

- Economical housing on the reservation
- Establish social and economic projects to attract off-reservation HPI members to return to the Pine Creek Reservation area
- Buy adjoining land for development
- Set up a business and scholarships for young tribal members
- Preserve tribal history

For any of these programs to be planned and implemented, English observed, would require outside private or public funding. Because HPI had already received a sizeable ANA grant, English noted, HPI has been able to establish a HPI enrollment office located

in Grand Rapids with a three-person staff (Field Data 1994).

1990's Factionalism. Today, only a few ripples of discontent can be found among the membership -- primarily the rift between the current council and a group of Ron Chivis' supporters, reflected in a letter from the dissidents' attorney to the BIA (Wilson to Mills April 20, 1994). No overt signs of intra-group factionalism were observed by the BAR anthropologist during a 1994 on-site field trip to southern Michigan. Sociologist Alice Littlefield also conducted a recent field study where her findings addressed the apparent demise of factions within the 1990's political world of the petitioner:

> By the 1990s, some of the hard feelings caused by the events of the late 1970s and early 1980s appear to be diminished. Although controversy continued over some issues, individuals who had been in different factions ten years earlier were working together to complete the federal recognition process (Littlefield 1993, 26).

Much of the collaborative, cooperative spirit that exists among members today can be attributed, in part, to the council members' willingness to listen to and then respectfully consider all opinions and ideas presented to them by the membership. As one member summed up HPI's political environment of today:

> Right now I don't see factionalism. . . because they [the members] now have input, that's the key (Field Data 1994).

The material submitted by the petitioner, supplementary materials provided by BAR's historian/genealogist, and field data collected by BAR's anthropologist reveals a continuum of political and community presence in the Pine Creek area -- from its founding in the 1840's to the present.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

HURON POTAWATOMI, INC.

GENEALOGICAL TECHNICAL REPORT

Summary of the Evidence 1
Genealogical Technical Report 2
Introduction 2
Governing Documents 3
Current Governing Document 3
Contents of the Constitution 5
Membership Criteria 6
Official Membership Criteria 6
Previous Membership Criteria 8
Adoption Criteria 8
Enrollment Process 9
Evidence and Proof of Ancestry 10
Membership Lists 10
Current (1994) Membership Roll 10
Impact of Pokagon Potawatomi Federal acknowlegment 11
Removal of Match-e-be-nash-she-wish (Gun Lake Band) Members 12
Other Possible Removals 12
Contents of 1994 Membership Roll 12
Former Membership Rolls 13
1978 Roll 14
CHART I: 1978 HPI Roll 16
1986 Roll 16
CHART II: 1986 HPI Membership Roll 18
1991 Roll 17
CHART III: Tribal Origins of the 1991 HPI Membership Roll 21
1993 Roll 23
Comparison of Current and Former Membership 25
Judgment Rolls 25
Taggart Roll 25
1978 Judgment Roll 26
Genealogical Selection/Documentation 26
Lines Not on Judgment Rolls 27
Problem lines 27
Sprague 27
Ashquab 28
Shashaguay 28
Sturgeon and Wesaw 28
Families Resident in the Pine Creek Settlement during the 19th Century 28
CHART IV: Pine Creek Descendants, Population Growth, 1920-1978 29
The Original "Six Families" of the Pine Creek Settlement 30
"Immigrant Families": Additions to the Pine Creek Settlement 30
Intermarriage with other Indian Settlements 31

Historic Leadership 31
Pamptopee (Phineas, Stephen, and Levi) 31
Samuel Mandoka 32
David Mackety 32
Gordon Bush 33
Current leadership 33
1991 Officers 33
1994 Officers 34
All Other Major Subgroups 35
Geographic Dispersion 35
Political Factions 35
Large Representation in Current Membership 35
CHART V: HPI New Marriages by Decade, 1930-1989 36
Records Utilized 36
Identification 36
Early BIA Rolls 36
1842 OIA Census 37
CHART VI: OIA 1842 Potawatomi of Huron Census Statistics 37
Two 1843 Lists 37
1843 and 1844 Annuity Rolls 37
1847 OIA Census 38
1861 Annuity Roll 38
1874-1889 Potawatomi of Huron Annuity Rolls 38
1904 Taggart Roll 38
Judgment Distribution Award, 1978 39
Other BIA Rolls 39
1895/96 Cadman/Shelby Roll 39
1907 Durant Roll, Michigan Ottawa 39
Rolls of Other Acknowledged Tribes 39
Rolls of Other Unacknowledged Michigan Groups 39
U.S. Federal Censuses 39
Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan 39
Cheshire Township, Allegan County, Michigan 43
Wayland Township, Allegan County, Michigan 43
CHART VII: Population Growth 1920-1978, Bradley and Salem, Allegan County, Michigan 44
Realty Records 45
Pine Creek Reservation 45
Deeds in Fee Simple 45
1889 Land Purchases with Federal Annuity Funds 45
Court of Claims Suits, 1890's 45
Public Vital Records 47
Allegan County, Michigan 47
Calhoun County, Michigan 48
Ancestry--Descent from Historic Tribe 49
Ancestry Charts/Folders Submitted in 1986 49
Group I Ancestry Charts/Folders Submitted in June 1994 50
Group II Ancestry Charts/Folders Submitted in June 1994 50
Ancestry Charts/Folders Submitted in July 1994 50
Chart VII: Compiled Statistical Breakdown of HPI Ancestry 50
Statistical Impact of Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band Removal 51

CHART VII: HPI Ancestral Distribution
Less Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band 52
Dual Enrollment 52
Potential for Membership Growth 53

Appendix I: 1843 Huron Potawatomi Lists 55
Appendix II: 1843 and 1844 Huron Potawatomi Annuity Rolls 57
Appendix III: 1847 Huron Potawatomi OIA Census 58
Appendix IV: 1861 Huron Potawatomi Annuity Roll 59

GENEALOGICAL TECHNICAL REPORT

Huron Potawatomi, Inc.

The petitioner, Huron Potawatomi Inc. (hereinafter the petitioner or HPI), otherwise known as the Nottawaseppi Huron Band of Potawatomi (NHBP), is based in Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan, on the Pine Creek Indian Reservation, which has been in trust to the State of Michigan since the mid-1840's. Members of the group reside primarily in southwestern Michigan. The current membership as of January 1994 was determined by the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research (hereinafter cited as BAR) to be 819 individuals (the submitted membership roll, less duplicate entries and deceased individuals).

An "Updated Membership Roll" received by BAR from the HPI office in December, 1994, was not certified by the governing body as official, contained only names with no further identifying data, and was received too late for analysis in this document. Therefore, this report has been prepared upon the basis of the January 1994 HPI Membership Roll.

SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE

Huron Potawatomi, Inc. (hereinafter the petitioner or HPI) submitted a copy of current governing documents, the 1904 Taggart Roll, current and prior membership rolls, and ancestry charts with backup vital records documents for the members. The BAR genealogist verified this material and supplemented it with additional Bureau of Indian Affairs (hereinafter cited as BIA) records, county vital records, and Federal census data.

All members of the petitioner are of American Indian ancestry, all are of Michigan Potawatomi ancestry, and all but one adopted child are documented to be of 1904 Taggart Roll descendancy. All persons listed on the current roll meet the petitioner's constitutional membership qualifications, although not all have the 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum that the petitioner requires for voting membership. The 1978 constitution sets the 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum as a requirement for "membership." In practice, however, the rolls have distinguished between voting members (adults who meet the 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum) and lineal-descent members, whose names are

included on the rolls, but who do not meet the 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum requirement. As of 1994, the group was working on a new constitution.

The situation of dual enrollment with the Pokagon Potawatomi (Potawatomi Indian Nation, Inc.), which was legislatively recognized in 1994 (171 individuals), and with another petitioner, the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band (Priority #9A) (126 individuals) will need to be clarified prior to issuance of a Final Determination in this case.

GENEALOGICAL TECHNICAL REPORT

Introduction.

This report summarizes the BAR genealogist's review of the Huron Potawatomi, Inc.'s petition for Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe. The review is based not only on the petition and supporting evidence submitted by HPI, but also on additional research done by the BAR for the purposes of analyzing the petition.

The HPI are a branch of those Potawatomi Indians whose residence since the early eighteenth century has been in Michigan (see the Historical Technical Report of this Proposed Finding for details). For the past 170 years, the HPI have resided in southwestern Michigan. Since the early 1840's, the residential center has been in Calhoun County, Michigan, near Athens, at the Pine Creek Reservation, a state Indian reservation.

For purposes of BAR analysis, the current HPI membership totals 819 persons (the persons who appeared on the January 1994 list of members submitted by the petitioner, less duplicates and four deceased individuals). In October 1994, 126 persons signified to BAR their wish to be considered as part of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish, or Gun Lake Band, Potawatomi petition for Federal acknowledgment (BAR priority #9A), but have not yet been formally removed from the HPI membership roll.[1] The January 1994 HPI membership roll included not only adult voting members of HPI (Taggart Roll descendants who have 1/4 or more Potawatomi blood quantum in

[1] The Gun Lake Roll, submitted October 27, 1994, contained 140 names. However, nine of the adults had not been listed on the HPI roll, and five were young children.

accordance with the petitioner's constitution), but also the minor children of these adult voting members and persons lineally descended from the Taggart Roll who do not meet the blood quantum requirement for voting membership.

Governing Documents

Current Governing Document. The current governing document of HPI is entitled, "Constitution of the Nottawaseppi Huron Band of Potawatomi" (HPI Petition 1986, Ex.). The copy of the document submitted to BAR was undated and uncertified. However, additional documentation submitted indicates that the document was ratified at a "General Membership Tribal Council Meeting" on September 8, 1979 (HPI Tribal Council Minutes, dated September 24, 1979 in: Littlefield 1993, Attachment F). (As the HPI "Annual Meeting" had been held in April (HPI Tribal Council Minutes, April 7, 1979), the September meeting minutes gave it the rather odd title of a "General Membership Tribal Council Meeting.")

At the time the present (1979) constitution was adopted, each tribal member was sent a copy by mail in advance of the "General Membership Tribal Council Meeting." There were 199 eligible HPI voters in 1979 (Eligible Voters Roll 1979, HPI Tribal Office). Although sign-in sheets have been preserved for many HPI membership and council meetings, none was located for the September 8, 1979, meeting.[2] All members of the council were present at this meeting, as well as HPI members who were not on the council. Based on recorded votes, motions made from the floor, seconds to the motions, and names recorded in the discussion, at least 23 persons were at the meeting which adopted the constitution (HPI Tribal Minutes, September 24, 1979, in Littlefield 1993, Attachment F).

There was extensive discussion in the meeting, with several changes offered from the floor (by ten different tribal members) and voted upon. Of the 17 motions to make changes in the proposed constitution, 14 were carried before the constitution was adopted. The proposed changes, both those accepted and those which failed to carry, are detailed in the meeting minutes. The amended constitution was adopted, but the minutes do not indicate how many persons voted (HPI

[2] At the election for council members and officers held June 9, 1979, 42 voters signed in (Election Format, June 9, 1979, HPI Tribal Office).

Tribal Council Minutes, September 24, 1979, for September 8, 1979, meeting).

The petitioner submitted no prior formal, written governing documents. However, one must have existed, for in a 1979 meeting of the tribal council, reference was made that, "by our old Constitution BIA has no authority to dictate our roll, on whether we should have adopted members on roll" (HPI Tribal Minutes, September 8, 1989).

The 1979 constitution has never been formally amended. There have, however, been changes: for example, the alteration of the petitioner's name from "Nottawaseppi Huron Band of the Potawatomi," as established in Article I, to "Huron Potawatomi, Inc.," the name of the incorporated entity. The group uses these two names interchangeably in the petition documents.[3] On December 29, 1987, "Dawn Bush

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[3] On May 9, 1994, a letter addressed to Walt Mills, Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs, signed by Lawrence W. Wilson of Russell and Batchelor, Attorneys and Counselors, Grand Rapids, Michigan, dated April 20, 1994, was received by BAR. This letter enclosed a different version of the HPI tribal constitution, with no indication as to its date of origin or provenance. The copy ended with page 6, in the middle of Article V, Section A, Duties of Officers. It was undated and unattested. This constitution gave the corporate name as Huron Potawatomi Inc. and under Article III, Membership and Voting, read:

> Section A
> Members of the Huron Band are all persons who possess at least one-fourth (1/4) degree Potawatomi blood, and who are enrolled on the official Tribal Roll and are descendants of the Taggert [sic] Roll - 1904.
>
> Section B
> Upon recommendation of the enrollment committee, the members of the Band may by a majority vote adopt as a member of the Band any person of Indian blood related by marriage or descent to the members of the Band who will assist the Band in the fulfillment of its purposes.
>
> Section C
> Every child shall be automatically enrolled and a member of the Band who is born a descendent to members described in Section A and B above.
>
> Section D
> The enrollment committee shall keep current the census of the Band.

A BAR staff member checked by telephone with the HPI tribal office was informed that the 1979 constitution was still in force, and

made a motion that our band name and reference designation be known as Nottawaseppi-Huron Potawatomi, which has always been our historic name and affiliation. Joe Sprague seconded the motion . . . Motion carried (HPI Tribal Minutes, December 19, 1987, 1).

HPI is currently working on a revised constitution (Leith to DeMarce, telephone conversation, June 7, 1994).

Contents of the Constitution. The 1979 HPI constitution submitted with the 1986 petition, Article III, described the petitioner's requirements for membership. For a detailed discussion, see the section below under "Membership Criteria." Article II included criteria for adoption of tribal members and prohibited dual enrollment in other Federally acknowledged Indian tribes.

The 1979 constitution describes how HPI governs its affairs and its members. Article IV describes the tribal council or governing council (these two names are used interchangeably). It shall be composed of five tribal members elected at large by eligible tribal voters, provided that at least two members of the governing council shall be residents of the Pine Creek Potawatomi Reservation at Athens, Michigan. Article IV also covers provisions for ineligibility, the filling of vacancies, a quorum, and removal from office. It provides that the tribal council shall meet at least quarterly and sets notice provisions for special meetings.

Article V contains provisions for nominations and elections. Elections are to be held yearly at the annual membership meeting. Terms of office are three years. There is an election board appointed by the tribal council. Members [with 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum] over 18 may vote, while nominees to the tribal council must be 21 or older.

Article VI covers the powers of the tribal council. These include the employment of legal counsel on behalf of the Band; conferring and negotiating with Federal, state, or local governments; protection and preservation of tribal property; protection of the interests of minors, the incompetent, and the elderly in state or county judicial proceedings; management of all Band economic affairs; exclusion of persons not qualified to reside on the

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been amended. The origin of the document sent by Mr. Wilson (Wilson to Mills, April 20, 1994, BAR Files) remains unknown.

reservation; promulgation and enforcement of ordinances, etc. Article VII provides the right of referendum.

Article VIII discusses the following land issues: management of assignments on the Pine Creek reservation; compensation for improvements made on assignments if the land is reassigned; leasing; and a requirement that no trust land of the Band may be sold or mortgaged without an 80 percent favorable vote by the Band's voting membership.

Article VIII addresses how the constitution can be amended. A majority of the qualified voters of the band at an election called for that purpose by the tribal council may amend the constitution, provided that at least 30 percent of those entitled to vote in said election actually vote. The tribal council shall call an election for the amendment of the Constitution upon presentation of a petition setting forth the proposed amendment and signed by two-thirds of the eligible voters of the band. In the absence of a petition, the tribal council, upon a majority vote in favor by its members, may call for a membership vote on proposed amendments.

Membership Criteria

Official Membership Criteria. The petitioner's formal membership criteria are contained in Article III Membership of the 1979 constitution. They are as follows:

> Sec. 1. Membership and enrollment. The membership and enrollment of the Nottawaseppi Huron Band shall consist of persons who possess at least one-quarter (1/4) degree Potawatomi[4] blood quantum who are not members of any other federally recognized tribe and who meet one of the following criteria:

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[4] "Motion was made by Leona and seconded by Irene Wesley to insert Huron before Potawatomi in Article III, Section I. 10 - yes, 9 - no, deciding vote by Tribal Chairman Dave Machety [sic]" (HPI Tribal Minutes, September 8, 1979).

"Motion by Richard Sprague and seconded by Anna Chlebana to reconsider correction made to Section I. 16 - yes, 3 - no, 1 abstain, motion was carried. Revote 5 - yes 15 - no, 1 abstain, carried to leave Section I as was" (HPI Tribal Minutes, September 24, 1979 in Littlefield 1993, Attachment F).

(a) All persons and their descendants listed on the Taggert [sic] Roll of 1904;

(b) All persons whose ancestors are listed as Huron or Nottawaseppi Potawatomi Band members on any payment roll, census, or record made of the Huron or Nottawaseppi Band of Pottawatomis by officials or agents of the Department of Interior or the Bureau of Indian Affairs;

(c) It shall be the responsibility of the individual applying for membership to present evidence meeting the above criteria acceptable to the Tribal Council.

Sec. 2. The membership and enrollment committee shall keep a current census of the Band.

Sec. 3. The Tribal Council shall have the power to enact ordinances consistent with this Article to govern future adoption of new members, provided that such ordinances meet the following minimum criteria:

(a) Indians, who are not enrolled in any other federally recognized tribe;

(b) Indians who are at least one-quarter (1/4) degree blood quantum Indian may, upon written application for adoption into the band, become members by a majority vote of the membership at its annual meeting, provided that nothing in this Section shall effect [sic] adopted members who meet the requirements of Section 1(c) of this Article.

Sec. 4. Persons who become members of the Nottawaseppi Huron Band of Potawatomis through the adoption procedure set forth in Section 3 of this Article, shall thereupon have the right to vote on matters pertaining to the Band and shall enjoy all the rights and privileges of membership except that such persons shall be excluded from participating in any claims arising out of treaties unless said individual can prove lineal descendency [sic] from Nottawaseppi Huron Band members, and from the right to hold office on the Tribal Council; and further provided that the

> children of adopted members upon the [sic] reaching the age of majority shall be subject to the requirements of Section 3(b) of this Article except where said descendant may submit an application pursuant to Section 3(b) for adoption into the Band at the age of eighteen (18).
>
> Sec. 5. The Tribal Council shall have the power to enact ordinances consistent with this Article to govern future membership and loss of membership.

BAR does not have a copy of the by-laws of HPI and is not sure whether or not such by-laws exist. In 1979, adoption of the by-laws was deferred at the meeting which ratified the constitution. It is not known to BAR if the by-laws were subsequently adopted, what they contained, or, if adopted, whether they have subsequently been amended. BAR has no copy of any "ordinances" enacted by the tribal council to govern future membership and loss of membership.

Previous Membership Criteria. There is no evidence that the petitioner had a formal document setting forth membership criteria prior to the 1979 constitution. However, as early as the 1870's, BIA annuity rolls indicated that "the chief" or a "vote of the band" both admitted new residents of the Pine Creek reservation to annuity payment and excluded from annuity payment those persons who had moved away (Lantz 1992, 56-57).

Adoption Criteria. The petitioner's criteria for adoption are listed in Article III, Section 3, of the tribal constitution adopted in 1979 (see above). At the general membership meeting which ratified the tribal constitution, there was a motion to attach adopted members to the base list. The motion did not carry. Later there was a motion to reconsider, which carried (HPI Tribal Minutes, September 8, 1979).

As far as BAR can determine, the family (an employee of HPI, his wife, and his two minor children) adopted in 1979 by action of the tribal council has not appeared on any subsequent membership list after he left HPI employment and are no longer members of the petitioning group. This was the only instance of adoption recorded in the HPI minutes.

According to the provisions of the constitution, children of adopted members must themselves apply for adoption into the petitioning group at age 18, unless the child also meets the

requirement of membership through Article III, Section 1(c). Currently, only one minor on the membership list is designated as being an adopted child. No adults on the current membership roll are designated as adopted.

Enrollment Process

The HPI have had a functioning Enrollment Committee since prior to the adoption of the 1979 constitution. The committee's procedures were formally approved by Tribal Council on March 1, 1979 (HPI Minutes, March 1, 1979).

The petitioner uses an application form for membership. The enrollment process has gone through several phases since 1978. An April 1, 1978, report to the Tribal Council by Leona Bush, Outreach for Tribal Enrollment, indicated that at that time they had received 462 acceptable applications; 17 applications that had to be rejected; and 5 questionable applications. Nine members had died and their names had been removed from the roll. This made a total of 493 membership actions taken. By the date of her report, they had received 76 birth records, and since January 1, 1978, had done 5 verifications for blood quantum. They were developing two rolls: the 1/4 blood quantum roll and the Roll of Lineal Descendancy for "acceptable applicants who are less than 1/4 blood quantum and are descendants of a person on the Taggert [sic] Roll of 1904" (Bush to Tribal Council, April 1, 1978).[5]

The general requirement is that "everyone" has to fill out an application for membership (HPI Tribal Minutes, September 8, 1978). This process has gone through several stages since HPI incorporated. Generally, each adult member completes the form on behalf of himself/herself and minor children. There was in the later 1970's an enrollment clerk to assist in the process and provide advice on obtaining genealogical documentation. At various times subsequently, HPI has employed a genealogist. The form and documentation have then been submitted to the HPI tribal office for approval by the enrollment committee and the tribal council.

[5] It should be noted that HPI does not automatically consider any person listed on the Taggart Roll to be 4/4 Potawatomi. Rather, it calculates from the actual information given on the Taggart Roll, which often indicated that a person was partly of Ottawa or Chippewa ancestry.

Evidence and proof of ancestry. The group requires that an applicant for enrollment be able to trace descent from a person listed on the 1904 Taggart Roll. The enrollment application for a child of a current member is to be accompanied by a copy of the infant's birth certificate. An adult applicant must provide standard genealogical documentation (birth certificates and other vital records) back to the 1904 Taggart Roll ancestor. The application is reviewed by the enrollment committee.

The tribal council is involved in the review process for membership applications. References to applicants and their qualifications appear throughout the minutes of the council (e.g., HPI Tribal Minutes, September 8, 1979; HPI Tribal Minutes, July 9, 1983; HPI Tribal Minutes, May 11, 1985).

Membership Lists

Current (1994) Membership Roll.[6] The current (February 18, 1994) roll was prepared by the HPI tribal office staff with the assistance of the BIA's Michigan Agency. It was subsequently reviewed and accepted by the HPI tribal council. It was prepared for the group's own use, but also specifically for the Federal acknowledgment petition. The current membership roll includes the children of the group.

A letter from HPI Tribal Chairperson Shirley English to the BAR, dated January 24, 1994, stated:

> I have instructed my staff to submit a researched tribal roll that is inclusive of all of those members entitled to the rights and privileges of our tribe. This roll should include all of the family members, including children who are eligible; the roll sent in 1993 did not include everyone and I am not going to exclude anyone at this point . . . I can assure you that our tribal roll will not change significantly. The 1991 roll, the 1993 roll, plus the names of tribal members who were not included on the 1993 roll, will be compiled and their link to the Taggert

[6] There are no surviving listees of the Taggart Roll, which was prepared 90 years ago. Fifty-six children of Taggart Roll listees are on the 1994 HPI membership roll. A few persons whose names appeared on the 1994 roll were deceased. An "updated" uncertified membership roll was sent to BAR in December 1994, too late to be used for this analysis.

> [sic] roll confirmed. . . I estimate that that roll will be comprised of approximately 600-700 members if all of the 200+ members of the Gun Lake Band of Ottawa's [sic] relinquish their membership in our tribe (English to Reckord, January 24, 1994, BAR Files).[7]

This 1994 roll, dated February 15, 1994, did not assign membership numbers, and did include numerous names of those who were in the process of disaffiliating from the HPI and affiliating with another petitioner, the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Potawatomi (petitioner #9A, aka Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa). HPI Chairwoman Shirley English's estimate that more than 200 of the currently listed HPI membership might choose to transfer their affiliation to the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band (English to Reckord, January 24, 1994, BAR Files) was larger than the list of names actually submitted to BAR by the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band, petitioner #9A, in October 1994.[8]

Impact of Pokagon Potawatomi Federal acknowledgment. The HPI constitution prohibits dual enrollment in other federally acknowledged tribes. In January 1994, at the time the current HPI roll was submitted to BAR, dual enrollment with the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi of Michigan and Indiana, Inc.) was not of concern, as the Pokagon were not federally acknowledged. In the interval, however, in March 1994, the Pokagon Potawatomi were granted Federal acknowledgment through Federal legislation. As the members of two large extended families (at least 171 individuals, or

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[7] On October 27, 1994, the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish (Gun Lake) Band Potawatomi submitted a membership roll containing the names of 140 persons who had formally relinquished HPI membership in writing. Of these, 126 appeared on the HPI 1994 membership roll. The other 14 had never been HPI members.

[8] BAR received a certified membership roll containing 220 names from the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band in May 1994 (Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band Petition, 1994). The Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band May 1994 roll listed the parents of each member, but no supporting genealogical documentation was enclosed.

On October 27, 1994, a new roll (not a supplementary roll) was submitted by the Gun Lake/Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band petitioner, #9A, containing 126 names of persons who had formally relinquished HPI membership as of that date, 14 persons who had not been listed on the HPI membership roll, and supporting ancestry charts. At that time, the Gun Lake governing body stated that although it expected to receive HPI membership relinquishments from the remainder of the 220 persons on the May 1994 roll, they wished to be conservative by listing only those from whom they had received the formal documentation.

28 percent of the HPI membership) are carried on the rolls of both the Pokagon Potawatomi (as submitted to BAR with its petition) and the HPI, this situation will need to be clarified before issuance of a Final Determination in this case. The BAR genealogist inquired and was told that the Pokagon Potawatomi have not, as of December 1994, completed an official membership roll certified by BIA.

Removal of Match-e-be-nash-she-wish (Gun Lake Band) Members. On October 27, 1994, the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish (or Gun Lake Band) Potawatomi, BAR Priority #9A, submitted the genealogical portion of its petition for Federal acknowledgment. The membership roll contained a total of 140 names of persons who had certified in writing that they wished to be considered with the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish/Gun Lake Band petition. Of these, 126 appeared on the HPI membership roll. A BAR researcher placed the supporting HPI genealogical folders for these individuals in a separate category. For discussion of the impact on the petitioner's genealogy should these names be removed from the membership list, see the discussion below in the section headed "Ancestry--Descent from the Historic Tribe."

Other possible removals. Additionally, two families (approximately 20 persons) carried on the HPI membership roll also are enrolled with the Federally acknowledged Saginaw Chippewa tribe. The head of one of these families also appears on the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Roll, and intends to keep all options open until the acknowledgment situation is clarified.

Contents of 1994 membership roll. For each individual, the 1994 HPI roll contained columns for: name and address, sex, date of birth, 1904 Taggart Roll number with relationship code, blood degree (not filled out), constitutional authority (not filled out), names of parents, and tribe [of parents]. Twenty-eight full addresses were omitted from the list. BAR determined that the typed list as submitted contained 21 duplicate entries. Omitting the duplicates and four deceased persons, the January 1994 HPI membership roll included 819 individuals.[9]

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[9] If all potential reductions took place, the count would appear as follows:

	819	individuals on January 1994 HPI roll
less	126	individuals on Match-e-be-nash-she-wish October 1994 roll
	693	
less	171	individuals dually listed with Pokagon Potawatomi
	522	

This 1994 roll, with the exception of some deaths and births, was essentially identical to the 1991 roll. As the 1991 roll contained fuller information, detailed analysis was done of it rather than of the 1994 roll (see below). The few additions of adults in 1994 were easily identifiable as close relatives of persons on the 1991 roll: for example, a brother of two persons listed in 1991.

The 1986 HPI membership roll submitted to BAR had been documented with ancestry charts and supporting documentation for each person listed. In June and July 1994, HPI submitted to BAR folders containing ancestry charts and supporting documentation for all those persons added to the HPI membership roll between 1986 and January 1994. The submission of these additional folders was delayed because a genealogist previously employed by HPI had removed documents from the tribal office and did not respond to a court order to bring them to her attorney's office so that the petitioner's staff might copy them. The HPI staff exerted a great effort to compensate for this problem by going to the BIA Michigan Agency and copying the files for each of the petitioner's members from BIA records.

Former membership rolls. Other documentation available to BAR indicated that in 1951, Albert Mackety, HPI claims activity leader and church committee co-chairman, compiled a Huron Potawatomi membership roll (Pokagon Petition, Ex. Correspondence). However, this roll was not submitted as part of the HPI petition and the BAR researcher was not able to locate a copy. A reference by Michael B. Williams, the Pokagon Potawatomi tribal chairman in 1952, indicated that for claims purposes the Potawatomi at Bradley, Michigan (now the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band) had "long been enrolled" with the HPI, but were, under the leadership of their newly elected chief Jacob N. Sprague, attempting to develop their own, separate "census" (Pokagon Petition, Ex. Correspondence).

The petitioner submitted several former membership rolls, dated 1978 (sometimes referred to in the petition as the "1979 roll"), 1986, 1991 (sometimes referred to as the "1992 roll"), and 1993. The BAR has received from the petitioner Resolution #7-1994 dated January 25, 1994, by the tribal council, stating that "the Nottawaseppi Huron Band of Potawatomi Tribal council do duly recognize and approve the

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less	20	persons enrolled as Saginaw Chippewa
equals	502	approximate minimum possible HPI membership roll.

census rolls of 1979 [sic], 1986, 1991 and 1993" (BAR Files). Each of these rolls was prepared as a record of HPI membership. The 1978 roll was specifically in connection with the claims payments (see below), although it also was to be used for election purposes, as it distinguished between the HPI voting membership and lineal descendants. The 1986 roll was prepared to accompany the HPI Federal acknowledgment petition. All were prepared by the petitioner, with some assistance from outside consultants or contract employees.

1978 Roll. By 1971, the Huron Potawatomi were conducting their claims activity independently of other Michigan Potawatomi, having hired New York attorney Paul G. Reilly as Huron Potawatomi legal counsel in prosecuting land settlement claims (Historical Overview 1986, 49). This time, the Huron Potawatomi entered a claim in 1972 under the terms of the 1807 treaty, under which they had collected annuities until the compounding in 1889 (Indian Claims Commission, Docket 29-E). In a decision rendered June 13, 1973 (30 Ind. Cl. Comm. 388), the commissioners held that the Huron Potawatomi Band held a recognized title to a substantial part of Royce Area 66 by the Treaty of November 17, 1807, 7 Stat. 105.[10] The awards were decided October

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[10] Department of the Interior. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Potawatomi Nation of Indians; Plan for the Use and Distribution of the Potawatomi Nation Judgment funds in Dockets 15-C, 29-A and 71; 29-E; 15-P, 29-N and 306; 29-D, 15-D, 29-B and 311; 15-I, 29-G and 308; 216, 15-L and 29-I; 128, 309, 310, 15-N, O, Q and R, and 29-L, M, O and P and 150#, 29-C and 338 before the United States Court of Claims. August 24, 1983.

> "Section 4. For the purposes of distributing the apportioned share of the funds of the lineal descendants of Potawatomi Indians of Michigan and Indian, including the Pokagon and Huron Bands and other bands, the Secretary shall bring current to the effective date of this plan, the descendant payment roll prepared pursuant to the Potawatomi judgment use plan of March 6, 1978, as published in the Federal Register of April 14, 1978, Vol. 43, No. 78:(i) by adding the names of persons living on the effective date of this plan who would have been eligible for enrollment under the 1978 plan, but who were not enrolled; (ii) by adding the names of children born and living on the effective date of this plan to persons who were eligible for enrollment , regardless of whether such parents are living or deceased on the effective date of this plan; (iii) by adding the names of children born to enrollees on or prior to and who are living on the effective date of this plan; and (iv) by deleting the names of enrollees who are deceased as of the effective date of this plan. Entitlement to share in the judgment funds under this section shall be limited to lineal descendants who are United States citizens, and who are not enrolled or entitled to be enrolled with

19, 1973, 87 Stat. 466, 468 (Historical Overview 1986, 51).[11] The 1978 judgment funds were paid in 1984, on the basis of a BIA-prepared roll, which is not the same document as the HPI 1978 membership roll.

The 1978 HPI Roll is entitled, "Updated Tribal Roll of the Huron Band of the Potowatomi [sic]: descendants of the Taggart Roll of 1904 who possess one-quarter (1/4) blood quantum. or more" (BAR Files). This roll, attested to by David Mackety, Tribal Chairman, was signed October 5, 1978, by Leona Bush, Enrollment Clerk, and witnessed by Joseph George Wesley, Jr., Notary Public, Calhoun County, Michigan, also a HPI member.

Neither addresses nor ancestry were included on the 1978 Roll. The 1978 Roll contained the names of 276 persons who met the 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum membership requirement (191 of whom were listed as being either adult heads of households or individual adults). The name of each adult who qualified for HPI membership was followed by the names of his/her minor children. Ninety-two minor children had asterisks (*) by their names. These were annotated as "* indicates minor children who are less than one-quarter (1/4) blood quantum" (BAR files). Eighty-five minors met the 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum requirement. Thus, there were 368 individuals listed on the 1978 roll proper.

Of the 191 household heads and other adults, three (1.6 percent) were Taggart Roll descendants who had neither Pine Creek nor Bradley/Gun Lake ancestry. On the 1978 roll, 23

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any of the four federally recognized tribal organizations named in this plan, whose (Federal Register 48(175), 40567, September 6, 1983) names appear on or as lineal descendants who can trace their Potawatomi ancestry to persons on the Cadman Payment Roll of 1896, the Taggart Census Roll of 1904, or on official payment or annuity rolls of persons designated as "Potawatomi Indians of Michigan and Indiana," Huron Band, Pokagon Band, or "Notawasepi and other bands," or other records which are acceptable to the Secretary (Federal Register 48(175), 40568, September 6, 1983).

Copy of Descendancy Roll from Michigan Agency, dated 3/04/1987 (BAR Files).

[11] See also: Results of Research on the Judgments in Indian Claims Commission Dockets Numbered 15-K, 29-J, and 217, and Dockets Numbered 15-M, 29-K, and 146, Potawatomi Tribe or Nation. This was an 18-page summation of the legal status as of that date (COIA Morris Thompson to Area Director, Anadarko Area; Acting Area Director, Minneapolis, March 20, 1975, BAR Files).

household heads and other adults (11.5 percent) showed Gun Lake/Bradley ancestry only. The remaining 86.9 percent of the household heads and persons over 21 on the 1978 HPI Membership Roll had Pine Creek ancestry.

A supplementary section to the 1978 Roll contained two pages listing names and addresses of 26 adults (including the name of the person's parent and the name of the Taggart Roll ancestor) who were known to be Taggart Roll descendants, but who had less than 1/4 degree Potawatomi blood quantum. These persons had a total of 16 known minor children (HPI Petition 1986, Ex.). Adding these and one adopted child to the 368 persons on the 1978 Roll proper, there was a total of 411 persons.

CHART I
1978 HPI ROLL

Main Roll
191 adults with at least 1/4 Potawatomi
85 children with at least 1/4 Potawatomi
276 subtotal, persons meeting 1/4 Potawatomi
92 children with less than 1/4 Potawatomi
368 subtotal

Supplementary Roll
26 adults with less than 1/4 Potawatomi
16 children with less than 1/4 Potawatomi
1 adopted child
43 subtotal

411 total persons accounted for on 1978 HPI Roll

1986 Roll. In 1986, HPI submitted a membership roll with its petition for Federal acknowledgment. This was headed "Nottawasippi-Huron Potawatomi (*NHP)," dated July 1, 1986. This was far more elaborate than the 1978 roll, containing columns for name and address, gender, birthplace, 1904 Taggart Roll ancestor's number with a key for the individual's relationship to the Taggart Roll ancestor, blood degree, name of father and maiden name of mother. For each parent, the roll provided birth date, birth place, tribe, and blood degree. Blood degree was not computed consistently, being sometimes expressed as a fraction and sometimes as a percentage.

The 1986 roll contained the names of 249 individuals (both adults and minor children) who met the 1/4 degree blood

quantum requirement, assigned identification numbers 269 through 504 (numbers 1 through 268 had been used on the 1904 Taggart Roll: in order to avoid confusion, HPI omitted them from its 1986 roll and began computation with number 269). Six more qualified members were handwritten at the end of the typed list, for a total membership of 255.

On March 9, 1994, BAR received from the petitioner a copy of additional pages of the 1986 membership roll form, filled out in handwriting, and headed "less than 1/4 blood quantum." Although the 1979 HPI constitution did not provide for maintaining a roll of persons who fell into this category, as a practical matter, HPI has done so since 1978 at least.

In 1986, there were 273 persons in the "less than 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum" category. In addition, the "less than 1/4 blood quantum" roll contained 18 names that were noted by the HPI enrollment clerk as duplicates of those on the 1/4 quantum roll, and were verified by BAR as having been listed on the 1986 Roll proper.

In 1986, therefore, the HPI counted a total of 528 known individuals, of whom 255 qualified as tribal members and 273 were lineal descendants of less than 1/4 blood quantum. Of the 255 tribal members, 32 (12.5 percent) were minors under the age of 18. Of the 273 lineal descendants with less than 1/4 HPI blood quantum, 117 (42 percent) were minors under the age of 18.

CHART II
1986 HPI MEMBERSHIP ROLL

223 adults with 1/4 Potawatomi
32 children with 1/4 Potawatomi
255 subtotal, members with 1/4 Potawatomi

157 adults with less than 1/4 Potawatomi
117 children with less than 1/4 Potawatomi
273 subtotal, Taggart Roll lineal descendants with less than 1/4 Potawatomi

528 total persons accounted for by 1986 Roll

1991 Roll. The 1991 HPI membership roll was contained in the "Deficiency Response" and was a product of the 1987-1991 period during which the "old" HPI group from the Pine Creek

settlement had merged politically with the Bradley settlement in Allegan County, Michigan (see Historical Report for details).

On January 9, 1991, La Sanda "Sandy" Williams, a genealogist employed by HPI, presented the Tribal Council with a new "Application for Enrollment" form for NHP [Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi] members to complete and sign. John Chivis, Jr., Vice-Chairman, moved that the new form be approved; Margaret Sipkema seconded the motion, and it was approved (HPI Tribal Minutes, January 9, 1991, 2).

On February 11, 1991, "Joe [Sprague] made a motion that Council approve a resolution that all on the 1904 Taggart roll be considered as Nottawaseppi-Huron Potawatomi full bloods unless otherwise indicated or genealogy research proves otherwise." The motion was seconded by John Chivis, Jr., and passed (Tribal Minutes, February 11, 1991).

The following announcement appeared in the April 1991 Huron Potawatomi, Inc. Newsletter:

OPEN ENROLLMENT PERIOD EXTENDED

> Potawatomi wishing to become members of the Nottawaseppi-Huron Potawatomi Tribe have until June 1st to request an application for membership. Action by the Tribal Council extended the open enrollment period for 6 (six) more weeks, or until midnight, June 1, 1991.
>
> The current membership drive headed up by Sandy Williams, our Enrollment Coordinator, is funded as part of a grant from the U.S.Dept. of Health & Human Services (A.N.A.) to Huron Potawatomi, Inc., the non-profit, state-chartered, corporate arm of the Nottawaseppi-Huron Potawatomi Tribe.
>
> Ten years ago, a similar survey project was undertaken for the Tribe by Leona Bush. Potential members were asked to fill out a detailed questionnaire so that the Tribe could prove to the Federal Government that descendants of the Huron Potawatomi Tribe still existed. Results of this activity allowed the Tribe to develop a "working" roll of potential members. This roll was sent to Washington to prove that, indeed, the Huron Potawatomi still reside in S.W. Michigan. **This process was a survey.**

Our membership drive going on now and closing at midnight, June 1, 1991, is not another survey. The individuals who request membership during this "open enrollment" period will be the final Base Roll that we submit to the Bureau of Indian Affairs for membership with the Nottawaseppi-Huron Potawatomi Tribe.

Do not be confused or misled. Even if you filled out paperwork for what you thought was Huron Potawatomi Tribal membership in the past, that was a membership survey.

A membership form (application for membership in the Nottawaseppi-Huron Potawatomi Tribe) has been developed and approved for use by the Tribal Council. This form must be filled out for each Potawatomi wishing to be included as a member of the Tribe.

The Nottawaseppi membership application form may be obtained by:

1) personally visiting the Bradley office where the Enrollment Office is located or
2) writing to Huron Potawatomi, Inc. and Sandy Williams at the Bradley office to request membership applications.

We encourage Elders (Grandpas and Grandmas) to make a list of themselves and all of their offspring and make sure each of these persons apply for membership.

If you have any questions, please call the Bradley office at 616-792-0161 (HPI Newsletter, April 1991, 1-2).

On April 6, 1991, David Mackety, Chairman since 1970 and architect of the merger of HPI with the Bradley settlement, was defeated in the HPI tribal election. On April 9, the new Council chose Margaret (Sprague) Sipkema, from the Bradley settlement in Allegan County, as chairperson. On April 19, 1991, the HPI tribal council passed a resolution that for enrollment purposes, all persons on the 1904 Taggart Roll would be counted as full-blooded American Indians, per action of the tribal council on February 11, 1991 (OD Response, Attachment 23).

The 1991 roll was compiled during the period (1987-1991) during which the Bradley settlement (Gun Lake, Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band) Potawatomi in Allegan County, Michigan,

were merged with the HPI. Therefore, it counted Bradley Potawatomi ancestry on the Taggart Roll as NHPB [Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi Band] in listing the tribal affiliation of parents.

The HPI members descended from the Pine Creek settlement objected strenuously to the direction which the leadership was taking:

> Within the next few months the Calhoun County Huron Pots eliminated the Allegan County hold on leadership of the two combined Tribes. By November of 1991 the Calhoun County Huron Pots had sufficiently discouraged Allegan County Indian participation by reneging on an agreement to expand membership, made the land issue a focus, while firing Allegan County Indian staff with "no cause". The Allegan County Huron Pots resigned from the Tribal Council in disgust. The four year attempt to politically consolidate the two communities ended, forever (Chivis Clarification 1993, 34).

The 1991 HPI membership roll was produced in the midst of these controversies. The "Membership Roll of the Nottawaseppi-Huron Potawatomi Band" dated June 27, 1991, contains 849 names. It was accompanied by the following statement from La Sanda K. Williams, Native American Genealogical Research Service, 100 Maple Hill Village, No. 11, Hartford, Michigan 49057:

> June 27, 1991. This is to certify, based on available Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi Band office records, submitted documentation/ information, Native American Genealogical Research Service records and rolls, that all persons listed on this membership roll are at least one-quarter degree Indian blood and trace to the 1904-5 Taggart Roll (HPI Deficiency Response 1991).

BAR researchers were able to verify that all persons on this 1991 Roll, with the exception of one adopted child, traced to the Taggart Roll, but did not have the resources to verify that all persons listed on this roll were of at least one-quarter degree Indian blood. It should be noted that this roll no longer distinguished between individuals with 1/4 *Potawatomi* blood quantum (as required by the HPI constitution) and other lineal HPI or Taggart Roll descendants, although the constitutional membership

requirement had not been changed. The certification was simply for 1/4 *Indian* blood quantum.

Membership numbers of the 1991 roll were not correlated with those on the 1986 roll, nor was the roll alphabetized. It contained the following columns for each individual: Name and Address, Sex, Birth Date, 1904 Taggart [ancestor's number and key to relationship], Blood Degree [not filled in], Names of Parents, and Tribe [of each parent]. The 1991 Roll contained a total of 849 individuals. Of the 849 names on the 1991 roll, 559 were adults and 267 were minor children under the age of 18 years. There were 23 entries for whom no birthdate was given and no age could be extrapolated (it could be assumed that the parent of a adult was an adult, while the child of a person born in 1970 was a minor, even if no birthdate was listed).

CHART III
TRIBAL ORIGINS OF THE 1991 HPI MEMBERSHIP ROLL.

Of the total of 1,698 parents of 1991 HPI members,[12]

1,030 were NHPB[13]	56.8 %
53 were other Potawatomi (mostly Pokagon)[14]	2.9 %
75 were Ottawa[15]	4.8 %
66 were Chippewa	3.1 %
28 were other Indian[16]	1.5 %
39 were specified as non-Indian	2.1 %
523 no information provided[17]	28.8 %
1,814	106 %

[12] Numbers somewhat exceed the total because some parents were identified as mixed Potawatomi/Ottawa or Chippewa/Ottawa ancestry, and are here counted under both affiliations.

[13] For the purposes of this membership roll, NHPB signified a Taggart Roll descendant.

[14] All in-married individuals who are identified as Pokagon Potawatomi--such as the Paul family--can, in fact, be found in 1896 Cadman Roll listings, and were identified as Indian on Federal census.

[15] Possibly two more identified as "LCO."

[16] Mohawk, Sioux, Shoshone, Delaware, Seminole.

[17] On the basis of comparison with data listed on the 1978 BIA judgment roll, BAR is making the presumption that most of these persons were non-Indian.

The great majority of those on the 1991 roll (840 out of 849) had at least one parent whose affiliation was specified as NHPB: for 190 members, both parents were identified as NHPB. For one family of five children, the parents were listed as "confidential."[18] In three cases, the names and tribal affiliations of both parents were left blank on the 1991 roll. In one case, the father was listed as Pokagon Potawatomi and the mother's tribal affiliation was blank.

Shortly after the 1991 roll was accepted, major changes came to HPI. On August 2, 1991, HPI held an "informational meeting regarding enrollment of band members of the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi tribe." It was stated at the meeting that. "the 850 names forwarded to the BIA are not to be construed as a new base roll, but a 'supplementary list' developed for the tribe and BAR . . . [a] listing of potential members . . ." (Church to Sipkema, August 5, 1991, BAR Files).

At the August 16, 1991, HPI tribal council meeting, Alberta Wells moved, "that the motion made in the February 11, 1991, council meeting be expunged, which is unconstitutional since it artificially raises the blood quantum of persons on the 1904 Taggart roll" (HPI Tribal Minutes, August 16, 1991). John Chivis, Jr., seconded. Margaret Sipkema, the tribal chairwoman, did not call for a vote, since

> she feels vote was improper because Joe did not rescind the motion that he made. Vice-Chairman, John Chivis, called for the vote. Joe made a statement that he did not rescind that motion that he made in the February 11, 1991 council meeting (HPI Tribal Minutes, August 16, 1991).

The Vice-Chairman, John Chivis, Jr., called for the vote, and the motion to expunge carried (HPI Tribal Minutes, August 16, 1991).

On December 6, 1991, at a tribal council meeting, John Chivis, Jr., moved that Margaret Sipkema, the tribal chairperson, be removed from office. One issue cited was

> notes that were found about the forming of a non-profit organization of Selkirk Reserve Community made up of Indians born or residing in Allegan

[18] BAR has ancestry charts and other documentation submitted by the petitioner that confirms the HPI ancestry of these children.

> county, will need further looking into to check the validity if any further action has been done on the forming of a non-profit within an alrady [sic] existing non-profit, i.e., Huron Potawatomi, Inc. (HPI Tribal Minutes, December 6, 1991).[19]

The motion to remove the Chairperson from office passed. On January 10, 1992, Margaret Sipkema and Joe Sprague resigned from the HPI Council (Chivis Submission 1992).

1993 Roll. The 1993 HPI tribal roll reflected the controversies of the second half of 1991: this roll contained only 221 names. HPI Resolution #93-01, passed by the HPI tribal council on January 30, 1993, and signed by Ronald J. Chivis, Chairman, accompanied a document entitled "Tribal Enrollment Nottawasippi-Huron Potawatomi December 1992 prepared by Katherine Stinger, Shanisee Nokomis consulting." Katherine (Chivis) Stinger, an HPI member, was employed by the group as its genealogist at the time.

Resolution #93-02 affirmed that the following documents were to be used to verify ancestry: The 1904 Taggart Roll, two published books by Raymond C. Lantz representing transcriptions of BIA annuity rolls (Lantz 1991 and Lantz 1992), and the Methodist Episcopal Church in Michigan Record Book of Missionaries, 1844-1866 (HPI Resolution #93-01, January 30, 1993, BAR Files).

The introduction to the 1993 roll stated that it contained

> 221 names [that] have been genealogicaly [sic] researched to the 1904 Taggart Roll and to the Huron Potawatomi annuity rolls (1843 to 1889). They are the descendants [sic] of Chief John Moguago and his half brother Pamptopee who escaped from the soldiers in Illinois and returned to the area near Athens Michigan.
>
> There are an additional 642 applicants who may qualify for membership pending an amendment to the present tribal constitution. They are 1/4 Indian blood or more but fail to meet the current

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[19] On December 1, 1992, an article entitled "Land of My Fathers" was printed in the Grand Rapids Press. It indicated that Bill Church, former Project Director for HPI, and other HPI Council members, were planning to present the history of the "Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians" to the BIA for acknowledgment purposes. Pictured with Church and D.K. Sprague was Margaret (Sprague) Sipkema (Land of My Fathers 1992).

> constitutional requirment [sic] of 1/4 Huron blood.[20] These people are also descendants of the 1904 Taggart Roll (Introduction, 1993 Roll, BAR Files).

This introductory statement was not strictly accurate: Chief John Moguago left no direct descendants. Many of these 221 individuals were descended from his sister Marcheonoqua. Moreover, this roll contained the names of some individuals who did not descend from either the Moguago nephews' family grouping (Mackey, Mandoka, Meme) or from the Pamptopee family, but instead had Taggart Roll ancestry from the Bradley settlement.

The 1993 roll was a product of the split in the HPI that took place late in 1991, as a result of which the HPI Council attempted to exclude the Bradley (Allegan County, Michigan) Potawatomi who had been brought into HPI membership by David Mackety (see Historical Report for narrative information). However, it omitted not only Taggart Roll descendants whose ancestors did not reside at Pine Creek, but also all descendants of the Cawcawba family, one of the original "six families" of the Pine Creek settlement.[21]

The 1993 roll, a computer printout, provided the following information for the 221 HPI members it counted: name (no addresses); sex; degree Huron blood; total Indian blood; auth. for enrollment [i.e., Taggart Roll number]; 1986 roll no.; date of birth; and 1978 roll no. On August 11, 1993, BAR received a typed, uncertified, version of this roll which included the addresses. No information was provided in 1993 on the 642 "applicants." Together, the two groups totalled 863 individuals.

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[20] See the above discussion of the adoption of the 1979 constitution, where a requirement for a 1/4 **Huron** Potawatomi blood quantum was proposed, but failed to carry. The actual HPI constitutional membership requirement is for 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum.

[21] Today, the "six families" are considered by the group to have been Moguago, Mandoka, Meme, Mackey, Cawcawba, and Pamptopee. Of these, Chief John Moguago left no direct descendants.

However, one of the local men involved in establishing the Pine Creek Reservation, N.P. Hobart, writing in 1878, referred to, [illegible] Moguago, Pamp-to-pee, Whetstone, Tetese, Se-ba-qua, and March[illegible], the heads of the six families who had houses built and shared the land" (N.P. Hobart to Charles Dickey, December 25, 1878, *in* Dickey [illegible]9).

Comparison of current and former membership. With the exception of the 1993 roll, each of the rolls presented by the petitioner represented the full membership of the group at the time it was compiled. No "new" families, with the exception of Shashaguay (see discussion below), appear on the later rolls who were not represented by family members on the earlier rolls. This statement is also true in applying to families from the Bradley settlement, all of whom had at least a few members enrolled with HPI prior to the 1991 roll. The 1991 roll expanded the number of enrolled individuals with Bradley Potawatomi ancestry, but did not introduce new ancestral lines.

The 1973 and 1986 rolls listed members with 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum and placed Taggart Roll lineal descendants with less than 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum in a separate supplement. The 1991 and 1994 rolls listed the same families, but in 1991 all Taggart Roll descendants were listed together irrespective of blood quantum, which was computed in one of the information columns. In 1994 the blood quantum was not computed at all. It should be noted that under 25 CFR Part 83, blood quantum is not a requirement for Federal acknowledgment of a petitioner as an Indian tribe.

Judgment Rolls.

Taggart Roll. The 1904 Taggart Roll was compiled by BIA in response to a claims suit (see Historical Report for details). Essentially, it was compiled in order to make payment authorized by Congress to Potawatomi descendants in Michigan of persons entitled to compensation under the treaty of 1833 who had not already been paid on the 1895/96 Cadman Roll with the Pokagon Potawatomi. The Taggart Roll contained 105 families (268 individual names) (Lantz 1992, 83-92).

On the basis of the data contained in the 1991 HPI membership roll itself, the BAR genealogist calculated that members of the petitioning group listed on the 1991 roll traced to only 45 qualifying ancestors of the 268 persons on the Taggart Roll. Upon further analysis, however, it was determined that this calculation did not provide a valid or completely accurate picture for two reasons: first, there were several cases on the HPI membership rolls in which the qualifying ancestor listed on the HPI membership roll was the minor child or adult offspring of another Taggart Roll listee; second, some HPI members had listed only one of their several qualifying ancestors.

1978 Judgment Roll. The Michigan Agency, BIA, provided BAR with a copy of a descendancy roll (dated 1984) prepared for Michigan Potawatomi in 1978 in connection with the 1978 Potawatomi claims judgment award by the Indian Claims Commission (see discussion of these claims above). This roll contained the names of 3,670 lineal descendants of Michigan Potawatomi entitled to share in the award. The information columns included those for identity number, name (including maiden name and any previous names), gender, birthdate, base roll relation, enrollment date, and identity numbers of the person's father and mother.

The "base roll relation" column was keyed to make a distinction between Pokagon Band Potawatomi (descendants of the 1895 Cadman Roll) and descendants of the 1904 Taggart Roll Potawatomi. A small number of entries (128 persons) did not have this key filled out. The 1978 judgment roll identified 1,904 persons as Taggart Roll descendants. In comparing this enumeration with the contemporary data from the 1978 HPI membership roll, it is clear that the majority of the BIA-identified descendants of those Michigan Potawatomi who had been listed on the Taggart Roll were not HPI members in 1978 (see page 49 for further discussion). The 1978 HPI membership roll, in all categories, listed 453 of 1,904, or 23.8 percent of the 1978 judgment roll names. All HPI members who were alive (and therefore eligible) at the cutoff date set by the court participated in the award.

Genealogical Selection/Documentation

At the time of submission of the petition for Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe (1987), HPI submitted a genealogical folder containing a copy of each adult member's HPI membership application, an ancestry chart and family group sheet (listing the member's children) on BAR forms, and backup documentation (always a birth certificate; frequently other vital records). In 1994, HPI supplemented this documentation with a folder for each member added to the HPI rolls between 1986 and 1994 consisting of copies of the individual records maintained by the Michigan Agency, BIA, based upon records generated for the 1978 claims payment. Each of these folders contains the 1978 claims payment application, an ancestry chart, a birth certificate, and in many cases additional vital records documentation such as marriage certificates. The folders were accompanied by a color-coded copy of the 1986 roll. Sixteen of the persons on the 1986 roll were deceased by 1994.

Certain types of specific problems are of concern to BAR genealogists in the case of all petitions. Accordingly, a deliberate genealogical selection (not random) was made on single, straight lines of descent in families which represented the following categories considered to be of concern to BAR: lines not on judgment rolls, problem lines, 19th-century families, the historic leadership, the current leadership, all other major subgroups, geographic dispersion, political factions, and families with a large representation in the current membership.

Lines not on judgment rolls. This was not a problem in the instance of the HPI petitioner. All family lines of the HPI membership are represented on both the Taggart Roll and the 1978/1984 judgment roll.

Problem lines. Insofar as the HPI have "problem lines" which are difficult to attach to the historic tribe, the problems are anthropological (possible lack of community) rather than genealogical. The major questions deal with Taggart Roll families who have descent from the Bradley settlement, but not from the Pine Creek settlement, and families which are dually descended from the Pokagon and Pine Creek groups. Only two Taggart Roll ancestral lines represented on the HPI membership roll (Bennett and Shashaguay) have Taggart Roll descent without ancestry in the Pine Creek, Bradley, or Pokagon groups.

For statistical analysis of the impact of "problem lines" on the HPI membership, see the final section of this Genealogical Technical Report.

Sprague. The Sprague family is numerically the largest of the families which had been basically associated with the Bradley settlement (Allegan County, Michigan) throughout the 19th century: in the maternal line, it descends from the Selkirk Reserve Chiefs Match-e-be-nash-she-wish and Penassee. Some persons bearing the Sprague surname do have Pine Creek ancestry by intermarriage, but this is not universally the case. Many of the Spragues were among those who have stated an intent to be considered with the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Potawatomi petition (#9A).

The Sprague case is not unique. The Chivis family is also split between those persons who have Pine Creek ancestry and those who carry only Bradley ancestry.

Ashquab. Seventeen descendants of the Taggart Roll Ashquab family are listed as HPI tribal members. All are descended from Charles and Rose (Isaac) Ashquab, and therefore do, through the Isaac line, have ancestry in the Bradley settlement. No Taggart Roll Ashquab descendants without a connection to the Bradley settlement were on the 1991 or 1994 HPI tribal roll.

This family meets the petitioner's membership requirements in the constitution fully, but there is some question as to whether it is in any meaningful way a member of the HPI. The family has resided in Isabella County at least since 1890, but the grandfather was involved with the HPI's claims work in the 1950's. There has been ongoing contact, if not a close family relationship. Part of this group, intermarried with the Isaacs family, has stated an intent to renounce HPI membership in favor of Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band membership.

Shashaguay. This Taggart Roll family is represented on the current HPI tribal roll by 11 individuals. The Shashaguay family has lived since the mid-19th century in Saugatuck Township, Allegan County, Michigan, without close ties to either the Bradley settlement or to the Pine Creek settlement. They have intermarried primarily with non-Indians (most 19th-century spouses were French Canadian).

Shashaguay and Bennet (six members) represent the only two Taggart Roll families without Pine Creek or Bradley ancestry carried on the HPI membership roll. In the case of the Bennets, however, there has been 20th-century intermarriage with the Pine Creek Pamp family.

Sturgeon and Wesaw. These two large extended families are descended from both Pokagon Potawatomi and Pine Creek Potawatomi ancestors. In each family, some members are enrolled with one or the other group, but not with both. Some 171 individuals, or 28 percent of the HPI membership list, however, are carried on the rolls of both groups. This situation will have to be clarified.

<u>Families resident in the Pine Creek settlement during the 19th century</u>. For analytical purposes, the BAR genealogist prepared descending genealogies from the families found resident at Pine Creek and Bradley during the 19th century, and compared these genealogies with the ancestry charts of

persons on the current membership roll submitted by HPI. The results were ordinarily consistent.[22]

It should be pointed out that many HPI members descend from multiple categories simultaneously: that is, from the original "six families" that founded the Pine Creek settlement; from "immigrant families," of Indians (mostly Potawatomi, but with a few mixed Potawatomi-Ottawa or Potawatomi-Chippewa ancestry) who settled at Pine Creek during the second half of the 19th century; and from "Bradley families."

During the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century, the Pine Creek population remained quite stable (see the Historical Technical Report, Chart I). Significant expansion did not take place until after 1950.

CHART IV
PINE CREEK DESCENDANTS
POPULATION GROWTH, 1920-1978

Known total population in 1920: 84

	Known Births	Known Deaths	Total
1920-29	41	11	1930: 114
1930-39	30	20	1940: 124
1940-49	77	9	1950: 192
1950-59	204	6	1960: 390
1960-69	143	10	1970: 523
1970-78	152	6	1978: 667

The ending date of 1978 was chosen to conform to that of the earliest HPI membership list submitted.

Source: Genealogical data submitted by petitioner.

[22] The only major discrepancy appeared in the case of a woman who married three times, having children by all three husbands. The conclusions of the BAR genealogists in regard to the parentage of her seven children did not agree with some of the ancestry charts [illegible], in every case the BAR concluded that the amount of Pine Creek [illegible] carried by her children was greater than that claimed by the ancestry charts.

The original "six families" of the Pine Creek settlement. The petitioner considers these families to be Moguago (no direct descendants); Mackey, Meme, Mandoka (all three were Shawgoquet brothers, and nephews of Chief John Moguago), Cacawba, and Pamptopee. Because of extensive intermarriage, the majority of the modern membership does not descend from just one of these families, but from three or four.

"Immigrant families": additions to the Pine Creek settlement. During the second half of the 19th century, the Pine Creek settlement accepted new residents (Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa) who were not immediate relatives of the original "six families." This was acceptable according to the Potawatomi tradition of "permeable boundaries" and the long-standing custom of intermarriage among various Potawatomi villages and with Ottawa and Chippewa. The major family names represented are: Watson, David, Wezoo, Paul, and Jackson.

These families originated from various sources. Two Taggart Roll families who were not original (1842) founders of the Pine Creek Reservation are found residing with that portion of the group which was in Cheshire Township, Allegan County, Michigan, in the 1860 Federal census. These were Amos Watson, in 1860 a 15-year-old son in the "Ind" household of James B. and Mary B. Watson (U.S. Census 1860b, household #413/387) and James David, age 19; Sarah David, age 15; and Silas David, age 11, who are listed as children in the "Ind" household of David and Nancy Magulpin (U.S. Census 1860b, household # 415/389). Apparently, these persons, but not their entire natal households, returned to Pine Creek with the Mackey and Meme families in the mid-1860's. It is known from the "Indiantown Inklings" newspaper columns published in the Athens Times newspaper that both of these families had relatives on Walpole Island, Canada (Athens Times December 15, 1911; December 28, 1922).

Amos Watson, through his marriage to Elizabeth (Pearson/Parsons) Brazil, would eventually become an in-law to the Pokagon Potawatomi, though he continued to reside at Pine Creek. Another Taggart Roll combined Pokagon/Allegan County Potawatomi family that came to reside at Pine Creek during the latter 19th century was that of Thomas and Rosa (Johnson) Wezoo. The Paul family also had both Bradley and Pokagon Potawatomi ancestry.

Jacob Jackson, aka Jacob Noon-Wehr, a Chippewa, first came to Pine Creek as the brother-in-law of another immigrant,

Stephen Pepeah (aka Stephen Mackie, Pokagon Potawatomi). Jackson resided at Pine Creek at least from 1877 onward: his sister was there as early as 1875 (Lantz 1992, 50, 52). He was still living there in 1900. Through his marriage to Alice Sprague of the Bradley settlement, a portion of the Sprague family [the portion aka Jackson] has "Pine Creek immigrant" ancestry.

Intermarriage from other Indian settlements. During the latter 19th century and early 20th century, other Taggart Roll listees accrued to Pine Creek as individual permanent residents (rather than as new families) from other Potawatomi communities. All either already had prior ties to Pine Creek through their natal families, obtained them by marriage, or both. These included Albert Mackety from Bradley (a grandson of James David); David Nottaway [aka James D. Henry], who married Josephine Cawcawba; and Edward Day, a Potawatomi from Canada, who married Margaret Brazil, the Pokagon Potawatomi stepdaughter of Amos Watson.

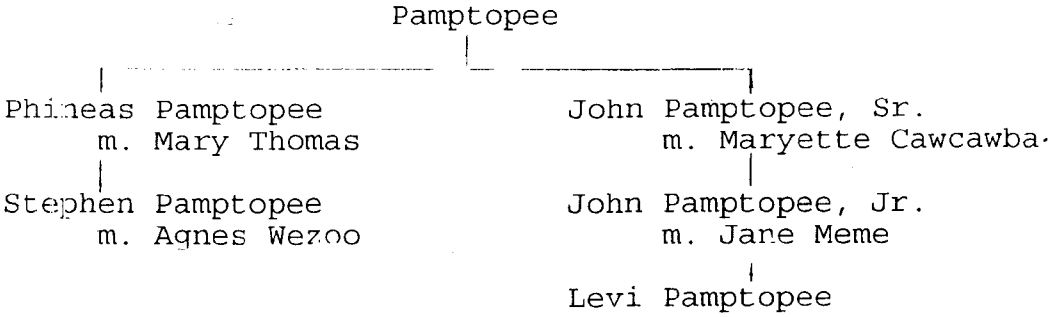
Historic leadership. The genealogy of all of the historic leadership of the HPI can be traced back far beyond the date of the 1904 Taggart Roll. All are clearly documented as members and/or descendants of members of the founders of the Pine Creek settlement in 1842. The following discussion is based upon documentation in BAR files.

Pamptopee (Phineas, Stephen, and Levi). All three of these leaders descended from Pamptopee, who died in 1864, a half-brother of John Moguago. Pamptopee was one of the Pine Creek founders and served as chief for one year after Moguago's death. Phineas Pamptopee (Taggart Roll #56) (chief 1864-1914) was Pamptopee's son.

Stephen/Steve Pamptopee/Pamp (Taggart Roll #61) (chief 1914-1926), was son of Chief Phineas Pamptopee (Taggart Roll #56) and Mary (Thomas?) Pamptopee (who died prior to compilation of the Taggart Roll). He married Agnes Wezoo (Taggart Roll #91), daughter of Thomas Wezoo (Taggart Roll #17) [Pokagon/Bradley Potawatomi] and Rosa (Johnson) Wezoo (Taggart Roll #18) [Bradley Potawatomi], an "immigrant family" couple who had settled at Pine Creek.

Levi Pamp (Taggart Roll #68) was the grandson of Phineas' brother John Pamptopee (Taggart Roll #50). He was also, through John Pamptopee's wife Maryette Cawcawba, a descendant of Whetstone. Through his mother, he was a grandson of Joseph Meme (Taggart Roll #73) (both Whetstone and Meme were also original 1842 Pine Creek founders). He

married Elizabeth Paul, daughter of John Paul [Pokagon Potawatomi] and Mary (Isaac) Paul [Bradley Potawatomi], an "immigrant family" couple who had settled at Pine Creek.



Samuel Mandoka (Taggart Roll #1) was the son of Joseph Mandoka (Taggart Roll #7) (original Pine Creek "six families') and grandson of Marcheonoqua, John Moguago's sister. He married Mary Walker (Taggart Roll #2), whose mother Betsy Walker (Taggart Roll #12), although indicated by some documents to have been Grand River Ottawa, was listed on the Taggart Roll (Lantz 1992, 83).[23]

David Mackety. Basically, he descended from the late 19th-century "immigrated" Pine Creek families, with some Bradley Potawatomi, some Pokagon Potawatomi, and some Chippewa in his ancestry. His ancestry goes to the Taggart Roll, but not to the "original six families." However, he married Hazel Mandoka, granddaughter of Chief Samuel Mandoka (Taggart Roll #1), giving him an alliance with one of the "original six" founding families. Son of Albert Mackety (Taggart Roll #95) and Elizabeth (Wezoo) Mackety (Taggart Roll #19), his paternal grandparents were William Mackety

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[23] The case of Betsy Walker illustrates the difficulty of documenting exact tribal origins of individuals. On the 1900 Indian Population schedule for Wayland Township, Allegan County, Michigan, Betsy's son Solomon Walker stated that his father was Potawatomi, born in Michigan, and his mother Ottawa, born in Canada (NARS T-623, Roll 698, 274, household #90/181). In 1910, however, the Indian Population schedule for Wayland Township, Allegan County, Michigan, showed Betsy Walker residing with her daughter Caroline (Walker) Mandoka. On this schedule, Betsey Walker is listed as 1/8 white blood, born in French Canada, her father a Potawatomi born in French Canada and her mother a Potawatomi born in Michigan (NARS T-624, Roll 634, 299A, household #72).

Betsy Walker was listed by the BIA both as Potawatomi on the 1904 Taggart Roll (#12) (Lantz 1992, 83) and as Grand River Ottawa on the 1907 Durant Roll (#7336) (Lantz 1991, 276).

and Susan (David) Mackety; his maternal grandparents were Thomas Wezoo (Taggart Roll #17) and Rosa (Johnson) Wezoo (Taggart Roll #18). He was a great grandson of James David (Taggart Roll #93) and his wife Sarah (_____) David (Taggart Roll #94).

Gordon Bush, Tribal Administrator in the 1970's, was a son of Henry F. Bush, Sr. and Leona (Medawis) Bush; grandson of Henry Medawis (Taggart Roll #128) and Mary Ann (Pamptopee) Medawis (Taggart Roll #62); great-grandson of Lydia (Sprague) Medawis (Taggart Roll #126). The Pamptopee line is one of the six original Pine Creek families; the Sprague ancestry is Bradley Potawatomi; and the Medawis ancestry is Grand River Ottawa.

Current leadership.

1991 Officers: This slate was elected during the period when David Mackety had engineered a merger between HPI and the Bradley settlement in Allegan County, Michigan.

Chairperson: As of 1994, the 1991 HPI chairperson is a member of another petitioning group: the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish or Gun Lake Band Potawatomi (BAR Priority #9A). This person was listed on the 1978 and all subsequent HPI membership rolls until 1993. This person has Taggart Roll ancestry, but has no Pine Creek ancestry, either of the "original six" families or of later settlers on the reservation in Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan.

Vice-chairman: The surname line is non-Indian. In the maternal line, the family has Bradley Potawatomi Taggart Roll ancestry through Rosa Jackson (Taggart Roll #194). It has both Grand River Ottawa and Pine Creek Taggart Roll "six families" ancestry through the marriage of Henry Medawis, Sr. (Taggart Roll #128) to Mary Ann Pamptopee (Taggart Roll #62), daughter of Chief Stephen Pamptopee (Taggart Roll #61) and Agnes Wezoo (Taggart Roll #91).

Treasurer: Sibling of David Mackety--see above.

Secretary: Child of Grover Cleveland Mandoka (Taggart Roll #5) and Sarah (Meme) Mandoka; grandchild of Chief Samuel Mandoka (Taggart Roll #1), Mary Walker (Taggart Roll #2), and Joseph Meme (Taggart Roll #73). The Mandoka and Meme families were of the "original six".

1994 Officers (as of January):

Chairperson: Grandchild of Albert Mackety (Taggart Roll #95) and Elizabeth (Wezoo) Mackety (Taggart Roll #19); niece of David Mackety. The maternal ancestry is Grand River Ottawa (Smith/Medawis). The paternal ancestry tracks to the Taggart Roll and to Taggart Roll families (James and Sarah David; Thomas and Rosa Wezoo) resident at Pine Creek prior to 1900, but not to any of the "six families."

Vice Tribal Chairperson: Son of David P. and Daisy (Medawis) Chivis. Because brothers married sisters, his more distant ancestry is identical to that of his cousins John L. Chivis, Jr., and Ronald J. Chivis--see above. He is a great-grandson of Chief Stephen Pamptopee (Taggart Roll #61).

Secretary: On the maternal side, the current HPI secretary is a grandchild of Joseph Cyrus Pamptopee (Taggart Roll #67) and Elizabeth (Marks) Pamp/Pamptopee [the Marks line is Grand River Ottawa]; great-granddaughter of John Pamptopee (Taggart Roll #63) and Jane (Meme) Pamptopee (Taggart Roll #64).

Treasurer: The treasurer's mother is listed on the 1991 HPI membership roll as Chippewa/Ottawa, but is also a Taggart Roll descendant. On the paternal side, the treasurer is a grandchild of Levi Pamp (Taggart Roll #68), who is discussed above in the Historic Leadership section. The treasurer is an enrolled member of another Federally acknowledged tribe, the Saginaw Chippewa.

Council Member: On the paternal side, a grandchild of the marriage of Edward Day [Walpole Island, Canada, Potawatomi] to Margaret Brazil [Pokagon Potawatomi], both of whom actually resided at Pine Creek by 1900. On the mother's side, a grandchild of Henry Medawis (Taggart Roll #128) and Mary Ann (Pamptopee) Medawis (Taggart Roll #62), and thus a great-grandson of Chief Stephen Pamptopee (Taggart Roll #61) and Agnes (Wezoo) Pamptopee (Taggart Roll #91).

Tribal Administrator: Great-grandchild of John Pamptopee (Taggart Roll #63) and Jane (Meme) Pamptopee (Taggart Roll #64), thus descended from two of the "original six" families. The Tribal Administrator also has Pokagon Potawatomi and Bradley Potawatomi ancestry and was reared in the Pokagon Potawatomi community near Hartford in Van Buren County, Michigan.

All other major subgroups.

Whetstone [also called Whitstone] and his wife Nowissay, members of the 1842 founding group at Pine Creek, are, through their daughters Mary Ann and Maryette, ancestors of all of the descendants of Phineas Pamptopee and John Pamptopee, Jr. Through their son William "Billy" Cawcawba, they have also left a significant number of descendants on the current tribal roll. The Anewishki and Collyer families descend from Billy Cawcawba's daughter Josephine, who married David Nottaway [aka James David Henry]. Josephine's daughter Grace Helen Nottaway married Homer Mandoka and left descendants also.

Geographic dispersion.

This issue is further discussed in the Anthropological Technical Report. The pattern of geographical dispersion, with the exception of the Bradley/Pine Creek/Pokagon distinctions, appears to be based primarily upon employment opportunities. Descendants of Pine Creek families maintain ties to the settlement. The current secretary at the HPI tribal office on the Pine Creek reservation, whose grandparents, Henry and Mary Ann (Pamptopee) Medawis, were on the "1934 Residents List" (HPI Pet. 1986, Ex.) commutes 90 miles each way from Grand Rapids, night and morning.

Political factions.

Political factions appear to cut across family lines. The person who defeated David Mackety for chairperson in 1980 was the son of a Chippewa father. However, through his mother, he was a grandson of Henry and Mary Ann (Pamptopee) Medawis (1934 Residents List, HPI Pet. 1986, Ex.) and a great-grandson of Chief Stephen Pamptopee.

Large representation in current membership. The petitioner's ancestry is so heavily intermarried that most of the originating ancestors have a large representation in the current membership. Between the founding of the Pine Creek settlement in 1843 and 1901, all known marriages were either within the community or to other Michigan Indians, most of whom were either Bradley settlement Potawatomi, Pokagon Potawatomi, or Grand River Ottawa. This pattern continued into the first decades of the 20th century. Significant outmarriage did not begin to take place until the 1930's. Until 1960, at least 50 percent of new marriages continued to be either within the group or

culturally appropriate patterned outmarriages to other Indians.

CHART V
HPI NEW MARRIAGES BY DECADE, 1930-1990

	In-group		Other Indian	Non-Indian	Total
1930-1939	6	(35%)	4 (23%)	7 (41%)	17
1940-1949	12	(30%)	12 (30%)	16 (40%)	40
1950-1959	7	(19%)	11 (27%)	18 (50%)	36
1960-1969	3		9	48 (80%)	60
1970-1979	2		[illegible]	71 (82%)	87
1980-1989	1		9	39 (80%)	49

Records Utilized

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

The Pine Creek settlement and its residents have been, historically, and are currently consistently identified as Potawatomi, as Huron Potawatomi, and as the Nottawaseppi Band of the Huron Potawatomi.

The only anomaly which appears at any time in this identification is the inclusion of Potawatomi listed on the 1904 Taggart Roll, who were residents of other localities such as the Bradley settlement in Allegan County, Michigan, and who were descended primarily from other Potawatomi bands than the Nottawaseppi Huron, as qualifying ancestors. It has been the decision of the current HPI tribal council to include on the membership list those Taggart Roll descendants who have been consistently involved with the Pine Creek settlement throughout the past century, even if their ancestors were not genealogically related to the Potawatomi of Huron.

Early BIA rolls. BIA (in the 19th century called the Office of Indian Affairs, or OIA) records relating to the Pine Creek settlement and its residents exist from the date of its founding. They will be discussed in turn.

1842 OIA Census. The 1842 OIA census of the Potawatomi of Huron did not include the names of individuals, but only statistics. It is indicative, however, that the OIA was aware of the return of the Pine Creek group from Kansas as soon as the event occurred (NARS M234, Roll 125, 208. Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-80. Michigan Suptdcy., 1842-45. Nov. 10, 1842. Stuart to Crawford, transmitting census).

CHART VI
OIA 1842 POTAWATOMI OF HURON CENSUS STATISTICS

	Males	Females
Over 40	9	10
10-40	22	24
Under 10	17	18

Total number: 100

Source: November 10, 1842. Abridgment of census rolls sent from Stuart to Crawford. Pottowatomies of Huron total 100 (NARS M1, Roll 39, 40).

Two 1843 lists. In 1843, the Michigan Superintendency, OIA, received two separate unofficial lists of the group which provided individual names (see Appendix I). Additional correspondence between the group and the Michigan Superintendency in 1843 provided additional names.[24]

1843 and 1844 annuity rolls. The names on the unofficial lists sent in 1843 are more complete than those on the OIA annuity rolls (for a payment stemming from the 1807 treaty) for 1843 and 1844,[25] as they include women and, to some

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[24] "Three families returned from Canada, one To ka paw, always received his money at Detroit, connection to the chief that lived east side Raisin River down from the village Taw-was. One family died in Missouri, Sup-po, his wives [wife's] name Ask,qua,cob,we,qu, left one daughter" (NARS M1, Roll 55, 597, 598. Moguago to Stuart).

[25] Clifton, writing in 1984 about the Pokagon Potawatomi, was not aware of the continuity of the Pine Creek settlement. "In 1843 and 1844, the agents identified three "bands" of Catholic Potawatomi eligible for these annuities. These were the Paw Paw group, [illegible] Pindenwa, Singowa, Pepiya, and Wabimanido; the Pokagons proper at Silver Creek with Peter [Paul] Pokagon identified as "chief;" and Mgwago's smaller group at Nadowesipe. Of these some 250 Catholic Potawatomi

extent, children. The names of the heads of families, however, are consistent (Lantz 1972, 1-2, 3; see Appendix II).

1847 OIA census. The 1847 OIA census of the group identified it as being in Branch County, Michigan, directly south of Calhoun County (see Appendix III). This location could well be just a few miles from Pine Creek along the St. Joseph River, but all other documentation from the period indicates that the group was in Calhoun County, actually at the Pine Creek location, and the agricultural data indicates that the members were farming.

1861 Annuity Roll. After 1844, the series of surviving annuity rolls is interrupted. The next extant BIA annuity roll was prepared in 1861, and is interesting in that although the group is documented by the Federal census as having been split in two locations in 1860, part at Pine Creek and part in Cheshire Township, Allegan County, Michigan (see the discussion of Federal census records below), for administrative purposes the BIA classified the population of both locations under John Moguago as chief (see Appendix IV).

1874-1889 Potawatomi of Huron annuity rolls. After the single roll remaining for the 4th Quarter, 1861, the series of annuity rolls for the Potawatomi of Huron is again interrupted until 1874. In that year, the series resumes, listing only heads of families (Lantz 1992, 49-50). The rolls for 1875 and 1876 had the same structure (Lantz 1992, 50-51). Beginning in 1877 and continuing through 1889, there are annual rolls which list the names and ages of each person in the household, as well as the relationship of each person to the head of the household (Lantz 1992, 51-73).

1904 Taggart Roll. After the commutation of the Potawatomi of Huron annuity (stemming from the 1807 treaty) in 1889, no further BIA rolls were prepared until the 1904 Taggart Roll, which was not a census of the Pine Creek settlement, but rather a judgment roll resulting from a U.S. Court of Claims decision and pertaining to Michigan Potawatomi other than the Pokagon Band. The Taggart Roll is discussed extensively elsewhere in this report. BAR has a microfilm of the

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enumerated, 140 or fifty-eight percent were located at Silver Creek in these years . . . . After 1844 the Nadowesipe "band" was never again identified, although many of the same persons and households were listed among the other settlements" (Clifton 1984, 80-81).

original, a typed copy submitted by the petitioner, and the published version (Lantz 1992, 83-92).

Judgment distribution award, 1978. This descendancy roll, prepared by the Michigan Agency, BIA, as the result of a 1978 decision of the Indian Claims Commission, was completed in 1984. This roll is discussed extensively elsewhere in this report.

Other BIA Rolls.

1895/96 Cadman/Shelby Roll, Pokagon Potawatomi. All ancestry claimed by HPI ancestry charts to be Pokagon Potawatomi was verifiable as Pokagon by comparison of the HPI ancestry charts with the Cadman Roll, prepared in 1895/1896 by BIA special agents Cadman and Shelby (Lantz 1992, 73-83).

1907 Durant Roll, Michigan Ottawa. Several Bradley settlement families which are listed on the Taggart Roll as Potawatomi, are also carried on the Durant Roll as Ottawa. In all cases, the Durant Roll makes a note of the dual listing and cites to the individual's Taggart Roll identification number (Lantz 1991).

Rolls of other acknowledged tribes. Overlapping enrollment of HPI with the Pokagon Potawatomi, legislatively recognized in March 1994, is analyzed elsewhere in this report. As less than 5 percent of the HPI membership was indicated on the 1990 roll as having parents from other acknowledged tribes, such as Chippewa or Ottawa, it is unlikely that a substantial portion of the HPI membership could be further identified by using the rolls of other Federally acknowledged tribes.

Rolls of other unacknowledged Michigan groups. The only unacknowledged Michigan group with significant overlapping membership with HPI is that of the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish (Gun Lake) Band of Potawatomi. The impact of this overlapping membership is analyzed elsewhere in this report.

U.S. Federal Censuses.

Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan. The Pine Creek settlement in Calhoun County, Michigan, was not listed on the Federal census prior to 1860.

The 1860 Federal census of Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan (U.S. Census 1860a), taken August 2, 1860, by W.G.

Sannders [sic], P.O. Pine Creek, had on page 260 a header "Indians." Then, beginning with John Maguago, the chief (age 70, male, farmer, $600 real estate, $240 personal estate, born in Michigan) and his family in household #2153/1934, the listing of the Pine Creek reservation continued consecutively through household (#2160/1940, including families of Pamptopee and Cawcawba (spelled Cockby, in household 2156/1938) (U.S. Census 1860a, 260).

There was a temporary division of the population from the mid-1850's until the mid-1860's, when a number of the families bought land[26] in Allegan County, Michigan. The

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[26] November 1, [1853]. U.S. Land Certificate No. 25,908, U.s. to Nawme Shogoquet (Pattawattoma Indian) of Allegan County, Michigan. North East quarter of the South East quarter of Section 17, Township 1 North, Range 14 West, 40 acres [date because signed by Franklin Pierce in 78th year of American independence--miswritten in book]. Recorded 1863 (Allegan County, Michigan, Deed Book 17, 158).

May 4, 1855. From William Gates of Cheshire, Allegan County, Michigan and Harriet W. Gates his wife to Macie Shakogua an Indian of the same place; $120, south east quarter of the south east quarter of Section 17, Town 1 north, range 14 west, 40 acres. Wits. E.B. Bassett, Benjamin Pratt (Allegan County, Michigan, Deed Book 12, pp. 408-409).

October 1, 1855. U.S. Land Certificate No. 26, 679, U.S. to Zozett Sowohquett of Allegan County Michigan, North East quarter of the North East quarter of Section Twenty in Township one North of Range Fourteen West, Forty Acres. Recorded 1862 (Allegan County, Michigan, Deed Book 24, 148).

December 19, 1855. From Macie Shakoqua of Cheshire in the County of Allegan and Mochanoqua Shakogua his mother of the same place, $120. Transfers land purchased same years. Wits. F.J. LittleJohn, David D. Davis (Allegan County, Michigan, Deed Book 13, 288-289).

October 30, 1857. U.S. Land Certificate No. 25,838, from U.S. To Makie Shogoquoet (a Pottowattomia Indian) of Allegan County Michigan, had deposited a certificate of the Register of the Land Office at Kalamazoo, full payment in compliance with the Act of Congress of 24 April 1820, South east quarter of the North East quarter of Section 17 Township One North of Range Fourteen West, 60 acres. Recorded 1859 (Allegan County, Michigan, Deed Book 17, 33-34).

January 1, 1862. From Zozett Sowaquett of Hartford, Van Buren County, Michigan to Nua Nea Tah Ash Qua Tah of Allegan County, Michigan, $112, NE 1/4 of NE Quarter of Section 20, Town 1 Range 14 West 40 Acres. She appeared and said it was her free will to make this sale and she was seized of the premises . . . Wits: Eri Beebe, Joseph Bertrand (Allegan County, Michigan, Deed Book 25, 96).

August 19, 1864. Macca Sougarquet and Nancy Sougarquet of the Town of Cheshire, Allegan County, Michigan to Charles Fribley of Pine Plain, $500, SE 1/4 of NE 1/4 of Section 17, 1, 14, containing 40 acres. Wits. L.D. Buck and Sarah C. Buck. Macca and Nancy both signed by mark (Allegan County, Michigan, Deed Book 31, 292).

September 27, 1864. From Margie Shugaquoit of Cheshire [illegible] County to Jesse Pearson, SE 1/4 of SE 1/4 of Section 17, 1, 14, containing 40 acres. Wits. Warren Doude, Harriet Doude (Allegan County,

1860 Federal census shows that the portion of the petitioner's ancestral group that had moved to Allegan County was living as a unit.[27] Later in the 1860's, that portion of the population returned to Pine Creek as a unit, bringing with them the Watson and David families who would subsequently become part of the settlement.

The 1870 Federal census of Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan, did not have a "header" prior to the enumeration of the Pine Creek Reservation, but the households were listed consecutively from #275/275 through #284/284, with all residents identified as "Ind" in the column for ethnicity (U.S. Census 1870a, 383r-384). The occupation of Phineas Pamptopee, household #277/277, was listed as "farmer and Ind Chief" (U.S. Census 1870a, 383r).

The 1880 Federal census of Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan, listed the families on the Pine Creek Reservation consecutively, households #303/327 through #312/330 (U.S.

Michigan, Deed Book 34, 16).

[Illegible date, 1864?]. Nammie Shugaquoit to Jesse Pearsons, NE 1/4 of SE 1/4, Section 17, 1, 14, Allegan County, Michigan (Allegan County, Michigan, Deed Book 34, 17).

[27] 1860 U.S. Census, Cheshire Township, Allegan County, Michigan. Header: 19 June 1860, P.O. Lake. All are identified as "Ind" in the race column. There were no other Indians in the township--all were in this one settlement.

p. 69:

#408/380: Macca Sogarquoiet 36 m Ind farmer $200/60, b. Mich; Nancy ", 30, f, Ind., b. Indiana; Ellen, 3, f, b. MI; Hiram, 2, m; Mary, 15, f.

#409/381: Mema ", 30, m, farmer, $400/30, b. MI; Elizabeth, 24, f; Mary M, 6, f; Jane, 4, f; Pon-ce-ken-um, 2, f.

/382: Marga, 60, f, Ind., b. MI; Thomas, 19, m.

#410/383: Do-ca, 55, f, $0/$100, b. MI;

p. 270:

Nancy William, 6, f, Ind.

#411/384: Note-wa Qua-qua-da-sunk, 50, m, Ind, farmer, $160/$100, b. MI; To-pee, 40, f; Betsy, 15, f; Mary, 11, f; David Thomas, 15, m, b. Canada.

#412/385: Coo-cash, 68, m, Ind, farmer, $200/$100, b. MI; Nat-ta, 50, f; Jack Waso, 13, m; Agnes ", 16, f; Margaret ", 6, f.

#413/386: Joseph Kac-kee, 45, m, Ind, farmer, $200/$200, b. MI.

/387: James B. Watson, 40, m, Ind, $---/$60, b. MI; Mary B. Watson 24, f; Ames :, 3, m.

#414/388: Kes-es, 28, m, Ind; Kre-wa-ton, 16, f, Ind.

#415/389: David Magulpin, 50, m, Ind; Nancy :, 53, f; James ", 19, m; Sarah ", 15, f; Macca, 14, m; Eliza, 13, f; Silas, 11, m.

#416/390: William Na-ah-jee, 15, m, Ind, $200/$100, b. MI; Binn-o-qua, 40, f; Eliza, 21, f; George Uposky, 16, m, Ind, $---/$100 (NARS M-653, Roll 535, pp. 69-70).

Census 1880a, 45r-46). All residents were identified as Indian. At the end of the listing, the census taker wrote, "Here Ends the Indian Village, or Hamlet - of the 'Patowatamies of Huron'" (U.S. Census 1880a, 46).

The originals of the 1890 Federal census were burned and are not available for use. Extant Federal census material for 1890 does not list Indians as individuals. The Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed published on the basis of that census indicated the presence of 71 civilized, self-supporting Indians in Calhoun County, Michigan, and 71 civilized, self-supporting Indians in Allegan County, Michigan (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1894, 330). Also in southwestern Michigan, were: 32 in Berrien County, 35 in Cass County, and 59 in Van Buren County (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1894, 330).

The 1900 Federal Census of Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan (U.S. Census 1900b) enumerated the residents of the Pine Creek settlement (both the reservation and East Indiantown) on the special "Indian Population" census schedules. Therefore, the information provided is not only the standard Federal census data but also the additional information requested for Indians.

Thus, in household #1/1, James D. Henry [aka David Nottoway], the head of the family, was described on the general schedule as "In" in the category for ethnicity, male, born January 1856, age 54, had been married 28 years, was born in Michigan, his father was born in Canada EN (i.e. in Ontario or another English-speaking province) and his mother born in Michigan. He could read, write, and speak English, owned his farm free of mortgage, and the farm was #150 on the special agricultural census. The additional information stated that his Indian name was Wey Noe Wah, he was Potawatomi, his father was Potawatomi, his mother was Potawatomi, he was 0 percent white, he was taxed, he had always been a citizen, and he had a fixed residence (U.S. Census 1900b, 72).

In 1910, a few members of the Pine Creek settlement who were working off the reservation were enumerated on the regular census schedules--for example, Albert Mackety, who was a hired man in a white household. Even off-reservation families, however, were enumerated as "Ind" for ethnicity (U.S. Census 1900a, 73A, 73B, 76B, 77B). This census reflected the first identifiable marriage of a member of the Pine Creek settlement to a non-Indian since its founding in 1842: Lou Rogers, male, white, age 33, born Michigan, and

his wife Nancy [nee Watson], Indian, 24, born Michigan, her father born in Canada (Ottawa), her mother born in Indiana (Potawatomi) (U.S. Census 1910a, 78A). The Pine Creek Reservation residents were enumerated in 1910 on the "Indian Population Schedules" and the tribal affiliation of the great majority was given as Potawatomi (U.S. Census 1910b, 88A, 88B, 89).

The most recent Federal census open to the public is that of 1920. For Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan, the 1920 census consistently identifies the families of the petitioner's members and ancestors as "Ind" (U.S. Census 1920a, E.D. 35, 1A, #7/7; 4A, #260/270; 4B, #270/281, #272/283; 7B, #342/354 through #349/361; 8A, line 1).

Cheshire Township, Allegan County, Michigan. From the mid-1850's through the mid-1860's, several founding members of the Pine Creek settlement, including Mackey Shawgoquet, his brother Meme Shawgoquet, and their mother Marcheonoqua, purchased land in Cheshire Township, Allegan County, Michigan, and resided there (see Realty records section, below). These families were counted in the 1860 Federal census of Cheshire Township, Allegan County, Michigan, The families were enumerated consecutively, households #408/380 through #416/390, were identified as "Ind" in the column for ethnicity, and the Indian names for some individuals were given (U.S. Census 1860b, 69-70).

Wayland Township, Allegan County, Michigan. The Bradley settlement in Wayland Township, Allegan County, Michigan, unlike the Pine Creek settlement, is listed on the 1850 Federal census, with the names of some ancestors of Taggart Roll listees identifiable. The Indian names follow those of the settlement's Episcopalian missionary, the Rev. James Selkrig (Monteith 1955, 88). A published version is available (Monteith 1955, 88-92). Only a few of the Wayland Township Indian families were listed in the 1860 Federal census (Monteith 1947, 188-190). By 1870, however, many had returned from the government's attempt to relocate them on a reservation in Oceana County, Michigan, and were again enumerated as "Indian" in Wayland Township, Allegan County, Michigan (Monteith 1963, 68-70). In the 1880 Federal census, these families were enumerated "Indian Colony," with ethnicity column filled in as "I" in Wayland Township (U.S. Census 1880a, 235r, 236, 236r, households #292/299 through 307/313). The 1900 Federal Census of Wayland Township, Allegan County, Michigan, used the "Indian Population" schedule sheets to enumerate the Bradley settlement families, including those who would appear on the Taggart

Roll (U.S. Census 1900c, 274). For example, Lydia (Sprague) Medawis was counted in household #91/182 with her husband Lewis Medawis. Her Indian name was given as Ogemarqua, and her tribe as Potawatomi (U.S. Census 1900c, 274).

Again in 1910, the Bradley settlement in Wayland Township, Allegan County, Michigan, was enumerated on the "Indian Population" special schedules (U.S. Census 1910c, 299A, 299B, 300). The tribal identifications indicate a mixed Ottawa/Potawatomi community, with a few Chippewa at Bradley. By 1910, a secondary settlement had developed in Wayland Township at Salem, a few miles west of Bradley. The Salem settlement was also enumerated on the "Indian Population" schedules (U.S. Census 1910c, 218A). A few Taggart Roll listees living in Saugatuck Township, Allegan County, Michigan (Shashaguay family), also appeared on the 1910 "Indian Population" schedules (U.S. Census 1910c, 244A). In 1920 in Wayland Township, Allegan County, Michigan, the Taggart Roll families were identified as Indian (U.S. Census 1920b, E.D. 33, Sheet 4B-5B; E.D. 41, Sheet 4B, 5A, 6B, 7B).

While population growth in the Allegan County, Michigan, settlements (Bradley and Salem combined) followed the general pattern of demographic expansion shown by the Pine Creek descendants, it was not so dramatic.

CHART VII
POPULATION GROWTH 1920-1978
BRADLEY AND SALEM, ALLEGAN COUNTY, MICHIGAN

Estimated total population in 1920: 50[1]

Date	Known Births	Known Deaths		Total
1920-29	15	2	1930:	63
1930-39	16	1	1940:	78
1940-49	21	2		
1920-1949 deaths, exact date unknown		14	1950:	83
1950-59	34	9	1960:	122
1960-69	48	10	1970:	160
1970-78	36	6	1978:	176

The ending date of 1978 was chosen to conform to that of the earliest HPI membership list submitted.

1 Estimate based on 1920 census (23 adults and 22 children, total [illegible]) and genealogical records submitted by the petitioner indicating 28 adults and 20 children living in 1920 (total 48).

Source: genealogical records submitted by Huron Potawatomi, Inc. (#9[illegible]) and Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Potawatomi Band (#9A).

Realty records.

Pine Creek Reservation. From Calhoun County, Michigan, the petitioner submitted copies of the deeds and Federal public land certificate pertaining to the Pine Creek Reservation (see Historical Report for details). This land was purchased by the original families of the Pine Creek settlement with money owed to the Potawatomi of Huron under the 1807 treaty with the Federal government. From 1845, it has been held in trust by the Governor of Michigan on behalf of the settlement as a state Indian reservation (see the Historical Technical Report for details concerning its establishment). It is held to be tax exempt by Calhoun County as an Indian reservation.

Deeds in fee simple. When several ancestors of the petitioner (residents of the Pine Creek settlement) purchased land in Cheshire Township, Allegan County, Michigan, in the mid-1850's, selling it again to return to Pine Creek in the mid-1860's (see Historical Report for details), they were identified by such terms as "Macie Shakoqua an Indian" (Allegan County, Michigan, Deed Book 12, 408) and "Maker Shogoquoit (a Pottowattmia Indian)" (Allegan County, Michigan, Deed Book 21, 33), "Nawme Shogoquoet (Pattawattoma Indian)" (Allegan County, Michigan, Deed Book 24, 458).

1889 land purchases with Federal annuity funds. When the Federal annuity of $400 annually paid to the Potawatomi of Huron under the 1807 treaty (see above) was compounded in 1889, these funds were used by members of the Pine Creek settlement to purchase land in fee simple in Athens Township.[28]

Court of Claims suits, 1890's. In 1882, Phineas Pamptopee began to press the issue of Huron Potawatomi claims interests (HPI Pet., Historical Overview 1986, 34).[29] The

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[28] Calhoun County, Michigan, Index to Deeds 10, 107, 195, 258, 305, 340, 374, 416, 521, 539, 595, 596; see Historical Report for details.

[29] Mc Gowan the Congressman; then Lacey; then O'Donnell; then Judge Shipman and Dr. Twiss (Phineas Pam-To-Pee and 1,371 Other . . . 1891, Deposition, 13).

"However, the most severe threat [to the Pokagons] came from the Potawatomi of the Huron and other Neshnabek scattered through Michigan and other parts, represented by an unusually aggressive attorney with a true instinct for the jugular, John B. Shipman (Clifton 1984, 101).

Huron Potawatomi and the Pokagon Potawatomi prosecuted their claims simultaneously, and sometimes in rivalry, for the next few years.[30] An Act of Congress (March 19, 1890, 26 Stat. 24) granted jurisdiction in the case to the Court of Claims, after which both groups (Huron Potawatomi and Pokagon Potawatomi) filed suits on behalf of "all the Potawatomi Indians in the States of Michigan and Indiana" in Potawatomi Indians v. The United States and Phineas Pam-To-Pee and 1,371 Other Potawatomi Indians v. The United States.[31]

One of these cases is particularly interesting from the perspective of the genealogical information contained in the associated depositions: U.S. Court of Claims. Phineas Pam-to-pee and 1,371 other Pottawatomie Indians of Michigan and Indiana against the United States (No. 16,842) (U.S. Court of Claims, RG123, Box 918, Folder 16743, Federal Records Center, Suitland, Maryland). Numerous Potawatomi, including Phineas Pamptopee from Pine Creek and Moses and David K. Foster from the Bradley settlement in Allegan County,

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[30] The Pokagon suit was titled: The Pottawatomie Indians of Michigan and Indiana against the United States (No. 16,743)

Senate Ex. Doc. No. 124, 49th Congress, 1st Session. Letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a letter form the Commissioner of Indian Affairs relative to certain Pottawatomie Indians. "The Commissioner further states that the Pottawatomie Indians located in Calhoun County, Michigan, were parties to the treaties of November 17, 1807, September 19, 1827, and September 27, 1833, and should be included in any settlement that may hereafter be made of the claims set forth in said memorial" (Pokagon Pet. Appendix A-II, 83).

Indian Town. "Allegan Indians have been work [sic] four years past trying to get a share the Huron money. They do not belong to the Huron. Those Allegan Indians are [sic] belong to Pokagon band. Those Pottawattomies of Athens, they know them well, every one of them. Pokagon band has sold out their annuity in 1866 [transcript says 1886, but that has to be a mistake, given the date of the newspaper and the date of the Pokagon commutation]" (Athens Times, October 10, 1885).

[31] U.S. Court of Claims Case No. 16,842. The 1890 claims filing in "Phineas Pam-To-Pee and 1,371 Other . . ." seems to include every non-Pokagon-band descendant that Phineas Pamptopee could locate in Michigan of all Potawatomi who were on annuity payment rolls between 1843 and 1866--plus a few stray Pokagons. This filing is not a listing of the Pine Creek settlement and its members, although it includes the Pine Creek settlement and its members.

Court of Claims Evidence of Claimant, National Archives Microfilm, M574, Roll 80.

The two cases were consolidated and decided as one case by the U.S. Court of Claims in March of 1892 (27 Ct. Cl. 403, decided March 28, 1892). The Court of Claims' award to the remnants of the Potawatomi nation was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court on April 17, 1893 (affirmed 148 U.S. 691, April 1893; HPI Pet., Historical Overview 1986, 34).

Michigan, were deposed in connection with this suit. The depositions contain extensive genealogical information, with recollections going back to the Removal era.

A 1897 "census" of the Indians at Athens, taken by Sam Mandoka on behalf of the Indians' attorney, Judge Shipman, for claims purposes, found 120 Indians (Athens Times, January 1, 1898).

Public vital records. The public vital records were examined by the BAR genealogist for the counties in Michigan where the HPI have traditionally concentrated: primarily Calhoun and Allegan Counties, Michigan, and to a lesser extent, Cass and Van Buren Counties, Michigan. In Michigan, death and marriage records are open to the public until the early 1930's, with indexes open until the present day. Birth records are closed to public inspection. Probate records are available in these counties, but were not examined by BAR staff.

Allegan County, Michigan. Allegan County, Michigan, death records 1867-1880 (Monteith 1959) and marriage records 1835-1870 (Monteith n.d.) have been abstracted and published. For Allegan County, Michigan, the wills and estates have also been abstracted and published for the years 1835-1872 (Monteith 1956). Prior to 1872, they showed only one relevant estate: the will of "Waso, Pottawattomi Indian," of Cheshire Township, age 75, was made May 18, 1872, and filed December 2, 1872, leaving his estate to his daughter Agnes Waso (Monteith 1956, 181). The probate was File No. 929. It stated that Waso, of Cheshire, died October 23, 1872, leaving as his heirs at law Agnes Waso, now Agnes Fox, only child of the deceased; and Nancy Waso, Elizabeth Waso, and Notta Waso of Hartford, Van Buren County, daughters of the late John Waso, who was a son of the deceased (Monteith 1956, 180).

In Allegan County, Michigan, vital records, the ancestors of Taggart Roll listees, who are claimed as qualifying ancestors by members of the petitioning group, and the immediate relatives of these listees, are regularly identified as "Indian" in the public vital records as early as the 1870's and consistently thereafter.[32] No member of

[32] Allegan County, Michigan, Death Record Book 1, nos. 73, 109, 171, 202; Allegan County, Michigan, Death Record Book 2, nos. 4, 21, 36, 50, 64, 66, 79, 110, 115, 132, 142, 169, 177, 203, 205, 239, 240, 241, 269, 282, 288, 309, 322, 324, 329, 358; Allegan County, Michigan, Death

the Bradley settlement claimed as a Taggart Roll qualifying ancestor by the petitioner nor any member of their immediate families was ever identified with any ethnicity other than "Indian" in the Allegan County, Michigan, death and marriage records.

Calhoun County, Michigan. The Potawatomi of the Bradley settlement in Wayland Township, Allegan County, Michigan, appeared in the public vital records earlier than did the Potawatomi of the Pine Creek settlement in Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan. In Calhoun County, the public vital records did not take note of events on the Pine Creek Reservation until after the 1889 compounding of the annuity payments from the U.S. government for a one-time lump sum payment. The lump sum was used to purchase land in fee simple by members of the settlement. Beginning in 1890, the Pine Creek Potawatomi regularly appear in the Calhoun County, Michigan, death and marriage records, consistently identified as "Indian."[33]

No person identified by BIA and Federal census records as a resident of the Pine Creek settlement was ever identified as any ethnicity other than "Indian" in the Calhoun County, Michigan, vital records, with the exception of one family in which the father was white and the children were sometimes classified as white rather than Indian.

Record Book 3, nos. 31, 38, 39, 50, 67, 84, 90, 97, 108, 225, 248, 255, 256, 267, 296, 315; Allegan County, Michigan, Death Record Book 4, nos. 21, 44, 55, 57, 72, 74, 76, 95, 109, 117, 122, 138, 155, 156, 166, 169, 171, 173, 175; Allegan County, Michigan, Marriage Record Book 5, nos. 29, 61, 75; Allegan County, Michigan, Marriage Record Book 6, nos. 3, 38, 155, 249, 250, 264, 267, 295, 306, 333, 339; Allegan County, Michigan, Marriage Record Book 7, nos. 46, 47, 95, 96, 124, 180, 194, 261, 262, 263, 305; Allegan County, Michigan, Marriage Record Book 8, nos. 46, 57, 65, 70, 77).

[33] Calhoun County, Michigan, Record of Deaths Book 2, nos. 128, 145, 156, 165, 183, 219, 220, 239, 240, 248, 285, 289, 297, 298, 327, 328, 337; Calhoun County, Michigan, Record of Deaths Book 3, nos. 9, 12, 19, 37, 42, 71, 120, 157, 163, 170, 175, 197, 250, 293, 311, 333, 352, 363, 378, 396; Calhoun County, Michigan, Record of Deaths Book 6, nos. 1, 2, 12, 45, 109, 227, 333, 340, 348, 349; Calhoun County, Michigan, Marriage Book 2, no. 43; Calhoun County, Michigan, Marriage Book 4, nos. 155, 164, 188, 198, 201, 207, 224, 280, 284, 293, 300, 301, 312, Calhoun County, Michigan, Marriage Book 5, nos. 54, 71, 163, 191; Calhoun County, Michigan, Marriage Book 6, nos. 199, 392.

Ancestry--Descent from Historic Tribe

The conclusion of the BAR analysis of the genealogical documentation presented by the petition is that (allowing for one adopted child whose natural parentage is unknown to BAR) 100 percent of the petitioner's members are of American Indian ancestry, that more than 99 percent are of Michigan Potawatomi ancestry, and that more than 99 percent of those members descend from persons listed on the 1904 Taggart Roll.

In reality, the HPI ancestry represents a much tighter group than "Taggart Roll descendants." Analysis of the ancestry charts and backup documentation submitted to BAR with the 1986 petition (223 files), indicated the following distribution of ancestry. This listing is in "preemptive order" from top to bottom of the chart: i.e, if a person had "six families" ancestry, the chart does not indicate multiple additional lines that went to late-19th century families or to the Bradley settlement: each individual is counted just once.

Ancestry Charts/Folders Submitted in 1986

1842 Pine Creek Reservation "six families"	133	59%
Pine Creek late 19th-century families	52	24%
Bradley settlement, Allegan County	38	17%
Other Taggart Roll	3	1.6%
Total	223	

In June, 1994, HPI submitted two additional sets of folders containing individual ancestry charts and backup documentation for persons added to the HPI membership roll between 1986 and 1994. The first set of folders was for 217 persons listed on the current membership roll; the second group for 140 persons. In July, 1994, the petitioner made a final submission containing 254 folders (for a total of 611 members for whom folders submitted in 1994). There were a few duplications in these 1994 submissions, which were consolidated by the BAR genealogist before the above count was made and analysis was undertaken. These charts, analyzed in the same manner as those submitted in 1986, gave the following results:

Group I Ancestry Charts/Folders Submitted in June 1994

1842 Pine Creek Reservation "six families"	92	46%
Pine Creek late 19th-century families	71	33%
Bradley settlement, Allegan County	44	20%
Other Taggart Roll	10	4.6%
Total:	217	

Group II Ancestry Charts/Folders Submitted in June 1994

1842 Pine Creek Reservation "six families"	53	38%
Pine Creek late 19th-century families	57	41%
Bradley settlement, Allegan County	26	18%
Other Taggart Roll	4	2.8%
Total:	140	

Ancestry Charts/Folders Submitted in July 1994

1842 Pine Creek Reservation "six families"	99	39%
Pine Creek late 19th-century families	61	24%
Bradley settlement, Allegan county	79	31%
Other Taggart Roll Potawatomi	9	3.5%
Pokagon Potawatomi, non-Taggart Roll	2	1%
Probably Ottawa	1	.5%
Total:	254	

The total HPI ancestry chart submissions 1986-1994 were for a total of 834 individuals (a few of whom are not on the current membership roll because they died between 1986 and 1994). Of these individuals, the single largest portion could demonstrate descent from the 1842 Pine Creek settlement:

CHART VII
COMPILED STATISTICAL BREAKDOWN OF HPI ANCESTRY

1842 Pine Creek "six families"	377	45%
Late 19th-century Pine Creek families	241	29%
Bradley/Allegan County	187	22%
Other Taggart Roll	26	3%
Miscellaneous	3	1%
Total	834	100%

All but three of the petitioner's members meet its effective constitutional requirement of Taggart Roll descendancy: two of those three demonstrate other Potawatomi ancestry; the third listed only Ottawa ancestry on the chart submitted. Not all those on the current (1994) membership roll meet the constitution's formal membership qualification of 1/4 degree Potawatomi blood quantum Effectively, since 1978, HPI has distinguished between adults with 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum, who are qualified as voting members, and adults who are lineal descendants. Currently, however, HPI is working on a revised constitution which is expected to modify the membership requirement.

While more than 99 percent of the members are of Michigan Potawatomi ancestry, the petitioner's Indian ancestry is intermixed with Ottawa, particularly Grand River Ottawa, and Chippewa. There has also been considerable intermarriage with non-Indians since 1960, at a steady rate of 80 percent of all marriages over the three decades 1960-1990.

Not all Taggart Roll Potawatomi descendants are Pine Creek Reservation descendants. One-fifth of the HPI membership as listed on the January 1994 roll has Potawatomi ancestry only from the Bradley settlement in Allegan County, Michigan. Many of these (see below) have chosen to affiliate with the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band (petitioner #9A), and it is expected that more will do so.

A few (approximately 3 percent) are descended only from Taggart Roll listees who resided in 1904 at the Mt. Pleasant reservation in Isabella County, Michigan, or in Saugatuck Township, Allegan County, Michigan, and who have never been a part of the Pine Creek settlement. However, given the large number of Potawatomi on the Taggart Roll who neither had ties to Pine Creek nor to Bradley, the petitioner has been consistent throughout time in limiting its membership to Potawatomi descendants who had ancestral ties to those two settlements.

Statistical Impact of Match-e-be-nash-she-wish/Gun Lake Band Removal. When the 126 names on the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish or Gun Lake Band Potawatomi membership roll,[34] were subtracted from the total of HPI submissions in November

[34] The Gun Lake, or Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band Potawatomi, membership roll as submitted on October 27, 1994, contained 140 names, of which 126 appeared on the HPI January 1994 roll.

1994,[35] the ancestral distribution of the remaining persons stood as follows:

CHART VII
HPI ANCESTRAL DISTRIBUTION LESS MATCH-E-BE-NASH-SHE-WISH BAND

1842 Pine Creek Reservation "six families"	372	52%
Pine Creek late 19th-century families	216	33%
Bradley settlement, Allegan county	91	12%
Other Taggart Roll Potawatomi	26	3.6%
Miscellaneous	3	.4%
Total	705	100%

Dual Enrollment

The 1979 HPI constitution prohibits dual enrollment in any other Federally acknowledged Indian tribe. Most HPI members with non-HPI Indian ancestry are descended from other unacknowledged Indian groups of Michigan's Lower Peninsula. Only a small portion of the HPI membership is now eligible for enrollment in any Federally acknowledged tribe, other than the Pokagon Potawatomi (Potawatomi Indian Nation, Inc.), which was legislatively acknowledged in 1994. At least 171 persons on the January 1994 HPI membership roll are also carried on the Pokagon roll which was submitted to BAR with that group's petition. The Pokagon Potawatomi do not yet have a final, BIA-certified, roll.

Evidence was presented to BAR that at least one person listed on the 1994 HPI membership roll is an enrolled member of the Saginaw Chippewa tribe (Wilson to Mills, April 20 1994, BAR Files). This total does not represent a significant portion of the petitioner's membership, but it indicates that the prohibition against dual enrollment has not, thus far, been strictly applied. The backup documentation in the folders submitted by HPI indicates that at least two families (one being the children and grandchildren of the person mentioned above) are dual enrolled with the Saginaw Chippewa, in violation of the HPI constitution.

---

[35] Pine Creek "Six Families" 5
Later nineteenth Century Pine Creek families 25
Bradley, Allegan County 57

The situation of the dual enrollment of the 171 individuals, or 21 percent of the January 1994 HPI membership roll, with the Pokagon Potawatomi tribe which was legislatively acknowledged in 1994, while the HPI petition was being processed by BAR, will need to be clarified. Should any of the other Michigan Lower Peninsula Indian groups attain Federal acknowledgment, the question of dual enrollment will become more critical for the HPI membership. Under HPI constitutional requirements, such persons will be required to choose the tribe in which they wish to be enrolled.

The petitioner did not provide BAR with any information about what happens when someone is found to be dually-enrolled. There is no indication that any process is in place to enable HPI to determine whether an individual is dually enrolled, nor is there any indication in the petition of a standardized process for dealing with the issue when dual enrollment is discovered.

Potential for Membership Growth

All persons referred to in the HPI petition and in related documentation as Huron Potawatomi appear throughout history on BIA lists, on BIA annuity rolls, on the Taggart Roll, and, since 1978, on the former and current membership rolls.

Names listed on former rolls, which do not appear on the current roll, represent individuals who are deceased. Only one major HPI family has nearly died out since compilation of the 1904 Taggart Roll: namely, that of Mackey, which now counts only one descendant. Several lines within the other major HPI family groups have become extinct. The petitioner has made an effort to include on the 1994 roll all known descendants of persons who have historically maintained ties with HPI.

The current tribal council has made an effort to include upon the membership roll "all of those members entitled to the rights and privileges of our tribe" (English to Reckord, January 24, 1994, BAR Files). Any potential for expansion currently anticipated by the group itself would consist of immediate relatives and children of current members. However, this is a young group: the great majority of the marriages have taken place since 1970. The large number of adolescents and young adults born in the past 25 years can be expected to marry and produce significant numbers of children within the foreseeable future.

There is no indication that the petitioner is deliberately attempting to expand the membership beyond the historic confines of the group. **However**, the definition of eligibility in the 1979 HPI constitution would allow for future membership applications by Taggart Roll descendants who have not, historically, been part of the petitioning group.

The petitioner's current members descend from only a limited portion of the persons listed on the 1904 Taggart Roll, which represented claims money paid to, essentially, descendants of all Michigan Potawatomi other than the Pokagon Band (see above for a more detailed discussion).

Use of the Taggart Roll as a basis for membership in HPI is confusing. Clearly, according to the HPI constitution, the listing of a person's ancestor on the Taggart Roll is a prerequisite for HPI membership. However, it is not entirely clear whether or not listing of an ancestor on the Taggart Roll, combined with 1/4 Potawatomi blood degree, is regarded by the group as a fully sufficient qualification for HPI membership.

If Taggart Roll descent combined with 1/4 Potawatomi blood degree is sufficient for membership under the HPI constitution, and the petitioner is acknowledged, many additional membership applications might be presented. The constitution does not currently contain any clear provision which would allow such applicants to be refused membership by the HPI tribal council. This lack of clarity could result in the acknowledged group being numerically overwhelmed by persons who have not historically been part of the Pine Creek settlement. Should the petitioner fail to insert a "maintenance of tribal relations" clause in the constitution, or if the petitioner regards all persons on the Taggart Roll as qualifying ancestors, a potential exists that the petitioning group could become overwhelmed by membership applicants who technically qualify for membership, but who have not maintained relations with the group throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. If the petitioner were to make the 1995 HPI membership roll at the time of recognition a base roll from which future members must descend, these potential problems would not likely occur. Such a provision would have the effect of holding the character of the group steady at the membership which was federally acknowledged.

APPENDIX I

1843 Huron Potawatomi Lists

Names of the Indians who claim to be the Huron Indians-brought [to] the Rev. Mr. Selkrig Jany 3d '43

Moguago	Chief	
Nenatoqua	woman	
Eshsha w wat	girl	
Rezekash	girl	
Matchoncqua	woman	
Mandokee	young man	
Makee	young man	
Meame	young man	
Ponsiganum	woman	
Takanazeoqua	woman	
Quao	woman	
Thegamoqua	man	
Sebequa	woman	
Pamtepe	man	6 children
Kishegaequa	woman	
Mane	woman	2 children
Kisheasnoqua	woman	1
Pamaswek	man	5

(NARS M1, Roll 54, Michigan Superintendency, Letters Received, Volume 14, December 1842--June 1843, 13).

Pledge to abstain from liquor. "The above are the Nottaway Sipee Band"

Males	Females
Mogogo	Wam to koo quaw
Tokopaw	March u niqua
Neshanha	Cee be qua
Ashiwut	Cisk te aw qua
Manduca	Nois sa quaw
Maccee	Kishcaw quaw
Tee tecce	Kis-che os no gwa
Meemee	Naw nat to qua
Pottawatamies	Qua G
Ne-bau k quaw	Ponceknumqua
Eto ke suck	Maw ne quaw
Pye On ten	Kan ke yark qua
Pam-te-pee	Do qua quaw
Kock kawba	Shaw n naw quaw
Wappee	Ka w koce qua
Y saw suck	Dack qua
~~Tenkansie~~ [sic] Kesuck	Kis cose ce quaw

Mis en
Nish ke awshe
Kish to pee
Nuckqut
Mamgwe
("The Pawpaw Pottawatomies Refuse to sign the paper . . . and the Nottaway Sippee Band is a different payment . . ." NARS M1, Roll, 55, Michigan Superintendency, Letters Received, Volume 15, July-December 1843, pp. 245-246; enclosed in: NARS M1, Roll 55, 247, Holcomb to Stuart, Athens, Aug. 8, 1843).

APPENDIX II

1843 and 1844 Huron Potawatomi Annuity Rolls

List of tribal members 1843 annuity rolls, Nand Day Way See Pee Band.
Mo gwaw go (chief), 1 man, 1 woman, 1 child
Pa in thue bee, 1 man, 1 woman, 5 children
Way mit lay go shee quay, 1 woman, 2 children
Bay waw nee, 1 man, 1 woman, 5 children
Main jaw won o quay, 1 woman, 4 children
Tho cub aw, 1 man, 1 woman, 3 children
Men o quet, 1 man, 1 woman, 3 children
Men do kay, 1 man
May thay o maig, 1 man, 1 woman
Way saw aw zhick, 1 man, 1 woman, 3 children
Waw som o quay, 1 woman, 1 child
Way kay os in o quay, 1 woman
(Lantz 1992, 1).

List of tribal members, 1844 annuity rolls, Naud Day Way See Pee Band.
Mo gwaw go (chief), 1 man, 1 woman, 3 children
Pain thuh bee, 1 man, 1 woman, 4 children
Way mit thay go zhee quay, 1 woman, 4 children
Maw chee an o quay, 1 woman, 3 children
Chee gon nay quay see, 1 man, 1 woman
See bee quay, 1 woman
Men do kay, 1 man
Pin ish aw way, 1 man, 1 woman, 6 children
Way saw way shick, 1 man, 1 woman, 2 children
Kee wos in o quay, 1 woman
Paim thuh bee, 1 man, 1 woman, 4 children
May thay o maig, 1 man, 1 woman, 1 child
Au nim a kee quay, 1 woman, 1 child
Muck quot, 1 man, 1 woman, 2 children
Way kee tay see, 1 man, 1 woman
May e tay or quot, 1 man, 1 woman, 1 child
Way see bah, 1 man, 1 woman, 2 children.
(Lantz 1992, 3).

APPENDIX III

1847 Huron Potawatomi OIA Census

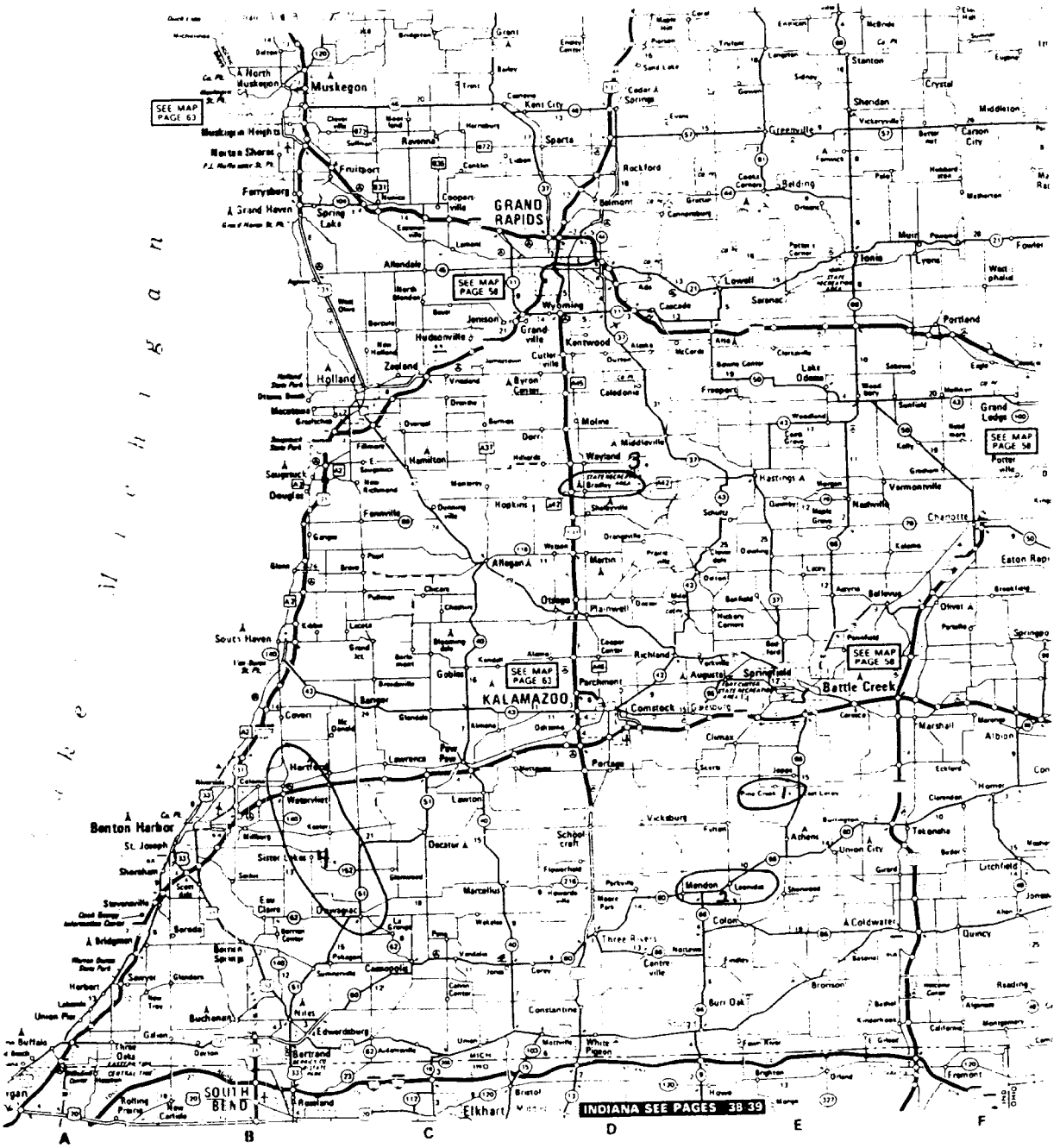
Magwago (6 total; 2 males under 18; 2 females under 16; 1 male 18-60; 1 female 16-60)
Howadnoka (3 total; 1 male under 18; 1 male 18-60; 1 female 18-60)
Pamptipee (6 total; 1 male under 18; 1 female under 18; 3 males 18-60; 1 female 16-60)
Pengimoo (3 total; ...)
Chicumquage (6 total; includes 1 female 60-100)
Mendoka (2 total)
Aush[Anah?]mogahboe (2 total)
Agah,wah (2 total)
Ela[Eta?]wahgewon (4 total)
Dagah (2 total)
Holcomb (6 total; 1 male under 18; 1 female under 16; 1 male 18-60; 2 females 16-60)
Mackey (2 total)
Shequa (4 total)
Sowconeaqua (2 total)
Shettuk (7 total)
Hah bah,bah (2 total)
Wanplego ye qua
(1847 Census Return of Families in the Potowatamie of Huron lying in the County of Branche State of Michigan. NARS Microfilm Series M234, Roll 426, pp. 312-318).

APPENDIX IV

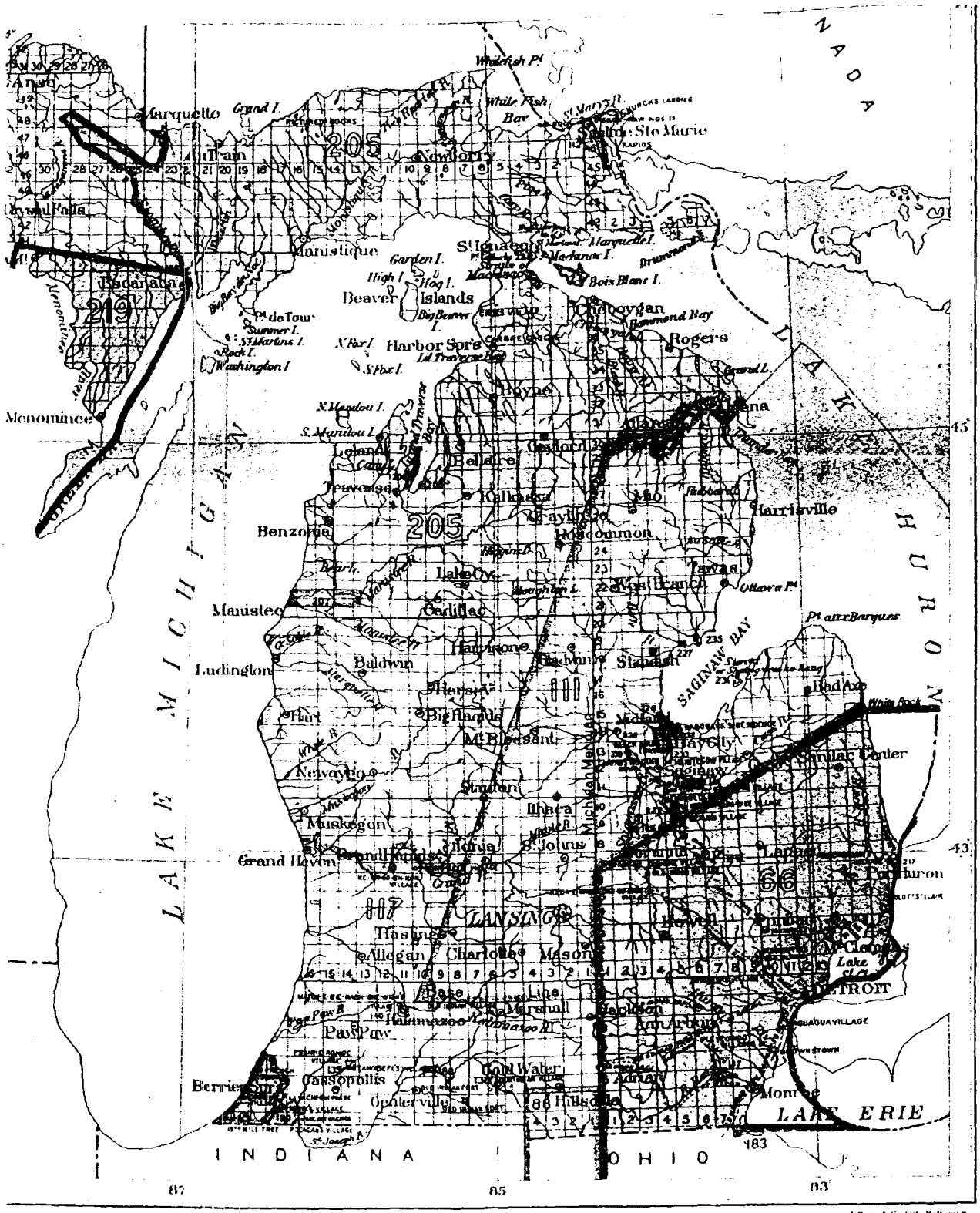
1861 Huron Potawatomi Annuity Roll

Magwago Chief, 1 man
Mackie, 1 man, 1 woman, 3 children
Dogah, 1 woman, 1 child
Kay Gway Daw Sung, 1 man, 1 woman, 3 children
Naw Che Waw No Quay, 1 woman, 2 children
Me Me, 1 man, 1 woman, 4 children
Nay Aw Che, 1 man
Pamp Tway Pe, 1 man, 1 woman
Pamp Tway Pe, John, 1 man, 1 woman, 3 children
Pamp Tway Pe, Phineas, 1 man, 1 woman, 3 children
Pe Nay Mo, 1 man, 1 woman
Kay Baish Kung, 1 man
Keses's Wife & Child, 1 woman, 1 child
Edowe Ke Zhick, 1 man, 1 woman, 3 children
No Way Say, 1 woman
Ketosh, 1 man, 1 child
Pay Me Tay Quo Uck, 1 man, 1 woman, 1 child
(Lantz 1992, 28-29).

Map. No. 1



1. Pine Creek Reservation – general location, 1842+
2. Nottawaseppi Reserve villages 1821 - 1840
3. Match-e-be-nash-she-wish / Gun Lake area
4. Pokagon area



MICHIGAN 1
SCALE 45 MILES TO 1 INCH

Map. No. 2

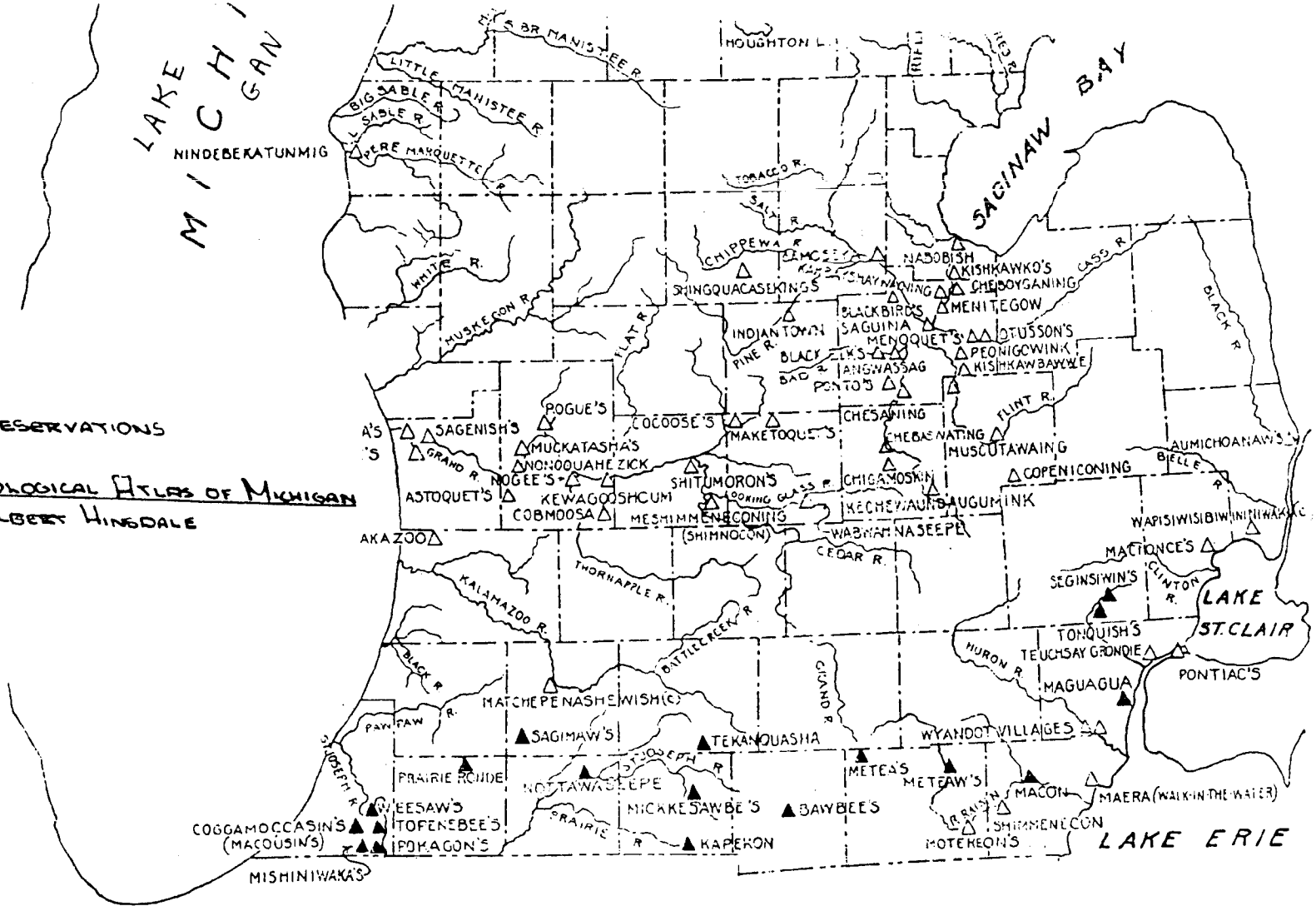
Charles C. Royce, Indian Land Cessions in the United States. Arno Press and The New York Times, 1971.

DOCUMENT # 1

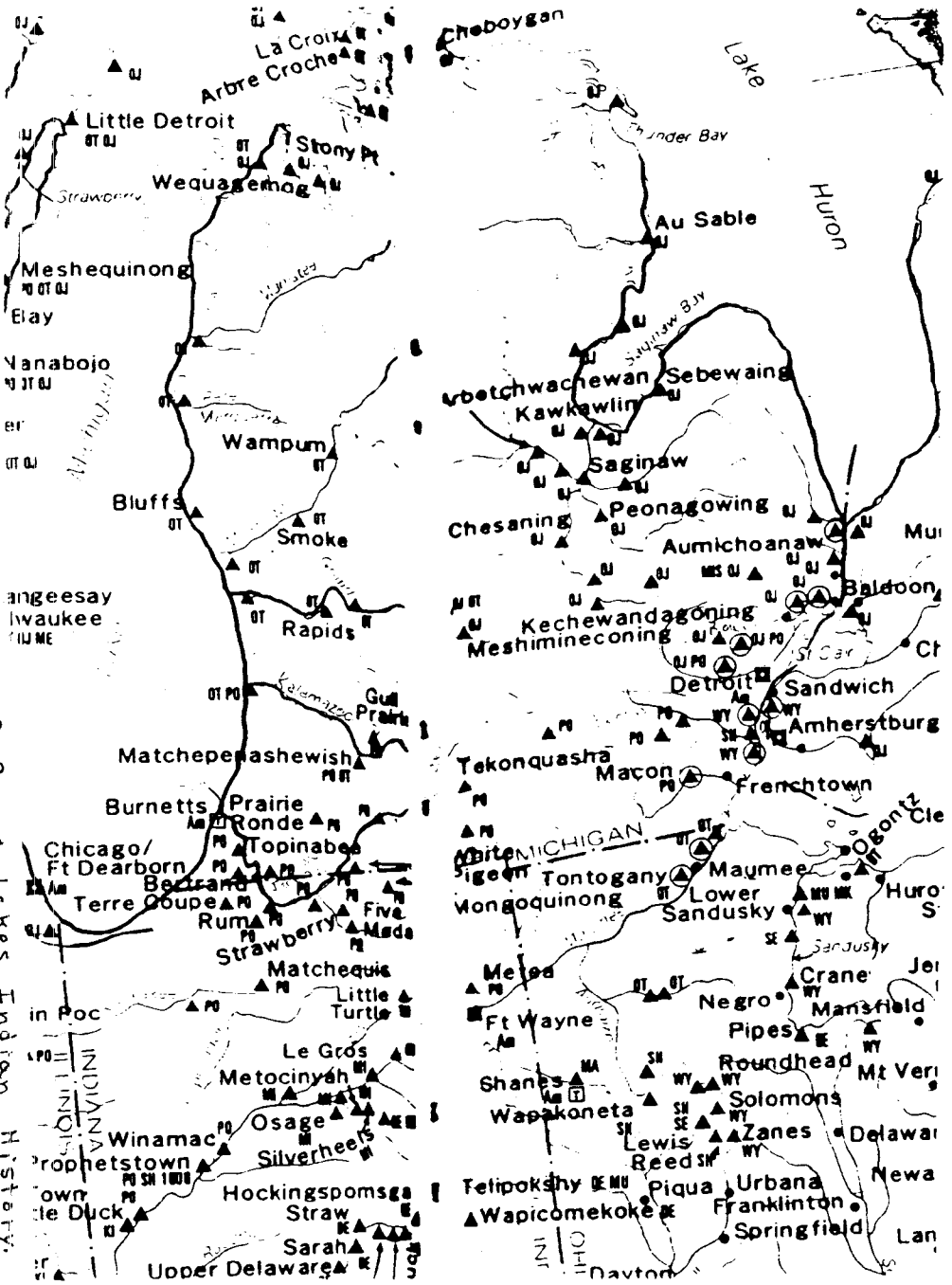
POTAWATOMI RESERVATIONS

FROM: ARCHAEOLOGICAL ATLAS OF MICHIGAN
BY WILBERT HINSDALE

MAP NO. 3



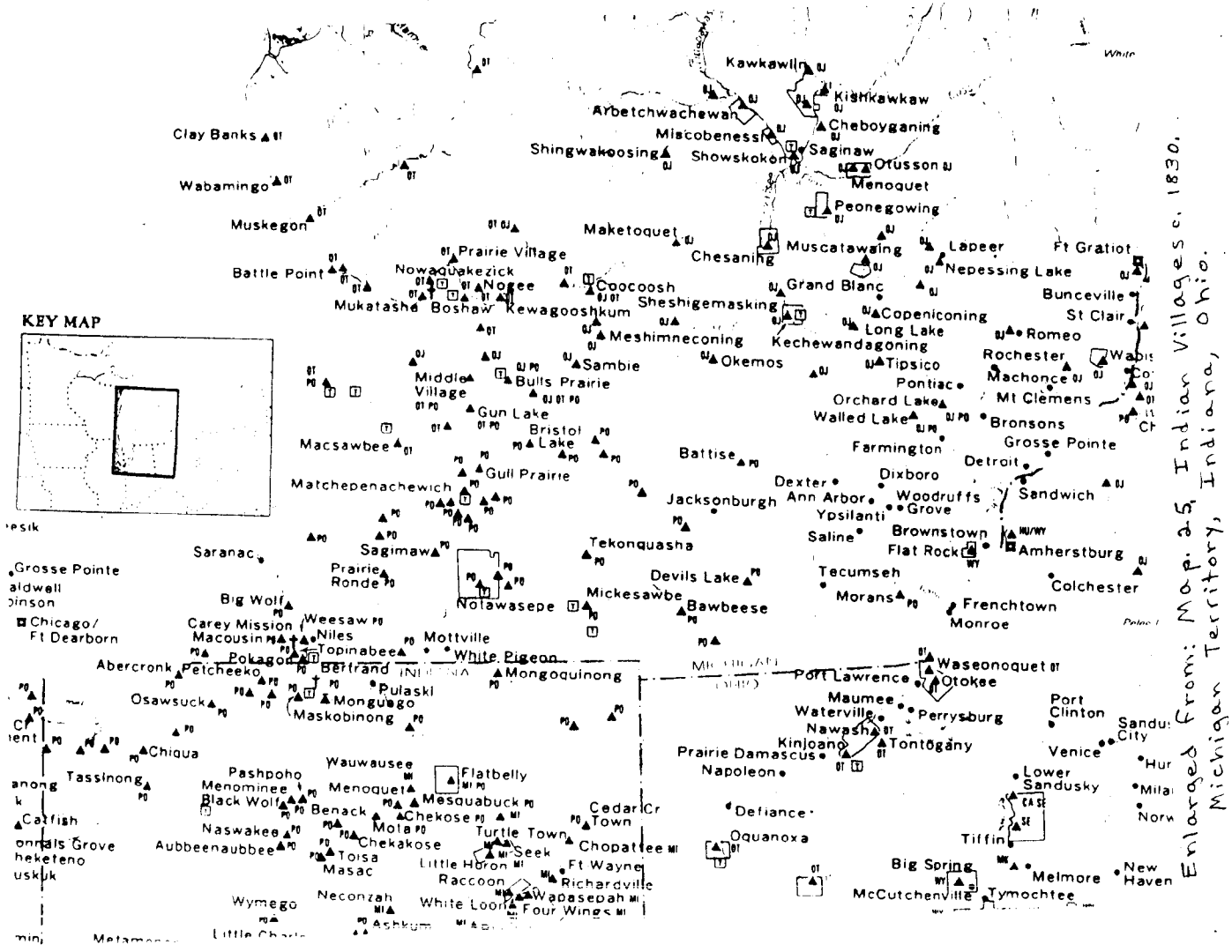
INDIAN VILLAGES OF MICHIGAN OF WHICH THE NAMES AND LOCATIONS ARE KNOWN



Enlarged from Map. 20, Indian Villages c. 1910.

Helen Hornbeck Tanner, ed. Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History. Norman and London: Published For The Newberry Library by The University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.

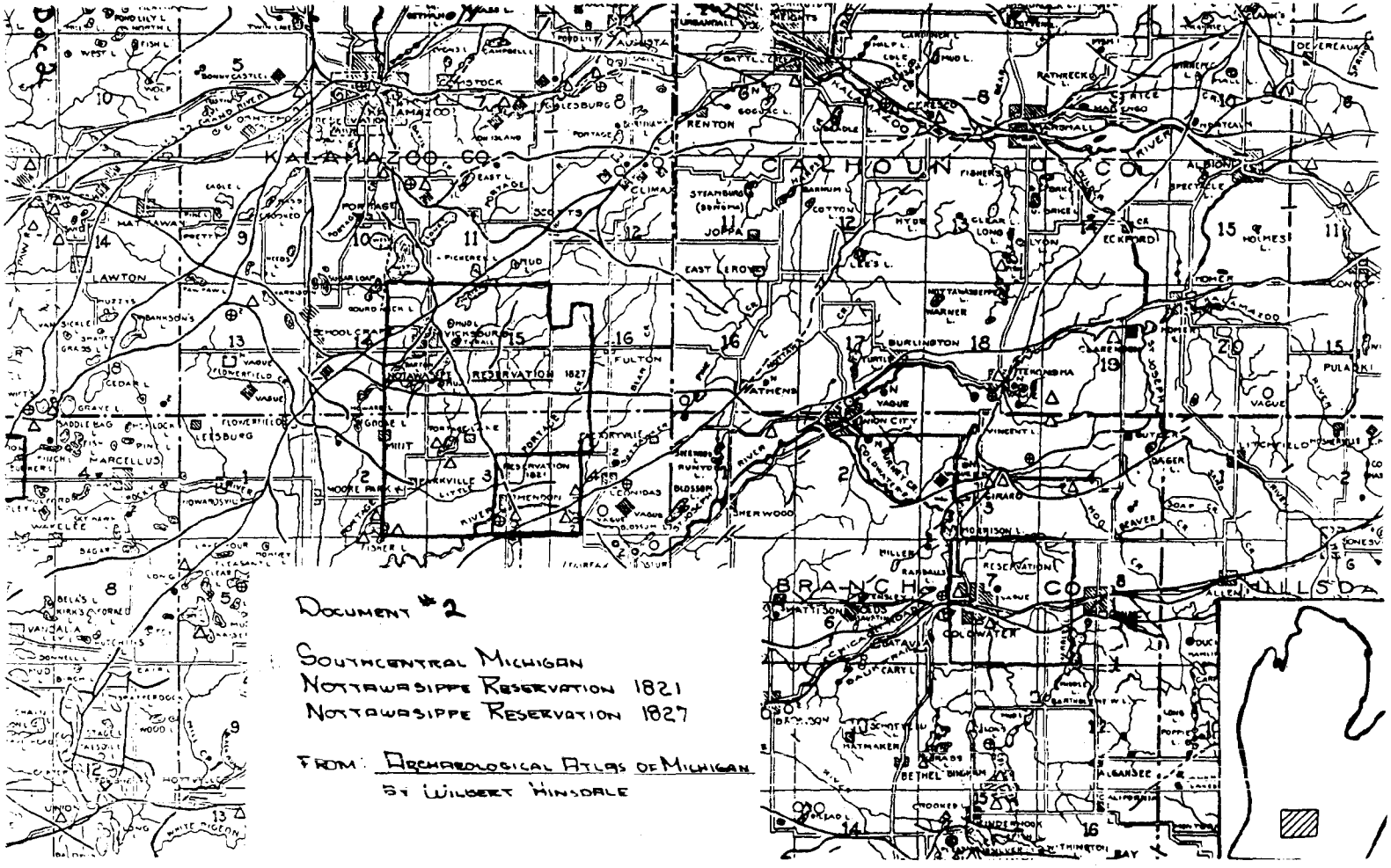
Map. No. 4



Enlarged From: Map 25, Indian Villages c. 1830. Michigan Territory, Indiana, Ohio.

Map No. 5

Helen Hornbeck Tanner, ed. Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History. Norman and London: Published by The Newberry Library by The University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.



Document #2

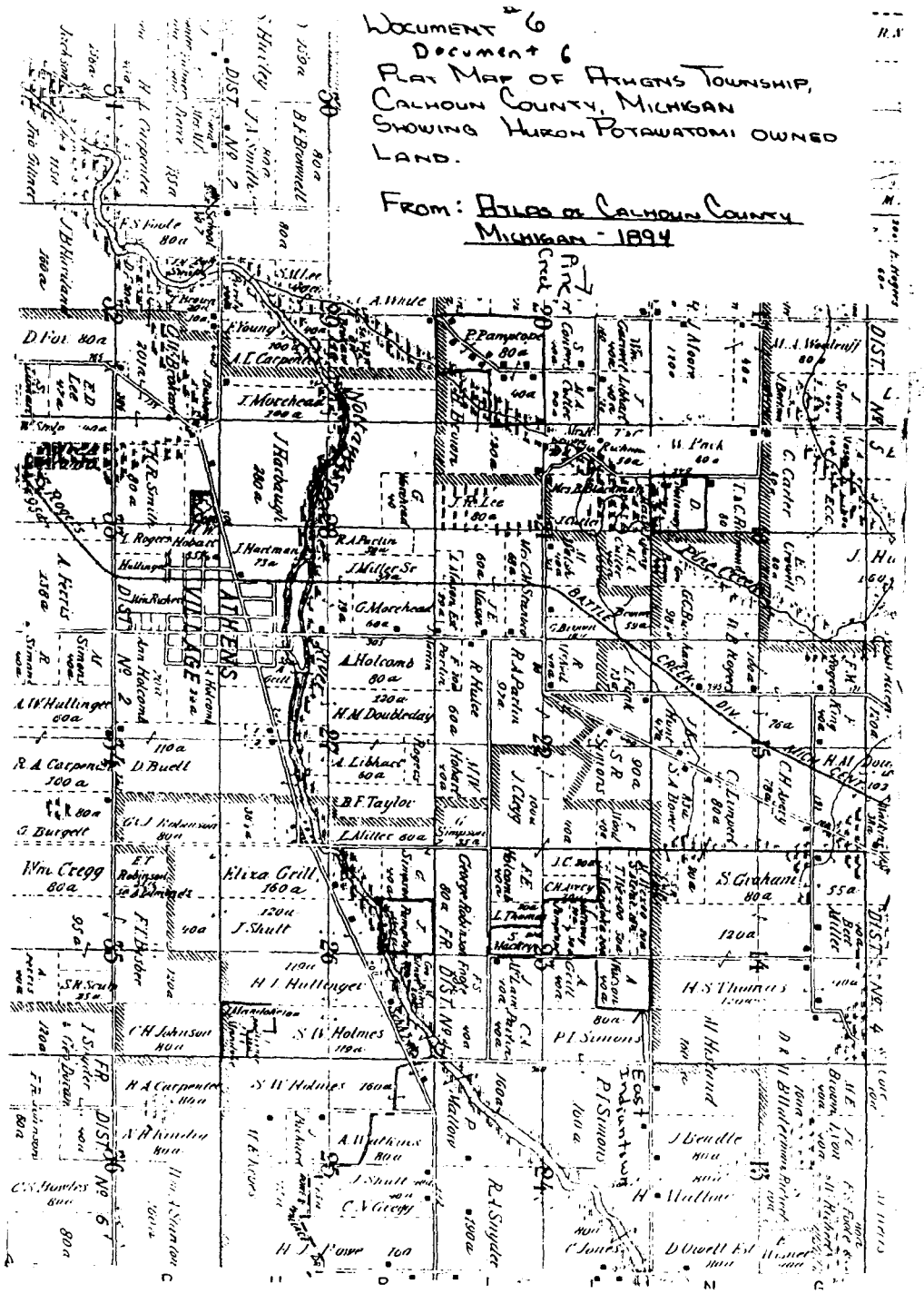
Southcentral Michigan
Nottawasippe Reservation 1821
Nottawasippe Reservation 1827

From: Archaeological Atlas of Michigan
by Wilbert Hinsdale

9 No. Ed E.

Document #6
Document 6
Plat Map of Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan Showing Huron Potawatomi Owned Land.

From: Atlas of Calhoun County Michigan - 1894



Pine Creek 1845 - present
East Indiantown 1889 - ca. 1920

Map. No. 7

TABLE OF CONTENTS

HURON POTAWATOMI, INC.

HISTORICAL TECHNICAL REPORT

Summary of the Evidence 1
Identification as an American Indian Entity 1
Maintenance of Tribal Political Influence or Other Authority 5
Definitions 6
Nature of a federally acknowledgeable group under 25 CFR Part 83 6
Petitioner's self-definition 7
Distinction between definitions of Potawatomi for Federal acknowledgment purposes and the definitions of Potawatomi used in claims cases 7
Previous Federal acknowledgment and reduced burden of proof under revised 25 CFR Part 83 regulations 8
The "Potawatomi of Huron" Prior to Removal 9
The Potawatomi at the time of earliest sustained contact with non-Indians 9
The Huron Potawatomi to the 1807 treaty 11
The French Era, from first contact to 1763 12
The British Era, 1764-1785 15
The Era of the American Revolution, 1775-1784 17
The American Era, 1785-1807 18
Overview of the Potawatomi at the opening of the nineteenth century 20
Treaty relations with the United States between Greenville 1795 and Detroit 1807 22
1807 treaty 23
The Huron Potawatomi from 1807 to Removal (1840) 25
Location of the Huron Potawatomi immediately after the 1807 treaty 25
War of 1812 involvement 31
After the War of 1812 31
First appearance of the "United Tribes" terminology 33
Intermediate-stage treaties 33
1821 Treaty: Establishment of the Nottawaseppi Reserve 35
Life on the Nottawaseppi Reserve 38
1827 Treaty: Enlargement of the Nottawaseppi Reserve by the "99 Sections" 41
Development of Indian Removal policy and its impact on the Michigan Potawatomi. 42
Beginnings of white settlement in the Nottawaseppi Reserve area 42
Impact of the Black Hawk War 1832 45
Treaties following the Black Hawk War 46
The Chicago Treaty of 1833: Unambiguous Federal acknowledgment 47
From the Treaty of Chicago to Removal 51

TABLE OF CONTENTS, HURON POTAWATOMI, INC., cont.

Removal and Return: Establishment of the Pine Creek Reservation 52
Removal and removal avoidance; return of Pine Creek settlement members from Kansas 52
Development of the Pine Creek settlement 56
Background of resumption of annuity payments from OIA in 1843 56
Purchase of the Pine Creek Reservation land 66
Challenge to the Huron Potawatomi annuity payment to the Pine Creek settlement. Renewed "origins" investigation conducted by OIA in 1845 67
Methodist missionary activity and its impact on the Pine Creek settlement 71
Background 71
Total abstinence 72
Methodist Missionaries 1843-1854 73
The Pine Creek settlement, 1846-1851 76
1851: The last removal proposal 79
The Pine Creek Settlement 1851-1904 80
OIA records 1854-1855 80
Leadership sequence 80
Methodist records 1854-1897 82
Continuity of population 1851-1904 83
Continuity of the six basic families 83
CHART I: Huron Potawatomi Population, 1842-1900 90
Marriage patterns 1842-1901 91
Continued contact with OIA/BIA 91
Continuation of annuity payments, 1864-1889 91
Annuity commutation, 1889 92
Attendance at Mt. Pleasant (and other BIA schools) 93
Employment of Pine Creek residents by BIA 94
After commutation: the development and decline of East Indiantown, 1889-1912 95
1889 Deed records for land purchases 95
East Indiantown, 1889-1915 95
Sales of the 1889 land purchases 96
Pine Creek and East Indiantown as pictured in "Indiantown Inklings" 96
Relationships with other Michigan Potawatomi groups 97
Phineas Pamptopee and the initiation of claims activity 1882-1904 98
The Pine Creek Settlement after the Taggart Roll: 1904-1948 103
Economic and social life 103
CHART II: HPI 1994 Membership by Decade of Birth 104
The Pine Creek land base 106
Changing residential patterns and the growing importance of off-reservation employment 107
Secular leadership 107
Misinterpretations of Stephen Pamptopee's term as chief 108
Samuel Mandoka as chief (1926-1934) 109

TABLE OF CONTENTS, HURON POTAWATOMI, INC., cont.

Public relations activities 109
Succession to Samuel Mandoka 110
Church developments 112
Intensification of Methodist activity from the turn of the century through the Depression era 112
Twentieth century population and patterns of geographical residence 120
1904 Taggart Roll 120
1910 Federal Census 120
1920 Federal Census 121
1934 Pine Creek Residents List 121
CHART III: HPI Population at Pine Creek, 1900-1940 122
BIA policy toward the Indians of Michigan's lower peninsula, and its impact on Pine Creek 123
Wheeler-Howard Act and IRA 123
Holst Report, 1939 123
World War II Era 124
The Pine Creek Settlement, 1948-1970 125
Economic and social life 125
Population estimates and membership rolls 125
CHART IV: HPI Population Estimates and Membership, 1940-1994 126
Continuation of traditional economic activities 127
Continued expansion of off-reservation residence and employment 129
Education 130
Community activities 132
The Holiness Church 132
American Indian Gospel Church, Grand Rapids, Michigan 134
Revival of traditional Indian religion 135
The Pine Creek cemetery and its relationship to the churches and community 135
Renewal of claims activity 136
Controversy over the status of the Pine Creek land base 138
Renewed BIA interest 138
State of Michigan's position 139
Ad-Hoc Land Committee 141
Huron Potawatomi, Inc., 1970--Present 144
The revival of efforts for Federal Acknowledgment, 1970 144
Formation of Huron Potawatomi, Inc. 144
Pre-PF acknowledgment efforts 145
BAR/FAP acknowledgment efforts 1978-1980 148
Development of a splinter group 150
Economic and social life in the 1970's 153
Attempts at Pine Creek economic revival in the 1970's using War on Poverty resources 153
Gordon Bush 153
Response by Pine Creek residents 154

TABLE OF CONTENTS, HURON POTAWATOMI, INC., cont.

Involvement of the Pine Creek settlement in Michigan statewide Indian affairs 155
Huron Potawatomi Inc. since 1980 155
HPI Politics, 1980-1986 155
The 1980 election and its consequences 155
Submission of a partial acknowledgment petition to BAR, 1981 156
June 1981: "Volunteer Membership Action Committee" 159
April 1982: Re-election of David Mackety 161
Continuation of work on the Federal acknowlegment petition 162
Politics 1986-1991 163
Temporary amalgamation with the Bradley settlement 164
1991: Submission of "Updated Historical Overview" written by William Church of the Bradley settlement and new membership roll 166
Breakdown of the Bradley merger 168
Role of the Council, 1992-1994 171
January 1993 Submission of Littlefield's OD Response 173

Appendix I. Listings of Post-1889 Annuity Commutation Land Purchases 176

Appendix II. Listing of Post-1889 Annuity Commutation Land Sales 178

HISTORICAL TECHNICAL REPORT ON HURON POTAWATOMI INC.

The petitioner, Huron Potawatomi Inc. (hereinafter the petitioner or HPI), otherwise known as the Nottawaseppi-Huron Band of Potawatomi (NHBP), is based in Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan, on the Pine Creek Indian Reservation, which has been held in trust by the State of Michigan since the mid-1840's. Members of the group reside primarily in southwestern Michigan.

The petitioner's ancestors emerged as a distinct and separate band of the Potawatomi tribe in 1842, at the time of the establishment of the Pine Creek settlement near Athens, Calhoun County, Michigan. Prior to that date, its members had been among those Potawatomi residing on the Nottawaseppi Reserve in St. Joseph County, Michigan. The petitioner's eighteenth-century origins were in the Huron Potawatomi of the Detroit region.

SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE

Identification as an American Indian Entity. The petitioner, Huron Potawatomi Inc. (HPI), otherwise known as the Nottawaseppi Huron Band of Potawatomi, is a band or subgroup of the Potawatomi tribe. The Potawatomi Indian tribe as a whole resided in the southern Great Lakes region from first contact with European settlers until the removal era in the late 1830's and early 1840's. In this case, first contact took place with the French in Canada during the seventeenth century. During the removal era, many Potawatomi were transferred west of the Mississippi River.

From the early eighteenth century until the late 1760's, the predecessors of the Nottawaseppi Huron Band of Potawatomi (HPI), lived near Detroit. Then, after the Detroit area was transferred from French to British administration, the group moved its village some 40 miles from Detroit, on the upper reaches of the Huron River, in the neighborhood of Ypsilanti/Ann Arbor, Michigan. It was during this sojourn that the band came to be known as the Potawatomi of Huron. This is where the Potawatomi of Huron were living at the time of the 1807 treaty which ceded Royce Area 66 to the United States and provided the group with a permanent annuity of $400.00, which continued to be collected by the HPI ancestors at the Pine Creek settlement until it was compounded in

1889. The Potawatomi of Huron remained near Ypsilanti until the War of 1812 era.

The precise movements of the band between the War of 1812 and the early 1830's are not known. However, they continued to be in contact with the Federal Indian agents in Michigan and collected their annuity each year from 1819 through 1836 according to receipts in the U.S. Treasury Department's Office of the Second Auditor: their individual leaders are named and specific village locations are listed on one surviving annuity payment list that was made on the Cold-water Reserve in south central Michigan in 1826.

By the early 1830's, the Potawatomi of Huron are documented as residing on the Nottawaseppi Reserve (established 1821), which was located in modern St. Joseph County, Michigan. Their villages were near modern Leonidas and Mendon, Michigan. This location is approximately 20 miles southwest of the group's current headquarters. In 1827, five of the seven Potawatomi reserves in Michigan were ceded to the United States, and the Nottawaseppi Reserve was enlarged by an additional 99 sections of Federal government land. At this time, several other bands of southern Michigan Potawatomi were consolidated on the enlarged Nottawaseppi Reserve. The enlarged reserve was ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Chicago in 1833, a treaty which was signed by Huron Potawatomi leaders. Many published anecdotes and reminiscences of white settlers who moved into this part of Michigan during the early 1830's name individual leaders and members of the group.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there was a certain amount of admixture of the Michigan Potawatomi with French Canadian traders. On the special Indian Population schedules of the 1900 and 1910 Federal censuses, several older members of the Pine Creek settlement reported that they were 1/8 of white ancestry.

Between 1833 and 1840, the Potawatomi in the Great Lakes region (Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Illinois) were subjected to the Federal government's removal policy. Between 1836 and 1841, several collections were made and the groups were transferred to western Missouri, to Iowa, to Kansas, and eventually some to Oklahoma. Acknowledged Potawatomi tribal bands now exist in Kansas and Oklahoma, Wisconsin, and the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. The Pokagon Potawatomi of southwestern Michigan were legislatively acknowledged in 1994.

During the removal period, several individual groups of southwestern Michigan Huron Potawatomi either managed to evade removal or returned to their former homes after having been taken to Kansas. The original families of the Nottawaseppi Huron Band settlement at Pine Creek belonged to both of these categories: evaders and returnees.

By 1842, the members of the band which was the predecessor of the incorporated petitioner, HPI, settled in the area of Dry Prairie in Calhoun County, Michigan. In 1842, they resumed contact with the Federal Indian agent in Michigan, and by 1843 were again receiving their annuity payment as Potawatomi of Huron under the Treaty of 1807. Names of all members, both men and women, are in two separate 1843 lists that survive in Bureau of Indian Affairs (hereafter BIA) records. Because of a legal challenge by a rival claimant, the Indian agent conducted an extensive review of the group's origins, its history, and the genealogy of its leaders, in 1844 and 1845. This investigation resulted in a determination by T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs (hereinafter COIA), that the group did indeed represent the "remnant" of the Potawatomi of Huron in Michigan (others having gone to Canada where they settled on Walpole Island and some having been taken west, where they were receiving their annuities) and were entitled to receive the annuity payments.

Since 1843, the group has remained in regular contact with the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA, nineteenth-century title for the BIA). It received its annuity payments from 1843 through 1889, when the annuity was compounded for a lump sum payment. However, annuity rolls are not the sole source upon which group identification may be based during this period. The Nottawaseppi Band was also counted as a group on an OIA census of 1847, and the community can be identified on Federal decennial censuses from 1860 through 1920. On these censuses, not only were individuals listed as "Indian," but the census taker sometimes specifically identified an "Indian village" or "Indian hamlet." In 1900 and 1910, the census taker of Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan, listed the Pine Creek families on the special "Indian Population" census schedules and collected the additional information called for by these schedules.

After 1889, members of the group appear regularly in the vital statistics records kept by the County Clerk, Calhoun County, Michigan. Members of the group were classified as "Indian" in these records.

In the mid-1840's, with assistance of local settlers and of Charles G. Hammond, Michigan State Auditor, the group purchased land collectively, which it placed in trust for its permanent use with the Governor of Michigan. This land is today the Pine Creek Reservation. The 120-acre tract has remained exempt from property taxes in Calhoun County, Michigan, as an Indian Reservation, since its establishment. During the early 1970's, the State of Michigan's Attorney General took the position that the land has been accepted only as a "passive trust," and that the State had no specific responsibility for it.

In 1889, at the time the annuity was compounded, individual members of the group purchased land in fee simple, most of it a few miles northeast of the original land, near the "sugarbush" where the group made maple sugar. This "East Indiantown" settlement continued for some 20 years, but eventually most of this land was lost or sold and the secondary site went out of existence.

During the mid-1840's, the Nottawaseppi Band was converted from Catholicism to Methodism by the Reverend Manasseh Hickey, designated as a missionary to the Indians of Michigan by the statewide Methodist organization. From this time onward, until the church at Pine Creek joined the Holiness movement in 1948, Methodist records contain regular reports of the progress of this designated Indian mission. The large camp meetings (3,000+ persons) which the Pine Creek church sponsored from the 1890's through the early 1930's provided one focal point for gatherings of Michigan Indians, as well as being open to the public.

During the period after 1889, several additional Indian families (in addition to the original families) settled at Pine Creek and were absorbed into the group, often by intermarriage. There was also considerable individual intermarriage with other Lower Peninsula Indians--primarily with members of the Methodist Indian mission at Bradley in Allegan County, Michigan--a mixed group consisting primarily of Matchepenachewich Band Potawatomi and Grand River Ottawa. After the founding of the Pine Creek settlement, the first recorded marriage of a Huron Potawatomi woman with a non-Indian took place in 1901; significant numbers of marriages to non-Indians did not begin to occur until after 1940.

For many years, from the 1880's through the 1920's, a member of the group wrote the weekly "Indiantown Inklings" column, which appeared in the local Athens Times newspaper, and which gives considerable insight into the internal activi-

ties of the group and into its relationships with other Indian groups in the State of Michigan and on Walpole Island, Canada.

From the time of the opening of the Mount Pleasant Indian School on the Federal reservation in Isabella County, Michigan, in 1893, the children of the Pine Creek settlement (HPI) were regularly educated there. This practice continued until the school was closed in 1934. Numerous Huron Potawatomi children also attended the BIA school at Genoa, Nebraska, and Haskell Institute.

The Pine Creek settlement evolved from a portion of the Potawatomi tribe who were signers of Federal treaties. The residents of this settlement, also known as the Nottawaseppi Huron Band of Potawatomi (hereafter NHBP) and now incorporated as HPI, have consistently been identified in Federal, State, and local records, by the BIA, and by academic scholars, as an Indian group, specifically as a Potawatomi group, from the reestablishment of the community in 1842 until the present day.

Maintenance of Tribal Political Influence or Other Authority. From the foundation of the Pine Creek settlement in 1842, the Huron Potawatomi have had clear leadership: from 1842 until his death in 1863, John Moguago was chief. From 1843 through the 1850's, he and other leaders of the group regularly corresponded with the Federal Indian agents in Michigan on group economic concerns--on farming practices, etc.

In 1864, for an interim period of one year, Pamptopee was chief. After Pamptopee's death in 1864, for 50 years, from 1864 until 1914, Phineas Pamptopee functioned internally as a chief for the Pine Creek/East Indiantown settlements in Calhoun County, Michigan. From 1882 until 1905, Phineas Pamptopee also functioned externally as a major spokesman in their claims against the Federal government for all Michigan Potawatomi except the Pokagon Band.

At the death of Phineas Pamptopee in 1914, he was succeeded for a 10-year period by his youngest son, Stephen Pamptopee. As Phineas Pamptopee had apparently designated his son without the formality of an election, and Stephen Pamptopee is recalled as having been of a mild and retiring disposition, Samuel Mandoka often acted as public spokesman for the group during these ten years. From 1924 until his death in 1934, Samuel Mandoka continued to function as public spokesman and was ordinarily referred to by both group members,

local historians, and newspapers as "chief," but again without a formal election. At his death, administration of tribal affairs was publicly assumed by a three-man committee which until 1948 doubled as the Board of Elders of the Pine Creek Methodist church. This committee continued to function until the establishment of a formal tribal government with officers and council in 1970.

In 1934, this group organized a petition to the Federal government which listed the residents on the Pine Creek Reservation and requested permission to organize under the IRA. However, the 1939 decision by COIA John Collier not to extend services to Indian groups in the Lower Peninsula of Michigan meant that this initiative did not succeed. The group resumed efforts for formal acknowledgment in the mid-1960's, and has been actively pursuing Federal acknowledgment since 1972.

DEFINITIONS

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

Clifton, citing to Swanton (Swanton 1952:247), maintains that:

> the "band" divisions were distinguished only late in Potawatomi history, and they were generally names of groupings brought together for treaties with the United States or as a consequence of them (Clifton 1978, 731).

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[1] Citizens' Band, Oklahoma; Prairie Band, Kansas; Hannahville Community, Upper Peninsula of Michigan; Forest County, Wisconsin (Clifton 1978, 738-739). The Pokagon Potawatomi of southwestern Michigan were legislatively acknowledged in 1994.

Clifton also states that, "similar considerations apply to older designations for geographic clusters of villages, such as the Huron, Kankakee, Chicago, and Saint Joseph 'bands'" (Clifton 1978, 732). As will be seen in the subsequent discussion, this generalization is less applicable to the Potawatomi of Huron, who in treaty negotiations did maintain their distinction from other Potawatomi groups.

Petitioner's self-definition. Of the historic "Potawatomi tribe," what portion is being considered in this petition?

During its greatest geographic extent, the overall settlement of the Potawatomi reached from Detroit across southern Michigan, into northwestern Indiana, northeastern Illinois, and included the Wisconsin shore of Lake Michigan. The predecessors of all of the modern Potawatomi groups in Michigan were a small proportion of this overall tribe: namely those Potawatomi who resided in southern Michigan and the northwest portion of Indiana.

The petitioner claims the "Potawatomi of Huron," who in the eighteenth century were settled first near Detroit and then after 1764 on the upper Huron River about 40 miles from Detroit, as its structural predecessor as an administrative unit. The petitioner also claims the "Potawatomi of Huron" as having provided the major portion of the original settlers on the Pine Creek Indian Reservation.

The petition indicates that in accordance with the Potawatomi custom of intermarriage between different villages and bands (Clifton 1978, 730), the petitioner's ancestry includes members of some other Michigan Potawatomi bands which settled on the Nottawaseppi Reserve and its vicinity between 1800 and 1825, a lesser input from the St. Joseph Potawatomi of southwestern Michigan and extreme northwestern Indiana, a certain number of Grand River Ottawa, and a few Chippewa.

Distinction between definitions of Potawatomi for Federal acknowledgment purposes and the definitions of Potawatomi used in claims cases. Much of the earlier BIA analysis of the membership of Michigan Potawatomi groups has been for the purpose of identifying claimants to compensation payments. The definitions of members of Indian tribal groups for Federal acknowledgment purposes under 25 CFR Part 83 are not identical to the definitions of claimants under specific treaties that were used by the United States Court of Claims and by the Indian Claims Commission, and which, accordingly, the BIA used to formulate such documents as the Dawes Rolls or, in the case of HPI, the Taggart Roll.

Descendancy of an individual from a treaty signer is not the same thing as the membership of that individual in a continuous tribal community. The HPI constitution defines descendancy from the Taggart Roll as a basic criterion for membership in the group (see Genealogical Report). Each petitioning group has the right to determine its own membership criteria, a right which is acceptable under 25 CFR Part 83. However, the Taggart Roll was not a list of the members of any particular Potawatomi community in Michigan at the turn of the twentieth century. There were many Michigan residents of Potawatomi descent listed on the Taggart Roll who were not, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, members of the community antecedent to HPI, and who have left no descendants on the HPI membership roll. Contemporary descendants of such persons on the Taggart Roll would not, under 25 CFR Part 83, be regarded as having maintained tribal affiliation with the group.

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

Previous Federal acknowledgment and reduced burden of proof under revised 25 CFR Part 83 regulations. The chiefs and leaders of the Potawatomi of Huron, both when they resided near Detroit and during their residence on the Nottawaseppi Reserve, were treaty signers. Therefore, the band which they led certainly was unambiguously acknowledged as late as the "Supplementary Articles" to the Treaty of Chicago, September 27, 1833. Unambiguous Federal acknowledgment under 25 CFR 83.8 does not require that each individual within the petitioner be the direct lineal descendant of an individual who personally signed a treaty: only that the petitioning group be structurally, or collectively, descend-

ed from a tribe or band whose leaders signed a Federal treaty or was otherwise unambiguously Federally acknowledged.

A post-treaty date of unambiguous Federal acknowledgment for the Potawatomi of Huron has not been determined for this finding, since the revised regulations went into effect so late in the Huron Potawatomi petition process. The 1833 date is being used for the sake of efficiency in producing the technical reports. The use of this 1833 date by the BAR in this report is not to be regarded as a determination by BIA that unambiguous Federal acknowledgment of the Potawatomi of Huron ceased at that date.

THE "POTAWATOMI OF HURON" PRIOR TO REMOVAL

Under the revised regulations under 25 CFR Part 83, the historical report on the "Potawatomi of Huron" is providing only a sufficient introduction to the early history of the Potawatomi in Michigan to enable a reader to comprehend the context of the more detailed analysis of the developments since the 1833 Treaty of Chicago.

The Potawatomi at the time of earliest sustained contact with non-Indians. The modern scholar who has written most extensively on the Potawatomi of Michigan's lower peninsula is anthropologist James A. Clifton, whose publications span a period of over 20 years. According to Clifton:

> The name Potawatomi is from Ojibwa . . . which corresponds to the Potawatomi self-designation *potewatmi*. The word is an unanalyzable name with no known literal meaning, and the commonly cited translation "people of the place of the fire" is merely a folk etymology (Clifton 1978, 741, citing Goddard 1972, 131).

The Potawatomi also used the term *nesnape*, plural *nesnapek*, to describe themselves (Clifton 1978, 741). The Potawatomi at the time of contact had, thus, a named identity. The culture was basically Central Algonquin (Clifton 1978, 725). They were traditionally and linguistically closely related to both the Ottawa and Chippewa, but were distinct from the other two tribes. "Boundaries between the Potawatomi and other communities were quite permeable: their many villages often contained numerous representatives from other societies, particularly the Chippewa and Ottawa" (Clifton 1978, 725).

Clifton's discussion defined three successive territories occupied by the Potawatomi prior to the removal era: (1) protohistoric, (2) a "refuge," in the area of Green Bay, Wisconsin, and (3) what Clifton chose to call the "tribal estate." The "tribal estate" as described by Clifton was a settlement area which by the eighteenth century included the Wisconsin shore of Lake Michigan, northeastern Illinois, northwestern Indiana, and southern Michigan (Clifton 1978, 725-726--see map, Clifton 1978, 726).[2] Both Clifton and Tanner discussed early Potawatomi environment, economy, and settlement patterns (Clifton 1978; Tanner 1987).

"There are few direct descriptions of Potawatomi culture in this early period (1640-1665) and none for the years preceding this while the Potawatomi were yet in their Michigan homeland" (Clifton 1978, 728). In spite of the paucity of early descriptive material, Clifton described communal decision-making processes among the Potawatomi in the period of early contact and added:

> There is no suggestion of an established, hereditary office of tribal "chief" at this time, although the principal men of the major clans might occasionally have recognized or nominated a strong man from a larger village as temporary leader of the whole for war or intertribal negotiations (Clifton 1978, 730).

During the two centuries between the start of sustained contact and removal (1640-1840), the Potawatomi underwent extensive social and cultural changes because of their interaction with traders and settlers of European origin. From 1648 through 1763, the primary European contacts of the Potawatomi were with the French (Clifton 1978, 727-728); from 1763-1795 primarily with the British, although with increasing contact with Americans after the period of the American Revolution; and after 1795 with the Americans, although many Potawatomi chiefs continued to make periodic trips to Canada to collect presents from the British govern-

[2] "By the opening of the nineteenth century the Potawatomi had established more than 100 known villages in [the tribal estate], 14 in northern and central Illinois, 21 in Indiana, 11 in southern Michigan, and more than 80 in Wisconsin" (Clifton 1978, 7826, citing P.V. Lawson 1920; Swanton 1952, 247-250).

ment,[3] and significant numbers took refuge in Canada during the removal era (Clifton 1975a).

The Huron Potawatomi to the 1807 treaty. Standard reference works have very little to say about the early development of the petitioning group specifically, as distinct from other Potawatomi. For example, Hodge's Handbook said only:

> **Potawatomi of Huron.** A division of the Potawatomi, formerly living on Huron r., in S.E. Michigan. They participated in the treaty of Greenville, Ohio, Aug. 3, 1795, and they are also specially mentioned in the treaty of Detroit, Nov. 17, 1807. Their number has been small from the time they first came into notice" (Hodge 1971, 2:293).

The most recent survey by three anthropologists specializing in Michigan Indian groups is little more specific:

> The history of the Huron--sometimes called the Nadowesippe--band of Potawatomi of St. Joseph and Calhoun counties reveals a set of problems very different from those faced by the Catholic Potawatomi of Berrien and Cass counties. The Huron Potawatomi are, first of all, essentially a composite population. Some are descendants of the Potawatomi who lived for many years on the upper St. Joseph River.[4] Others are descended from the many eastern Michigan Potawatomi--including the old Huron bands--who ceded their lands near the Detroit River and moved to the western part of the state after the War of 1812. Some of these emigrants from the east settled on the 66,330-acre Nadowesippe reservation in St. Joseph County, but

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[3] See, for example, a 1797 British list of bands to receive presents at Ft. Malden, Ontario, which included: Potawatamies of Washtanon [possibly Washtenaw County near Detroit] and "Astmits Potawatamies, of St. Joseph, White & Pigeons, Potawatamies of same place [St. Joseph River], Nangassie's Potewatamies of Elk's Heart [Noble County, Indiana]" (Wheeler-Voegelin and Stout 1974, 169-170).

"Nonetheless, until 1839 many Potawatomi from all parts of the tribal estate continued in their allegiance to Britain, and visited the British posts at Amherstburg, Sarnia, Drummond Island, and Manitoulin Island annually for their presents and rations" (Clifton 1978, 737, citing Clifton 1975).

[4] There is no genealogical confirmation of this claim.

> the majority scattered widely in south-central Michigan (Clifton, Cornell, and McClurken 1986, 70).

Nevertheless, a significant amount of documentation pertaining to HPI origins does exist.

In discussing the eighteenth century, the Historical Overview in the HPI petition used confusing terminology by speaking of the "St. Joseph River or Nottawaseppi Huron, as they were later called, area Potawatomi" (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 4).[5] Leatherbury employed the same phrasing (Leatherbury 1977, 15). However, there is no indication in the historical documentation that the "St. Joseph River" Potawatomi, who provide the basic origins of the modern Potawatomi Indian Nation, Inc. (PINI) (aka Pokagon Potawatomi; aka Potawatomi of Michigan and Indiana, Inc.), were ever called "Nottawaseppi Huron" or "Potawatomi of Huron," even after the Potawatomi of Huron moved from the Huron River of Lake Erie to the Nottawaseppi Reserve in the St. Joseph River region after 1807. Vice versa, neither do contemporary early nineteenth-century documents refer to the Potawatomi of Huron as "St. Joseph Potawatomi." These were two quite distinct subgroups of Potawatomi, as can be seen below in the discussions between Potawatomi chiefs and General Anthony Wayne that accompanied the making of the Treaty of Greenville, Ohio, in 1795.

The French Era, from first contact to 1763. As early as 1704, Cadillac mentioned the presence of a number of Potawatomi at Detroit (Fort Pontchartrain) (Deale 1958, 332). These may have been passing visitors, but soon there were permanent residents. "In 1712 a mixed Potawatomi-Ottawa party from Mackinac destroyed the Fox and Mascouten groups near Detroit and two years later settled into this new territory" (Clifton 1978, 728; see also Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 76). The origin of the residents in this village north of the Detroit River is not certain: Wheeler-Voegelin's unpublished report on the ethnohistory of Royce Area 66 compiled for the Indian Claims Commission (Wheeler-

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[5] The same confusion is present in the pamphlet written to accompany the 1983 Potawatomi exhibit at the Kingman Museum in Battle Creek, Michigan. "The Nottawasippe Potawatomi were considered a segment of the St. Joseph Valley Potawatomi. They lived on the Nottawasippe Prairie and had villages located near the present day Mendon and Leonidas. The prairie lay south of the big bend -- in the shape of an inverted U -- in the St. Joseph River at the northern tip of Mendon and as far south as Centreville and Nottawa" (Manassah 1983, [4]).

Voegelin n.d.) concluded that they possibly came from the St. Joseph River, but could have come directly from the Green Bay area of Wisconsin (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 67-68). In 1715, the village had 180 men, or ca. 720 persons (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 68). In 1730, maps made by the French engineer De Noyan located two Potawatomi villages at Detroit, one at the bend of the Detroit River on the north side (apparently the village originally established in 1714); then another between the Huron village and Fort Detroit (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 91). In 1749, Chaussegros de Lery fils mapped a Potawatomi village on the north bank of Detroit River, one quarter mile west of Fort Detroit (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 169). For the locations, see Tanner's Map 9, "The French Era 1720-1761" (Tanner 1987, 40-41). The chiefs of these villages were mentioned in French documents of the period (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 67, 165).

At the time of the Office of Indian Affairs' mid-1840's investigation into the origins of the Potawatomi of Huron annuity claim, the Pine Creek Potawatomi referred to having lived at "Moguago's Town" (Moguago and Holcomb to Hammond, December 25, 1842, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 53, 431-433). During the French era, the relationship of the Potawatomi of Huron to the village of Monguagon south of Detroit is unclear. The Pine Creek group may have been referring to Monguagon, but may also have been referring to a different village on the Huron River which they themselves called "Moguago's Town."[6]

Most secondary sources and documents refer to Monguagon south of Detroit as having been a Wyandot village (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 325; Tooker 1978, 402; Tanner 1987, 101), but in 1755, Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil's "Commission to the King of Monguagon," dated at Montreal, September 4, proclaimed that because 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,* [emphasis added] have nominated and appointed him chief of the said Pottawatamies, with authority and command over the warriors of said village" (Michigan Pioneer and Historical

[6] "When the group lived at Detroit, its chiefs were Mirawba, Moguago, Coushiness, the three principle chiefs called after since the Huron band because we lived down near Detroit about from twenty to thirty years ago and before that . . ." After the treaty at Detroit "for which we sold all East of the head waters of the St. Joseph river then we all Removed from The Moguago Town on the Huron and came to the Nottaway Sippe prairie" (Moguago and Holcomb to Hammond, December 25, 1842, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 53, 431-433).

Society Collections (hereinafter cited as MPHC), 8:459; HPI Pet. 1986, Ex. Doc. 9). In addition, deeds from the later eighteenth century show Potawatomi selling land in this region.[7] At the same date of 1755, a map showed the Potawatomi village on the west/north side of the Detroit River, below the fort (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 182-183).

One major mid-eighteenth century document throws considerable light on the nomenclature of the Huron Potawatomi, and can be used to clarify some otherwise confusing later references to "Ottawa" when the Huron Potawatomi were the group being discussed. In 1756-1757, Charles Stuart and his wife, who were from Pennsylvania or Virginia, were taken captive and brought to Detroit by the Wyandots. In a debriefing statement after their return to New York, "Stuart frequently refers to 'Wondats' and to 'Tawaws' or 'Tawas' (Ottawas). He also frequently mentions 'Outotawas,' 'Outotowas' or 'Outotaways'" (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 184). These "Outotawas" were identified by the editor of Stuart's journal as being Ottawa (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 184), but for a variety of reasons, Wheeler-Voegelin thought that Stuart used the term to signify Potawatomi: "internal evidence in the account itself, as shown below, all points to the identification of the 'Outotowas' as Potawatomis" (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 185; see also 186-187).

> Stuart describes the Outotoway town 1 1/4 miles west of the Fort as having about 32 small houses, with about 70 warriors besides young boys; and an Outotaway Town on Lake Huron abt. 20 miles above Detroit--probably actually on the St. Clair River (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 188).

Several population estimates were made during the latter part of the French Era. In 1760, Bouquet estimated 100 men able to bear arms at the Potawatomi village near Detroit (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 218). Two years later, the British officer Thomas Hutchins estimated 150 warriors at the Potawatomi village near Detroit (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 233), while in 1763 a French trader, Robert Navarre, estimated 150 Potawatomis in arms under the Detroit Potawatomi chief Ninivois (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 239).

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[7] July 28, 1780, a large tract of land at Monguagon Creek [north of Huron River on Lake Erie] ("Stone Quarry River") was sold by "the chiefs and principal leaders of the Pottawattomie nation of Indians at Detroit" "ala Garriere Menning" to James Abbott of Detroit (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 376, 387).

The British Era, 1764-1785. After the end of the Seven Years War, in 1764, the Potawatomi participated in a council held by Col. Bradstreet at Detroit and formally transferred their allegiance to the British (Leatherbury 1977, 8). Two chiefs of distinct groups were mentioned: Kiouqua, "a Petawatomie of Detroit" and Naniquoba, "a Petawatamie of St. Joseph" (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 246).

At this time (1764), additional population estimates were made: the Potawatomi of Detroit as 300 men (1200 persons) and a combined one drawn up by a French trader living at Detroit indicating the Potawatomi near St. Joseph's and at Detroit as 350 warriors (1400 persons) (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 248).

Almost immediately after swearing allegiance to the British, however, the Potawatomi left their village near Detroit. By 1765,[8] George Croghan stated that the Potawatomi had abandoned their village four miles west of Detroit (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 253, 262; see also 1768 Map, Tribal Areas, Tanner 187, 58-59). The first information about where they went was provided three years later, in 1768, when John Lees, a merchant from Quebec, writing in August said that "about 40 miles back in the woods behind the fort is the village of the Pewtawtomies called by the French Pous" (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 259).

This departure of the Potawatomi from Detroit can be confirmed by using local documents. In a deed dated May 26, 1771, ratified July 15, 1772, the tribal chiefs of the nation of Potawatomi at Detroit granted to Robert Navarre a tract of land, four arpents by the entire depth, situated at the Potawatomis 'ancient village,' 'forever so he may take care of our dead.' This deed was later confirmed by General Gage (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 262).

Tanner's Map 16 "Frontier in Transition 1772-1781, The Ohio Country and Canada" shows two Potawatomi/Ojibwa villages on the Rouge River northwest of Detroit; a Potawatomi village on the Huron River southwest of Detroit; and a Potawatomi village on the Saline River southwest of Detroit (Tanner 1987, 80).

One document pertaining to this change of residence from Detroit to the Huron River introduces an interesting possi-

[8] In 1765, Machioquise and Makisabewere chiefs of the Potawatomi at Detroit (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 248).

bility that the Potawatomi of Huron may have acquired the "Nottawaseppi" name prior to settlement on the Nottawaseppi Reserve in southwestern Michigan. In 1774, Jehu Hay former commissary of Detroit, drew up tables of distances from Detroit to the Illinois and from Detroit to Fort St. Joseph (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 262).[9] In the second of these, "from Detroit to Fort St. Joseph by land, Hay notes that it is 40 miles 'From Detroit *to the River Huron, or Naudewine Sippy*" [emphasis added] and appends the remarks:

> N. B. There is a village of Puttawattamees of Six large Cabans-- The River at this place is about Fifty feet wide and the Water is generally from one and a half to two feet deep, when there are Floods Travellers are obliged to make Rafts to cross it
>
> the road to this place is bad-- (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 262, citing Hay, Dft. Ex. C-169; 1).

Wheeler-Voegelin located this Potawatomi village, tentatively, as being about seven miles northwest of present Ann Arbor, Mich., on the Huron River in central Royce Area 66 (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 263). This location is consistent with the information provided by the Pine Creek Potawatomi to the Office of Indian Affairs in the 1840's concerning the locations of their "grandsires."[10]

Hay stated that from the first Potawatomi village it was 12 miles "To the Salt River or Waudagon Sippy. N.B. There is another Village of Pittawattamies of five Cabans" (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d. 263-264). The Saline River is a northern tributary of Raisin River.

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[9] Hodge referred to this document as an itinerary dated about 1770 (Hodge 1971, 2:293).

[10] "After the above council at request of Notawasepee band I met with them to hear reason for their claim to the Huron fund appropriated by US. They assert that their grand sires lived near Ypsilanti on Huron River many years since and that there is one person who is with that left the Huron when a boy. These and like assertions were exonerated by testimony of Noonday and others. Since they will [illegible] I did not record their arguments, but I say this last has given reason to conclude that their claim is worthy of investigation." Slater (Ott Colony) to R. Stuart, December 25, 1844, NARS, RG [illegible] Roll 57, 36).

The Era of the American Revolution, 1775-1784. During the American Revolution, the Michigan Potawatomi in alliance with the British, joined with the British in most of the war parties sent out against the Americans (Leatherbury 1977, 8). However, there is little direct documentation of Huron Potawatomi participation in military activities during this period. One indication of it may be the occasion in 1781 when Wawiaghtenou, Chief of the Potawatomies of Detroit, spoke to Major Arent Schuyler De Peyster, then commanding at Detroit, in Council on behalf of the St. Joseph Potawatomi (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 291). However, the majority of the surviving documentation is the result of land sales.

On July 6, 1776, 18 of the chiefs and principal men of the Potawatomi nation of Indians ceded to Alexander and William Macomb, Detroit merchants, Grosse Isle, or Kitche-mineshen. The deed was given at Detroit, and was confirmed in 1780 by Major De Peyster (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 274).

Three years later in 1779, land at the mouth of Otter Creek (Monroe County, Michigan) and three miles up the creek, was sold by Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa Indians to white settlers (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 376, 387). A deed dated July 28, 1780, stated that the chiefs of the Potawatomi tribe had decided to give a portion of their lands "which we have long left uncultivated" to Thomas Williams; one of the signers was the Detroit Potawatomi chief Windego (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 376).

The same year, on August 4, 1780, Potawatomi Indians sold 5,000 acres from the mouth of the River Rouge to the old Potawatomi village on north bank of Detroit River to Major De Peyster (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 376, 388). In spite of these documented sales, Tanner's Map 17, "Frontier in Transition 1782-1786, The Ohio Country and Canada," shows the same four Potawatomi villages near Detroit as on the 1772 map (Tanner 1987, 85).

The series of Potawatomi land sales in the Detroit region continued in the years immediately following the Revolution. In 1784, 1785, and 1786, Potawatomi, Ottawa and Chippewa sold to French Canadians lands at the mouth of Raisin River, extending some 16 miles up that river; the settlement founded at this location became known as Frenchtown (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 377). In 1785, Potawatomi sold land on the "Ecorce of Bark River" to Jean Baptiste Reaume (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 378) This was followed in 1786 by a grant of land on south bank of Raisin River by Potawatomi to Charles Reaume (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 378) and a sale by

several chiefs, including Potawatomi, to Francis Pepin of thirty degrees of land on Lake Erie at Rocky (Stony) Creek, extending 100 degrees back along the south side of the creek. The same amount of land along the north bank of Stony Creek was sold by Indians, including some Potawatomi, to Gabriel Godfroy in 1788 (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 387; see also Denissen 1987, 1:534-535).

The American Era, 1785-1807. The British posts of Detroit and Michilimackinac were officially ceded to the Americans in 1785 (Leatherbury 1977, 18). This was followed in 1787 by passage of the Northwest Ordinance, Michigan's first territorial government, which formally established a guardian/ward relationship between the Federal government and Michigan Indians and recognized Indian aboriginal rights (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 11). On January 9, 1789, the Treaty of Fort Harmar, Ohio, was signed (Clifton 1978, 736; Hodge 1971, 2:291). It contained the first specific negotiations with the Potawatomi by the U.S. (Leatherbury 1977, 18).

Effectively, however, Michigan remained under British control for several more years, until 1795, and the Detroit area Potawatomi continued to be in close contact with the British administration in Canada. A 1793 "List of Indians drawing Provisions, Maumee Rapids, July 13" listed under Potawatomi: "river Raisin, 8 men; Windigo, 11 men; head of River Raisin, 9 men." The same document indicated that there were also Ottawa located on River Raisin, Stony Creek, and Otter Creek (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 342).

Tanner's Map 18, "Frontier in Transition 1787-1794, The Ohio Country and Canada," shows the same villages as in 1782, with the addition of a Potawatomi village on the Coldwater River in south central Michigan (Tanner 1987, 88). There are no separate population estimates for the Potawatomi of Huron during this transitional period. In 1793, the total number of Potawatomi men at Detroit and "near St. Joseph's River" was 350 fit for bearing arms and about 1/3 that number "old and superannuated." Multiplied by six, this has allowed historians to estimate a combined Potawatomi population in these two Michigan regions of about 2,800 (Wheeler-Voegelin and Stout 1974, 156).

During this transitional period, several documents provide insight into the activities and circumstances of the Potawatomi of Huron. The real estate transactions continued. In 1794, 4,500 acres of land on the Huron River were deeded by an Indian chief to Gabriel Godfroy, 1794 (Wheeler-Voegelin

n.d., 387). The most detailed deed was dated 1795, of a sale to John Askin, Jr., John Askin, Sr., Patrick McNiff, John Askwith, Alexander Henry, and Israel Ruland, of a tract of land situated on both sides of the Huron River and extending forty miles from the mouth of the Detroit River by two miles in depth on each side of the said river. Signed by "the chief and principal men of the Potawatomi nation," it recorded the names of Echawet, Okia, Mahingan, Chewenisie, Othesneesa, Nanannie or Kuvainim, Cabainse, Bandigaikawa, Chawinabai, Ochichalk, Kewaidenaham, Mahimak (Land Office, Detroit, Libr B, Folio 319. Endorsed: River au Razin, May 15, 1796).

In a 1790 journal, fur trader Hugh Heward noted that the residence of Sans Craint or Sanscrannt, a trader, was about 140 miles up the Huron from its mouth; about 50 miles further, there was an Indian village (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 327). Other American records place Sanscrainte not only in proximity to the Potawatomi of Huron, but also show that he interacted with them. In 1794-1795, Bad Bird, an Ottawa[11] chief from Michilimackinac (L'Arbre Croche,) and a Frenchman who lived at Detroit, Baptiste Sanscrainte, were employed by General Anthony Wayne to invite Indians to Greenville, Ohio, for treaty negotiations. In March 1795, these two men went with the trader McKenzie to Kalamazoo, to meet with a general rendezvous of the Indians at Muskegon in the spring (Wheeler-Voegelin and Stout 1974, 159).

Also in March 1795, a number of Potawatomi Indians from the Huron River arrived at Fort Wayne and spoke to Major John Francis Hamtramck, who advised them to go to Greenville; their trader, Romain La Chambre, a Frenchman, was with them serving as interpreter (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 356-357). By March 12, 1795, they arrived at Greenville where two of their chiefs, Okeia or Okia and Weytico, signed preliminary articles of peace "on behalf of themselves and the Indians living on the River Huron." The documents identified Okia and Weytico both as war chiefs and as principal chiefs; Cashkoa was identified as a war chief (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 357).

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[11] "In this source Wayne states that Mashipinashiwich or Bad-bird was a Chippewa chief. However this same chief signed as an Ottawa in the Treaty of August 29, 1821; we therefore accept him as an Ottawa" (Wheeler-Voegelin and Stout 1974, 159 n 371, citing to ASP, Indian Affairs, 1:565, 568, 572).

The negotiations began on June 16, 1795, at Greenville, Darke County, Ohio. The minutes are recorded in the American State Papers, Indian Affairs (hereafter cited as ASP), Volume I (Wheeler-Voegelin and Stout 1974, 160; Hodge 1971, 2:291). Some 240 Potawatomi were present (Wheeler-Voegelin and Stout 1974, 161, n. 375). Keesas, or Sun, said the Potawatomi present were in three classes: one from the River Huron, one from St. Joseph's, and his from the Wabash (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 363). One speech by Okia indicated how separate the River Huron Potawatomi were from the St. Joseph Potawatomi (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 364, citing Lowrie and Clarke, eds., Dft. Ex. C-203, 1:581).

The Treaty of Greenville was formally signed August 3, 1795 (Kappler 1972, 2:39). Six "Pattawatimas of Huron," Okia, Chamung, Segagewan, Nanawme for himself and brother A. Gin, Marchand, and Wenameac, signed as a group, separately from the Potawatomi from the Saint Joseph River (Kappler 1972, 2:44; Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 362).[12]

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

> In 1800 the Potawatomi still constituted a single tribal organization . . . . Although it has been a common practice for some to apply the word "band" to the various regional coalitions of Potawatomi villages, there is no evidence that the Potawatomi themselves recognized traditional, formal subdivisions such as subtribes or bands, each with autonomous control of part of the tribal estate. The permanent and most important political-geographic unit was the village, of which there were more than 100 by this period (Clifton 1978, 731).

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[12] The St. Joseph River Potawatomi signing were: Thupenebu, Nawac for himself and brother Etsimethe; Nenanseka; Keesass or Run, Kis[illegible]aw for himself and brother Chisaugan, Sugganunk, Wapmeme or White Pigeon, Wacheness for himself and brother Pedegoshok, Wabshicawnaw, Le[illegible], Meshegethenogh for himself and brother Wawasek, Hingoswash, An[illegible], Nawbudgh, Missenogomaw, Waweegshe, Thawme or Le Bland, and Geeque for himself and brother Shewinse (Kappler 1972, 2:44).

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

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

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

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

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

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

Treaty relations with the United States between Greenville 1795 and Detroit 1807 Beginning in 1803, the Potawatomi participated in over 50 treaties with the United States government.[13] However, the Potawatomi of Huron were involved in only a few of these.

On July 4, 1805, a treaty was signed "between the United States of America, and the sachems, chiefs, and warriers of the Wyandot, Ottawa, Chipawa, Munsee and Delaware, Shawanee, and Pottawatima nations" at Fort Industry, on the Miami of the lake (Kappler 1972, 2:77-78). Only Article V pertained to the Potawatomi of Huron (Kappler 1972, 2:78). In compensation for the cession confirmed by Article V, they received $4,000 in hand, plus an additional $12,000 secured in trust to the President. The Potawatomi signers were Noname and Mogawh (Kappler 1972, 2:78). Wheeler-Voegelin emphasized that this treaty made a distinction between the Potawatomi of Huron located near Detroit and the general Potawatomi tribe:

> Also, in the Treaty of Fort Industry of July 4, 1805 it is noted that "such of the Pottawatomia nation as reside on the river Huron of lake Erie,

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[13] No Potawatomi of Huron were involved in the following treaties.

June 7, 1803. Treaty of Ft. Wayne, Ind. (Hodge 1971, 2:291). Treaty between the United States and the Delawares, Shawanoes, Putawatimies, Miamies, Eel River, Weeas, Kickapoos, Piankashaws, and Kaskaskias nations of Indians, June 7, 1803, Fort Wayne, Indiana (Kappler 1972, 2:64-66). Signed by Tuthinipee and Winnemac on behalf of the Pattawatimas, and Eel Rivers, Weas, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias, whom they represent, Wannangsea, or five medals, and Keesas, or sun (Kappler 1972, 2:65).

August 21, 1805. Treaty with the Delawares, Etc., 1805 (Kappler 1972, 2:80-82). "A treaty between the United States of America, and the tribes of Indians called the Delawares, Pottawatimies, Miames, Eel River, and Weas" August 21 (Kappler 1972, 2:80). At Grouseland, near Vincennes, in Indiana territory. Potawatomi signers were: Topanepee, Lishahecon, Wenamech (Kappler 1972, 2:81).

> and in the neighborhood thereof" had received, and were to receive, with "the Ottawa and Chipawa nations" certain sums which were paid to them at Detroit (7 Stat. 87:88, Article 5. Mich. Hist. Colls., Dft. Ex. C-255; 40: 237, 272) (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 404-405).

Two years later, shortly before the next treaty, Governor Hull wrote to Dearborn on August 4, 1807, that "the Pottawatamis on the River Huron of Lake Erie, have very lately left their Villages, with their corn fields &c all standing, which is said to be an unusual circumstance at this season of the year--" (Hull to Dearborn, August 4, 1807, MPHC 1929, 40:169).

1807 Treaty.

The major treaty affecting the Potawatomi of Huron specifically, from which they received annuity payments until these were compounded for a lump sum in 1889, was that of 1807.[14] By this treaty, the Potawatomi, Chippewa, Ottawa, and Wyandots ceded 8,000,000 acres to the government for about 1.2 cents per acre (Leatherbury 1977, 20).

For cession of these lands in southeastern Michigan comprising Royce Area 66 (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 404-405), the "Pottawatamie nation" received a direct payment of $1,666.66 6/10. The annuity, to be paid at Detroit, was to be "four hundred dollars to such of the Pottawatamies, as now reside on the river Huron of lake Erie, the river Raisin, and in the vicinity of the said rivers" (Kappler 1972, 2:93). Potawatomi chiefs who signed were: Toquish,[15] Noname, Nawme, Ninnewa, and Skush (Kappler 1972, 2:94).

Several small reservations were made. They are listed here in detail because later cessions of these reservations by Potawatomi of Huron residing elsewhere in Michigan and northern Indiana provide the best means of tracking the group's migration between 1807 and 1830. The small reservations included: "three miles square on the river *Raisin*, at

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[14] "Treaty with the Ottawa, Etc., 1807," November 17, 1807, Detroit, between William Hull, governor of the territory of Michigan and superintendent of Indian affairs, and the sachems, chiefs, and warriors of the Ottaway, Chippeway, Wyandotte, and Pottawatamie nations (Kappler 1972, 2:92).

[15] Apparently a different person than Tonquish, who also signed. This would lead to later confusion in OIA records.

a place called *Macon*, and where the river *Macon* falls into the river *Raizin*, which place is about fourteen miles from the mouth of said river *Raizin*; also, two sections of one mile square each, on the river *Rouge*, at *Seginsiwin's* village; also two sections of one mile square each, at *Tonquish's* village, near the river *Rouge*;[16] also three miles square on lake St. Clair, above the river Huron, to include *Machonce's* village; also, six sections, each section containing one mile square, within the cession aforesaid, in such situations as the said Indians shall elect . . ." (Kappler 1972, 2:94).

Wheeler-Voegelin has strongly emphasized the distinction that this treaty made between the Potawatomi of Huron and other Michigan Potawatomi:

> The disparateness of the Potawatomis residing "on the river Huron of lake Erie, the river Raisin, and in the vicinity of the said rivers" from other Potawatomi groups is again demonstrated in the matter of annuities paid to them . . . . By an agreement between Hull and Charles Jouett, Indian agent at Chicago, half of the Potawatomi payment of $1,666.66 [from the 1807 treaty] was to be paid at Chicago, as being "more convenient to the Nation, that a part of it should be paid nearer where they reside." The other half of the $1,666.66 together with the entire annuity of $400, was to be paid at Detroit to the Potawatomis living on the Rivers Huron and Raisin, exclusively (Mich. Hist. Colls., Dft. Ex. C-255; 40:237-238, 271-272) (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 404-405).

The Potawatomi of Huron annuities were also distinguished from the general Potawatomi annuities in transactions other than those stemming from the 1807 Treaty of Detroit (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 404-405).[17]

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[16] Tonquish signed as a Chippewa; Seginsiwin did not sign at all (Kappler 1972, 2:94).

[17] [T]he Potawatomis of the Rivers Huron and Raisin also were to receive beginning in 1809, $250 as their share of the $1,000 annuity due the Potawatomis generally from the Treaty of Greeneville of Aug. [illegible]05 (7 Stat. 49:51, Article 4. Mich. Hist. Colls., Dft. Ex. C-255· [illegible] 271-272. Dearborn to Jouett, Washington, May 28, 1808; Dft. Ex. [illegible] [Dearborn] Statement, Dft. Ex. C-270; 2. Smith to Hull, Washington, April 2, 1809; Dft. Ex. C-271. A Statement...Mar. 7, 1810, Dft. [illegible] 272. Eustis to Hull, May 14, 1810; Dft. Ex. C-273. Eustis to [illegible]

The Huron Potawatomi from 1807 to Removal (1840).

Location of the Huron Potawatomi immediately after the 1807 treaty. Most discussions of the history of the Potawatomi of Huron have been quite vague as to the group's history between the Treaty of 1807 and the beginning of early pioneer reminiscences of the 1830's, by which time the band was living on the Nottawaseppi Reserve in St. Joseph County, Michigan, which had been established by the Federal treaty of 1821. Possibly, this is because the group's members themselves were vague in their recollections of the intervening years:

> When the group lived at Detroit, its chiefs were Mirawba, Moguago, Coushiness, the three principle chiefs called after since the Huron band because we lived down near Detroit about from twenty to thirty years ago and before that . . . [After the treaty at Detroit] . . . for which we sold all East of the head waters of the St. Joseph river then we all Removed from The Moguago Town on the Huron and came to the Nottaway Sippe prairie (Moguago and Holcomb to Hammond, December 25, 1842, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 53, 431-433).

At the time, unquestionably, the Federal Government knew where the group was located, because it continued to pay their annuities. On May 10, 1845, a letter signed by one McCullen from the Office of the Second Auditor, U.S. Department of the Treasury, reported to COIA T. Hartley Crawford that money due to the Potawatomi of the River Huron under Article Two of the Treaty of 1807 was paid, with receipts on file, from 1819 to 1830, payments having been made by Lewis Cass, John Tipton, and Alex Wolcott (NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 425, 682-683).

Moreover, documentation does exist to pinpoint the group's location at various intervals during this period. The Potawatomi of Huron did not remove from the upper Huron River immediately after the 1807 treaty: they were still in

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War Department, May 14, 1810; Dft. Ex. C-274) (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 404-405).

their Huron River location when they signed treaties in 1808[18] and 1809[19] (Kappler 1972, 2:99-100).

Tanner's Map 20, "Indian Villages c. 1810," locates the Potawatomi village at Macon on the Raisin River and shows another Potawatomi village on the upper Raisin River, as well as two Potawatomi villages on the Huron River. Two villages on the River Rouge are shown as combined Ojibwa/Potawatomi (Tanner 1987, 98-99).

Most scholars have assumed that the Potawatomi of Huron moved to the Nottawaseppi Reserve shortly after the Treaty of 1807 (Hannassah 1983, [illegible] Leatherbury 1977, 20-21). The petitioner's Historical Overview maintains that the Huron Potawatomi probably migrated from the Huron River to the Nottawaseppi Prairie between 1815 and 1821 (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 14), and that Moguago II established a village which contained 30 or 40 huts on the Nottawa-Sippe Creek west of present day Leonidas, Michigan [on the western bank of Nottawa-Sippe Creek] (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 17). Another village headed by Cush-ee-wes/Coush-wess is said to have been at this time on the St. Joseph River south of present day Mendon, Michigan (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 15).[20]

Although the treaties analyzed by Wheeler-Voegelin clearly depict the Potawatomi of Huron as a separate band of Potawatomi, Leatherbury maintained that after their settlement in southwestern Michigan, the predecessor of the Pine Creek settlement, which he termed the "Nottawaseppi Band of Potawatomi,"

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[18] November 25, 1808. Treaty with the Chippewa, etc. at Brownstown, Michigan, for road right-of-way from the river Miami of Lake Erie to the western line of the Connecticut Reserve. The tribes involved were Chippewa, Ottawa, Pottawatomie, Wyandot, and Shawnee. Signers included: "Pattawatimas: Mogau, Wapmeme or White Pigeon, Mache" (Kappler 1972, 2:99-100).

[19] September 30, 1809. Treaty with the Delawares, etc. Tribes involved were Delaware, Putawatimie, Maiami, and Eel River Miami. Signers included: "Pattawatimas: Winemac; Five Medals, by his son; Mowgawgo; Shissahecon, for himself and his brother Tuthinpee; Ossmeet, brother to [illegible]e Medals; Nanouseka [illegible], Penamo's son; Mosser; Chiquirimo; Sackanackshut; Conengee" (Kappler 1972, 2:101-102).

[20] He had been a chief of the Huron Potawatomi before they moved from the Huron River to Nottawaseppi. "He appears to have been among those who signed the Treaty of 1826 in Indiana (under the name Ackkushewa; Kappler, 1972: 272-283)" (Littlefield 1993, 5).

> was considered a segment of the St. Joseph Valley Potawatomi. The band lived on the Nottawa-Sippe Prairie . . . south of the big bend - in the shape of an inverted U - in the St. Joseph River at the northern tip of which was, and is, the village of Mendon, and it continued as far south as Centreville and Nottawa (Leatherbury 1977, 15).

However, Leatherbury also was aware that the Nottawaseppi Band was not of St. Joseph Potawatomi origin. He summed up his analysis by stating that,

> Recent evidence points to the conclusion that the Nottawa-Sippe band was comprised wholly, or at least in part, of the Huron band of Potawatomi who traveled west to the prairie from their Huron River village, Moguago Town, after signing the Treaty of Detroit in 1807 (Leatherbury 1977, 15).[21]

The petitioner's ancestral group does seem to have moved from the Huron River very shortly after 1810, and a Potawatomi village existed at Nottawaseppi by 1815, but the Nottawaseppi Reserve as such was not established until 1821 (see below). One possibility for an intervening residence between Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti and the Nottawaseppi Reserve is that for some years the Huron Potawatomi may have been on the St. Joseph River on what is now the Indiana side of the Michigan/Indiana state line, and only later have moved somewhat northeast to the Nottawaseppi Reserve. Tanner's Map 25, "Indian Villages c. 1830 Michigan Territory, Indiana, Ohio" shows a Monguago town southeast of Bertrand, Michigan, on the Indiana side of the state border (Tanner 1987, 134)

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[21] "A son, young John Moguago, of a chief of the Huron band, stated that while the band was still at Moguago Town its four principal chiefs were Mirawba, Moguago, Coushiwess, and Cousoit. In a letter to Robert Stuart, superintendent of Indian affairs, Anthony (last name illegible) states that the principal chiefs were Moguago; Cousoit, who he calls Cousort and Cock-kee; Amack-ka-bee; Mogan, Nau-Mee; and Chenau-mee-mac" (Leatherbury 1977, 15).

The citation for the letter writer whose last name Leatherbury described as illegible is: February 16, 1843. Anthony Dudgeon for American Fur Co. to Stuart; Dudgeon to C.G. Hammond, National Archives Indian Field Service Records, Michigan Superintendency and Mackinac Agency, Letters Received, 1836-1851, vol. 14, December 1842-June 1843, February 16, 1843 (NARS, RG75 M1, Roll 54, 127; 131-133).

Still, it is by no means certain that the chief of the Indiana Monguago town was identical with Moguago II of the Huron Potawatomi group. There exists a letter from John Hays, trader, to Ninian Edwards, Governor of Illinois Territory, dated May 31, 1812, which was later reproduced almost verbatim by Edwards in a letter to the Secretary of War, May 1812, published in his History of Illinois (Edwards 1870, 315-318). This letter indicated that the following Potawatomi settlements existed in Royce Area 117 and environs:

> 1) Ten leagues (25 miles) up the St. Joseph River, a Potawatomi village of 10 men, no particular chief; 2) Terre-Coupe, a Potawatomi village of about 100 men, **neaded by Mock-kua-gon** [emphasis added]. This village was about 25 miles inland in a straight line from Lake Michigan in 'open country and fine Roads' (Wheeler-Voegelin and Stout 1974, 172-173).

Edwards mentioned several other Potawatomi villages.[22] However, it is not certain that the village headed by "Mock-kua-gon" was the village of the HPI predecessor group, for there was also already at this time

> a Potawatomi [?] village of "40 lodges" within Area 177 on the "River aux Iroquois [Nottawa Creek]...a branch of the St. Joseph's that falls into Lake Michigan," . . . mentioned by Jean Baptiste Chandonnai in a Memorandum dated April 15, 1815 (Wheeler-Voegelin and Stout 1974, 180-181).[23]

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[22] Near the St. Joseph-Kankakee portage; 3) 40 leagues (100 miles) from the mouth of the St. Joseph River, at the mouth of Riviere Pivelle or Speckled River (Coldwater River?] a small Potawatomi village with 30 men in it from Village 1; total number of men unknown; chief's name Nan-neck-quai-bee; 4) 10 leagues (25 miles) up from the mouth of the Elkhart River, a Potawatomi village, number unknown, a small band, their chief Nan-guee-sai, south of Area 117; in 1812 most of the Potawatomi of the above four village noted as being in the Wabash country with the Shawnee Prophet (Wheeler-Voegelin and Stout 1974, 172-173).

[23] "Chandonnai, then serving as United States interpreter for the Potawatomis, had been despatched from Detroit 'to carry the news of peace [between the United States and England] to the Indian tribes west of Detroit.' He left Detroit March 1, and was in the above-mentioned village on Nottawa Creek from March 5th to 10th. A "Young Indian Potawatomy...and the Chiefs of this same Village" advised him not to carry his message to the Indians at Grand and Kalamazoo rivers, as he had been commissioned to do, but to go directly to Ft. Wayne, for use

Also by July, 1815, Potawatomi were living on the Grand River, Kick-kale-mazo [the Kalamazoo River] and in Moran's village, at the mouth of Elkhart River (Wheeler-Voegelin and Stout 1974, 182-183, citing to National Archives, Michigan Superintendency, Letters Received and Sent, vol. 1, p. 96). While it is known from the treaties that a Potawatomi chief called Pierre Moran received land grants for himself and his children in Elkhart, Indiana, by the treaty of 1821 (Kappler 1972, 2:199) it is not certain whether this was the Huron Potawatomi Pierre Moran who came from the Macon reserve in Michigan (see discussion of the 1827 Treaty of Chicago, below),[24] or another man of the same name who was a native of Indiana.[25]

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the British had offered $800 apiece to the Indians on the Grand and Kalamazoo for Chandonnai's and the trader John Kinzie's scalps" (Wheeler-Voegelin and Stout 1974, 180-181, citing to: National Archives, Michigan Superintendency. Letters Received and Sent, vol. 1, p. 49-51, Chandonnai, Memorandum of a Journey. Carter, Territorial Papers, vol. 16, p. 447. Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin 10:112, fn. 1).

[24] "At the commencement of the first settlement of St. Joseph county the Nottawa tribe of Pottawattomies acknowledged the sway of Pierrie Moreau as chief. Morreau was a white man, and was once an educated and accomplished French gentleman; whether a native of France or the descendant of one of the old French families of Canada is not known. In early life he commenced business in Detroit as a mercantile trader. After some misfortune in business, with the remains of a stock of goods he sought this secluded retreat on the banks of the St. Joseph river. Here he established a trade with the Indians, which he continued until his stock of goods was exhausted. He then married an Indian woman, adopted the Indian costume and habits of life. In his character as a savage he seemed to have merged every reminiscence of civilization and to have lost every vestige of its conduct and manners. When the settlements began to gather around Nottawa prairie he was ninety years old, superannuated, decrepid [sic], infirm, and disfigured" (Coffinberry 1878, 491). The 1881 history of Elkhart, Indiana, assumed that the Elkhart chief was identical with the Nottawaseppi Reserve Chief and quoted Coffinberry extensively (History of Elkhart County 1881, 442-454).

"Moran a Puttawatamie Chief, has solicited your permission for himself and six other Chiefs with one interpreter, to visit Washington, . . ." (Turner to Cass, May 13, 1819, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 6, 97).

[25] All Michigan sources discussing Pierre Moran indicate that he was originally from Detroit. The discussion of various Detroit-area Moran, Moreau, and Morin families in Denissen does not provide a clear indication of the origins of the Pierre Moran who lived among the Huron Potawatomi (Denissen 1987, 2:866-871, 875-877).

John Wesley Whicker's 1927 article, "Pierre Moran or Chief Parish of the Pottawattomies" (Whicker 1927), written from a focus on groups that lived in the state of Indiana, identified the Huron Potawatomi chief with a half-French, half-Kickapoo leader called "Parish Constant"

The deed records pertaining to the sale of the 1821 land granted to Pierre Moran at Elkhart (Section No. 5, Township 37 North, Range 5 East of the 2d Principal Meridian of the State of Indiana), first to Richard Godfrey [Godefroy] of Michigan in 1826/27 and then to Dr. Havilah Beardsley of

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or "Chief Parish" from the Ouiatenon region on the Wabash River--the son of "Constant Moran [who] married a Kickapoo squaw, and lived along Pine and Kickapoo creeks, just about straight across the river from Attica" (Whicker 1927, 229). "Parish was born in Warren county, Indiana, and while like all the other Indians, he was a nomad, moving from place to place, he lived all his life in Indiana and died and is buried in Benton county, Indiana" (Whicker 1927, 235).

Michigan researchers have assumed that the land grant made by the August 29, 1821, Treaty of Chicago to "Peannish" and his children was to the Michigan Pierre Moran. However, Whicker indicated that these lands were granted to the Indiana man (Whicker 1927, 231).

> In 1823, when Price L. Kellog was designated to survey and locate the six sections of land, as the outline plat of Burnett's Reservation, at the mouth of Flint river, Parish was then living on his reservation at the mouth of the Elkhart river. Upon the request of Zachariah Cicot and the Burnetts, Parish met Price L. Kellog at Cicot's trading post, and together Parish, Cicot and Kellog, rowed up the Wabash river in a canoe to the Flint Bar, here they met Peter Weaver, the first white settler in Tippecanoe county, . . . (Whicker 1927, 235).

Whicker gives no source citation for his claim that Parish Constant was living near Elkhart in 1823 when the Flint River grant from the 1818 treaty was surveyed. Whicker also stated that about 1826, "Chief Parish" and his tribe moved away from Elkhart and settled at Parish Grove, Benton County, Indiana (Whicker 1927, 231). From other sources, it is clear that the Pierre Moran associated with the Potawatomi of Huron in Michigan was residing by that time on the Nottawaseppi Reserve in St. Joseph County, Michigan.

Whicker did include in his article a letter dated April 18, 1926, from local historian Jesse S. Birch of Oxford, Indiana, who expressed doubt that "Peerish, or Perig"(who as a "Pottawattomie Chief" was granted a section of land on "Flint River, where he now lives" [identified by Whicker as Flint Creek, near West Point, Tippecanoe County, Indiana] by the October 2, 1818, treaty at St. Mary's Ohio) and "Pierre Moran or Peerish, a Pottawattomie Chief," also mentioned in the 1818 treaty at St. Mary's, Ohio, were the same person (Whicker 1927, 232).

The Indiana Chief "Parish Constant" was clearly the brother-in-law of Zachariah Cicot (Whicker 1927, 230). No such relationship is alleged for the Michigan Pierre Moran. A detailed study of local land records pertaining to the Elkhart land grant, which was sold by whichever Moran who owned first to Richard Godfroy and then to Dr. Havilah Beardsley, and the record of sales for the two sections which were granted to his children, would provide a more precise distinction between the two men. Such a study should include the adjoining grants to Pierre Le Clerc, Antoine Roland, William Knaggs, Jean B. Le Clerc, etc. (Kappler 1972, 2:199-200).

Elkhart in 1831/32, both sales made with permission of the president of the U.S. in accordance with the 1821 treaty stipulations, do seem from the fact that Moran's May 31, 1826, petition to the president to make the sale was dated at Detroit, from internal references to Louis Cass, etc., to indicate that the holder of these Indiana lands near Elkhart was the Pierre Moran who was active among the Potawatomi of Huron, and who lived first on the Macon Reserve near Detroit and then on the Nottawaseppi Reserve in Michigan. The title dispute over Beardsley's purchase was eventually settled in the U.S. Supreme Court (History of Elkhart County 1881, 457-458. 729-731).

War of 1812 involvement. No documentation exists for active Huron Potawatomi involvement in the War of 1812 on either the British or the American side. While historians generally state that the majority of the Potawatomi were allied with the British in this conflict (Clifton 1978, 737), Topinebee and Onoxa's St. Joseph Potawatomi, the nearest neighbors of the Huron Potawatomi in their new location, allied with the Americans on July 22, 1814 (Kappler 1972, 2:105).[26]

After the War of 1812. Soon after the War of 1812, during which the majority of the Potawatomi had served the British, most village chiefs quickly indicated that they recognized the power of the United States (Clifton 1978, 737, citing Clifton 1975a). The Illinois River Potawatomi signed a treaty at Portage des Sioux with William Clark, Ninian Edwards, and Auguste Chouteau, U.S. Commissioners Plenipotentiary, on July 18, 1815 (Kappler 1972, 2:110-111). The remainder were included in the September 8, 1815, treaty signed at Spring Wells, near Detroit (Kappler 1972, 2:117-119). This treaty restored to them "all the possessions, rights, and priviledges, which they enjoyed, or were entitled to, in the year one thousand eight hundred and eleven, prior to the commencement of the late war with Great Britain," renewing and confirming the Treaty of Greenville of 1795 and all subsequent treaties to which they had been parties (Kappler 1972, 2:118). It is not clear that all of

[26] Potawatomi signers of this "treaty of peace and friendship between the United States of America, and the tribes of Indians called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoese, Senecas, and Miamies" (Kappler 1972, 2:105) were: Toopinnepe, Onoxa, or Five Medals; Metea; Conge, or Bear's foot; Nanownseca; Chagobbe, or One who sees all over; Meshon, Penosh, Checanoe, Neshcootawa, Tonguish, Nebaughkua, Wesnanesa, Chechock, or Crane; Kepoota, Mackoota, or Crow; Papeketcha, or Flat Belly (Kappler 1972, 2:107).

the signers of this treaty had, in fact, been in alliance with Great Britain, as the first two Potawatomi signers were Topinebe and Five Medals (Kappler 1972, 2:119).[27]

From the time of the 1815 treaty onward, the Potawatomi of southern Michigan were in regular contact with one or another Indian agency. Properly, they should have been the responsibility of the Michigan Superintendency located in Detroit, but for most purposes, geographic propinquity was of more significance than theoretical lines of authority. Michigan Potawatomi also appear in the records of both the Chicago Agency and the Logansport, Indiana, Agency after 1815 (Conway 1972, 415-416).[28]

No contemporary descriptions of the group from this period exist. However, one recollection by a tribal member was preserved over a century later in a newspaper interview:

> Way back, years before missionary came, in Spring and Fall, the Indians used to meet and camp two or three days at a certain place [on the Nottawaseppi Reserve], a little north of Leland bridge, on peninsula, near Colon, and have war dance. A head man would talk about God; to fear Him. After Dancing over, they would scatter, go back home.
>
> Before this war dance, some one would go around and tell them when to come and they would prepare great kettles of hominy and deer or bear meat cooked with it. The hominy (or 'aom-nobo') was ground by taking a two-foot oak block, making a hole in the center, which when completed was called "Pot-oggen'. From an other piece of oak they made a pounder which they called 'Pot-ish-quan.' They would pour this ground corn slowly from a dish to a bull rush mat, letting the wind

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[27] Full list of Potawatomi signers: Topneebee, Noungesai, or five medals; Naynauawsekaw, Joeeonce, Cocneg, Ohshawkeebee, Saineamay[illegible], Meeksawbay, Mongaw, Nawnawmee, Chay Chauk, or the crane; Wanauna[illegible]e, Pashapow, Koniemani, or the chief; Neesscastimeneemay, Ponngeasa[illegible], Nounnawkeskawaw, Chickawno, Mitteeay, Messeecawee, Neepoashe, Kai[illegible]y-nee, Waymeego, or W.H. Harrison; Louison, Osheouskeebee (Kappler [illegible], 2:119).

[28] Conway indicates that the, "legal separation . . . was m[illegible]d by both the facts that some Indians moved casually back and fo[illegible]s the agencies' contiguous boundary, and that the St. Joseph Pot[illegible] while located in the Chicago Agency, were outside its functional jurisdiction" (Conway 1972, 415-416).

> blew through it as it fell, taking out the hulls. After it was cooked with the meal it was called 'Pox-wox' (Mackey 1931, 5 col. 5).

First appearance of the "United Tribes" terminology. Some historians, Conway for example (Conway 1972),[29] have attributed considerable significance to the use beginning in 1816, of the term "United Tribes of Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi" in treaties with the Federal government. In fact, the treaty signed at St. Louis, Missouri, on August 24, 1816, was for the very limited purpose of resolving disputed claim to some lands which had already been ceded to the United States by the Sac and Fox tribes, and made no claim to set up a "United Tribe" of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi overall. Rather, it applied only to those members of these three tribes who were "residing on the Illinois and Melwaukee rivers, and their waters, and on the southwestern parts of Lake Michigan" (Kappler 1972, 2:132).

Intermediate-stage treaties.

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

American commissioners did not find it easy to get the Potawatomi to agree to cessions. In an 1818 letter to Lewis Cass, who was both Governor of Michigan Territory and Super-

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

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

intendent of Indian Affairs in Michigan (Leatherbury 1977, 21), the Chicago trader John Kinzie complained that the Potawatomi were:

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

Far more important than the 1816 "United Tribes" treaty for tracking the migration of the Potawatomi of Huron was the treaty signed at the Rapids of the Maumee, September 29, 1817 (Kappler 1972, 2:145-152). In addition to a general Potawatomi relinquishment of any title they may have had to the Ohio lands being ceded (Kappler 1972, 2:145), a part of Article 8 granting one section of land to Alexander D. Godfroy and Richard Godfroy (Kappler 1972, 2:148-149) by implication, and Article 16, directly, referenced the treaty of 1807 (Kappler 1972, 2:150), thus indicating that the Huron Potawatomi in particular were parties to the 1817 treaty and indirectly confirming later statements which said that the band had become Catholic at some time before it converted to Methodism in the 1840's.[30] The petitioner's

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[30] "Art. 16. Some of the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomy tribes, being attached to the Catholic religion, and believing they may wish some of their children hereafter educated, do grant to the rector of the Catholic church of St. Anne of Detroit, for the use of the said church, and to the corporation of the college at Detroit, for the use of the said college, to be retained or sold, as the said rector and corporation may judge expedient, each, one half of three sections of land, to contain six hundred and forty acres, on the river Raisin, at a place called Macon; and three sections of land not yet located, which tracts were reserved, for the use of the said Indians, by the treaty of Detroit, in one thousand eight hundred and seven; and the superintendent of Indian affairs, in the territory of Michigan, is authorized, on the part of the said Indians, to select the said tracts of land" (Kappler 1972, 2:150).

Potawatomi signers: Metea, Wynemac, Wynemakons or the Frog; Ocheackabee, Conge, Wankeway, Perish, Tonguish, Papekitch or Flat Belly; Medomin or Corn; Saguemai, or Musketo; Waweacee or Full Moon; Ninwichemon; Missenonsai; Waysagua; Nannanmee, Nannanseku, Meanqueah, Wawenoke, Ashenekazo, Nanemuckskuck, Ashkebee, Makotai, Wabinsheway, White Elk; Gabriel, or Gainiai; Waishit; Naonquay, Meshawgonay; Nitchetash, Skewbicack, Chechalk or Crane (Kappler 1972, 2:151).

Historical Overview points out that Moguago II was absent at this 1817 treaty ceding land in south central Michigan and reservations in the Detroit area (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 14). However, several of the known Huron Potawatomi leaders did sign, including Ocheackabee and Perish [Pierre Moran].

In 1818, Lewis Cass and two other commissioners again met with the Potawatomi. On October 2, 1818, at St. Mary's, Ohio, 34 chiefs, including Topinebee, ceded to the United States a tract of land beginning at the mouth of the Tippecanoe and running up the same to the Wabash River, and all claim to territory south of the Wabash, for a perpetual annuity of $2,500, half of which was to be paid at Detroit, and half at Chicago: this annuity was to be paid in silver, and the Potawatomi negotiated that annuities coming to them under prior treaties would henceforth also be paid in silver (Kappler 1972, 2:168-169; see also Leatherbury 1977, 21). Although this treaty pertained to Indiana land, two of the names of signing chiefs seem to have been those identified by other documents as Potawatomi of Huron.[31]

1821 Treaty: Establishment of the Nottawaseppi Reserve. The land cession made by the August 29, 1821, Treaty of Chicago (Kappler 1972, 2:198-201)[32] was the first that

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[31] Signers: Tuthinepee, Cheebaas, Metamice, Winemakoos, Meetenwa, Scomack, Chewago, Jowish, Checalk, Eshcam, Pesotem, Mescotnome, Wabmeshema, Shawano, Chacapma, Menomene, Wogaw [sic], Metea, Metchepagiss, Nautchegno, Osheochebe, Keesis, Conge, Onoxas, Petcheco, Shepage, Sheackackkabe [sic], Peaneesh, Macota, Mona or Moran, Mocksa, Nanouseka, Wistea, Mowa, or Black Wolf (Kappler 1972, 2:168-169).

Annexed schedule: James Burnett, Isaac Burnett, Jacob Burnett, Abraham Burnett, Rebecca Burnett, Nancy Burnett, children of Cakimi, a Potawatamie woman, sister of Topinibe, principal chief of the nation; Perig, a Potawatamie chief, one section of land on the Flint river where he now lives; Mary Chatalie, daughter of Neebosh, a Potawatamie chief, one section of land, to be located below the mouth of Pine river (Kappler 1972, 2:169).

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

directly affected the Potawatomi of Huron after they had moved to southwestern Michigan (Leatherbury 1977, 21-22). Lewis Cass and Solomon Sibley, as Commissioners of the United States, obtained from the "Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatamie, Nations of Indians"

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

This was Royce Area 117, lying west of the territory that had been ceded by the Treaty of 1807. This cession reserved five tracts of land for the use of the Indians (Kappler 1972, 2:199). From the phraseology, it is clear that these did not establish new settlements, but were reservations at existing villages:

(1) One tract at Mang-ach-qua [also written Maug-ach-quas] Village, on the river Peble, of six miles square. This location has not been identified--it is neither indexed by Tanner (Tanner 1987, 216) nor located on her Map 31, "Reservations 1783-1889" (Tanner 1987, 164-165).[33]

(2) One tract at Micke-ke-saw-be, of six miles square. This comprised two-thirds of Coldwater Township and one-third of Quincy Township, both located in Branch County, Michigan (Leatherbury 1977, 27, n. 96). In 1822, Joseph Godfroy arrived to establish a trading post on a bank of the Coldwater River, and become Coldwater's first white settler (Chuck-sat-ya-bish 1974). From 1823 onwards, Patrick Marantette (Godet dit Marantette), a young (born in 1807) trader

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auk-ke-bee, Aw-be-tone (Kappler 1972, 2:201).

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

from the Detroit area, was on the Coldwater reservation; he would later, by about 1830, represent the Godfroy trading post on the Nottawaseppi Reserve (for Marantette, see: Bishop 1883; Coffinberry 1878; Toll 1881; Denissen 1987, 2:796; for the Godfroy family, Denissen 1987, 1:535-536).

(3) One tract at the village of Na-to-wa-se-pe, of four miles square. This was located on the Nottawa-Sippe Prairie, which included Mendon Township, the western part of Leonidas Township, and the eastern part of Park Township in St. Joseph County, Michigan, and a part of Brady Township in Kalamazoo County (Leatherbury 1977, 27, n. 96)].[34]

(4) One tract at the village of Prairie Ronde, of three miles square. According to Leatherbury, this was located north of Cassopolis in Cass County, Michigan, for Wesaw's band (Leatherbury 1977, 27, n. 94). Wesaw, however, lived on Little Prairie Ronde in Volinia Township, Cass County, Michigan, while there was another Potawatomi village under Sagimaw further north at Prairie Ronde proper, northwest of the Nottawaseppi Reserve, and this is the village for which the reservation was surveyed: it was "Sa-kee-maus" rather than Wesaw who signed when this reservation was ceded by the 1827 Treaty of Chicago (Kappler 1972, 2:284).

(5) One tract at the village of Match-e-be narh[sic]-she-wish, at the head of the Kekalamazoo river. A footnote after the signing of the treaty indicated that this was to be for Match-e-be-nash-she-wish and was to be three miles square. According to Leatherbury, it was located at the head of the Kalamazoo River near the line between Hillsdale and Jackson Counties (Leatherbury 1977, 27, n. 95). However, the Federal government survey places the Matchepenachewich reserve right in what is now downtown Kalamazoo (Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Pet. 1994, Ex.).

In addition to these reserves, the 1820 Treaty of Chicago also made many smaller grants to individuals. They included: "To Monguago, one-half of a section of land, at Mish-

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

she-wa-ko-kink. To Pierre Moran or Peeresh, a Potawatamie Chief, one section of land, and to his children two sections of land, at the mouth of the Elkheart river" (Kappler 1972, 2:199-200). In return for the 1821 cession, the United States government promised the Potawatomi $5,000 annually for 20 years, plus $1,000 annually to support a blacksmith and a teacher (Kappler 1972, 2:200).

Life on the Nottawaseppi Reserve. The petitioner's Historical Overview states that,

> At this point in history, the political identity of the Huron Potawatomi changes. Rather than being referred to as Huron Potawatomi, they are referred to by the United States as Nottawa-Sippe because of their geographic location. Additionally, the political leadership of the band begins to become greatly influenced by French and American traders" (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 14-15).

This statement does not adequately take into account the fact that the population on the Nottawaseppi Reserve from 1821 through 1840 did not consist exclusively of the Potawatomi of Huron. Rather, the villages on the reserve represented several different Potawatomi bands, of which the Potawatomi of Huron were only one subgroup. When Federal Government documents referred to the inhabitants of the Reserve's villages as "Nottawaseppi" Potawatomi, they were applying this term to more than the single Potawatomi of Huron band in its two villages at Leonidas and Mendon. The Potawatomi of Huron continued to be paid their annuities under the Treaty of 1807 as a distinct group from the other Nottawaseppi Potawatomi residing on the Reserve.

The petitioner's Historical Overview states that, "Prior to the Treaty of 1821, there appears to be a gradual shift of political power from Moguago's village to Chush-ee-wes' village," but provides no source citation for this statement. It was probably based upon the narrative by Alice Marantette Bosset, granddaughter of the trader Patrick Marantette, published in Cutler's history of St. Joseph

County, Michigan (Cutler 1911, 1).[35] The Historical Overview continues by saying that,

> The shift of power may have been the result of the French trader Pierre Moreau [Moran]. Moreau, as a merchant, had failed in Detroit and moved to the Nottawa-Sippe Prairie and established trade with the Huron (Nottawa-Sippe) Band of Potawatomi. Moreau settled in Cush-ee-wes' village,[36] married a Potawatomi woman, and had seven children . . . In the Treaty of 1821, "Pierre Moran or Peeresh" is recognized by the Potawatomi and the United States as a Potawatomi chief, evidence of the growing influence of the traders" (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 16).

Pierre Moran married an Indian woman and had seven children: Sau-au-quett,[37] the oldest of four sons; Mo-Niss/Monice,

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[35] "The legitimate Pottawatomie chief at this time was Cush-ee-wees, but he had been supplanted by Pierre Morreau, a native of France and belonging to one of the first families of Canada. Meeting with reverses in Detroit in early life, he came to the banks of the beautiful winding St. Joe. . . they renounced the sway of Cush-ee-wees, then hereditary sachem, and installed Morreau in his stead. He reigned over them for many years until the oldest son, Sau-au-quett, became of man's estate and took the reins of government from his father, who was now in his dotage . . . at the close of the Black Hawk war; when Gush-oo-woo died and was succeeded by Pee-quoit-ah-kissee, a direct descendant of the Pottawatomie sachem. But . . . most of the Indians acknowledged Sau-au-quett as their head man" (Bosset 1911, 1:20).

[36] And, according to one version, supplanted him as chief (Coffinberry 1878, 491).

[37] His biography, including mention of a sketch made by the author in 1833, is in Coffinberry (Coffinberry 1878, 491-492).

"Sau-au-quett had a little squaw, who was quite a favorite with the old chief, who, when everything was pleasant and she was not under the influence of liquor, was comparatively amiable, but at other times was a fiend incarnate. She killed Quau-sett in 1835, the same who attempted to kill Sau-au-quett on the reservation in December, 1833. This murder, however, was condoned by the presentation of a horse, saddle and bridle to the son of the dead man, by Sau-au-quett, in accordance with the Indian custom and laws.

Sau-au-quett was killed at Coldwater, in 1839, by one of the tribe who was opposed to the sale of the lands . . . [knifed]. "The murderer was arrested by the authorities of the county of Branch, and held the custody. The friends of the murdered chief demanded the murderer, to be dealt with according to their laws and customs, but were refused . . ." The prisoner was released and went west in 1840 (Cutler 1933, 1:26-27).

Isadore/Setone[38] and Wau-be-gn/Wan-be-ga; and daughters, Betsy, Min-no-wis/Win-no-wis, and Min-nah (Coffinberry 1878, 491).

The Potawatomi of Huron were specifically mentioned in the treaty made on October 16, 1826 (Kappler 1972, 2:273-277). This treaty ceded a tract of land from where the northern border of the tract ceded by the treaty of St. Mary's intersected the Tippecanoe River, in a direct line to a point on Eel river, "half way between the mouth of the said river and Pierish's village" and included numerous individual land grants, including the following: "To James Knaggs, son of the sister of Okeos, Chief of the river Huron Potawatamies, one half section of land upon the Miami, where the boundary line between Indiana and Ohio crosses the same" (Kappler 1972, 2:276).

The clearest picture of the distribution of Potawatomi leaders and villages in southern Michigan during this period is in a "Report of Annuity Payment" from four commissioners, William Meldrum, Charles Noble, Whitmore Knaggs, and Jno. J. Deming, to Woodbridge. This payment was made at Coldwater, Michigan, on October 20, 1826 (Woodbridge Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, Reel 3). It specified a number of groups which do not appear on the published records of the Chicago and Fort Wayne agencies from this period, including several of the Nottawaseppi Reserve leaders, giving place of residence and population of each band. The commissioners stated that the total number of Indians represented was 847, "of whom probably not more than 500 were present" (Woodbridge Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, Reel 3).[39]

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[38] "The death of Isadore, or Setone Morreau, has been mentioned. He was poisoned by the squaw of a neighboring family . . . Isadore . . . killed his own sister, who was known to the settlers as Betts--her family calling her Nem-ee-na-os--stabbing her to the heart in a drunken frenzy, about two years after the 'big payment' in Colon township" (Cutler 1911, 1:26).

[39] The apportionment was as follows [emphasis added]: **O-Chaick, River Huron** (40); O-Kee-awe, Hog River (31); So-co-paw, Hog River (51); Au-be-tau-ke-jic, Hog River [numbers apparently counted with prior entry]; Nee-che po-gish, Macon (35); Que-qua, Stoney creek (48) Wa-sa-wan-quoi, Wolf Lake (17); Ma-qua, Bean Creek (29); **Che-Ka-na-buck, Macon** (17); Me-chi-wasce, res. Me-to-ne-pe-sick (20); **Wau-bee-gay, res. Nan-ta-wa-ne-pe** (12); Wau-be-ship-shee, Tuexeno (12); Me-she-wisce, R. Raisin (23); Mick-saw-bay, Ash-ka-bee (the Prophet) and Qua-sin, Cold Water; **Ash-ka-be, res. Mon-go-quoi** (114); Wes-sa-gaw, R. Raisin (23); Gon-te-wau-tuck, R. Iroquois (25); Chease-qua (Female), Miami Bay (5);

1827 Treaty: Enlargement of the Nottawaseppi Reserve by the "99 Sections". By a treaty signed at St. Joseph, September 19, 1827 (Kappler 1972, 2:283-284),[40] the Potawatomi ceded four of the five reserves granted them in the Chicago Treaty of 1821. They retained the Nottawaseppi Reserve and were granted an additional tract of land adjacent to the north and west of the remaining reserve (Manassah 1983, [4]). "This enlarged the Nottawa-Sippe reserve to 99 sections; lacking just seven sections of being as large an area comprising the four ceded reserves" (Leatherbury 1977, 24). The stated purpose of the cession was, "to consolidate some of the dispersed bands of the Potawatomi Tribe in the Territory of Michigan at a point removed from the road leading from Detroit to Chicago, and as far as practicable from the settlements of the Whites."

In addition to ceding four of the five 1821 reserves, at this time the Potawatomi also ceded reserves that had been made by the 1807 Treaty of Detroit: "two sections of land on the river Rouge at Seginsairn's village" [Wheeler-Voegelin says Seginsawain (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 409)] and "two sections of land at Tonguish's village,[41] near the river Rouge" [Wheeler-Voegelin believed that both of these may have been Chippewa in 1807 (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d.,

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Chip-bee-she-wa-no, Spotted River (34); **Cou-sha-wasce, R. Iroquois** (39); **So-au-quet, Slippery Elm R.** (38); Net-no, Portage River (21); Met-u-way, Prairie Round (71); Nau-nee-me-nick-skuch, Big Bridge (48); Gee-go-nick-skaw, Rocky River (15); Sho-ko-ock, Little Raisin (4).

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

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

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

[41] In 1891 court testimony, Francis Ash-ka-bee testified that he was a Huron Potawatomi, that he was born on Prairie Ronde, and belonged to the band of Potawatomi Indians of which Con-guish was the chief. At the time of removal, Ash-ka-bee was residing at Paw Paw in Van Buren County, Michigan, among the Pokagon Potawatomi (Phineas Pam-to-pee and 1,371 other . . . 1891, 35).

409)]; and "that part of the reservation at Macon on the river Raisin, which yet belongs to said tribe,[42] containing six sections, excepting therefrom one half of a section where the Potawatamie Chief Moran resides, which shall be reserved for his use" (Kappler 1972, 2:283). In return, the Potawatomi received 99 specified sections adjacent to the Nottawa Sape reservation (Kappler 1972, 2:283-284).

> From the United States perspective, the Treaty of 1827 was an amalgamation process where the individual villages lost their political identities and became a different political identity - the Nottawa-Sippe, a source of future United States confusion in dealing with the Huron Potawatomi. This is in contrast to the individual villages [sic] perspective who sought to maintain their unique identities (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 16).

Development of Indian Removal policy and its impact on the Michigan Potawatomi.

Beginnings of white settlement in the Nottawaseppi Reserve area. The Indian Removal Act was signed by Andrew Jackson on May 28, 1830 (Leatherbury 1977, 31). At this time, most of the Potawatomi remaining in southern Michigan were either on the lower St. Joseph River or on the enlarged Nottawaseppi Reserve.[43] A recent scholar has interpreted the development of pressure for removal to the group's location:

> The Nottawasippe band lived upon some of the most fertile and easily accessible farmland in Michigan that was very desirable to the settlers. Thus, they began to feel the pressure of removal almost immediately, although it was almost a decade after the Act's passage before specific attempts were made (Manassah 1983, [6]).

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[42] Reserved treaty of Nov. 17, 1807, at a place called Macon, and where the river Macon falls into the river Raizin, about 14 miles from the mouth of the river Raizin; Area 89 granted to Catholic Church of St. Anne of Detroit, treaty of Sept. 29, 1817, by Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomy tribes (7 Stat. 160:166, Article 16); Royce area 137 ceded by Potawatomis, Sept. 19, 1827 (Wheeler-Voegelin n.d., 408).

[43] For reference, see: Map 25, "Indian Villages c. 1830 Michigan Territory, Indiana, Ohio" (Tanner 1987, 134). Map 31, "Reservations 1783-1889" (Tanner 1987, 164-165).

It is in 1830 that documents illustrating the relationships of the Huron Potawatomi living on the Nottawaseppi Reserve to white traders and settlers begin to appear. On May 18, 1830, at Detroit, the group granted "one full section of land on the Na-to-wa-se-pe reserve from Potawatomi chiefs and young men at Na-to-wa-se-pe" to Peter and James J. Godfroy. The grant was signed by several of the men whose name's would become prominent in pioneer recollections of the region: Penenchese, Pit-goit-ke-se, Nah-o-te-nan, Ke-a-sac-wa, Sko-paw-ka, Ce-ce-baw, Na-wa-po-to, To-ta-gas, Pierre Morin, alias Perish; and We-say-gah. The signatures of Pierre Morin, alias Perish, and Wa-say-gah were witnessed by Richard Godfroy and Francis Mouton (Kappler 1972, 2:414). Francois Mouton[44] would later become the instigator of the 1844-1845 investigation of the Huron Potawatomi origins of the Pine Creek settlement by the Michigan Superintendency (see below).

Most secondary sources have relied for their descriptions of the Nottawaseppi Reserve at this time on a paper written over 50 years later by Alice Marentette Bosset, granddaughter of the trader Patrick Marantette:

> At the time of the first settlement of Michigan, the home of various bands of Indians, notably those of the Pottawatomie, Ottawa and Chippewa, were in the St. Joseph Valley and they were known as the Nottawa-seepe Indians. In 1821, at the treaty of Chicago, when the territory of this section was ceded to the United States, there were several sections or reservations exempted from the provisions of the general land laws, among them being the Nottawa-seepe reservation which included all what is now Mendon township, the western part of Leonidas, eastern part of Park and the township of Kalamazoo county lying directly north of these lands. On this reservation were the homes of the Nottawa Indians, and their tepees were distributed over its area. One of their villages was in Leonidas, another across the St. Joseph River from the present site of the village of Mendon, called

[44] "The first settler of Mendon township was Francois Moutan, who came to the Nottawa-seepe reservation in 1831, as the agent of the Godfroi trading post situated on the south bank of the St. Joe, opposite the site of the present village of Mendon. His daughter, Frances, afterward married Patrick Marantette, who became the agent in August, 1833, after he had served for ten years as Indian agent at Coldwater" (Cutler 1911, 1:34).

> Marantette's old trading post. The lands of this reservation were the choicest ones of St. Joseph county, taking in as it did part of the famous Nottawa prairie, the Burr Oak openings of Mendon, Park and Leonidas, and the fine timber land of Wakeshma and Brady . . . From 1823 until 1833 the government agent, Patrick Marantette, tried to get the Nottawa-seepe Indians to relinquish to the government the lands. . . .(Bosset 1911, 1:19).[45]

Although the Nottawaseppi Reserve was not ceded until 1833, white settlement in the region of Leonidas, Michigan, began in the spring of 1831 in the person of Captain Thomas Hatch, who then moved to the Colon area in 1832 (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 16). The same year, Peter and J. J. Godfroy established a trading post on the south bank of the St. Joseph River, south of Mendon (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 17)

"One of 1st contacts of the band on the Nottawa-Sippe Prairie with white settlers, Alfred Holcomb and family drove through the village on to claim lands they had staked out on June 4, 1831, in Athens Township" (Leatherbury 1977, 15-16; History of Calhoun County, Michigan 1877, 116; Portrait and Biographical Album 1891, 658). March 30, 1833, Alfred's brother Lucius Buell Holcomb[46] established a trading post on the St. Joseph River near Studley Bridge; in the spring of 1834 went into partnership with a man named Bennett in the town of Leonidas, Michigan; shortly thereafter started a store at Athens in Calhoun County; and "almost two years later," in 1836, "moved east over the line into Branch County. There it was that I first took quite an Interest in

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[45] "Each of these portions [of the Potawatomi Indian nation] had its head men or tribal chiefs, and no measure of national importance, such as selling their hunting grounds, etc., could be made without the sanction or consent of all the head chiefs. As it was difficult to get them all together, the work of inducing them to relinquish these lands was slow. Nor was this all; the peculiar status of the Nottawa themselves made the question more complex" (Bosset 1911, 1:19).

The petitioner's Historical Overview indicated that Marantette did not become part of the trading post on the Nottawaseppi Reserve until 1833, and noted that he would later become involved with the [illegible]ing and removal of the Potawatomi in 1840 (HPI Pet., Historical Overview 1986, 17).

[46] He died April 16, 1899, aged 39 years and 12 days, at residence of Mrs. Amos Watson in East Athens, Calhoun County, [illegible] (Obituary, unidentified newspaper clipping, HPI Tribal Office) Photograph (Roberts 1931).

the Indians as I had learned a good deal of the Indian language" (Holcomb 1891, 4). Records created by these individual traders provide much of the information available about the Potawatomi of Huron during the decade of the 1830's.

All of the above-mentioned traders were significantly involved with the Huron Potawatomi ancestors of the HPI, but other traders were on other parts of the reserve as well.[47] Supposedly, increasing contact with white settlers who introduced widespread use of whiskey led to considerable poverty and dissipation in the Nottawa-Sippe band during the early 1830's, when it had only about 50 warriors and a lack of weapons (Coffinberry 1878, 493).

Impact of the Black Hawk War, 1832. Although the events of the Black Hawk War of 1832 really had no immediate impact on American settlers in southern Michigan (see Map 29, "Black Hawk War 1832" (Tanner 1987, 152)), a war scare nevertheless developed in the region of the Nottawaseppi Reserve, although several settlers maintained strongly that the Nottawaseppi Indians did not represent a threat (Coffinberry 1878, 496-497; Weissert 1948).

> After a brief council of the Indians, in which the partisans of Cush-ee-wes and Sau-au-quett united, it was determined that if they were invited to an interview with the settlers by Captain Powers they would send a deputation to such an interview (Coffinberry 1878, 497).

In addition to the tribal leaders (Coffinberry 1878, 497-500), pioneer narratives of the period mentioned specifically Muk-a-moot (elderly) and Min-no-wis (the mother of children), the sister of Sau-au-quett (Coffinberry 1878, 494-495). Those young men of the Nottawaseppi who were of fighting age enrolled with Captain Hatch to fight the Sac (Coffinberry 1878, 499-500).[48]

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[47] See the 1832 discussion of a grist mill on Nottawaseppi Reserve, Township 4, Range 11, Kalamazoo County (NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 421, 19-21, January 13, 1832).

[48] Cutler's dating of Cush-e-wees' death as "shortly after the Black Hawk War" (Cutler 1911, 1:22-23) was incorrect. He signed the Treaty of Chicago in 1833 and apparently lived until 1836 (see below).

Treaties following the Black Hawk War. Following the Black Hawk War, Potawatomi in the Lake Michigan region made several cession treaties with the United States. Some had no direct impact on the Nottawaseppi Reserve, but nonetheless were signed by individual southern Michigan Potawatomi[49]. The one which did directly affect the Potawatomi in southern Michigan was signed on October 27, 1832, at Tippecanoe River.[50] It ceded land in Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan south of the Grand River, but excepted "a reservation for such of the Potowatomies as are resident at the village of Notta-we-sipa, agreeably to the treaties of the nineteenth of September, eighteen hundred and twenty-seven, and twentieth of September, 1828" (Kappler 1972 2:372)

This treaty also made numerous individual reservations, including several to named Huron Potawatomi.[51] The consid-

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[49] October 20, 1832. Treaty with the Potawatomi, 1832, Camp Tippecanoe (Kappler 1972, 2:353-356). Covers land in Illinois. Long list of signers (Kappler 1972, 2:354-355).
October 26, 1832. Treaty with the Potawatomi, Tippecanoe River (Kappler 1972, 2:367-370). Covers land in northwestern Indiana on Lake Michigan. Long list of signers (Kappler 1972, 2:368-369).

[50] Signers: To-pe-ne-be, Po-ka-gou, Sa-ga-nah, Pe-che-co, We-is-saw; Che-shaw-gun, Ghe-bause, O-saw-o-wah-co-ne-ah, Mah-gah-guk, Sa-gue-na-nah, Louison Burnet, Shaw-wah-nuk-wuk, Mix-sau-bah, Ne-wah-ko-to, Che-bah, Wah-cose, Ship-she-wa-no, Kaw-kaw-bee, O-ge-mah-caw-so, Mash-kee, Saw-ge-maw, Nah-che-ke-zhie, Mis-ke-qua-tah, Now-o-le-naw, Tuck-e-now, Marks Crume, No-nis, O-go-maw-be-tuk, Kaw-kaw-ke-moke, Ke-swah-bay, Win-keese, To-posh; Kawk-moc-a-sin, Sa-maw-cah, Ko-mack, O-guon-cote, Quis-sin, Chou-a-ma-see, Pat-e-ca-sha, Pe-nah-seh; Mix-e-nee; Pe-na-shee; So-wah-quen, Gib-e-nash-wish, Louison, Che-chaw-cose, Bee-zaw-yo, O-shah-yaw, Ash-kam, O-ketch-chee, Weh-zee-oness, Aub-bee-noub-bee (Kappler 1972, 2:374-375).

[51] Reservations to individuals: Wee-saw, three sections; Topene-bee, principal chief, one section; Pochagan, second chief, one section; Sau-gana, one section; Mam-qua, daughter of Sau-ga-na; Mie [sic]-saw-bee, one quarter section; "To Re-re-mo-sau, (alias) Panish, one section and one half section on the McCou, on the river Raison, in the Michigan Territory, which was reserved to his use at St. Joseph's treaty, of eighteen hundred and twenty-eight" (Kappler 1972, 2:373); To Saw-grets, son of Pier Moran, one half section; To Isadore Mo-mence and Wa-be-ga, sons of Pier Morans, one quarter section each; To Poch-a-gan's wife, one section; To Pet-qua and Kee-see, sons of Ma-kee-sa-be, one half section; To Neu-a-tau-no-ie, one half section; old Weesaw; Tou-se-quah, wife of Joe Baily; To-gah, a Potawatomie woman; . . . Other names include Barnett, Chadana, Ducharm, Le Clerc, Lacombe, Bertrand, Nedeau (Kappler 1 72, 2:373-374).
The U.S. patent to Mie-saw-bee [Mick.awbee] is for land in Porter County, Indiana; the U.S. Patent for Pe-nem-chis is for land in Will County, Illinois. "I have a description of the land in each patent"

eration was $15,000 annually for 12 years; $32,000 in goods to be paid as soon as they could be procured after signing; "$10,000 in goods next spring at Notta-wa-si-pa, and to be paid to that band, and pay their just debts, agreeably to a schedule hereunto annexed, amounting to twenty thousand seven hundred and twenty-one dollars" (Kappler 1972, 2:374). According to Leatherbury,

> Within the St. Joseph Valley Potawatomi at this treaty, representing the Nottawa-Sippe band, were "Ccishiwess, Chojack, Manduca, and Neautenaw." "Ccishiwess" must certainly be Cushe-ee-wes, the band's spokesman during the Black Hawk crisis. Neautenaw had come to the Nottawa-Sippe band from the Coldwater band about 1830 . . . (Leatherbury 1977, 60).

The Chicago Treaty of 1833: Unambiguous Federal acknowledgment. The Potawatomi of Huron did not sign the major Treaty of Chicago dated September 26, 1833, between the U.S. and the "United Nation of Chippewa, Ottowa and Potawatamie Indians" covering the western shore of Lake Michigan (Kappler 1972, 2:402-410; list of signers Kappler 1972, 2:404).

They did sign the "Articles supplementary" dated September 27, 1833 (Kappler 1972, 2:410-414), as the "Chiefs and Headmen of the said United Nation of Indians, residing upon the reservations of land situated in the Territory of Michigan, south of Grand River" (Kappler 1972, 2:410).[52] These ceded to the United States the Nottawaseppi 4-mile-square reserve established in 1821, the 99 sections reserved by the 1827

(Ware to Pamptopee, December 8, 1913) The patent to Neu-a-tau-naut is recorded in the office of the Register of Deeds of Marshall County, Indiana, Liber A, page 618; that to Petqua and Kee see in Kosciusko County, Indiana, Liber 86 of Deeds, page 422 (Ware to Pamptopee, December 11, 1913).

[52] Signers [emphasis added]: To-pe-ne-bee, We-saw, Ne-kaw-no-shkee, Wai-saw-ok-o-ne-aw, Po-ka-gon, Kai-kaw-tai-mon, Pe-pe-ah, Ne-see-waw-bee-tuck, Kitch-ee-bau, Pe-chee-ko, Nai-gaw-geucke, Wag-maw-kan-so, Mai-go-sai, Nai-chee-wai, Aks-puck-sick, Kaw-kai-mai, Mans-kai-sick, Pam-ko-wuck, No-taw-gai; Kauk-muck-kisin; We-see-mon; Mo-so-ben-net; Kee-o-kum; Maatch-kee, Kaw-bai-me-sai, Wees-ke-qua-tap, Ship-she-wuh-no, Wah-co-mah-op-pe-tuk, Ne-so-wah-quet, Shay-o-no, Ash-o-nees, Mix-i-nee, Ne-wah-ox-sec, Sauk-e-mau, Shaw-waw-nuk-wuk, **Mo-rah**, Suk-see, Quesh-a-wase, Pata-e-go-to, Mash-ke-oh-see, Mo-nase, Wab-e-kaie, Shay-oh-new, **Mo-gua-go**, Pe-qua-shuc, A-muwa-noc-sey, Kau-ke-che-ke-to, Shaw-waw-nuk-wuk (Kappler 1972, 2:411).

treaty, and the 49 sections of Topenebe and Pokagon's reserve (Kappler 1972, 2:410). In compensation for these cessions, "the said chiefs and head-men and their immediate tribes" received $100,000 in compensation, $25,000 in goods and provisions, and $40,000 additional money for annuities. The signers agreed that "all the Indians residing on the said reservations in Michigan shall remove therefrom within three years from this date, during which time they shall not be disturbed in their possession, nor in hunting upon the lands as heretofore" (Kappler 1972, 2:411).

A supplementary article to the supplementary articles provided rather vaguely that "a part of the band residing on the reservations in the Territory of Michigan" might "on account of their religious creed" remove to L'Arbre Croche in northern Michigan rather than going west, and receive their annuities there (Kappler 1972, 2:413). Neither which part of the bands nor which religious creed was specified, although Pokagon, Sinagowa, and Pepeyah and at least some members of their villages later claimed the exemption. These leaders founded the modern Pokagon Potawatomi (PINI. However, many other Catholic Potawatomi were removed west.

Clearly, the marks of both Cushewess (as Quesh-a-wase) and Moguago, of the Huron Potawatomi on the Nottawaseppi Reserve, are attached to the September 27 Supplementary Articles of the 1833 Treaty of Chicago which ceded the Nottawaseppi, in spite of the contention of the petitioner[53] and later pioneer recollections[54] that they did not sign.

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[53] "The legitimate chief of the Huron Potawatomi was Cush-ee-wes who maintained that illegitimate chiefs had signed the Treaty of 1833, and therefore, the treaty was illegal and not binding upon the Michigan Potawatomi. Cush-ee-wes was opposed to accepting payment . . . but acceptance was supported by Pierre Moreau and Sau-au-quette (HPI Pet., Historical Overview 1986, 18-19).

[54] ". . . old Chief Moguago (John's father), who was killed on his way home from Chicago to Nottawa Sepee reserve, where he lived, because he would **not** [emphasis added] sign the treaty held at Chicago in 1833 [sic], to sell the Nottawa Sepee reserve, which is ten miles square including a large part of Nottawa prairie" (N.P. Hobart to Charles Dickey, December 25, 1878, *in* Dickey 1881, 369).

"In the fall of 1833, the government having almost despaired of getting the Indians to relinquish the reservation, induced Sau-au-quett and a few others of his followers to cede the lands to the United States. They were to receive about $30,000 and be allotted lands west of the Mississippi . . . After two years' peaceable possession of reservation, the first payment . . . was made on the reservation the Marantette homestead, across the river from Mendon village" (Quaife 1911, 1:20).

The tribe's members were reluctant to accept the treaty provisions. According to the petitioner's oral tradition, Moguago II was injured in an intertribal melee at the Treaty of Chicago and seriously hurt; his daughter Mart-che and her sister loaded him on a litter and carried him home (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 18). A letter written less than ten years later confirmed that he died near this time: "the principle Chief of the Huron Pottawatomies of Notaway ceppee Indians was the same Mogogo Father he died on his Return from the Chicago Treaty" (Letter Holcomb et al. to Hammond, 1842, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 53, 369-370).

Payment of the goods promised under the Supplementary Articles to the Nottawaseppi Reserve Indians took place at Patrick Marantette's trading post south of Mendon, under the direction of Governor George B. Porter, on December 17, 1833 (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 18). The notion that Sau-au-quet was a leading figure in the cession seems to stem from a narrative written nearly 70 years later by Marantette's granddaughter:

> The first December of the same year (1883) [sic, should be 1833], for nearly a week the Indians were camping on the bank of the old St. Joe . . . but refusing to confirm the treaty by receiving [goods from the government agent], as they had consulted among themselves and had concluded that Sau-au-quett and his followers had no authority to cede their lands (Bosset 1911, 1:20).

The gathering in December 1833 at Marantette's trading post was marked by an attempt by Quau-sett,[55] an opponent of the reservation's sale, to shoot Sau-au-quett (described as dressed in half an army uniform given him by Governor Porter, a plumed hat, sabre, and pistols, and drunk), which was followed by Sau-au-quett's wounding of Quau-sett with his sword.

> After much delay, the Indians were finally induced, largely by Sau-au-quett, to receive their first payment, about ten thousand dollars' worth of calicoes, trinkets, blankets, knives, tobacco, pipes, saddles, bridles, guns, hatchets, etc., which were distributed to them under the supervision of Governor Porter, by Messrs. Marantette, La Borde and Navarre (Cutler 1911, 1:24).

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[55] Also spelled Quicet (Weissert 1947?).

Marantette's granddaughter recalled that,

> The Indians finally accepted the provisions of the treaty and received their money at the earnest solicitation of Sau-au-quett who said, "I did sell this land, and I would sell it again for two gallons of whiskey." The bad blood this engendered among the Indians was only wiped out by the murder of Sau-au-quett at Coldwater in 1839,[56] by one of his band who opposed the sale" (Bosset 1911, 1:-21).

Sau-au-quett's grandson, however, remembered the events somewhat differently:

> Agent by name of Porter was sent to make a deal with Swaquet (Saw-go-quet). Agent told him he wanted to buy land and timber (this was the old 'Indian reserve' west of Bennett's, near Leonidas). Chief told him if we sell this land you drive us out pretty soon.
>
> He said, 'No you and children on down, can have it as long as you live.'
>
> The agent went back to Washington. Jackson was then president. He told him to go back and take a keg of whiskey. Tell him his white father sent it to him. he did so and after two or three drinks the chief began to be talkative. He said will sell land if you give privilege of game so long as Indian live. Agent went away after chief signed. The Indians were very angry and killed the chief (Mackey 1931, 5 col. 4).

Salathiel C. Coffinberry, a lawyer, artist, and author from Constantine, Michigan, made a crayon sketch of Sau-au-quette in 1833 (reproduced Weissert 1947b) and left a very favorable description of his physical appearance and oratorical ability (Coffinberry 1878, 492-492). Weissert described him as one of the group of "not chiefs" who sold the Nottawaseppi Reserve without tribal assent (Weissert 1947), though in

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[56] Coffinberry, on the other hand, recorded a long anti-whiskey speech supposedly made by Sau-au-quette and indicated that he was in favor of selling the reserve and emigrating west because he believed that whiskey was causing the Potawatomi to become degraded (W[illegible] 1947?). Also, Lucius Buell Holcomb recalled that a "Shak-Wak[illegible] Wah" was alive during the 1840 removal, coming to tell Holcomb that his wife and children had been taken by the soldiers (Holcomb 189[illegible]

fact Sau-au-quette was not a signer of the treaty, nor were some of the other names listed by Weissert.

From the Treaty of Chicago to Removal. One year later, on December 4, 1834, a Lt. Sibley of the U.S. Army reported that he was unable to locate the Potawatomi of Huron to pay them (Sibley to Fleming, December 4, 1834, NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 421, 619-620). Somebody apparently did find them, however, as the records of the Office of the Second Auditor, United States Treasury, indicated that annuities to the Potawatomi of Huron were paid from 1831 to 1836 by Thos. J.F. Casten and L.T. Jamison (McCullen to Crawford, May 10, [illegible], NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 425, 682-683).

After the treaty of 1833, conditions on the Nottawaseppi Reserve deteriorated rapidly. "Settlers located lands on the reservation in the two years between 1833 and 1835. Morreau was dead, Isadore had been poisoned, Sau-au-quette warned by the death of his brother and of the chief, Sag-a-mo, of Chicago, was not able to command the people as before" (Cutler 1911, 1:25). Nonetheless, the Indians maintained their rights under the treaty. Marantette's granddaughter's recollection that they protested white incursions[57] (see also Weissert 1946?) is confirmed by OIA records.[58]

The petitioner's materials state that Cush-ee-wes died of pulmonary consumption in 1836.[59] Pee-Oqoit-Ah-Kis-See, a descendant of the traditional chiefs, assumed the Huron Potawatomi leadership, but his authority was undermined by

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[57] "In 1835, which was the time the Indians were to leave the reservation, they had refused, claiming that the whites had encroached upon their lands and had not lived up to the terms of the treaty. Thus matters went on until 1840, . . ." (Bosset 1911, 1:21).

[58] January 15, 1835. Remonstrance of Pottawatamie Tribe or nation of Pokagon Reserve & Nottawasepi Reserve against incursions of white settlers (NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 427, frames 0015-119, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs 1824-80. Michigan Supdcy., Emigration, 1830-48; Reserves, 1837-48).

[59] This date is not well-documented. One source indicated that the Huron Potawatomi chief died shortly after the end of the Black Hawk War (Bosset 1911, 1:20; Cutler 1911, 1:22-23). A chief named Co-shae-wais (Tree Top) signed the 1846 Potawatomi treaty in Kansas with other leaders who had been removed (Kappler 1972, 2:559). Neither is it known whether the Wab-na-ne-me, or White Pigeon; and Etwa-gee-shuck who signed the 1846 treaty are identical with the same-name men who were later active among the Michigan Potawatomi.

Sau-au-quette and Muck-a-moot[60] (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 20). In 1845, the Office of the Second Auditor, U.S. Department of the Treasury, reported that the Huron Potawatomi annuity had not been paid since 1836 (McCullen to Crawford, May 10, 1845, NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 425, 682-683), but the 1839 Michigan Superintendency report to the Office of Indian affairs continued to list the Potawatomi of Huron among "minor tribes" in the state (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 38, 131).

The group's leadership at this juncture is not entirely clear. Sau-au-quett was supposedly killed in 1839 by a member of the tribe (Butler 1911, 1:25). The petitioner states that he was assasinated by Kakamoto for signing the Treaty of 1833 (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 20), even though his signature does not appear on the Supplementary Articles to that treaty. Leatherbury stated that "Young John" Moguago, the son of Moguago II, emerged as the head chief of the band upon the death of Sau-au-quett (Leatherbury 1977, 100).

REMOVAL AND RETURN: ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PINE CREEK RESERVATION

Removal and removal avoidance; return of Pine Creek settlement members from Kansas.

> [The Potawatomi] demonstrated great reluctance to migrate west of the Mississippi. Until 1841 they resisted removal and tried to subsist on annuity payments. But by that date they were finally forced out of their former lands to a reservation along the Osage River in Kansas. . . . Meanwhile, in lower Michigan, a substantial number of highly acculturated Potawatomi hung on, living in small settlements on the fringes of American population centers (Clifton 1978, 737).

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[60] On Muck-a-moot or Mack-e-moot, see statement of B. O. Williams, Lansing, Michigan, February 6, 1879 (Dickey 1881, 370-371).

According to the Indiantown Inklings column, "Joseph Mack-Mood, of Walpole Island, he was here two weeks ago, visit his relative. His father Pottawatomi Chief. This old Mack-Mood he went with his tribe to west. Joseph Mack-Mood he was small, the time government emmigrated with Pottawatomies" (Vicksburg Semi-Weekly Commercial 4(95):8, October 31, 1905).

Removal of the Potawatomi in Indiana and Illinois had proceeded sporadically throughout 1836, 1837, and 1838. By 1839, efforts were underway to impel the removal of those in Michigan. On July 6, 1839, one of these removal agents, Rev. Isaac Ketchum, held council with the villages on the Nottawaseppi reservation. Although the report indicated that Ketchum was meeting with the Potawatomi remaining in Michigan and Indiana (Indian Council 1886, 170), a reference later in the report to "three nations" implies that other tribes may have had representatives present as well (Indian Council 1886, 171). In response to Ketchum's "carrot and stick" speech urging them to acquiesce in removal, Muckmote said that "the three nations" had consulted and did not wish to be removed:

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

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

During the summer of 1840, the southwestern Michigan Potawatomi, with the exception of the Catholic bands who claimed specific exemption under the Treaty of 1833,[61] were forcibly removed west of the Mississippi by the United States army, under General Hugh Brady. Many avoided removal by

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[61] According to L. B. Holcomb, not all of the Catholic Indians were exempted. His description of the 1840/41 winter camp on the Osage River in Kansas, with between 4,000 and 5,000 Indians, divided them into "three Different Bands the Wabash Indians . . . then the Kankakee Prarie Indians Then came the St. Joseph Indians $20 dollars a head that composed Nottaway Sippie and Po ka gon Indians all called the Catholic Indians" (Holcomb 1891, 6).

going to Canada (Clifton 1975a),[62] but others were intercepted by American troops on the way (Holcomb 1891, 5).

The precise sequence of events for individual founders of the Pine Creek settlement is clear for some, but vague for others. In a deposition made in 1891, William Cawcawba said that his father had not gone west, and it was his understanding that individuals did not have to go if they didn't want to (Phineas Pam-to-Pee and 1,371 Other 1891), but other records list his father, under the name of Whetstone, as an 1842 returnee (Hobart to Dickey, December 25, 1878, *in* Dickey 1381, 369).[63] Pamptopee, apparently, was captured twice and escaped twice in Michigan, although N.P. Hobart thought he had escaped with Moguago in Illinois (Dickey 1881, 369). John Moguago was captured, but escaped in Illinois, though various documents have various interpretations of the surrounding circumstances.[64] Marcheonoqua[65]

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[62] "About the year 1840, after the white settlers came, the soldiers took the Indians away, starting from the Wakeman house in Mendon. When they reached the Mississippi, they went by steamboat to St. Louis, thence to Holy Cross, Pottawattomie Co., Kansas (Mackey 1931, 5 col. 4-5).

"The General had some trouble in getting them together, though he finally succeeded in collecting about 250, more or less, at my house, from which place they commenced their journey west. Some, however, succeeded in escaping to Canada before they left the state. Among those who died in Canada was Checum-quassy, Ne-aw-ta-naw, Baw-bees, Wap-ot-asko, and Ne-au-to-beer-saw, otherwise called Leathernose" (N.P. Hobart to Hon. Charles Dickey, Athens, Dec. 25, 1878, *in* Dickey 1881, 369; see also "Statement of Cornelius Osborn" of Mason Valley, Nevada *in* Dickey 1881, 369-370).

Annuity due to the "Pottowattomies of Huron" under the treaty of 17 November 1807 remains unpaid, from the difficulty of tracing the claimants. They are at this time in Upper Canada, having eluded the removal efforts of General Brady's agent in 1840. "Should any further payment of annuities be made while they remain east of the Mississippi River?" (Schoolcraft to Crawford, January 25, 1841, NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 424, 771; NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 38, 451).

[63] "The following families made their escape, returning after a time to their old hunting ground: Bill Caw-caw-ba's father, John Mo-gua-go, John Pamp-to-pee and family" (Mackey 1931, 5, col. 4-5).

[64] "It was made and connived that Ma-gua-go would leave the Emigration and Return to Back and He Returned as he sayed he would the way he contrived and made his plan was Shrewed and Did suceed . . . [the troops] then seemed to feel Disapointed For he was one of the Main Chiefs, the one they mostly wanted to take away as he Always Refused Saying His Father not signing the Treaty of thirty three as he dyed the Day said Treaty was made" (Holcomb 1891, 5).

"In LaSalle Co., Illinois, a halting place called Holdeman's grove, "Here Maguago and his family, fearing assassination at the hands

and her family were taken to Kansas, but returned the next year with interpreter Lucius Buell Holcomb.

According to Holcomb's 1891 memoir (now in the Kingman Museum, Battle Creek, Michigan), during the winter of 1840/1841, the Potawatomi camped on the Osage River, about 100 miles from Independence, Missouri. Holcomb remained and camped with them for about three months until a payment of about $20 per person was made to the Nottawasippe Potawatomi, after which Holcomb and 11 of the band hired a team and headed back to Independence where they stayed the rest of the winter (Holcomb 1891, 6-7). In the spring they went, first by boat and then overland, back to the Nottawasippe Prairie where, in Holcomb's inimitable style,

> we came to the Town of Athens Evry one Glad to see the Indians once more. It has been so lonesome they we [sic] would have stay. Some thought it was wiced [sic, "wicked"] to take them of away among wild Indians whar they would be so Lonesome and on the open Prarie they cant make Sugar to Eat (Holcomb 1891, 6).

They soon located John Moguago, who had had a long, lonesome winter with plenty to eat, but only three people to eat it.

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of some of his tribe for his acts in securing their removal, secreted themselves until the search for them was given up, when they retraced their way to the reservation, and his descendants lived for many years thereafter in the township of Athens, Calhoun county" (Cutler 1911, 1:25).

[65] "After a year or two Mart-che and her mother, Quish-harris, and families, eight in number, told the agents they were lonesome to go back where their folks were buried. Mart-che being married to a white man, they were allowed to return" (Mackey 1931, 5, col. 4-5).

Among this group was young John Moguago's sister, March-no-qua (also written Mar-chee-o-no-qua and Mar-chee) and her four children, including daughter, Pont-sig-na. . . March-no-qua was the medicine woman of the Nottawa-Sippe band . . . apparently her four children were fathered by her first husband, who was also an Indian, but this is not certain. Her second husband, the trader Captain Hatch, might have been the father of one or more [ca. 1831-32] (HPI Pet., Historical Overview 1986, 16; Van Buren 1886, 10:148)], but this is rather unlikely. After she left Hatch, Marchc-no-qua married, or cohabited with, Lucius Buell Holcomb for a number of years before she left him too. She and Holcomb had no children (Leatherbury 1977, 95, n. 331).

Mar-chee-o-no-qua was the widow of Shawket. She had at least four children - three sons and a daughter - Mandoka, Mackey, Meme and Ponseekman. In later generations, the Mandokas assume the name Mandoka, Mandokey, or Mandokeys-aw-go-quate. Mackeys assume the name of either Mackey or Shaw-go-quate (HPI Pet., Historical Overview 1986, 15).

The group picked out a place to raise crops--the same place, said Holcomb writing in 1891, that they now owned and lived on (Holcomb 1891, 6).

Development of the Pine Creek settlement. One historian lamented a lack of information about the early settlement at Pine Creek:

> Almost surprisingly, there is more conflicting information concerning the Nottawa-Sippe band after removal than there was prior to removal. This conflicting information concerns: how the band acquired the land upon which their present settlement, known as Indiantown, is located; who aspired to the chieftainship of the band; and how many of the band were residing at the settlement at different times after 1840 (Leatherbury 1977, 97).

This lament is simply based on an over-reliance on published narratives and an under-reliance on unpublished OIA documentation. The sequence of events is well recorded.

Background of resumption of annuity payments from OIA in 1843. The Office of Indian Affairs did not lose sight of the Potawatomi of Huron issues in the confusion of removal. On April 17, 1841, agent Henry Schoolcraft wrote to the COIA that:

> The band of "Pottowattomies of Huron" as specified in your communication of the 9th instant, are bound no doubt in general terms by the agreements of the leading men of the tribe in southern Michigan and Illinois to emigrate westward with their brethren, from whom they are however separated . . . (Schoolcraft to Crawford, April 17, 1841, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 38, 498-499).

Many years later, a tribal member recalled that an Indian agent had told those removed to Kansas that they were entitled to certain monies in Michigan:

> [The Potawatomi agent in Kansas told Marcheonoqu and the other returnees] "you folks got lots of money in Washington." He gave them an order telling them to give it to the agent when they got home. It took them nearly all winter to make the trip, walking all the way from Illinois, huntin

> fishing, resting on the way. They arrived in the spring. In the fall, they heard the Indians at Gun prairie were being paid off. Mart-che and family gave the written order to the agent. He told them, "next time I come I'll bring this money. It belongs to you." All those who were taken west were called Huron Pot'awattomies. One year after, the agent came and paid the eight, but those who made their escape were not listed as Hurons and received no payment (Mackey 1931, 5 col. 5).

During the late summer of 184 , one of the Huron Potawatomi who had avoided removal by going to Canada got in touch with the Rev. Leonard Slater, head of the Ottawa Colony Baptist mission at Gull Prairie in Barry County, Michigan. On September 9, Slater wrote to Indian Agent Robert Stuart about the possibility of having the Huron Potawatomi back annuities paid to this man, Naotenon.[66] At this time, apparently, Slater was under the impression that Moguago was among the Huron Potawatomi in Canada.[67]

L.B. Holcomb, writing in 1891, nearly 50 years later, recalled that in the fall of 1842,

> we herd [sic] there was going to be an Indian payment out at Gull Prarie Barry County So we made perpperation [sic] to go - It was the Taw wah [Grand River Ottawa] Indians that was drawing about 12 hundred a year annually. Slater was the Misionary that had charge there. It was about three weeks after waiting the paymaster came to

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[66] Indians desirous of patenting lands under treaty of Oct. 27/39, ratified Jan. 21, 1833. Saw wa quot, son of Micsawbee (Deceased), the only living son. Cangomo, section reserved for his father Neu-a-tunnant who is dead. Cangomo is the only living son (O.R. Baker to Richmond, Paw, November 25, 1846, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 60, 429-430).

[67] "Naotenon & some of his party visited me yesterday . . . the remnant of a large band of Pottawatomnies who have resided on the Nottawa Sepee reservation 30 miles from this place. The most of the party have emigrated to Canada & the well known Chief by the name of Moquohbo. Mr. Conner the late subagent informed me 3 yrs. since that there was $500 in the Treasury at Detroit for this band of Indians & requested me to give information to Moquohbo of the fact. As this chief is now in Canada, Naotenon the only headman who remains, wish[es] to pay himself & his party who desire to unite with these Indians in agriculture &c. this fall" (L. Slater, Ottawa Colony, to R. Stuart, September 9, 1842, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 53, 283).

> pay them I dont remember the number of Indians payd I helpt him pay them as I Did when I west $45,000 thousand. Soon after the payment Mr. Lee [Indian Agent William S. Lee] asked Me Who these Indians whare that not draw any money I told him they were Pottawamiii that came and That came back with Me From the Indian Teritory St. Joseph Pottamus he says do you no of any Huron Pottawatamus I told not that I new be so He said there was Some we used to pay a few of them 400 hundred annually But for Nine years we could not find anyone to pay it too and Talk of Sending Back to the Treasury as not finding any one to pay it too. I thought no more of the mater finely one evening shortly After Returning I happened to ask If Any one New of Any Indians living down on the Huron River this side of Detroit. O yes they new them well four or five families Pottayesus called Secarh - won was head man But now thoes all gone this way these children half Huron Father all Huron Indian then Mentioned more Then mentioned a few mor that was With them (Holcomb 1891, 6).

After Holcomb had discovered that some of his colleagues from the Nottawaseppi Reserve had a genealogical origin among the Potawatomi of Huron,

> for this News I sat Down and wrote Mr. Lee Indian Agt. that I had some of the Huron Pottawatamus with me & his answer was to Me Bring Down Two or Three & if Satisfactory proof then As he says Took three came to Detroit Enquired to the Indian Department was Directed. Found them in the office and Mr. Lee Recognised me I made my Businesf known and questioned them with a great many and Satisfied with these ware a part of the Rightful Ayers to this money and sayd he would Send it out to us in a few days gave us two Barrels of Flour and one barrel of Pork & we Returned to home (Holcomb 1891, 6).

In fact, the procedure was not that simple: Michigan Superintendency and OIA records from the late autumn and early winter of 1842 contain considerable correspondence about the matter (Stuart to Slater, October 31, 1842, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 39, 31-32; Holcomb, Hobart et al. to Hammond, December 3, 1842, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 53, 369-370; Stuart to Holcomb, December 16, 1842, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 39, 58; Holcomb, Moguago et al. to Hammond, December 25, 1842, NARS,

RG75, M1, Roll 53, 431-433). The Calhoun County group solicited assistance from Michigan State Auditor Charles G. Hammond, saying that 21 remained of "the whole Huron band" (Letter of Mogoowgo, Manduca and Maccee from Dry Prairie, Calhoun Co., MI, to Hammond, October 1, 1842, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 53, 367), but Stuart notified Hammond that he was not willing to accept their claim without additional evidence (Stuart to Hammond, November 19, 1842, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 39, 43-44).[68]

The group managed to secure the documentation.[69] There is no evidence in the contemporary documents of N.P. Hobart's 1878 claim that Charles G. Hammond went to Washington on this matter (Dickey 1881, 368-369).[70]

The Indian agency also continued to investigate whether or not Naotenon had a legitimate claim to a part of the pay-

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[68] November 19, 1842. Letter, Stuart to Hammond. In reply to letter from Magoongo, Manduca & Maccee, who claim to be Pottowatomies of Huron . . . how many of them are still within the limits of the Supty. I have not yet been able to ascertain--most of them have gone to Canada; . . . but from a letter lately received from the Revd. Mr. Slater, near Kalamazoo I am informed there are a good many in that region; and one Naotenon professes to be the head man . . . what I wish is full evidence; let them try to get this from respectable white men . . ." (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 39, 43-44).

[69] [December 3, 1842?] Letter, Holcomb, Hobart, Alvord, Stone, Kegers to Charles G. Hammond. "The Indians belonging to the Nottawa band that remain in this Region . . . number 23 . . . and they now live in this vicinity but they have been away near Kalamazoo and was there at the time the Taw-ways received their Annuities but do not belong there as stated by Mr. Slater and Neautenaw is in Canada and the remainder are removed west by the government. Neautenaw went to Canada previous to the removal of the Indians to the West." L.B. Holcomb added that he had gone west with those that went. "I was at Gull Prairie when Mr. Slater wrote to Mr. Stuart and know these are the same ones that he had Reference too. Thare are some more of the Pottawatmies in this State but don't belong to this band belong to the Pocagen Band of Indians of Indiana" (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 53, 369-370).

[70] Letter of N.P. Hobart, Atnens, MI, to Charles Dickey, Marshall, MI, December 23, 1878: "About the year 1844 we got on the track of some back pay (if you please to call it so) belonging to the heirs of old Chief Moguago (John's father), . . . Charles G. Hammond went to Washington and succeeded in getting something over $2,000 and an annuity of $400 for them, which is but a moity of what is equitably, I think, legally their right . . . (Dickey 1881, 368-369).

ment.[71] Moguago and his allies sent a great deal of additional information about the group's background to the Michigan Superintendency.[72]

> Mr. Slater & Mr. Cellcreek [sic, should be Selkirk] are both satisfied in their minds that they are connections of the same band and furthermore since I last wrote you their has three families returned from Canada one of the families by the

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[71] Indian agent Robert Stuart wrote to the Rev. Leonard Slater at the Ottawa Colony that he had money in hand to pay the Potawatomi of the Huron, "but who, or where they are, is unknown to me, nor have I been able to ascertain satisfactoryly. Naotenon, must furnish proof that he and his party are of the Pottowattomies of Huron, and the only ones of that Band in the U.S. How many of them have gone to Canada? In what part of Canada are they at present? How many men, women & children are there with Naotenon? Where did they reside at different periods before they joined your people. Please endeavor to trace them out, to their origin" (Stuart to Slater, October 31, 1842, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 39, 31-32).

[72] To Lucius Buell Holcomb, interpreter for the Potawatomi of Huron, Stuart wrote: ". . . your letter of 3rd. instant relative to the Pottowattomies who reside in your vicinity. Will you be kind enough to inform me, whereabouts they have resided for the last 20 or 30 years--who were their principal Chiefs from about the years 1816 to 1818. Have they always lived in Indiana? If not in Indiana, was it in Michigan, and if so, in what county, as our State is now laid off? Where is the Nottowa Seppee you allude to in your first letter as the place of their residence. What Treaties have they or their fathers made with the U.S. . . ." (Stuart to Holcomb, December 16, 1842, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 39, 58).

On December 25, 1842, from Athens, Michigan, L.B. Holcomb and Moguago wrote to C.G. Hammond in relation to Stuart's letter. "They have to council on the answers" "Result of the council, Mogwago Chief speaker of the council . . ." for 20 or 30 years in various parts of this section from Detroit as far west as the Nottaway prairie, principle place of residence when they raised their corn was Nottaway Sippee prairie St. Joseph county, M.T., not Indiana. Used to reside near Detroit to trade with the French; chiefs at that time were Minawba, Moguago, Coushiness. Treaties at Ft. Meigs with Gov. Cass and Gen. Harrison; treaty at Detroit which sold all east of the headwaters of the St. Joseph river and then all removed from The Moguago Town on the Huron and came to the Nottaway Sippe prairie; treaty of Logansport the chiefs were there but did not sell any land. "At the Treaty of Chicago all of our Chieves was thare what we ceded the last of our lands to the U.S. The principle mens names was Coishiness, Pequatcosee, Sanq[illegible] Pnashshese, Shipshowano, Muckeamoot, Moguago, Neautenaw . . . at the Treaty at Tipicanoe was Coishiness Chojack Manduca Neautenaw & . our red Brotheren at Grand river sent in word for us to come our thare that their Great father would give us money too. But not so [illegible] was of a different Nation he had not Brought any thing for us, none but for the tawways . . ." (Holcomb and Moguago to Hammond, December 25, 1842, NARS, RG 75, M1, Roll 53, 431-433).

> name of To-ka-paw [?], that always rcvd. his money at Detroit that he is connection to the Chief that lived on the Raisin River on the East Side a little down from the vilage Taw-was, was this uncle [?] those that is aquainte with the Indian tounge knows that the Indians have several names that they use for one and the connections of Ca-Me-cab-bee the other Chief his sons children lives here at this place four of them in number that is all that is a living that they know of In canada or Michigan thar was emagrated to the [illeg place name] one familie more died the same winter afterward , the name of S po his wives name ask-qua-cob-we-quy -- left one daughter that is all the Indians that is all the pap-ta-wat-a-mis that is living of that band . . . Mr. Dusham . . . knows all of them and knowed them when livng at Detroit If you want his testimony they can get it was a merchant in Ypsylanti when the Indians lived on the River Raisin" (Mo-gaua-go and Holcomb to Stuart, Undated [HPI OD Response indicates Sept. or Oct. 1845, but the records of the Michigan Superintendency, Letters Received, Volume 15, indicates it covered the period from July-December 1843], NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 55, 597-599).

Under these circumstances, it is difficult to ascertain how the agency reached the census figures for the group which it reported to the OIA in November (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 39, 40).[73]

In the final analysis, a payment went to the Calhoun County group in 1843. Holcomb recalled it as having been a payment owing them under the 1807 treaty:

> Regarding I dont Remember how long but a few Days after wards he came with the money and we met under the Burr Oak trees in front of Mr. Norton P. Hobarts House in Athens Calhoun County" (Holcomb 1891, 6).

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[73] Nov. 10, 1842. Abridgment of census rolls sent from Stuart to Crawford. Pottowatomies of Huron: 9 males over 40; 22 males 10-40; 17 males under 10; 10 females over 40; 24 females 10-40; 18 females under 10; total 100 (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 39, 40); see also: Stuart to Crawford, transmitting census. November 10, 1842 (NARS, RG 75, M234, Roll 125, 208).

However, circumstances indicate that the 1843 payment was a part of general Potawatomi revenues, while the payment of the Huron back annuities did not take place until June of 1845 (see below). By the time of this first payment, the group numbered 26 (Holcomb 1891, 7). "We had in the first place Ten Huron Indian Full Blods all dyed have pafs away the Kansas there May be Thirty the others are half blod Taw-ways & Pottawaamus" (Holcomb 1891, 7).

The documents associated with this investigation provide the researcher with two full lists of the group--lists which, unlike annuity rolls, include women and men who were not heads of households: one a list of those who "claim to be the Huron,"[74] and the other a group of adult residents in the settlement who had taken a pledge of total abstinence (see below in the discussion of ecclesiastical developments at the Pine Creek settlement). The investigation also clarified the group's origins and genealogy.[75]

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[74] Names of the Indians who claim to be the Huron Indians-brought the Rev. Mr. Selkrig Jany 3d '43: Moguago, Chief; Nenatoqua, woman; Eshsha w wat, girl; Rezekash, girl; Matchonoqua, woman; Mandokee, young man; Makee, young man; Meame, young man; Ponsiganum, woman; Takanazeo-qua, woman; Quao, woman; Thegamoqua, man; Sebequa, woman; Pamtepe, man, 6 children; Kishegaequa, woman; Mane, woman, 2 children; Kisheasnoqua, woman, 1; Pamaswek, man, 5 (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 54, 13, Michigan Superintendency, Letters Received, Volume 14, December 1842--June 1843).

[75] February 16, 1843. Moguago, Pamtopee, Manduca, Macceeteshick and Holcomb (interpreter) to Hammond. Holcomb had found one French man who "knew more than anyone else about the Potawatomi, had been a trader 47 years, knew these Indians when living on the Huron this side of Detroit, knew when they moved to Notaway Sippee, put a store on their reserve, knew their chiefs all when on the Huron and here too." When this trader, whose name was given by Holcomb as Dusham or Dusharm, wrote to the Indian agent, he stated:

> The chief Cemack ka bee was Grand Father to this Manduca and Macee the other chiefs Mogaw and Nau mee and Che naw me mac and Moguago Grand Father to this now-nogogo and Father to pamtepee that is now here was the principle Chiefs that resided on the Huron River known by the name of Mogaugon Town by the Indians there is one more chief that I remember Cousort or Sometimes call Cock kee another of Huron band the Neautenaw that Mr. Holcomb speaks of did not belong to that band came here some about thirteen years ago from the cold water band and is all prity much that went to Canada" . . ."their is none that noes of what band they are the oldest settlers no they are of the royal Blood their Father was principle Chief and when the Black hawk war he collected all of the Pottawatmies together at the French Store on Nottaway Sippee and took their Rifles away from them and put them in the

In spite of Holcomb's statement that the payment was made "a few days" after the group's visit to Detroit (Holcomb 1891, 6), it was not until May 7, 1843, that the COIA directed Michigan Superintendent Robert Stuart to pay the group. Additional information continued to come in to the Michigan Superintendency throughout the summer.[76]

On June 9, 1843, Robert Stuart did send John Moguago notice of an anticipated payment to all Potawatomi in Michigan (not specifically to Huron Potawatomi) at Ottawa Colony, Barry Co., about 15 October (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 39, p. 209). It appears that the payment made November 2, 1843, witnessed by L.B. Holcomb, was under the Supplementary Articles of the Chicago Treaty of 1833, rather than under the Treaty of 1807: 253 Potawatomi received payment of $1,587.50 for proportional annuities arising from the Treaty of 1829 and the Supplementary Articles of the Treaty of 1833.

> The payment was made to members of three distinct bands; Paw and Pokagon Bands, and the "Nand Day Way See Pee" Band. The "Nand Day Way See Pee" band is clearly the Nottawa-Sippe, with "Mo Gwaw Go' (John Moguago) designated as Chief of the Band

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trading house to keep the white people from suspecting them and even went to Chicago with the militia camp that went from St. Joseph Co." (February 16, 1843. Anthony Dudgeon for American Fur Co. to Stuart; Dudgeon to C.G. Hammond, National Archives Indian Field Service Records, Michigan Superintendency and Mackinac Agency, Letters Received, 1836-1851, vol. 14, December 1842-June 1843, February 16, 1843 (NARS, RG75 M1, Roll 54, 127; 131-133)).

Denissen's discussion of the Ducharme families at Detroit do not indicate an Anthony or Antoine as a member, although showing a trader with a Potawatomi wife whose children were born between 1789 and 1814 (Denissen 1987, 1:420-421).

[76] June 4, 1843. Moguago by way of L.B. Holcomb, interpreter, to Stuart. One more Huron family returned from Canada, eight of them, makes 35 at this place. Mentions Indians at the Daughpoy/Paughpoy (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 54, 637-638).

Moguago to Stuart [summer 1843]. "3 families returned from Canada, one To ka paw, always received his money at Detroit, connection to the chief that lived east side Raisin River down from the village Taw-was. . . Ca me cab bee the other chief his sons children live here at this place four of them in number . . . one family died in Missouri, Sup-po, his wives name Ask,qua,cob.we,qu, left one daughter. Mr. Dusham, merchant of Ypsilanti when they lived on the River Raisin" (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 55, 597-599).

numbering forty-six members[77] (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 23).

The Pine Creek settlement was paid again under these treaties in 1844 (Lantz 1992, 3). Clifton's history of the Pokagons stated that "after 1844 the Nadowesipe 'band' was never again identified, although many of the same persons and households were listed among the other settlements" (Clifton 1984, 80-81). This statement was inadequate. After 1844, the Nottawaseppi Hurons were no longer paid along with the Pokagons under the 1833 Treaty, but they did, after 1845, continue to collect separate annuities as Potawatomi of Huron under the Treaty of 1807.

The Michigan Superintendency continued its investigation of the possible Huron Potawatomi origins of the residents of the Pine Creek settlement,[78] and also broadened its inquiry

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[77] List of tribal members 1843 annuity rolls, Nand Day Way See Pee Band: Mo gwaw go (chief), 1 man, 1 woman, 1 child; Pa in thue bee, 1 man, 1 woman, 5 children; Way mit lay go shee quay, 1 woman, 2 children; Bay waw nee, 1 man, 1 woman, 5 children; Main jaw won o quay, 1 woman, 4 children; Tho cub aw, 1 man, 1 woman, 3 children; Men o quet, 1 man, 1 woman, 3 children; Men do kay, 1 man; May thay o maig, 1 man, 1 woman; Way saw aw zhick, 1 man, 1 woman, 3 children; Waw som o quay, 1 woman, 1 child; Way kay os in o quay, 1 woman (Lantz 1992, 1-2).

[78] July 4, 1844. Hammond to Stuart (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 57, 434).

July 5, 1844. Stuart to Hammond. Your favor of 3rd instant enclosing Mr. Holcombs communication. "I have not been able to procure any satisfactory evidence in relation to the Huron Pottowattomies, other than that the remnant of them have cast off their allegiance, and reside on Walpole Island on the British side of St. Clair River . . ." Should Mr. Holcomb be able to procure satisfactory evidence that a portion of them reside still in Michigan, I hope he will have it prepared for the Gent. who will pay the Pottowattomies at Richland Colony about 20th Oct. next, so as to enable him to investigate the subject on the ground; . . . (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 39, 470).

October 12, 1844. Stuart to Lee. Get all the evidence you can in relation to the Potts. of Huron--I do not believe there is one of them in that region, still ascertain what you can about it -- (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 39, 510).

After the above council/Card NAM M1 R.57.36/at request of Notawasepee band I met with them to hear reason for their claim to the Huron fund appropriated by US. They assert that their grand sires lived near Ypsilanti on Huron River many years since and that there is one person who is with them that left the Huron when a boy. These and like assertions were corroberated by testimony of Noonday and others. Since they will visit you I did not record their arguments, but I say this last has given more reason to conclude that their claim is worthy of investigation (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 57, 36. L. Slater (Ott Colony) to R. Stuart, December 25, 1844; Pokagon Pet. Appendix A-II, 64).

to include any other of the Potawatomi of Huron who might still be in Michigan.[79]

Finally, in January of 1845, Robert Stuart reported to the COIA his conclusion that the Pine Creek settlement did represent the only group of Huron Potawatomi still residing in Michigan and recommended payment under the Treaty of 1807 (Stuart to Crawford, NARS RG75, M1, Roll 32, 563; NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 425, 773-774).[80] On February 18, Moguago and Holcomb wrote to Superintendent Robert Stuart authorizing a Mr. Owen as their agent (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 58, 291), and Stuart wrote to the COIA again in April (Stuart to Crawford, April 18, 1845, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 39, 593).

On May 13, 1845, the COIA finally authorized payment of back annuities, from 1837 through 1845 inclusive, to those 30 or

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Signers, chiefs and headmen of the Ottawa and Notwa Sepee Bands: Noah qua ge shik, Mash coh, Wa sou sha, Min do ka, Wa num mette pee, Nda o mak, Wane ze ke to go, Ma se tou shik, A shoul mut, Pa woh na, Che ub woh be, Che gome e qua se, Coh coh ba, E to ge shik, Poose wot a me, Ne bah quon, Woh we ah tun, Ne tash i ma, Tom no ta a, Woh bine e to (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 57, 36-37).

[79] "Find out all you can about the Pottawatomies at Huron; that is Huron near Monroe Adrian and in this vicinity . . ." "you may be able to trace them out by their relationship to Tonquish &c." (Stuart to Lee, October 17, 1843, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 39, 333).

December 31, 1844. Request to call on James Godfroy to ascertain to what specific tribes & bands the few remaining Indians in the vicinity belong, whether Ottawa, Pottawattomies of Huron, Other Potawatomi, Wyandot, Chippewa, etc. (Stuart to Conant at Monroe, MI, December 31, 1844, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 39, 546). Same request (Stuart to Genl. John E. Hunt at Maumee, Ohio, December 31, 1844, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 39, 547).

February 13, 1845. Stuart to Charles Noble, Esq., re: Potowatomi of Huron (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 39, 569).

February 26, 1845. Charles Noble, Monroe, MI, to Stuart. Re: Huron Potawatomi. About 15 men, women, & children on & about Otter Creek, 8 or 10 miles south of this. Principal chief is Wan-ne-meg, the son of Mick-sa-bee head chief of the Pottawatamies. They may live farther up the creek than this (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 58, 279).

[80] January 15, 1845. Stuart to Crawford. "After a very protracted & troublesome investigation, I have ascertained that there are some 30 or 40 of the Pottowatoomies of Huron, still residing in this State; most of them located in the county of Calhoun; the residue of the band, with the principal chief, transferred their residence (and allegiance) to the Canada side of the St. Clair River, about five years since; these have several times preferred their claim to the annuity of $400, at this office, but were told that their Great Father would recognize no claim of Indians who had voluntarily deserted . . ." (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 39, 563; NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 425, 773-774).

40 Potawatomi of Huron who were still residing in Michigan. The remainder of the band, having gone to Canada, were not to be paid (Crawford to Richmond, May 15, 1845, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 58, 105-106). These dates were based on a certification from the Office of the Second Auditor, U.S. Department of the Treasury, that the Huron Potawatomi annuities had not been paid since 1836 (McCullen to Crawford COIA, May 10, 1845, NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 425, 682-683).

On June 9, 1845, the new Superintendent, William A. Richmond, traveled to Athens, Michigan, to deliver the accumulated annuities (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 24). Circumstances indicate that it was this payment in June of 1845 to which Holcomb referred in his 1891 narrative (Holcomb 1891, 6).

Purchase of the Pine Creek Reservation land. By the time the back annuities had been paid, the band had clear plans for the use of the money. The first was the purchase of the land which is now the 120-acre Pine Creek Indian Reservation. This took place in two stages: the first a purchase of public land from the Federal government and the second a purchase from a private party. On June 10, 1845, receipt No. 24,587 was issued to John S. Barry, Governor of Michigan "in trust for certain Indians," for 40 acres of land, cost $50.00.[81] The patent was issued June 1, 1848,[82] but not recorded in the General Land Office until November 25, 1884.[83] On August 12, 1845, William A. Booth and wife Louisa Booth deeded "to John S. Barry Governor of the State of Michigan and his Successors in Office forever in trust for a certain band of Indians residing in Calhoun County Michigan of which band of Indians residing in Calhoun County

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[81] Under provisions of An Act Making Further Provision for the Sale of the Public Lands - April 24, 1820.

[82] Land Certificate 24,557, Kalamazoo Land Office, dated June 1, 1848, to John S. Barry, Governor of Michigan, and his successors in office forever in trust for a certain band of Indians residents of Calhoun County, Michigan of which band of Indians Mogwago is now chief . . . signed by James K. Polk, for the North East quarter of the South East quarter of Section twenty, in Township four south, of Range eight West, containing 40 acres (HPI Tribal Office). The certificate was finally recorded in Calhoun County, Michigan, on November 25, 1884.

[83] In the 1873 atlas of Calhoun County, because this land certificate had not yet been recorded, the band was shown as being in possession of only 80 acres, the west 1/2 of se 1/4 of Section 20, Athens Township, MI (Leatherbury 1977, 99), registered in the name of P. Pamptwayhe (Leatherbury 1977, 100).

Michigan Mo-gua-go is now Chief party of the second part," for $280, the West half of the South East Quarter of Section Number 20 Township 4 South Range 8 West, containing 80 acres. The sellers were not local residents: the witnesses were from New York (Calhoun County, Michigan, Deed Book, November 22, 1845, 307-308).

Challenge to the Huron Potawatomi annuity payment to the Pine Creek settlement. Renewed "origins" investigation conducted by OIA in 1845. The payment to Moguago's band did not go unchallenged. On August 19, 1845, COIA Crawford wrote to William Richmond concerning a letter from a south-Michigan lawyer, the Hon. Mr. Chipman, concerning the annuity payment to the Potawatomi of Huron. Mr. Chipman's protest was based on an affidavit dated August 9, 1845 (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 59, 120-126), St. Joseph County, Michigan, in which trader Francis/Francois Mouton[84] (age 74, born at Fort Wayne, now in the State of Indiana) said that in 1802 he lived on the Huron of Lake Erie and traded with the Indians there and on the River Raisin for one year; then about 1830 moved to Notawa Seapee in the county of St. Joseph.

According to Mouton's affidavit, Moguago II had lived first at Shiawassee. He had then, about 36 years earlier, moved with his son and band to Notawa Seapee. Mouton stated that he had 'known the Chief of said Band, called Mon-qua-gon, more than thirty six years last past--First knew him on Notawa Seapee, where he has resided ever since." He then challenged the group's identity, denying that Moguago's band were entitled to receive the Huron Potawatomi payment. Mouton stated unequivocally that, "the father of Mon-qua-gon, the chief of said Band who received payment" was a Sioux, that his mother an Ottawa, and that the group were not Potawatomi of Huron.[85] Mouton declared that there was

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[84] See Denissen 1987, 2:879.

[85] Mouton said that alleged the Sioux/Ottawa ancestry was, "known by universal and undisputed representations, and declared by them in the presence of this affiant. This affiant declares upon his personal knowledge that neither Mon-qua-gon the present Chief of said Band nor his father or mother, nor any of said Band resided in the year eighteen hundred seven or eight, on the Huron of Erie, or the river raisin, or their vicinity, nor are they, or any of them Potawatamies, none of said Band ever resided near the Huron of Erie, the River raisin or their vicinity, than their present residence on Notawa Seapee, or Shiawassee, on the Shiawassee river. The Indians on the Shiawassee were a distinct people from, and had there neither connection, or intercourse with, the Indians residing on the Huron of Erie, or the river raisin or their

only one Potawatomi of Huron, named Wa-sa-suish, with Moguago's band, and that this man should have received the entire back annuity payment.[86]

The letter from Chipman and Mouton's affidavit resulted in a flurry of OIA correspondence with the Michigan Superintendency during the following month. On September 9, 1845, Richmond wrote Crawford, enclosing what he called "John Montore's" affidavit and saying he would make a report (NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 425, 725; NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 40, 15). On September 23, Richmond wrote to his predecessor Robert Stuart, mentioning Crawford's authorization for Stuart to pay annuities to the Pottawatomi of the Huron and Stuart's letter of August 19, 1845, covering copies of John S. Chipman's letter and Francis Mouton's affidavit. He requested Stuart's assistance in settling the matter "beyond further doubt" (Richmond to Stuart, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 40, 20).[87]

On September 24, Richmond wrote to Charles G. Hammond who had been acting as an advocate for Moguago's band (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 40, 21), and to Norton P. Hobart at Athens, Calhoun County, Michigan (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 40, 25), saying that he had received instructions from Washington,

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vicinity, in the year eighteen hundred seven or eight" (Mouton affidavit, August 9, 1845, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 59, 120-126).

[86] "This affiant saw at said payment an Indian and his family by the name of Wa-sa-suish, who claimed of the said superintendent the whole payment, on the ground that he was the only Indian of the Potawatamie Band in this state, who resided on the Huron of Erie, or the river raisin, or their vicinity in the year eighteen hundred seven or eight. This affiant well knew said Wa-sa-suish, when a boy, in the years eighteen hundred seven and eight, residing with his father and uncle Toquish, on the Huron of Erie; and has known him ever since. They were Potawatomies. This affiant knows said Wa-sa-suish to be a Potawatamie, he saw no other Potawatamie at said payment, who at that time spoken of, or at any other time, resided on the Huron of Erie or the river raisin or their vicinity. This affiant has known said Wa-sa-suish from his boyhood, knows him well now, lives near him . . ." (Mouton affidavit, August 9, 1845, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 59, 120-126).

[87] "As the question appears really to be as to the identity of those Indians; and as the facts upon which the action of the Department appears to have been based in its first order were collected and communicated by you while Supt. of Indian Affairs, I respectfully request that you will communicate the course of examination pursued by you, and the facts coming within your cognizance touching this matter, calculated to settle this question beyond further doubt" (Richmond to Stuart, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 40, 20).

D.C., suspending future payments to the Pottowattomies of Huron. He told Hobart that this order had been issued at the request of Hon. John S. Chipman, who had forwarded the affidavit of Francis Mouton, stating that "Way-saw-way-shuck" was the only Pottowattomie &c., and making allegations of corruption. He requested that Hobart inform him about what took place in "any previous meeting of the Indians--when Mr. Mouton & Mr. Marroutello [sic--should be Marantette] were present" (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 40, 25).[88] Richmond also requested a statement from William S. Lee, the agent who had actually made the 1844 payment to the Potawatomi of Huron (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 40, 26). In his 1891 narrative, L.B. Holcomb, interpreter for and associate of the Potawatomi of Huron during the removal era, blamed the entire 1845 intervention on the greed of Indian traders who thought they could make money off the payment.[89]

On September 25, 1845, Charles G. Hammond, in Detroit, wrote to Hon. W.A. Richmond, Superintendent Indian affairs, saying "In your note of yesterday you ask 'a statement of the facts coming within your knowledge touching the payment made to the Pottowatomies of Huron on the 9th June last'" (Hammond to Richmond, September 25, 1845, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 59). Hammond continued by saying that he had researched the

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[88] For this investigation, see generally NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 425, 695-701; 724-765, 772-774; 791-792; also NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 50, 26; Roll 40, 28-32, 34.

[89] "In the meantime the Indian traders had Heard of this payment was going to be payd these indians and thought they could make Something out of it they had coaxed one Indian his wife and little Boy to Refuse taking any Land but take their Share and never to ask any more annuity from the Goverment. Well they gave it and he went home with them got all of money about sevn hundred dollars and dyed and came to this settlement & got to life till she lived and Dyed here at and their Boy. I Remember of their telling of a certain payment at Monroe and paying them in beans. Real marable when they got home if they lost them. They was out one dollar in Goods. This was in order to keep them from spending their money with other Traders" (Holcomb 1891, 7).

group's history and genealogy,[90] and narrated the course of events:

> On or about the first day of May I called upon the Hon. T. Hartley Crawford, Chief of the Indian Bureau, asking his attention to the subject and giving him the general views of the Indians particularly their desire to purchase lands and cultivate them like their white neighbours, etc. By Mr. Crawford's favour of the 13th May, I was advised of his having directed a payment of $1200 to the Indians . . . The Indians then consulted together and agreed to purchase 160 [sic] acres of land, have a good log house built for each family, get an Ox wagon, dray, chains, schthes [sic], axes, etc. etc., and what money was not required for their purposes to be paid to them per capita. On Monday the 9th of June when I arrived at the place of payment, I found you there with the money counted on the pay table (Hammond to Richmond, September 25, 1845, NARS, RG 75, M1, Roll 59).

On October 10, 1845, COIA Crawford wrote to Richmond acknowledging his report of September 26 together with the accompanying papers, all relating to the Pottawatamies of Huron.

> From a careful investigation of all the facts set forth, I am clearly of the opinion that you have done your duty, and that the course pursued has been just and proper. There can be no doubt of the Indians, who have been paid, being the remnant of the Pottawatamies of Huron, who from various causes stated, have dwindled down to this small band. I do not think that any further trouble will be given you or the Department in this matter. My letter to you suspending the payment is, of course, withdrawn (Crawford to Richmond, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 59, 288).

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[90] "Early in April last being in the neighborhood of the Indians and their anxiety having made them clamourous, I met them by appointment at the House of Ashael Stone in the Township of their residence, and with the aid of two interpreters took down a history of the Indians, their genealogy, etc. to the third generation as given by themselves, which I exhibited at the Office of Indian Affairs [to] Mr. Stuart for the purpose of aiding him in deciding the question of their identity . . ." (Hammond to Richmond, September 25, 1845, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 59, ???).

By December, Superintendent Richmond was back in correspondence with Moguago on the use of the band's funds (Richmond to Mo-gwaw-go, December 22, 1845, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 40, 58).

Methodist missionary activity and its impact on the Pine Creek settlement. During the mid to later 1840's, in addition to the resumption of the annuity payments, the Pine Creek settlement experienced the beginnings of Methodist missionary activity. The resulting founding of a church at Pine Creek would do much to shape the settlement for the next century. The secondary role of the Indian leaders as lay preachers provided them with a public forum which was highly socially acceptable to the outside community, while observers noted that the strong values system of the Methodists did much to repair the social dysfunctions caused by the preceding half century of contact with Indian traders and white settlers.

Neither did the Methodist missionaries replace an intact native Indian religious system with Christianity: the Nottawaseppi Hurons were already Catholic prior to their conversion to Methodism (see above), although no information is available pertaining to the time or circumstances of their conversion to Catholicism, or the degree of their continuing contact with Catholic priests during the period they resided on the Nottawaseppi Reserve.

The Methodist missionaries to Michigan Indians did not come into an intact social and values system and destroy it. They came into a society which, as contemporary descriptions show, had already been severely disrupted by generations of contact with European traders, soldiers, and settlers and by the ongoing series of land cessions to the Federal government. Many of the traditional ways had already been significantly altered or had disappeared. The Methodists were attempting to replace a greatly changed ethos with a new one. In the process they provided the Pine Creek settlement with a church that also functioned as a social center, a school, and a level of bilingualism which enabled it to maintain the Potawatomi language within the community for many years while functioning well enough in English to conduct its own business *vis-a-vis* the outside world.

Background. Active missions to the Indians in Michigan were not confined to the Methodists: under the 1836 treaty with the Ottawa and Chippewa, the U.S. government subsidized new efforts by the Congregationalists and Episcopalians, as well as continuing support for the existing missions that had

been established by the Baptists and Catholics. The Potawatomi at Pine Creek had continuing contact with Rev. Leonard Slater's Baptist mission in Barry County (see above)[91] and with Rev. James Selkirk's Episcopal "Griswold Mission" in Allegan County,[92] both of which were established before 1840 (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 31). General Methodist activity in southwestern Michigan was accelerating in the later 1830's: the Wesleyan Seminary founded at Albion, Michigan, in 1839 began classes in 1841. It had a preparatory Indian Department (Passic 1991, 8; Brunger 1967), which several members of the Pine Creek settlement would later attend.

Total Abstinence. John Moguago's policy of total abstinence from liquor for his band predated the Methodist missionary activity at Pine Creek. As early as August of 1843, L.B. Holcomb sent Superintendent Robert Stuart a letter which enclosed the "pledge" taken by all adult members of the band--which incidentally provides a census of the adults as of that date (Holcomb to Stuart, August 8, 1843, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 55, 245-246).[93]

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[91] See: Hoyt 1907; Weissert 1932; Hayne 1944; Bolt 1967.

[92] See Selkirk n.d.; Humphrey 1902; Krusen 1948.

[93] Pledge to abstain from liquor. "The above are the Nottaway Sipee Band"

Males	Females
Mogogo	Wam to koo quaw
Tokopaw	March u niqua
Neshanha	Cee be qua
Ashiwut	Cisk te aw qua
Manduca	Nois sa quaw
Maccee	Kishcaw quaw
Tee tecce	Kis-che os no gwa
Meemee	Naw nat to qua
Pottawatamies	Qua G
Ne-bau k quaw	Ponceknumqua
Eto ke suck	Maw ne quaw
Pye On ten	Kan ke yark qua
Pam-te-pee	Do qua quaw
Kock kawba	Shaw n naw quaw
Wappee	Ka w koce qua
Y saw suck	Dack qua
~~Tenkansie~~	Kis cose ce quaw
Kesuck	
Mis en	
Mish ke awshe	
Kish to pee	
Nuckqut	
Mamgwe	

Methodist Missionaries 1843-1854. The same year, 1843, the Burlington Circuit, United Methodist Church was established, reporting 259 members (Sheridan Avenue United Methodist Church to Bobbitt, March 9, 1972). In 1845, Manasseh Hickey and Samuel Osborn were received on trial into the Conference and appointed to the Burlington Circuit. Hickey wrote long afterward, "Our circuit included parts of four counties, and we preached thirty-two times in four weeks" (Sheridan Avenue United Methodist Church to Bobbitt, March 9, 1972). In 1846-47, the "Nottawa Indian Mission" was part of the Burlington Circuit with H. Pennfield and M. Hickey appointed and by 1847 reported 41 Indian members (Reuter 1993, 160).

It was not until 1846 that Manasseh Hickey visited the Indian settlement at the junction of the Pine and Nottawa Creeks. At that time, he found them "strong in the Catholic faith," and said that they had been visited about two and a half years before by priests. The chief of the band, even after four visits by Hickey, was "satisfied with praying with his beads." The Indians were confused by the white man's "two religions."

> Later the chief, feeling ill, sent for Hickey to come and preach in his house, which was very crowded with both Indian and white. At the close of the preaching Hickey was invited to sit down and talk about religion with the chief and his people and the chief shared the history of the religion of his fathers. Upon Hickey's next visit, the chief and all the band gave indications of interest in joining the church. The Roman Catholic priest made two more visits but with no success (Reuter 1993, 161; citing Michigan conference Missionary Report, 1847, 92-93).

On September 20, 1846, Rev. Leonard Slater, wrote from the Ottawa Colony to Superintendent Richmond. "I have visited the Huron band residing at Notwa Sepee. They are decidedly in favor of temperance & a religious life, generally. Occasional visits have been made by itinerant preachers" (NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 426, 83).

Moguago's Band of 47 persons at Athens converted to Methodism, including John Moguago, age 65, and his mother, age 103

"The Pawpaw Pottawatomies Refuse to sign the paper . . . and the Nottaway Sippee Band is a different payment . . ." (Holcomb to Stuart, August 8, 1843, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 55, 247).

(HPI Pet., Ex.: Sheridan Avenue United Methodist Church to Bobbitt, March 9, 1972, citing to Friend Palmer's Scrap Book, Vol. XVIII-B, Burton Collections, Detroit).

The 1847 mission report indicated that the Pine Creek settlement was flourishing: the Nottawa Indian Mission had six log dwelling houses, one log school house, and a newly built frame barn. The Indians owned 120 acres where they resided and 80 acres of sugar land (maple sugar trees) about four miles away. They had a good crop of corn and potatoes and also had several acres of wheat, but hunting was needed to survive. Of the 60 in the band, 32 were adults and 28 were children; thirty were members of the Methodist Episcopal Church and all resided at Potawatomi Village. Good progress was being made at the weekday school and the entire band were scholars at the Sabbath school. Appropriated mission funds amounted to $150 (Reuter 1993, 161).

In 1848, Hickey's missionary report by Rev. Hickey stated that his translator was Mary, wife of Mandoka, educated like her sister Sarah[94] at the Wesleyan Seminary in Albion, MI (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 29). On January 10, 1848, another visit was made to the settlement by Catholic priests, but (at least according to Rev. Hickey) the chief told them he did not want "French preaching," for he liked the "Yankee preaching" better (Reuter 1993, 161; citing to Michigan Conference Missionary Report 1848, 93-94). Hickey reported that the settlement had a week-day school with 16 boys and girls ages 6-10; two students were attending the Wesleyan Seminary at Albion. He added that the members of the settlement were rapidly improving in their secular affairs also: most had good tables, chairs, bedsteads, and cooking utensils (Reuter 1993, 162).

In 1848, the Nottaway Indian Mission became a separate appointment from the Burlington Circuit. Manasseh Hickey

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[94] Possible identification for Sarah. Frank Little's reminiscences of the store he kept at Gull Corners (Richland), 1850-51. Arrival of Maungwudaus, a Chippewa chief, whose native home had been in northern Michigan, from Washington. Had been in an exhibit troupe trained by George Catlin. "He said he wished to organize a company of Indians on his own account. He had heard of Slater and Selkrig missions, and had come to Gull Priarie to see if he could find any suitable material for his band . . . I told him I knew a remarkably fine looking, Indian woman-Taundoqua by name--partly French I thought" about 25 years old "She had been attached to the Selkrig mission but was a frequent visitor at Slater's" (Little 1897, 336). The two of them married and left, but kept in touch--Maungwudaus had been ordained as a Methodist minister (Little 1897, 337-338).

continued as the missionary. However, he worked not only at Athens, but also at Thornapple Lake, on the Grand River, on the Maple River, the Flat River, and at the Clay Banks.[95] The Mission in 1848 reported 63 Indian members and 23 scholars in one Sunday School (Sheridan Avenue United Methodist Church to Bobbitt, March 9, 1972).

In 1849, Hickey reported the women at Athens had held quilting bees (Reuter 1993, 162). The Nottawa Indian mission, which by this time covered more than just the Pine Creek settlement, had 60 members and two Sunday Schools with 18 scholars (Reuter 1993, 160). Effectively, this was the last year in which Hickey worked at Pine Creek: in 1850, Manasseh Hickey was acting as missionary to the band of chief Medayaemack at Meshimnekahning, eight miles above Portland and 20 miles below Lansing (Hickey 1881, 23, 25). In 1856, the Rev. Manassah Hickey was assigned to the Detroit Conference, where he remained for the rest of his life (Noordhoorn to Lowery, February 20, 1974).

However, Methodist missionaries continued to work at Pine Creek for several years after Hickey's transfer. By 1850-51, the missionary was an A.E. [or A.C.] Shaw, who was working closely with McClure (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 40, 457; NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 426, 745-747). On November 10, 1850, the Rev. E.W. McClure (Superintendent of the Methodist Conference) sent a missionary report on the Huron Potawatomi to the Michigan Superintendency (McClure to Babcock, November 10, 1850, NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 426, 63-64). On March 24, 1851, McClure reported that all 51 of the Nottaway Indians were members of the church; 12 children had been baptized; and there was a school of 15 scholars and one teacher (Reuter 1993, 162). In that year, the studies were being taught in English from books printed in English (Reuter 1993, 163).

For unexplained reasons, the mission ceased to receive funding from and to have resident missionaries assigned by

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[95] "In September, 1849, in the city of Adrian, the session of the Michigan Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was presided over by Bishop L.L. Hamlin, who appointed me to labor as missionary on the Nottawa Indian Mission. This Mission was located in Calhoun county, near Dry Prairie, sixteen miles south of Battle Creek. This missionary field took in a very extensive tract of Northern Michigan. Thornapple Lake in Barry county over to Grand River, down Grand river to its mouth, on north, to Muskegon Lake, on up to Clay Banks on Lake Michigan, up Flat River to Greenville, up Maple River to Maple Rapids near Benedict Plains." (Hickey 1881a, 23)

the statewide Methodist Conference in 1854, although Methodists reported 14 church members at Nottawa (Reuter 1993, 165). There were no reports in Conference minutes for the next 30 years.[96] However, the Pine Creek settlement continued to maintain the church through its own efforts. In his 1891 memoir, L.B. Holcomb wrote:

> I have been with them from Eighteen and thirty three to the present Ninety one and the Generation of Indians are as Industrous and if they have the means that is due them they now have most of their children at Kansas Government school and their parents at home are study and Truly Living a Christian Life those Some of the young men Led away by White Boys and get them to work and feed them on cider . . . they are all there and in their different Homes and Apperances doing well, they have a minister hold Evry Sabath and most all belong to the church thare is no Indians that I no of that has progressed any better than these . . ." (Holcomb 1891, 7).

The Pine Creek Settlement, 1846-1851. Throughout the later 1840's, John Moguago remained in regular contact with the Michigan Superintendency of the OIA. Some of the correspondence concerned his attempts to modify the customs of his people from a hunting to a primarily agricultural lifestyle--[97]his letters make clear that he had become convinced that only by settling down and farming would his people be allowed to remain in Michigan, and the Indian agent felt that he was pressing them too hard. His primary concerns, howev-

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[96] The disappearance of the Indian missions from Methodist Conference records for the next 30 years is particularly surprising in that the missions were doing well in 1854. In that year, the Nottawa Indian Mission had four preaching stations: Nottawa in Calhoun County; Ottawa in Allegan County; Chippewa and Hastings Band in Barry County with missionary David Thomas and interpreter Joseph Elliot; and another station added at Rush Lake in Van Buren County. There were about 393 Indians in these bands; church membership totaled 133; 3 schools and two Sabbath schools (Reuter 1993, 164).

[97] February 4, 1846. Hobart to Hammond, re: Huron Potawatomi. Moguago on sugar making and hunting vs. rail splitting and land clearing (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 60, 63-64).

February 8, 1846. Richmond to John Mogawgo. Re: his control over the economic activity of the band (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 40, 76-77).

March 6, 1848. Richmond to John Morgaugo (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 40, 215).

er, were the prudent expenditure of the annuity money[98] and the security of the land deeds.[99]

Other OIA documents throughout this five-year period give a clear picture of the settlement. On December 3, 1846, F.H. Cuming, Superintendent of a Colony of Ottawa at Griswold, reported that a few Pottawatomies had been associated with this band, but had removed to Notawasippie (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 60, 435-437).

On December 18, 1846, Superintendent Richmond sent to the OIA a tabular census of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi in Michigan that apparently combined the Pokagon and Huron groups. It showed 87 males over 18; 76 females over 16; 63 males under 18; 122 females under 16; total 378 (NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 426, 118-119). A more detailed OIA census of the band was prepared the following year (NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 425, 312-318). It included not only the names of the heads of households and numbers resident, broken down by gender

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[98] January 1, 1849. Richmond to Hammond, Hobart & Acker at Union City, Branch Co., MI, re: expenditure of the Huron Pot monies (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 40, 260).

1849. John Mogwago to Richmond, complaining about Hommond, Hobart & Acker's use of the Huron Potawatomi money, wit. Mary Mendoka, interpreter, by E.A. Hayden, Rev. Fitch (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 62, 407-409). Letter of Hammond, Acker & Hobart with copy of a list of purchases (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 62, 411).

Dated January 31, 1848 [internal evidence indicates 1849 as correct date]. Mogwago to Richmond, re: Hobart & Acker, money (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 62, 413-415). Dated Jan. 1 [or 7?] 23 [sic], Hobart at Lansing to Richmond, complaining about Mogwago, money, handling of the deeds (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 62, 417-419).

June 4, 1849. John Mo-gwa-go at Nottawy Seba, to Babcock, re: Hobart & Acker (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 63, 67).

June 10, 1849. Babcock to John Moguago, re: Huron Pot finances with Hammond, Hobart & Acker (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 40, 354).

July 30, 1849. Moguago to Babcock, re: Hammon, Hobart & Acker; finances (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 63, 183-184).

August 8, 1849. Babcock by Richard M. Smith, Clerk to Mogwago (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 40, 372).

June 28, 1850. Babcock to Hickey, re: Oxen (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 40, 437). Babcock to Moguwugo, July 5, re Eto ghi zhick (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 40, 437-438). September 12, Babcock to Mogwago, re: sale of oxen (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 40, 445-446); Babcock to Rev. A.C. Shaw, Athens, MI, re: Moguago and oxen (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 40, 457).

[99] March 1, 1849. Moguago to Richmond re: deeds (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 62, 449-450).

December 22, 1849. John Moguago, Nottaway Indian Mission to Babcock, re: deeds (NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 63, 405-406).

and age categories, but also extensive economic information.[100]

The settlement was described in the 1848 and 1849 Michigan Superintendency reports to OIA (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 27), and continued to be mentioned in the superintendent's correspondence (Richmond to Revd. A.C. Fitch, Marshall, Michigan, January 24, 1848, re: Huron Potawatomi, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 40, p. 174).[101] The report dated April 2, 1850, by Superintendent Charles P. Babcock gave a good summation of the situation at the half-century mark. The settlement had a population of 51 individuals: 10 men, 15 women, 26 children:

> The Pottowotomies of Huron are settled upon lands of their own, and without exception are averse to the idea of moving . . . There are a few from other tribes that have intermarried with these Indians, but owing to prejudices existing between the different tribes, and especially with the Pottowotomies, there is but little intermingling"

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[100] "1847 Census Return of Families in the Potowatamie of Huron Tribe of Indians, residing on the lands held by them, and lying in the County of Branche State of Michigan, and statistics of that Tribe, taken and collected for the year 1847, under the 5th section of the Act, approved 3d March, 1847, amending the act organizing the Indian Department."

Magwago (6 total; 2 males under 18; 2 females under 16; 1 male 18-60; 1 female 16-60)
Howadnoka (3 total; 1 male under 18; 1 male 18-60; 1 female 18-60)
Pamptipee (6 total; 1 male under 18; 1 female under 18; 3 males 18-60; 1 female 16-60)
Pengimoo (3 total; ...)
Chicumquage (6 total; includes 1 female 60-100)
Mendoka (2 total)
Aush[Anah?]mogahboe (2 total)
Agah,wah (2 total)
Ela[Eta?]wahgewon (4 total)
Dagan (2 total)
Holcomb (6 total; 1 male under 18; 1 female under 16; 1 male 18-60; 2 females 16-60)
Mackey (2 total)
Shequa (4 total)
Sowconeaqua (2 total)
Shetcuk (7 total)
Hah bah,bah (2 total)
Wanplego ye qua (NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 425, 312-318).

[101] In 1849, Superintendent Richmond requested Reverends A.M. Fitch and Hayden of the Methodist Episcopal Church to act on behalf of John Moguago's community (HPI Pet., Historical Overview 1986, 26).

(HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 11-12; Babcock to Brown, April 2, 1850, NARS, RG75, M1, Roll 40, 413).

The 1850 Federal decennial census omitted to count the Huron Potawatomi in Athens Township. This cannot, however, be interpreted as an indication that the settlement had moved away or gone out of existence, for they continued to appear in Michigan Superintendency OIA records on a regular basis.

1851: The last removal proposal. An extensive spate of correspondence concerning the group was generated in 1851 when a last removal threat was made. On May 31, 1851, Indian Agent William Sprague wrote to Luke Lea, COIA, saying that certain men were threatening removal of the Pottawatomies in Calhoun County at the Nottawa Mission--he added that Lea would be receiving statements from the Rev. E. McClure and Rev. A.C. Shaw. The men had tried to bribe the missionary to prevail on the Indians to go (NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 426, 745-747).

The name of the removal agent was B. Bertrand, from Berrien County, Michigan, representing Alexis Coquillard of South Bend, Indiana.[102] In response to the threat, the Pine Creek Potawatomi did not remain passive. They "called a Council . . . the Indians after consultation had among themselves, and with their Missionary, decided . . . when the Council broke up, the Missionary, together with the Chief and four other principal Indians, went immediately to see the Hon. W. Sprague of Kalamazoo . . ." (NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 426, 735-741).

The Methodist missionary, Rev. A.C. Shaw, went with John Moguago and four other tribesmen to Kalamazoo to check with Indian Agent William Sprague. On June 3, 1851, Edward McClure, Superintendent of the Nottawa Mission, wrote to Lea, offering evidence that John Moguago's band was exempt from removal and under jurisdiction of the Mackinac Agency, signed by McClure on behalf of: A.E/C. Shaw - Missionary; and Indians (heads of families): Moguago/Mogwago - First Chief; Maccee - Second Chief; Pamptipee - Third Chief; Mandoka, Ewauw-Ah-Je-Won/Edauwahjewon; Bay-Me-Dau-Qua-Hong/Baymedauquahong; Agau-We-Ah; Benemoo/Penemoo; Naw-De-

[102] Both of these men were from Potawatomi half-blood families, prominent in the treaty era, who had been involved in the removals in the late 1830's and 1840.

No-Ka; Meemee; Nebahquah; Kah-wetah-ke-zhick (NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 426, 735-741; HPI Pet., Appendix X, Doc.)

On June 13, 1851, on behalf of COIA Lea, Charles Mix wrote to Sprague, stating that "an error had been committed in this matter, as the Pottawatomies of Huron are not included among the Indians whose removal was contracted for. The Department has taken measures to correct the error, of which you will please inform Revd. Mr. McClure" (NARS, RG75, M21, Roll 44, 443).

THE PINE CREEK SETTLEMEN 1851-1[illegible]04

OIA Records 1854-1855. Far fewer OIA records pertaining to the Pine Creek settlement were generated in the following years. Three years were to pass before they were again mentioned, this time by Agent H.S. Gilbert in a statement of proposed policies for the Indians of Michigan that he sent to COIA Manypenny: saying that the "Pottawatamies of Huron are a distinct band of the same tribe," he added that they were not as much in favor of commuting permanent annuities as the Ottawa and Chippewa. He recommended extending to them the privilege of entering land (Gilbert to Manypenny, March 6, 1854, NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 404, 0374).

The following year, on July 3, 1855, Gilbert wrote to Manypenny requesting that the Potawatomi of the Huron be sent for to take part in the proposed treaty council, which would lead to the important 1855 treaty with the Ottawa and Chippewa (Gilbert to Manypenny, July 3, 1855, NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 404, 0714). A letter of Gilbert to Charles E. Mix at OIA dated July 17 acknowledged receipt of a letter dated July 14 pertaining to the same subject and "authorizing a convention of delegates of the Chippewas of Saginaw and of the Pottowatomies, for business purposes" (Gilbert to Mix, July 17, 1855, NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 404, 0721). There is no evidence in the surviving records of the 1855 treaty that such a meeting took place, and the Huron Potawatomi were not signatories to this treaty.

Leadership sequence. John Moguago died in 1863. No contemporary evidence survives of the way in which his successors were chosen, but in 1931, one of his great-nephews narrated to a newspaper reporter the way in which it was supposed to be done:

> To elect a chief, eleven men are chosen who are 'honest and straight forward'. Then eleven sticks

> are broken, six long and five short, after which they draw. The one getting the most sticks of a size chooses the Chief from the eleven braves. This election is for life (Mackey 1931, 5 col. 5).

In the absence of a resident Methodist minister, Moguago's funeral was conducted by the Rev. Alpheus Wisner of the North Athens Baptist Church. He was buried on the reservation cemetery (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 32), with his grave marked in the traditional manner by an oak tree (still standing as of 1994). The chieftainship went to Pamptopee, who is variously described as John Moguago's uncle (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 11), cousin, or half-brother (Leatherbury 1977, 103, n. 359), who died one year later (Leatherbury 1977, 100).

Pamptopee was succeeded in 1864 by his son Phineas Pamptopee, also known as Messick (Leatherbury 1977, 100), who would continue as chief until his death in 1914. For a period of a half-century, Phineas Pamptopee provided the Pine Creek settlement with great continuity in its leadership. The format and duties of the position held by Phineas Pamptopee were not unique to the petitioner, but were general among Michigan Indians at the time, both in groups which are now acknowledged tribes and in groups which are currently unacknowledged.

The 1833 Treaty of Chicago had not specifically dissolved tribal relations for the signing bands. However, during the second half of the 19th century, official U.S. policy regarded the holding of citizenship by Indians and being in tribal relations as incompatible. Accordingly, in 1886, the Indian agent at Mackinac reported to the COIA that:

> The Indians of Michigan are all citizens, are voters, and eligible to hold office. They are not known or recognized by tribal relations, either by state laws or treaties, and in every respect, so far as the rights of citizenship are concerned, they stand on an equality with the whites. While no tribal relations exist, yet the Indians annually elect certain of their number, whom they call chiefs or headmen, whose duty it is to transact all business with the government or the Indian agent, sign all papers and stipulations, which they consider as binding on the band (United States. Bureau of the Census 1884, 331).

This 1886 statement that "no tribal relations exist" essentially meant that these Michigan Indian groups were not residing on Federal reservations under the supervision of a Federal Indian agent, in the legal status of wards of the Federal government, and therefore were not at that time regarded as being recognized tribes. It is not to be interpreted that the Huron Potawatomi group did not continuously maintain the kind of social and political cohesion which is required for Federal acknowledgment under 25 CFR Part 83. Although during the later 19th century, the Federal Government considered citizenship and tribal relations to be incompatible statuses for Indians, it is clear in this same quote that the band had leaders who were exercising political authority and representing its interests, within the meaning of the regulations.

Methodist Records 1854-1897. Although the records of the Methodist Conference contain no reports of activity for the Pine Creek settlement from 1854-1884, in 1885 the Kalamazoo District, Methodist Church, reported "Waukeshma and Nottaway Indian Mission" with S. Kitzmiller appointed for the **third year** [emphasis added] (Reuter 1993, 165). This leaves open the possibility that this work continued to be done, but that the records have not been located.

Only a mention in a local newspaper provides the information that in May of 1889, a Chippewa Indian student at Albion College preached to the Indians at Athens the preceding Sunday (Vicksburg Commercial 11(20):1, May 10, 1889).

In 1886, the Methodist Conference, Kalamazoo District, appropriated $40.00 for the Nottawa and Bradley Indian Missions: similar amounts continued through 1890 (Reuter 1993, 165). In 1889, the Kalamazoo District, Methodist Conference, reported P. Lantobe to the Nottawa and Indian Mission (Reuter 1993, 166). In 1891, the "Nottawa and Bass River" Indian Missions received $60.00 from the Methodist Conference with appointment of J.M. Walker to the same two churches.[103] The 1891 combined membership was given as 50 for "Nottawa and Bradley." There was another appropriation in 1892; after that "Indian work in Kalamazoo District"

[103] Obviously, the statement in Chief Stephen Pamptopee's obituary that, "The first white man who preached here as pastor was Rev. E.W. Lang, in 1898" (Pamptopee 1924), was not strictly accurate. However, as will be seen in discussion below, Laing [the correct spelling of his name] did a great deal to re-energize the Pine Creek church.

received $80.00 annually until 1897 (Reuter 1893, 165), when the Nottawa Methodist Indian Mission had a membership of 75. The mission had one Sunday School with 22 pupils (Reuter 1993, 166). The dual appointment of E.W. Laing as minister to the Athens and Pine Creek Methodist churches in 1898 would lead to a great revitalization of the church on the reservation (see below).

Continuity of population 1851-1904.

Continuity of the six basic families. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, it can be documented that the founding families of the Pine Creek settlement continued to have descendants on the reservation.[104] The Moguago surname died out, but John Moguago's Shawgoquet nephews (including the surnames Mandoka, Meme, and Mackey) continued as part of the community, as did the Pamptopee and Cawcawba (aka Whetstone) families. There was a temporary division of the population from the mid-1850's until the mid-1860's, when a number of the families bought land[105] in Allegan

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[104] In 1860, the U.S. Census Counted 6,172 civilized and 7,777 "not civilized' Indians in Michigan, out of a total Michigan population of nearly 750,000 (Terry 1988, 20).

1860 U.S Census, Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan. Header "Indians." 2 August 1860 by W.G. Sannders. P.O. Pine Creek.

#2153/1934: John Maguago, 70, m, farmer, $600/$240, b. Mich; Rossana ", 36, f; George ", 18, m; Cynthia ", 16, f.

#2154/1935: Painpapee, 63, m; ", 54, f; Phineas ", 22, m; Nancy ", 18, f; ", 1, m; ", 3/12, m.

#2154/1936: John ", 26, m; Mary E. ", 19, f; ", 3, f; ", 1, m.

#2155/1937: ", 51, f; ", 16, m.

#2156/1938: William Cockby, 25, m; Nancy, 24, f; Josephine, 5, f; Phebe, 3, f.

#2157/1939: James ", 35, m.

#2158 : Mathew, 57, m.

#2159 : Nancy, 14, f.

#2160/1940: James Ketosh, 37, m; Elizabeth ", 21, f; Caroline Mogoago, 3, f. (U.S. Census 1860a).

[105] November 1, [1853]. U.S. Land Certificate No. 25,908, U.S. to Nawme Shogoquet (Pattawattoma Indian) of Allegan County, Michigan. North East quarter of the South East quarter of Section 17, Township 1 North, Range 14 West, 40 acres [date because signed by Franklin Pierce in 78th year of American independence--miswritten in book]. Recorded 1863 (Allegan County, Michigan Deed Book 17, 158).

May 4, 1855. From William Gates of Cheshire, Allegan County, Michigan and Harriet W. Gates his wife to Macie Shakogua an Indian of the same place; $120, south east quarter of the south east quarter of Section 17, Town 1 north, range 14 west, 40 acres. Wits. E.B. Bassett, Benjamin Pratt (Allegan County, Michigan, Deed Book 12, pp. 408-409).

October 1, 1855. U.S. Land Certificate No. 26, 679, U.S. to Zozett Sowohquett of Allegan County Michigan, North East quarter of the

County, Michigan. The 1860 Federal census shows the group living in Allegan County as a unit.[106] Later in the de-

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North East quarter of Section Twenty in Township one North of Range Fourteen West, Forty Acres. Recorded 1862 (Allegan County, Michigan, Deed Book 24, 148).

December 19, 1855. From Macie Shakoqua of Cheshire in the County of Allegar and Mochanoqua Shakogua his mother of the same place, $120. Transfers land purchased same years. Wits. F.J. LittleJohn, David D. Davis (Allegan County, Michigan, Deed Book 13, 288-289).

October 30, 1857. U.S. Land Certificate No. 25,838, from U.S. To Makie Shocoquoet (a Pottowattomie Indian) of Allegan County Michigan, had deposite a certi. cate of Register of th Land Office at Kalamazoo, full payment in compliance with the Act of Congress of 24 April 1820, South east quarter of the North East quarter of Section 17 Township One North of Range Fourteen West, 60 acres. Recorded 1859 (Allegan County, Michigan, Deed Book 17, 33-34).

January 1, 1862. From Zozett Sowaquett of Hartford, Van Buren County, Michigan to Nua Nea Tah Ash Qua Tah of Allegan County, Michigan, $112, NE 1/4 of NE Quarter of Section 20, Town 1 Range 14 West, 40 Acres. She appeared and said it was her free will to make this sale and she was seized of the premises . . . Wits: Eri Beebe, Joseph Bertrand (Allegan County, Michigan, Deed Book 25, 96).

August 19, 1864. Macca Sougarquet and Nancy Sougarquet of the Town of Cheshire, Allegan County, Michigan to Charles Fribley of Pine Plain, $500, SE 1/4 of NE 1/4 of Section 17, 1, 14, containing 40 acres. Wits. L.D. Buck and Sarah C. Buck. Macca and Nancy both signed by mark (Allegan County, Michigan, Deed Book 31, 292).

September 27, 1864. From Margie Shugaquoit of Cheshire Allegan County to Jesse Pearson, SE 1/4 of SE 1/4 of Section 17, 1, 14, containing 40 acres. Wits. Warren Doude, Harriet Doude (Allegan County, Michigan, Deed Book 34, 16).

[Illegible date, 1864?]. Nammie Shugaquoit to Jesse Pearsons, NE 1/4 of SE 1/4, Section 17, 1, 14, Allegan County, Michigan (Allegan County, Michigan, Deed Book 34, 17).

[106] 1860 U.S. Census, Cheshire Township, Allegan County, Michigan. Header: 19 June 1860, P.O. Lake. All are identified as "Ind" in the race column. There were no other Indians in the township--all were in this one settlement.

p. 69:

#408/380: Macca Sogarquoiet 36 m Ind farmer $200/60, b. Mich; Nancy ", 30, f, Ind., b. Indiana; Ellen, 3, f, b. MI; Hiram, 2, m; Mary, 15, f.

#409/381: Mema ", 30, m, farmer, $400/30, b. MI; Elizabeth, 24, f; Mary M, 6, f; Jane, 4, f; Pon-ce-ken-um, 2, f.

/382: Marga, 60, f, Ind., b. MI; Thomas, 19, m.

#410/383: Do-ca, 55, f, $0/$100, b. MI;

p. 270:

Nancy William, 6, f, Ind.

#411/384: Note-wa Qua-qua-da-sunk, 50, m, Ind, farmer, $160/$100, b. MI; To-pee, 40, f; Betsy, 15, f; Mary, 11, f; David Thomas, 15, m, b. Canada.

#412/385: Coo-cash, 68, m, Ind, farmer, $200/$100, b. MI; Nat-ta, 50, f; Jack Waso, 13, m; Agnes ", 16, f; Margaret ", 6, f.

#413/386: Joseph Kac-kee, 45, m, Ind, farmer, $200/$200, b. MI.

cade, that portion of the original Pine Creek settlement "six families" returned to Calhoun County as a unit, bringing with them the Watson and David families (both Indian--see the Genealogical Technical Report to the Proposed Finding) who would subsequently become part of the settlement. Other "new" families would accrue by a process of intermarriage, such as the Nottaway/Henry family's origin by a marriage of a Canadian immigrant full-blood Potawatomi man to Josephine Cawcawba.

The temporary division was mentioned by interpreter L.B. Holcomb, who had accompanied Marcheonoqua and her family to Kansas in 1840, in his 1891 memoir. He stated that he had left the Athens, Michigan area for eight years, and that when he returned, he found that part of the group had become discouraged and bought land in Allegan County. He visited and persuaded them to return to Pine Creek (Holcomb 1891, 7).

Both geographical units were counted together by the OIA in the 1861 annuity payment.[107] By the 1870 Federal census, they were reunited as a residential group in Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan, on the Pine Creek reserva-

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/387: James B. Watson, 40, m, Ind, $---/$60, b. MI; Mary B. Watson, 34, f; Ames :, 15, m.
#414/388: Kes-es, 28, m, Ind; Kre-wa-ton, 16, f, Ind.
#415/389: David Magulpin, 50, m, Ind; Nancy :, 53, f; James ", 19, m; Sarah ", 15, f; Macca, 14, m; Eliza, 13, f; Silas, 11, m.
#416/390: William Na-ah-jee, 45, m, Ind, $200/$100, b. MI; Binn-o-qua, 40, f; Eliza, 21, f; George Uposky, 16, m, Ind, $---/$100 (U.S. Census 1860b, 69-70).

[107] 1861 Annuity Roll, payment under the Treaty of Nov. 17, 1807, by Rich. M. Smith, special agent. In presence of Simon Pokagan, Edwin Smith, E. Cowles, J.C. Barber. Receipt signed: "We the undersigned Chief & Headmen of the Pottowatomies of Huron in the State of Michigan do hereby acknowledge the Correctness of the foregoing receipts. Mo gwaw go Chief; Mackie - Headman; Phineas Pamptwaype, Headman (NARS, RG75).

1861 Annuity Roll (Lantz's transcription): Magwago Chief. 1 man; Mackie, 1 man, 1 woman, 3 children; Dogah, 1 woman, 1 child; Kay Gway Daw Sung, 1 man, 1 woman, 3 children; Naw Che Waw No Quay, 1 woman, 2 children; Me Me, 1 man, 1 woman, 4 children; Nay Aw Che, 1 man; Pamp Tway Pe, 1 man, 1 woman; Pamp Tway Pe, John, 1 man, 1 woman, 3 children; Pamp Tway Pe, Phineas, 1 man, 1 woman, 3 children; Pe Nay Mo, 1 man, 1 woman; Kay Baish Kung, 1 man; Keses's Wife & Child, 1 woman, 1 child; Edowe Ke Zhick, 1 man, 1 woman, 3 children; No Way Say, 1 woman; Ketosh, 1 man, 1 child; Pay Me Tay Quo Uck, 1 man, 1 woman, 1 child (Lantz 1992, 28-29).

tion site.[108] From this time on, they have been regularly identified as a unit by scholars (Map 33, "Indian Villages c. 1870, Tanner 1987, 176-177, 178; Hodge 1971, 2:293). In the 1873 Calhoun County atlas, the reservation was listed as "Pamptopee, David & Co., hunters, trappers and basket makers" (Athens Times, February 17, 1937). Also from 1870 onwards, the community was described several times in the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections. In 1874, A.D.P. Van Buren described the settlement, saying that there were only 60 "Pottawattomies of the Huron band" in the state (Van Buren 1887, 148).[109] N.P. Hobart, who had been one of their purchasing agents in 1845, wrote to Charles Dickey in 1878 that,

> I think they have received their annuity regularly up to this time, and will continue to so long as they remain a band. John Moguago, Pamp-to-pee, Whetstone, Tetese, Se-ba-qua, and Marcho-no-qua, the heads of the six families who had houses built and shared the land, are all dead, and their children and heirs occupy the farms.[110] Moguago had no son to succeed him as chief, and a son of his half-brother, Pamp-to-pee, is now the head man of the band. His name is Phineas Pamp-to-pee; he is a good, honest man. There are now about 40 on the farm--men, women and children; the younger ones attend school, and most of them can read, write, and transact their own business" (N.P. Hobart to Charles Dickey, December 25, 1878, *in* Dickey 1881, 369).

George W. Lee, United States Indian Agent at the Mackinac Agency (located then at Ypsilanti, Michigan) stated in his 1878 annual report to the COIA that,

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[108] The 1870 U.S. Census counted 4,926 Indians in Michigan out of a total population of nearly 1,200,000 (Terry 1988, 20).

1870 U.S. Federal Census, Athens Twp., Calhoun Co., MI, households #275/275 through 284/284. Heads: Mackey Shakka; Mama Shakka; Phineas Pamp; John Pamp; Bear Kekuba, James Keckeshi, Solomon Pemore, James David, Joseph Kawakum, Joseph Shekaka. Total individuals: 51 (U.S. Census 1870a, 384-388).

[109] The same population of 60 was given by the local Vicksburg Commercial newspaper in 1882 (Vicksburg Commercial 4(27):5, July 7, 1882).

[110] The petitioner does not include any identified genealogical descendants of Tsetse and Sebequa.

> the Pottawatomies of Huron live in the southern part of the State, in the county of Calhoun, near its southern boundary, on their favorite river, the 'Nottawasipe," where they are gathered on a piece of land from which they derive very little support, subsisting principally by labor for the neighboring farmers. Their number seems to remain nearly stationary, the births about equalling the deaths. They are anxiously awaiting the action of Congress to order the payment of the balance for moneys long since due, which if paid and properly invested would place them in comfortable circumstances (quoted in: Riley to Hawkins, September 20, 1964, BAR Files).

The 1880 Federal census, Calhoun County, Michigan, clearly identified the settlement. After enumerating the families, households 303/327 through 312/330, sequentially, the census taker wrote, "Here Ends the Indian Village, or Hamlet - of the 'Patowatamies of Huron'" (U.S. Census 1880a, 45r-46).[111] In 1886, the population of the Potawatomi of the

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[111] #303/321: Caw Caw-be, William, I, m, 50, trapper, b. MI, parents' birthplace unknown; Nancy, I, f, 40, wife, keeps house, b. MI, parents' birthplace unknown.

#304/322: Notowa, David, I, m, 31, son in law, laborer, b. MI, parents b. Canada; Josephine, I, f, 27, wife, keeps house, b. MI, parents b. MI; Isaac, I, m, 8, son; John, I, m, 8, son; Peter, I, m, 10/12, son.

#305/323: Mandoka, Joseph, I, m, 60, Farmer-Trapper-Laborer, b. MI, parents b. MI; Cha-Note, I, f, 45, wife, keep wigwam, b. MI, parents b. MI; Sammy, I, m, 16, son, at home, b. MI; Danny, I, m, 6, son, at school, b. MI; Joseph, I, m, 20, son, Farmer & Trapper, b. MI; Angeline, I, f, 19, daugh in law, Keeps Wigwam, b. MI; John, I, m, 2, Gr-Son, b. MI.

#306/324: Pamptopee, John, I, m, 56, Farmer, b. MI, parents b. MI; Marietta, I, f, 44, wife, Basket Maker, b. MI, parents b. MI; Johny, I, m, 21, son, Farm Laborer, b. MI; Henry, I, m, 23, son, Farm laborer & Trapper, b. MI; Jacob, I, m, 19, son, Farm laborer & Trapper, b. MI; Frank, I, m, 15, son, at home, b. MI; Samuel, I, m, 9, son, b. MI; Warren, I, m, 5, son, b. MI; Addie, I, f, 1, daughter, b. MI.

#307/325: Pamptopee, Phineas, I, m, 44, Farmer & Trapper, b. MI, parents b. MI; Mary, I, f, 38, wife, Keep wigwam, b. MI, parents b. MI; Rod Simon, I, m, 20, son, Trapper, b. MI; Frank, I, m, 14, son, b. MI; Jacob, I, m, 9, son, b. MI; George, I, m, 6, son, b. MI; Stephen Hasbrook, I, m, 4, son, b. MI.

#308/326: Burch, Eliza, I, f, 35, Basket Maker, b. MI, parents b. MI; Henry, I, m, 4, son, b. MI, father b. Canada, mother b. MI; Nancy, I, f, 2, daughter, b. MI, father b. Canada, mother b. MI.

#309/327: Isaac, Thomas, I, m, 28, Farmer & Trapper, b. MI, parents b. MI; Sarah, I, f, 40, wife, Basket Maker, b. Canada, parents b. MI.

Huron was given as 79 (Hodge 1971, 2:293).[112] In 1883, Edward P. Allen, United States Indian Agent, Mackinac Indian Agency, Ypsilanti, Michigan, in his annual report to the COIA stated that "the Pottawatomies are by themselves, located in Calhoun County, upon land owned in common, paid for from means provided by the Government some years since, and surrounded by flourishing communities of whites" (quoted in: Riley to Hawkins, September 20, 1964, BAR Files).

The manuscript 1890 Federal census was destroyed by fire.[113] However, a compendium was published by the Bureau of the Census in 1894, entitled Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed (United States. Bureau of the Census 1894). It stated that, "Indians now in Michigan are classed as taxed. They were enumerated by the regular enumerators and counted in the general population of the state" (United States. Bureau of the Census 1894, 331). The statistics reported for southwestern Michigan were fully in line with those indicated on prior and subsequent Federal census

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#310/328: Sakoqua - MeMee, I, m, 51, Farmer I Trapper, b. MI, parents b. MI; Elizabeth, I, f, 45, wife, Basket Maker, b. MI, parents b. MI; Joseph, I, m, 16, son, at home, b. MI; Ost-nick, I, f, 7, daughter, b. MI; Kish-go-qua, I, f, 4, daughter, b. MI.

#311/329: Mackey, Stephen, I, m, 26, Farmer & Trapper, b. MI, parents b. MI; Betsy, I, f, 27, wife, Basket Maker, b. MI, parents b. MI; Terret[?], I, m, 9/12, b. Sept., son, b. MI; Jackson, Jacob, I, m, 22, brother in law, Laborer, b. MI, parents b. MI; Lucy, I, f, 18, Sister in law, Berry picker, b. MI, parents b. MI; Pepeah, Mary, I, f, 89, Mother in law, Berry Picker, b. MI, parents b. MI; Lexis, I, m, 17, boarder, Berry picker, b. MI, parents b. MI.

#312/330: Sacoqua, Mackey, I, m, 58, Farmer, b. MI, parents b. MI; Nancy, I, f, 48, wife, Keeps house, b. MI, parents b. MI; John, I, m, 16, son, at home, b. MI; Gust W., I, m, 14, son, at school, b. MI; Tomy, I, m, 9, son, at school, b. MI; Pokagon, Anna, I, f, 23, daughter, at home, b. MI; Josey, I, f, 1, Gr Daugh, b. MI (U.S. Census 1880a, 45r-46).

[112] "By 1886 these Potawatomi had all taken lands in severalty and had become citizens. When the Potawatomi ceded the greater portion of their lands to the United States and moved w. of the Mississippi, this band and some of the tribe living in Indiana refused to join in the movement and have remained on their early home lands (Hodge 1971, 2:293). The phrase "by 1886" is possibly a confused presentation of the purchase of the East Indiantown lands in 1889? Alternatively, Hodge may have confused the Huron Potawatomi with the Pokagon Potawatomi

[113] Leatherbury did not cite any source for the following statistics: "By 1891, there were 77 living at Indiantown, and the figure remained relatively unchanged for a decade, as there were 78 [illegible] receiving a payment at Athens in 1904" (Leatherbury 1977, 10[illegible]). They are, however, consistent with the general population pattern of the settlement.

reports. In Calhoun County, there were 71 "civilized (self-supporting)" Indians; 71 in Allegan County; 32 in Berrien County; 35 in Cass County; and 59 in Van Buren County (United States. Bureau of the Census 1894, 330). These were, essentially, the Huron Potawatomi in Calhoun County; the Bradley settlement in Allegan County, and the Pokagons (Potawatomi of Michigan and Indiana, Inc.) in Berrien, Cass, and Van Buren Counties.

> An 1893 map of Indian Reservations prepared by the Washington Office [BIA] indicates a reservation area for the "Pottawatomie of Huron," in southwestern Michigan, but it is not outlined in black as are the other Federal Indian reservations. A map prepared in 1900 by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs shows a reservation area for the "Pottawatomie of Huron" colored and outlined like the other Federal Indian reservations (Riley to Hawkins, September 20, 1964, BAR Files).

An 1897 "census" of the Indians at Athens, taken by Sam Mandoka on behalf of the Indians' attorney, Judge Shipman, for claims purposes, found 120 Indians--not all of whom were Pine Creek residents (Athens Times, January 1, 1898). In 1900, the Federal census, Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan, enumerated by Charles L. Wood, 23 & 25 day of June, placed the Pine Creek settlement on special "Indian Population" census sheets, separate from the remainder of the township (U.S. Census 1900b). There were 21 households living in 20 dwellings, with a total population of 68 persons, of whom 25 were under age 21. These special "Indian Population" census sheets provided considerable additional information, including the individual's Indian name if it differed from the English name, tribal affiliation, and blood quantum. Generally, all persons at Pine Creek were recorded as Potawatomi, paying taxes, having U.S. citizenship, and having a fixed residence (U.S. Census 1900b, 72).[114]

The figures in Chart I indicate that the Huron Potawatomi population remained quite stable throughout the 19th

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[114] The information is not always fully reliable: the 76-year-old Mackey Shawgoquet was recorded as 1/2 white, with a Potawatomi father and a French mother. In fact (see Genealogy Technical Report), his mother was Potawatomi, while his father was 1/2 white. The report for Mackey's 73-year-old full brother, Me-me Shawgoquet, was correct (U.S. Census 1900b, 72).

CHART I: Huron Potawatomi Population, 1842-1900

1842 OIA Census:	100[1]
1843 list brought to Selkrig:	32
1843 OIA annuity roll:	46
1843 abstinence pledge:	39[2]
1844 OIA annuity roll:	61
1847 OIA Census:	57
1860 Federal Census:	64[3]
1861 OIA annuity roll:	51
1870 Federal census:	52
1874 BIA annuity roll:	61
1875 BIA annuity roll:	61
1876 BIA annuity roll:	56[4]
1877 BIA annuity roll:	60[5]
1878 Hobart estimate:	40
1878 BIA annuity roll:	64
1879 BIA annuity roll:	69
1880 BIA annuity roll:	70[6]
1880 Federal census:	54[7]
1882 BIA annuity roll:	76
1883 BIA annuity roll:	77
1884 BIA annuity roll:	77
1885 BIA annuity roll:	77
1886 estimate:	79
1886 BIA annuity roll:	79
1887 BIA annuity roll:	78
1888 BIA annuity roll:	79
1889 BIA first quarter annuity roll:	76
1889 final BIA annuity roll:	78[8]
1890 Federal census report:	71
1897 "census" for claims purposes:	120[9]
1900 Federal census:	70

NOTE: The BIA annuity rolls were arranged by household. From 1877 onward, each roll contained the name, age, and relationship of each household resident to the head of household.

1 Probably included those Potawatomi of Huron who had been removed west.

2 Probably omitted the names of small children.

3 Includes those temporarily residing in Cheshire Township, Allegan County, Michigan and three new families who would later come to Pine Creek when the group returned ca. 1865.

4 Includes a note concerning five persons who had left the community and one adult woman who had died since the preceding year.

5 Ten adult males resident (one has moved away); 12 adult females; 26 males under 21; 12 females under 21.

6 Plus one man "objected to" by the band.

7 Omitted four families listed on the annuity rolls and confirmed at Pine Creek by other records.

8 Twenty-three adult males; 16 adult females; 20 males under 21; 19 females under 21.

9 Included Michigan Potawatomi who were not members of the petitioner.

century, both as to residency at Pine Creek (100 percent of the band) and numbers of individuals. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the band had both a high birth rate and a high infant and childhood mortality rate. Additionally, the county vital records data and newspaper death notices which became available after 1889 indicated that the mortality was, to a great extent, attributable not only to childhood diseases, but to tuberculosis, which claimed the lives of many adolescents and young adults. Those nineteenth-century group members who survived into their mid-twenties ordinarily survived for another 50 years.

Marriage Patterns 184_-1901. Between Marche_.oqua's childless third marriage to a white man, L. Buell Holcomb, prior to 1840, and Nancy Watson's marriage to a white man (who moved onto the Pine Creek Reservation, built a house, and reared his family there) in 1901, all marriages of the HPI, except one, were either within the group or to members of other Michigan Indian groups--primarily to Potawatomi from the Bradley settlement in Allegan County or to Pokagon Potawatomi. The one exception was a man who during the 1870's had married a white woman and moved away (Lantz 1992, 52). There is no documentation to show he ever had further contact with the Pine Creek settlement, and today he has no descendants among the petitioner.

Continued contact with OIA/BIA. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the Pine Creek settlement continued to be in regular contact with Federal Indian agents in Michigan. This is reflected in a variety of documents.

Continuation of annuity payments, 1864-1889. Legal contentions made in the claims cases of the 1890's by the Pokagon, Bradley, and Pine Creek Indians, or various combinations of the above with other Michigan Potawatomi, have considerably confused the historical record of annuity payments to the Huron Potawatomi community. Basically, allegations in the briefs presented in the claims cases aside,

1) after 1844, the Huron Potawatomi do not seem to have been paid under the treaty of July 29, 1829, and the Supplementary Articles to the Chicago Treaty of 1833 along with the Pokagons (who were consistently listed as "Ottawa, Chippewa & Pottawatomi of Michigan"), nor were they on the "final" 1866 Pokagon payment under the 1829 and 1833 treaties which served as the basis for the compilation of the C dman roll in 1895 (Lantz 1992, 37).

2) the Huron Potawatomi did continue to be paid throughout this period under the Treaty of 1807, although the surviving annuity rolls prior to 1874 are very sporadic (Lantz 1992, 28-29);[115]

3) the Huron Potawatomi annuity rolls from 1874 through the compounding of the annuity in 1889 are complete (Lantz 1992, 49-73). Examination of these rolls and comparison with the decennial Federal censuses indicates that "Potawatomi of Huron" was a term applied exclusively to the residents of the Pine Creek settlement. In the words of the agent as noted on the rolls, "the tribe" on occasion "allowed" newcomers to be paid (Lantz 1992, 52, 57), or requested that the agent exclude from payment persons who had left the settlement (Lantz 1992, 52).[116]

From 1874 through 1876, only heads of household were listed by name, with the numbers of persons in each household (Lantz 1992, 49-510. The later annuity rolls, 1877 through 1889, gave names and ages of all household members, like a Federal census (Lantz 1992, 51-73). On July 10, 1877, George Betts, the paymaster, wrote to COIA J.Q. Smith explaining the method by which the payment was made (NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 412, 30-32). Hodge's reference book gave the "Last enumeration" of the Potawatomi of the Huron as 1888, with a population of 77 (Hodge 1971, 2:293).

Annuity Commutation, 1889. In 1889, the $400 annual annuity which the Huron Potawatomi had been collecting since 1845 under the treaty of 1807 was compounded for a lump sum. The band received $20,000 in money, distributed by Special Indian Agent George P. Litchfield of Salem, Oregon (Leatherbury 1977, 108). Non-Indian guardians, residents of Calhoun County and mainly officials in the county government, were appointed for the minors.

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[115] Correspondence about commutation of the annuity under the 1807 treaty began as early as 1870 (Long to Parker; power of attorney from Pamptapee to Malin W. Hobart; also signed John Pamptapee, Machee Sha go que, Meme Sha go quet, E to Ke shick, [illegible]; (NARS, RG75, M234, Roll 409, 350-353).

[116] Of the five persons who had left the settlement, one was noted as having married a white woman and moved away, one as having gone to Canada, and one as having moved in with the Saginaw Chippewa. [illegible] of these persons have identifiable descendants upon the petitioner's membership list. One man who left in the 1870's had returned to Pine Creek by 1380: his descendants remain a part of the group.

Further information on the results of the annuity commutation may be found in the section on "East Indiantown" (see below; see also Appendix I). It should also be noted that in addition to the 1889 land purchases that resulted from the commutation, members of the Huron Potawatomi begin to appear in the vital records (marriages and deaths) maintained by the Calhoun County, Michigan, County Clerk's Office as of 1889.

Attendance at Mt. Pleasant (and other BIA schools). The first indication that the BIA was sending children from Pine Creek to the schools it sponsored appears in 1889, simultaneously with the commutation of the annuities under the 1807 treaty, when a newspaper article noted that 35 children from Indiantown and Allegan went by train to the Indian school in Lawrence, Kansas, in September, accompanied by the school's principal, M.J. Wood (Leatherbury 1977, 106).

A major impetus to the attendance of Pine Creek children at BIA schools came with the opening of Mount Pleasant Indian School in Isabella County, Michigan, in 1893.[117] At the beginning, the school had a capacity of 100, with an enrollment of 59. By the turn of the century, its enrollment was 230 (Rubenstein 1893, 155-159). In the 1899 report on Indian Schools, the "Pottawatomie of Huron" under the Mackinack Agency were reported as having a population of 77 persons (United States. Department of the Interior 1899, 41).[118] The practice of having Pine Creek children attend

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[117] Jim Johnson expects to leave in a few days with three Pottawatomi children for Mt. Pleasant Indian School. They are Elizabeth, daughter of Tom Wezoo; Sam Nottawa, son of David, and a boy of John Pamptopee (Athens Times, September 19, 1903).

Last September lots of Pottawatomie children went from Athens to go to Mt. Pleasant to school. Betsey Mackety, Mary Pokagon, Old Chief Pokagon's grand daughter, Adam Paul, Silas Pamptopee, Levi Pamptopee, Elizabeth Pamptopee, they will be gone three years. Next vacation Albert Mackety will come home from school of Mt. Pleasant and Frank Mackey come home with Albert Mackety (Vicksburg Semi-Weekly Commercial 4(95):8, October 31, 1905).

Obituaries for various members of the Pine Creek settlement indicate that attendance at Mount Pleasant continued into the early 1930's, although by the 1920's it was becoming more common for them to attend the local public high school.

[118] This 1899 school report did not mention either the Bradley settlement in Allegan County or the Pokagons. In addition to the "Pottawatomie of Huron," it specified only the 830 L'Anse and Vieux de Sert; the 630 Chippewa of Saginaw, Swan Creek, and Black River; and an undivided 6,000 "Ottawa and Chippewa" (United States. Department of the Interior 1899, 41).

the upper grades and high school at Mount Pleasant continued until the school was closed in 1934. However, other BIA schools, such as that at Genoa, Nebraska, also attracted Pine Creek students. In 1903, Simon Redbird[119] of Indian School at Genoa, Nebraska, came to Pine Creek and secured eight Indian children of the tribe to enroll as pupils of that school (Athens Times, September 4, 1903).[120] Other children from Pine Creek attended Haskell.

The petition stated that the "Methodist church-sponsored Mission School at Potawatomiville" was closed in 1904, and that after that date, children from the reservation were sent to either Haskell, Kansas, or Mt. Pleasant, Michigan, both government-sponsored Indian schools (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 38). No confirmation of such a school closing has been located: the last mention of a weekday school in the missionary reports was in 1855. The data found indicates that the older children were attending BIA schools prior to 1904.

On February 19, 1934, Congress transferred the Mount Pleasant Indian School to the State of Michigan and required that Indian children be accepted in the state's public schools without discrimination (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 42). From that time onwards, Pine Creek children attended the local high school as well as the local elementary schools.

Employment of Pine Creek residents by BIA. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century, several persons born at Pine Creek became employees of the BIA. These included Simon Ketosh and James Johnson. In 1979, Samuel Mackety was employed by the Minneapolis Office, BIA.

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[119] 1880 U.S. Census, Wayland Twp., Allegan Co., MI, #297/304: Redbird, Stephen, I, m, 45, minister, b. MI; Nancy, I, f, 37, wife; Simon, I, m, 14, at school; Wallace, I, m, 4; Neset, I, f, 4; Martha, *, f, 85, mother (U.S. Census 1880).

[120] Ida Rosett, daughter of Mary Mandoka; Albert Mackety, grandson of Jim David; Lydia Shagonaby, daughter of Joseph; Adam and Johnny Jackson, sons of Jacob; Wille Nottawa, son of David; Angeline Pamptopee, daughter of John Jr. and Jane Pamptopee (Athens Times, September 4, 1903).

After commutation: the development and decline of East Indiantown, 1889-1912.

1889 Deed records for land purchases. The Pine Creek residents who received the compounded annuity payments in 1889 commonly invested them in the purchase of land. These purchases were not added to the trust land of the reservation, but were, rather, individual freehold titles, many made on behalf of minor children. The land purchased was not immediately contiguous to the reservation, but approximately five miles away, to the northeast. This does not seem to have been a matter of deliberate policy, but rather the result of buying available property on an open market. The deeds for these purchases are recorded in Calhoun County, Michigan, and are the first entries in the deed books for the Pine Creek families since the purchase of the original trust property.[121]

East Indiantown, 1889-1915. The secondary settlement which developed as a result of these 1889 purchases came to be known as "East Indiantown." It was remembered as part of the local cultural landscape. In 1951, a columnist in the local newspaper recalled that,

> back many years ago a part of the band separated themselves from the old reservation and bought land for what was known as the 'new settlement,' or East Indian town, 3 1/2 miles northeast of Athens, and in this township, where for a mile or more along the highway a mile south of the old Henry Thomas farm, now owned by Gale Bates, the land was divided into small plots on which the Indians built . . . Here . . . lived Thomas Wezoo, a Civil war veteran; Amos Watson of French and Indian extraction, and his family; Phineas Pamp-to-pee, last chief of the tribe, and his family; Jim Johnson and family; old John Pamp-to-pee and family, except for young John and his family;[122] Stephen Pebeah and his family; Thomas Isaac and family; Ed Caccac and family, and Jim David and family. . . Sam Mandoka also owned land in the new settlement but never built there . . .

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[121] See Appendix I for a full listing.

[122] Elliott Pamptopee recalled that his mother, an Ottawa, and father, a Potawatomi, walked with their children to church twice each Sunday, a total distance of 20 miles (Morton 1973).

> Most of the dwellers lost their places on mortgages or sold them and moved back to the old reservation, until Chief Phineas Pamp-to-pee and his family were the only ones left . . . and East Indiantown became only history" (McMillen 1951).

Sales of the 1889 land purchases. The first sales of the 1889 land purchases came within a decade, usually when the children in whose names land had been purchased died, leaving the parents with a clear title to sell. Other land was sold as the minor owners came of age.[123] A map of the landholding situation as of 1894 was presented in the petition (HPI Pet. 1987, Vol. B: Path 1 0 Acre egal Status, Chronology).

Pine Creek and East Indiantown as pictured in "Indiantown Inklings." An almost unique source for the daily history of the petitioner from the 1880's through the 1940's is the "Indiantown Inklings" column published (under various names and headings) almost weekly in the local newspaper, the Athens Times, and often picked up by other newspapers such as the nearby Vicksburg Commercial because of its deliberate "local color." Covering illnesses and deaths, marriages and births; visits (both local and out-of-town),[124] occupations (farming, trapping, berrying, ginseng gathering, fishing, woodcutting), the departure of children for BIA schools, run-ins with the local authorities (usually involving drunkenness), claims activity, mishaps, sports, and family events, it was written at various times by different members of the settlement--the longest runs were by James David and Albert Mackety. The petition presented extensive extracts, which clearly delineate the extensive, regular contacts between Pine Creek residents and the non-resident members of the group through the 1960's.[125]

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[123] See Appendix II.

[124] Indiantown Inklings column. Mr. and Mrs. Frank Bailey are going after their goods at Ceresco and move back to West Indian Town. Mrs. Jane Pamp, Colon, Michigan, came to visit (Vicksburg Commercial, April 28, 1914). Levi Pamp, of Colon, was here Sunday; Mrs. Mary King of Dowagiac came over to see Mrs. Josephine Nottawa of this place (Vicksburg Commercial, April 24, 1914).

[125] Indian baseball club at Athens, Michigan (Vicksburg Commercial 4 24), 5, June 16, 1882).

Indians from Athens went to the Dowagiac swamps to pick ries; a good picker earned $2 a day (Vicksburg Commercial, July 1, 1899, 8).

Relationships with other Michigan Potawatomi groups. The "Indiantown Inklings" also reflected the regular interaction between Pine Creek and other Potawatomi communities in Michigan and Canada, such as Bradley,[126] Walpole Island,[127] and, to a lesser extent, the nearby Pokagons.[128]

Indian women went from Athens to the mouth of the K-kan-la-ma-zoo to pick strawberries (Vicksburg Commercial, September 1, 1899, 1).

Joseph Mee-me returned home from collecting ginseng roots, which were used for medicinal purposes (Vicksburg Commercial, September 1, 1899, 1).

[126] Local and Otherwise. Naw-to-wace-bing (Indian Town). From the Indian Correspondent. Allegan Indians have been work four years past trying to get a share the Huron money. They do not belong to the Huron. Those Allegan Indians are belong to Pokagon band. Those Pottawattomies of Athens, they know them well, every one of them. Pokagon band has sold out their annuity in 1886 [sic] (Athens Times 3(28):1, October 10, 1885).

Joe Ma-Me-Giwe, of Bradley, made a visit with the Pottawattomies of Athens. Mr. Ma-Me-giwe he is good trapper. He always trap in the northern part of the state. He will start first of November for his wigwam in Bradley. Pamp-to-pe (Athens Times 3(28):1, October 10, 1885).

Pottawatomies assembled at the wigwam of Amos Watson in east Indian town thanksgiving and had a delightful feast on Indian turkey and accompaniments. They were afterward addressed by the elder, Chief Phineas Pamptope (Athens Times, November 27, 1897).

Athens Potawatomi went to the Gun Lake grove for the camp meeting in August (Reuter 1993, 170, citing to Vicksburg Commercial 21(35):1, August 25 1899). Also referred to as the Michigan Wesleyan camp meeting at Hastings (same reference).

Kelsey Isaac, who has been in Bradley for some time, is again living in East Athens (Athens Times, April 28, 1900).

Some time this Month Camp meeting will be held at Bradley, this state. Canada Indians they will be there too, and North Ottawas they will attend the campmeeting also (Vicksburg Commercial 23(28):8, July 5, 1901).

Big Indian campmeeting going to be at Bradley Aug. 14. Expect some Indian here, they will go to attend the Campmeeting (Vicksburg Semi-Weekly Commercial 1(65):1, July 15, 1902).

Notice of death of D.K. Foster of Bradley, two weeks previously. "He made a visit with his Indian friends at Athens three weeks ago at Indian Mission. He was a first Indian preacher was known" (Vicksburg Semi-Weekly Commercial 2(31):1, March 24, 1903).

[127] Jim David will go to Canada this fall to talk with Canadian Pattawatomies (Athens Times, October 27, 1900).

P. Pamptope he has receive a news from the commitee at Walpole Island campmeeting will be held August 29, 1901. After meeting Indian council will be held (Vicksburg Commercial 23(23):1, May 31, 1901).

Next week come Indians come from Walpole Island here and have reviving meeting over in old Mackey's place next Monday. They will talk most English and all white folks can come. They be invited at that meeting. Jim David and his squaw and grandson he go home from Walpole Island campmeeting two weeks. Jim David he said he has a interesting

Because the majority of the Pokagons were Catholic, the Pine Creek group did not share with them the common religious focus they had with Bradley and Walpole Island. The Huron Potawatomi and the Pokagons also experienced rivalry on claims, particularly between 1895 and 1904, because of the Athens settlement's exclusion from the Cadman Roll.

Phineas Pamptopee and the initiation of claims activity 1882-1904. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Phineas Pamptopee, the chief of the Huron Potawatomi, was active in prosecuting claims activity, as frequently noted in the "Indiantown Inklings" newspaper articles. This activity resulted in a payment, which is the source of the 1904 Taggart Roll (see more detailed discussion of this document below). Pamptopee himself described the chronology and motivation of the claims activity as follows:

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time. He never saw an american side what he saw on that Canada side. He saw the Indians and squaws and children dancing for glory (Vicksburg Semi-Weekly Commercial 23(51):2, October 21, 1901).

Adam Shipman will make a visit to his old Indian friends at Athens after pay day in Canada, after 25th of this month. A Bengham, Pottawatomi Indian in Canada, he is very sick 2 months back, now he is getting better to be around again. Joseph Kah-osod, he is in Canada, where he is home now. He has left Michigan when he was a boy (Vicksburg Commercial 23(44):1, October 25, 1901). [Same entries submitted for August 26, 1902.]

Amos Watson they went to Walpole Island to visiting a few weeks with his family (Vicksburg Semi-Weekly Commercial 1(35):1, April 8, 1902).

Wednesday and Thursday evening the following Indians arrived from Walpole Island to attend the campmeeting; David White and wife, Thomas Solomon, Miss Christen Thomas Smith, David Watson, Henderson Shipman and Adam Shipman and wife and two children (Athens Times, August 28, 1903).

Mrs. Henry Birch and Mrs. Peter Nottoway they went visiting to Walpole Island, Canada (Vicksburg Semi-Weekly Commercial 4(59):8, June 27, 1905).

Joseph Mack-Mood, of Walpole Island, he was here two weeks ago, visit his relative. His father Pottawatomi Chief. This old Mack-Mood he went with his tribe to west. Joseph Mack-Mood he was small, the time government emmigrated with Pottawatomies (Vicksburg Semi-Weekly Commercial 4(95):8, October 31, 1905).

Athens Potawatomi travelled to the Methodist camp meeting on Walpole Island (Athens Times, August 24, 1922).

[128] John Mackey, of Toquin, he doing nicely. His wife part French (Vicksburg Commercial 23(23):8, July 5, 1901).

Mrs. Jane Pamptopee and her mother, Elizabeth Shawgoquette, they departed here Monday to Hartford, Mich, visit with their relatives there (Athens Times 24(11):1 col. 4, June 15, 1906).

> When Mo-gau-ga was alive [before 1863] they had a council and talked this matter up; just before the war broke out 2 old men brought it up; then Mo-gau-ga died and my father lived one year after he died; then he died; told Phineas to continue; he neglected to do so until 1882 (Phineas Pam-To-Pee and 1,371 Other 1891, Deposition 181, 12-13).

In 1882, Phineas Pamptopee began to press the issue of Huron Potawatomi interests in tribal annuities; he retained Judge John B. Shipman of Coldwater, Michigan, as counsel (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 34; see indexes to Phineas Pamptopee's correspondence with the BIA re: claims **in** NARS, RG75, P2187, Roll 6 and Roll 23).[129] During the same period, the Pokagons retained John Critcher of Chicago in 1881 (Clifton 1984, 97).[130] Both groups prosecuted their claims simultaneously, and sometimes in rivalry, for the next few years.[131]

An Act of Congress (March 19, 1890, 26 Stat. 24) granted jurisdiction to the Court of Claims. The two groups (Huron

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[129] Mc Gowan the Congressman; then Lacey; then O'Donnell; then Judge Shipman and Dr. Twiss (Phineas Pam-To-Pee and 1,371 Other . . . 1891, Deposition, 13).

"However, the most severe threat [to the Pokagons] came from the Potawatomi of the Huron and other Neshnabek scattered through Michigan and other parts, represented by an unusually aggressive attorney with a true instinct for the jugular, John B. Shipman" (Clifton 1984, 101).

[130] For a narration of the claims saga from the Pokagon perspective, see Clifton 1984, 94-107.

[131] Senate Ex. Doc. No. 124, 49th Congress, 1st Session. Letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a letter form the Commissioner of Indian Affairs relative to certain Pottawatomie Indians. "The Commissioner further states that the Pottawatomie Indians located in Calhoun County, Michigan, were parties to the treaties of Novembr 17, 1807, September 19, 1827, and September 27, 1833, and should be included in any settlement that may hereafter be made of the claims set forth in said memorial" (Pokagon Pet. Appendix A-II, 83)

Indian Town. "Allegan Indians have been work four years past trying to get a share the Huron money. They do not belong to the Huron. Those Allegan Indians are belong to Pokagon band. Those Pottawattomies of Athens, they know them well, every one of them. Pokagon band has sold out their annuity in 1866 [transcript says 1886, but that has to be a mistake, given the date of the newspaper and the date of the Pokagon commutation]" (Athens Times, October 10, 1885).

Potawatomi and Pokagon Potawatomi) brought claims[132] on behalf of "all the Potawatomi Indians in the States of Michigan and Indiana" in Potawatomi Indians v. The United States and Phineas Pam-To-Pee and 1,371 Other Potawatomi Indians v. The United States.[133] The two cases were consolidated and decided as one case by the U.S. Court of Claims in March of 1892 (27 Ct. Cl. 403, decided March 28, 1892). The Court of Claims' award to the remnants of the Potawatomi nation was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court on April 17, 1893 (affirmed 148 U.S. 691, April 1893; HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 34). At this time, Congress did not provide an appropriation (Leatherbury 1977, 108), but money was made available within a few months, awaiting a final determination of how it was to be paid (Clifton 1984, 103).

The U.S. Court of Claims did not determine which individual Potawatomi were entitled to receive compensation under the decision. This was left to the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, the administrators responsible for maintaining records and paying annuities. In 1894, they determined that payment should be made only to those Potawatomi whose ancestors both were listed on annuity rolls from 1843-1866 and who had been included in the religious exemption clause of the supplementary articles of the 1833 Treaty of Chicago: in other words, to the Catholic Pokagon bands (Clifton 1884, 105).

This determination was the basis for the preparation of the 1895 Cadman Roll (descendants of those on the 1866 payment roll, plus a few others who had missed the final payment but whose ancestors had come under the 1833 exemption) (Clifton

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[132] U.S. Court of Claims. Phineas Pam-to-pee and 1,371 other Pottawatomie Indians of Michigan and Indiana against the United States (No. 16,842) and The Pottawatomie Indians of Michigan and Indiana against the United States (No. 16,743).

[133] U.S. Court of Claims Case No. 16,842. The 1890 claims filing in Phineas Pam-To-Pee and 1,371 Other seems to include every non-Pokagon-band descendant that Phineas Pamptopee could locate in Michigan of all Potawatomi who had been listed on annuity payment rolls between 1843 and 18[illegible] -plus a few stray Pokagons. This filing is not a listing of the Pine Creek settlement and its members, although it includes the Pine Creek settlement and its members (Court of Claims Evidence of Claimant, National Archives Microfilm, M574, Roll 80).

The series of depositions taken in 1891 in conjunction with the Phineas Pam-To-Pee and 1,371 Other contain much invaluable historical and genealogical information (U.S. Court of Claims, RG123, Box 918, Folder 16,743, Federal Records Center, Suitland, Maryland).

1984, 105). Special Indian Agent Marcus D. Shelby, in February, 1896, investigated additional Potawatomi claims, added only two names to the Cadman roll, and in December, 1896, paid 272 claimants, excluding the Huron Potawatomi, the Bradley settlement, and scattered Potawatomi living throughout Michigan (HPI Pet., HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 35).

The same year, 1896, Judge Shipman went back into court on behalf of the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi and other Michigan Potawatomi whose ancestors had either not been removed west, or who had returned in time to be listed on the 1843 and later annuity rolls (U.S. Court of Claims Case No. 21,300, claims filing in Phineas Pam-To-Pee and 362[134] Other Potawatomi Indians v. The United States;" HPI Pet., Ex.). In 1899,[135] the court held that since the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi band had been named on the 1843 and 1844 rolls, and since the members of the Pine Creek settlement were direct descendants of persons named on those rolls, the Hurons were entitled to payment (HPI Pet., HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 36).

Since the money appropriated in 1894 had already been awarded exclusively to the Pokagons, an Act of April 21, 1902 (33 Stat. 210) appropriated money to pay the claimants listed in Phineas Pamptopee's suit (HPI Pet., HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 36). In 1904, Special Indian Agent Samuel L. Taggart proceeded to Coldwater, Michigan, and other places to prepare the payment roll.

> The funds were distributed to 267 persons on the Taggart Roll, which was approved by the Secretary of the Interior on November 11, 1904. The Taggart Roll is the basis for the Petitioner's present Tribal membership. Present members must show descendancy from the Taggart Roll (HPI Pet., Historical Overview 1986, 37).

In spite of the petitioner's reliance upon descendancy from the Taggart Roll as a basic membership criterion, the Taggart Roll was not a listing of the Pine Creek settlement

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[134] There are actually 363 listed names, and an indefinite number of "children" who were neither listed by name or numbered.

[135] Six Potawatomi Indians of Athens go to Kalamazoo to meet Judge Shipman of Coldwater to give testimony on the 1843/1844 payrolls (Vicksburg Commercial, 21(30):8, col. 15, July 24, 1899).

exclusively, although it included the Nottawaseppi Huron residents of the Pine Creek settlement. It was not a listing of the petitioner's ancestors per se, although it included many of the petitioner's ancestors. The ancestors of the petitioning group made up only a portion of the total number on the payroll: "Judge Shipman, who had been instrumental in finally getting an appropriation of $78,326 through Congress, was in Athens and $210.989 [including mills] was paid to **each of the 78 members of the band**" [emphasis added] (Leatherbury 1977, 108).[136] For exact terms, see the Indian Appropriation Act of April 21, 1902 (33 Stat., 210). Payments were to 272 persons whose names were set forth in Schedul A). The Taggart Roll includes, in addition to the Huron Potawatomi of the Pine Creek settlement, the majority of the Allegan County Potawatomi and scattered non-Pokagon-Potawatomi descendants living throughout the State of Michigan.

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[136] This was apparently the basis of Hodge's 1908 count of the band's number as 78: "Population of the Potawatomi of Huron, Calhoun co., Mich.: 78" (Hodge 1971, 2:291).

"Judge Shipman, Judge of probate Lane and Register D.W. Knickerbocker were here last Friday to meet the Pottawattomies here to arrange for the appointment of administrators and guardians of deceased and minor Indians for the purpose of having everything in readiness for the Indian agent when he comes to pay them, which will be in a short time. This claim is the remainder of the old government claim won by the Indians in Allegan county a few years ago and which Judge Shipman has been working through the supreme court and congress. They will each receive $216. Following are the names of those drawing money together with their guardians or administrators:

Mary Mackey, Alice Mackey--Administrator, S.W. Holmes.

John Pamptopee (George's son), Phineas Pamptopee, Jr., William Cawcawbee, Mary J. Pamptopee--Administrator, W.M. Albertson.

Martha Shawgoquet, Mary Shawgoquet--Administrator, C.A. Standiford.

Grover, Austin, Guyley and Ida Mendokey, Samuel Nottaway, Elizabeth and Lucy Wezoo--Guardian, W.M. Albertson.

Angeline and George Mendokay, John, Levi and Elizabeth Pamptopee, Albert and Betsey Mackety, Frank Mackey--Guardian, Joseph Brown.

Frank Mendokay, Mary Ann Pamptopee--Guardian, S.W. Holmes.

Angeline and Louis Shawgoquet--Guardian to be appointed.

Samuel Mendokay, Joseph Mendokay, Mary Mendokay, Betsey Walker, Caroline Walker, Thomas Weezoo, Mrs. Rosa Weezoo, Mary Weezoo, James Johnson, John, Samuel, George, Henry, and John Pamptopee, Jr., Phineas, Rodney, Frank, Jacob, George and Stephen Pamptopee; Mary Ann, John and Mary Pamptopee Mrs. Jane Pamptopee, Mrs. Agnes Pamptopee, Meemee Shawgoquet, Mackey Shawgoquet, Joseph Meemee, John Mackey, Agustus Mackey, Jennie Johnson, Mary L. Caw-cawbee, Mrs. Josephine Nottawa, David Nottawa, Peter Nottawa, William Nottawa, Amos Watson, Mrs. Sarah David, James David, Mrs. Sarah Isaac, Henry Birch, Jacob Jackson.

Unidentified newspaper clipping (Athens Pottawattomies Will Receive Their Money, n.d.; HPI Pet. 1986, Appendix, Section 3, Miscellaneous Newspaper Articles).

Elaborate instructions were sent to Taggart, Special Indian Agent, Colville Agency, Washington, September 15, 1904. He was furnished with the U.S. Court of Claims Schedule A listing the persons entitled to payment, was to consult with several individuals including Judge Shipman and Phineas Pamptopee, and was authorized to employ an interpreter if necessary. Concerning Schedule A, the Acting COIA wrote:

> . . . each of such persons is entitled to 1/272 part of $76,329.95, or $287.97 plus. It would, therefore, appear at first glance to be a very simple matter to prepare a roll for the payment, but upon closer inspection it will be observed that there are several serious difficulties in the way. Chief among these are, that while most of the Indians are specified by name in the aforesaid Schedule A, there are quite a number, 80, to be exact, who are not designated by name, but simply referred to as "Alice Jackson's seven children," "John Battice's four other children," etc.; the addresses of none of the beneficiaries are given; and the Indians are no longer in tribal relation[137] and residing under the jurisdiction of an Indian agent, but citizens of the United States and said to be scattered from Kansas to Canada. The preparation of a correct and complete roll will, therefore, require long and painstaking effort on your part, but this is the only way in which the money can be distributed to the satisfaction of all parties concerned (Tonner to Taggart, September 15, 1904, BIA RG 75, in BAR Files, 050, material from Michigan Commission on Indian Affairs).

THE PINE CREEK SETTLEMENT AFTER THE TAGGART ROLL: 1904-1948

Economic and social life. Between 1900 and 1994, the HPI population increased exponentially. During the first third of the twentieth century, the gradual increase can be attributed primarily to the control of such childhood diseases

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[137] As stated earlier in this report, use of this terminology in BIA records during the second half of the nineteenth century does not signify that a petitioner was not a tribal grouping as interpreted for Federal acknowledgment purposes. Rather it signifies that a group was not residing on a Federal reservation, under the supervision of a Federal Indian agent, and that its members were not in the legal status of wards of the Federal government.

as diphtheria and measles and to the gradual extermination of tuberculosis in the group's adult population. Since 1960, the increase in out-marriage, which effectively doubles the number of child-producing families in each generation, has also contributed to rapid expansion.

Chart II: HPI 1994 Membership by Decade of Birth

Decade of Birth	Number of 1994 Members
1900-1909	2
1910-1919	18
1920-1929	37
1930-1939	37
1940-1949	82
1950-1959	128
1960-1969	160
1970-1979	167
1980-1989	140

After 1990, not enough birthdates were recorded to provide a valid indication.

Twenty-six entries on the 1994 roll had invalid birth dates.

This chart includes persons on the 1994 HPI membership list whose ancestry traced to the Bradley Settlement in Allegan County, Michigan (see Genealogical Technical Report).

Source: HPI Membership Data Base (BAR).

In 1907, a local newspaper gave a description of the Pine Creek settlement as part of an article about John Mackey Shawgoquet, the oldest resident:

> The Pottawattomies are no longer a tribe,[138] but have disbanded and enjoy the franchise. They have invested their government money in farm land and most of them live in good farm houses, some on the old reservation, others in what is termed new Indian Town. The men labor in the fields and in the woods and help neighboring farmers during the season of haying and harvesting. In the huckleberry time they still, as in years gone by, go to the Vaughn and Hall marshes in Leroy and pick the berries, pitching their tents on the high knolls adjacent there to. They cook their meals in big

[138] An apparent reference to the 1889 annuity commutation.

> kettles suspended from crossed sticks and live in the old fashion for a brief period.
>
> The children attend the Athens public schools and their standing are high. When they arrive at a certain age they are taken by the government Indian agent to the Haskell school in Kansas . . . Phineas Pamptopee was the last chief and he still acts as their adviser and counsellor. He is a man small in stature with long hair and always wears long gold earrings. He has the best education of any of the older Indians and often contributes news items to the Athens Times. These Indians are good citizens. They go about their duties in their own way and molest no one. Several white women have married into the tribe and a squaw not many years ago became the wife of a white man (Mackey, the Oldest of the Pottawatomies, Athens Times, November 29, 1907).

During the years between 1904 and World War I, the majority of the families who had bought land in the East Indiantown area sold the property. The settlement again became primarily focussed on the original Pine Creek 120 acres. However, as late as 1923, an article in the Battle Creek, Michigan, Enquirer & News, mentioned not only the Pine Creek reservation but also the existence of "New Indian town, about two miles from the old settlement" (Enquirer and News, Battle Creek, Michigan, unidentified newspaper clipping hand-dated 1923). The article described the reservation, with its cemetery, traditional occupations of fishing and trapping, making of baskets ("almost every week the women take quantities of them to Battle Creek, where they can readily dispose of them") and clothes hampers, dugout canoes on Pine Creek, and mentioned that "conversation among themselves is carried on entirely in their native tongue." The article also discussed the Indians' complaint that they were no longer allowed to hunt wild game without hindrance (Enquirer and News, Battle Creek, Michigan, unidentified newspaper clipping hand-dated 1923), and this became a long-term grievance of the Pine Creek residents.[139]

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[139] The older residents at Pine Creek had already been complaining about fishing and game rights in the late nineteenth century: "John Pamptopee; when we made treaty with government when we sold all this land the agent he says you keep the fish, we no buy them. We thought we no sold the fish. Now law say we must no spear fish. Me no understand" (HPI Pet. OD Response 1993, Exhibit A, citing Vicksburg Commercial 1887, 9(21), 2).

Three years later, the obituary of Chief Stephen Pamptopee commented: "There are now about seventy-six Pottawatomies near Athens, and are mostly young people. Most of them dwell in the West Indian reservation, having sold out in East Indian town" (Steve Pamptopee 1926).

The Pine Creek land base. Because of the decline and end of the East Indiantown settlement, the history of the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi during the first half of the twentieth century again became focussed on the original 120-acre Pine Creek Reservation land base.[140] While title to the land was vested in trust to the Governor of Michigan, the internal usage of the plots had been individual. The County Clerk of Calhoun County described the allotment of land use and houses within the 120 acres as having been made "by a handshake" (DeMarce FD 1994). The only deeds which attempted to transfer any title to this land were three made in 1905, and these were quit-claim deeds, which have the effect of transferring not clear title, but any interest that the grantor **may have** in the property concerned.[141] This is in contrast to the many deeds on file pertaining to the East Indiantown properties which were owned in fee simple (see above).

The reservation land continued to serve as a refuge and center for even those families that had found work elsewhere. Elliot Pamp was born in Kalamazoo County near Fulton; moved with his parents to Bronson where he attended grammar school. He quit school at age 15 because his father had arthritis and worked on the family farm until 1926, when "his father decided to move to the Potawatomi reservation near Athens because his illness did not show improvement and

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About 1940, the late Zeke Blackmer, Calhoun County, Michigan, conservation officer, arrested seven Potawatomi from Pine Creek for trapping muskrat out of season and fined them $8 apiece (Athens Pottawatomies 1960).

[140] In the 1916 Calhoun County, Michigan, atlas, the additional 40 acres (1848 land certificate, recorded 1884), registered under the name P. Pamptopee, appears adjacent to the original 120 acres (Leatherbury 1977, 100).

[141] 1905. Calhoun County, Michigan, quit-claim land deeds: John Pamptopee, Sr., to Elliot Pamtopee, son of George and Phoebe Pamtopee and grandson of the grantor; Josephine Henry (nee Caw Cawbe) to James David and Sarah David his wife; Josephine Henry and James D. Henry to Cyrus Pamtopee, Levy Pamtopee, Elizabeth Pamtopee, children of John and Jean Pamtopee. Calhoun County, Michigan, Liber 192, p. 94; Liber 192, p. 371; Liber 182, p. 600 (HPI Pet., Ex. Doc. 7).

they would have to pay no real estate taxes there" (Rowley 1966).

The comparative prosperity of the settlement in the later nineteenth century fell victim to the general agricultural decline of the post-World-War-I era, and was exacerbated by the Depression. While the turn-of-the-century "Indiantown Inklings" had mentioned horses and plows, Austin Mandoka reported in a 1934 letter to COIA John Collier that:

> No Indians own any horses, cows, or farm implements. Each spring gardens are spaded for raising potatoes, and a few other vegetables, and in the fall, when its time to harvest, there's very little crop left; most instances nothing left. We have been depending on the County for relief purposes . . . All of the men, or heads of families have been working on the CWA projects, that being the means of providing food and clothing the past winter. It's impossible to obtain work in factories, and there's very little or no farm work (Mandoka to Collier, March 20, 1934; HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 17).

Changing residential patterns and the growing importance of off-reservation employment. As a consequence of the Depression, more members of the group moved away from Pine Creek and Athens looking for work. In 1937, a dozen residents left the settlement (Leatherbury 1977, 102). By 1940, only 35 residents remained on the Pine Creek site (Leatherbury 1977, 102).

However, most returned for regular visits with relatives, as reported in the "Indiantown Inklings" column, and some eventually resettled on the Pine Creek land. Howard Paul's family built a house on Pine Creek in 1915. He left the Athens area for Dowagiac, about 75 miles to the southwest, in the 1930's, working there at several jobs, most of them seasonal. He stayed in Dowagiac 28 years before returning to "Indian Town" (LeFever 1971).

Quimby's research, done in 1936-1938 (Quimby 1939), indicated that the able-bodied men were manual laborers working in Battle Creek or on WPA road gangs, or seasonal farming labor (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 42).

Secular leadership. Phineas Pamptopee, who had been chief for 50 years, died in 1914. The designated chief for the next ten years was his youngest son, Stephen Pamptopee, but

there was a sense within the group that he was not chosen "properly," but just designated by his father.[142] Members of the group recall that he played a strong leadership role in the church, but was shy and retiring in personality (DeMarce FD 1994).

Misinterpretations of Stephen Pamptopee's term as chief. Greenman's 1940 article on "Chieftainship among Michigan Indians" (Greenman 1940) badly misinterpreted the sequence of events among the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi during the first half of the twentieth century. His description was apparently based on a misunderstanding of an article that had appeared in the Battle Creek News, July 3, 1924. Greenman stated that

> by the written request of Phineas, the chieftainship went in that year to Steve Pamp,[143] one of the three sons of Jacob Pamp [sic] who died about July 1, 1924 [sic]. Whether Jacob Pamp inherited the leadership from his father, and was chief until his death, is not stated [sic] (Greenman 1940, 372).

Then, in 1977, Leatherbury misunderstood Greenman. Presuming that Jacob Pamp had been chief and died in 1924, Leatherbury wrote that Phineas Pamptopee had, before his death, requested in writing that "Jacob's son, Steve Pamp, should

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[142] "Although in recent years the local Indians have not taken the chieftancy very seriously, just before Chief Pamptopee's death in 1914, he chose his youngest son, Steve Pamp, as his successor, and this act was recognized as official by most of the tribe, although there has been some dispute from time to time. But the present position of chief is at best only an honorary office, and carries with it no power whatever in the government of the people" (Hold Funeral for Dead Chief, Athens Times, September 1926).

Stephen Pamptopee's obituary included a statement that "the old chief had the right to designate who should succeed him in office as chief" and printed a document which Phineas Pamptopee had signed at Athens, Michigan, on May 12, 1905, witnessed by Mrs. Ida Henry and Mrs. Josephine Henry, saying:

> I, Phineas Pamptopee, chief of the Nottawaseppi Pottawatomie Indians of the state of Michigan, now take the law of the state. I have a power in full to elect my son, Steve, to the head of the office as chief, after I leave this earth (Steve Pamptopee 1926).

[143] This family used the names Pamp and Pamptopee interchangeably. In the twentieth century, the tendency has been to use the abbreviated form.

become chief" (Leatherbury 1977, 101). Leatherbury then discussed a "renewed leadership struggle" between Steve Pamp and Samuel Mandoka (Leatherbury 1977, 101).[144] The petitioner's own Historical Overview picked up Greenman's mistake and gave Stephen Pamp's date of death as 1924 (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 38).

Jacob Pamp was never chief. Jacob Pamp was Stephen Pamp's brother, not his father. Stephen Pamp, youngest son of Phineas Pamp, became chief in 1914 and remained chief until his death in 1926. As far as can be told from the documents, he accepted Samuel Mandoka's activism good-temperedly, and other men of the group were also active in the Pine Creek settlement's concerns.[145]

Samuel Mandoka as chief (1926-1934). The strong influential role of Samuel Mandoka within the Pine Creek settlement did begin during the lifetime of Stephen Pamp. At Stephen Pamp's death, he was not formally chosen to the office as chief, but was more or less "self-appointed" because of his good education and outgoing personality. Mandoka undertook much "outreach effort" directed toward whites, with the intention of gaining popular sympathy for Indian history and culture. He began to speak to historical societies, arrange appearances at county fairs, and make appearances at schools. He also entered local politics, and in 1925 was chosen constable of Indiantown on the Republican ticket, receiving 64 more votes than his opponent (Greenman 1940, 372).

Public relations activities. Public relations by the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi began before Samuel Mandoka became

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[144] This terminology may inflate what was going on, but Mandoka was upon occasion publicly described as chief prior to Stephen Pamptopee's death. A 1918 article on erection of flag pole on the Potawatomi reservation in Calhoun county called him "Chief Sam Mandoka Shawgoquette, grandson of the last tribal chief." Mentioning his sons in military service, it continued: "While Chief Mandoka has given up his tribal rights, along with the other Indians, and casts his vote for president, each for years, he is still acknowledged as the oracle of the band" (Athens Times, August 29, 1918).

[145] Deed, April 16, 1921, from Henry Cole, Athens Township, to Samuel Mandoka, Grover Mandoka and Dennis Paul, Trustees for the Nottawatamie Band of Indinas [sic] of the Township of Athens, $10.00, beginning of nw corner of se 1/4 of se 1/4 of section 21, south 1 rod, west 16 rods, for cemetery purposes (HPI Tribal Office).

influential in the group,[146] but he greatly intensified them. Throughout the period of his leadership, the Pine Creek settlement appeared in numerous pageants, at fairs, in parades, etc.[147] On such occasions, the group demonstrated such traditional crafts as basket-making.

Succession to Samuel Mandoka. The petition states that at his death at age 71, Samuel Mandoka was succeeded not by a chief, but by a committee--a committee which in fact was pretty much the same men as the Board of Elders for the Indian Mission Methodist church (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 41). BAR research indicated that in 1934, these men were Levi Pamp, Albert Mackety, and Austin Mandoka. At the time of Samuel Mandoka's death, his second-oldest son, Grover Mandoka, told the local newspaper that:

> There is no need for a tribal head. We live and work as individuals, the same as any white family. If the time should come when, as a tribe, we should want representation in Washington or elsewhere, the surviving members undoubtedly would get together and designate one of their number to

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[146] For example: 1904 photograph, Potawatomi participating in a Battle Creek Historical celebration (HPI Pet., Historical Overview 1986, 40).

1909 photographs, Potawatomi community participating in the Marshall County Fair, hand-made baskets and traditional dress (HPI Pet., Historical Overview 1986, 40).

In 1915, the Athens Indians had floats in the 4th of July parade (Reuter 1993, 172).

[147] Athens Indians took part in the Battle Creek Mardi Gras and in an exposition at Gougar Lake; also appeared in the pageant about Columbus and the landing of the pilgrims (Athens Times, September 7, 1922).

Mrs. and Mrs. Sam Mandoka and family, Mrs. and Mrs. Joe Pamp and family and Mrs. Geo. Pamp in Elkhart last Friday where they took part in the Centennial Anniversary celebration; float awarded second prize; Sam gave a talk before Elkhart business men's club and another in the Bristol High School on Thursday (Athens Times, October 2, 1924).

About 20 of the Athens Indians with Chief Sam Mandoka camped at the Kalamazoo County Fair (Reuter 1993, 172, but citing to a 1924 Athens Times newspaper article).

Sam Mandoka spoke to the winter meeting of the Michigan Archaeological Society at Battle Creek (Athens Times, January 8, 1925).

Newly organized Indian baseball team from Athens with Clarence Barber as manager scheduled several games (Athens Times, June 3, 1926, 1).

Potawatomi Indian village at Marshall County Fair (HPI Pet., Historical Overview 1986, 40).

> represent them. Until then, we shall continue as a chiefless tribe (Manassah 1983, [9-10].[148]

After the death of Samuel Mandoka, the major political leadership of Pine Creek for the next 40 years was provided by Albert Mackety and Levi Pamp, both of whom had worked closely with Stephen Pamptopee and Samuel Mandoka for many years in both secular and ecclesiastical matters.[149] Albert Mackety's

> leadership was based on personal qualities and achievements, especially his role in the church, rather than descent from earlier chiefs. Indeed, Albert's father was a grand River Ottawa who had married into the Huron Potawatomis. Nevertheless, Mackety had greater public recognition as a leader in the band's relationship with the outside world. . . . Albert Mackety's rise to leadership appears to have been resented by some band members. However, there was little open criticism. Mackety's influence in the church, and the church's influence in the community, kept opposition in check" (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 19).

Levi Pamp was more of a traditionalist. A great-nephew of Phineas Pamptopee, he

> was a researcher and keeper of the Tribal History.[150] His personal papers show correspondence to area libraries and Indian Claims Commissioners requesting copies of various tribal documents. Among his papers are various photographs of members of the Huron Potawatomi Indian Community,

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[148] Leatherbury, in another major misunderstanding of Huron Potawatomi political processes, wrote that "the eldest son, Guy Mandoka, had renounced his right of succession and left the settlement before his father's death" (Leatherbury 1977, 101). There was no such "right of succession." Chiefs were chosen by the band.

[149] By the mid-1920's, the church building that had been repaired 20 years previously was no longer repairable. In 1925, the congregation appointed a committee for new church building at the reservation: Rev. J.H. Charles, Chairman; Albert Mackety, Stephen Pamptopee, J.C. Pamptopee, Levi Pamptopee, and Samuel Mandoka (Athens Times, May 21, 1925).

[150] Levi Pamp "still has a dog-eared prayerbook, the pages stained and yellowed. He treasures the little book because on the left hand pages, the prayers and hymns are printed in English. On the right hand pages, the script is Potawatomi" (LeFever 1971).

> some dating back to 1832 [sic]. Still other correspondence shows that a Historian, Merritt Greene, used Levi Pamp as a Historical source in the book Forgotten Yesterdays. Other correspondence demonstrates that an outside business man recognized Levi as an Indian Community Leader capable of organizing Indian Labor to be used at Sutton's Bay Michigan for picking cherries" (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 46).

Albert Mackety, in particular, did not confine his activities to the Pine Creek community. From the 1930's through the 1950's,

> Albert Mackety was a vocal advocate of Indian Treaty Rights, self-determination and justice for the Potawatomi in the State of Michigan. He did not confine his activities only to the Indian Town community that he called the "Nottawasippe Potawatomi Indian Reserve," but to other Indian Communities - The Potawatomi Indians of Indiana and Michigan Society, a Pokagon Potawatomi organization, and the Bradley Indian Community. Acting as a political leader, he helped the communities to develop tribal roles [sic] and research treaties and history in preparation for litigation in the Indian Claims Commission (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 41-42).

Overall, the petitioner provided less specific evidence for political leadership during the period from the mid-1930's through 1970 than for any other period in the group's history. For more extensive discussions of the evidence upon which the political leadership, influence, and interaction of leaders with the membership during this period were determined to be adequate to meet the standards of 25 CFR Part 83, refer to the Anthropological Technical Report to this proposed finding. Throughout this period, the core geographic settlement continued to exist at Pine Creek, though only a minority of the membership resided on the state reservation.

Church developments.

Intensification of Methodist activity from the turn of the century through the Depression era. During the late 1890's, the level of publicly visible activities of the Methodist Indian Mission on the Pine Creek reservation greatly increased. This was not a product of any greatly increased support from the central church body: from 1898 through

1911, the Athens Indian Mission received $50 from the Kalamazoo District Methodist Conference most years (Reuter, 1993, 167). A 1897 newspaper notice indicated that the Pottawatomies had a social at the home of David Nottawa to "raise a little money" for their preacher (Athens Times, December 11, 1897).

In 1898, E.W. Laing [sometimes spelled Lang] was reported as minister for Athens Indian Mission (Reuter 1993, 167), although he was not, as reported in Steve Pamptopee's 1926 obituary, the "first white man who preached here" (Steve Pamptopee 1926). Ordinarily, the pastor of the Indian Mission church also served the non-Indian Methodist congregations in either Athens or East Leroy (Steve Pamptopee 1926), but the Indians were expected to pay their share of his salary.[151] In accordance with customary Methodist practice, the minister usually served in one location for only two or three years.[152] Some have left little more record of their service than their names on the annual report to the Conference.[153] In addition to the assigned ministers, members of the Indian congregation continued to function as lay preachers also.[154]

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[151] "Friday night will have a social at David Nottawa place. Every Pottawatomie invite to come to help raising for white man preacher" (Vicksburg Commercial 22(30):1, September 1, 1899).

The pastor's salary was paid up and they had some money ahead for the next year (Vicksburg Commercial, December 11. 1914).

[152] In 1900, W. I. Elmer reported as minister for Athens Indian Mission. He was followed by L.A. Sevits (Reuter 1993, 167). L.A. Sevits appointed to Athens Indian Mission and East Leroy (Athens Times, October 9, 1903).

Circa 1903, H.R.E. Quant served three years at Athens Indian Mission (Reuter 1993, 167).

[153] J.G. Biery reported 13 members at Methodist Indian Mission in Athens (Reuter 1993, 167).

John Bretts reported 11 members at Methodist Indian Mission in Athens ca. 1908 (Reuter 1993, 167).

George Killeen reported 32 members at Athens Indian Mission in 1911-1912 (Reuter 1993, 167).

[154] Rev. W.I. Elmer will preach at Mee-Me-Show-go-swat grove next Sunday. Last Sunday Phineas Pamptopee he preach some place where Elmer going to preach next Sunday (Vicksburg Commercial 23(28):8, July 5, 1901).

Next Sunday, Me-Me-Shaw-go-que. he will preach, Watson place 2 o'clock pray meeting. Rev Sevits, he regular preacher, will not be there. He be at quarterly meeting at Fulton. Indians they have nice singing . . . (Vicksburg Semi-Weekly Commercial 1(31):1, March 25, 1902).

Given the limited financial resources available, the activities of the small Indian Mission Church during this period were extensive. The largest annual undertaking was the hosting of an Indian camp meeting. The first newspaper mention of one of these was in 1900, when it was proposed, but was not held.[155]

A major camp meeting did take place in 1903. The advance announcement said that it was planned at Rod Simon's grove south of Athens in August, and that the Indians would try to get a large tent so "the white folks" would not get wet if it rained (Athens Times, July 3, 1903). The meeting, a week-long affair beginning August 23 and continuing until the 31st, featured a noted choir and the Indian brass band from Walpole Island; a place to hitch teams; a refreshment stand; and an admission fee of 10 cents per person on Saturday and Sunday. No intoxicated persons were allowed on the grounds: officers were present to preserve good order (Athens Times, July 31, 1903).

At the same time, the church undertook numerous activities internal to the congregation. In 1905, the church made major repairs to the frame church building; rods were placed to hold the rotting timbers together (Vicksburg Semi-Weekly Commercial, June 27, 1905). The regular routine of services and funerals continued (Mackey Shaw-go-quette 1912).

Beginning in 1912 and continuing through 1915, the annual contribution of the Kalamazoo District, Methodist Conference to the Athens Indian Mission increased to $80 per year (Reuter 1993, 167). From 1913 to 1916, Rev. W.A. Exner[156] reported an average of 20 members the four years he served the Athens Indian Church (Reuter 1993, 167). During his pastorate, the church received the gift of an organ: Pine Creek member Mary Ann Pamp, Chief Stephen Pamp's daughter,

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[155] Report has gone out in County paper than an Indian Campmeeting will be held here in August, but the announcement is a little premature, according to what the Indians say. They have not decided yet whether to hold one but in a few days they will (Athens Times, June 14, 1900). The Indians say there will be no Indian camp meeting here this fall. The difficulty seems to be in raising money to defray expenses (Athens Times, September 1, 1900). Relative to the Indian campmeeting, which outside papers have published would be held here, Mackey Sawgoquet said there would be none. He said, "Indians have nuff money, but do not want him" (Athens Times, September 14, 1900).

[156] We glad our pastor Rev Wm Exner comes back to our little mission this year (Vicksburg Commercial, October 9, 1914).

was organist (Reuter 1993, 172-173). The church conducted Revival Meetings (Vicksburg Commercial, April 24, 1914) in addition to the regular Sunday services.[157]

In 1916, Rev. Joel Hillburn was assigned to the Athens Indian Mission; He reported 25 members and 12 probationers but no Sunday School statistics. He remained three years, reporting an average membership of 24 (Reuter 1993, 167). About 1920, Rev. C.J. Kendall served one year at Athens Indian Mission; then the charge was transferred from the Kalamazoo District to the Albion-Lansing District (Reuter 1993, 167). Between 1920 and 1929, the Revs. Geo. Carter, J.H. Charles, J.W. Rochelle, and Lee W. Mooney served as ministers at the Athens Indian Mission. Membership averaged 22, and the church had an active Sunday School with between 15 and 30 enrolled, with an average attendance of 15-20 (Reuter 1993, 167).

These bare statistics from the Methodist Conference reports can be greatly expanded by reports in the local newspapers. In 1922, Rev. and Mrs. J.H. Charles entertained the Athens Indians at the parsonage. Levi Pamptopee played violin solos, a male quintet sang in Ojibway, and a quartet of women sang in English (Athens Times, December 7, 1922).

The camp meetings were not only continued, but greatly expanded. In 1924, the Athens Times announced that the Indian camp meeting would be held in a grove on Wm. McNiel's farm, a mile north of town. A meeting had recently been held at the home of Steve Pamp, at which time plans were made.

> Instead of holding the meetings in the open under a canopy of leaves and trusting to favorable weather, this year plans are being made to use a big tent with a seating capacity of 700 to 800 persons. Last year on the last Sunday, a crowd of some 5,000 people visited the grounds" (Indian Campmeeting [sic] 1924).

The 1924 speakers included Rev. Amos Wagley of Traverse City, "a white man who speaks both English and Indian lan-

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[157] "A Sunday school session is held at 11 a.m., with preaching service at 3:00 p.m., and a prayer meeting Thursday evening. Rev. J. W. Rochelle is the present pastor of the charge and efforts are now being made to erect a new and larger church edifice for the use of the reservation" (Steve Pamptopee 1926).

guages fluently," and Rev. Wm. Shaw of Walpole Island, Canada, "who was here last year," and other Indian workers, as well as Indian musicians (Indian Campmeeting 1924). In a later report on the preparations, the newspaper noted that a well had been sunk and toilet facilities added (Athens Times, August 21, 1924). On opening day, 1,000 automobiles and 3,000 people were there. The speakers, both Indian and white, came from as far away as Argentina (Athens Times, August 28, 1924).

By the mid-1920's, the church building that had been repaired 20 years previously was no longer repairable. In 1925, the congregation appointed a committee for new church building at the reservation: Rev. J.H. Charles, Chairman; Albert Mackety, Stephen Pamptopee, J.C. Pamptopee, Levi Pamptopee, and Samuel Mandoka (Athens Times, May 21, 1925). The following year, a work bee placed nearly enough stone on the ground for the basement of the new church building. The pastor, Rev. J.W. Rochelle, reported that the congregation would worship in the basement while the rest of the building was being finished on a "pay as you go" basis (Athens Times, March 23, 1926).

The camp meetings were also held in 1925,[158] 1926,[159] and 1927.[160] In 1926, the committee decided to charge a single

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[158] Indian Camp Meeting to be held August 11-17 at McNeil grove, 1/2 mile north of Athens on the Battle Creek gravel road, funds to be used to help in building new church. Rev. Wm. H. Shaw of Walpole Island, Ont., Rev. Selkirk Sprague of Bradley, MI. Committee in charge: Sam Mandoka, chairman; Frank Pamp, George Pamp, Levi Pamp, Albert Mackety, Stephen Pamp. Rev. J.H. Charles, treasurer (Athens Times, July 23). Walpole Island Indian Band will be present (Athens Times, August 6, 1925). More detail (Athens Times, August 13, 1925; August 20, 1925).

[159] Planning for Indian camp meeting August 15-22: there would be four Indian preachers from Walpole Island. The officers of the association this year are: Albert Mackety, chairman; Joseph Pamp, vice chairman; Secretary, Henry Medawis; treasurer and chairman ex officio, Rev. J.W. Rochelle; program committee, J.W. Rochelle, Joseph Pamp and Steve Pamp; grounds committee, Peter Nottaway, Elliott Pamp and Frank Pamp (Athens Times, July 8, 1926).

[160] The Athens Times published a notification that the "fourth annual" Indian camp meeting would open the next Saturday in Waldron park, one mile south of Athens. The leading Indian preachers, Rev. Wm. Shaw and Rev. Wm. Saney, of Canada, would be present to conduct some of the services, part of which would be in the language of the Ojibways, and much of the singing will be in this tongue. Dr. Rockwell Clancy of India would preach; Dr. W.H. Duffey, district superientendent of the Albion district, was in charge of the services. Grounds were being

admission of 10 cents per person for those over ten years and 25 cents for automobiles, not including the passengers, to raise funds for the new church building (Athens Times, July 8, 1926). A substantial amount added to the building fund (Athens Times, August 26, 1926). Manifestly, these camp meetings were very large organizational undertakings which involved a great deal of preparation and effort on the part of the members of the Pine Creek settlement. At the close of the 1927 camp meeting, however,

> At the adjourned meeting of the quarterly conference held at the Indian campmeeting last Sunday evening, the Indian church voted that hereafter the campmeeting will be a district affair and under the direction of the district superintendent, which will lessen the financial responsibility, heretofore assumed by the Indian church and enlarge the scope of the campmeeting (Indian Campmeeting 1927b).

In fact, this move apparently did not enlarge the scope of the camp meetings, but suspended them for several years. From 1929 to 1934, Rev. A. L. Ellsworth served the Athens Methodist Church and Athens Indian Mission (Reuter 1993, 167). During these years, there is mention that Pine Creek residents attended Indian camp meetings that were held elsewhere in Michigan and on Walpole Island,[161] but no

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cleared of weeds and brush (Indian Campmeeting 1927a)

After it had been held, the newspaper article indicated that the Athens Indians had closed a very successful camp meeting. During the week several families of Indians were camping in tents. Those present included Rev. Shaw of Walpole Island, an Indian organist from Walpole Island, and Rev. English from Ohio. On the last Sunday, the local preacher, Joe Pamp, dismissed the worshippers.

> Albert Mackety and Henry Medawis handled the financial end of the business in a very satisfactory way. Elliott Pamp proved very competent at parking cars compactly in such a way as to get out easily. Boy Scouts Paul Brand and Leon Rich proved very good traffic officers. There were Indians present from Union City, Colon, Bradley, Grand Rapids, and Canada. The oldest Indian camper was Sarah Davis, 98 years old . . . (Indian Campmeeting 1927b).

[161] All Indians expected to attend the camp meeting at Pleasant Ridge, are to have charge of one service (Athens Times, July 17, 1929). No services this Sunday as most of the people will be away to Walpole Campmeeting (Athens Times, September 4, 1929).

indication that camp meetings were held at Athens.[162] However, the Indian Methodist church did continue to sponsor other good-sized events as well as smaller gatherings and fund-raisers:[163]

> Big picnic at Frank Mackey grove at Indiantown Sunday. We invited everybody that like to hear Samson Pigeon speak. He be here that day, also Indian singing from the Sunday school class. Everybody welcome to be here at the afternoon service at 2:30 fast time. We also have more speakers that is not got their names in. We be out in the open for this service (Athens Times, June 19, 1929).

According to the petitioner, during the 1930's the reservation church was attended only by Indians, with sermons and hymns in the Indian language (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 36). This obviously did not apply to the special services, to which everyone was invited by notices in the local newspapers.

Between 1934 and 1938, Rev. C.H. Greene served Athens, East Leroy and the Indian Mission. The historian of Methodist Indian missions in Michigan has stated that "by the late 1930's the membership at the Indian church had dwindled to 16 with 16 in the Sunday School" (Reuter 1993, 167-168). If this is compared with the Pine Creek population statistics, however (see above), the report indicates that all but three residents of the reservation were either adult members of the church or attending Sunday School, which is a high level of participation. Regular church activities continued: in 1937, the Christmas committees at the Indian Mission were: program; Hubert Mackety, Cecelia Pamptopee; tree, Arthur Meeksen; decorating, Mrs. Sarah Mandoka, Mrs. Eliza Pamp; candy, Albert Mackety (Athens Times, December 15, 1937).

During the next decade, Methodist ministers continued to be appointed. From 1938 through 1941, Levant R. Wheaton served Athens Methodist Indian Mission (Reuter 1993, 168). In

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[162] The Petitioner's Historical Overview mentions an Athens camp meeting in 1935, but provides no documentation (HPI Pet., Historical Overview 1986, 41).

[163] Social gathering Friday evening at Albert Mackety's house (Athens Times, August 21, 1929); Box socials to raise money for the church; also rummage sale at Emma Mackey's (Athens Times, August 28, 1929; Reuter 1993, 173).

1941, Frederick M. Thurston appointed minister to Athens Indian Mission. The church received assistance of $200 through the Board of Missions, a special appropriation (Reuter 1993, 168). From 1943 through 1947, William Meadows, pastor of Athens Indian Mission, reported receiving $100 from the Board of Home Missions and $200 annually through 1947 from the Board, for pastoral assistance (Reuter 1993, 168).

The petitioner reported that the Methodist church at Pine Creek was closed in 1946 (Church 1993, 35). However, the correct date seems to be 1948. Herbert M. Parks, pastor at Athens "and we assume the Athens Indian Mission Church" from 1946 to 1948, reported 39 in Sunday School with an active membership of 15 (Reuter 1993, 168). By this time, however, the Pine Creek settlement was becoming strongly influenced by the Holiness movement. The last mention of the Athens Indian Mission in the Methodist Conference Minutes was 1948 (Reuter 1993, 175).[164] While the level of religious interest and activity on the reservation was not diminishing overall, its focus was changing. The HPI were moving away from the United Methodists to interdenominational evangelical work, with participation of such groups as the Church of the Nazarene.

In an oral interview in 1994 (DeMarce FD 1994), Mr. William Church, a member of the Bradley Indian settlement and son of the Rev. Lewis White Eagle Church, a prominent Indian Methodist minister in Michigan, attributed the change at Pine Creek to the production of a superabundance of leadership talent during the 1930's. Traditionally, said Mr. Church, an up-and-coming Indian Methodist preacher apprenticed to an older preacher in the mission, and gradually took over in the course of time. When Pine Creek produced the three charismatic Pamp brothers (Charles R., Warren, and Elliot "Jack" Pamp) simultaneously,[165] as well has having Levi

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[164] A newspaper article referred to the Pine Creek church as Methodist as late as 1961: Photo of Mrs. Margaret Mandoka, "stands with her two children in front of the Methodist Church, center of activities of the Potawatomi Indian reservation" (Detroit News 1961).

[165] ". . . the late Charles Pamp, who founded the Athens Indian Mission Home and Tabernacle. His brother, the Rev. Warren Pamp, is an evangelist and another brother, Elliot Pamp, is studying for the ministry. They are grandnephews of Phileas [sic] Pamptopee (York 1951).

"Elliott Pamp does his betterment work under the auspices of the Lower Lights Missionary Association of Petersburg, Mich. While working as a janitor at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor in 1948, [he]

Pamp and Albert Mackety already in place as church leaders, the younger men were forced to go outside the reservation community to find a scope for their talents, and were attracted to holiness churches in Battle Creek. Their influence, combined with the more stringent educational requirements for lay ministers which the United Methodist Church began to enforce in the later 1940's--requirements which the lay leaders at Pine Creek did not meet--led the Indian church at Pine Creek to change its ecclesiastical affiliation rather than lose its indigenous leadership (Church Interview, DeMarce FD, 1994).

Twentieth century population and patterns of geographical residence: 1900-1940. Determination of residency and population statistics for the HPI in the twentieth century is more difficult than for the nineteenth century, owing to the absence of data equivalent to the annuity rolls. Federal population census data is open to research only through 1920.

1904 Taggart Roll. Listing on the Taggart Roll is not in itself a "high evidence" indication for HPI social community. Descendancy from the Taggart Roll, compiled in 1904, is the basic criterion for the petitioner's membership eligibility. However, the Taggart Roll is not a listing of the Pine Creek settlement only, nor of Huron Potawatomi only. It is a listing of all those Michigan Potawatomi over and above the Pokagon Potawatomi on the 1895 Cadman Roll who were found entitled to claims payments under the judgment, in that their ancestors had been on Michigan Potawatomi annuity payment rolls between 1843 and 1866. There were many people on the Taggart Roll who had never been in tribal relations with the petitioner and who do not have descendants upon the petitioner's current (1994) membership list. However, the Taggart Roll does provide sufficient information about listees to indicate family relationships and places of residence of those persons on it who were members of the petitioner's ancestral community.

1910 Federal Census: The 1910 Federal census of Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan showed a somewhat more dispersed residential pattern than the 1880 and 1900 censuses had done, but the group was still clustered heavily on the Pine Creek reservation land. There were 14 households,

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heard a speech by a representative from the Parker reservation in Arizona, volunteered to work among the Mojave, Navaho, and Hopi" (Rowley 1966).

including one in which a Potawatomi woman had married a local non-Indian, and two men living as hired men in non-Indian households. Only six of the households contained married couples, the others being headed by widows or widowers. The total population at Pine Creek was 63, of whom 24 were under age 21 (U.S. Census 1910a, 73A, 73B, 76B, 77B, 88A, 88B, 89).[166]

1920 Federal Census: The 1920 Federal census, Athens Township, Calhoun County, Michigan, showed only 12 households at Pine Creek, one of which was still headed by the non-Indian married to a Potawatomi woman who had been there in 1910. The total population was 45, of whom 24 were under age 21 (U.S. Census 1920a).[167]

1934 Pine Creek Residents List. The 1934 "List of Indians residing at the Athens Indian Reservation, known in former treaties as the Huron Band of Pottawatomies" (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 16) was sent by Austin Mandoka and the Pine Creek "Indian Committee" to COIA John Collier as part of the settlement's attempt to be allowed to organize under the IRA (Howard-Wheeler Act). It listed 15 resident households, which contained 62 persons--an increase since the 1920 census.[168] Of the 62 residents, 29 were under age

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[166] Family names: Mackety, Paul, Nottaway, Pamptopee, Watson, Rogers, Mandoka, Bush, David, Mackey, Wesaw, Meme, Shawgoquet, Bazille, Johnson, and King (U.S. Census 1910a, 73A, 73B, 76B, 77B, 88A, 88B, 89). The Paul, Wesaw, Bazille, and King names derived from the Pokagon Potawatomi, but Wesaw and Paul were married to Bradley women; Bazille was the stepson of a long-time Pine Creek resident, while the widowed Mrs. King was living with a Pine Creek niece. Mackety, Bush, and Johnson had married in from Bradley.

[167] Family names: Watson, White Pigeon (new immigrant from Bradley), Pamptopee, Rogers, Mandoka, Mackety, Bailey, Meme, Paul, Day, Nottaway (U.S. Census 1920a, E.D. 35, Sheets 1A, 4A, 4B, 7B, 8A). Frank Bailey (a Michigan Potawatomi) and Edward Day (a Canadian Potawatomi) had married Pine Creek women.

[168] 1934 List of Residents:
Family Sam Mandoka - 70; Mary Mandoka - 60; Austin Mandoka - 36; Homer Mandoka - 30; Hazel Mandoka - 14.
Family Grover Mandoka - Age 37; Sarah Mandoka - 31; Elizabeth Mandoka - 1[illegible] Marion Mandoka - 11; Alma Mandoka - 7; Robert Mandoka - 2; Henry Paul - 90; Joseph Me-Me - 72.
John Mackey - 72.
Family Agnes Pamp Age 56; Charles T. Pamp - 23..
Family Henry MeDawis Age 38; Marion MeDawis - 36 [NOTE BY VED: nee Mary Ann Pamp, daughter of Chief Stephen Pamptopee]; Dorothy MeDawis - 13; Irene MeDawis - 11; Leona MeDawis - 10; Daisy MeDawis - 8; Suzzane MeDawis - 6; Gladys MeDawis - 5; Henry Jr. MeDawis - 4; Pauline MeDawis

21. Of the 29 minors on this 1934 list, all but one either are on the current (1994) HPI membership list or, if deceased, have children on the current membership list (BAR analysis). The 29th, the Rev. Samuel Mackety, was active as late as September 8, 1979, when he seconded the motion to adopt the HPI constitution (HPI Tribal Minutes, September 24, 1979).

Chart III: HPI Population at Pine Creek, 1900-1940

1900	Federal census:	70
1904	BIA Taggart Roll:	78[1]
1910	Federal Census, Athens Township:	63[2]
1920	Federal Census, Athens Township:	45[3]
1920	known Pine Creek descendants alive:	84
1930	known Pine Creek descendants alive:	114
1934	Pine Creek Reservation residents:	62[4]
1939	BIA estimate, Pine Creek site:	12 families
1940	known Pine Creek descendants alive:	124
1940	estimate on Pine Creek site:	35[5]

1 Identified as of the petitioner's "band" of the 298 Michigan Potawatomi listed on the Taggart Roll.
2 Of these 63, 24 were under age 21.
3 Of these 45, 24 were under age 21.
4 Of these, 29 were under age 21.
5 As a consequence of the Depression, more members of the group moved away from Pine Creek and Athens looking for work. In 1937, a dozen residents left the settlement (Leatherbury 1977, 102). By 1940, only 35 residents remained on the Pine Creek site (Leatherbury 1977, 102).

When the list of adults residing on the Pine Creek Reservation in 1934 is compared to the genealogical data available

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- 2.

Family of Joseph C. Pamp - Age 45; Eliza Pamp - 45; Anna Marie Pamp - 18; Arthur Pamp - 16; Celia Pamp - 13; Fern Pamp - 11.

Family of Levi Pamp - Age 42; Elizabeth Pamp - 35; Maynard Pamp - 16; Balaam Pamp - 13; Leonard Pamp - 6; Dennis C. Paul - 40.

Family of Phebe Pamp - Age 58; Warren Pamp - 28; Charles R. Pamp - 24; Mildred Pamp - 11.

Elliot Pamp - age 32; Hilared [?] Pamp - 24..

John T. Paul, 67 [possibly 57?].

Family of Albert Mackety - age 46; Elizabeth Mackety - 38; Hubert Mackety - 20; Sam Mackety - 18; Thomas Mackety - 16; David Mackety - 14; Agnes Mackety - 9; Alberta Mackety - 3.

Family Ida Nottawa - 50; Clarence Nottawa - 28; James Nottawa - 24; Beatrice Nottawa - 20; Helen Nottawa - 16.

Betsy Rapp Age - 40 [NOTE BY VED: nee Mandoka, married to a Pokagon].

Family Lucius King Age 29; Charlote King - 24.

James Quigno Age - 38.

With the exception of King and Quigno, both of which families were Pokagon Potawatomi, all of these were either traditional Pine Creek families or persons who had married into traditional Pine Creek families. All were Indian.

to BAR, there were no more than 50 living adult descendants of the nineteenth-century Pine Creek population in 1934 (this makes the assumption that all those for whom no death date is on record were still alive in 1934). As 33 were residing on the reservation, the maximum number of HPI adults who could have been residing off the Pine Creek site in 1934 was 17. This indicates that of the adult descendants, 63 percent were residing on the state reservation in 1934.

If the ratio of children to adults in the off-reservation families in 1934 were the same as the ratio of children to adults in the on-reservation families, the total HPI population in 1934 could have been estimated as approximately 95 persons--a not unreasonable number when compared to earlier firm data.[169] However, adding to the known 1920 total descendants a total of 41 known births between 1920-29 and subtracting the 11 known deaths between 1920-29, the actual 1930 population figure reached is 114, indicating that the off-reservation families were having, proportionally, larger numbers of children than the households on the Pine Creek reservation.

BIA policy toward the Indians of Michigan's lower peninsula, and its impact on Pine Creek.

Wheeler-Howard Act and IRA. On March 20, 1934, Austin Mandoka and the "Indian Committee" wrote COIA John Collier requesting that the Pine Creek Huron Potawatomi be included in the terms of the proposed legislation that became the Wheeler-Howard Act, and enclosing a list of 62 "Indians residing at the Athens Indian Reservation, known in former treaties as the Huron Band of Pottawatomies" (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 16).

Holst Report, 1939. In response to multiple requests not only from the Pine Creek settlement, but from Indian groups all over Michigan, the BIA in 1939 commissioned a study of the situation in the Lower Peninsula: John H. Holst, "A Survey of Indian Groups in the State of Michigan 1939." Holst reported that:

> The Athens group is small. The State holds a sort of trust over 120 acres of land on which the so-

[169] The HPI petition for organization under the 1934 IRA, containing 102 signatures, was not produced until 1972. Therefore, its numbers do not reflect the 1934 population of the group.

> called Athens group reside. The land is divided into six 20-acre units. About a third of it is cultivated. They make some baskets but depend mainly upon outside employment (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 44).

In addition, the Holst report showed 12 families among a list designated as "Potawatomi Groups in Lower Michigan" residing in Athens (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 44).

Based on Holst's 1939 survey, Walter V. Woehlke prepared a memorandum to COIA John Collier recommending withdrawal of [illegible] activities from Lower Michigan (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 44). On May 29, 1940, COIA Collier issued a policy limiting further extension of Federal services to Indians in Lower Michigan (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 44-45; HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 17).

A good summation of the situation at the end of the 1930's was presented in the WPA Guide, Michigan--A Guide to the Wolverine State, compiled in 1941 under the Writers' Program of the W.P.A.:

> Right on State 78 is Athens (622 pop.) along the Nottawaseepe River, a tributary of the St. Joseph . . . money used to establish an Indian settlement on the site of what is now Indiantown. Ahead on State 78 to a junction with a graveled road, 2.6 miles, straight ahead to a second graveled road. Here the committee from Athens purchased land and erected six log cabins, a barn, and a schoolhouse. The Potawatomi, peace-loving agriculturists who inhabited the valleys of the Battle Creek and Kalamazoo Rivers, once called their group by thousands and their acres in four figures, had at Indiantown only 60 tribal members remaining to till a meager 120 acres. Chief Mandoka, the last of the properly designated chiefs of the Potawatomi, died in 1934 in his 71st year. The Indian children attend the public schools of the district, and the adults, to supplement the income derived from the weaving of baskets, seek employment in Athens (quoted in: Riley to Hawkins, September 20, 1964, BAR Files).

World War II Era. The petitioner presented almost no documentation for the World War II era: only a couple of [illegible] paper articles, and those pertaining only to military ser-

vice, etc.[170] The HPI petition states in general terms that:

> During World War II, some band members joined the armed services and others took jobs in urban industries. Several men worked in factories in Battle Creek or Detroit during these years. Women also took industrial jobs. The Medawis sisters Leona, Daisy, and Gladys, granddaughters of Steve Pamp, worked in Battle Creek factories during the war (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 28).

THE PINE CREEK SETTLEMENT, 1948-1970

By 1947-1948, documentation again becomes available. In 1900, the 120 acres held in trust by the State had been declared tax exempt because of its status as an Indian reservation (HPI Petition, 52). Again in 1952, the Calhoun County Treasurer stated that the Athens Township Tax Roll still indicated that the Pine Creek land was an "Indian Reservation; Taxes Exempt" (Riley to Hawkins, June 24, 1964, BAR Files).

Economic and social life.

Population estimates and membership rolls. For a more detailed discussion of the sources upon which Chart IV is based, see elsewhere in the Historical Technical Report and extensively in the Genealogical Technical Report of this Proposed Finding. The chart is included here as a convenient reference.

The "known descendants alive" figures in Chart IV are based upon BAR analysis of the genealogical data submitted by the petitioner. As no membership rolls are available prior to 1978, estimates of participation levels are not possible.

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[170] List of soldiers from Athens and Vicinity, including Amos J. Day, David Mackety, Thomas Mackety, Lawrence Matson, Russell Llewellyn Matson, Donald McIntosh, Leonard J. Pamp, Arthur Pamp, Baalam Pamp, Warren Pamp (HPI Pet. Ex.: Athens Times, Sept. 5, 194?).

CHART IV:
HPI Population Estimates and Membership, 1940-1994

1940 estimate on Pine Creek site:	35[1]
1940 known Pine Creek descendants alive:	124
1950 known Pine Creek descendants alive:	192
1951 estimate on Pine creek site:	70[2]
1960 known Pine Creek descendants alive:	390
1960 estimate on Pine Creek site:	100[3]
1970 known Pine Creek descendants alive:	523
1972 adult signers of IRA resolution:	102[4]
1972 HPI estimate of own population:	over 200[5]
1977 estimate on Pine Creek site:	35[6]
1978 known Pine Creek descendants alive:	667
1978 HPI membership report:	462[7]
1978 HPI membership list:	411 (276 1/4 quantum)[8]
1981 eligible HPI voters list:	231[9]
1986 HPI membership list:	528 (249 1/4 quantum)[10]
1991 HPI membership list:	849[11]
1994 BAR estimate:	819

1 (Leatherbury 1977, 102).

2 1951 newspaper article in the Enquirer and News, Battle Creek, Michigan, headlined "Athens Pottawatomies Rapidly Merging Into Stream of American Enterprise" (Erskine 1951). This article was not factually reliable.

3 The population was "100 or so" (Detroit News, December 17, 1961).

4 At least 20 of these adults were from the Bradley settlement.

5 Unsigned, undated, copy of resolution, done at Hopkinsburg V.F.W. Hall (HPI Tribal Office).

6 (Leatherbury 1977, 102).

7 (Bush to Tribal Council, April 1, 1978). Includes persons of Bradley/Salem Taggart Roll descent. For detailed discussion of these HPI membership lists, see the Genealogical Technical Report.

8 368 individuals were listed on the 1978 roll proper, which included Bradley/Salem Taggart Roll descendants. 191 heads of household or individual adults met the 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum membership requirement. 85 minors met the 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum requirement. 92 minor children had asterisks by their names to indicate that they were less than one-quarter (1/4) blood quantum.

A supplementary section contained two pages listing 26 adults who were known to be Taggart Roll descendants, but who had less than 1/4 degree Potawatomi blood quantum. These persons had a total of 16 known minor children. Adding these and one adopted child to the 368 persons on the 1978 Roll proper, there was a total of 411.

9 Includes many Bradley/Salem Potawatomi, although the two groups did not have a formal merger until 1987.

10 The 1986 roll contained the names of 249 individuals (both adults and minor children) who met the 1/4 degree blood quantum requirement. Six more qualified members were handwritten at the end of the typed list, for a total membership of 255.

Additional pages of the 1986 membership roll form, filled out in handwriting, were headed "less than 1/4 blood quantum." In 1986, there were 273 persons in the "less than 1/4 Potawatomi blood quantum" category. In addition, the "less than 1/4 blood quantum" roll contained 18 names duplicating those on the 1/4 quantum roll.

In 1986, HPI had 528 names, of whom 255 qualified as tribal members and 273 were lineal descendants of less than 1/4 blood quantum. Of the 255 tribal members, 32 (12.5 %) were under 18. Of the 273 lineal descendants with less than 1/4 HPI blood quantum, 117 (42%) were under 18.

11 This roll reflects the merger with the Bradley Settlement (Gun Lake/Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Potawatomi Band) which took place in 1987. 559 were adults and 267 were under 18. There were 23 entries for which no birthdate was given and no age could be extrapolated.

Continuation of traditional economic activities. One clear indicator that the Pine Creek community had continued to exist after World War II is that by 1951, the population at "Indiantown" had almost doubled since 1940 (Leatherbury 1977, 102). The community was still visible to outsiders:

> For the past few weeks, the Potawatomi living in the area known as "Indian Town" south and east of Fulton have been in the midst of their biggest production period of the year (Ryan 1951).

This unidentified newspaper article, headlined "Potawatomies Skilled Easter Basket Makers," placed its emphasis on Mary Mandoka and the basket makers' use of black ash from swamps near Marshall and Dowagiac:

> Every few months the Potawatomi men go to one of these swamps and cut down a load of straight ash logs. Each six foot log costs them about 50 cents from the swamp owners. The logs are brought back to Indian Town and distributed among the 12 to 15 families residing there (Ryan 1951).

He described in detail how the men and boys pounded the logs to obtain the strips; that Mary's son Grover did the heavy work for her; that they colored their material by boiling the strips in kettles with dye, and said that the women and youngsters did the weaving. In that season, Mary Mendoka had made about 300 baskets for the Fulton school. Other buyers come from outside. The article also mentioned the reservation's "tiny church with Potawatomi hymn books" (Ryan 1951).

A 1951 newspaper article in the Enquirer and News, Battle Creek, Michigan, headlined "Athens Pottawatomies Rapidly Merging Into Stream of American Enterprise" (Erskine 1951), was not factually reliable. For example, the reporter said that a hundred years before, the reservation had had 4,500 acres (possibly a reference to the old Nottawaseppi Reserve?), but had "dwindled" to 120. The article also maintained that "it was said" (no citation to indicate by whom) that the 1880 census counted more than 1,000 Pottawatomies on a 4,500 acre reservation near Athens, but the reporter did add, "these figures sound excessive." (The actual 1880 figures were 54 Indians enumerated on the 120-acre Pine Creek site.) The 1951 article also attributed the 1904 claims payment to the leadership of Sam Mandoka rather than to that of Phineas Pamptopee.

On the basis of this general lack of accurate historical facts, BAR looks at the rest of the article's contentions with scepticism. These were that the Pine Creek reservation numbered less than 30 in 1937, but that the population had practically doubled since then; that Indians from the reservation had established families in a number of towns and cities of southern Michigan and as far west as Dakota and Colorado; and that three new homes were being erected on the reserve, while several more were being enlarged and remodeled (Erskine 1951).

In 1957, Mary (Walker) Mandoka died in "Indian Town" just east of Athens. The obituary stated that her sons Grover and Homer both lived on the Athens "reservation" (Potawatomi Chief's Widow, Mrs. Mandoka, Dies at 95. Unidentified newspaper clipping, hand-dated May 8, 1957).

By the later 1950's, the reservation presented a combination of tradition and adaption. In 1958, Athens Indians told the local paper that the price of fur was so low that it was hardly worth catching a cold over the hunting and trapping (Athens Times, December 1, 1958). Two years later, an interview with Albert Mackety indicated that Michigan's restrictive conservation measures were having a major impact on the Potawatomi way of life in Calhoun County. Mackety, retired from Duplex Printing Press Co., was peeling black ash for his wife's basket weaving. He had trailed a buck in the swamp that morning while cutting black ash. Levi Pamp, age 66, recalled dugout canoes on Pine Creek in 1908, but said "Now, we've got conservation laws. And trespass laws." Amos Day, a construction worker, was too busy working to hunt and fish; but the teenage boys still did so. One of Mackety's sons was a minister in Albuquerque, NM; another was a Buick employee in Flint (Athens Pottawatomies 1960).

A 1961 newspaper article (headline cut off of photocopy) concerning the reservation at Athens, Michigan, said that the numbers and area were dwindling steadily toward extinction. The residents were described as living a life that was a mixture of the old and new. Some still hunted and trapped: Amos Day (who the year before had been described as too busy working to hunt) and his brother Alexander were said to earn up to $10.00 daily trapping raccoon, muskrat, and an occasional mink; Albert Mackety did basket weaving. The article described Indian Town as "a spot marked unmistakably by poverty," with humble homes heated by wood, an unpaved road, scarcely any telephones. Some homes had no inside plumbing, though most had electric lights. The

population was "100 or so" (Detroit News, December 17, 1961).

A decade later, reporters were still repeating the same themes. In 1971, there were "fewer than a dozen buildings" at Indian Town, though this article again repeated the mistaken claim that the settlement once numbered over 1,000. This article featured Howard Paul, using skip-to-my-lou basket weaving pattern, and said that a half-dozen or fewer Indians still wove baskets in Indian Town (LeFever 1971). In 1977, Leatherbury reported the population as about 35 (Leatherbury 1977, 102).

Continued expansion of off reservation residence and employment. After World War II, the pattern of work off the reservation did continue to grow:

> For many Huron Potawatomi, this period marked the first participation in the urban labor market. By the end of the War, factory employment and other urban jobs had largely replaced the earlier dependence on seasonal farm work and subsistence farming . . . David Mackety and his brother worked at the Clark Equipment plant in Battle Creek, and other reservation residents also sought urban employment. In the 1950s, economic recession pushed several reservation residents into looking farther afield for employment. Several related families, 5 children of Henry Medawis and Mary Pamptopee and their families, moved to the south side of Grand Rapids (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 28). Other members of the band took jobs in Battle Creek or Kalamazoo and moved there to live, or found housing in the rural areas near Athens . . . inadequate housing on the reservation, couldn't get loans to build there because of the land's trust status (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 29). Some worked with Indian programs, like the Grand Rapids Intertribal Council or All-Indian Outreach (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 30).

Of the specific occupations listed in 1951, Homer Mandoka was an expert orchardman; Grover Mandoka a foreman in the lumber camps, specializing in work with mechanical saws. "Albert Mackety, a patriarch of the tribe, whose neat house and well-kept lawns are the pride of the reservation," had sons David Mackety who was an expert tool and die maker, Hubert Mackety who was a machinist, Sam Mackety who was pastor of the Indian church at Mt. Pleasant, and another son who was studying for the ministry in Cincinnati. Levi

Pamptopee, "grandson of the chief," was a full-time basket-maker because he had to work at home to nurse his son, Maynard, for 25 years cripped by polio. Another of Levi's sons, Leonard Pamptopee, was a tree surgeon, while a third, Kenneth Pamptopee, was attending high school in Athens. (York 1951).

By 1961, it was reported that most members of the group worked in offices or plants. David Mackety worked at a Battle Creek tool and die shop; Alberta Mackety worked for an insurance firm in nearby Marshall; Samuel Mackety was "a college man and a Methodist preacher in Oklahoma." Kenneth Inman, "a white man married to Gwynitha Day, a Potawatomi girl," was building a house on the reservation. He had recently been laid off from a nearby lumber mill (Detroit News 1961). The same year the local paper reported that Mrs. Sarah Mandoka and her daughter Marian were driving to work every day at the Vegetable and Fruit Nursery in Bristol, Indiana (Athens Times, March 23, 1961).

Five years later, in 1966, the members of the petitioning group were described in much the same terms Elliot S. Pamp, 63, worked as a painter at Ft. Custer State Home. Some had moved just off the reservation, where they bought farms. Most still had relatives on, and other connections with, the reservation:

> Now our Indians here are an ambitious lot. Most of those who live on the reservation as well as those who live off have jobs in industry or work their own farms. But young Indians must stop quitting school when they're still in the grades (Rowley 1966).

In a 1971 interview, Levi Pamp, 77, "dredging mandolins and violins out of a closet off his living room," told a reporter:

> We were closer years ago. We got along good together. We're more separated now, and not many can talk the language any more . . . The Indian is going to better schools now and getting smarter in a way. But he has lost touch. Younger Indians talk English to the babies, not our tongue. But things are getting better, I'd say (LeFever 1971).

As of 1985, the petitioner's own report concluded that there was no great potential for economic development on the Pine Creek reservation. A little over half the total area was

good and was being currently used for residences and gardening. Only 20 people resided on site. Persons of employable status had adapted to the situation by finding employment in Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, Lansing, and other towns. Personal income varied with the type of skill possessed (Nottawaseppi-Huron Potawatomi Socio-Econonomic Status. Updated Report 1985, 2. HPI Petition). At peak earning level of HPI members were those in the professions and trades: nurse and health technicians; office and secretarial; tool and die; millwright; armed forces careers; clergy; design engineers; computer field; and factory manufacturing jobs (Nottawaseppi-Huron Potawatomi Socio-Econonomic Status. Updated Report 1985, 3. HPI Petition).

Education. In 1916, "for the first time in many years," a Pine Creek resident chose to attend the local high school rather than a BIA school (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1933, 33). This became more common during the 1920's--Charles R. Pamp graduated from Athens High School in 1929 with a distinguished athletic career (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 34). As late as 1933, however, attendance records at Mt. Pleasant listed Hazel Mendoka, David and John Chivis, Alex Day, and Sam and Tom Mackety (HPI OD Response/ Littlefield 1993, 33). The attraction of the BIA schools to the Pine Creek settlement was at least partly economic. A year later, the option of attending Mt. Pleasant was removed when the school closed. In his 1934 letter to COIA John Collier, Austin Mandoka wrote that:

> The Indian children have been attending the Mt. Pleasant Indian School in the past years, but due to the Government's economic program, were forced out, making it doubly hard for the parents to obtain more food and clothing at home (Mandoka to Collier, March 20, 1934; HPI OD Response/ Littlefield 1993, 17).

A few students did continue to attend BIA schools at least into the early 1960's. In 1961, the local paper reported that, "Miss Shirley Mackety will report to the Indian Training schools in Arizona within a few days, the church had a farewell for her Friday evening" (Athens Times, July 13, 1961).

Even during the Depression, the Pine Creek students continued to complete their schooling: David Mackety graduated from Athens High School (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 34). A 1951 newspaper article not only looked back to HPI athletes such as Charles Pamp and James Henry (track and

football) who had been outstanding at the Athens schools in the past, but said that currently at the Athens school, the children stood well in their classes, with seven boasting outstanding records. These included Janet Mackety, Mary Medavis, and Rhea Mackety (Erskine 1951). In 1962, James Mackety, student at Athens high school, painted the Indian emblem for gym (Enquirer and News, Battle Creek, Michigan, February 20, 1962).

Community activities. During the post-World War II era, in addition to church activities, other events also drew HPI members back to the Pine Creek settlement. Funerals attracted large attendance (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 41). About 1957 or 1958, the wedding of Yvonne Day, held in the reservation church, with a reception outside, was attended by most of the membership (HPI OD Response/ Littlefield 1993, 40).[171] In 1960, a benefit supper was organized to help pay for heart surgery for Louise Medawis, Henry Medawis' wife (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 21).

The Holiness church. Some of the impulse for the Pine Creek settlement to change from the Methodist to the Holiness church may also have come from the fact that after the Methodist Conference supposedly took charge of the Athens camp meetings in 1927, rather than leaving their conduct to the Indian church, the camp meetings lapsed. When they were revived in 1939,[172] it was under Holiness auspices, and they were billed as interdenominational, even though Methodist ministers continued to appear as speakers.[173]

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[171] On the basis of genealogical data submitted, BAR estimates that the 1958 membership would have comprised about 100 adults eligible for HPI membership (at a maximum, including the Bradley settlement) and at least 210 children under age 18.

[172] Indian Camp Meeting to be held July 30 to August 6 after a lapse of four or five years, at Fullers Grove one mile south of Leroy. Tent tabernacle, speakers, music. "Assure a week of holiness interest for all who attend." Speaking and singing in both Indian and English (Athens Times, July 12, 1939).

[173] Potawatomi Indian group from the Athens reservation sponsored a Holiness camp meeting. Frank Peters of Mt. Pleasant and Amos Nooday of Standish, both Methodists, were speakers (Athens Times, July 12, 1939). Choir and preacher from the Saginaw Chippewa reservation at Mt. Pleasant (Littlefield 1993, 36; Athens Times, July 26, 1939).

Annual Athens interdenominational campmeeting to be held July 25 to August 25, Spencer's Grove, 3 1/2 miles south of Athens. Rev. W.C. Fowler of Cambridge, Ohio and Rev. "Chuck" Pampto-pee of Battlecreek of the leaders. Van Dam Brothers of Colon for music; Rev. Wm. Dean of Colon (Athens Times, n.d.).

No information about the holding of camp meetings at Athens exists for the World War II period, but the custom had been revived by 1947.[174] In 1948, the newspaper reported that nine Indian tribes had been represented at the Indian camp meeting, which had an attendance of 100 to 200 people at various times. The board, composed of Revs. Charles and Warren Pamp, Albert Mackety, Herbert Mackety of Athens, and Louis Church of Bradley, had proposed improvements to campgrounds and were making efforts to establish an Indian children's home. Speakers at the camp meeting had included Charles Pamp of Mt. Pleasant; Warren Pamp of Rapid City, S.D; and the Mackety brothers, including Rev. Samuel Mackety of Mt. Pleasant (Athens Times, September 1, 1948). The petitioner indicates that David Mackety was also by this time involved with the Holiness movement[175] and states that "the new identification with the Holiness Church brought a stricter behavioral code" (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 36).

The 1950 camp meeting began on August 20. The new 100 x 50' tabernacle had overflow crowds on two Sundays with services daily, including Rev. Warren Pamp of Battle Creek. There were plans to start work on a dormitory and kitchen for the 1951 camp (Athens Indian Campmeeting Draws Largest Attendance This Season In Its History. Athens Times, September 6, 1950). A 1951 newspaper article on the community stated:

> A new addition is being built on the old Indian church; southeast of town the Athens Pottawatomies have built with volunteer labor a camp-meeting tabernacle 100x50 feet which will seat 800 persons and is visited each year by hundreds of Indians representing tribes in widely scattered states of the union (Erskine 1951).

By 1953, the Holiness congregation was ready to dedicate a new Indian Mission church, located across the road on the Pine Creek reservation from the old Methodist church. The ceremonies began on October 16 and continued through the following Sunday (Athens Times, October 14, 1953). At approximately the same time, the old Methodist Indian church

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[174] Campmeeting Visitor Died suddenly Sunday. Adam J. Sprague, 55, of Bradley, at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Hubert Mackety. He was here to attend the Indian campmeeting (Athens Times, August 27, 1947).

[175] In 1960, he was president of the Indian Mission Board (Athens Times, April 14, 1960).

building that had been constructed in 1926 was purchased by Herbert Mackety, who lived there for a time (Athens Times, January 6, 1954).

The Holiness congregation was active, not only locally, throughout the 1950's. Rev. and Mrs. Raymond Montour from Winner, S.D., held meetings at the Indian Mission to raise money for a little Indian chapel in Winner (Athens Times, February 17, 1954). The anniversary of Indian Mission Church, Oct. 22-23-24, 1954, was marked by nightly services (Athens Times, September 24, 1954). On one occasion during the following year, the Indian Mission Church evening service was called to let the young people attend a special meeting at the Fulton Methodist Church (Athens Times, March 2, 1955). Rev. Joe Sprague, a Methodist of Hopkins, brought the Easter message to the Indian church (Athens Times, April 13, 1955).

The camp meetings continued on a regular basis, and still attracted Indian visitors from such sites as Mt. Pleasant (Athens Times, August 8, 1957), while in turn, Athens Indians attended the camp meeting at Bolton (Athens Times, August 21, 1957). In 1957, the paper noted that a turkey Thanksgiving dinner served at the Indian Mission Home and that the Indian Mission Church Revival would start on Thanksgiving Eve and run through December 8 (Athens Times, November 28, 1957). In 1961, the local paper reported a board meeting at Indian Mission farm March 4 to vote for an evangelist for the camp meeting (Athens Times, March 2, 1961). Other articles the same year mentioned preparations for an April revival meeting (Athens Times, March 23, 1961) and that the Holiness camp had come to its ending Sunday, August 6 (Athens Times, August 10, 1961).

American Indian Gospel Church, Grand Rapids, Michigan. Involvement in Indian Holiness churches was continued by Pine Creek Potawatomi who moved to other locations in Michigan, such as Grand Rapids, in order to find work. These urban Indian Holiness churches also brought Pine Creek Potawatomi into renewed contacts with Indians from elsewhere in Michigan.[176]

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[176] 1974, John Chivis replaced by Leona Bush as registered agent (HPI Tribal Office).

1975, Leona Bush replaced by Isaac Peters as registered agent (HPI Tribal Office).

1977, Isaac Peters replaced by Grant Asquab as registered agent (HPI Tribal Office).

Revival of traditional Indian religion. By the 1960's, however, the religious situation at Pine Creek became complicated by involvement of some resident and non-resident members of the group in the revival of Native American religions (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 37-38).

> After the Rev. Charles Pamp died, his wife and children became actively involved in traditional Indian sprituality. Charles Pamp, Jr. (also known as "Moose" Pamp) was especially active, travelling to Walpole Island to learn traditional ways. He also became involved in the American Indian Movement . . . other Pamps were also actively involved in powwows (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 38).

This led to considerable conflict with the Christian fundamentalists under the leadership of David Mackety: Charles Pamp, Jr. was denied burial in the Pine Creek cemetery in 1979 (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 38-39). This conflict, along with the dispute between residents and non-residents over the status of the 120 acres of the Pine Creek Reservation (see below), explains many of the shifting alliances of various HPI leaders with other Michigan Potawatomi groups during the next 15 years, until the present time.

The Pine Creek cemetery and its relationship to the churches and community. The well-kept cemetery[177] on the Pine creek reservation has been in continous use since the mid-nineteenth century: the oldest grave for which the location is still remembered is that of Chief John Moguago, who died in 1863, and whose grave is marked by an oak tree. Members of the community, both residents and non-residents, still use it, though some veterans choose to be buried at the nearby Fort Custer National Cemetery (DeMarce FD 1994).

Many graves are unmarked, even for persons who can be documented from obituaries as having been buried there. Some graves are marked by rough stones; others in the traditional manner by trees planted upon the gravesite, and many of the

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[177] The relation of the following deed to the existing cemetery is unclear. The Pine Creek cemetery is right in the middle of the reservation property.

Deed, April 16, 1921, from Henry Cole, Athens Township, to Samuel Mandoka, Grover Mandoka and Dennis Paul, Trustees for the Nottawatamie Band of Indinas [sic] of the Township of Athens, $10.00, beginning of nw corner of se 1/4 of se 1/4 of section 21, south 1 rod, west 16 rods, for cemetery purposes (HPI Tribal Office).

more recent burials by carved headstones: there is one Civil War veteran's marker, and several markers for veterans of World War I and World War II.[178] One older member of the community, Hazel (Mandoka) Mackety, "knows where everybody lays," in the unmarked graves, but has not made a chart for younger members to use in the future. The HPI office staff hope that she will do so (DeMarce FD 1994).

During the 1960's, the community made a major effort to clean out the cemetery, which had become overgrown with brush (Crawley 1978). Elma (Mandoka) Gabow, David and Hazel (Mandoka) Mackety, and Jack Pamp formed a committee to provide more regular care (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 20).

Renewal of claims activity. By the early 1950's, Albert Mackety and Levi Pamp, along with other Michigan Indian leaders from other tribes and Potawatomi groups, became proponents of land claims under Treaty of 1846.[179] Levi Pamp sent inquiries to the BIA:

> We the few remaining Huron Pottawatomi Indians, Of Athens Michigan Calhoun County, desire to get a photostatic copy of the Payroll No.16,842 Phineas Pam-to-pee was the Chief at this time. We would also like the report of the 50th congress 1st Session . . . In the senate of the U.S. May 3, 1888; A Mr Daniel had handled all . . ." (Letter, Pamtopee to Commissioner, Indian Affairs, Athens, Michigan, May 21, 1956).

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[178] The BAR historian copied all inscriptions on a site visit in April 1994.

[179] Albert Mackety (Now-qua-um) is the committeeman for the Huron Pottawatomies to which the local band, or their descendants, originally belonged, along with those located at Bradley, Salem, and Mount Pleasant. Was in Mt. Pleasant Friday and Saturday to register the Pottawatomies of that area for the anticipated payment under the terms of the 1846 treaty between the government and the Pottawatomies (Athens Times, February 17, 1954).

"Present at a 1962 meeting was their [Pokagon's] 80-year old Attorney, Walter H. Maloney, who had secured $4,600,000 for the Miami. The Claims Court Decision dated June 30, 1958, listed as petitioners Michael Williams and Albert Mackety. The latter is a lay Methodist minister who is the leader of the Athens group. For a year or so he was even one of the five officers of the St. Joseph group but soon broke with the parent organization. He is said to have a mailing list of 350 and may be planning to follow the Huron Line and make claim to land around Detroit in view of the close association of the Athens group with Indians living on Walpole Island" (Claspy 1966, 31).

At that time, however, the Indian Claims Commission said only the western Potawatomi who had been removed (Prairie Band and Citizen Band) were entitled under the 1846 treaty. Those claims were distributed in 1959 (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 46). This did not put an end to the intergroup Potawatomi claims activities in Michigan, however. They continued throughout the early 1960's (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 48).[180] This intergroup claims activity led to such anomalies as the fact that as of March 23, 1969, David Mackety was serving on the Board of the Potawatomi Indians of Indiana and Michigan, Inc. (Pokagon Petition, Records & Minutes).

This arrangement did not last long. By 1971, the Huron Potawatomi were conducting their claims activity independently of other Michigan Potawatomi, having hired New York attorney Paul G. Reilly as Huron Potawatomi legal counsel in prosecuting land settlement claims (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 49).

This time, the Huron Potawatomi entered a claim in 1972 under the terms of the 1807 treaty, under which they had collected annuities until the compounding in 1889 (Indian Claims Commission, Docket 29-E). In a decision rendered June 13, 1973 (30 Ind. Cl. Comm. 388), the commissioners held that the Huron Potawatomi Band held a recognized title to a substantial part of Royce Area 66 by the Treaty of November 17, 1807, 7 Stat. 105. The awards were decided October 19, 1973, 87 Stat. 466, 468 (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 51).[181] The judgment funds were paid in 1978, on the basis of a BIA-prepared roll.[182]

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[180] Isaac Shagonaby, Chairman of the committee, initiated box socials in the Athens, Bradley, and Holland Huron Potawatomi Communities to send three delegates to Washington, D.C. to have Tribal Attorney Walter H. Maloney removed as legal counsel in the prosecution of land settlement claims (HPI Pet., Historical Overview 1986, 48). Copies of notices, 1961, 1962, 1963. Meetings in Allegan County and Ann Arbor (HPI Tribal Office).

[181] See also: Results of Research on the Judgments in Indian Claims Commission Dockets Numbered 15-K, 29-J, and 217, and Dockets Numbered 15-M, 29-K, and 146, Potawatomi Tribe or Nation. This was an 18-page summation of the legal status as of that date (COIA Morris Thompson to Area Director, Anadarko Area; Acting Area Director, Minneapolis, March 20, 1975, BAR Files).

[182] Department of the Interior. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Potawatomi Nation of Indians; Plan for the Use and Distribution of the Potawatomi Nation Judgment funds in Dockets 15-C, 29-A and 71; 29-E; 15-

Controversy over the status of the Pine Creek land base.

Renewed BIA interest. On June 24, 1964, E.J. Riley, Superintendent of the Great Lakes Agency, BIA (Ashland, Wisconsin), wrote to James B. Hawkins, BIA Area director, Minneapolis, Minnesota, concerning correspondence between the Washington Office and Frank L. Haver, Attorney at Law, Battle Creek, Michigan, concerning "a tract of 160 [sic] acres of land situated at Athens, Michigan, on which the resident Indian people desire to "incorporate a church." Saying that the Great Lakes Agency had only fragmentary records on the Calhoun County land, "one reason being that this Indian group and 'reservation' were not a part of this jurisdiction until the consolidation of this Agency with the Tomah Agency in 1950," Riley stated that "another is that this land has not been carried as Indian land in our re-

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P, 29-N and 306; 29-D, 15-D, 29-B and 311; 15-I, 29-G and 308; 216, 15-L and 29-I; 128, 309, 310, 15-N, O, Q and R, and 29-L, M, O and P and 150#, 29-C and 338 before the United States Court of Claims. August 24, 1983.

> "Section 4. For the purposes of distributing the apportioned share of the funds of the lineal descendants of Potawatomi Indians of Michigan and Indian, including the Pokagon and Huron Bands and other bands, the Secretary shall bring current to the effective date of this plan, the descendant payment roll prepared pursuant to the Potawatomi judgment use plan of March 6, 1978, as published in the Federal Register of April 14, 1978, Vol. 43, No. 78:(i) by adding the names of persons living on the effective date of this plan who would have been eligible for enrollment under the 1978 plan, but who were not enrolled; (ii) by adding the names of children born and living on the effective date of this plan to persons who were eligible for enrollment , regardless of whether such parents are living or deceased on the effective date of this plan; (iii) by adding the names of children born to enrollees on or prior to and who are living on the effective date of this plan; and (iv) by deleting the names of enrollees who are deceased as of the effective date of this plan. Entitlement to share in the judgment funds under this section shall be limited to lineal descendants who are United States citizens, and who are not enrolled or entitled to be enrolled with any of the four federally recognized tribal organizations named in this plan, whose (Federal Register 48(175), 40567, September 6, 1983) names appear on or as lineas descendants who can trace their Potawatomi ancestry to persons on the Cadman Payment Roll of 1896, the Taggart Census Roll of 1904, or on official payment or annuity rolls of persons designated as "Potawatomi Indians of Michigan and Indiana," Huron Band, Pokagon Band, or "Notawasepi and other bands," or other records which are acceptable to the Secretary (Federal Register 48(175), 40568, September 6, 1983).

Copy of Descendancy Roll from Michigan Agency, dated 3/04/1987 (BAR Files).

cords." He added that, "a recent letter from the Michigan Department of Conservation at Lansing states that it does not have a record of this group or any exemption of taxes covering property in that area" (Riley to Hawkins, June 24, 1974, BAR Files 050).

State of Michigan's position. In 1965, the Legal Aid Society of Calhoun County sought a determination of what should be done with the 120 acres of the Pine Creek Reservation: whether ownership would be given those living on the land, or retained in trust by the state (Leatherbury 1977, 100). The same year, 1965, the Indian Affairs Commission of the Michigan Department of Social Services considered requesting the Federal government take the land and make it a Federal reservation (Leatherbury 1977, 100). For the state's follow-up on this initiative in the early 1970's, see below. In 1967, there was a Task Force led by Herman E. Cameron, Director of the Michigan Commission on Indian Affairs, to the Athens Indian Community (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 47). These initiatives caused the residents a great deal of unease:

> I heard by a meeting 2 weeks ago at Lansing that the State was going to take our reservation that was set aside for us and tax our lots here. I would like to know how they can do this to me as I am of the Huron Band and was born here on the reservation 77 years ago (Levi Pamptopee to Howard D. Moses, March 17, 1970).

According to Leatherbury, the Michigan state Attorney General's office prepared a title opinion in 1970, verifying the state's trusteeship over the band's land (Leatherbury 1977, 100). No such opinion was located in the the actual sequence of documentation.

Negotiations about the status of the Pine Creek land continued throughout the 1970's. In 1972, the Nottawaseppi Huron Band of Potawatomi Tribal Council adopted a resolution[183]

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[183] Resolution No. 2, dated December 21, 1972, signed by Vice Chairman Elliott S. Pamptopee and Secretary Shirley Simmons, taken at a duly called special business Committee Meeting of the Huron Potawatomi Band, Inc., at Wyoming, Michigan, passed 6 yes, 0 no, urging that title to the Pine Creek lands be transferred from the Governor of Michigan to the United States of America in trust for the Huron Potawatomi Band (BAR Files, 050, in material from Michigan Commission on Indian Affairs).Unsigned, undated, copy of resolution, done at Hopkinsburg V.F.W. Hall (HPI Tribal Office). It stated that there were about 50 Indians in

notifying the State of Michigan of its decision to apply for Federal status as an Indian reservation and to ask the State of Michigan to have the Pine Creek Reservation transfered to the Federal government as Federal trust land (Chivis 1993, [3]). It was accompanied by a list of signatures--about 102, many illegible on the photocopy--in support of organization under IRA of 1934 and placement of the Pine Creek 120 acres into Federal trusteeship (BAR Files, 050, in material from Michigan Commission on Indian Affairs).[184]

On January 23, 1973, in an internal memorandum, Mrs. Zelma Barrow of the Office of Tribal Operations, BIA, stated to _ Chief, Branch of Tribal Government, "I see no reason why the Huron Band of Potawatomi Indians should not be extended Federal recognition." This opening statement was followed by a nine-page overview of the group's status (Barrow to Chief, January 23, 1973, BAR Files).

On March 30, 1973, the Pine Creek Reservation was placed on the National Register of Historic Places (Leatherbury 1977, 113, n. 404; HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 51). Negotiations between the BIA and Michigan concerning the 120

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12 families near Athens; and that there were over 200 Potawatomi on the current 1972 tribal roll (another unsigned, undated copy in BAR 050 files, material from Michigan Commission on Indian Affairs).

[184] Elizabeth Mark, Donald Mark, Anna Medawis, Henry Mark, John Chivis Jr., Suzanna Bush, Karen Pe??, Dawn Bush, Toni Medawis, Daisy Sprague, Frank Bush, Angie Bush, Rudolph J. Bush, Caral Barker, Mae Bush, Erma ...ler, ... Sprague; ... Sprague, Clarence Sprague, Sharon... [Sprague?], [crossed out], Eliza ...[Faulght, Marian ..., Ma...[donna] Chisholm, Henry A. Medawis, ... Day, Gladys Chivis, John Chivis, ..., ..., ... S. Chivis ..., Leonard H. Church, ... Church, ... Church, ... Lewis, ..., ..., Norman Pigeon, Mary Comer, Arthur Pigeon, Andrew Pigeon, Steven Pigeon [these three all in the same handwriting], Elmer Peters, jr., Mrs. Grace C. Marks (Peters), Gerald Peters, Paul[illegible] Wesaw, Norma Wesaw, Paul Sprague Jr., Ronald D. Sprague, Mary Sprague [last five in same handwriting], Mary Day, Julie A. Snyder, ..ma Bear ..., Samuel Mackety, Alberta Wells, Albert N. Mackety, Roger A. Day, [illegible]othy Day, Paula Dios, Elliott S. Pamp, Donnis Kerr, Paula Stuck, Ma[illegible] E. Mandoka, Deborah J. Mandoka, Roberta L. Mandoka, Joseph E. Tay[illegible], Beverly Mandoka, Brenda ... Day, Sarah Day, Yvonne R. Harris, Wanatta [?] Watson, Barbara Watson, ..., .., Tom Mackety, Verna Bush, [illegible]ssed out], John H. Hill, Howard D. Hill, [crossed out], William J. [illegible], Duane R. Bush, Grace Helen Mandoka, Connie Ellen Bole, Irene W[illegible], Joseph G. Wesley, Mary Potter, Elizabeth Pamp, Elma Gabow, Howard Paul, ..., Mildred Pamp Pelcher, Paul Mandoka, Leona Bush, Herman Sp[illegible], Carl Sprague, Frank A. Watson, Winona Lumbert, Russell Chivis, [illegible]. Pelcher, ..., ..., Hazel ... [Mackety], David ... [Mackety] (BAR Files, 050, in material from Michigan Commission on Indian Affairs).

acres continued for the next several years (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 50).

The differences of opinion between residents and non-residents came to a head in 1979, when the State of Michigan Attorney General's Office repudiated the trust status under which the State had held the land on behalf of the band since 1840. On January 17, 1979, in a letter written on behalf of Frank J. Kelley, Michigan Attorney General, by Russell E. Prins, Assistant Attorney General, Lands Lakes & Leases, to Vince Leone, Assistant Attorney General, Executive Division, the State of Michigan discussed the following aspects of Pine Creek land:

1) Chain of title;
2) Clouds upon the title held, 1905 quit-claim deeds;
3) No statutory authorization for Governor Barry to accept the land in trust in 1846;
4) Current Governor William Milliken might be authorized by the legislature to convey to a trustee
5) Heirs might petition for division;
6) There was a possibility of title by adverse possession to current occupants (A Path 120 Acres Legal Status Chronology, Exhibit C, HPI Petition).

The same year, a legal opinion by Eleesha M. Pastor, Attorney for the Michigan Indian Legal Services, Inc. expressed the view that

> individual members of the Band should not be permitted to obtain title to portions of the trust land. The entire Band not just some individuals should have the opportunity to benefit from the trust (Chivis 1993, [6]; see Chivis 1993, Attachment for full text).

Ad-Hoc Land Committee. The land issue became intertwined with the Federal acknowledgment issue for the next several years. In 1979 an "Ad Hoc Land Committee" was formed by Pine Creek residents who believed that they had heirship rights to the reservation land and specifically did not want it to be communally held by the band as a whole.[185] They

[185] Declaration of intent to remain on the 120 acres, having land rights in heirship: Henry A. Medawis, Jr; Gladys Chivis; Marian Wesaw; Marjorie E. Mandoka; Irene Wesley; Hazel Mackety; David Mackety; Morris Sullivan; Anna M. Holliday; Fern (Pamptopee) Wright; Alberta V. Wells; Gezella (Elliots Pamptopee); Paula M. (Pamptopee) Stuck; Donnis A. (Pamptopee) Ballinger; Mary E. (Pamptopee) Brown; Grace (Nottaway) Mandoka; Elma Gabow (HPI Pet. Ex., A Path).

formed the ad hoc committee to "clarify that the legal status [of the Pine Creek reservation lands] resided in, or that the land rights was vest in proper heirs, or issue, in the recognized line of succession reaching back to the first landholder [of the six families]" (A Path 120 Acre Legal Status Chronology, HPI Petition).

For the next several years, the Ad Hoc Land Committee and the Tribal Council seem to have functioned as almost the same unit, even in matters of Federal acknowledgment. On March 26, 1981, a memo from Alvin G. Picotte, Superintendent, Michigan Agency, to COIA, ATTN Federal Acknowledgment Project - Ms. Lambert, stated that the "Ad Hoc Land Committee of the Huron Potawatomi Band" had abridged the Narrative as drafted by Gordon Bush and submitted by Joe Wesley on January 16, 1981:

> Enclosed is the 56 page abridged HPI historical narrative as submitted by Samuel Mackety, member of our staff and a member of the Ad Hod Land Committee for the Huron Potawatomi. The enclosed document is strictly for your information . . . At least four reasons are given for the abridgment of G. Bush Narrative by the Ad Hoc Committee. . . . The G. Bush Narrative is a position paper in that the Huron (Nattowasippi) and the Pokagon Band are classified as one entity after 1833, the date of the last treaty with the Potawatomi Nation, to the present day. This is erroneous, because the Huron Band of Potawatomi were forced to be removed (The Removal Act of 1830) to a Western Reservation while the Pokagon Band (The Memorialist) were exempted from a forced Western removal because of religious and educational reasons (Picotte to COIA attn. Lambert, March 26, 1981).

However, the land issue had not been resolved by that date. On May 16, 1981, HPI director Ruth Ann Chivis wrote a memo to the tribal council requesting direction on organizing public hearings concerning the issue (HPI Tribal Office). The HPI Tribal Office has a set of handwritten notes from a "Tape Recording, Kingman Museum, June 17, 1984," pertaining to the land issue and the petition for Federal acknowledgment. Participants were identified as Albert Sprague, H.H., Joan [(Pamp) Webkamigad?], Julie [(Pamp) Snyder?], Johnny [Hill?] (HPI Tribal Office).

From the same year, 1984, the HPI Tribal Office has copies of correspondence of Leona Bush, HPI genealogist who was

working on preparation of the petition for Federal acknowledgment, with John Wernet, assistant attorney general, Executive Division. One letter referred to a meeting of David Mackety, Samuel Mackety, Albert Wells, and herself with Wernet. It mentioned her concern about non-tribal members at their meeting, and that she considered the Michigan Indian Commission biased (Bush to Wernet, July 10, 1984, HPI Tribal Office). Mrs. Bush provided Wernet with historical materials that, he replied, "may indeed be helpful in resolving the legal status of the Athens Reservation" (Wernet to Bush n.d., HPT Tribal Office).

Two public meetings were held in July, 1984, to deal with land situation on Pine Creek reservation; the first in the public room, Kalamazoo Library; the second at the Athens Fire Station, which houses the village Public Hall. At this second meeting, the Ad-Hoc Land Committee, feeling it had fulfilled its basic goal, declared itself out of existence, giving over to the Council Chairman the duties of implementation. Before the meeting adjourned, the chairman announced an invitation for "input by written submission that would influence findings so far" (A Path 120 Acre Legal Status Chronology, HPI Petition).

After having made a study of the situation of the Pine Creek land, in 1985, John Wernet, assistant attorney general, Executive Division, Office of the Attorney General, State of Michigan, wrote to the Honorable Harry DeMaso, state senator, stating that there were three substantial legal issues which could affect the validity of the nineteenth century trust over the Pine Creek land:

> 1) the commerce clause of United States Constitution regulating commerce with Indian tribes;
> 2) he had found no Michigan or statutory authority which would authorize the governor to enter into a trusteeship, so it was invalid ab initio;
> 3) the "trust appears to have imposed no duties upon the Governor other than the duty of holding title, so even if valid, would have been a passive trust automatically dissolved when Michigan passed its first Passive Trust Act" (Wernet to DeMaso, June 26, 1985, HPI Petition).

On the other hand, Wernet continued,

> I wish to stress, however, that even if we assume the trust is invalid, it does not follow that the Pine Creek Reservation would suddenly be subject

> to property taxation nor that it would otherwise be left unprotected from state law. Assuming that the trust is invalid, legal title to the property would have passed directly to the beneficiaries of the trust, ie, the band itself. Because the property would, accordingly, constitute property which is owned by an Indian tribe or band, it would be protected from taxation by the state and from the operation of other state laws such as adverse possession laws, by virtue of the federal Indian non-intercourse act" (Wernet to DeMaso, June 26, 1985, HPI Petition).

Wernet continued by making recommendations on quit-claiming to the Federal government if the tribe should be federally acknowledged. He referred to an "apparently serious disagreement which exists between various factions within the band over such fundamental questions as the legitimacy of the current tribal government" (Wernet to DeMaso, June 26, 1985, HPI Petition).

In 1985, writing in the HPI petition for Federal acknowledgment, the petitioner stated that at that time there were nine occupied dwellings on the Pine Creek reservation. It stated that the "land rights of the original six plats, reflecting changes, are exercised by descendents and members of NHP and of the six families involved in the 'site' purchase" (HPI Pet. 1986, Nottawaseppi-Huron Potawatomi Socio-Economic Status. Updated Report 1985, 4). In 1986, David Mackety, "who had changed his mind about trust status for Pine Creek," attempted to have the state name him as "Successor Trustee" for the Pine Creek land, and did paperwork for certain members of the Band to file quit claim deeds (Chivis 1993, [6]).

HURON POTAWATOMI, INC., 1970--PRESENT

The revival of efforts for Federal acknowledgment, 1970.

Formation of Huron Potawatomi, Inc. In 1970, the Nottawaseppi Huron Band of Potawatomi formed a non-profit, tax exempt organization empowered to act on behalf of the Potawatomi people of southern Michigan. The incorporated entity was called Huron Potawatomi Inc. (Chivis 1993, [3]). The Articles of Incorporation were filed July 17, 1970, stating that the purpose was:

> To promote the social, political and economical interest of the members, including working with

> the Michigan State Commission on Indian Affairs, or any other state organization having to do with Indian Affairs; and including dealing with the United States Government when necessary to help carry out the purpose of this organization; and including dealing with Foundations; . . ." (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, Attachment E). William K. Funk, registered agent. Incorporators Balaam Pamp, Elma Gabow, David Mackety, all of Fulton, Michigan (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, Attachment E).[186]

The same year, David Mackety was elected as President of the Huron Potawatomi Band (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 49),[187] an office which he would retain with only one short interruption for the next 20 years.

In the same year, well before establishment of the current FAP under 25 CFR Part 83, the Huron Potawatomi decided to make their first concerted try since 1934 at seeking Federal acknowledgment (Manassah 1983, [10]). At a General Meeting on March 11, 1970, at 2:00 p.m. at the Hopkinsburg, Michigan, VFS hall, the HPI Executive Committee recommended that the group ask to be allowed to vote on Federal organization [under the 1934 Wheeler-Howard Act].

Pre-BAR acknowledgment efforts. The efforts of HPI to obtain Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe predate the establishment of the FAP in 1978 by several years. In 1971, HPI became aware of the Department of the Interior's review of its practice in organizing groups under the IRA (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 49). The next year, on March 30,

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[186] The early years of HPI, Inc., were neither well-staffed nor professionally organized. Because they forgot to file their annual non-profit reports for the first four years, they lost their charter and had to apply for a renewal in 1975: April 8, 1975. Certificate for revival of corporate charter of Huron Pottawatomi, Inc. Reports filed for 1970-1974. The following will serve as directors of the corporation upon the revival of its charter: David Mackety, Elliott S. Pampotee [sic], Shirley Simmons, Henry Medawis (Littlefield 1993, Attachment E).

On July 21, 1978, a Certificate of Amendment to Articles I and V was filed: namely, the name and the purpose were corrected and changed. The organization's name was now Huron Potawatomi, Incorporated (HPI Tribal Office; Littlefield 1993, Attachment E).

[187] March 1970, met at Athens High School, moved to become incorporated under the laws of Michigan. Officers: President, David Mackety; Vice President, Jack Pamptopee; Secretary, Shirley Simmons; Treasurer, Henry Medawis (HPI Pet. Ex.).

1972, HPI submitted a request for acknowledgment to the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs (Manassah 1983, [10]; HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 50), in the form of a resolution which covered the 120 acres of Pine Creek land, stating, "that the Huron Potawatomi Band, Incorporated of Michigan inform the Minneapolis Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs Land Operation of its decision to apply for a Federal status Indian reservation (HPI Resolution 1972, 1).

In 1973, Raymond V. Butler, Acting Director, Office of Community Services, Tribal Operations, wrote to Mr. David Mackety, President, Huron Potawatomi Band"

> We have your letter of January 5 enclosing resolution No. 2 adopted by the Huron Potawatomi Band, asking that Federal recognition be extended to it, and that it be organized under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, and that the Secretary of the Interior accept in trust the title to the land now occupied by the band.
>
> The information contained in your letter will be helpful in the review of your request for Federal recognition of the band. We hope for a decision on that request in the not too distant future.
>
> With regard to the transfer of title to the land now occupied by the band to the Secretary, before this may be done it will be necessary that the State of Michigan indicate its willingness to make the transfer" (BIA, Butler to Mackety, March 12, 1973, HPI Tribal Office).

Formal tribal minutes were kept during the mid-1970's.[188]

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[188] November 8, 1975, 2:00 p.m., Dowing, Michigan. David Mackety, President.

December 13, 1975, Parchment, Michigan, 2:00 p.m. David Mackety, President.

January 10, 1976, Parchment, Michigan. David Mackety, President. Leona Bush, secretary. Motion by Russell Chivis, seconded by Frank Watson. Committee members: Henry Bush, Jack Pamp, Balaam Pamp, Sam Mackey, Albert Mackety, Leonard Pamp; Louis Medawis, Mike Mandoka, Elsie Dudley, Geneva Mackety; Leona Bush, Ruth Ann Bailey, David Mackety, Irene Wesley; Al Simmons, Gladys Chivis, Joseph Wesley; Henry Medawis, Tom Mackety.

February 9, 1976, Attendance List: Gail George, Henry George, Rose McPeak, Paul Jackson Jr., Gloria Shenoskey, Daniel W. Pigeon, Barb

Extensive correspondence between the Minneapolis Area BIA and the Huron Potawatomi, Inc., pertaining to acknowledgment efforts from 1973 through 1976, ensued (File No. 1065 1973; copy in BAR Files). HPI resubmitted its request for acknowledgment to BIA on November 12, 1975 (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 41). The response of the Michigan

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Gallegas, Vincent Gallegas, Joe Hadden, Daniel Sourmick, Mary Winfrey, Mr. & Mrs. Ashquab, Geo & Elsie Sawmick, Charles McPeak, Grant Asquab, Vi, Leona Bush (HPI Tribal Office).

February 14, 1976, Parchment, Michigan. David Mackety, President. Ha... itten n... es: Annc ice Board Meeting at Henry George's to finish revising By-Laws, Monday 0 Mar 8, 1976. Annnounce nominations for election on Mar 14, 1976. Gloria Shenoskey, Gale George, Mary Winfrey, Rose McPeak, Leona Bush, Henry George, Danny Pigeon. 2 ways to submit nominations: Any member who wishes to be nominated shall submit his name to the Secretary; any member present and qualified to vote has the privilege to place in nomination the name of any member for any office not so nominated (HPI Tribal Office).

March 13, 1976, Parchment,MI.

April 10, 1976, Parchment, Michigan. Names: Jesse Schwoebell, Mike Schwoebell, Lynn Mackety.

April 10, 1976, 1:00. Notice, semi-annual general meeting, United Methodist Fellowship Hall, Parchment, MI, north of Kalamazoo. Pot Luck Dinner at 1:00 p.m.; business meeting at 2:00 p.m.

April 30, 1976, Parchment, Michigan. Minutes in Littlefield 1993, Attachment D. David Mackety, President, Motion by Russell Chivis, seconded by Jesse Schwoebell. Fred McTaggert and Donna Carrol, election tellers. Carl Sprague; Mike Schwoebell; Leona Bush, Jack Pamp, Lynn Mackety, Henry F. Bush, Jr.

May 15, 1976, Battle Creek, Michigan.

Notice of monthly board meeting at David and Hazel Mackety's home at Athens, Michigan, July 11, 1976.

September 11, 1976, Athens, Michigan.

October 16, 1976, Comstock, Michigan.
Semi-Annual General Meeting, October 16, 1976, Comstock, MI.

November 6, 1976, Parchment, Michigan. Election clerks Margaret Sipkema and Ardis Badger; Sergeant at Arms David Sprague. Nominations: Henry Bush, Jr.; David Mackety, Jesse Schwoebel, Elizabeth Pamp, Mary Church, Julie Snyder, Jack Pamp.

December 11, 1976.

February 19, 1977, Fulton, MI.

April 16, 1977. Agenda.

June 4, 1977, Parchment, MI. Report of History Committee. Minutes in Littlefield 1993, Attachment D. Members present David Mackety, Jack Pamp, Henry Bush, Jr., Jesse Schwobell, Leona Bush. "The Minneapolis Area Office will provide a committee to talk with our Enrollment Committee after the Public Hearing on June 21, 1977." "In the absence of guidelines concerning the Athens settlement, all persons must submit in writing an intent to locate at the settlement."

July 16, 1977, Fulton, MI.

August 6, 1977, Fulton, MI.

September 17, 1977, Fulton, MI.

October 16, 1977, Parchment,MI.

Agency, BIA, was encouraging. On February 10, 1976, BIA Area Director George V. Goodwin concurred that the group should be given Federal acknowledgment (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 51). A mimeographed newsletter circulated to the membership in 1976 gave a thorough overview of the Federal acknowledgment efforts and group activities.[189]

An Administration for Native Americans (ANA, Department of Health and Human Services) grant for pursuing Federal acknowledgment was approved in September 1977 and renewed 1978 and 1979 (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 51-52).

BAR/FAP acknowledgment efforts 1978-1980. With the establishment of the Federal Acknowledgment Process (FAP) in 1978, HPI pursued the new avenue of obtaining Federal acknowledgment. The first HPI newsletter in February 1978 had a page one lead article entitled "What is Federal Recognition" (HPI Newsletter 1978, 1:1). The same newsletter stated that the staff consisted of Gordon Bush, Director; Myron P. Schwoebell, Assistant Director; Ruth Ann Bailey, CETA Program Specialist; Liz Pamp, Planner; Leona Bush, Outreach and Tribal Enrollment, who had been researching every tribal member's family tree; James Mackaluso, bookkeeper. Maintenance crew: Terry Chivis, Home Mandoka, Kenneth Pamp; Mary Sprague, Secretary (HPI Newsletter 1978, 1:2-3).

The newsletter also described eligibility for enrollment: a member must be one/quarter blood quantum and must be a descendant of a person listed on the Taggart Roll of 1904. An enrollee must be responsible for sending a copy of a birth record for verification (HPI Newsletter 1978, 1:3) and listed the Tribal Council Members: Tribal Chairman, David Mackety; Vice-Chairman, Henry Bush, Jr.; Treasurer, Jesse Schwoebell; Secretary, Mary Church; Member at large, Elizabeth Pamp (HPI Newsletter 1978 1:4). As recorded in the

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[189] It covered progress of efforts for Federal recognition with assistance of the Michigan Commission on Indian Affairs; stated that HPI needed to complete registration roll of 400+, and that all descendants from the Taggart Roll had a choice to register or decline. The newsletter announced that HPI needed participating members for the following committees: Treaties & Historian; Registration; Newsletter & publicity; Education, Housing, Land & Cemetery; By-Laws & Constitution. The group had submitted proposals for two CETA-funded positions. "Now in 1976, the call has gone out for a concentrated support in our bid for federal recognition. Support us by your presence at this important business meeting--October 16, 1976. Your input is vital to the HURON band!" (BAR 050 files, in materials from Michigan Commission on Indian Affairs).

tribal minutes for the period, activity continued to be strong throughout 1978 and 1979.[190]

In 1979, the HPI effort to attain Federal acknowledgment was endorsed by the State of Michigan:

> Resolution by the State of Michigan: Concurrent Resolution urging the BIA to give expeditious

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[190] January 20, 1978, Athens, MI.

March 10, 1978, Athens, MI. Athens, Michigan. Minutes in Littlefield 1993, Attachment D. Attendance David Mackety, Elizabeth Pamp, Jesse Schwoebell, council members; Hazel mackety, Irene Wesley, Leona Bush, Mike Schwoebell, membership.

March 17, 1978, Parchment, MI. Continuation of the March 10 meeting. Minutes in Littlefield 1993, Attachment D.

Annual Meeting, April 1, 1978, United Methodist Fellowship Hall, Parchment, MI. Light Refreshments 12:00 p.m.; business Meeting 1:00 p.m.; election notice. Copy of attendance list taken. 24 voters and 7 visitors. Minutes in Littlefield 1993, Attachment D. Election: Chairman, David Mackety, Athens, MI, 3 years; Vice Chairman, Henry Bush, Jr., Grand Rapids, MI, 3 years; Secretary, Mary Church, Dorr, MI, 2 years; Treasurer, Jesse Schwoebell, Parchment, Mi, 2 years; Member at large, Elizabeth Pamp, Athens, Mi, 1 year.

May 27, 1978, Fulton, MI.

June 23, 1978, Attendance list only.

July 21, 1978. Director's Report, for July Council Meeting.

Agenda only, August 18. 1978. Says date next meeting is 15 September 1978.

September 29, 1978.

November 2, 1978.

Agenda, December 15, 1978. Also attendance list.

March 1, 1979. Fulton, MI. Minutes of the last meeting read by Mary Church, Secretary. Attendance sheet. Minutes in Littlefield 1993, Attachment D.

April 7, 1979, United Fellowship Hall, Parchment, MI. Minutes in Littlefield 1993, Attachment D.

June 19, 1979. Election by secret ballot. David Mackety, Henry Bush Jr., John Chivis Sr., Roger Sprague.

July 23, 1979. With attendance sheet.

July 31, 1979.

September 24, 1979. Minutes of General Membership Tribal Council held on September 8, 1979. In Littlefield 1993, Attachment F.

September 26, 1979.

October 6, 1979.

October 17, 1979.

December 8, 1979.

January 19, 1980. Attendance list. Copy of minutes taken.

February 16, 1980. With attendance list.

April 12, 1980, Gladys & Ron Chivis Residence. With attendance list. Tribal chairman David Mackety. Partial transcript of "Part of the taped session of Tribal Council meeting."

consideration to the Huron Potawatomi Indians' request for federal recognition.

"Whereas, the Potawatomi Indians living on the Pine Creek Reservtion near Athens, Michigan, lack all necessary services to maintain their health and safety. All of the twelve housing units are substandard according to a Calhoun County housing inspector. The stove-heated shacks are in desperate need of winterization, lacking insulation, storm doors and windows, and running water. In addition, the absence of police and fire protection along with the abject isolation of the reservation have created precarious living conditions; and

Whereas, the Pine Creek Reservation has nearly exhausted all sources of funds available to it, with maintenance money having already run its course during a particularly discomforting winter. The lack of career opportunities has driven the young Potawatomi Indians away long ago, leaving the average age of residents on the reservation at fifty-seven years. The typical resident is compelled to exist well below the poverty level, subsisting on Social Security with an annual income below $2,000; and

Whereas, Due to legal complications concerning the ownership of the Pine Creek Reservation land, the Potawatomis have been unable to procure funds that they are in desperate need of and entitled to. A recent application for a $300,000 federal grant was denied because the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development cannot act until the ownership controversy has been resolved . . . ." (March 6, 1979; BAR, HPI Admin File).

Development of a Splinter Group. In 1980, for reasons which were not entirely clear in the documentation made available to the BAR historian, certain members of HPI formed a new corporation, the "Nottawasippi Band of Potawatomi Nation, Incorporated." The incorporation papers were signed November 15, 1980 and filed in Lansing, Michigan, on December 2, 1980. The stated purposes of the organization were: (1) to raise funds; (2) a reuniting the Nottawasippi Band of Potawatomi Nation; 3) a reaquisition of historical land, 4) building a museum and culture center. The names of incorpo-

rators of the newly formed group were 1) Leonard James Pamp,[191] 2) Betsy L. Pamp, 3) Stella R. Pamp (all resided at 853 Albers Rd., Bronson, MI 59028). The board of directors consisted of: Colleen Wagner (5342 Ethel, Brighton, MI 48116), Julie A. Snyder (P.O. Box 1010, St. Joe, Ind. 46785), Kenneth Pamp (R 1, Fulton Mich 49052) (HPI Tribal Office).

There is some indication that the major impetus for the formation of the new group was the question of control over the Pine Creek Reservation land. Leona Bush wrote to Mark Stuart, HPI attorney, on March 7, 1981. In his reply, he said:

> While I understand the potential frustration that Huron Pottawatomi [sic], Inc. may have dealing with this new corporation, I doubt whether the courts will get involved in something as political as the control of that land by one group or another. Since your group may be characterized as "less militant" a direct appeal to the Michigan Governor's office might be helpful, although I suspect they would refer you back to the Indian Commission (Stuart to Bush, April 22, 1981).

On March 23, 1981, HPI wrote to the Michigan Department of Commerce inquiring about the status of the newly incorporated group and objecting to the use of a name so similar to its own. The main content of the reply was that without a court order, the filing for incorporation of the "Nottawasippi Band of Potawatomi Nation, Inc." was a private matter between the parties (Michigan Department of Commerce to HPI, April 22, 1981, HPI Tribal Office).

On June 6, 1981, at a special tribal meeting, HPI adopted by a vote of 17 for, 1 against, and none abstaining, "Nottawasippe Huron Potawatomi Band of Indians Resolution No. V6-81." By this resolution, HPI directed its lawyers to get an injunction restraining the use of the newly incorporated name, and also directed that all HPI members be informed of this action through the newsletter (HPI Tribal Office). On June 23, 1981, Leona Bush wrote to Isaac Peters, Chief, Grand Valley Indian Lodge, concerning HPI's desire to begin legal action by means of a court injunction against the

[191] Leonard Pamp's misgivings about the effort to obtain Federal acknowledgment pre-dated the FAP (Letter, HPI Tribal Attorney Mark F. Stuart to Pamp, April 11, 1977, HPI Tribal Office).

"Nottawaseppis Band of the Pottawattomi Nation, Inc.," incorporated by the Leonard Pamp family (Letter, Bush to Peters, June 23, 1981, HPI Tribal Office).

The Ad Hoc Land Committee, consisting of Samuel Mackety, Alberta Wells, and Leona Bush, sent a protest requesting that the Michigan Department of Commerce not register the new organization, with carbon copies to the governor, Assistant Attorney General Wernet, the Michigan Commission on Indian Affairs, and Michigan Indian Legal Services (Letter, Ad HPI Hoc Land Committee to Director, Michigan Department of Commerce, March 23, 1981, HPI Tribal Office). In May, 1981, Leona Bush and Alberta Wells wrote to the Internal Revenue Service objecting to the assignment of a non-profit identity number to the new organization because of the similarity of names (Letter, Bush and Wells to Internal Revenue Service, May 4, 1981, HPI Tribal Office).

In 1982, David Mackety and Leona Bush met with State Senator Monsma about the issue, saying, "We acknowledge the right of any group to organize. However, we do protest the use of a similar name used by our tribal entity. . ." (Letter, Bush to Monsma, March 25, 1982, HPI Tribal Office). The splinter group was still in existence in 1983,[192] 1985 (HPI Tribal Minutes, May 11, 1985) and in 1986.[193] However, as of 1994 its incorporators were listed on the current HPI membership roll and one of them was serving as acting HPI treasurer (HPI 1994, Roll).

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[192] Michigan Annual Report - Nonprofit Corporations. Nottawasepis Band of Pottawatomie Nation, Incorporated. Resident Agent, Leonard J. Pamp, Rt. 2, Box 853 Albers Rd, Bronson, MI 49028. Secretary: Colleen Rae Wagner, 217 Dunbar, Waukeshaw, Wisc. 53186; Treasurer, Beverly Sue Stein, 812 Huffman, Ft. Wayne, Ind. 46808; Vice President, Joan bush, 685 128 Avenue, shelbyville, MI 49344; other corporate directors Julie Ann Snyder, 10436 Babcock Rd, Bath, MI 48808; Kenneth A. Pamp, R. 6, Fulton, MI 49052. "The Corporation will raise and administer a fund for: reuniting the Nottawasepis Band of Pottawatomie Nation; the reacquisition of the historical land; the Cultural Language and Traditional Pow-Wow. The building and maintaining of museum, Trading post, cultural center which will be built within the reacquired historical land; and other purposes to benefit the general welfare of the Pottawatomie Nation (HPI Tribal Office).

[193] Salem Indian M.E. Fellowship Hall. "Discussion of organization implemented by the Leonard Pamp family. Attention was given to minutes of HPI membership meeting of June 6, 1981, where action was passed to protest this organization on grounds of infringement. This action has not taken place to date." Alberta Wells, acting secretary (HPI Tribal Minutes, January 18, 1986).

Economic and social life in the 1970's.

Attempts at Pine Creek economic revival in the 1970's using War on Poverty resources. In 1971, the Michigan Department of Social Services produced a report on economic conditions on the Pine Creek reservation (Leatherbury 1977, 110). The following year, 1972, the Huron Potawatomi were mentioned in a report prepared by the BIA at the request of Congress on urban, rural, and state reservation Indians (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 50).

Also in 1972, Huron Potawatomi, Inc., the "business arm of the Huron Potawatomi Band," became eligible to receive Federal Revenue Sharing Funds, account no. 23-6-013-569 (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 49). Since that time, much of the day-to-day activity of the tribal council, as described in the tribal minutes, has been devoted to the administration of various grant funds on behalf of the group.

Gordon Bush. A period of dynamic economic development activity was ushered in by the appointment of Gordon Bush as director of Huron Potawatomi, Inc., in 1977 (Crawley 1978, 4). Bush, an HPI member, was a trained sociologist. At the time, he was 31 years old and lived in Grand Rapids, Michigan. During the period of his appointment, he commuted from there to Athens each day.[194] He began an energetic fight for economic and community development services (Shoemaker 1979?, 1) which was reflected in numerous newspaper articles at the time.

In 1978, Calhoun County, Michigan, Housing Inspectors reported that the homes on the Pine Creek Reservation did not meet minimum health and safety codes (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 47). In response, HPI threatened "to sue the governor for $1 million in damages and $1.3 million for rehabilitation if he does not take action before Jan. 1 to upgrade living conditions on the Pine Creek Reservation near Athens" (Potawatomis: In search of a future, November 19, 1978). Bush claimed to have commitments from 23 senior citizens and 40 low-to-moderate-income people to come back to the reservation if there was housing. He told the reporter that, "So far as hundreds coming back, I doubt they would, even though we do still maintain political influence

[194] As does the current secretary working in the tribal office in 1994.

over those other members" (Potawatomis: In search of a future, November 19, 1978).

In 1979, a complaint was filed with state Department of Civil Rights by Joseph Wesley and Gordon Bush, "leaders of the Huron Potawatomi band headquartered at Athens," charging two Michigan State agencies with discrimination against elderly Indians (Sherwood 1979).

Bush also sought out sources of funding other than Federal grants. In a meeting with Presbyterian representatives, he stated that 47 members were still on the reservation, but that more than 400 lived elsewhere (Shoemaker 1979?, 1).

> "The tribe is dying out," Bush told us as he took us to see some of the 12 remaining houses on the reservation. The houses are poor, as poor as the 47 people who still live there. The houses are shabby. Most do not have indoor toilets, plumbing or electricity. Trash removal, road maintenance, fire and police protection do not exist . . . average annual income for residents is about $1,900. 467 members scattered from New York to Minnesota (Shoemaker 1979?, 2).

Response by the Pine Creek residents. However, support for Bush's activism was not universal within the HPI membership during the later 1970's:

> Reservation dwellers were not necessarily enthusiastic about the prospect of federally-funded housing projects that would significantly increase the numbers living at Pine Creek and threaten their control of lands which had been used by their families for generations and to which they claimed heirship (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 24).

This concern about use of the reservation land was one of the impelling factors that led to the establishment of the Ad Hoc Land Committee (see above). Additionally, some younger members of HPI resented publicity which implied that they were not adequately caring for elderly relatives who lived at Pine Creek (HPI Tribal Minutes, April 7, 1979, [6]). The Council terminated Bush's position as executive director effective October, 1979, because his mother was serving on the Council and his position violated the nepotism clause (HPI Tribal Minutes, June 9. 1979). He was still serving, however, on April 12, 1980, but left the position before December 13, 1980, by which time Ruth Ann

Chivis had become tribal director (HPI Tribal Minutes, December 13, 1980).

Involvement of the Pine Creek settlement in Michigan statewide Indian affairs. Also during the later 1970's, the HPI became actively involved in the work of the Michigan Commission on Indian Affairs in the Michigan Department of Social Services. For a time in the 1970's, Rev. Samuel Mackety, who was raised at Indiantown in Athens, served as its chairman (Leatherbury 1977, 109).

Huron Potawatomi Inc. since 1980.

HPI Politics, 1980-1986. By the 1980's, HPI maintained rolls of eligible voters. The 1981 eligible HPI voters list comprised 231 persons (BAR fd, HPI Tribal Office).

The 1980 election and its consequences. In the May 3, 1980, HPI election, held at Dorr Township Hall, Dorr, Michigan, David Mackety, chairman for the past eight years, was replaced by Joseph Wesley, Jr. The new Tribal Council was composed of Joseph Wesley, Jr., David Mackety, Sarah Day, Ronald Chivis, and Elizabeth Pamp. There were 45 ballots. A protest was filed against alleged irregularities, (Letter, Leona Bush to David Mackety, May 7, 1980, HPI Tribal Office). During June, 1980, a petition protesting the election was signed by 57 voters, 24 percent of the total (BAR fd, HPI Tribal Office).

> Conflict among leaders, including both staff members and elected leaders, ensued. More conservative members felt the tribal staff was going too far and sought to stop them. At one point, members of this faction removed the files from the tribal offices, leaving the tribal staff unable to perform their jobs (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 25; based on oral interviews).

One result of this change of administration was that the new leadership, once elected, really did not grasp the nitty-gritty of day-to-day administration. Notification procedures for meetings were not followed, meetings were not scheduled, and quorums were not attained.[195] The schedul-

[195] May 29, 1980. Fifteen members present.
June 12, 1980, Tribal Chairman Joseph Wesley. Theresa Leo appointed Secretary Pro-Tem in the absence of Sarah Day.
July 17, 1980, no quorum.

ing problems that had prevailed in 1980 continued throughout the first half of 1981,[196] leading to considerable dissatisfaction within HPI.

Submission of partial acknowledgment petition to BAR, 1981. Under Joseph Wesley, HPI submitted a partial acknowledgment petition, in the form of a historical narrative, to BAR on January 16, 1981. On January 30, 1981, Greg Blanche, an attorney at Michigan Indian Legal Services, wrote to Joe Wesley, HPI Chairman, saying that he had received a call from Lynn Lambert [sic], Federal Acknowledgment staff, the previous day.

August 12, 1980, no quorum. No notices sent out. Rescheduled for August 28.

August 28, 1980, no quorum.

September 2, 1980. Special meeting called by J. Wesley and Ron Chivis to discuss absenteeism (Sara Day absent at all meetings; Liz Pamp at several). No notices sent. Meeting scheduled at Indiantown office at 3:00 p.m. The HPI Tribal Council passed a formal resolution to seek Federal acknowledgment on September 2, 1980 (HPI Petition 1986, Ex.).

September 18, 1980, Scheduled for 7:00 p.m. at Ron Chivis' place. No quorum, no meeting. Chairman absent.

September 25, 1980. October 28, 1980, Climax, MI according to one listing; Indiantown office according to another. Chairman absent. No quorum, no meeting.

October 9, 1980. No notice, no meeting.

October 28, 1980. Scheduled for 7:00 p.m. at J. Wesley's place. R. Chivis and Sara Day absent. Meetings to be changed to 2nd Saturday of each month.

November 11/13, 1980, Climax, MI or scheduled for 7:00 p.m. at Indiantown office and changed to Joe Wesley's place on one day's notice. No chairman, no quorum.

November 25, 1980. Ruth Ann Chivis informed David Mackety of a council meeting to be held at her place. Meeting not properly called by program director; only Liz Pamp present.

December 13, 1980, Caledonia, Michigan, R. Chivis' place. Tribal chairman absent.

December 20, 1980, D. Mackety Res. Election procedures.

January 10, 1981. No notice, no meeting.

January 24, 1981. Scheduled for R. Chivis; no quorum, no meeting, only D. Mackety and R. Chivis present (HPI Tribal Office).

[196] February 12, 1981. Council meeting scheduled at Joe Wesley's office. No quorum, no meeting.

February 14, 1981. No notice, no meeting.

March 14, 1981. No notice, no meeting.

April 11, 1981. Annual meeting scheduled as stated in constitution: no notice, no meeting, no election.

May 16, 1981. Meeting notice sent. Question: who is tribal chairperson at this time? (HPI Tribal Office).

> If the Huron Potawatomi submit to me their membership list and accompanying genealogical charts, she indicated to me that your petition could receive immediate consideration. The opportunity for immediate consideration is a result not only of the Huron Potawatomi high priority but also of an opening in the review process. If the Huron Potawatomi do not submit their membership list and genealogical charts, they will not be considered for this immediate opening. Further, your petition will not be given any consideration until the membership list and genealogical charts are submitted. I urge you to complete and submit this data immediately (Blanche to Wesley, January 30, 1981).

The additional documented needed to complete the petition was not submitted until 1986 (see below).

On March 26, 1981, Alvin G. Picotte, then Superintendent of the BIA's Michigan agency, stated that the narrative drafted by Gordon Bush and submitted by Wesley had been abridged by the HPI Ad Hoc Land Committee and submitted by Samuel Mackety, HPI member and Michigan Agency BIA staff member, as a 56-page narrative. Picotte stated that at least four reasons had been given for the abridgement:

1. The Pakagon [sic] Band's History is to be kept separate, as indicated by Chairman Mr. Joseph Winchester, a petition for Federal Recognition is to be submitted in the near future.
2. A jurisdictional boundry [sic] will be established or adjusted between the Pokagon and Huron Bands of the Potawatomi in the near future.
3. One main distinguishing factor is recorded from the Congressional records in that the Pokagon Band was identified as the "Memorialist" while the Huron Potawatomi was [sic] not so identified. The historical documents, [1] the Cadman Roll - 1896 relating to an Annuity per capita Payment for the Pakagon [sic] Band and [2] the Taggart Roll 1904 a per Capita Payment schedule for the Huron Band is conclusive proof that the Federal Government had separate dealings with the

respective Potawatomi Bands since the year of 1833.

4. The G. Bush Narrative is a position paper in that the Huron (Nattowasippi) and the Pokagon Band are classified as one entity after 1833, the date of the last treaty with the Potawatomi Nation, to the present day. This is erroneous, because the Huron Band of Potawatomi were forced to be removed (The Removal Act of 1830) to a Western Reservation while the Pokagon Band (The Memorialist) were exempted from a forced Western removal because of religious and educational reasons (Picotte to COIA attn. Lambert, March 26, 1981).

Picotte went on to say that:

> Since the Huron Potawatomi petition and the Federal Recognition process falls within the boundaries of the Michigan Agency, jurisdiction, our office is establishing a file for informational purposes. We will appreciate all documentation that relates to this recognition process for our file. Upon Federal Recognition of this tribe our Agency will be pleased to grant and administer the services that are due to them (Picotte to COIA attn. Lambert, March 26, 1981).

On December 9, 1981, John A. Shapard, Chief, Branch of Federal Acknowlegment, wrote to Mr. Buddy R. Raphael of the Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council of Michigan detailing the documentation which was needed to complete the Huron Potawatomi petition (Shapard to Raphael, December 9, 1981). On December 14, Greg Blanche of Michigan Indian Legal Services (hereafter cited as MILS) wrote to Mark Stuart, Esq. of Marshall, Michigan, the HPI attorney, discussing the information still needed for the FAP petition, saying that "delay can only jeopardize the Huron Potawatomi petition" and offering the assistance of MILS (Blanche to Stuart, December 14, 1981). Four days later, Stuart enclosed a copy of Blanche's letter when he wrote to HPI Chairperson Ronald Chivis (Stuart to Chivis, December 18, 1981).

On June 5, 1982, the tribal council voted to send a certified letter to MILS requesting the return of all HPI materials relating to FAP. After the return, the council intended

to re-activate its historical committee (HPI Tribal Minutes, June 5, 1982).

June 1981: "Volunteer Membership Action Committee." Under the leadership of David Mackety, a "Volunteer Membership Action Committee" met June 6, 1981, at Hopkinsburg, Michigan (HPI Tribal (ffice). On June 11, 1981, a notice was sent to the HPI membership stating that the membership action committee had relieved the existing tribal council and appointed new members to fill vacancies until the next election in April 1982. Appointed members were: David Mackety, Chairman; Jenny Pigeon, Vice Chairperson; Leona Bush, Secretary; Katherine Stinger, Treasurer; Homer Mandoka, Jr., Member at Large (HPI Notices to the Members, June 11, 1981, HPI Tribal Office).[197] The notice scheduled a tribal council meeting for June 19, 1981, to consider, among other things, action to up-date the delinquent incorporation fee (HPI Notices to Members, June 11, 1981, HPI Tribal Office).

On June 15, 1981, the Michigan State Police at Tekonsha, Michigan, were notified by Joseph Wesley that files had been removed from the tribal office on June 13 by David Mackety, Leona Bush, and Kathy Stinger, who had also changed the lock. The police concluded that there was no criminal involvement (HPI Tribal Minutes, June 19, 1981; Concerned Member Memo, July 5, 1981, 2).

On June 19, 1981, HPI the newly appointed council met at the Comstock Community Center, Comstock, Michigan: 31 qualified HPI voters were present. While there was some question about the legality of the meeting, at the suggestion of two lawyers present, Mark Stuart for HPI and Greg Blanche from MILS, those present voted to legalize the meeting and arrange to have an election held within 90 days. An election committee of five persons was chosen: Gordon Bush, Barbara

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[197] On July 17, 1981, HPI wrote to the Mid Counties Employment and Training Consortium saying that "the Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi Membership has mandated a change at the Governing Council level effective as of June 1981" and listing the officers as Ronald Chivis, Chairman; David Mackety, Vice-Chairman; Jennie Pigeon, Secretary, Cathy Stinger, Treasurer; Elizabeth Pamp, Member (Letter, Chivis to Mid Counties, July 17, 1981, HPI Tribal Office).

On January 4, 1982, HPI sent a letter to the BIA saying that effective June 1981, the Nottawaseppi Tribal Council was: Ronald Chivis, Chairman; David Mackety, Vice Chairman; Leona Bush, Secretary; Katherine Stinger, Treasurer; Elizabeth Pamp, Member-at-Large (Letter, HPI to BIA, January 4, 1982, HPI Tribal Office).

Sulanius, Cindy Pigeon, Mary Sprague, and Virginia Aneweski (HPI Tribal Minutes, June 19, 1981).

The council chosen on June 6 to serve until the election (David Mackety, Ronald Chivis, and Elizabeth Pamp) met on June 22, 1981, at Dorr, Michigan, appointing Jenny Pigeon, secretary, and Katherine Stinger, treasurer, to fill the two additional positions on the interim council. At this meeting, Ronald Chivis was designated as tribal chairman, and the tribal director was ordered to turn over the keys (HPI Tribal Minutes, June 22, 1981). By August 5, 1981, Ronald Chivis was signing letters as tribal chairman (Letter, Chivis to Taylor, August 5, 1991, HPI Tribal Office).

An unsigned, seven-page memorandum, dated July 5, 1981, to "Members of Band of Huron Potawatomi" was circulated by "A Concerned Member and Former Employee." It was re: "Irregularities and Authoritarian Rule of Some Tribal Members and Members of the Council" and objected to the actions taken on the initiative of the volunteer membership committee on constitutional and procedural grounds, alleging that the full membership had not been notified of the June 6 meeting, and that only 22 people out of a total 400-500 tribal membership had been present, and describing conflict between the new council and the tribal director concerning the keys and access to the files, as well as problems with payments to the staff (HPI Tribal Office).

In connection with this letter, HPI obtained the following legal opinion:

> Mark F. Stuart, Stuart and Stuart, Attorneys at Law, Marshall, Michigan. To Whom it May Concern: has reviewed the Resolution dated June 22, 1981 of the duly appointed tribal council (Board of Directors), of the Huron Potawatomi, Inc. That I am familiar with the By-laws and procedures and that such Tribal Council and Board of Directors are duly qualified to act on behalf of the Huron Potawatomi, Inc., a Michigan non-profit corporation (July 6, 1981. HPI Admin File, BAR Files).

The HPI OD response, based on oral interviews with tribal members, states that "Band politics lost some of its momentum with these changes and with the departure of those staff members who had been most active" (HPI OD Response/ Littlefield 1993, 25). The written record does not confirm this interpretation: from July 1981, the usual pattern of regular tribal council meetings showing extensive HPI tribal

council activity in fact resumed.[198] On August 19, 1981, a full-page memo to the membership updated them on all aspects of grants and funding (HPI Tribal Office).

April 1982: Re-Election of David Mackety. The HPI newsletter reported the following information under the headline, "Election of 1982:"

> At the membership meeting held on February 18, 1982 at the Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal offices, Grand Rapids, MI. an Election Committee was selected and the date of the annual election was set. The Election Committee will be chaired by Leona Bush with Anna Marie Medawis and Albert Sprague as co-committee persons. Election policies and procedures read. Motion by Richard Sprague that a Recall procedure be entered into the Election Policies and Procedures, passed by the Tribal Council. Place: Nottawaseppi Huron Band Office, Pine Creek Reservation, April 24, 1982, 1:00 p.m. Offices: Chairman, 3 years; Vice Chairman, 3 years; Secretary, 2 years; Treasurer, 2 years; Mbr at Large, 1 year (HPI Newsletter, April 1982, HPI Tribal Office).

From this time, throughout the remainder of the 1980's, HPI had a regularly elected tribal council which held regular meetings.[199] By 1983, HPI was holding tribal council meet-

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[198] July 17, 1981, Tribal Office, Pine Creek Reservation. Discussion regarding events of June 22, 1981 and June 29, 1981, meetings.
July 25, 1981, Katherine Stinger, secretary pro tem.
August 5, 1981. Letter of Ronald Chivis, Tribal Chairman, Interim Tribal Council to Community Services Agency.
August 10, 1981, Pine Creek Reservation.
August 14, 1981, Pine Creek Reservation.
September 29, 1981, Pine Creek Reservation--Executive session, Interim Tribal Council.
November 25, 1981, Grand Rapids, Michigan.
December 9, 1981, Pine Creek Reservation.

February 15, 1982, Dorr, Michigan.
February 18, 1982, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

[199] March 11, 1982, Dorr, Michigan.
April 6, 1982, Grand Rapids, MI.
April 23, 1982, Grand Rapids Michigan, GRITC Office.
June 5, 1982. Pine Creek Reservation. Present David Mackety, Alberta Wells, Jennie Pigeon, Leona Bush.
July 17, 1982. Meeting notice, Salem Indian Mission.

ings at the Salem Indian Mission (HPI Tribal Council Minutes, May 14, 1983). Also by 1983, HPI had established a "northern office" in Allegan County (HPI Tribal Minutes, July 9, 1983). At the January 1986 tribal council meeting, a motion was made and carried "that all business be done at the office at Athens and not be split into northern and southern offices" (HPI Tribal Minutes, January 18, 1986, 1).

Continuation of work on the Federal acknowledgment petition. Between 1980 and 1986, one major focus of HPI efforts was the preparation of the Federal acknowledgment petition. A partial, incomplete documented petition, the historical portion only, was submitted to BAR on January 16, 1981, by HPI (Nattawaseppi [sic] Huron Band of Potawatomis). The BIA responded by saying that, "your petition will be considered at the earliest possible time, . . ." (Hayes to Levine, January 30, 1981, BAR Files, Admin File).

February 12, 1983, Athens, MI, 10:00 a.m. Announced in newsletter.

March 12, 1983, Pine Creek Reservation. Announced in newsletter.

April 9, 1983, election, 10:00 a.m. - 2:00 p.m.; Pine Creek Reservation and Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Center. Elections workers: Leona Bush, Richard Sprague, Albert Sprague, Samuel Mackety, Sue Lepper, Dawn Anderson, Louella Collins, Louise Medawis, Kathy Stinger, Ruth Peters.

April 14, 1983, Grant Rapids. Executive session.

May 14, 1983, Salem Indian Mission.

July 9, 1983, Salem Indian Church.

October 28, 1983, Salem Indian Mission. Listing only.

March 17, 1984, Grand Rapids, MI, 10:40 a.m. With attendance sheet.

Announcement for Election of 1984, April 21. Two poll sites, at Athens and northern to be announced. Absentee ballot request attached. Elected: David Mackety, Chairman; Ronald Chivis, Vice Chairman; Leona Bush, Secretary; Alberta Wells, Treasurer; Jennie Pigeon, Member at Large.

1984 Annual Membership meeting notice, July 14, Kalamazoo Public Library Auditorium.

July 28, 1984. Announcement to the Heirship of the Pine Creek Reservation. Athens Township Hall, 2:00-4:00 p.m. Ad hoc land committee: Elma Gabow, chairperson; Leona Bush and Samuel Mackety. Ad hoc land committee (Elma Gabow, chair) went out of business.

October 2?, 1984, Pine Creek Reservation.

May 11. 1985, Salem Indian M.E. Fellowship Hall. Minutes in Littlefield 1993, Attachment D.

January 18, 1986, Salem Indian M.E. Fellowship Hall. Minutes in Littlefield 1993, Attachment D. Next meeting will be in approximately two months. Alberta Wells, acting secretary.

BAR also requested that the remainder of the petition, the necessary items specified in the letter, be submitted in order that the petition could be processed (Letter from John A. Shapard, Chief, Branch of Federal Acknowledgment, to Buddy R. Raphael, Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council of Michigan, December 9, 1981; BAR Files).

At the April 5, 1986, HPI council meeting,

> David Mackety brought up that Federal Recognition did not seem a viable issue at this time with quite afew [sic] members. Alberta Wells made comment that it should be wrapped up and information given to members as we receive word from the Federal Recognition Office on the progress (HPI Tribal Minutes, April 5, 1986).

The documented HPI acknowledgment petition was received by BAR on December 22, 1986; additional material was received February 3, 1987. The obvious deficiency review response was sent in October, 1987 (OD Letter, Hazel Elbert to David Mackety, October, 1987, BAR, HPI Admin File).

HPI Politics 1986-1991. The HPI Tribal Office has only one set of minutes between January 1986 and December 1987, those of April 5, 1986.[200] After December 1987, the sequence resumes.[201]

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[200] At the death of formal tribal council chairperson John Chivis, Jr. the "more up-to-date minutes" were in his estate. As of April, 1994, HPI was trying to get them back, but had had to go to court. The tribal administrator and current chairperson had reconstructed some by going around to former tribal chairmen, etc. Alice Littlefield supposedly did use them (in a black binder) when preparing the 1993 OD Response. However, there are none for this period included in Littlefield's submission to BAR. The BAR anthropologist obtained copies of some in September, 1994.

[201] October 13, 1987 (no copy in files--mention that minutes read at Dec. 29 meeting).
December 29, 1987, Joe Sprague's Office, Grand Rapids, MI. Re-schedule of December 15, 1987, meeting, which was cancelled because of snow. Minutes in Littlefield 1993, Attachment E.

January [illegible], 1988, Dorr, MI.
February 16, 1988, Joe Sprague's Office, Grand Rapids, MI.
May 9, 1988, Joe Sprague's Office,Grand Rapids, Michigan.
July 26, 1988, Rest Stop, Galesburg, Michigan.
August 23, 1988, Yankee Springs Recreational Unit, Gun Lake Unit.
September 20, 1988, Dawn Bush Residence, Grand Rapids, MI.
December 12, 1988, HPI Inc., Fulton, MI.

The tribal minutes for December 29, 1987, show that the meeting was held in Joe Sprague's office, Grand Rapids, Michigan. Those present were David Mackety, Katherine Stinger, Alberta Wells, Dawn Bush, and Joe Sprague, Sr. Topics discussed concerned several grants, approval of the minutes of the October 13, 1987, meeting; a treasurer's report, and discussion of the OD letter received from bar. "General consensus- we would like to submit a reply to their comments on this issue in the month of January." A meeting was scheduled for January 16, 1988, for a workshop to get the response material together (HPI Tribal Minutes, December 29, 1987, 1). However, no response was presented to BAR until 1991. That response was recalled by the HPI Council, which finally presented an OD Response in January, 1993.

Temporary amalgamation with the Bradley settlement. The most significant new initiative undertaken by HPI during the later 1930's that has significance for acknowledgment purposes is the temporary merger which took place between 1988 and 1991 with the Bradley settlement Potawatomi (aka at various time periods, Selkirk Reserve; Gun Lake; Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band). This merger was engineered, beginning in 1987, immediately after submission of the Federal acknowledgment petition, by David Mackety.[202]

January 23, 1989, HPI Wayland Office.
May 23, 1989. Minutes read at the July 25, 1989, meeting.
June 28, 1989, City Park, Constantine, MI. Present: David Mackety, Joe Sprague, Sr., Albert Wells, Margaret Sipkema. Topics: economic development, filling of a council vacancy, and liability insurance.
July 5, 1989, HPI Wayland Office. Present: David Mackety, Joe Sprague, Sr.; Alberta Wells, Margaret Sipkema, John Chivis, Jr. Discussion of a "profit arm" for HPI.
July 25, 1989, HPI Wayland Office. Present: David Mackety, John Chivis, Jr.; Joe Sprague, Sr.; Alberta Wells, Margaret Sipkema. Report on discussion with the Michigan Indian Legal Services on a corporate arm structure, appointment of a business committee, report on the Marcy-May SF 272 report on the ANA grant.
September 14, 1989. Special meeting. Present: David Mackety, John Chivis, Jr.; Albert Wells, Margaret Sipkema, Joe Sprague. Minutes in Littlefield 1993, Attachment D.
November 14, 1989, HPI Wayland Office.
December 12, 1989, No.office Announcement/agenda only.

[202] The current, 1994, HPI membership list contains the names of those persons added to to HPI during this merger. As a result, the current HPI population of 819 is larger than would be expected on the basis of Pine Creek settlement population statistics only. For extensive discussion, see the Genealogical Technical Report to the Proposed Finding.

Mackety had, with brief interruptions, been HPI chairman for nearly 20 years. His formal election as tribal chairman took place in 1972 (HPI Pet. 1986, Historical Overview, 49), but he had been active in HPI activities for nearly 20 years before that.

Tribal members today attribute the motive for the merger to various developments. One was the dispute, unresolved in 1988, within HPI about the status of the Pine Creek reservation land:

> The attempted merger of all Bradley (Allegan County) Huron Pots descendants and Athens (Calhoun County) Huron Pots was the brain child of former Huron Pot Tribal Chairman David Mackety. His stated desire was to bring the leadership capability of the "northern community", as he fondly used to call Allegan County Indians, into the Nottawaseppi-Huron Tribe. His reason was to energize a Tribe that had lost momentum due to it's [sic] internal stalemate over who had ownership rights of the Pine Creek Reservation" (Church 1993, 33-34).

However, there had also been internal religious conflict within HPI since the 1970's caused by the revival of Native American religious interests among some members (HPI OD Response/Littlefield 1993, 38-39). Since the Bradley group was strongly Methodist, some HPI members believed that Mackety also hoped to use the merger as a way to ensure a fundamentalist Christian majority.

> Perhaps the most disturbing issues that surfaced throughout the years was that he controlled tribal enrollment, refusing any applicant who did not share his particular religious beliefs. As a fundamental Christian he obviously felt that it was his obligation to protect the enrolled members from non-Christian or traditional members. While this virtue is commendable as a spiritual or family value it becomes discrimination when applied to tribal law (Chivis 1993, [6]).

In any case, whatever the motivation, the merger did take place.

> [T]he Allegan County Huron Pots discussed the matter and in 1988 began cooperation. An ANA grant was written, the land issue was set aside,

> the rolls were to be redeveloped, and a new constitutional structure was to be developed to insure equal participation of both communities (Church 1993, 34).

By September 1989, HPI had an office at 118 W. Maple St., Wayland, Michigan, in addition to the office on the Pine Creek reservation (HPI Tribal Minutes, September 14, 1989).

However, the combination of the two groups did not prove to be enduring or long-lasting:

> Our recently completed research of Gun Lake Band history and tribal continuity does not reveal any thread of evidence, documents, or Treaty stipulations which support the theory that the Indians of Allegan and Barry Counties were ever an official, or otherwise functioning part of the Huron Pottawatomi Tribe prior to the failed attempt by the Nottawaseppi-Huron Potawatomi from 1987-91 to merge the membership of the individual Huron Pots in Calhoun County and Allegan County into one tribe (Church 1993, 33-34).

Although it was the merger which led, in considerable part, to Mackety's defeat in the April, 1991, election, nonetheless the tribal chairman elected to replace him was Margaret (Sprague) Sipkema from Bradley.[203]

1991: Submission of "Updated Historical Overview" written by William Church of the Bradley settlement and new Membership Roll. In accordance with the merger that had taken

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[203] March 17, 1990. Council Meeting, Pa Wa TingMe Ged Win Church, Grand Rapids, MI.
[September 11, 1990. Council Meeting. Referred to in minutes of May 21, 1991, meeting.]
September 26, 1990. Council Meeting, John Chivis, Jr., Residence, Jenison, MI.
October 10, 1990. Council Meeting, McCoy Restaurant off I-94, Battle Creek, MI.
[November 5, 1990. Council Meeting. Referred to in minutes of May 21, 1991 meeting.]
November 12, 1990. Council Meeting, HPI Office, Bradley, MI.
December 20, 1990. Council Meeting, HPI Office, Bradley, MI.
January 9, 1991. Council Meeting, HPI Office, Bradley, MI.
February 11, 1991. Council Meeting, HPI Office, Bradley, MI.
March 12, 1991. Council Meeting, HPI Office, Bradley, MI.
[April 9, 1991. Council Meeting. Referred to in minutes of May 21, 1991, meeting.]

place, in 1991 HPI submitted to BAR an Obvious Deficiency Response written by William Church of the Bradley settlement. The narrative portion of this response was focussed upon justifying the merger of the Pine Creek and Bradley settlements from a historical perspective. It was intended to provide an:

> . . . updated historical overview of the Tribe pertinent at this time due to the heavy concentration of the focus of the petition on the Pine Creek Reservation Area. . . . The Tribe now desires to provide additional information about the Tribe and its members north of Pine Creek, legal and historical descendants of the Huron Potawatomi described in the petition, and land bases there also of an historic nature and relevance (HPI OD Response/Church 1991, 3).

From the perspective of modern community, it argued that:

> Today's Huron Potawatomi Communities are concentrated in eight (8) southwest Michigan counties south of the Grand River. These counties are Calhoun, Kalamazoo, Barry, Allegan, Kent, Ottawa, Van Buren and Berrien counties. Population data developed under a grant funded by the U.S. Offices of Health and Human Services and administered by the Huron Potawatomi Tribe show eight distinct population concentrations. They are at the Pine Creek Reservation, Battle Creek, the City of Kalamazoo, Grand Rapids, Bradley, Hopkins (in Allegan County), Spring Lake in Ottawa County, Hartford in Van Buren County and scattered members in Berrien County (HPI OD Response/Church 1991, 6).

This definition of the HPI community was far more comprehensive than that which had been presented to BAR in the 1986 documented petition: essentially, it described a different population and geographic entity altogether. However, the HPI Tribal Council chose to "recall" this OD response in 1992 rather than making it an official part of the HPI petition (see below for a fuller discussion) (BAR, HPI Admin File).

The following items reflect the merger's purposes and potential consequences. At the January 9, 1991, HPI tribal council meeting at the Bradley office, Joe Sprague moved "that the land at Athens be removed from consideration for trust status, in pursuant of federal recognition, until

federal recognition has been achieved." The motion passed (HPI Tribal Minutes, January 9, 1991). In 1993, tribal chairman Ronald Chivis claimed that this provision was in violation of the Tribal Constitution, Article VII, section 1 (Chivis 1993, [4]).

On February 11, 1991, in a HPI tribal council meeting at the Bradley office Joe Sprague moved "that the Council approve a resolution that all on the 1904 Taggart Roll be considered as Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi full bloods unless otherwise indicated or genealogy research proves otherwise." The motion passed (HPI Tribal Minutes, February 11, 1991). For a fuller discussion of the implications of this motion, see the Genealogical Report. In 1993, tribal chairman Ronald Chivis claimed that this motion was in violation of Article III, Section 1 of the Constitution (Chivis 1993, [4]).

Breakdown of the Bradley merger. During the spring and summer of 1991, the merger with the Bradley settlement broke down amid considerable controversy: "The cooperation stalled in 1991 after a bitter Tribal Board election which saw Chief Mackety defeated in an election. He did not even receive enough votes to remain on the Council" (Church 1993, 34).[204]

The 1991 election was held April 6. Temporarily, it lead to a domination of the HPI administration by the Bradley community. On April 9, the tribal council met at Bradley to nominate and elect Tribal Council officers. Those chosen were: Chief, Margaret (Sprague) Sipkema; Vice-chairman, John Chivis, Treasurer, Alberta Wells; Secretary, Elma Gabow (HPI Tribal Minutes, April 9, 1994). The selection of the Allegan County chairperson was controversial, and took place on a 3-2 vote (Church 1993, 34).

[204] "Even after he no longer had an official role, he continued to influence a certain faction of the membership, keeping them at odds with the new or younger tribal leaders who opposed his leadership style and/or his ideas. . . . It is common knowledge that he felt that if the present administration was made to look bad and were denied funding, then the organization would die away and the Band would be left in limbo. This was a better solution then letting someone else have control over the land and tribal operations, especially members who did not live on the Reservation. I have a letter he wrote to me stating that he knew that the people in Washington saw the current administration as a 'problem child'. He encouraged this image in ways too numerous to list" (Chivis 1993, [7]).

The April, 1991, Newsletter indicated that the tribal council proposed an expansion from 5 to 7 members. This plan as developed would have allowed "the communities of the Pine Creek Reservation, Calhoun County, Kalamazoo County, Ottawa County, Kent County, Allegan County (west of U.S. 131), and Allegan County (east of U.S. 131 plus Barry County to each have a seat on the proposed seven-person Tribal Council." This plan had to be approved by the general membership before it could go into effect (April 1991 Newsletter).

Also, on April 19, 1991, the tribal council passed a "Resolution of the Nottawaseppi-Huron Band of Potawatomi that for enrollment purposes, all persons on the 1904 Taggart Roll will be counted as full-blooded American Indians, per action of the Tribal Council on February 11, 1991" (OD Response, Attachment 23).[205]

The following explanation of the ensuing developments was provided by a member of the Bradley community and current official of the Matchepenashewich or Gun Lake Potawatomi Band:

> Within the next few months the Calhoun County Huron Pots eliminated the Allegan County hold on leadership of the two combined Tribes. By November of 1991 the Calhoun County Huron Pots had sufficiently discouraged Allegan County Indian participation by reneging on an agreement to expand membership, made the land issue a focus, while firing Allegan County Indian staff with "no cause". The Allegan County Huron Pots resigned from the Tribal Council in disgust. The four year attempt to politically consolidate the two communities ended, forever (Church 1993, 34).

At the May 21, 1991, HPI tribal council meeting, it was announced that, "A ~~special~~ regular meeting is to convene on June 11, 1991, 1:00 pm, at the Bradley office for the purpose of revision on a motion that was made in the January 20, 1991, council meeting" (HPI Minutes, May 21, 1991). The letter from Margaret Sipkema, the chairwoman, to David Mackety inviting him to come, stated that it was "to rescind a motion that was carried at the January 9, 1991 Council meeting regarding the land at Athens and its status" (Letter, Sipkema to Mackety, June 6, 1991).

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[205] Minutes, Council Meeting, April 23, 1991, HPI Bradley Office. Minutes, Council Meeting, May 21, 1991, HPI Fulton Office.

The minutes of the June 11, 1991, tribal council meeting did describe it as a "special" meeting (HPI Minutes, June 11, 1991). According to Ronald Chivis, later elected as tribal chairperson, it was held "to deal with grievances," and was closed to the membership (Chivis 1993, [4]). John Chivis, Jr., "acted as leader in confronting the tribal administration and employees, including David Mackety's relatives who still sat on the Council" (Chivis 1993, [8]). Joe Sprague's February 11 motion on land trust was expunged from the record (HPI Tribal Minutes, June 11, 1991). However, except for this land question, the minutes reflect only routine business matters aside from the land issue,[206] and the items covered at the June 21, June 25, and June 27, 1991, meetings were also routine, being primarily concerned with tribal purchase of land in the Bradley area (HPI Minutes, June 21, 1991; HPI Minutes, June 25, 1991; HPI Minutes, June 27, 1991).

Shortly thereafter, however, the council began to undo the initiatives which had been undertaken during the winter of 1990-1991. At the June 27 tribal council meeting, Alberta Wells moved "that a land committee be formed of the primary heirs, or their representatives, of the land at atehens to work with Council on the land issue." The motion carried (HPI Minutes, June 27, 1991).[207] At the August 16, 1991, Special Council Meeting, Wells moved "that the motion made in the February 11, 1991, council meeting be expunged, which is unconstitutional since it artificially raises the blood quantum of persons on the 1904 Taggart roll" (HPI Minutes, August 16, 1991). Chairperson Margaret Sipkema did not call for a vote on this motion, stating that she considered it was improper because the original mover would not rescind his original motion. She stated that she wanted legal advice on the topics for which the meeting had been called. Vice-Chairman John Chivis called for the vote, and the motion carried (HPI Minutes, August 16, 1991).

At a council meeting held August 27, 1991, at the HPI Bradley office, several non-council HPI members were present and voiced concerns about the ratified constitution, nepotism, Federal acknowledgment, permission for burial in the Pine

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[206] Joe Sprague was asked to rescind the February 11 motion [re: the land], but refused (Chivis 1993, [4]; Tribal Minutes, August 16, 1991).

[207] Minutes were submitted to BAR from two "Special Council Meetings" held August 16, 1991, at the Bradley Office; September 10, 1991, at the HPI Athens office and September 26, 1991, at the HPI Bradley office.

Creek cemetery, and the question of how long HPI would be able to maintain the 1/4 blood quantum membership requirement. One of the participants commented that she felt that "there should be more participation like at the meeting today" (HPI Minutes, August 17, 1991). The September 10 meeting heard reports, but took no actions (HPI Minutes, September 10, 1991).

John Chivis and Alberta Wells requested that a special HPI "board" meeting be held on December 3, 1991, to discuss the fact that Tribal Chairperson Margaret Sipkema had laid off the Project Director without full council approval (Memorandum, HPI Tribal Office). Ron Chivis stated that the meeting also "confronted" Ms. Sipkema and Joe Sprague "about notes that they were planning to form a non-profit organization for the community living in Allegan County, thus forming a 'splinter group'" (Chivis 1993, [5]; Tribal Minutes, December 6, 1991).

On January 10, 1992, Margaret Sipkema and Joe Sprague resigned from the Huron Potawatomi, Inc. Board (Chivis 1993, Attachments). A "Special Board Meeting" held January 14, 1992, is mentioned in the February 4, 1992, minutes, but only the agenda, not the minutes, was submitted to BAR.

Role of the Council, 1992-1994. From February 1992, HPI, Inc., again provided BAR with a sequence of minutes for council meetings.[208] The council began a campaign of out-

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[208] February 4, 1992, Athens Office. Present: Board, John Chivis, Alberta Wells, Elma Gabow, Shirley English, Ronald Chivis; Staff, Ray Stitt, Mary Stitt, Fern Wright; Guests, Kathy Stinger, Linda Sue Densmore, Anna Marie Densmore, Catina Lynne Densmore, John L. Watson, Jr., Mark Simmons (Littlefield 1993, Attachment D).

March 14, 1992, 11:00 a.m. at Athens HPI Office. Scheduled in the minutes of the February 4 meeting.

April 11, 1992. Two designated election sites, HPI northern office, Grand Rapids; HPI souhern office, Fulton.

May 16, 1992, HPI Office, Athens, MI. Special meeting for nominating and election officers for the coming year. Election held 4/11/92 [sic]. Chairperson, John Chivis; Vice Chairperson Elma Gabow; Treasurer, Ron Chivis; Secretary, Shirley English; Member at Large Alberta Wells

May 23, 1992. Special Council Meeting. Re: Election of Officers.

May 30, 1992. Special meeting, HPI Office, Athens, MI. Employment of staff.

June 6, 1992. Agenda. General Membership Meeting, 1:00 p.m. Present: Ronald J. Chivis, Elma Gabow, John Chivis, Shirley English, and Alberta Wells.

reach to members who had been alienated by the foregoing sequence of events.

> On June 6, 1992, a predominantly Indian camp meeting was held on the Pine Creek reservation for the first time in many years, in conjunction with a band membership meeting. Several of those who attended the membership meeting did not attend the camp meeting, and vice versa (HPI OD Response/ Littlefield 1993, 39).

On July 11, 1992, a resolution that the Pine Creek land was to be under tribal control--unsigned-- was passed "by unanimous vote by Nottawaseppi Huron Potawatomi Band members present" (HPI Minutes, July 11, 1992; BAR 050 Files). However, HPI provided no list of who or how many members were present at this meeting.

Throughout 1992, there was a continued struggle between the new chairman of the HPI tribal council and the Mackety family who were, "at odds with the new or younger tribal leaders who opposed his leadership style and/or his [David Mackety's] ideas" (Chivis 1993, [7]). The new or younger tribal leader referred to was John Chivis, Jr. (Chivis 1993, [8]). The conflict with the Bradley settlement also continued. In early 1993, Ronald J. Chivis stated:

> We have already languished for 20 years under the leadership of a man whose religious beliefs impeded tribal growth and now, we have to contend with the 'splinter group' who are using our history to

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June 27, 1992. Special Board Meeting. Contract with tribal genealogist.

July 11, 1992. Meeting with tribal members to discuss issues regarding the Pine Creek Reservation and its ownership. Resolution by unanimous vote to seek federal recognition as mandated by prior tribal government process; decision that the Athens Reservation and land purchased in Bradley, Michigan, was under direct Tribal Council authority.

July 18, 1992. Agenda. HPI Administration Building, Pine Creek Indian Reservation.

August 29, 1992. Scheduled meeting mentioned in the August 18, 1992, issue of Huron Potawatomi Notes.

September 19, 1992. Scheduled meeting mentioned in the September 11, 1992, issue of Huron Potawatomi Notes.

October 2, 1994. Tribal Council hosted a Tribal Law Seminar for the council and membership.

January 9, 1993. Scheduled meeting mentioned in November 1992 Huron Potawatomi Notes.

> build a future for themselves . . . they all received payment as Huron Potwatomi descendants in the award made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the 1980's . . . to the Potawatomi of Michigan, and as descendants share a history with the Nottawassippi Huron Band of Potawatomi" (Chivis 1993, [8]).

At the end of 1992, the split between Huron Potawatomi, Inc. and the Bradley settlement became public knowledge. On December 1, an article entitled "Land of My Fathers" appeared in the Grand Rapids Press. It stated that:

> Bill Church, former Project Director for Huron Potawatomi, Inc., and other Council members of the "Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians" have been piecing together the history of the group to satisfy Bureau of Indian Affairs requirements for federal recognition status since 1975 (Land of My Fathers 1992).

The minutes of the November 6, 1993, HPI tribal council meeting referred to the group at Bradley as the "Splinter Organization" (HPI Minutes, November 6, 1993).

January 1993 Submission of Littlefield's OD Response. Since 1992, the petitioner has continued to hold regular business meetings.[209] In spite of the conflicts, work on the Federal acknowledgment petition continued. An OD response prepared by Alice Littlefield of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at Central Michigan University was presented to BAR in January 1993, and the petition was declared ready for active consideration.

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[209] October 16, 1993, Pine Creek Reservation Administration Building.

November 6, 1993. Ronald J. Chivis, Council Chairman.

November 18, 1993. Ron Chivis voted out of office as Tribal Chairman by the Tribal Council at a Special Tribal Council Meeting owing to discrepancies in the tribal checking account.

December 4, 1993, Fulton, MI. Call to order by Shirley English, 9:20 a.m. Shirley English elected chairperson; Terry Chivis Vice Tribal Chairperson; Marianne Butcher and Amos Day, Jr. to Council membership and Marianne Butcher as Tribal Council Secretary. Julie Snyder as treasurer. Regularly scheduled membership meeting at 10:00 a.m.

January 15, 1994, Fulton, MI. Shirley English, Chairperson. Marianne Butcher, Tribal Council Secretary. Attendance list.

January 25, 1994, attendance roll, Special Council meeting.

On April 29, 1993, Tribal Chairman John Chivis, Jr., died (Chivis 1993, [1]). He was succeeded by his brother, Ronald J. Chivis, who on July 14, 1993, sent BAR an extensive letter detailing the history of the merger, describing HIP's recent conflicts with the Bradley settlement, and expressing concerns that Bradley was "using our history to build a future for themselves" (Chivis 1993, [7]).[210]

Rather than being detrimental to either petitioner, however, the failure of the attempted merger between HPI and the Bradley settlement in fact documents the cohesive nature of each of the two participants in the project. While both are

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[210] July 14, 1993. Letter from Ronald J. Chivis, Chairman, Huron Potawatomi, Inc., to Holly Reckor [sic] on tribal split.

"It has come to my attention that we have not yet responded to the unfortunate division of leadership and the subsequent forming of a 'splinter' group by some of our membership" (Chivis 1993, [1]). "The Nottawaseppi Huron band of Potawatomi . . . also remained in thier [sic] homeland in southwestern Michgian [sic]. Chief Moguago led some of the members into an area along the Pine Creek River in Calhoun County, while the other members settled in various locales in Allegan and Bradley, Michigan. Originally there were seven settlements of Nottawaweppi Huron Potawatomi which spaned seven contiguous counties in southwestern Michigan. Today the two primary communities are in Calhoun County, along the Pine Creek River and in Bradley, Michigan in Allegan County" (Chivis 1993, [2]).

"The northern settlement is located in Bradley, Michigan and consists of 12 acres purchased by the tribe in 1991. The acreage lies adjacent to the original northern Huron Potawatomi land base and its cemetary. Originally 75 to 100 Indian families owned land which was purchased for them by the Methodist Episcopal Church . . . The original land trust was sold to pay delinquent taxes (Chivis 1993, [2]).

"As Tribal Chairman I am deeply concerned about the future of my people . . . now, we have to contend with the "splinter group" who are using our history to build a future for themselves. . . . it concerns me that their petition for federal recognition status number is "9-a" and attached to ours, which is "9". They call themselves "Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians" now, when they all received payment as Huron Potawatomi descendants in the award made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the 1980's" (Chivis 1993, [7]).

July 20, 1993. Memo from Ronald J. Chivis, Chairman, Huron Potawatomi, Inc., on tribal split "Enclosed is a detailed explaination [sic] of the events that preceded the forming of a 'spinter [sic] group' by some members of the Nottawaseppi Huron Band of Potawatomi. Also enclosed is an appendix with documents supporting the issues and/or positions that the Huron Potawatomi, Inc. Tribal Council has taken regarding this matter" (Chivis Memo July 20, 1993, BAR Admin. File).

settlements of Michigan Potawatomi, and although the two groups have experienced a considerable amount of intermarriage and have had strong social ties historically through their associations with the Methodist missions and the late 19th-century claims activity that resulted in the compilation of the Taggart Roll, they had, nevertheless, separate band origins and separate lines of development. The attempt to create a merger was arranged by a specific leader for a specific purpose, was sharply limited in its duration, and was not acceptable to the wider membership of either petitioner.

APPENDIX I.

LISTING OF POST-1889 ANNUITY COMMUTATION LAND PURCHASES.

The index date is the date the deed was received for record--not the date the deed was made

Calhoun County, Michigan. Index to Deeds 10, Sept. 1885 - Dec. 1890.

p. 107.

1889 Oct. 23. Caffrey, John & L.A. to John Nottaway, Book 129, p. 574. Section 16, T.S. 4, R.W. 8.

1889 Oct. 23. Clark, Ezra M. to John Pamptepe Jr. (et al), Book 129, p. 576. Section 29, 4, 8.

p. 195.

1889 October 23. Gay, Albert W. to Rodney Pamptepee (et al), Book 125, p. 509. Section 23, 4, 8.

1889 October 23. Gay, Albert W. to Sarah Isaac (et al), Book 125, p. 510. Section 23, 4, 8.

1889 October 23. Gay, Albert W. to E. & J. Mackie, Book 125, p. 511. Section 23, 4, 8.

p. 258.

1889 October 23. Isaac, Atwood, from R. H. & E. Lewis, Book 129, p. 569. Section 23, 4, 8.

1889 October 23. Isaac, Sarah, Nancy & Lucy from Albert W. Gay, Book 125, p. 510. Section 23, 4, 8.

p. 305.

1889 October 23. Lewis, Robert H. & E. to Thomas Wezoo (per heirs), Book 129, p. 568. Section 23, 4, 8.

1889 October 23. Lewis, Robert H. & E. to Atwood Isaac, Book 129, page 569. Section 23, 4, 8.

1889 October 23. Lewis, Robert H. & E. to Samuel Mandoka, Book 129, p. 470. Section 23, 4, 8.

1889 October 23. Lewis, Robert H. & E. to Martha Wezoo (et al) (per heir). Book 129, page 571. Section 23, 4, 8.

p. 340.

1889 October 23. Mackie, Elizabeth & Jeff from Albert W. Gay. Book 125, p. 511. Section 23, 4, 8.

1889 October 23. Mandokay, John &. A. from Edward & J.r. Wisner. Book 125, p. 512. Section 26, 4, 8.

1889 October 23. Mandokay, Joseph Jr. from Edward & J. R. Wisner. Book 125, p. 513. Section 26, 4, 8.

1889 October 23. Mandoka Sam'l. per heirs from R. H. & e. Lewis. Book 129, p. 570. Section 23, 4, 8.

p. 371.

1889 October 23. Notawa, Isaac from Archibald R. Thompson, Book 129, p. 573. Section 23, 4, 8.

1889 October 23. Nottawa, J. P. W. & R. (heirs) from John & L. A. Caffrey. Book 129, p. 574. Section 16, 4, 8.

p. 416.

1889 October 23. Pamptepee, R. F. J. G. & S. from Albert W. Gay, Book 125, p. 509. Section 23, 4, 8.

1889 October 23. Pamptepee, Phines (per heirs) from Archibald R. Thompson. Book 129, p. 572. Section 23, 4, 8.

1889 October 23. Pamptepee, John Jr. (per heirs) from Ezra M. Clark. Book 129, p. 576. Section 29, 4, 8. p. 521.

1889 October 23. Thompson, Archibald R. to Phines Pamptepee (per heirs), Book 129, p. 572. Section 23, 4, 8.

1889 October 23. Thompson, Archibald R. to Isaac Nottawa, Book 129, p. 573. Section 23, 4, 8. p. 539.

1889 October 23. Underwood, Ira. to Etta A. Watson (et al), Book 129, p. [illegible]. Section 23, 4, 8.

1889 October 23. Underwood, Hanford B., to Etta A. Watson (et al), Book 129, p. 575. Section 23, 4, 8. p. 595.

1889 October 23. Wisner, E. & J. R. to J. & A. Mandokay. Book 125, p. 512. Section 26, 4, 8.

1889 October 23. Wisner. Edward & J. R. to Joseph Mandokay Jr., Book 125, p. 513. Section 26, 4, 8. p. 596.

1889 October 23. Watson, E.A. N. J. & S.A. from Ira Underwood, book 129, p. 567. Section 23, 4, 8.

1889 October 23. Wezoo, Thomas (per heirs), from R. H. & E. Lewis. Book 129, p. 568. Section 23, 4, 8.

1889 October 23. Wezoo, M. F. & Peter (et al) from R. H. & E. Lewis. Book 129, p. 571. Section 23, 4, 8.

1889 October 23. Watson, E.A., N.J. & S.A. from Hanford B. Underwood. Book 129, p. 575. Section 23, 4, 8.

APPENDIX II.

LISTING OF POST-1889 ANNUITY COMMUTATION LAND SALES.

Calhoun County, Michigan. Deed Index 11, Jan 1891 - Dec 1895. Unpaginated.

1895 Jan. 19. Mackey, Stephen to George Robinson. Book 149, p. 266. Section 23, 4, 8.

1895 Jan. 19. Robinson, George from Stephen Mackey. Book 149, p. 266. Section 23, 4, 8.

1895 April 13. Isaac, Nhe [?] Sarah from Lucy Isaac (per heirs). Book 149, p 491. Section 23, 4, 8.

1895 April 13. Isaac Lucy (pr. heir) to Mrs Sarah Isaac, Book 149, p. 491. Section 23, 4, 8.

1895 May 23. Isaacs, Lucy (Est) to Martha Johnson. Book 150, p. 363. Section 23, 4, 8.

1895 May 23. Johnson, Martha (et al) from Lucy Isaacs (Est. (per admr). Book 150, p. 363. Section 23, 4, 8.

1895 May 23. Mandoka, Samuel from Nancy Mandoka (Est), Book 150, p. 362, Section 23, 4, 8.

1895 May 23. Mandoka, Nancy (Est) to Samuel Mandoka. Book 150, p. 362. Section 23, 4, 8.

1895 February 14. Pamplepe [sic], Henry (et al) from State of Michigan, Book 150, p. 215. Section 26, 48, 8 (cross-reference not located).

1895 November 14. Pamptope [sic], J - M - H -S from George Pamptope, book 141, p. 390, Section 26, 4, 8.

1894 November 14, Pamptope [sic], George to John (et al) Pamptope, Book 141, p. 390, Section 26, 4, 8.

Calhoun County, Michigan, Deed Index 12, Dec 1895 - Jan 1901. Unpaginated.

1899 Sept. 3. Isaac, Sarah (et al) to Joseph P. Clegg, Book 172, p. 80. Section 23, 4, 8.

1896 Jul 28. Mandoka, Samuel to Jerome Y. Culp. Book 155, p. 471. Section 23, 4, 8.

1897 February 9. Mandoka, Joseph from Nathan L. Rowe. Book 158, p. 250. Section 26, 4, 8.

1897 September 30. Mandoka, Joseph to L. W. Holmes. Book 157, p. 211. Section 26, 4, 8.

1900 May 21. Macky, Mary, from Elmer Snow (et al), Book 165, p. 293, Section 18, 4, 6.

1895 May 12. Nottaway, Josephine from David Nottaway. book 157, p. 138. Section 16, 4, 8.

1895 May 12. Nottaway, David to Josephine Nottaway. Book 157, page 138. Section 16, 4, 8.

1899 January 3. Nottaway, David to Nat L. Rowe, Book 163, p. 163. Section 16, 4, 8.

1896 September 15. Pamptopee, J - M - H - J & S to George Robinson, Book 155, p. 509. Section 26, 4, 8.

1896 October 2. Pamptopee, George from Josephine Weneweh. Book 155, p. 603. Section 23, 4, 8.

1896 October 5. Pamptopee, Stephen from Josephine Weneweh. Book 155, p. 612. Section 23, 4, 8.

1897 January 7. Pamptope [sic], Henry from John Pamptopee. Book 158, p. 180. Section 26, 4, 8.

1896 October 2. Pamptopee, George to Nat L. Rowe. Book 155, p. 602. Section 23, 4, 8.

1896 October 5. Pamptopee, Stephen to Nat L. Rowe. Book 155, p. 613. Section 23, 4, 8.

1896 October 13. Pamptopee, Henry to Seth W. Holmes. Book 155, p. 626. Section 26, 4, 8.

1896 October 13. Pamptopee Samuel to Seth W. Holmes. Book 155, p. 627. Section 26, 4, 8.

1896 October 22. Pamptopee Geo. & Stephen to Joseph R. Clegg. Book 158, p. 12. Section 23, 4, 8.

1897 January 7. Pamptope [sic], John - Mary S. to Henry Pamptopee, Book 158, p. 180. Section 26, 4, 8.

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