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A Cultural Historical Study

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THE GRAND TRAVERSE BANDS' LAND BASE:
A CULTURAL HISTORICAL STUDY
OF LAND TRANSFER IN MICHIGAN

By

William James Gribb

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ABSTRACT

THE GRAND TRAVERSE BANDS' LAND BASE: A CULTURAL HISTORICAL STUDY OF LAND TRANSFER IN MICHIGAN

By

William James Gribb

The land holdings of the Native American have dwindled substantially since their contacts with Europeans. This study is an investigation of the Grand Traverse Bands' land holdings as prescribed in the Treaty of Detroit, July 31, 1855. The treaty provided for the allotment of eighty acre parcels to; the heads of households, widows, and single adults over the age of twenty-one. Five major questions were addressed in relation to the transfer of the Grand Traverse Bands' holdings: 1.) What were the methods by which the Grand Traverse Bands' transferred their allotments? 2.) Was there a difference between the methods of transfer experienced by the Euro-Americans and those experienced by the Native Americans? 3.) If the land was sold, did the Native American receive a fair market price for the parcel? 4.) How long did the Native American keep the fee simple title? And, was there any difference between the length of time the Native American kept the title and the Euro-American in the same area? And, 5.) Was there a correlation between the length of time the Native American kept the allotment and the land value or potential land value?

Archival research revealed that the Grand Traverse

Bands' members received 20,040.73 acres in allotments. Four methods of transfer were experienced, 77.4% transferred by warranty sale, 3.2% by tax sale, 18.8% by quit claim sale, and over .6% by administrative sale. Using a random sample, there was a statistically significant difference between the selling price received by the Native American (\$3.31) and that received by Euro-Americans (\$6.95). Furthermore, the Native American kept their land only 6.4 years compared to over eleven years for the Euro-American. Finally, there was no statistical relationship between the value of the land and the length of time the Native American held the land. Also, there was no significant statistical relationship between price or the length of time the land was held and distance to market.

It was further revealed that forty percent of the allotments were obtained by sixteen local entrepreneurs, and they tended to acquire land juxtaposed to their other holdings.

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The group of people that have offered endless hours of advice, encouragement and direction are my dissertation committee members. I would like to thank Drs. Cleland and Matley for their assistance in the conceptualization of land base and ethnicity. Statistical and computer work could not have been completed without the sound advice of Dr. Wittick, thank you for your help and friendship.

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Chapter One

The indigenous populations of North America developed a number of interrelated cultural systems to utilize, control and worship the physical environment. In the area that was to become the contiguous United States, more than 1.9 billion acres were available to the Native Americans. After European contact and the establishment of foreign powers on this continent, the Native Americans access to what had been their domain diminished dramatically. At present Native Americans have access and superficial control of approximately 50 million acres, or 2.6 percent of the original land. This drastic reduction was a consequence of treaty provisions, wars, gifts, frauds, and legal land transfers.

Price (1969, 12) presented four stages of early white-native relations based on evidence from North America, Australia, and New Zealand.

Stage I: initial contact by European explorers and traders, some of whom maintain friendly relations and occasionally turn "native" and intermarry; these together with those guilty of rape and seduction start a mixed-blood or half caste population; European disease and alcohol starts to weaken native peoples.

Stage II: arrival of land-hungary Europeans, who forced back the 'moving frontier', expropriate land, exterminate many who have survived diseases, and destroy native life and resources; the mixed bloods, sometimes rejected by both aboriginals and invaders, may form a separate population.

Stage III: under missionary influence various philanthropic moves produce ineffective palliatives such as reservations or mission areas, where endeavors to "improve" and educate the aboriginals destroy tribal organization and culture and continue the process of population decline.

Stage IV: "scientific administration" with the guidance of anthropologists, strengthens tribal culture and finds viable economic activity; aboriginal populations both mixed blood and full-blood increase (1969, 212).

Each stage represents a different strategy or policy by the Europeans to contend with the indigenous population. In some instances, full knowledge of the outcome was known beforehand, in other cases it was not.

This study concerns itself with the consequences of one policy of the United States government whose aim was to acculturate the Native American. The U.S. government believed that if they allowed the Native American to become a land owner they would accept the challenge and responsibility to contribute to American society. Unfortunately, this policy did not reach its objective.

Definition of Problem

On July 31, 1855 the Michigan Ottawa and Ojibwa signed a treaty which stipulated that "The United States

will give each Ottawa and Chippewa Indian being the head of a family, 80 acres of land... (Art. I, Sec. 8, para. 2)."

Other provisions of the treaty allowed single members and widows also to receive land. Eventually, the Ottawa and Chippewa received a fee simple title to the land, giving them the full rights and responsibilities of an individual land owner.

The problem that is being addressed in this research is what happened to the land after the fee simple patent was issued. The Federal government assumed the Native American would become a "productive" member of society and work the land (Tyler, 1973, 67). Did that happen? Or as Washburn states, most of the land allotted to the Native American transferred by unscrupulous land deals or forfeited for delinquent taxes (1971, 18). Is that what happened? Or is it somewhere in between these two extremes?

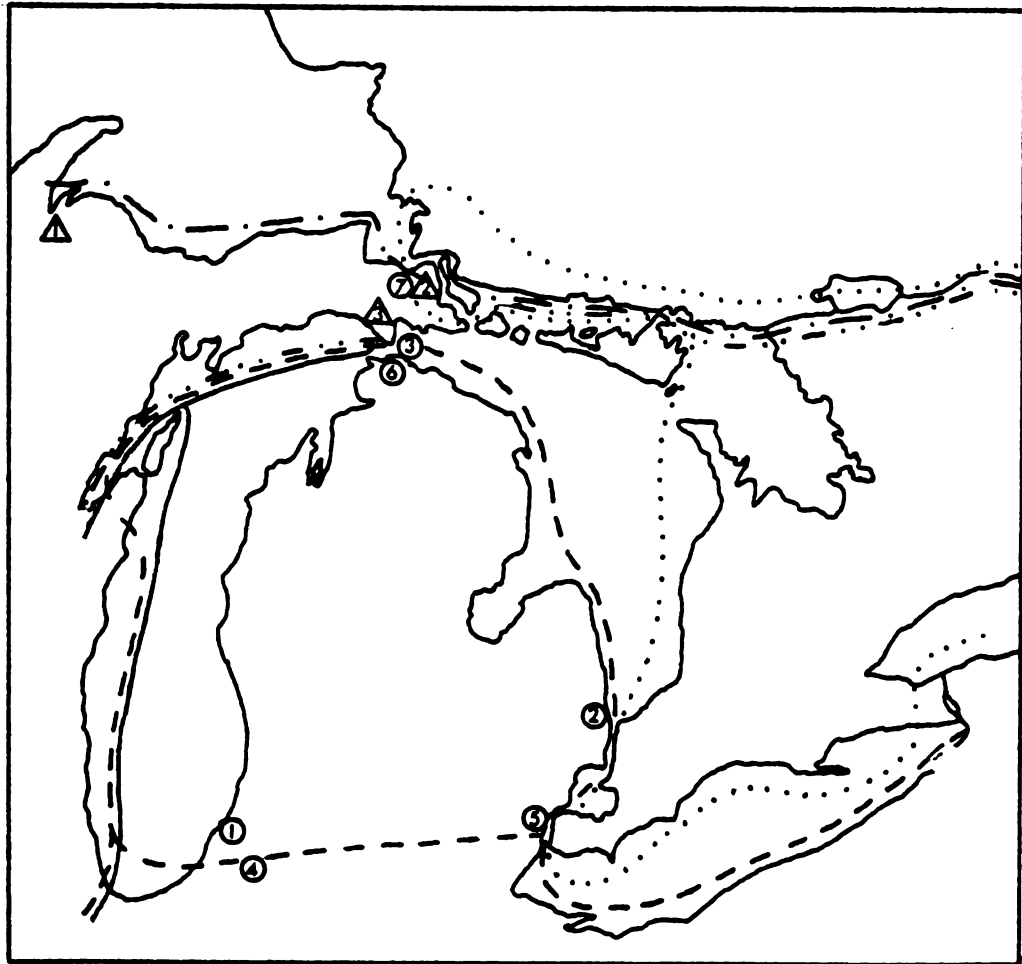
In research on justice denied Michigan Indians, Rubenstein (1976, 1974) relates a number of instances in which land frauds took place after the treaties of 1854, and 1855. He, however, only relates a few instances of fraud in relation to more than 700,000 acres which were allotted. It is important to find out more detail on the transfers which took place because of not only legal actions which could ensue but also the economic ramifications.

The treaty signed on July 31, 1855, hereafter referred to as the Treaty of Detroit (1855), set aside eight distinct reserves, one for each of the Michigan Ottawa and

Ojibwa groups (Art. 1, Secs. 1-8) (Appendix A.). The reserves were temporarily excluded from the public land market, so that, the Michigan Ottawa and Ojibwa could make their selections of land as provided in the treaty. And of the eight groups, this study will concentrate on the selections, patents and transfers of the Grand Traverse Bands. This group is important for two reasons. First, the Grand Traverse Bands experienced the least contact with Europeans prior to settlement on their land, which did not occur until the establishment of a mission by Rev. Dougherty in 1839 (Leach, 1889) (Figure 1.1). But in the period after the Treaty of Detroit, the Grand Traverse region experienced the most rapid population growth in northern Michigan (Table 1.1). This illustrates the fact that the Grand Traverse Bands had to cope with an extreme increase in Euro-American contact in a short period of time. Other Michigan Ottawa and Ojibwa groups did not have this drastic change in contact patterns because they were exposed to Europeans earlier, in some cases the beginning of the 18th Century. The second reason is more of a practical consideration. The Michigan Indian Legal Services requested this study for further documentation to assist in legal claims under Cong. code 2415.

There are five central issues in this research:

- 1.) What were the methods by which the Grand Traverse Bands' transferred their allotments?
- 2.) Was there a difference between the methods of transfer experienced by the Euro-American and those experienced by the Native American?



Explorers

- - - Nicolet
 - . - Menard
 Dollier & Galinee
 ——— Jolliet & Marquet
 - - - LaSalle

Forts

① Fort Miami
 ② Fort St. Joseph
 ③ Fort DeBuade
 ④ Fort St. Joseph, 1691
 ⑤ Fort Pontchartrain
 ⑥ Fort Michilimackinac
 ⑦ Fort Repentigny

Missions

▲ L'Anse
 ▲ St. Ste. Marie
 ▲ St. Ignace

FIGURE 1.1 Movement of explorers and missionaries.

- 3.) If the land was sold, did the Native American receive a fair market price for the parcel?
- 4.) How long did the Native American keep the fee simple title? And, was there any difference between the length of time the Native American kept the title and the Euro-American in the same area?
- And, 5.) Was there a correlation between the length of time the Native American kept the allotment and the land value or potential land value?

TABLE 1.1
POPULATION CHANGE, 1850 - 1900

County	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
Antrim		179	1985	5237	10413	16568
Alpena		291	2756	9789	15581	18254
Cheboygan		599	2197	6524	11986	15516
Emmett	4977	1155	1211	6635	8756	15931
Grand Traverse		1288	4443	8422	13355	20479
Manitou		1043	891	1334	860	
Leelanau		2158	4577	6253	7944	10556
Presque Isle		26	355	3114	4688	8821
Benzie			2184	3433	5237	9685
Charlevoix			1724	5114	9686	13956

Note: The county boundaries changed dramatically during this time period. The Census Bureau population figures are for the county as named during the year of the census.

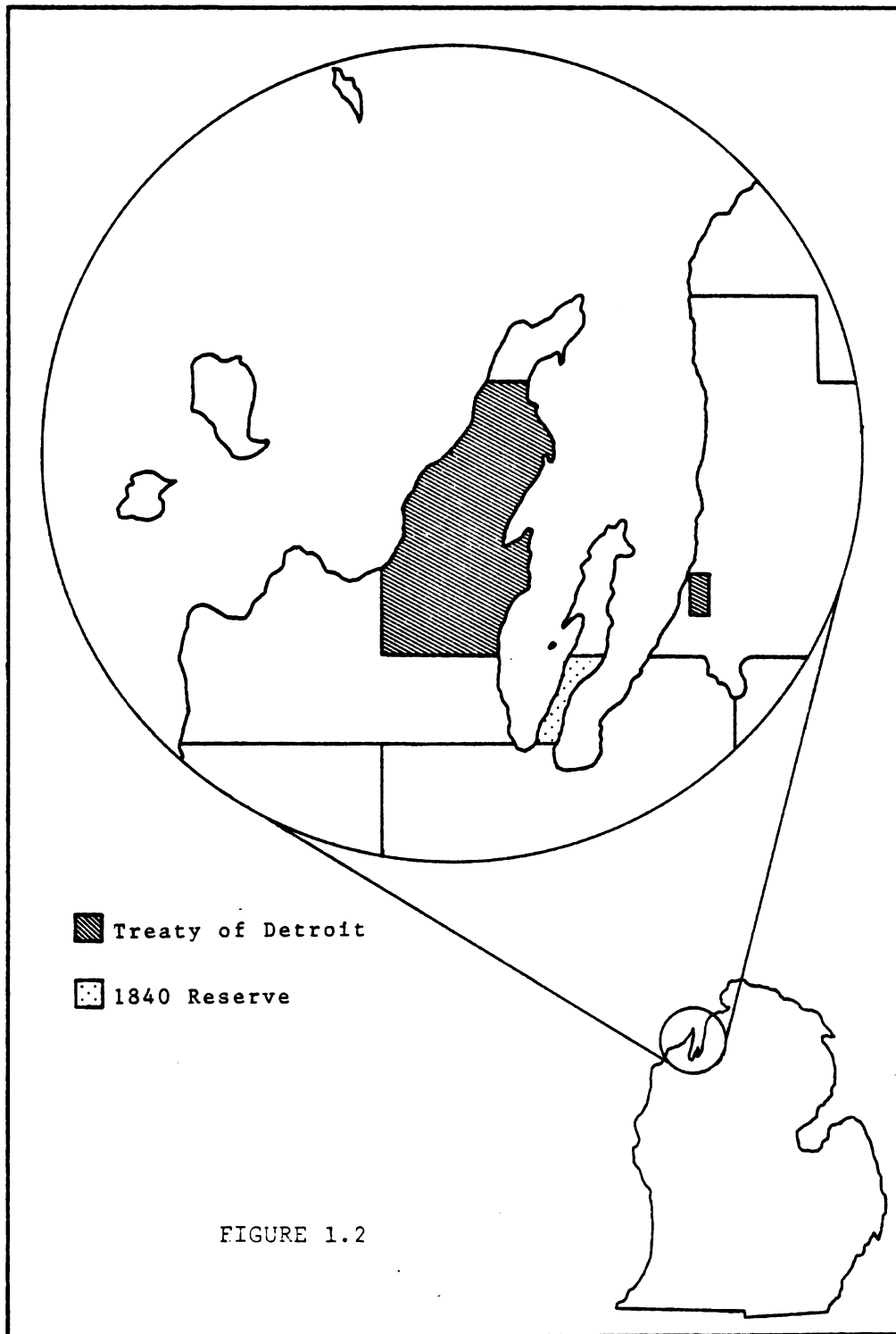
Study Area

The settlement of Michigan was a mixture of missionary and fur trader exploring the coast and inland waters.

The Grand Traverse Bay region of lower Michigan was an isolated corner of the state, it was away from the linkages between the population centers in the early years of this continent (Figure 1.1). Furthermore, the region was not heavily populated with fur-bearing mammals and consequently was not invaded by trappers. Thus, the Grand Traverse area was neither visited nor settled by Euro-Americans. The Treaty of Washington, signed on March 26, 1836, initiated recognition and contact between the Federal government and the Grand Traverse Bands. This treaty ceded over 10 million acres of northwestern Michigan to the United States government. In return, the Michigan Ottawa and Ojibwa received land and monetary compensation. Other provisions of the treaty, however, provided for assistance by skilled laborers and educators (Arts. 4, 5, and 7). The skilled laborers included blacksmiths, carpenters, farmers and interpreters. Education was provided by missionaries. And, each group generally brought their families and possessions. In the Grand Traverse region, it is this group which became the first settlers.

Because of ambiguities in the Treaty of Washington and the pressures of new settlers, the Michigan Ottawa and Ojibwa negotiated a new treaty, the Treaty of Detroit. And as mentioned previously, 80 acre allotments were issued to the members of the tribal groups. For the Grand Traverse Bands approximately 87,000 acres were set aside for their selection (Figure 1.2). Selection of individual parcels was

FIGURE 1.2 Boundaries of the 1840 reserve and
Treaty of Detroit.



accomplished in three stages:

- 1.) an individual would make a selection of land and report its location at the local land office. The selection could be up to 80 acres.
- 2.) the federal government would issue the person a certificate of deed for the parcel.
- 3.) after ten years, the individual would receive the fee simple patent to the selected parcel.

When the patents were finally issued, on June, 1872, the Grand Traverse Bands received 304 patents, totalling 20,040.87 acres.

This research will concentrate on what happened to this land. Presently, the Grand Traverse Ottawa and Ojibwa hold title to approximately 98 acres in Leelanau Co., Michigan. Recently 120 acres, which were held in trust by the Leelanau Board of Commissioners, were presented to the Leelanau Indians Incorporated. Thus, the Grand Traverse Bands relinquished title to over 19,000 acres since allotment.

Research Design

Basically, this study is the investigation of the change in the Grand Traverse Bands settlement patterns. The Grand Traverse Ottawa and Ojibwa shifted from a seasonal migratory cycle of existence to a permanent settlement; instigated by legal and social pressures. This research will concentrate on the distributional changes of their land

holdings after individual allotments and permanent settlement. Actually, this study will involve the demise of their settlement and the contraction of their land holdings.

Recently, a several articles have been published concerning the distribution of land parcels. They have used the rubric of "land alienation" as their central focus (McIntosh, 1976; Price, 1978). This concept, however, is confusing because it appears to mean the land is taken from something or somebody. In actuality, the definition of land alienation refers to taking land out of the public domain and putting into the private domain. This study will investigate the transfer of land from one section of the population, the Native Americans, to another, the Euro-Americans. And as Hornbeck, in his study of land patenting in California suggests, this issue is a major factor in culture contact and land controversy (1979).

The most difficult problems in land transfer research are; 1.) determining the exact boundaries of the land, and 2.) determining who owned or owns the land at a particular time. The first problem is addressed by obtaining the legal description of the property involved, and comparing that description with those of surrounding parcels. In this study, only parcels which received a patent as prescribed in the Treaty of Detroit (1855) are examined. The second problem, that of ownership, is more difficult. Of the five hundred and thirty-two parcels described by the Treaty schedule, ownership could only be determined for four

hundred and sixty-six; after they transferred from Native American to Euro-American proprietorship. Although the original intent of this research was to investigate the transfer of ownership of every parcel allotted to the Grand Traverse Bands, both certificates and patents, major informational and monetary problems allow examination of only about 88 percent of the parcels.

To assist in the determination of land boundaries and ownership, I will use several manuscript sources from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the National Archives. The Federal Government kept records of the certificates and patents issued to the individuals according to the Treaty (N.A., RG 75, Books 46-46F). The records contained a list of the following items: legal description of the tract; area; name of allottee; date of patent; when delivered; and how delivered. Also, included in the records is a listing of the certificate number which later became the patent number of the parcel. This information forms the base data for this study.

The reliability of this information had to be determined if this was to be the base data. A search of government documents at the federal, state and county level revealed some discrepancies. In the process of selecting a tract, recording its location at the Michigan land office, transfer of that information to Washington, and Washington writing the certificate and eventually the fee simple patent, some informational discrepancies occur. The problem

of information reliability is exacerbated since the whole process extended over sixteen years, involved names which phonetically are dissimilar to Western culture, and took place in locales 800 miles apart. Overall, eighty-nine mistakes were recorded, sixteen of which resulted in no patents being issued. A total of 3950 acres were affected, or approximately 19.7% of all the land patented. The problems varied from two people being issued the same certificate and patent number for two different parcels, to three people receiving mixed tracts, i.e. person A received the SW1/4SE1/4 and the SE1/4NW1/4, person B the NW1/4NW1/4 and the SE1/4SE1/4, and person C the NE1/4NW1/4 and the SE1/4SW1/4, when in fact person A should have the SW1/4SE1/4, person B the NW1/4NW1/4 and NE1/4NW1/4, and person C the SE1/4SW1/4 and the SW1/4SW1/4.

The ownership question is the most difficult to answer. Again, working from the Federal records, the name of the allottee was given. However, three different places recorded the name: the state land office, Washington D.C., and the county register of deeds. Initially, the land office in either Traverse City or Ionia, Michigan, would receive the parcel description and the name of the allottee for their original selection. But, because the Algonquian pronunciation of their name and the English sound of the name are different confusion arose. When the certificate was issued the name might be spelled differently from what it was when the name was originally recorded, and it could

be spelled a third way when the fee simple patent was issued. For example, the following are four spellings of the same name; Mitchell Now gaw ne say; Mitchell Naw gaw ne say; Mitchell Na gau say; and, Mitchell Ne ga rouse. It is even more confusing if the given name is changed: Augustus Naw a de ge znick; Joseph Nau de ge shig; and, Joseph Nay waw day de znick. The worst situation, however, occurs with a partial or complete translation from Algonquian to English: George Me sko be nay se to George Redbird or Nay she kay she to George Allen.

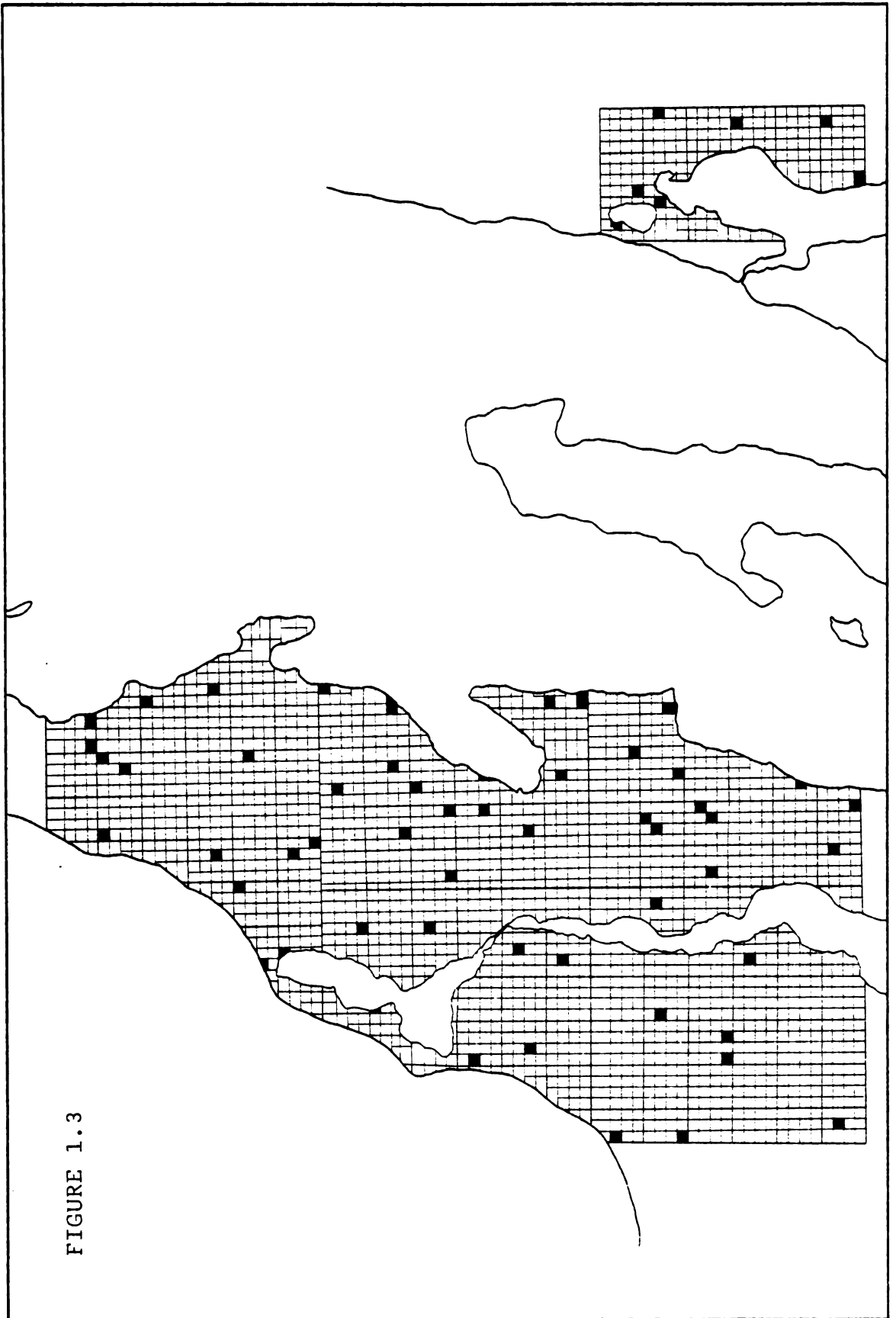
The information concerning the initial transfer of land from Native American to Euro-American ownership is found in the County records of the register of deeds. This office is in charge of keeping the parcel ownership records along with all plats and subdivisions. I encountered three stumbling blocks in obtaining information on the initial transfers of the Grand Traverse Ottawa and Ojibwa. First, the records in Antrim county were not completely accessible. Some of the records were kept in the basement of the old County Courthouse and were suffering from mildew and moisture rot. Any attempt to use the records would have destroyed them. Second, in Leelanau county, the Grantor-Grantee directories were organized by year and by name. This creates two problems, as mentioned earlier, the name of the patentee (grantor) was inconsistent, but also, there are over one hundred and twenty directories of grantor-grantee. And thirdly, the parcel indexes to the

libers (land records) in Leelanau county are owned and maintained by the Leelanau Title Company, not the county. This index is helpful if the researcher has the parcel description, the index lists information by parcel and has the liber and page of all transfers. The Leelanau Title Company graciously allowed me free access to their records for four hours. However, that was not enough time to study all the directories. At their normal fee of \$25 per parcel, it would have cost over \$13,300.00 to investigate all of the allotments of the Grand Traverse Bands.

The research procedure was quite simple, yet time consuming. The County records contain not only the listing of the parcel description, but also the name of the grantor and grantee, the date of the transfer, the amount paid and the acreage involved. By comparing the legal descriptions of the parcels, recorded by the Federal government and by the County Register of Deeds office, I could document the changes in ownership from the Native American to Euro-American. Utilizing both the grantor-grantee directories and the title abstract indexes I could gather the needed information and cross-check the data. Thus, I was able to document almost ninety percent of the transfers.

In order to understand the significance of the Native Americans land transfers, one should have a control group for comparison. A stratified random sample of parcels were selected from within the reserve area (Figure 1.3). This group is a mixture of both Native American (31) and

FIGURE 1.3 Random sample of parcels.



Euro-American (30) land owners. Of the 1121 patents within the reserve issued before 1872, 533 (47.5%) were Native American and 588 (52.5%) were Euro-American. Thus, the sample is representative of the total population of the reserve area. The same procedures were used to obtain transfer information for the sample parcels, encountering some of the same difficulties. Originally sixty-five parcels were selected, however four parcels could not be found. This percentage of unfound parcels (6.2%) is approximately half of the rate experienced by Native American allotment parcels.

Organization of the Chapters.

The chapters are arranged so that the interaction between the Grand Traverse Bands' land base and Federal policy may be reviewed and analyzed. The first chapter presents the problem to be investigated and the research design of the study. It is important to realize that the land of the Native American is an integral part of their cultural system. Chapter Two is a discussion of the concept of land base, its components, and how they relate to the Great Lakes Algonquin cultural core. It is upon this conceptual framework that this study is based. Chapter Three is an historical overview of the Grand Traverse Ottawa and Ojibwa Bands. It is a survey of how these peoples came

to settle in this region and a chronology of their contacts with the Euro-American, both as individuals and as part of a political entity. This progression of events culminates with the Treaty of Detroit in 1855, and the issuance of the fee simple patents.

Chapter Four is a definitional chapter. A history of the allotment system as used in the United States is presented along with the results of its use. This chapter demonstrates how the experiences of the Grand Traverse Bands were both typical and atypical of other uses of allotments.

The Fifth and Sixth Chapters present the analysis and findings of this study. The information will be not only the answers to the questions posed earlier, but also answers to extensions of the questions.

Chapter Seven is a summary and statement about the conclusions which can be drawn from the findings. Questions and implications for new directions in this type of inquiry are also presented.

Chapter Two

The word land has different definitions. It can be referred to as either a piece of the solid earth or as a tract or parcel of property. However, to fully understand its role in a cultural group its definition should be derived from that culture. In this chapter, the definition of land base will be discussed with respect to the Ottawa and Ojibwa. An initial framework will be established so that the role of land base can be derived.

The meaning of a phrase or word is sometimes constructed from the context in which it is commonly used. Though the phrase may have a multi-faceted definition, if it is repeatedly employed in one context, it will be that context which will eventually determine the meaning of the phrase or word (Wittgenstein, 1953). Such is the case for the phrase "land base".

The term "land base" can not be used in relations to only one of its meanings. If this is done, the continued misunderstanding of the relationship between the Native Americans and their land will persist. The full meaning and use of the concept has to be incorporated in, not only

everyday language, but also government policy and law.

The Major Facets of the Land Base Concept

Land is defined by the cultural group with respect to the institutions which it effects. Lee Metah (1974, 58) presented a broad definition for land as perceived by the Native American, "the relationship of a tribe to its land defines that tribe; its identity, its culture, its way of life, its method of adaptation, its pattern of survival." Native American spokesperson, Vine Deloria Jr., stated quite frankly, "American Indians hold their lands-places as having the greatest possible meaning, and all their statements are made with this reference point in mind (1973, 75)." Kroeber believes "cultures are rooted in nature and can therefore never be completely understood except with reference to that place of nature in which they occur...(1939, 1)." Thus, land is synonymous with the natural environment in which the people live.

The basic human relationship is that of man and nature: culture is the process by which man adapts to nature. Cohen contends that a population adapts to its environment. It alters its relationship to its habitat to make that habitat a better place to live or it makes itself more fit to live in that habitat. And, to adapt to the habitat requires social organization to direct the groups

energies (1974, 3). Thus, the population is a social unit organized to harness energy for environmental adaption. More specifically, Cohen states that the interrelationship between the complex of human communities and their available resources constitutes the ecological adaptation (1978, 10).

The basic interaction of a community and its resources is generally referred to as their "mode of production." Sonnefeld (1978, 15) believes that subsistence security is in large part determined by the adequacy of resources, technology, and population control. White takes this argument one step further saying that of the three components of a cultural system (technological, sociological, and ideological), technology is basic because the other two depend upon it (1975, 17). And, assuming technology as part of the economy Steward defines culture core as consisting of social, political, and religious patterns which are connected to the groups economic activities (1955, 37). Kessler (1974) presents a similar organization of interacting subsystems consisting of: techno-environment, socio-political, and ideological. The techno-environment is the means of production and distribution of subsistence goods. The socio-political subsystem involves inter-personal relations within the group and relations with other social groups. The ideological subsystem consists of religious beliefs, value systems, and aesthetic endeavours of the group. Thus, individual cultural components include; the social, the political, the economic,

the technological, the ideological, and the environment.

An important component in the interpretation and definition of culture is the interrelatedness of the parts or components of a culture. Bidney (1953) views this interrelatedness as the basis of a "five dimensional" world in which people live:

First, there is the world of nature, that which offers resistance to human efforts and whose powers and laws he must obey. Secondly, there is the conceptual or symbolic world, by which he interprets and envisages the natural world. Thirdly, there is the world of cultural reality, the man-made world of artifacts and sociofacts which are the creation of society. Fourthly, there is the ideal world of conceptual possibilities and values which transcend both the actual world of nature and the actual world of ideal forms. Fifthly, there is the private world, which the ego inhabits and which it does not share with others.

Bernardi agrees with this scheme and adds a sixth dimension, time (chronos) (1977, 75). Thus, to understand culture is to realize not only the interrelatedness of the cultural components but also the interrelatedness through and with time.

A number of key components of a cultural system have been presented. They are: environment, technology, resources, economy, psychology, organisms, sociology, political, symbols, ideology, and religion. Some of the categories, however, are similar and could be combined. As mentioned earlier, the above components of a culture were presented to help identify key elements in the cultural system. The purpose of which was to present how each of the

components related to the land base concept. And, it is important to reiterate, that each component is interrelated with the others.

Economic Component.

Because sustenance is a basic need of mankind, the production and distribution of food are basic to all cultures (Aberle et al. Aberle et al., 1950). This point is well illustrated by Goodfriend's diagram (Figure 2.1) in which, every component of a culture has a "mode of production" connection (1978, 106). This contention is also supported by Harris' comments in "Cannibals and Kings," (1977) and "Cultural Materialism" (1979). He states the idea that at the heart of a culture is the tendency to intensify production, a problem with which each culture must cope. And, in the process of producing, and distributing goods, their social organization is configured into the system. Bloch (1975, 211) demonstrates how social relations are formed by the combination of technology and environment which create production which may, in turn, be transformed into land and capital to produce labor which may then be organized. This is similar to Godelier's conjecture that social conditions are dependent and formed on the relationship between production and kinship (1975, 4). In other words, social organization develops from the economic

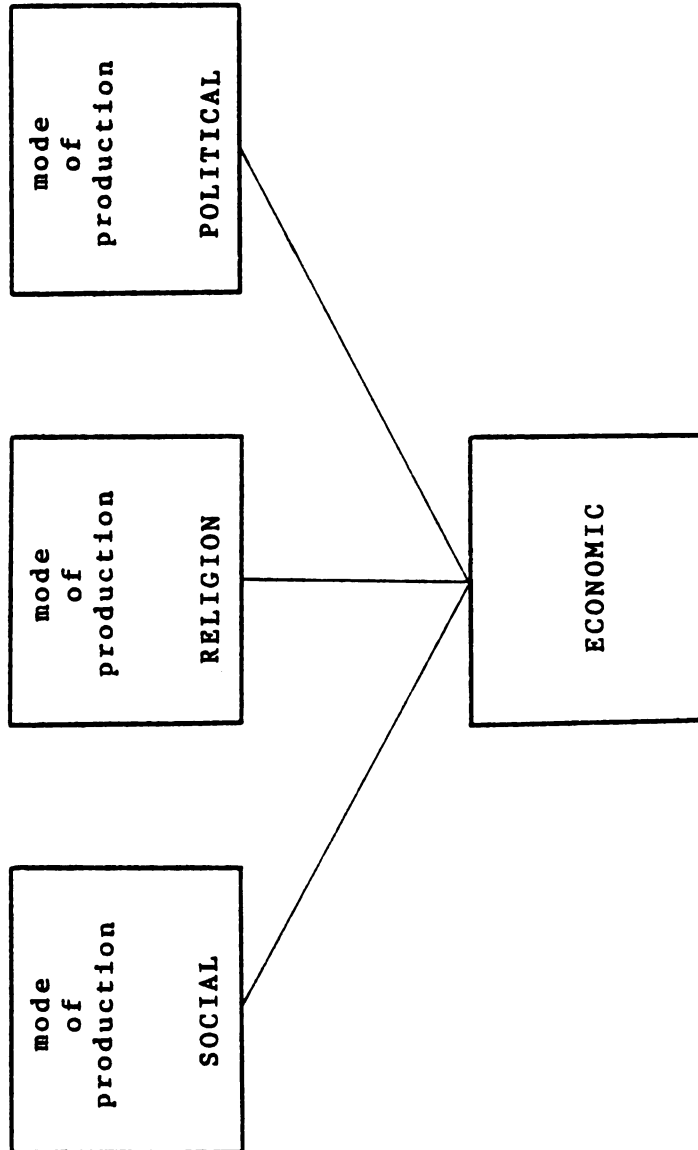


FIGURE 2.1 Diagram of cultural components (Goodfriend, 1976).

activities of the group.

Economic analysis, however, does not explain all the interactions in a cultural system. Forde (1949, 465) believes that economic determinism is inadequate to explain social and political organizations, religious beliefs, and psychological attitudes. Exploitation of natural resources is governed by both economic and non-economic concerns and these are not always cost-efficient (Bennett, 1976, 41). The social institutions of a community determine both the priorities and means to satisfy their needs.

Socio-Political Component.

The social-political and psychological components of the cultural system defines roles and gives identity to both individuals and the social group. Kessler (1974, 110) defines the socio-political subsystem as those aspects of culture concerned with the relationships between members within the society and members of other societies. But, Hallowell has stated that you can not separate an individual's behavior from the physical environment in which he lives (1942, 5). Generally, psychologists have studied the relationship of individuals to their environment. This has been defined as either ecological, environmental or perceptual psychology (Moore and Gollidge, 1976,3).

It is apparent that there are several levels or

components to a socio-political subsystem. Starting at the center of all social interaction is the individual or self. It is the individual's social consciousness which gives the person an identity. Goldman diagrams a person's spheres of identity using concentric circles centered on "self" (Figure 2.2). Furthermore, van Eyck (1969, 109) has developed the concept of "collectively conditioned place consciousness" which states that a person has essentially the same identity as the place he is from. Thus, a person is identified not only by their social affiliations but also their place.

Who are you? If the stranger is a member of an old, or more surely new, Stone Age band he will reply, 'I am a Zuni, or an Arapesh, or a Kariera'-those are my people-the people-so and so is my mother and thus-and-so is my mother's brother and this is our land, which is the world. In other words, he places himself in a group which is a political unit, which is culturally uniform, and which occupies a definite geographical place (at the center of the universe), and within this group he occupies more specific relationships of kinship (1976, 27)

Basically, there are two elements to an individual's identity. The first is internal, or how the person individualizes his or her experiences (DeGroot, 1972). Or as Baker (1968, 137) refers to this as the environmental-organism-environmental continuum, in which sensual stimuli are perceived by the individual, the individual deciphers the stimuli, and then reacts to the environment as perceived. And, as the person experiences the same stimuli a second time, the experience gained from the first encounter enables the person to perceive the

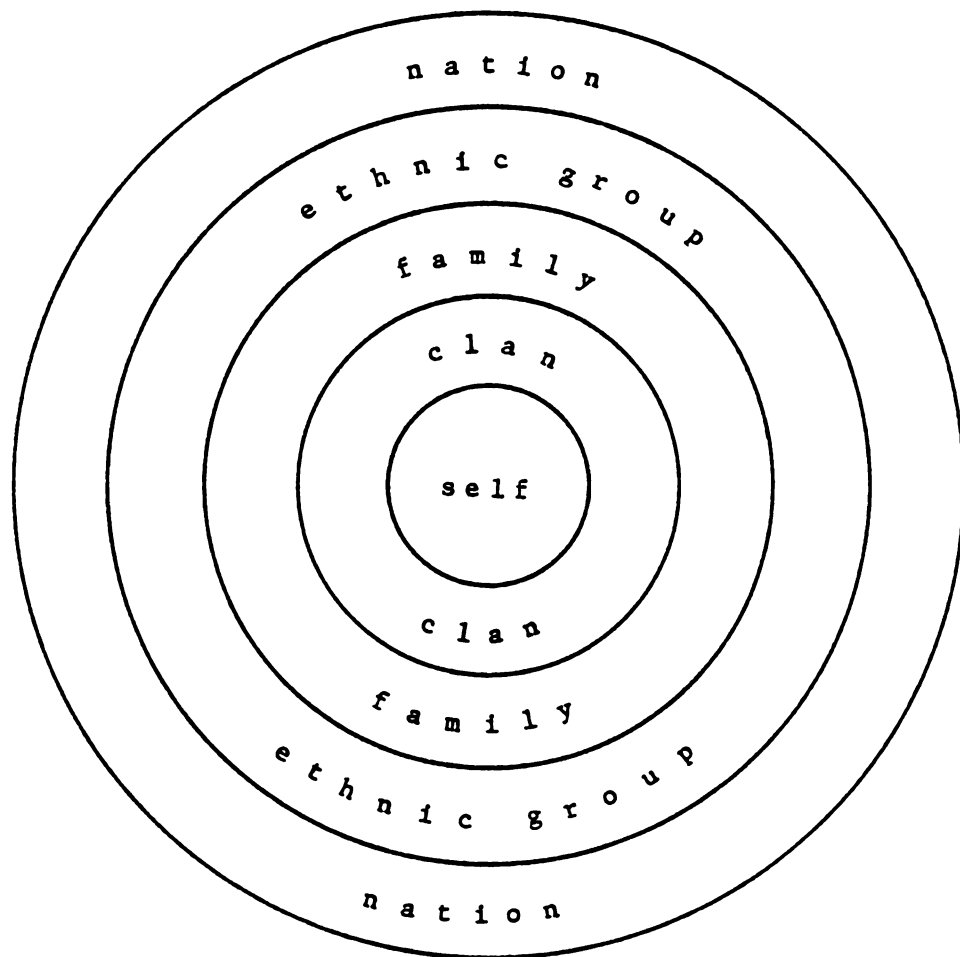


FIGURE 2.2 An individual's circles of identity (Goldman, 1978).

stimuli in a different manner. In the case of adventuring into a foreign territory, at first the person is apprehensive but with more encounters into the area the person becomes confident and secure, whereas initially the person felt anxiety. Ittelson describes the individual's position in the world as

One cannot be a subject of an environment, one can only be a participant....the environment surrounds, enfolds, engulfs and nothing and no one can be isolated and identified as standing outside of, and apart from it... (1973, 13-15)

However, the multiple impulses generated by the environment have to be processed by the individual in an orderly fashion. Tuan (1977) believes this is done by the world-view of the cultural group which is learned by the individual. Another name for this is the "lived-space" described by Relph (1976, 12), the world in which a person exists.

The identification of a person with a place is reinforced by the person's need to have roots or a place to 'call home'.

To be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognised need of the human soul. It is one of the hardest to define. A human being has roots by virtue of his real, active and natural participation in the life of the community, which preserves in living shape certain particular expectations for the future. This participation is a natural one in the sense that it is automatically brought about by place, conditions of birth, profession and social surroundings. Every human being needs to have multiple roots. It is necessary for him to draw well-nigh the whole of his moral, intellectual and spiritual life by way of the environment of which he forms a part (Weil,

1955, 53).

And, as Relph suggests, to have roots is a secure point to observe the world, knowing from where you have come and your position in the order of things (1976, 38).

The second element of a person's identity is his or her social and political affiliations. The social and political facets of land base are not as easily identifiable as the material aspects. Kinship, sex roles, inheritance, and other social relationships are not determined by the environment but the environment is used to determine the organization. The most pronounced way is through the land tenure system (Sutton, 1975). This institution controls the ownership and use of the land and not necessarily just the political components. The nation-building component of an individual's identity (Figure 2.2), refers to his or her ethnic identity. In a study of the definition of ethnicity, over 40% of the respondents stated that a common locational origin or nation was the major attribute in ethnic identity (Isajin, 1974, 117). This was also presented in the works of Mczynihan and Glazer, "The Melting Pot (1969) and "Ethnicity" (1976). Barth (1959) believes that the different ethnic groups preserve their identity by establishing boundaries to help differentiate the groups, thus establishing territories distinguished by the group. The "territorial imperative" could therefore, be applied to an ethnic group.

An ethnic group is not defined by the area it

inhabits. The society is defined by the beliefs they share. This can be translated into their interpretation of reality, and of the symbols they assign to experienced phenomenon (Cohen, 1974, 9; Bateson, 1979, 31). Thus, it is important to understand the belief system of a people and to recognize the symbols they perceive.

Ideology

Ideology is the third component of the land base concept. It is the association of a people's beliefs, ceremonies, and ideas as they relate to an area. This definition incorporates values and symbols within the belief system. It also includes the ceremonies and ideas the people display and produce (Durant, 1970; White, 1975; Alatas, 1977). Ideology, in the context of land base, is concerned with the essence of the land, the attributes of an area that make it important to the people. Places, and particular features on the landscape, have a distinct meaning for some ethnic groups (Tuan, 1978; Sopher, 1979, 3). For example, the Ganga River for Hindus, Lake Victoria for the the Buganda, or Mt. Taylor for the Taos Pueblo. As Jacobs states, land is the spiritual ingredient of a cultural group (1972, 127). The sacredness of the land or an area is manifested in the attributes important to the people.

The sacred attributes of an area can be placed into

three categories. The first of these is called the origins of the people. A particular place may be the perceived beginnings. Vine Deloria, Jr. uses the example of the Navajo, who can not state the exact date of their origins but can point to the mountains of their origin (1973, 138). The second attribute is the life-giving or earth-mother concept. This is clearly brought out by Eliade (1959) in the following passage

An Indian prophet, Smohalla, chief of the Wanapum tribe, refused to till the ground. He held that it was a sin to mutilate and tear up the earth, mother of all. He said: 'You ask me to plow the ground! Shall I take a knife and tear my mother's bosom? Then when I die she will not take me to her bosom to rest. You ask me to dig for stone! Shall I dig under her skin for her bones? Then when I die I cannot enter her body to be born again. You ask me to cut grass and make hay and sell it, and be rich like white men! But how dare I cut off my mother's hair?'

The third category is the "homeland of the sacred." The sacreds can be defined as the god-spirits or ancestors which the people hold in high esteem. Kenny states that Lake Victoria is the resting place of Mukasa, the most powerful diety of the Buganda. The Lake was a symbol of his power (1977). The homeland of the ancestors can be demonstrated in a saying of the Yakima, that a person would have to dig down almost a foot to reach soil; the top of the ground you walk on is the dust of generations of Yakimas that you can not be taken away (Ducheneaux and Kickingbird, 1973, 11).

The ideological significance of the land base is

displayed in the three categories of: origins, life-giving, and homelands. There are a multitude of examples which can display this significance in the overall definition of ideology ranging from ceremonies conducted at harvest time to works of art which exhibit the artists concept of some phenomenon. The important thing to remember is the role in which the ideology plays in the concept of land base.

Interrelatedness of the Components

Because cultural groups do not exist in a void, there is interaction with other cultural groups. And, in the process change occurs. Fisher (1973) developed the idea that in the study of culture there are key components but they have a traditional and an acculturated form. Thus, in the study of any cultural system it has to be a dynamic system, so that, exchange and change can be accommodated. This is especially important in a land base, because of the possible feedback into the system by the components.

There are three major components that can be presented as having a key relationship to the land base concept: ideology, identity, and environment (Figure 2.3). And, the use of the phrase land base has to take into consideration these three elements together. So that, disruption of one will significantly affect the other two.

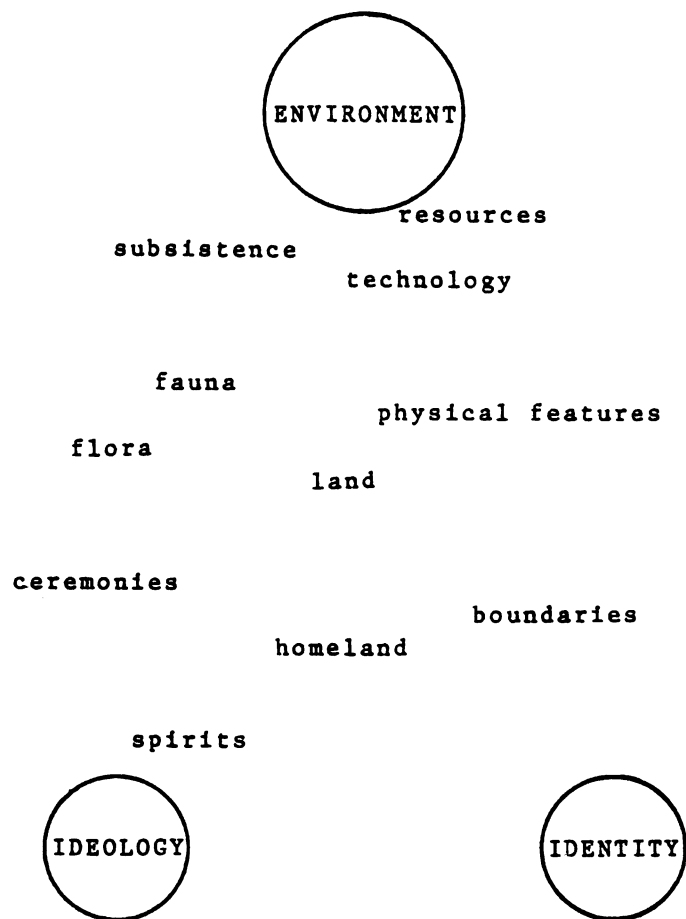


FIGURE 2.3 The interrelationships of the land base components.

Ottawa and Ojibwa Example

Many studies of Native Americans are flawed by the use of inappropriate generalizations. After stating some generalization or theory, the author spends the remainder of the study listing and explaining exceptions. There were over 10,000 separate groups of Native Americans inhabiting the Western Hemisphere before Euro-American contact (Driver, 1969), speaking 1000 to 2000 different languages (Driver, 1979, 25), and spanning approximately 12,000 miles. Thus, it would be hard to generalize about a "Native American" culture or how one aspect of culture dominated or controlled all others.

To avoid these problems, language will be studied from the perspective of one cultural group, which includes both the Ottawa and Ojibwa. But what cultural group contains the Ottawa and Ojibwa? The cultural identity of the Ottawa and Ojibwa can be discerned in a number of ways. Kroeber (1939) and Driver (1969) place the Ottawa and Ojibwa in the same cultural group with respect to their pre-European location. Murdock, on the other hand, classified them according to a combination of economic and social criteria (1975). Linguistically, they are considered part of the Algonquian language group (Mitchelson, 1912; Boas, 1919; Densmore, 1929; Hockett, 1942; Voeglin and Voeglin, 1966). Socially, Callender separated them from

other Central Algonquians, and identified them as the northern Central Algonquians (1962, xiii). No matter what criteria a person uses, basically the Ottawa and Ojibwa are classed as a woodland cultural group, speaking an Algonquian language and located in the upper Great Lakes region (pre-contact).

Some distinctions do exist even within the Ottawa and Ojibwa. According to Danzinger (1978, 8)

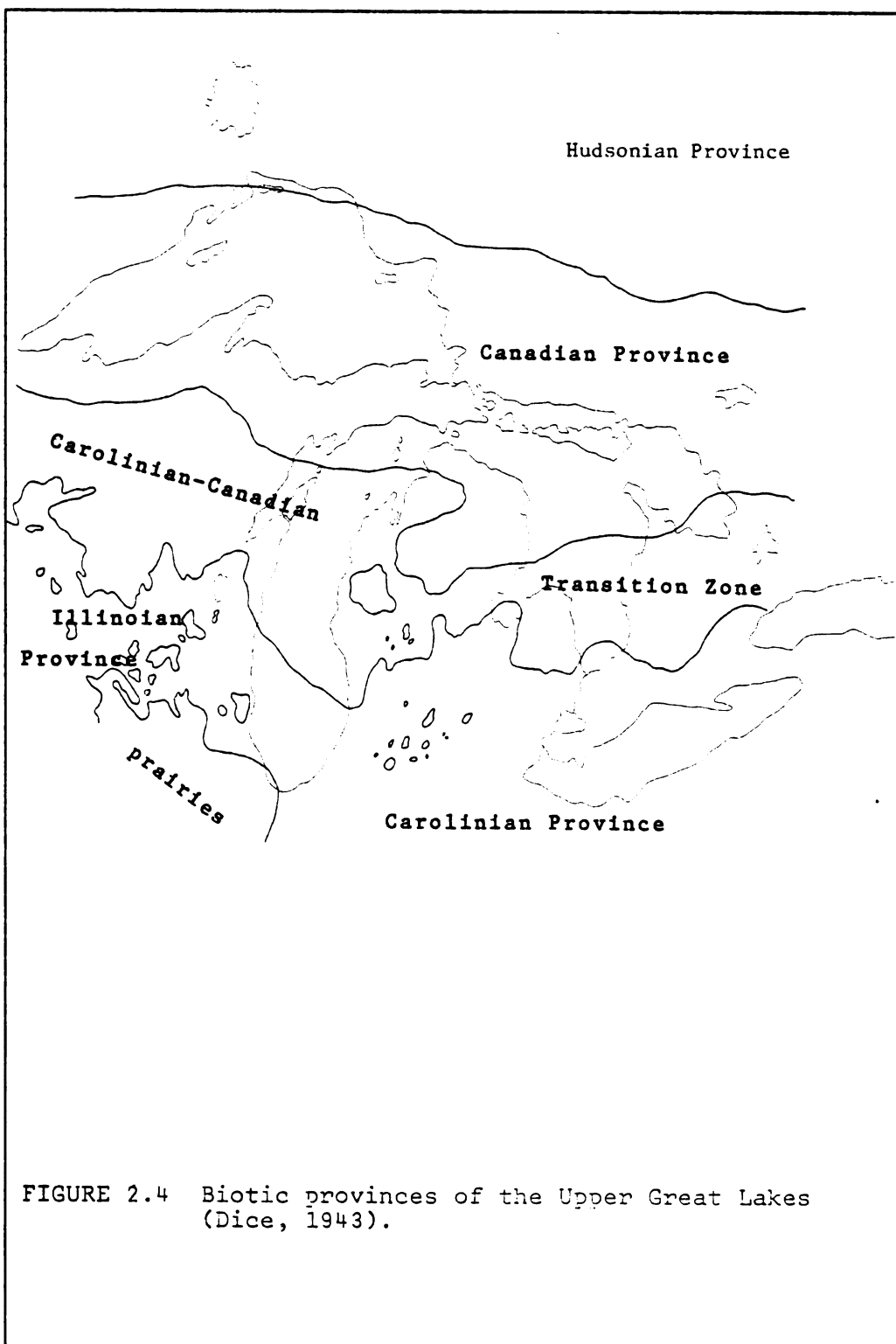
By the early 1840s the Chippewas numbered perhaps 30,000 and held sway over what is today the northern two-thirds of Lake Huron, the American shore of Lake Superior, northern Minnesota, parts of North Dakota, eastern Montana, southeastern Saskatchewan, and southern Manitoba, as well as the lake country east of Lake Winnipeg extending almost to James Bay. At this point in Chippewa history, scholars discern five tribal divisions; the Southeast Chippewas of Michigans Lower Peninsula and adjacent Ontario, the Chippewas of Lake Superior, the Southwest Chippewas of interior Minnesota, the Northern Chippewas of the Laurentian uplands above the Great Lakes, and the Plains Chippewas or Bungees.

And, though Warren (1885) never specifies their location, he also refers to the five clans of the Chippewas, assuming a different location for each clan. The Ottawa consisted of four clans distributed throughout the Great Lakes region (Hodge, 1917; Kinetz, 1965, 227). In the beginning of the 18th Century Ottawa bands and clans were located in the environs around Mackinac, Detroit, and the Grand and Saginaw River basins (Kinetz, 1965, 226-230).

Physical Setting

The Ottawa, Ojibwa, Algonquians, and Saulteaux (Great Lakes Algonquian) lived in a region of North America that consists of several physiographic and biotic realms. Thornberry places the Great Lakes area in the Central Lowlands geomorphic province, "much of the province is characterized by the flatness of rock strata and widespread topographic effects of glaciation (1965, 212)." The northern part of the province, however, includes the Superior Upland, an area of Laurentian uplands similar to the Adirondack Mountains of the Northeast (Thornberry, 1965, 257). The Superior Uplands are dominated structurally by the synclinal Lake Superior basin. The Great Lakes region climatically is cool in the summer with uniform precipitation throughout the year and winter temperatures below freezing for at least three months (Trewartha and Finch, 1973).

Dice (1943) established national biotic provinces which were a combination of vegetation types, ecological climax, flora, fauna, climatic, physiographic and soil regions (Figure 2.4). The U.S. Forest Service also delineated a number of national divisions into what it calls "ecoregions," which are a refinement, though correspond to Dice's biotic provinces (Bailey, 1978). As illustrated, the Great Lakes Algonquians lived in four different forest types; oak-hickory; birch-beech-maple-hemlock; jack, red, and white pines; and spruce-fir (Yarnell, 1964, 4).



Bailey's forest divisions are similar, but he adds an oak-savanna region to the south end of Lake Michigan. In addition to the forest types, another valuable region for the Great Lakes Algonquians were the ecotones, the transition zones from one biotic province to another (Cleland, 1966, 7).

Subsistence Cycle

The Great Lakes Algonquians utilized the available food resources in well established patterns of time and space. Their economic activities were demarcated by the seasons (Dunning, 1959, 33) (Figure 2.5). The cycle started in the spring, late March or early April, with the coming of the crow (Gilfillian, 1901, 70). The families, dispersed for winter trapping, would come together in the spring to collect maple syrup and produce maple sugar. Generally, two families would get together and work between 300 to 500 trees (Landes, 1937, 96-97), although Wilcox (1953, 282) states that 900 taps was average and 2000 was the maximum. This would be enough to extract about one hundred pounds of the sweetener. The maple syrup was used not only on food but also in hard form as candy or as a food supplement.

After the last snow melted, the maple sugar groups would come together in early May in summer villages. Five to fifteen families would gather near traditional berry

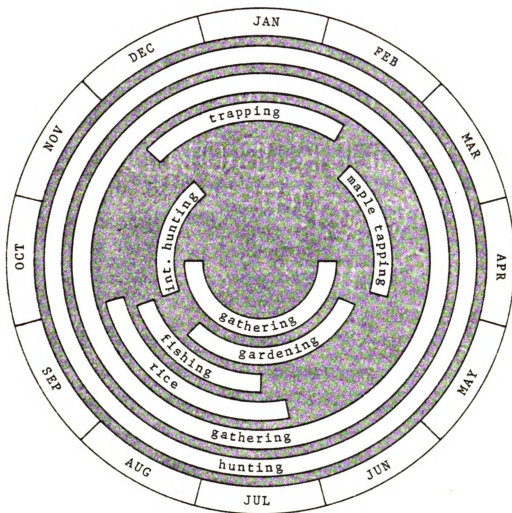


Figure 2.5 Yearly cycle of subsistence activities.

patches and a clear lake for fishing (Landes, 1968, 6; Danzinger, 1978, 12). A village locale belonged, by custom, to the families occupying it regularly; strong ties of sentiment reinforced this custom (Landes, 1967, 6). While in the villages not only berry gathering took place, but both fishing and some gardening and harvesting occurred.

Fishing occurred year-round, yet the seasonal migration of the different species were well known. In the spring and fall, when the fish were "running," large catches were predictable and easy (Dunning, 1959, 31).

The fish were so numerous at the rapids (Saulte Ste. Marie) that a skillful fisherman, in autumn, could take five hundred in two hours. (Warner and Groesbeck, 1974, 328)

At least twenty varieties of fish could be caught, as evidenced by the findings at the Juntunen site in Mackinaw Co., Michigan (Cleland, 1966, Appendix E.).

All the plants utilized by the Great Lakes Algonquian were native to the region until Europeans introduced some varieties of fruit trees in the late-1700s. Densmore (1928) listed 343 plants being gathered in four major categories; food, medicine, charms, and arts. Yarnell (1964) expanded the list to 373 varieties which were used in over 560 ways. He was more specific in the naming his categories; food, beverages, medicinal teas, medicine charms, smoking, dyeing, and utilitarian needs. Plants of major importance were; wild rice, corn squash, pumpkin, several tobaccos, sweet grass, and birch.

In the late summer, or early September, after the last of the wild rice had been collected, the villages would start to disband. One or two families would stay hoping to gather the last berries or to catch the off-shore fish, but the majority would migrate to their traditional stream sites to harvest the "running" fish.

Hunting, like fishing, took place year-round except that in some seasons specific animals yielded more meat or skins. In the fall, hunting intensified while the animals were fat and their coats were thickening. Winter found the individual families trapping the headwaters of their traditional streams. Before the fur trade, a wide variety of animals were utilized. Cleland (1966, Append. G) lists over 345 species in the biotic provinces occupied by the Great Lakes Algonquian. Not all of the species were used, but they were available. They were the typical woodland animals, bear, elk, deer and moose, racoon, woodchuck, opossum, eagle, barn owl, mallard duck, and geese, as well as numerous turtles, frogs, and snails. The fur trade, however, emphasized the fur-bearing animals, especially the beaver, otter, mink, etc. As a result, a change in emphasis from large animals to small fur-bearing game took place (Bishop, 1976, 45-47). Thus, contact with Europeans initiated changes in the resources used, which eventually altered other aspects of their lives.

Socio-Political Relations

The socio-political component of the land base concept corresponds to the idea of identity. In other words, a person feels a certain sense of security knowing not only his own identity, but also that of the group to which he belongs. Dunning (1959, 54-55) found four levels of social relations among the Chippewa: 1.) Indian to non-Indian; 2.) Chippewa to non-Chippewa; 3.) co-resident group; and, 4.) family group. The first two levels can be identified as political organizations, whereas the last two levels can be viewed as kinship groupings.

The distinctions between tribal groups were quite pronounced concerning the areas utilized by each of the groups. Hickerson notes that the political differentiation of the Great Lakes Algonquian had its foundation in economics (1970, 1971). And recently, Dyson-Hudson and Smith (1978) have used the term "economic defensibility," to explain a people's territorial domains. This concept is based on the fact that tribal groups will defend an area which supplies their resource or economic needs. This same concept can be applied to the Great Lakes Algonquian clans. The areas which they occupied were based largely on the available resources (Landes, 1937, 34; Hickerson, 1971, 181). European contact altered not only the resources of the clans, but also the composition of the clans. According to Hickerson, there were four stages of socio-political

development in adaptation to European contact

First, there were autonomous patrilineal descent groups, or local clans of which there were about twenty-five. Such clans appear to have characterized proto-contact Chippewa organization. This stage, under the impact of direct trade first with the Huron middlemen, later with the French, gave way in early historical times to the political village. Village organization began to break down as its trade channels were taken over by the French and survived only in limited areas where Chippewa were frequently at war with their former allies, the Sioux, who continued to occupy adjacent territory. Upon the collapse of the village the composite hunting band assumed the role of the basic socio-economic unit. The composite hunting-trapping band, the third stage, was adapted to relations demanding the primary production of fur and subsistence. This organization, representing a more or less stable adjustment to the fur trade and relations with French, then British, and finally American garrisons and agencies lasted among southwestern Chippewa from about 1730 to 1850.

Particularization of social life in the North did not result as it did in the South during the reservation period, in the virtual autonomy of the nuclear family, as long as fur trapping continued to be the mainstay of the economy. In sum, then, the four stages of socio-political development are: 1.) patrilineal descent groups (proto-contact); 2.) multi-descent group villages (early contact); 3.) composite hunting bands (pre-reservation contact); and, 4.) nuclear or small extended families (reservation) (1971, 173-174).

The most controversial element of the development scheme is the idea of family-hunting territories. In the fall, before the villages disbanded to go to spawning streams, the winter hunting and trapping territories were discussed in council. Land and territories were not owned by any one individual. The entire band owned all the hunting

territories, they were only subdivided temporarily among the families (Jenness, 1935,4). The hunting areas were assigned to families or to members by the head of the family, and usually eight or ten men would hunt together (Kinietz, 1965, 237; Wertworth, 1892, 192). Warren believes that issuance of hunting and trapping areas was less organized, controlled by first come first serve (1885, 252). Danzinger (1978, 11) agrees with Warren but qualifies the statement by saying, "prior to the fur trade." Eventually the family-hunting territory evolved into a system in which the trading posts assigned trapping territories (Martin, 1978, 103). And in 20th century Canada, the government has regulated the territories (Dunning, 1959, 105). The early traders tried to encourage planned exploitation, e.g. leaving areas fallow, or families trapping separately, but to no avail (Bishop, 1970).

Dyson-Hudson and Smith present a synopsis of the family hunting territory question.

There are basically two contending viewpoints on the origins of Northern Algonquian hunting territories. Some scholars, beginning with Speck (1915; Speck and Eiseley, 1939; Coper, 1939; Hallowell, 1949), argue that a territorial hunting system was an aboriginal adaptation to maximize the sustained yields from game, especially beaver. Others have presented evidence that territoriality was not aboriginal for the Northern Algonquians and in fact arose after fur trading had become established (Leacock, 1954; Knight, 1965; Bishop, 1970; 1974). While this latter view is now generally accepted, disputes still arise over what factors are the major determinants of the shift to territorial systems of land use. Leacock has emphasized the role of acculturation and barter economy

in encouraging the shift from cooperative group hunting to individualized trapping, suggesting that family territories were the result of competition for fur-bearing animals whose pelts were traded for food. Knight has countered this by noting that the East James Bay Cree spent over 250 years in contact with traders and participating in the trapping economy without developing territorial systems of land tenure. Contrary to Leacock, Knight (1965, 36) argues that fur-bearing animal populations fluctuate drastically (as with many other subarctic animal species), and that, in addition, fluctuations of the trading economy (changes in prices, credit availability, trading post location, etc.) must also be considered in assessing the viability of a territorial system (1978,31).

The family hunting territory was part of a system that helped define both economic regions and family or clan identification. This is particularly evident in marriages between one family and another. It appears that European contact, and the subsequent trade, solidified the boundaries between family territories, both de jure and de facto.

Ideology

To understand the interaction of the Great Lakes Algonquians with the land, one must examine some basic Algonquian ideological concepts. Jenness (1930, 27-29) and, later, Martin (1978, 72) found that the Great Lakes Algonquians recognized all objects possessed, not only bodies but also souls and images or shadows. Any entity, living or otherwise, can interact with any other.

The body and soul of an object are controlled by spirits or "manitous" (Jenness, 1930; Landes, 1968; Danzinger, 1978; Martin, 1978, 35), and, this control manifests itself in the behavior of the object. To gain favor with the manitou the Native American performs specific ceremonies and rituals at the appropriate time (Landes, 1968). Other objects, particularly animals, were controlled by "masters." Their behavior was dictated with respect to other animals and man (Jenness, 1935, 21; Danzinger, 1978, 16-17; Landes, 1968). If a ritual was not performed properly, e.g. success in hunting, the "master" animal would not let the animal be caught or killed. The human had to respect and demonstrate that respect to the "master" (Hallowell, 1960, 42; Lips, 1947, 6; Landes, 1963, 20-22; Fiet, 1973, 119).

The relationships between people and animals was generally very close, not only because of the need for sustenance, but also because it was generally understood that humans and animals were related.

In the creation myth of the indigenous Indians, these and other beasts were once related to mankind. Chipewyan legend had it that woman was the first human being. In her nocturnal dreams she imagined herself sleeping with a handsome youth, who was in reality her pet dog transformed. One day a giant appeared in the land. With mighty strokes he shaped the rough hewn landscape into lakes and rivers and mountains--all the landforms we know today. Then he stopped down and caught up the dog, and tore it to pieces; the guts he threw into the lakes and rivers, commanding them to become the different kinds of fish; the flesh he dispersed over the land commanding it to become different kinds of beasts and threw it into the air, commanding it to become all

kinds of birds; after which he gave the woman and her offspring full power to kill, eat, and never spare, for that he commanded them to multiply for her use in abundance (Martin, 1978, 69)

But, as Martin later explains, the Native American began to dominate the animals with technology, i.e. guns, steel traps, etc., acquired from Euro-Americans. Native American could now control their their own destiny without the "masters" (1978, Chap. 5 and 6).

The individual also has a "guiding manitou," which is obtained during youth. The transition from boy to man is accomplished when the boy receives his "guiding manitou;" by going alone into the forest to experience a "vision," a dream-like encounter while the person is fasting. Once the boy has received a "vision" he is considered a man. The spirit depicted in the "vision" becomes the person's "guardian manitou" (Landes, 1968). And, the "manitous" live on the landscape, and dwell at or near predominant features; caves, curious rock formations, dominant hills, waterfalls, etc. (Levi, 1956, 35; Danzinger, 1978, 16-17). You did not want to disturb their dwelling place or else harm would befall you or your community. Typical of this type of phenomenon is the Witch Tree of the Grand Portage Band or the Painted Rocks along the shore of Lake Superior.

An individual's spirit was an important part of the homeland and ultimately the land base. At a person's death, the body and soul leave to go to the "eternal hunting grounds to the west," while the shadow or spirit of the

person stays (Kohl, 1860, 460; Jenness, 1935, 18). Thus, there is a strong desire to keep in close contact with the burial grounds because both the remains of the fore-fathers and their spirit or shadows are there. During treaty negotiations in the mid-1800s a major concern was the burial grounds.

(re: treaty negotiations for pine and minerals) No conversations that was had at this time gave the Indians an inkling or caused them to mistrust that they were ceding away their pine and minerals, as they had in the treaty of 1837, and when they were told, in 1849, to move on and thereby abandon their burying grounds-the dearest thing to an Indian known-they began to hold councils and to ask each as to how they understood the treaties, and all understood them the same, that was; That they [the burial grounds] were never to be disturbed if they behaved themselves (Wentworth, 1892, 12)

For the Grand Traverse Bands of Ottawa and Ojibwa, two relations with the spirit world were quite important. The first involves their origin myth, the second their relation to the Grand Traverse region. Among the Great Lakes Algonquians, the origin myth tells of a great flood that submerged the world. After some time, the canoe which saved their fathers ran aground at "Sleeping Bear" (Baudot, 1710). Sleeping Bear sand dunes are west of Grand Traverse bay, approximately 30 miles. Though this is only one of many Great Lakes Algonquian creation myths (Morrison, 1965), it does signify the importance of the region. The bear and its symbolism is quite important because in their mythology the bear is a symbol of man and the bears "master" had the most control over behavior (Kohl, 1860, 408; Morrison, 1965,

39) .

In a myth told to Schoolcraft about "Wasson or the Fire Plume," the importance of the Grand Traverse region is made apparent.

Wasson and his wife soon reached their home at the great Sand Hills (south shore of Lake Superior). The old Spirit was delighted to see them and hailed their return with open arms. They presented him with the tobacco, and told him all the requests of the people above. He replied that he would attend to all, but he must first invite his friends to smoke with him. He then sent his Mezhinawwa (aide), to invite his friends the Spirits and name the time for their reception. Before the time arrived he spoke to his son-in-law 'My son,' he said, 'some of those Maritoes I have invited are very wicked, and I warn you particularly of the one who wishes to marry my daughter. Some of them you will, however, find to be friendly. Take my advice and when they come in, sit close to your wife-so close you must touch her. If you do not you will be lost, for those who are expected to come in are so powerful, that they will draw you from your seat. You have only to observe my words closely, and all will be well.' Wasson said he would obey. About midday they commenced coming....There were spirits from all parts of the country. One entered who smiled on him. He was the guardian Spirit of the Ottawas, and he lived near the present Gitchy Wekuadong (Grand Traverse Bay)... (Schoolcraft, 1839, 147-148)

The landing of the canoe on the Sleeping Bear dunes is analagous to the landing of Noah's Ark in the Biblical story. It is the place of rejuvenation for their people. The reference to the guardian spirit of the Ottawa residing near the Grand Traverse Bay lends significance to the region in their spiritual and religious system. Thus, the combination of the site of rejuvenation and of housing their guardian Spirit makes the Grand Traverse region very

significant to the land base concept for the Great Lakes Algonquian.

Summary

In the land base concept there are three interrelated components; the environmental, socio-political and ideological. Each is significant in defining the concept of land base, but none has priority. An understanding of the interaction of the three components is essential to an understanding of the concept. An alteration in one of the components will affect the other two.

Although a generalized definition of land base can be formulated its utility is limited without specific reference to a particular tribal group. The significance of each individual component is different for each society. To impose one definition on all is the same as saying all Native Americans lived in tipis.

The Great Lakes Algonquian's were influenced by the seasons in their subsistence endeavours. During each season they exploited the resources that gave them the greatest returns for their efforts. This means that they would have to change both their location and social organization depending on the time of year. In the spring one or two families would combine to tap maple trees for syrup. The early summer would bring a number of the small groups into a

village setting for social activities and farming. The late summer saw the breakup of the villages after the wild rice had been harvested. Fall was the time of year for the spawning of the stream fish and the dispersion of families into the interior. The coming of snow found the individual families in their hunting and trapping territories. Thus, their economy was closely integrated with social organization.

The ideological relationship of the Great Lakes Algonquian to the land was three fold. First, it was understood that man and the rest of the world were related and controlled by "masters." The proper respect for the "masters" had to be displayed to gain their favor for all activities. The second relationship dealt with the fact that after the "Great Flood", the rejuvenation of their society took place in the area of the Sleeping Sand dunes of Leelanau Co. And finally, the Grand Traverse region was important to the Ottawa because that was the home of their guardian Spirit.

Chapter Three

The history of the Grand Traverse Bands land base follows the general schemata of other Native American bands in Michigan, but because of their isolation, unique events have shaped the outcome. This brief ethnohistory of the Grand Traverse Band will focus on key moments relating Ottawa and Ojibwa settlements and Euro-American contact in the Grand Traverse region. The emphasis is on events having an immediate and direct affect on settlement and land use. The first section of this chapter will concentrate on how the Ottawa and Ojibwa moved into the Grand Traverse region. The second will explore their contacts with Europeans and will culminate with the first permanent Anglo resident. The third, and final, section will investigate the events preceeding the Treaty of Detroit, signed in July, 1855, which eventually disintegrated the settlements of the Grand Traverse Bands.

The Movement of the Ottawa and Ojibwa into the Grand Traverse Region "There are two sides to every coin," goes the old adage. In the interpretation of historical facts, fiction must also be incorporated. Such is the case in the

settlement of the Grand Traverse region by the Ottawa and Ojibwa. The written history of the early European explorers detail a somewhat different account and progression of events than the oral history of the Ottawa and Ojibwa.

The period just prior to European contact in the Great Lakes region, the early 1600s, will be considered the base for tribal settlement. This would coincide with the beginning of what Quimby defines as the Early Historic Period (1610-1760) (1966, Chap. 11). Also, this is prior to the establishment of the Iroquois Confederacy. Figure 3.1 presents an illustration of what is considered the "homelands" of various tribal groups in Michigan, ca. 1600.

In about AD 1600 the several bands of the Ottawa occupied areas in Northeastern Michigan and Ontario bordering on Lake Huron and the Potawatomi probably were dwelling in western Michigan. By 1634 the Potawatomi had moved to the opposite side of Lake Michigan and were living in Northeastern Wisconsin. By 1700 they were expanding southward along the Wisconsin shore of Lake Michigan and soon became the dominant tribe in the Chicago area and southern Michigan.

After 1650 the Ottawa moved westward to escape the Iroquois. The Ottawa first settled near Green Bay and then moved to the upper peninsula of Michigan and by 1750 into the upper half of the lower peninsula of Michigan (Quimby, 1960, 128).

Writing in 1670 - 1672 Allouez establishes the locations of a number of the Great Lakes tribal groups

Toward the other end of the same lake [Lake Superior] is found the Mission of Saint Esprit, covering both the district known as Chagabumong point and the neighboring Islands. Thither the Outaouacs [Ottawa], with the Hurons of Tionnontate, repair in the seasons suitable for fishing and for raising

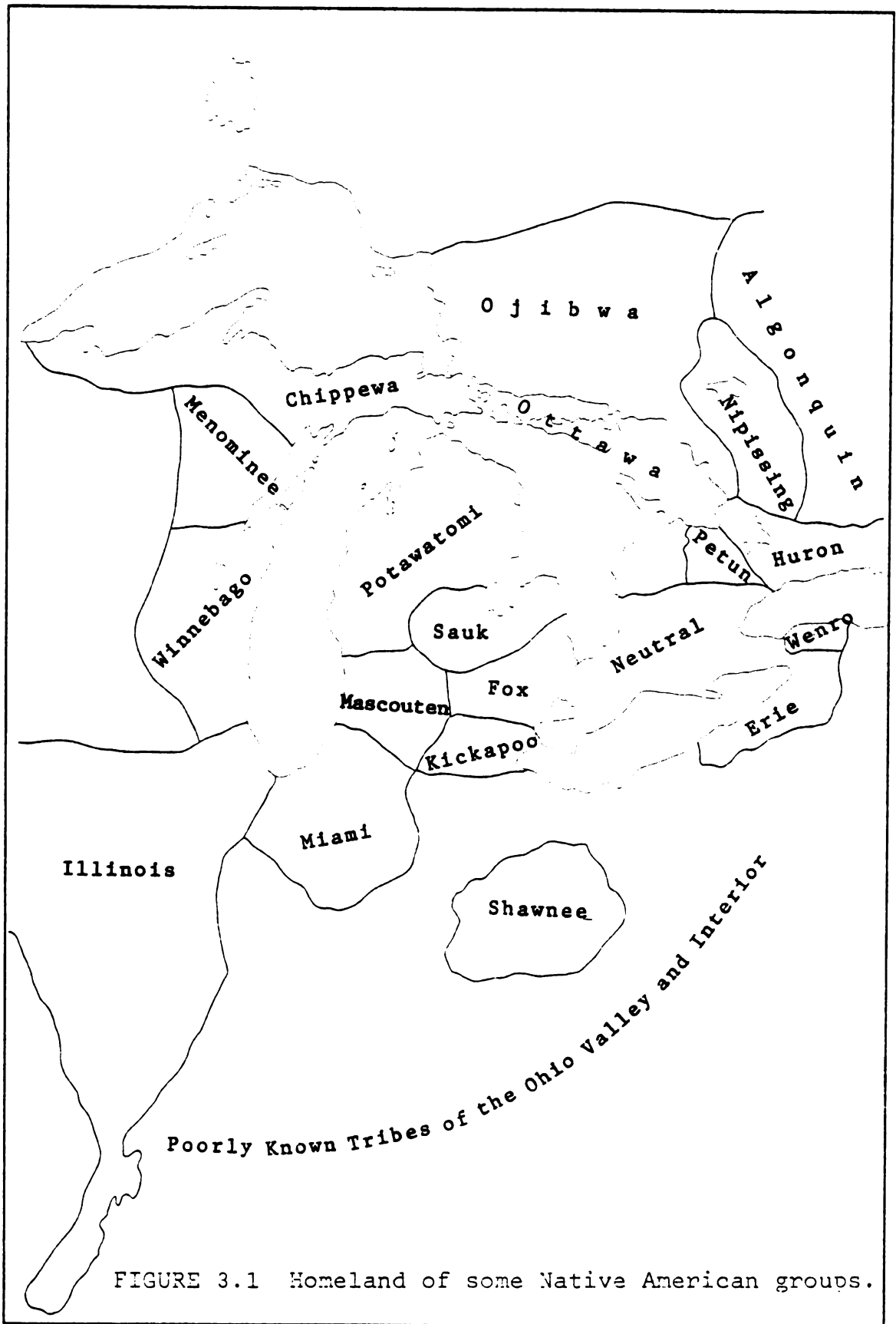


FIGURE 3.1 Homeland of some Native American groups.

Indian corn.

After surveying the entire Lake Superior, together with the nations surrounding it, let us go down to the Lake of the Hurons, almost in the middle of which we see the Mission of Saint Simon, established on the islands which were formerly the true country of the same Nations of the Outaouacs and which they were forced to leave when the Hurons were ravaged by the Iroquois.

The three Nations now dwelling as strangers on the Bay des Puans [Green Bay] formerly lived on the mainland, to the south of this island (Missilimakinac) - some on the shores of the Lake of the Illinois [Michigan], others on those of the Lake of the Hurons. A part of the so-called people of the Sault possessed territories on the mainland, toward the west and the rest also regard that region as their country for passing the winter, during which there are no fish at the Sault. The Huron's called Etienneontatehronnons lived for many years on the island itself, taking refuge from the Iroquois. Four villages of the Outaouacs had also their lands in this region (J.R., v.55, 1670-1672, 95, 97-103).

As this indicates, the activities of the Iroquois were a deciding factor in the early disruption, elimination, and migration of Great Lakes Native American groups in the 17th century. The Ottawa along with the Huron moved and settled several times before they established permanent residences in the Great Lakes. The Huron's in 1624 had agreed upon a peace with the Iroquois. However, a few years later, the Iroquois broke the peace and completely annihilated a number of Huron villages. The surviving Hurons escaped to areas around Detroit or to western Lake Michigan. The Ottawa, lacking any allies, were forced to move westward and united with the Huron at Bay des Puans by 1653. Pressure by the Iroquois pushed the Hurons and

Ottawa further west. The Hurons fled north to the western end of Lake Superior, to Chagouamigan. The Ottawa, on the other hand, settled on Pelee Island in the Mississippi River, three miles below the mouth of the Sainte Croix River. However, subsequent engagements with the Sioux forced the Ottawa to flee. They eventually settled with the Huron at Chagouamigan by 1660. By 1671, the Sioux resumed their hostilities toward the Ottawa and included the Huron, and so again the two groups moved. This time, however, eastward. The Ottawa and Huron going first to Michillimackinac and then their separate ways; the Huron south toward Detroit, the Ottawa either staying at Michillimackinac or going to Manitouline Islands or to Saginaw region (Blair, 1911, v. 1, 148-190; Hyde, 1962, 109-143, Feest and Feest, 1978). As late as 1679, La Salle's ship, the "Griffin," reports observing two villages at Michilimackinac; one Ottawa, the other Huron (Pitting, 1975, 212). Thus, in approximately a thirty to forty year period the Ottawa were forced from their homeland in southeastern Ontario to the Mississippi River, then north to Chagouamigan, and finally almost to their place of origin, the northern part of Lake Huron.

The subsequent occupation of the Grand Traverse region by the Ottawa and Cjibwa takes place in the mid-1600s, but the exact decade is indeterminable. Referring to Figure 3.1, the Asseguns and/or Mascutens occupied the Bay area (ca. 1600). Greenman (1961) believes

the Mascoutens were part of the Potawatomi. However, Wakefield (1966) disputes this claim declaring the Mascoutens were actually a multitude of peoples, but generally referred to as the Sauk of northern Wisconsin and Michigan. Several accounts are available describing the removal of the Asseguns and Mascoutens from the northern section of Michigan, including the Grand Traverse region. Schoolcraft, in 1847, relates the following story.

Ottawa and Chippewa tradition represents these tribes at first as coming into hostile collision as a nation, with a people who appear to have been their predecessors in the lakes. This collision we first hear of on the inner shores of the island of Fortagunasee [Drummond Is.] and on the narrow peninsula of Pt. Detour, Lake Huron, the latter being the western cape of the entrance into the Straits of St. Mary's. They fought and defeated them at three separate places, and drove them west. To this primitive people who appeared to rule in the region about Michillimackinac they gave the name of Mushkodians, or Little Prairie Indians. Chusko, an aged Ottawa of Michillimackinac, invariably used the word in its diminutive and plural forms, namely, Mush-ke-dians-ug; that is to say People of the Little Prairie. He spoke of them as people whom the Algonquins drove off... The Ottawas attribute to them the small mounds and the old garden beds in Grand River valley...

...Ishqua-gonabi, chief of the Chippewas on Grand Traverse Bay, and a man knowing traditions denotes the war against Muskoda men or dwellers on Little Prairie or Plains to have been carried on by the Chippewas and Ottawas, and in this manner he accounts for the fact that villages of the Chippewas and Ottawas alternate at this Bay on the eastern shores of Lake Michigan... (1847, v. 1, 307-308).

In 1860, however, Schoolcraft gives a somewhat different account

...tribe of considerable importance called the Assegun or Bone Indians, living on the south shore of the Upper Peninsula from St. Ignace northward...this tribe trespassed on the territory of the Ottawas on the Manitoulin and a war was the result. In this contest the Chippewas were allied with the Ottawas and a great battle was fought near Detour, where the Asseguns were completely vanquished. They were pursued by the victorious tribes and were driven westward, finally crossing the strait and sitting down near old Port Mackinaw on the south shore, where they established their village. But peace with their neighbors, the Ottawas who occupied the other side of the strait, did not last long, soon encroachments gave excuse for renewed hostilities. The Ottawas and Chippewas gathered their forces and crossing over the Strait, surprised and attacked the Asseguns in their new village and a terrible massacre followed. The latter were again routed and fled southward following the eastern shore of Lake Michigan as far southward as the south bank of the Washtenaw, called by the French the Grand River. The Chippewas, who had been their confederates in this war remained in the lower Peninsula, however, and settled about Grand Traverse bay where a remnant still exists (cited in Utley and Cutsheon, 1906, 88-89).

Some accounts of the removal of the Asseguns or Mush-co-desh mention a last battle near the Sleeping Bear sand dunes (Leach, 1883; Blackbird, 1897). Hinsdale (1931) reinforces this claim when he states

Sleeping Bear Pt. upon which is an immense sand dune, has many traditions mostly legendary. It has been a fertile field for relic hunters. No doubt it was an inviting lookout for Indians. The exposure of human bones by shifting winds indicate that bodies were buried in the sands of the dune. Tradition has it that the "Bear" was the scene of a terrific battle "in the long ago."

After the annihilation of the Asseguns and the

Mush-co-desh, the Grand Traverse region was occupied by either the Ojibwa or the Ottawa. In Blackbird's history of the Ottawa, he states

The murders in cold blood among the Ottawa and Chippewa nations of Indians in their primitive state were exceedingly few, at least there was only one account in our old traditions where a murder had been committed, a young and foolish Ottawa having stabbed a young Chippewa while in dispute over their nets when they were fishing for herrings on the Straits of Mackinac. This nearly caused a terrible bloody war between the two powerful tribes of Indians (they were numerous then) so closely related. The tradition says they had council after council upon this subject, and many speeches were delivered on both sides. The Chippewas proposed war to settle the question of murder, while the Ottawas proposed compromise and restitution for the murder. Finally the Ottawas succeeded in settling the difficulty by ceding part of their country to the Chippewa nation, which is now known and distinguished as the Grand Traverse region as their hunting ground. A strip of land which I believe to have extended from a point near Sleeping Bear, down to the eastern shore of the Grand Traverse Bay, some thirty or forty miles wide, thence between two parallel lines running southeasterly until they strike the head waters of Muskegon river, which empties into Lake Michigan not very far below Grand Haven. They were also allowed access to all the rivers and streams in the Lower Peninsula of Michigan, to trap the beavers, minks, otters and muskrats.

...The chief We-we-gen-de-bey, who discovered a great copper kettle while hunting in that region, was the first settler of the Grand Traverse region according to the treaty between the Ottawas and Chippewas... About two hundred and fifty years ago... (Blackbird, 1897, 7, 8, 69).

If this is true, the first settler, We-we-gen-de-bey, came to the region in the 1640s. However, in a diary entry in 1850, Rev. Peter Dougherty relates the same story but claims

the incident took place in the 1750s (Dougherty Diary, 1850). He also states that it was not until the late 1700s that the Ottawa migrated into the Bay region.

This later date of occupation, late 1700s, agrees with Greenman's contention that the Lower Peninsula was a "Roman's land" before 1675, and it was not until the 1740s that it became occupied on a permanent basis. Sprague and Smith, however, believes the date to be somewhat later, 1763 (1903, 222). Whatever the exact date, settlement into the Grand Traverse region was sometime between Blackbird's date of 1640 and Sprague's 1763.

First Euro-American Contacts

The exploration of the Great Lakes region was initiated by the zeal of the early missionaries. Figure 1.1 illustrates the westward movement of the missionaries and early explorers and the paths of their movement, generally along the water courses. It can be assumed that most travel by the Jesuits was between the missions and into the interior from the missions. Thus, the Grand Traverse region was circumnavigated and not visited by the missionaries at this time.

The first explorers into the Grand Traverse area were drawn there by the death of their companion. In 1675 Father Pierre Marquett was returning to St. Ignace from the Chicago

region when he died somewhere near Ludington or Frankford, Michigan. His two partners, Pierre and Jacque, buried him along the shore and continued their journey to St. Ignace. On the way, they had to go through the Bay area, and were thus the first whites, as far as historians can surmise, to visit the Grand Traverse (Leach, 1883, 12). Another scenario of the death of Father Marquette, however, states that the two travellers eluded the Bay by going in-land up the Benzie River (Hamilton, 1965, 240-241), which flows south of the Bay.

Very little is known of activities in the Grand Traverse region during the late 17th and early 18th century. A photo-plate in J.C. Wright's, "Little Traverse Bay Region" (1917), notes the Sleeping Bear Sand Dunes were a land mark for Charlevoix in 1722, but there is no mention of the Bay per se.

A clue to the lack of interest in the Grand Traverse region is found in a letter from Sr. de Celeron, Commandant of Fort Michillimackinac, to the Marquis de Beauharnois

September 2, 1741. Sir: I have finally induced the Savages to go and visit the most distant parts of their clearings. They start tomorrow; and as soon as they return if the lands turn out to be good, I shall send frenchmen there to work on them to a proper state of sowing in the spring-It is indispensable that they should be assisted, as otherwise they would settle at Grand Traverse, where they have already begun to make a few clearings, a place 25 leagues away from here, and therefore inconvenient for trading... (Hyde, 1962)

Because the area was not beneficial to French trade

it was not encouraged as a place to settle. At the same time, trade with the Euro-Americans was becoming a major influence on the Native American population, so there was no advantage for them to move into the Grand Traverse area.

There are sporadic sightings of villages in the Bay region starting in the late 1700s. The well-known trapper of the Old Northwest Territory, Alexander Henry, lived with the Wawatam family for a number of years. The family travelled extensively in the Great Lakes region, and on one occasion camped on the shores of the Grand Traverse Bay in April of 1764. Henry relates that he saw the smoke from the village across the Bay (Quimby, 1962, 195-196). The problem arises in trying to locate the village, because the reader does not know which arm of the Bay Henry was referring to.

The earliest date locating a village on Grand Traverse Bay is found in a book by Littlejohn (1875) entitled "Legends of Michigan and the Old Northwest". Littlejohn relates the story of an attack on the main Ottawa village at the south end of the Bay. The village at this time, ca. 1803, was in the vicinity of the present site of Traverse City, and ruled by Chief White Water.

Two missionaries, Fr. Badin and Rev. Perry, made separate and infrequent trips to the area in the 1820s (Colby, 1971, 7). John Howard described a village in a small valley just west of Grand Traverse Bay near Crystal Lake, Benzie Co. According to his account, the village had between two hundred and three hundred inhabitants in the

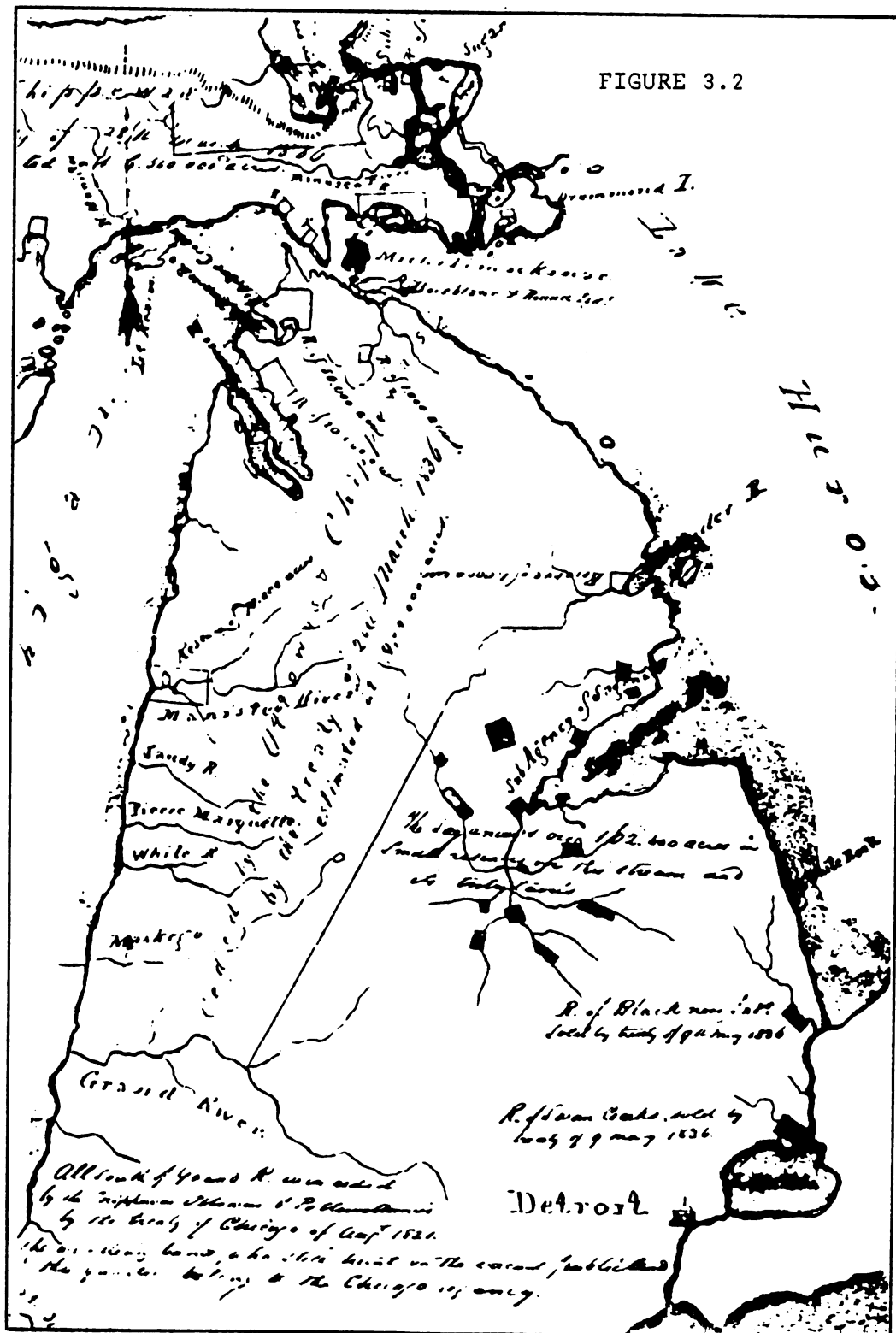
late 1820s and early 1830s (Harvey, 1950, 258). Information provided by Kinetz, however, disputes this stating the Ottawa would only hunt in the region just north of Crystal Lake every third year, thus it is unlikely they would have a permanent village in the area (1972, 237). One of the first Euro-American residents in the Grand Traverse region was a trapper by the name of G.S. Hubbard. He came to the area in 1822 and set up his trap lines around the Sleeping Bear sand dunes (Quaife, 1944, 287).

The 1830s started the era which most dramatically altered the life-style of the Grand Traverse Bands. In the beginning of the decade, the Federal Government established a policy of Native American dispossession with the passage of the Indian Removal Act of 1830 (4 Stat. 411). Earlier treaties with Michigan Ottawas or Ojibwas ceded sections of their land yet they were given areas in which to carry on their activities. This new policy would remove the Ottawa or Ojibwa from Michigan altogether.

In the mid-1830s there was pressure from Federal and Territorial leaders on the Native American to cede the areas they controlled. Councils were held in 1835 to select nine leaders to represent the Michigan Ottawa and Ojibwa at the treaty negotiations. The treaty would cede ten million acres to the Federal Government in northwestern Michigan (Figure 3.2). According to a letter sent to the Mackinaw Agency in May, 1835, the six headman at Grand Traverse bay wanted Augustus Hamlin to be their representative in

FIGURE 3.2 Hutchison's map of reserves from Treaty of Washington.

FIGURE 3.2



Washington (ACRMA, 1835, 90). Assuming that each headman represented a village, then there were six villages in the Bay area, in 1835.

On March 26, 1836 the Treaty of Washington (7 Stat. 491) was ratified by Congress. There were three provisions in the treaty which had major consequences for the Grand Traverse Ottawa and Ojibwa, other than the ceding of their territory.

Article Second. From section aforesaid, the tribes reserved for their own use, to be held in common, the following tracts, namely:...one tract of 20,000 acres to be located on the north shore of Grand Traverse Bay...

Article Fourth. In consideration of the foregoing cessions, the United States agree to pay to the Ottawa and Chippewa nations, the following sums, namely. 1st. An annuity of thirty thousand dollars per annum, in specie, for twenty years; eighteen thousand dollars, to be paid to the Indians between Grand River and the Cheboignun...2nd. Five thousand dollars per annum, for the purpose of education, teachers, school-houses, and books in their own language, to be continued twenty years...3rd. Three thousand dollars for missions, subject to the conditions mentioned in the second clause of this article. 4th. Ten thousand dollars for agricultural implements, cattle, mechanic's tools, and such other objects as the President may deem proper...

Article Eighth. It is agreed, that as soon as the said Indians desire it, a deputation shall be sent to the southwest of the Missouri River, there to select a suitable place for the final settlement of said Indians which country, so selected and of reasonable extent, the United States will forever guaranty and secure to said Indians.

The twenty thousand acre reserve was to be a temporary holding area, until suitable land could be found

west of the Mississippi River. According to the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1836, this land would have been 5 million acres in N.W. Missouri (1836, 414). According to the treaty, the Ottawa and Ojibwa were to go to this land within five years.

Several misconceptions arise from this treaty provision and the associated facts. According to H. Tanner (1980) the treaty used a map produced by Hutchison in 1795 as the guide to determine the location and boundaries of the reserves (Figure 3.2). In 1839 a survey team was commissioned to set the monuments for an accurate mapping of the area. Finally, in 1840 President Van Buren established the boundaries of the reserve as Town 28, 29, 30 North Range 10 West (Shields to Porter, 1845; Michigan Hist. Coll.). This location is on the southern extreme of the Bay (Figure 1.2). This location disagrees with the site depicted by Royce in his work on treaty boundaries; he used the location depicted on the Treaty map (BAE, 1899).

Another misconception was the five year period of inhabiting the reserve. The reserve was not designated until four years after the Treaty was signed. And, the move westward to Missouri was delayed and finally forgotten because Congress never allocated the funds to support the move. Besides, an advanced party to Missouri returned with a negative perception of the territory which instilled grave apprehension among the Ottawa and Ojibwa (ARMIA, 1842, 234).

Annuities were paid as part of the cession of land,

approximately ten dollars to the head of household. In the annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Henry Schoolcraft comments

The benefits of the annuities are fully appreciated by them at this era of their affairs, when the chase is nearly or quite closed, and will enable them to get through the severe seasons with less suffering than they would otherwise encounter (ARMIA, 1837, 531-532).

According to the records of the Michigan Agency, approximately four hundred people were entitled to annuities in the Bay area (Table 3.1).

TABLE 3.1

ANNUITY RECIPIENTS IN THE GRAND TRAVERSE REGION

	Tribe	Village	M	W	Ch	Tot	Fam
Grand Traverse	Chippewa	Schquagonabe	51	49	107	207	58
Pen. of Ahgosa	Chippewa	Akosa	37	42	89	168	47
Shawbwossing	Chippewa	Shawbwossing	10	10	20	40	11
Source: (NA, Roll 424, f 0265).							

The third major provision of the Treaty called for five thousand dollars per annum to be spent on education and, of that money, three thousand on missions. Thus, the assumption and conditions stipulated that education would be fostered through religious organizations. The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions decided to take advantage of the opportunity and dispatched Rev. Peter Dougherty of Newburgh,

New York, in 1838 to Michigan (Vogel, 1967, 187). A steamer brought him to Mackinaw Island on July 7, 1838. He was advised to establish his mission at Grand Traverse Bay. Dougherty states in his diary

Thurs. July 12, 1838. Mr. Johnston recommends Grand Traverse as the most promising point.-He says two or three villages have concentrated on the north shore of this bay some 50 or 60 miles from the lake. It is a band of Chippewas-the land is good and they are desirous of imitating the Indians of L'Arbour Croche, the Catholic mission, who have made considerable advance in civilization. He says no traders are among them and the Catholics have not gained a footing among them-He thinks they will not have to remove in a number of years as they are near no commodious place for a harbor nor the mouth of any important river-He thinks it doubtful whether they remove at all he says the chiefs have money laid aside and design to purchase their lands as soon as they come in the market.

After several days of preparation and journey Rev. Dougherty entered Grand Travers Bay for the first time.

Friday August 3 Did not find the settlement as large as I expected-I made my business known and made some enquires but could not obtain little information-There are about sixty men I was told belonging to this chief -we again loaded our canoe and paddled across the bay we landed at dusk near a small village and was very much annoyed by dogs and children These appear poor and dirty.

Sat. Aug 4 left with a fair wind and sailed round the pt. 3 or 4 miles we then took our paddles... The day was threatening and came on the rain about noon we kept on until we reached a small river which empties into the lake-here is a village the appearance of which like better than any since I left LA Croche

Dougherty continued his journey south and eventually returned to New York.

The following year Revs. Dougherty and Fleming returned to Grand Traverse Bay. After first going to the small peninsula bisecting the bay, they settled at Chief Esquagonabe's village near the mouth of Elk River on the east shore. Soon thereafter Rev. Fleming received word that his wife had died and he left, never to return. Shortly thereafter, Henry Schoolcraft, the Superintendent of the Michigan Indian Agency, came to the Bay with an interpreter, farmer, and blacksmith to establish the government farm and workshop, as stipulated in the treaty. Schoolcraft decided to set up the government project on the peninsula, even though the mission had started in Tawassing (Elk Rapids). In June of 1839, Chief Ahgosa and several members of his band convinced Dougherty he should move his mission from Tawassing to the peninsula. By June 29th, Dougherty had moved and set up his mission. On the 30th he celebrated services with a congregation which included Esquagongee, the head at Tawassing (Elk Rapids) (Vogel, 1967, 189-192). Thus, the first permanent Euro-Americans were the missionary Dougherty and the government employees. With this settlement at the tip of the peninsula, the Grand Traverse Bands isolation and freedom of use of the region ended.

Era of Frustration 1840-1855

The period from 1840 to 1855 was a time of anxiety, frustration and constant pressure for the Grand Traverse

Bands. Their dealings with the Federal Government touched all aspects of their lives; shelter, livelihood, and health. The more control over their life-style the Government gained, the worse conditions became. This was compounded by increased pressure from the Euro-American homesteaders.

Most frustration and anxiety was centered around the constant threat of dispossession as specified in Article Two of the Treaty of Washington (1836). The five year period would have ended in 1841 and the Ottawa and Ojibwa would have been subject to removal. However, as mentioned earlier, it was not until 1840 that President Van Buren set aside the reserve. In his annual report of 1841, Comm. of Indian Affairs Crawford states

...the time now rests in the discretion of the United States, to be exercised judiciously and in a spirit of kindness to these poor people, I trust, and with reasonable notice to them when a determination is made. The project of a northern Indian territory, if it can be consummated, will afford them a suitable future home, in point of climate and other respects, and, in my judgement, the indulgence of remaining where they are should be extended to them until this new feature in our Indian policy shall be either fully adopted or rejected.

Thus, the Grand Traverse Bands were now at the mercy of the Government, not bound by the treaty agreement. Rev. Dougherty reiterates the problems of not being settled

They have fairly commenced a village. They have laid out a street and have erected several substantial log houses. What retards them from a more rapid improvement, is the uncertainty of their location. They express themselves as being strongly desirous of remaining on their present location and

making it there home by purchase, if it can not be otherwise secured to them. The question of their location I say nothing. I express the desire they have often expressed to me. I would only remark that permanence of location is very important to their advance in civilization, and as they need all the stimulus which that would afford, if their minds can be put at rest, it will be well (ARCIA, 1841, 306-308).

Agent Stuart, on the other hand, perceived no problem with some of the Native American groups because of their isolation and uncertain future (ARCIA, 1841, 290).

According to Neumeyer (1971, 287-288) there were four major factors that contributed to keeping the Ottawa and Ojibwa in Michigan. First, the Native American did not want to be removed. Second, no farmers wanted their lands, initially, and the West was developing faster than northern Michigan. Third, to some influential people, leaving the Ottawa and Ojibwa in Michigan had its advantages. Fourth, there was a feeling of "magnanimity" toward the Native American at the government level.

The distribution of the Grand Traverse Bands' villages are significant because their location is in close proximity to contemporary settlements. The groups subsistence activities in the mid-1850s followed approximately the same pattern as illustrated in Chapter Two (Figure 2.5). As explained by Fitting and Cleland (1969, 295-296), villages had specific sizes, characteristics and functions depending on the season of the year.

in their gardens they cultivated corn, pumpkins, beans, and potatoes. Apple trees, the seed for which was originally obtained

from the whites-either the Jesuit missionaries or the fur traders-were planted in every clearing. Wild fruits, especially choice varieties of wild plum, were grown from seed introduced from their distant southern hunting grounds. At the time of the present writing, fruit trees of their planting are found growing wild in the young forests that have sprung up on abandoned fields. The gardens were frequently some distance from the villages. The owners resorted to them at the proper season to do the necessary work, living for the time in portable lodges or in temporary structures erected for the occasion.

Though they hunted more or less at all times, winter was the season devoted specifically to that pursuit. Then the greater part of the population left the villages and scattered through the forest. The chain of inland lakes in Antrim county, having their outlet at Elk Rapids, was a favorite resort, on account of the facilities for fishing as well as for hunting and trapping. Many plunged into the deeper solitudes of the forest and fixed their winter abode on the Manistee, the Muskegon, or the Sauble. Others embarked in canoes, and coasted along Lake Michigan to its southern extremity, from there making their way to the marshes of the Kankakee and the hunting grounds of northern Indiana and Illinois. Several families had their favorite winter camping places on the northeastern shore of Boardman Lake, within the corporate boundaries of Traverse City. Here the women and children remained while the hunters made long trips in the woods, returning to camp with the spoils, in some cases several times during the winter. One principal advantage of the location was the abundance of

pickerel in the lake—an abundance that seems fabulous to the white fishermen of the present day. They were caught with spear through holes cut in the ice, and were an important addition to the winter supply of food.

In spring traders came from Mackinac, and sometimes from other places, to barter goods for furs. Not infrequently, however, the Indian hunter accompanied by his wife and children, preferred to visit the center of trade with his peltries, in person (Leach, 1883, 20-21).

Dramatic changes took place, however, with the establishment of permanent white residents in the Bay region. The most notable are the missionaries, they had a profound effect on the Bands subsistence pattern. This can be illustrated by Rev. Dougherty's report of 1843

The village is steadily improving. Instead of the temporary mat lodge, or frail bark house, substantial log dwellings are going up. Six new log houses have been put up this summer. Others will be put up this fall....I do not know that any accurate distinction can be made between those who follow the chase and those who follow agriculture or mechanical pursuits. All who have families make gardens, and depend chiefly on what they raise for food, and all hunt more or less in the winter. This distinction, however, may be made: after securing their crops in the fall remove to their hunting grounds and spend the winter there. Others remain here permanently, making two or three hunting excursions during the winter. Of these there are now 14 families, who have made arrangements for permanent settlements here; others expect to do so (ARCIA, 1843, 321)..

At the end of the five year period (1841), some members of the Grand Traverse Bands were anxious to purchase

land from their annuities. Others, however, did not want to face removal and left the region, returning to the Manitoulin Islands. Dougherty relates that fact that several families were leaving the Bay region weekly (Dougherty Diary, 1842). This was not confined to the Grand Traverse region. Blackbird (1892, 98) states that half of the Ottawas in Michigan went back to their lands in Canada. Shoolcraft reported 263 families had migrated, both Ottawa and Ojibwa (1847).

A means to insure against removal was the purchasing of land by the Bands. In 1845 a number of Native Americans tried to secure lands in Townships 28, 29, and 30, North Range 10 West. However, the land was not open to market at this time, and was still considered part of the reserve (Porter to Shields, June 4-23, 1845). It was not until 1848, that Ottawa and Ojibwa in the Traverse region purchased land successfully, and this was in Townships 31 and 32, North Range 11 West. Later, the missionaries assisted in deciding the location of other permanent villages. In his diary, Rev. George Smith details his arrival in the area around Northport and his subsequent assistance to several Native Americans from the Grand River Band in buying land in the township (G.S. Diary, 1849). In all from 40 to 50 families followed Rev. Smith north from the Grand River basin in 1849 (Leach, 1883, 68). Rev. Smith relates:

There are four bands enjoying in a greater or less degree the benefits of the mission;

these are the Wakazco, or Black River band, the Shabwaing band, the Nagonabe band, and the Ommunise band, or the Carp River band (Smith, RMIA, 1851, 53).

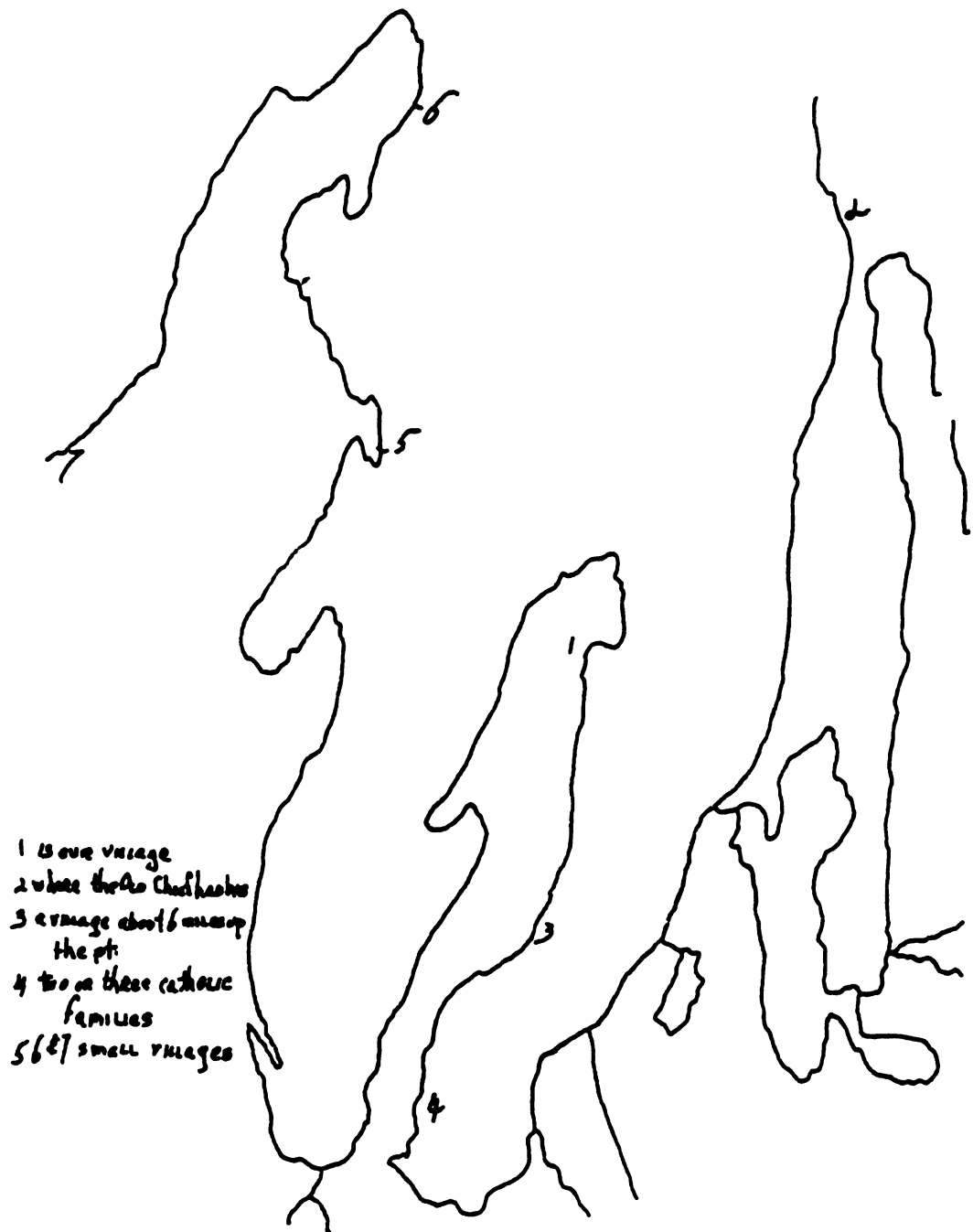
Other missions were established in the late 1840s or early 1850s. On the map of 1841 by Dougherty (Figure 3.3) he locates Catholic settlements on the west bank of East Bay. However, later he locates the Catholic families near Sutton's Bay, this is on the opposite shore of the Bay from the previous site. According to Scheffer (1970, 9), Chief Peshawba and his band came from Cross Village to this site in 1845. The band was strongly influenced by the Catholic mission at Cross Village and tried to establish a similar mission at Grand Traverse. Barnes believes that Father Angleius Van Paemel opened the Catholic mission at what was then called Eaglestown in 1852 (1971, 110). Thus, by the early 1850s three different missions were established on the Bay, Rev. Dougherty's, Rev. Smith's, and the new Catholic mission of Fr. Van Paemel.

Because land could not be purchased near Dougherty's mission on the peninsula, a number of families bought land on the west shore of the Bay, at a place now called Omena. In 1852, Dougherty decided to move his mission closer to more of his congregation and rebuilt his church and rectory amongst the new land owners (Dougherty, RMIA, 1852).

The missionaries created the crack in the dike for the impending rush of settlers. Soon after Rev. Dougherty settled on the peninsula, Lewis Miller, the first permanent

FIGURE 3.3 Rev. Dougherty's map of villages, 1840.

FIGURE 3.3



settler to the area not aligned to a church or government agency arrived (Cracker, 1935, 32). June of 1847 found Capt. Boardman setting up a small sawmill at the northwest corner of Boardman Lake at the foot of the Bay (Leach, 1883, 39-40). About the same time a Frenchman, Nagaros Dona, became the first white settler in Leelanau Co., at a site two miles south of Leland, then called Shemacopink (Leach, n.d., 3). Thus, the initial onslaught of Euro-Americans started in the mid to late 1840s.

An event that would eventually encourage the further settlement of the region was the resurvey of northwestern Michigan in 1850 and 1851. The area was initially surveyed in 1839, the resurvey was commissioned to correct the original's inaccuracies. There were two major consequences of the resurvey. First, it provided fairly detailed mapping of the settlements and; second, a complete description of soil, vegetation characteristics, and farming potential was produced. Thus, homesteaders had better information on what land was available and the best or worst sites for farming or logging.

The 1850s signal the initial breaking of the dam and the subsequent flood of settlers. In rapid succession, township after township in the region was settled. John LeRue moved into Sleeping Bear Bay in 1847, but moved in 1851 to Northport, just north of Saukzocville. Here he established a mill and eventually a dock. In 1853 Antoine Manseau settled on the Carp River, at the present site of

Leland. The following year John Miller, John Porter, H.V. Buckman, John Byrant and Frederick Cock arrived at Leland. Deacon Dame, the assistant to Rev. Dougherty, relocated at Northport in 1853 or 1854 and helped construct the first wharf with John LeRue. Similarly, a wharf was built in Leland with the support of W.H. Walker, J. Nutt and John Fisher in 1854 (Leach, 1883, 66-70). As significant as the building of docks and settlements was the issuing of the first patent for land outside of settlements. The patent was issued to Cashmere Bashmere for 71 acres south of Sutton's Bay (Mich. Hist., 1943, 621).

Something had to be done for the Native American to assist in either fulfilling the obligations of the Treaty of 1836 or providing land protection. In his 1847 report to the Michigan Indian agency Rev. Dougherty states his opinion to resolve the Ottawa and Ojibwa's predicament:

Several things are producing the conviction on my mind that the time has come when the interests of these people will be promoted by deciding definitely the question of their future location, by securing them the lands they now occupy by sale or otherwise, or fixing them on some other permanent home, while they have some means of aid from their annuities. The following reasons have induced this opinion: 1. They are unwilling to make much further effort at improvement in buildings, while they have no assurance of remaining to enjoy them. 2. The time has come when they should be spreading out on their lands, with more room for raising domestic animals than they can have clustered together in a small village. 3. Becoming uneasy lest they may have to leave here, they are beginning to make purchases here and there, at distant points, which will scatter them into such small bands that it will be

almost impossible to collect them into schools and meetings for improvement. (RCIA, 1847, 908)

The following year Agent Richmond presented a different solution.

The Ottawas of Lake Michigan are making great efforts to secure themselves permanent homes, by purchasing lands along the rivers and bays off the Lake; their position enables them, with moderate efforts, to live well; the land is very productive, the fishing profitable, and the country still yields to the adventurous hunter a good return for his toil... Should the proper means be adopted for congregating them in communities, at favorable points toward the northern portion of the Lower peninsula of Michigan, where the land is fertile, fisheries productive, climate healthy, and where for years they will be undisturbed by the approach of white settlements, it will facilitate their advancement and improve their conditions... (ARCIA, 1848, 550-551)

The progress in farming made by the separate Grand Traverse Bands was encouraging to both the missionaries and the agents. In 1849 Dougherty reported that they sold several thousand bushels of corn and potatoes, in addition to providing a full supply for their families (RMIA, 1849, 1143). In the same report Dougherty stated the need for individual pieces of land for the families, "thus, there would be room for domestic animals; each family could have their children under control, and habits of neatness and cleanliness could be prompted (ARMIA, 1849, 1146)."

Indian agent Henry Gilbert had a somewhat revised plan which would establish four or five locations of 6 to 8 townships for the individual bands of Ottawa and Ojibwa. The land would be held in trust by the Federal government

and would eventually be turned into a fee ownership when they became "sufficiently enlightened to be capable of taking charge of it themselves (RCIA, 1853, 39)."

Dougherty's and Gilbert's recommendations did not fall on deaf ears in Washington. The Comm. of Indian Affairs, Geo. M. Manypenny, thought that all Native Americans could be assimilated into the larger culture by providing individual allotments (Gates, 1971, 154). This theory eventually became Federal policy in the 1850s.

Early in 1855 the Ottawa Bands of Michigan met at Grand River and again at Grand Traverse to work out specific points to be negotiated with the Federal government. Their frustrations had reached a level which could no longer be tolerated. They agreed to ask for a permanent home in Michigan, continued government trusteeship, and a clarification of their rights under previous treaties (NA, Mack. R 404, f 561-562). There were, however, issues that each Band wanted but could not agree on. The negotiations with the Federal government commenced on July 25th in Detroit and lasted one week. According to White (1978), many issues regarding Federal obligations under the old treaties, continued Federal guardianship, and the dissolution of the Ottawa and Ojibwa tribes were discussed, dropped, and renegotiated throughout the week.

The strongest need of the Grand Traverse Bands was securing a home. The Bands mistrust of the Federal government with respect to the land and reservations led to

many discussions on land acquisition and ownership. The Ottawa and Ojibwa wanted 160 acre allotments, but that was not to be (NA, RG 123 Treaty Journ., 37). Finally the treaty was signed on July 31, 1855 (Appendix A).

Of the four major topics negotiated at Detroit, the question of land would have the most dramatic consequences for not only the Grand Traverse Bands but all Michigan Ottawa and Ojibwa specified in the treaty. The treaty transformed the settlements of the different Bands from community-oriented to individual-oriented land owners. A role that was completely alien to their land base philosophy.

Summary

The early history of the Grand Traverse region's occupation and use is incomplete and has many gaps. Several sources suggest the area was inhabited by the Mascoutens and/or Asseguns in the beginning of the 17th century. As the century progressed, they were forced westward by the Ottawa and Ojibwa. The first contacts with Europeans occurred as they journeyed by the region. The early explorers and missionaries into the Great Lakes basically by-passed the region because it offered no immediate advantages to them, both in terms of markets or goods. Few contacts and no missions or trading settlements were established.

The founding of the United States and its expansionist thrust eventually brought the Michigan Ottawa and Ojibwa into contact with the Federal government. The Treaty of Washington (1836) ceded approximately 10 million acres of northern Michigan to the Federal government, including the Grand Traverse region. Provisions within the treaty provided for skilled labor and missionaries to "educate" the Ottawa and Ojibwa. The treaty also had a clause stating the Michigan Ottawa and Ojibwa would be moved west of the Mississippi River into a permanent reservation. Thus, the Native Americans had to cope with the fact they would be moving from their traditional homelands.

The move was to take place within five years after the treaty was signed. The time framework, however, was never met. The instability of the situation surfaced in all aspects of their lives; farming, housing, and education. Compounding this atmosphere of apprehension was the fact that the Grand Traverse region was experiencing a large influx of Euro-American settlers. The Michigan Ottawa and Ojibwa were caught between not knowing if they were to be removed westward or not and the fact that their homelands were being purchased by in-coming settlers.

Finally, in 1855 the different Bands of Ottawa and Ojibwa met with the United States government and negotiated a new treaty. This treaty dealt with issues concerning land, tribal organization, provisions of former treaties and annuities. The land issues however, had the most profound

effect on settlement. Every head of household was given the opportunity to select 80 acres and receive a fee simple title to the land. This provision transformed the Michigan Ottawa and Ojibwa from a community based society to a society in which land was owned by the individual.

Chapter Four

The Federal government's allotment policy was initially haphazard, but later became the primary tool for dealing with Native American land rights. This transition took place in 1887 with the passage of the Dawes Act (24 Stat. L. 388), more commonly known as the General Allotment Act of 1887. Prior to this time, a number of treaties, acts and proclamations contained some type of stipulation regarding allotments. The following discussion will address (1) the use of allotments previous to 1887 and (2) the General Allotment Act and subsequent legislation.

This chapter will discuss some of the ways in which allotments have been used by the United States government. Hopefully, this will enable the reader to understand not only the allotment process, but also how the Treaty of Detroit was an integral part of this policy. Also, the consequences of other allotment attempts will be presented to provide a measure against which the results of the Grand Traverse Bands allotments may be measured.

Definition of Allotments

Allotment practices may be traced either by citing the use of the word as a noun or by noting its use as a verb. Kinney (1937, 82) states that in 1633 the General Court of Massachusetts Colony declared any Indian

Who should come to the English plantations and live civilly and unerrly should have 'allotments amongst the English, acccrding to the custom of the English in like case'...

He also found that the Commonwealth of Virginia in 1655 made reference to "allotting" lands to Indians as a group, rather than to individuals. Thus, the Massuchusett's Court was assigning lands to a worthy individual, whereas, the Virginia assembly dealt with a communal allotment. Under the United States Government two different treaties in 1798 used "alloting" in their terminology. In the June 1st treaty with the Oneida, tribal land was allotted to individuals and families (Cohen, 1942, 206). Later, the October 2nd treaty with the Cherckees "allotted" lands temporarily to the Indian agent (Kinney, 1937, 83). The word allotment is used as a noun and is the parcel of land given to a person. The word allot or alloting is the verb and is the giving or distributing of the land.

Use in Treaties

It was not until the 1805 treaty with the Choctaws (7 Stat. 9) that a specific individual was granted a reserve; 5,120 acres in southwestern Alabama to the two daughters of Samuell Mitchell "by Molly, a Chaktawwomar" (Gates, 1971, 142). This started a trend toward giving land as a gift or as a special favor within a treaty. Treaties immediately after the War of 1812 sometimes stipulated an allotment for those Native Americans favoring the United States during that conflict. An example is the Aug. 9, 1814 treaty signed and concluded by Andrew Jackson with the Creek of Georgia (2 Stat. 120)

Provided, nevertheless, that where any possession of any chief or warriors of the Creek nation, who shall have been friendly to the United States during the war, and taken an active part therein, shall be within the territory ceded by these articles to the United States, every such person shall be entitled to a reservation of land within the said territory of one mile square, to include improvements as near the centre thereof as maybe, which shall insure to said chief, or warrior, and his descendants, so long as he or they shall continue to occupy the same, who shall be protected by and subject to the laws of the United States

The land promised to the loyalist, however, was not granted in fee and was part of the trust. A subsequent treaty with the Creek, March 3, 1817 (3 Stat. 380) gave them the land with fee simple title only after improvements were made upon the parcel (Kinney, 1937, 84-86). This then made the Native American a land owner with full responsibilities

of ownership.

The advantage of receiving an allotment was the added income that could be obtained by selling the land and returning to the tribal group. Gates (1971, 148) found that once the importance of including individual reserves was realized by the tribes, they would not negotiate without such a clause. The level of absurdity reached its peak with the Miami treaties of 1834, 1838, and 1840.

...in the resulting treaty of 1834, only twenty-five individual reserves were granted, but the price paid for the cession was a dollar an acre. John B. Richardville, principal chief of the Miami, who already had received 8,000 acres in individual reserves, was given an additional 20,320 acres, and all his holdings were to be conveyed to him in fee. He was also to have \$31,800. Francis Gcdgroy, already the grantee of 4,480 acres, was given 6,400 more and \$17,612. The three Miami treaties brought the total reserves granted them to 112,800 acres. A total of \$1,133,000 was to be paid for the cessions of these three treaties, a sum far larger than the United States could expect to recover from their sale. The Miami were also promised a reservation in the Indian country of 500,000 acres which was to be guaranteed "to them forever" (Gates, 1971, 154).

Finally, in 1833 Comm. of Indian Affairs Cass issued a statement that whenever possible individual allotments or reserves would not be negotiated. Gates (1971, 158) feels the individual reserves were not part of a well conceived plan but rather served two purposes: in the south, they were a means of eliminating the Indians; and in the north, they were used to gain the support of the Indians.

These purposes identified by Gates, fit the general

objectives of Indian policy during the Jacksonian Era. There were two well defined elements in the policy. First, to segregate the greater part of the Native American population from the Anglo population. Second, the assignment of tracts of lands to individuals willing to accept the social and political system of the Anglo society (Kinney, 1937, 79-80).

This can be exemplified by the combination of removal and allotments signed by the Chickasaws, Creeks, Cherokee, and Choctaw in the 1830s. Generally, the provisions were made such that an individual could remain on allotment east of the Mississippi or remove to a reserve in "Indian country" and not be bothered by the Anglo society. Needless to say, those who remained east of the Mississippi quickly lost their land.

In a thorough study of allotments in Alabama and Mississippi, Mary Young (1961) found staggering amounts of land being acquired by a few Anglo individuals. For example, thirty-three buyers of land accumulated over 1.5 million acres of allotments and later bought an additional 461,437 acres by purchasing the holdings of small speculators, parcels ranging from 100 to 10,000 acres (1961, 131-132). The importance of this study is in not only the amounts of land involved but also the progression of land owners. The land transferred from Native American to local or small land speculator to large land companies. Generally, the land companies were a conglomerate of

investors centered in major cities, e.g. New York or New Orleans.

The treaties were signed with ambiguities which were to the advantage of the Anglos. One of the major loopholes in the Chickasaw's treaty allowed Anglo's who had married a Native American to receive all of the privileges of the Native American (Carney, 1961, 65). Thus, the Anglo-American's extended family could occupy and develop farms on lands that would have normally been developed by "full blood" Chickasaws.

With all the problems of securing selections, issuing allotments protecting the land from squatters, verifying ownership, and the myriad of other difficulties, the Federal government of the 1800s still believed the allotment system could work. In his annual report of 1838, Comm. Crawford wrote

...unless some system is worked out by which there shall be a separate allotment of land to each individual whom the scheme shall entitle to it, you will lock in vain for any general casting off of savagism. Common property and civilization can not co-exist (ARCI, 1838).

The idea of civilizing the Native American became an integral part of the Federal Indian policy in the 1840s. Several programs were initiated to accomplish this end. Education was regarded as one method of acculturating the Native American. Missionaries were given the responsibility of providing schools and a proper Christian education to the Native American. Treaty provision during this era

stipulated money for education through the missions and, in some cases, provided skilled labor to educate the Native American in carpentry, blacksmithing, or farming.

Other techniques, however, were attempted to acculturate the Native American. The Utah Indian agency experimented with a system of Indian farm allotments to feed the territory's Native Americans and provide a suitable environment for their acculturation. In 1851 Brigham Young appointed several white settlers as "farmers to the Indians." They were to establish reservation farms in which they supervised the agricultural pursuits of the tribal members and distributed the yields to the workers. However, by 1860, mismanagement and the loss of direction in the farms caused the system to fail (Beeton, 1977-1978, 314). Thus, even local officials had difficulty managing an allotment system.

Use as Policy

The United States government believed in the acculturation of the Native American, and in the 1850s began a tsunami of allotments. The Treaty of 1854 with the Omaha's (10 Stat. 1043) was the first of many negotiated by Comm. Geo. Manypenny, the strongest supporter of an allotment policy. Article Six of the treaty was typical of agreements signed by Manypenny.

...cause the whole or such portion of the land hereby reserved, as he may think proper, or of such other land as may be selected in lieu thereof, as provided for in Article first, to be surveyed into lots and to assign to such Indian or Indians of said tribe as are willing to avail themselves for the privilege, and who will locate on the same as a permanent home, if a single person over twenty-one years of age, one eighth of a section... (Kinney, 1937, 114)

In the seven years following 1854, forty treaties included provisions for surveying reservations and allotting the lands to individuals in amounts ranging from 80 to 320 acres. Native Americans in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska and Kansas were either given fee simple titles immediately or they could receive a fee simple title after a prescribed delay. Treaties negotiated further west were subject to a moratorium of twenty-five years before the fee simple title would be issued (Gates, 1971, 163). No matter how long the time lag, the the Native American received a title to land which they were assumed to make profitable or prosperous.

The policy of using allotments as a means to acculturate the Native American was instigated by a disappointment in previous attempts to effectively handle Native American relations with the Federal government. Comm. of Indian Affairs Denver stated in 1858 two major problems stemming from the creation of reservations in the west. First, the delaying of any action because the reservations were still tentative encampments. Second, the expense of maintaining the reservation plus payment of

annuities (ARCI, 1858). In an attempt to dissolve reservations and their subsequent expenses several proposals were presented. One example of this is a five point plan for correct acculturation described by Agent Geary of the Oregon and Washington agency in 1859.

- 1.) Land should be assigned to individuals, so that each Indian could have a fixed home, and an individual right to the soil.
- 2.) Indians should be compelled to perform regular labor for their own support.
- 3.) The agent should be permitted to find homes in suitable white families for neglected Indian orphans.
- 4.) Industrial boarding schools should be established, "where habits of cleanliness, punctuality, and order should be carefully cultivated."
- 5.) Only men "of pure morals and correct deportment" should be employed on reservations. (Tyler, 1973, 75)

This type of thinking characterized the Office of Indian Affairs for several decades. Gates states that Comm. Dole in 1863 and Comm. Smith in 1873 both emphasized allotments as a means of inducing the Native American to make improvements in their lives and farming (1971, 163). The Board of Indian Commissioners issued three recommendations in 1869 which reinforced this emphasis on acculturation. They wanted to abolish all reservations, cease the issuance of annuities, and issue land in severalty (Kinney, 1937, 148). The emphasis on individual allotments was paramount in the policy of the Office of Indian Affairs, but not to the Federal government overall.

Use as Law

Previous to 1871, allotments were incorporated in treaties on an individual basis, and no standard size, time span, or guarantees existed. The Appropriation Act of 1871 (16 Stat. 544, 566) brought to an end the Senate's ability to ratify treaties negotiated with individual tribal groups. Up to this point it was the policies of the Office of Indian Affairs and the Senate which were being dictated in treaties. With the passage of this bill it would now have to be Congressional policy which would be implemented toward Native American relations, not just Senate preference.

Through several different administrations, a multitude of bills and hearings, backroom politics, and the lobbying efforts of several interest groups the new Congressional policy was formulated in one all encompassing bill (Washburn, 1975; Gates, 1971). This law is known as the Dawes Act (24 Stat. L. 388), which was signed on February 8, 1887. The major provisions of the act were

1. A grant of 160 acres to each family head, of 80 acres to each single person over 18 years of age and to each orphan under 18, and of 40 acres to each single person under 18;

2. A patent in fee to be issued to every allottee but to be held in trust by the Government for 25 years, during which time the land could not be alienated or encumbered;

3. A period of 4 years to be allowed the Indians in which they should make their selections after allotment should be applied to any tribe-failure of the Indians to do so should result in selection for them at the

order of the Secretary of the Interior;

4. Citizenship to be conferred upon allottees and upon any other Indians who had abandoned their tribes and adopted "the habits of civilized life." (Cohen, 1942, 2(7-2(8)

In 1881 Senator R. Coke (Dem., Tex.) initiated a bill (S. 1773) which would be a comprehensive issuance of land in severalty (Washburn, 1973, VIII). Though the bill was never passed it stimulated discussion and implanted the concept of land in severalty. Numerous statements were made in the following years to substantiate or discredit the allotment system. One of the most ardent supporters of the system was Sen. Pendleton (Dem., Ohio). In the Senate hearings on the Coke Bill (S. 1773) he stated that allotments "mean to encourage the idea of property...home...farming...arts of civilization" He went on to say "it will take them from barbarism, and elevate them into a plane which will not only make them fit to be citizens but fit to raise higher and higher in civilization (Washburn, 1973, VIII)."

The Curator of the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, John Wesley Powell, sent a letter to Congress stating his views on the issue of land in severalty:

There are three prerequisites to the ultimate civilization of the North American Indians. The first is, they must adopt the civilized family. The second is, they must recognize individual property rights including property in land as they are recognized under the institutions of civilization. Third, they must abandon the industries of savagery and engage in the industries of civilization (Washburn, 1973, VIII).

These three recommendations substantiated the claims of Senator Pendelton.

Indian Commissioner Price in his annual report of 1882 reiterated the belief in the allotment system by declaring that "in no case where allotments have been made and the titles secured, with proper restrictions, have any other than the best results followed (Kinney, 1937, 189)." This statement, however, disregards the claims of Michigan Agent Smith made in 1872

that of over 8000 Indians in Michigan very few are competent to take charge of their own affairs, and...heavy losses in land and timber (took place) immediately after the first issue of patents (ARMIA, 1872, 509).

A concern for the Native American's plight saw the creation of several Native American awareness organizations. These groups were generally composed of politically active people, some of whom were well-known experts in their field. Of the groups, the Indian Rights Association, the Lake Mohonk Conference, the Missionary Boards, and the Board of Indian Commissioners all supported a bill offering land in severalty and used their congressional influence (Tyler, 1973, 95). The supreme aim of the friends of the Native American was to substitute white civilization for tribal culture, and they shrewdly sensed that the difference in the concepts of property were fundamental in the contrast between the two ways of life. They were confident, that if every Native American had his own parcel of land, guaranteed by a patent from the Federal government, he would enjoy a

security which no tribal-communal possession could afford him (Cohen, 1942, 208).

Sen. Pendelton (Dem., Ohio) tried to sum the whole purpose of the allotment system in the phrase "it must be our part to foster and encourage within them this trinity upon which all civilization depends--family, home and property (Washburn, 1973, VIII)." These sentiments were strongly reenforced by statements after the passage of the Dawes Act. In 1891, he listed

...the reservation system belongs to a "vanishing state of things" and must soon cease to exist.

...the Indians must conform to "the white man's ways," peaceably if they will, forcibly if they must...They can not escape it, and must either conform to it or be crushed by it.

...the tribal relations should be broken up, socialism destroyed, and the family and the autonomy of the individual substituted.

And, the need for "civilizing" the Native American was also used to explain why the Native American might reject allotments. Comm. of Indian Affairs Adkins states in 1872

Indian opposition would be prompted by four attitudes; Indians were loathe "to give up their savage customs;" they were suspicious of "any innovations upon their nomadic way of life;" they were ignorant of allotment's purposes' and their minds had been poisoned and their fears aroused by designing white men..."personal motives" had been found at the bottom of every case of Indian opposition which had come to the attention of the Indian office (ARCIA, 1872)

Two rebuttals to this method of "civilizing" the Native American address not only the method but also the process

and present issues never addressed in the debates. D'Arcy McNickles wanted to know why in all of the debates on home, family and property they never asked the opinion of the Native American (1957, 104). Was it because of the statements of Comm. Adkins? Also, Price (1973, 531) makes the observation that there was an overwhelming preference for civilization based on labor rather than acculturation based on the accumulation of capital. Neither of those issues have been confronted.

Rep. O'Neill (Dem., Mo.) opposed the Act because it was not as encompassing as he had hoped. He wanted a broad-based severalty program which would solve the problems of not only the Native American but also those of the poor Anglo and the "colored people." He held that after the Native American received their individual allotments, the unallotted reservation lands should be made available to workers who had lost their jobs to labor-saving machinery and to other landless people (Mardock, 1971, 216). Also, because the Native American was not using all of the resources available on the reservation, the surplus would allow expansion of livestock, farming and mineral recovery by other sectors of the population (Jurgenson, 1978, 12). Finally, there appeared to be decreased expenses for the Federal government in administering the policy (Cohen, 1942, 208). And if the excess land was not used, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Morgan calculated that the surplus lands, after allotments, could be sold for approximately \$66

million (Otis, 1934, 547).

Another argument against the allotment policy was presented by Sen. Morgan (Dem., Ala.) with regard to its legality. He thought that it was in violation of treaty obligations to some of the Native American groups (Cong. Record, 46th Cong., 3rd Sess., 778-788). Price also feels that the Federal government went beyond their theoretical bounds of fee control in the dividing of communal lands (1973, 443).

A group that did not want land in severalty were the Nations living in the Oklahoma territory. In 1887 the International Council of Indian Territory, to which 19 tribes sent 57 representatives, voted unaimously against allotments. The Council sent Pres. Cleveland a resolution which cited the "sad experience" which would "engulf all of the nations and tribes of the territory in one common catastrophe, to the enrichment of land monopolists (Otis, 1934, 550)." Their influence persuaded the writers of the law to exclude them from the Act, as cited in Section VIII.

The Act, however, was passed and its repercussions started almost immediately. The law impacted on all aspects of Native American life, instigating migration, loss of livestock, and heightened frustration and despair.

Effects of Allotments

The Federal government was forewarned that some individuals both within the government and missionary

people would likely attempt to take advantage of the Native American. In 1878 Comm. Hayt made the statement:

Experience has shown that even the most advanced and civilized of our Indians are not capable of defending their land when title in fee is once vested in them. The reservations in trust are at once infested by a class of land-sharks, who do not hesitate to resort to any measure, however, iniquitous, to defraud the Indians of their lands (ARCIA, 1878, 443).

This was reiterated by Sen. Teller (Dem., Colo.) in his infamous speech of 1881

If I stand alone in the Senate, I want to put upon the record my prophecy in this matter, that when 30 or 40 years shall have passed and these Indians shall have parted with their title... (Cong. Record, 46th Cong., 3rd Sess., 783).

The outward expression of the Act was to civilize the Native American, the inward expression of the Act was another matter. its purpose was defined by the minority report of the House Indian Affairs Committee in 1880. It states that the real aim of the bill, referring its predecessor, to the Coke Bill (S. 1773), was to make the Indian lands vulnerable and open them up to settlement (Cohen, 1942, 208). The exact consequence of both Hayt's and Teller's statements.

Overall the consequences of the General Allotment Act touched all aspects of the Native Americans life. The National Resource Board in 1935 after extensive research listed eight major social and economic effects of the allotment system (Nat. Res. Bd., 1935, 10-11). The social effects range from the break up of the community

organization to shattered families. The economic ramifications stemmed from the loss of land, the subdividing of inheritance, and the lack of financial support for investment or improvement. The most overwhelming of the consequences, however, was the loss of land.

When the allotment period ended in 1934 a total of 64 acts and proclamations had to be issued to clarify the statements in the Dawes Act (Kinney, 1937, 245-246) regarding the land. But these had no effect on stopping the dramatic losses. A total of 246,569 allotments were issued comprising over 40,848,172 acres on 100 reservations (Ducheneaux and Kickingbird, 1973, 23). In 1881, the land holdings of the Native Americans were estimated to be 155,632,312 acres. A number of Federal acts and proclamations reduced their holdings to 104,314,349 acres by 1889 (Cohen, 1942, 207). By the turn of the century, they had claim to only 77,865,373 acres. And, as stated previously by 1934 allotment holdings only accounted for 40,848,172 acres. A loss of 114,784,140 acres from 1881 to 1934 (Otis, 1934, 546).

The enormous loss of land was known before the Act was passed. Former Comm. Manypenny, who in the mid-1850s established the policy of allotments, said he felt he had "committed the highest crime" had he been able to foresee the results of his policy (Gates, 1971, 165). And, Comm. Morgan in 1892 had to qualify the Dawes Act because he became aware of its pitfalls

First, there is the danger that citizenship will be thrust upon the Indian before he is prepared for it. Second, there is a danger that the educational system will be checked. Third, there is a danger that the Service will not be lifted out of politics. Fourth, there is danger of Christian people failing in responsibility (ARCIA, 1892, 217-218).

Thus, as is always the case, the policy-makers define the pitfalls after the decision has been made and its weaknesses become evident.

Chapter Five

The General Allotment Act of 1887 and the Treaty of Detroit (1855) had one common element: both allotted land in severalty to the Native American. The strongest similarity between the two acts, however, is the consequent loss of land by the Native American.

The Treaty of Detroit set aside six and one-half townships (Appendix A, Article 1, Sec. 5) from which a qualified member of the Grand Traverse Bands could select an allotment of up to 80 acres. Eligible individuals (Appendix A, Art. 1., Sec. 8, para. 4) had five years to make their selection. Then, after a certificate was issued there was an additional wait of ten years before a fee simple patent could be secured (Appendix A, Art. 1, Sect. 8, para. 10).

The treaty closed to public settlement over 87,400 acres (Figure 1.2). This amount is somewhat deceiving, however, because in subsequent articles of the treaty it is stated

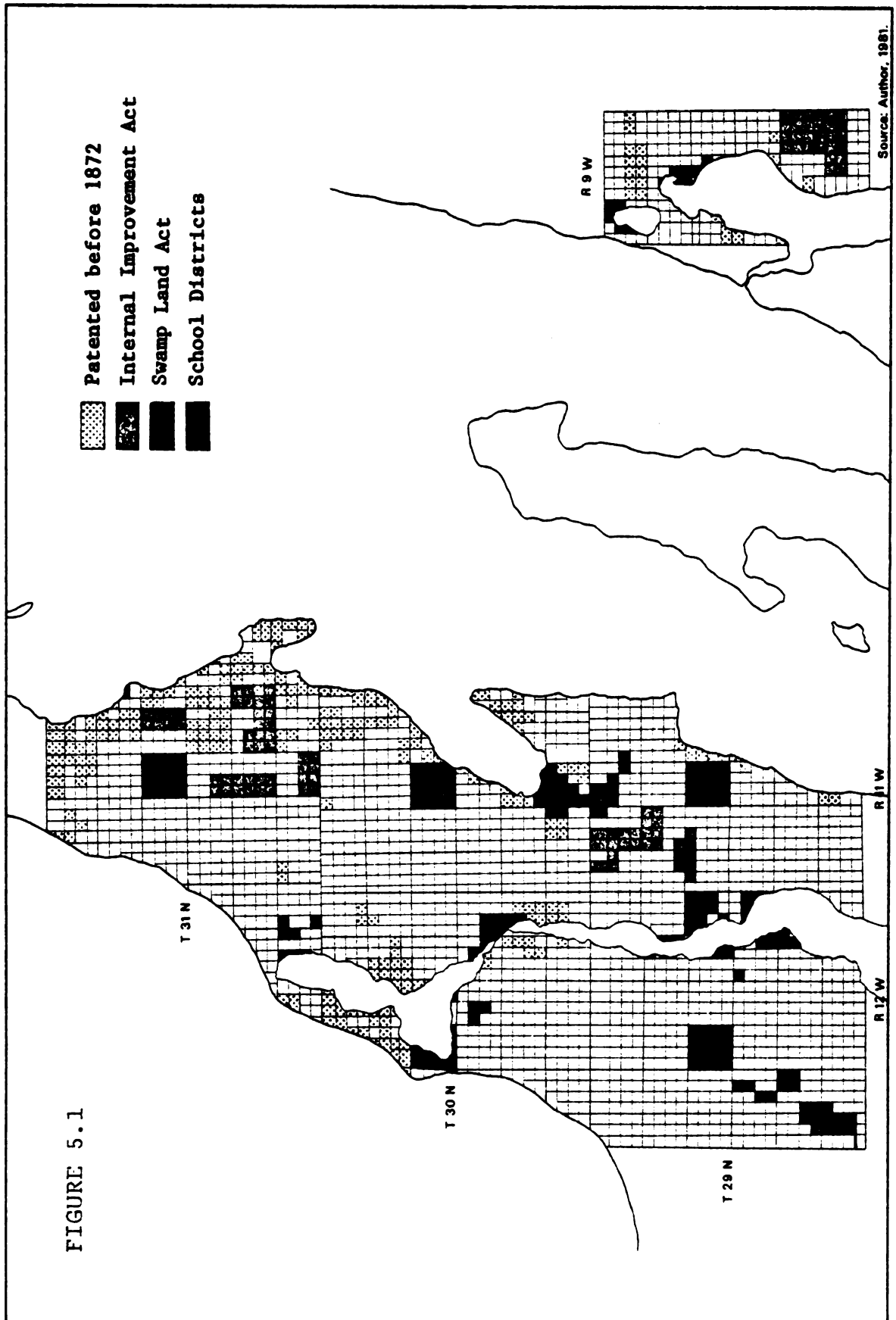
It is also agreed that any lands within the aforesaid tracts now occupied by actual settlers, or by persons entitled to pre-emption thereon, shall be exempt from the provisions of this article; provided, that such pre-emption claims shall be proved, as

prescribed by law, before the 1st day of October next. (Art. 1, Sec. 8, para. 16)

Also, certain types of land and specific sections were declared closed to settlement before the treaty was negotiated. Lands of this type were defined in the Swamp Act (1841), the Internal Improvement Act (1846), and the Primary School Act (1836). The total acreage exempted by the three acts was 13,940. Also, the amount of land patented before the treaty became effective totalled 11,700 acres. Thus, 25,640 acres or approximately 29% of the reserve was not available for selection (Figure 5.1).

A few Ottawa and Ojibwa began searching for parcels in late 1856 with the aid of either Rev. Dougherty or Rev. Smith (Dougherty Diary, 1856; Smith Diary, 1856). However, documents at the land office in Traverse City or the National Archives (Washington) no longer contain the list of individuals who petitioned for the initial parcels. Because of administrative delays the certificates were not issued until 1864. The selections made in 1856-1857 had to be reentered because the Indian agents made mistakes on parcel selections and selectees (NA., Roll 408, f 0492-0493). The Federal government was prepared to issue 205 certificates totalling 13,573.19 acres in May of 1857 (NA, Roll 407, f 0495). But because of mismanagement could not process the selections. Finally, in 1864 the first certificates were issued. Unfortunately 1656 acres were not certified to allottees who would have received the land in 1857. Also, there were 93 discrepancies (11.5% of the total) in the

FIGURE 5.1 Acreage exempt from Treaty of Detroit.



certificates. The errors ranged from having legal descriptions backward, e.g. SW1/4NW1/4Sec.9 instead of NW1/4SW1/4Sec.9, to incorrect township and range listings of parcels. In a few instances, two people received certificates for the same land.

Finally, President Grant signed the fee simple patents for the Grand Traverse Bands on June 24, 1872. This was approximately two years after patents were issued to allottees at the other reserved areas, Little Traverse Bay and Grand River. Five hundred and thirty-two parcels were described on three hundred and four patents, totalling 20,040.17 acres. This is approximately 23% of the reserved area and only 32.4% of the 61,760 acres available for selection (Figure 5.2).

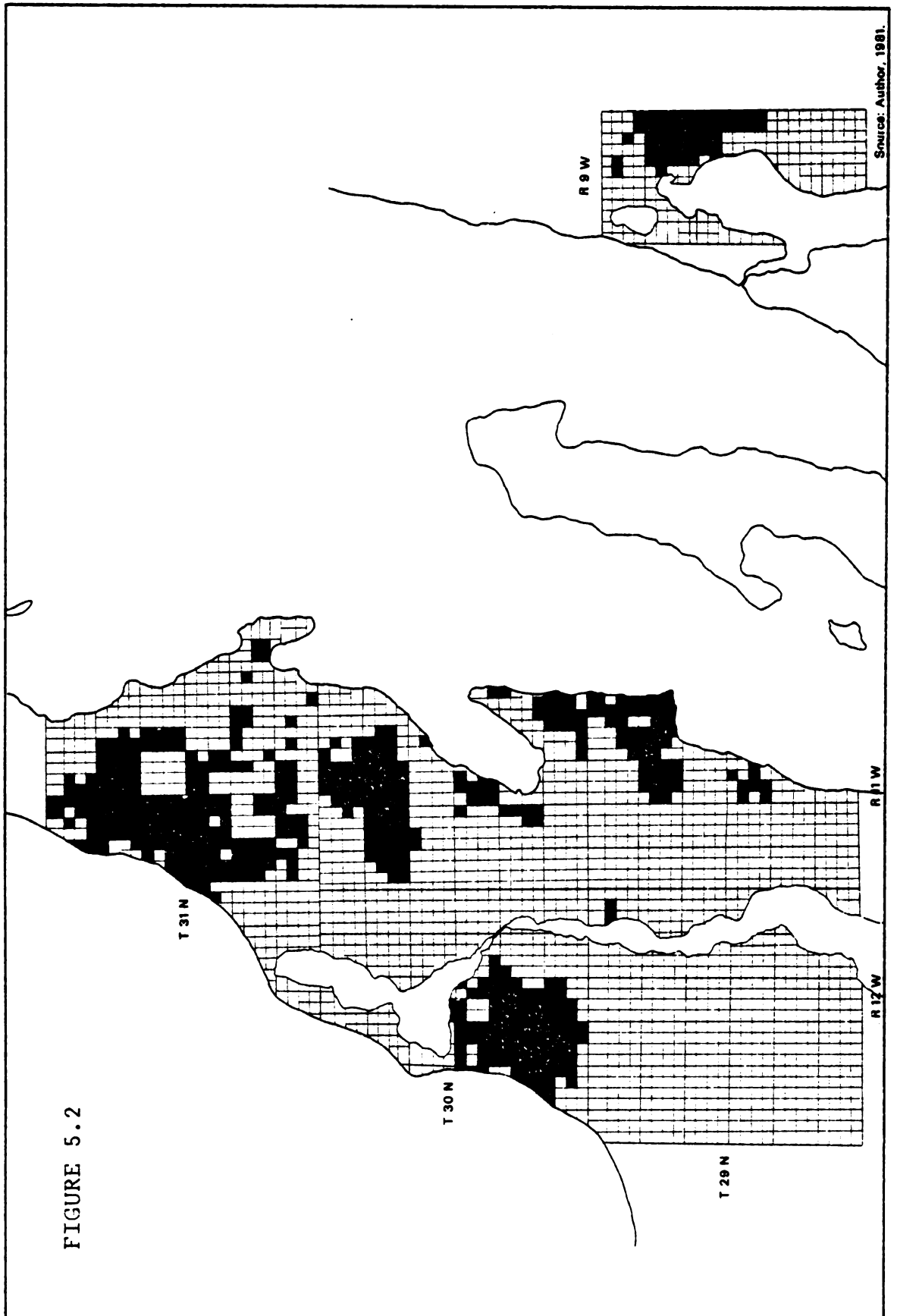
Methods of Transfer

A key issue in studies of land transfer is knowing the methods by which the land transferred. It is generally assumed that allotted land was either stolen from the Native American or taken away for back taxes (Washburn, 1971). Sutton capsulizes the allotment in his description of westward expansion by Euro-Americans.

...chicanery, fraud, and speculation, as well as bona fide homesteading and illegal but tolerated squatting, accompanied white entry into Indian country (1975, 45)

Generally speaking, there are five methods of land

FIGURE 5.2 Parcels patented according to Treaty of
 Detroit.



acquisition: warranty sale, tax sale, quit claim sale, executor's deed, referee's deed (Callahan, 1965, 28-39). In the transfer of the Grand Traverse Bands allotted lands, they experienced four of the five methods (Table 5.1).

TABLE 5.1
METHODS OF TRANSFER FOR PATENTED LANDS.

	acres	percent
Warranty Sale	14,165.55	77.33
Tax Sale	580.00	3.17
Quit Claim Sale	3,452.32	18.85
Administration Sale	120.00	.65
Total	18,317.87	100.00

Source: Author.

As observed from Table 5.1, the majority of the transfers were warranty sales with a lesser amount by tax sales and the other two methods. This is similar to Washburn's findings. transfers is similar to other Native American groups. However, knowledge of the types of warranty sales that took place and how they compare to the region overall must be considered.

Differences in Method of Transfer

The percentage of warranty sales or tax sales alone cannot present the overall stability of a region, by itself

is not sufficient information. The occurrence of a method of transfer must be compared to the regional frequency to determine if a difference existed between the group being studied and the population as a whole. Local Euro-Americans may have experienced the same methods at the same frequency, thus, a question is whether or not there was a difference between the methods of transfer experienced by Native Americans and those experienced by Euro-Americans. It is often assumed that the Native Americans lost their land by deceit or tax sale. The work of Young (1961) and Otis (1934) verify this for lands allotted to the Five Civilized Tribes and by the General Allotment Act. However, it must be asked whether this is any different than for the majority of new Euro-American farmers and immigrants to the area.

Inspection of Table 5.2 reveals a difference between the sampled Native American and the Euro-American residents of the study area. And using the chi-square test, there is a statistically significant difference between Native Americans and Euro-Americans methods of transfer (.001 level of significance).

The number of occurrences alone, however, do not tell the whole story. Two Native Americans within the sample, Francis Blackman and John Abgosa, were considered "frontmen" for land speculators from Chicago and the local area (Leach, 1888; LCP, 1978). In the reserve area alone, the two men held title to 4015.24 and 8757.78 acres, respectively. Together this accounts for 14.7% of the reserved land.

TABLE 5.2
METHODS OF TRANSFER FOR SAMPLED PARCELS

	acres	percent
Warranty Sale	1,569.00	66.91
Tax Sale	540.00	23.03
Quit Claim Sale	156.00	6.66
Administration Sale	80.00	3.40
Total	2,345.00	100.00

Table 5.2a Transfers for all sampled parcels.

Warranty Sale	914.60	75.52
Tax Sale	180.00	14.86
Quit Claim Sale	36.40	3.01
Administrative Sale	80.00	6.61
Total	1,211.00	100.00

Table 5.2b Transfers for sampled Euro-American parcels.

Warranty Sale	655.02	57.71
Tax Sale	360.00	31.72
Quit Claim Sale	120.00	10.57
Administrative Sale	0.00	0.00
Total	1,135.02	100.00

Table 5.2c Transfers for sampled Native American parcels.

Source: Author.

In relation to the sample parcels, they account for 320 of the 360 acres sold by quit claim. Generally, the two men's financier would extend the money to purchase land from either the Federal government or the State. They would then stake their claim to the land and pay the minimum price for public land, \$1.25/acre. After a length of time they would then sell the land to their "silent partner" for a fraction of its worth, generally \$.025/acre. Agent Smith, in a letter dated January 31, 1867 described the method:

Blackman and Awgcsa informed me at the payment made to them not long since that the lands purchased by them were not purchased for themselves nor for Indians but for whitemen who furnished the money and paid for the land that they signed a good many papers for plenty land and for doing which the whitemen paid them some money as well as their expenses (NA, Roll 408, f 0215-0217).

Table 5.1 demonstrates that a majority of the Grand Traverse Bands' holdings were transferred by warranty sale. However, the full story of how the transfers took place is not told by the table. In some instances the land was parcelled into smaller tracts and each tract experienced a different method of transfer. For example, the SW1/4NW1/4Sec.12 T29N R9W was patented as 40 acres, however, Charles Chang waw naw quau sold the S1/2SW1/4NW1/4Sec.12 (20 acres) in 1880 in a warranty sale and the N1/2SW1/4NW1/4Sec.12 (20 acres) by quit claim in 1882.

Also, the occurrence of the different types of transfers is not indicative of the technique used to secure the transfer. For example, in some instances, land

speculators would offer to purchase a small quantity of standing timber on an Ottawa or Ojibwa's land. The price for the timber was generally fair and paid upon the signing of an agreement. Assuming the agreement was related to the sale of the timber, the Native American would sign the document. Unfortunately, upon inspection of the agreement by a notary, the Native American would learn that instead of signing a contract for timber, he had signed a warranty deed for his property (NA, Roll 412, f 0118-0119). Other examples of land transfers without the full understanding by the Native American occurred in all of the reserved areas in Michigan. Rubenstein finds a number of similar instances in both the Little Traverse area and especially the Isabella region (1974, 1976). The basic scheme was the same; deceive the Native American into signing a document they believe to be for something else when it is actually the warranty sale of the land.

Without the proper documentation, it is almost impossible to discern the facts regarding every Grand Traverse Bands' land transfer. And, that documentation is non-existent in most cases. Therefore, a number of other indicators have to be used to discern the circumstances surrounding the land transfer. A few of these indicators relate to the length of time the Native American held the title, the price paid for the land, and the value of the land.

Length of Ownership

Because Native Americans had never owned land it is assumed that once they received a parcel they did not know what to do with it. Because of this, it has also been assumed and demonstrated (Fletcher, 1886; Young, 1961) that the land would often quickly "slip through" the Native American's hands. Young (1961) documented how land would transfer from the Native American to a small land speculator who would eventually sell to a large land entrepreneur. She generalizes that the land would be sold within twenty years after receiving the title.

The Treaty of Detroit made explicit when the Ottawa and Ojibwa would receive the fee simple title to their parcels (Art. 1, Sec. 8, para. 9). According to the records (NA, RG75, #389), most of the patents for the Grand Traverse Bands were signed on June 26, 1872 and delivered on August 6, 1872 by Agent Betts. Thus, the base date from which the Grand Traverse Ottawa and Ojibwa owned a parcel was June 26th. Much of this land transferred almost immediately. In 1872 alone, 1355.4 acres were transferred, or 6.76% of their land in less than six months. As shown in Figure 5.3, there was a rapid transfer of parcels within the first ten years, after which the rate leveled off. Generally speaking, of the 18,317.87 acres on which information is available, the average length the patentee kept the title was 6.3 years, the median, however, was 2.5 years.

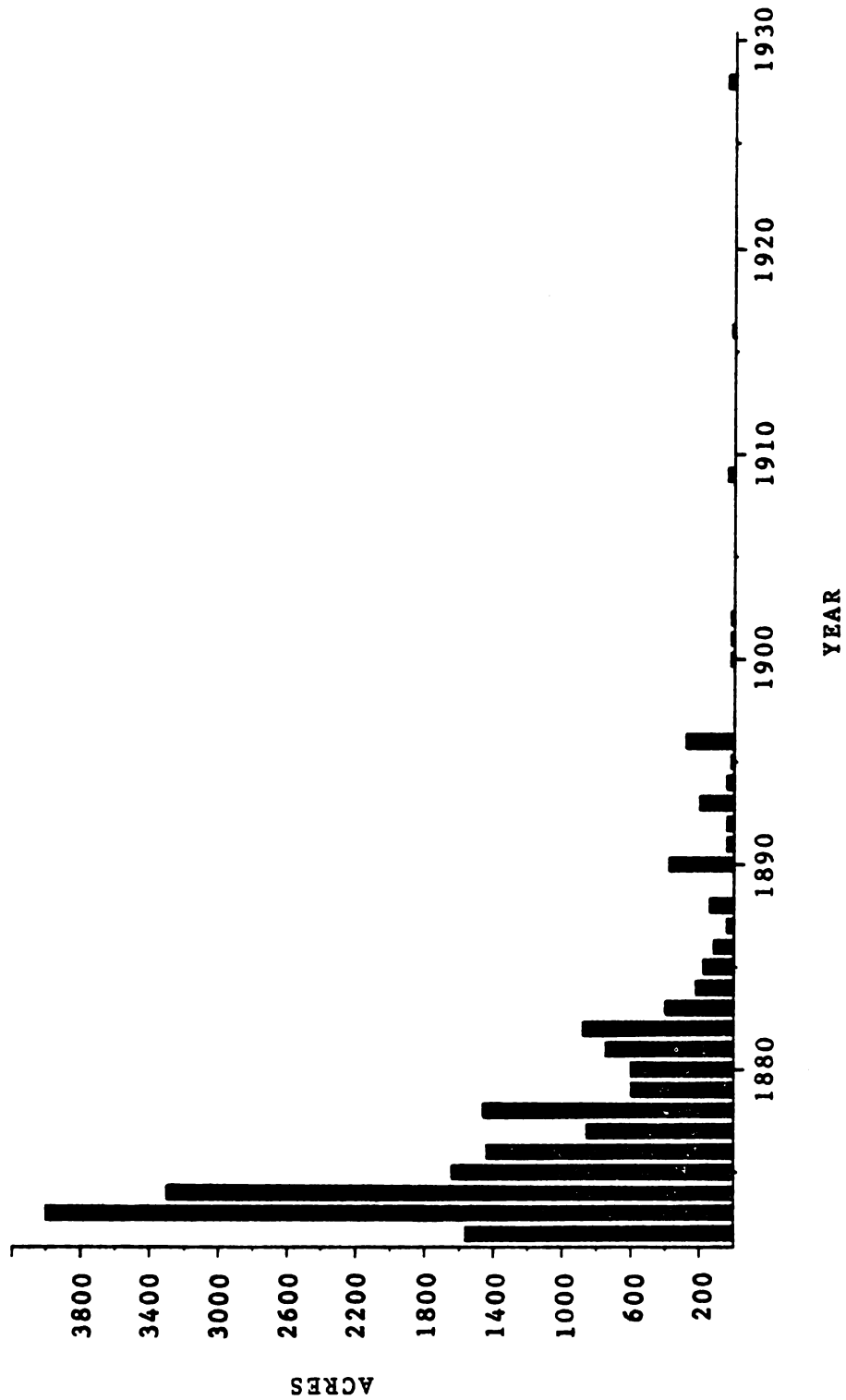


FIGURE 5.3 Acreage of transfers by year.

The four year difference between the mean and the median can be attributed to the rapid transfer of parcels immediately after patents were received which then continued intermittently until 1928, skews the distribution. Further, a number of the parcels which transferred in the 1880s and 1890s were subdivisions of the of the original patents parcels. Thus, a person would sell twenty acres at one time and another ten later, and the last ten at a still later date.

The next question of interest is how the Native American's tenureship compares with that of the general population of the region. Comparison of these two groups in the sample data, as illustrated in Table 5.2b, reveals the general population held their land for 9.07 years with a median of 6.4. Again, this is the combined Native American and Euro-American population. If the Euro-American people are separated from the Native American population, their average length of tenure increases to 11.7 years, whereas the Native Americans decreases to an average of 6.4 years. Using the student t-test a statistically significant difference is demonstrated between the length of time the Native American held their land and the length of time the Euro-American had ownership (.05 level of significance). This difference can be related to the fact that the Native American was not accustomed to land ownership responsibilities or obligations (Brooks, 1878). Furthermore, the Native American did not fully understand

the capabilities of land ownership. The rapid turn-over of property indicates that the Ottawa or Ojibwa who received a title either received a very quick profit on the land and therefore wanted to sell it in a hurry or they did not consider the long term benefits of ownership and lost that opportunity.

Two separate incidents assisted in the demise of the land base of the Native American in the Grand Traverse region. The most important was the closing of the mission founded by Rev. Dougherty in 1870. His assistance and perseverance helped the Ottawa and Ojibwa make the initial adjustment from a hunting and fishing existence to a more settled life-style. With the closing of the mission that influence was gone. The second incident concerned the removal of the federal assistance provided by the farmer and carpenter assigned to the Indian Agency. Thus, with both of their building blocks of acculturation, faith and practical knowledge, gone the Native Americans had to 'fend for themselves' against land speculators.

For each method of transfer the average length of time the land was held differs. This is reasonable given the different procedures involved for each type of sale. For example, lands transferred by warranty sale were held an average of 4.2 years, in contrast to parcels sold for unpaid taxes which were held an average of 12 years. This large difference may be accounted for by the fact that the taxpayer could be delinquent for a minimum of three years

before legal procedures would be taken.

In the case of the commissioners or administrative sale, the facts are not reflective of the process. In all, only three parcels were sold by this method, all three in 1882. Generally, the legal technicalities of an administrative sale extends the length of time the title is held by the principal holders even though, technically the land is out of their hands. For example, Emma Greensky received the patent for the NE1/4NE1/4 Sec 20 T31N R11W. She died in late 1879 or early 1880 leaving her estate to Elisabeth Meskobenace, who sold twenty acres to John and William Meskobenace for \$1.00. The remaining land went into probate and was sold to Charles A. Nelson in Dec., 1880. The Gill's secured a mortgage on Nelson's land and foreclosed in 1890. In 1894 the Meskobenace's filed a court action challenging the Gill's title. When the land was put into probate, Judge Williams ordered William Nelson, administrator of the estate, to sell the land. The Meskobenace's claimed title to the lands that were sold and were not notified of the probate proceedings. The case was heard by Circuit Court Judge Corbett on July 28, 1894. Judge Corbett found many legal irregularities, imperfections and omissions in the appointment of William Nelson as administrator of the Greensky estate and, therefore, the sale of the lands to Charles Nelson were deemed invalid (Leelanau Co. Cir. Ct., Docket #103; ICF, 1977). Thus, though Emma Greensky died in 1879 or 1880, her estate was

not settled until 1894, fourteen years later.

Land Value

It is reasonable to assume that the length of time a parcel of land was held related to its value. That is to say, the best lands would have a tendency to be acquired first by the land speculators. Thus, there could be a relationship between the value of the land and the year it was sold. There are various means of defining land value, including taxed value, market value, use value, and potential value.

From 1855 through the mid-1890s the tax value of property in the Grand Traverse Bay region was a constant figure, \$1.25 per acre. Thus, all lands had the same tax value no matter what the land could produce, where it was located, or what was on it. Tax value, then, is only an indication of the number of acres a person owned and, in terms of allotted lands, that never exceeded 80 acres. Barlowe (1978) indicates there are two major methods of determining land value. The first method involves dividing the income generated by the land for a 10 year period by the rate of interest. The rate of interest is defined by the percent of the income invested in equipment and production. The second method entails calculating the income generated after the expenses are deducted. These generally include

labor, transportation and purchase costs. On virgin land, however, the different methods of determining land value are limited by a number of key variables: initial cost of property, income generated, and transportation costs (horse and cart?). Several studies have shown, however, soils to be an important indicator of agricultural land value by association with productivity (Hardy and Sibold, 1974; New York, 1974; Locken, Bills and Bicsvert, 1978; and Pasour, 1979). In fact, a number of states (Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, Wisconsin) currently use soil series in their tax equalization plans to estimate use value. And since the principle use was agriculture, soil productivity is a viable method of determining land value.

Primary information on area soils came from the Soil Survey of Leelanau Co. (1973), and the incomplete Soil Survey of Antrim Co. (1979) (Figure 5.4). Generally, the soils of this region range from loamy in the morainic areas to sandy near the dunes in the west, to muck and bog in the low-lying areas. The topography is predominately morainic in the southern two-thirds of the study area (Figure 5.5). A number of drumlins exist throughout the area testifying to its glaciated past. Adjacent to the large lakes and the Great Lakes coasts are the lake terraces and beaches.

In order to calculate the potential of the land, information was collected on factors representing the land's potential. The major variables in this regard are agricultural and timber productivity. Agricultural

FIGURE 5.4 Soils in the Grand Traverse region.

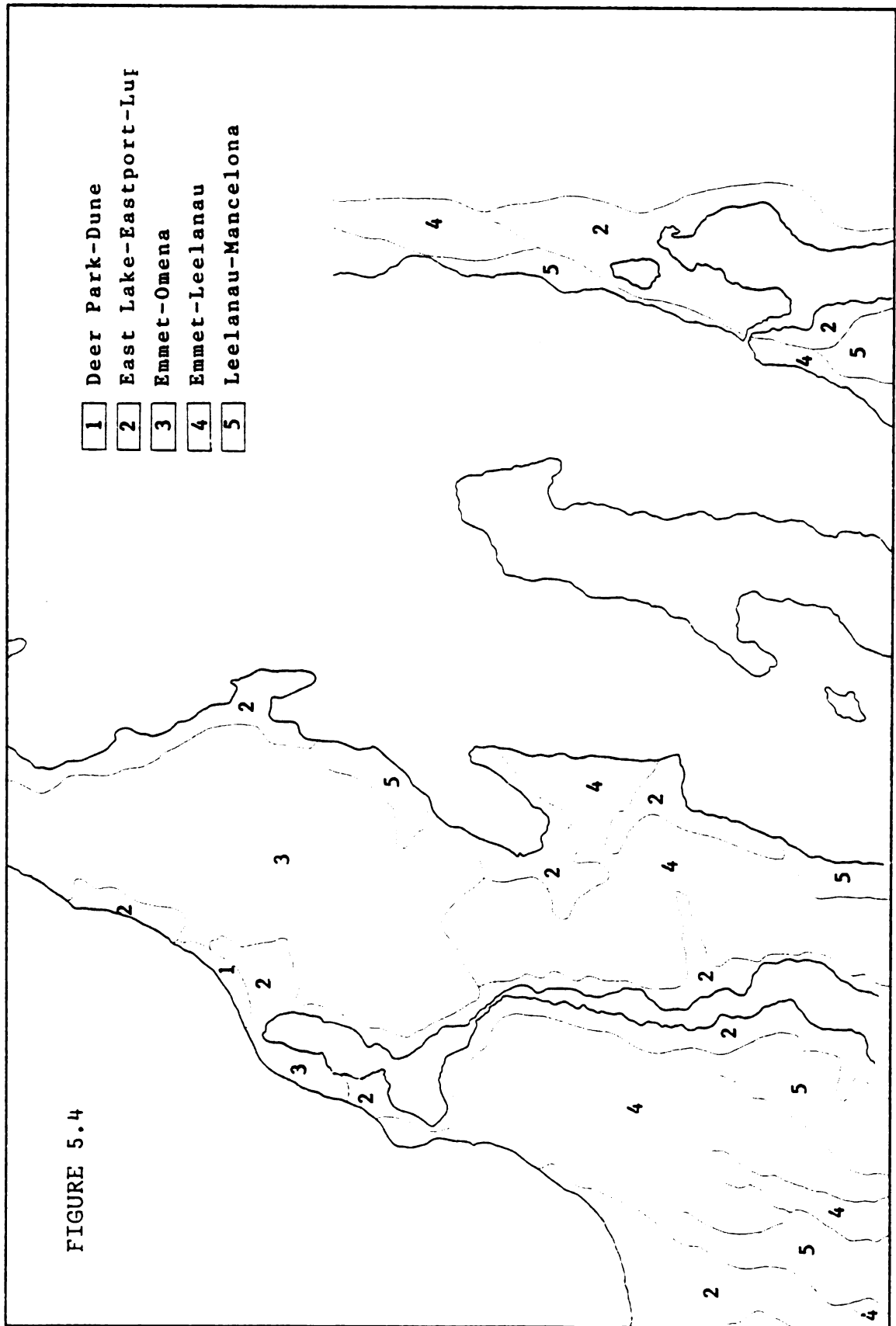
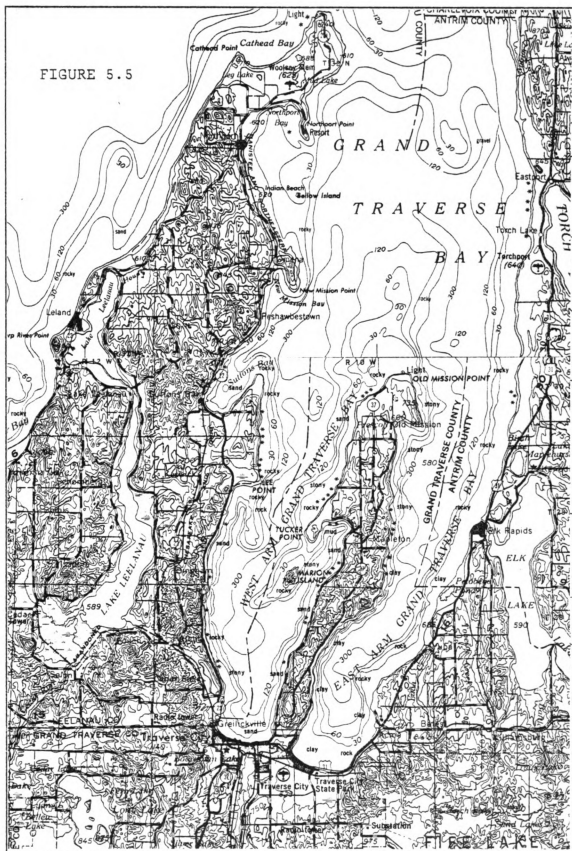


FIGURE 5.5 Topography of the Grand Traverse region.

FIGURE 5.5



productivity measures were gathered from the 1870 and 1880 Census Bureau data combined with the potential yields as determined by the Soil Surveys. Information was available in both Census and Soil Survey sources on the yields of five major crops: corn, oats, wheat, alfalfa and mixed hay. The yields of other revenue producing groups (e.g. potatoes, squash, and pumpkins) in the Grand Traverse region were not listed and thus could not be used. Land potential, or value generated by agriculture, was calculated by summing the income of each crop assuming an equal percentage of land was committed to each crop, as listed in the Census reports.

Nineteenth century Michigan was covered with virgin forest. Before the agricultural productivity of the land could be realized the timber had to be cleared. Michigan, in the later half of the century, was a dominant center for lumber production in the United States and so timber cleared for agriculture could be sold (Dunbar, 1963). This source of income is incorporated into the calculated land potential of the parcels. Information was gathered from a variety of sources to estimate the average stand of timber in the reserve (Appendix B). Valuable data came from the records of the Hannah and Lay Lumber Co. of Traverse City, who logged in an area immediately south of the reserve. They had cataloged data relating to the number of trees in a section, the number of logs produced by the trees, and the number of board feet cut from the logs. Combining this information with data from the "Historical Abstract of the

United States" (1976), the Soil Surveys, the Censuses of 1870 and 1880, and U.S. Forest reports it was possible to estimate the dollar value of the standing timber per acre. Thus, by adding the market value of the timber to the market value of the crops, an indicator of land potential could be established. This method takes into account the possible income generated from clear cutting an acre of land and transforming it into productive agricultural land, an important factor in the initial opening of the frontier.

Two other techniques, described by Norton (1976) in a study of settlement in 19th century southeastern Ontario, were used to detail land quality and potential. One technique rates the different soils in the area, the other interprets the distance to market centers as a determinant to land potential. The first technique incorporates information from the soil survey regarding the agricultural potential of the soils found in a township. Agricultural potential is divided into eight classes and each class is assigned a value from highest (8) to lowest (1). The formula used by Norton is:

$$Q = \sum_{j=1}^8 (C_{ij} \cdot D_j)$$

j = class

C_{ij} = the % of land in the i th township and the j th class

D_j = the value of the j th class

This formula was modified by replacing the township percentage with section percentages. Thus, the resolution of the study area is increased.

Using this technique, land quality measures did not vary drastically from productivity obtained from the Soil Survey. This technique does not take into consideration the fact that the poor agricultural soils are still good for timber production. Thus, areas with mediocre soils for agricultural production but producing good timber may be of interest to a land speculator who anticipates a rapid and profitable turnover of the property after it has been clearcut.

Norton's second procedure for determining township potential entails calculating the distance from the centroids of the township to the three closest market centers, which are weighted by population. Norton's formula is:

$$V_i = \sum_{k=1}^3 (S_{ik}^{-w} * P_k)$$

V_i = the potential of the i th township on the basis of the three closest market centers.

S_{ik} = the distance between the i th township and the k th center.

w = a constant

Again, because of the spatial resolution required in this study, section centroids were substituted for township centroids. There were four market centers in Leelanau Co.

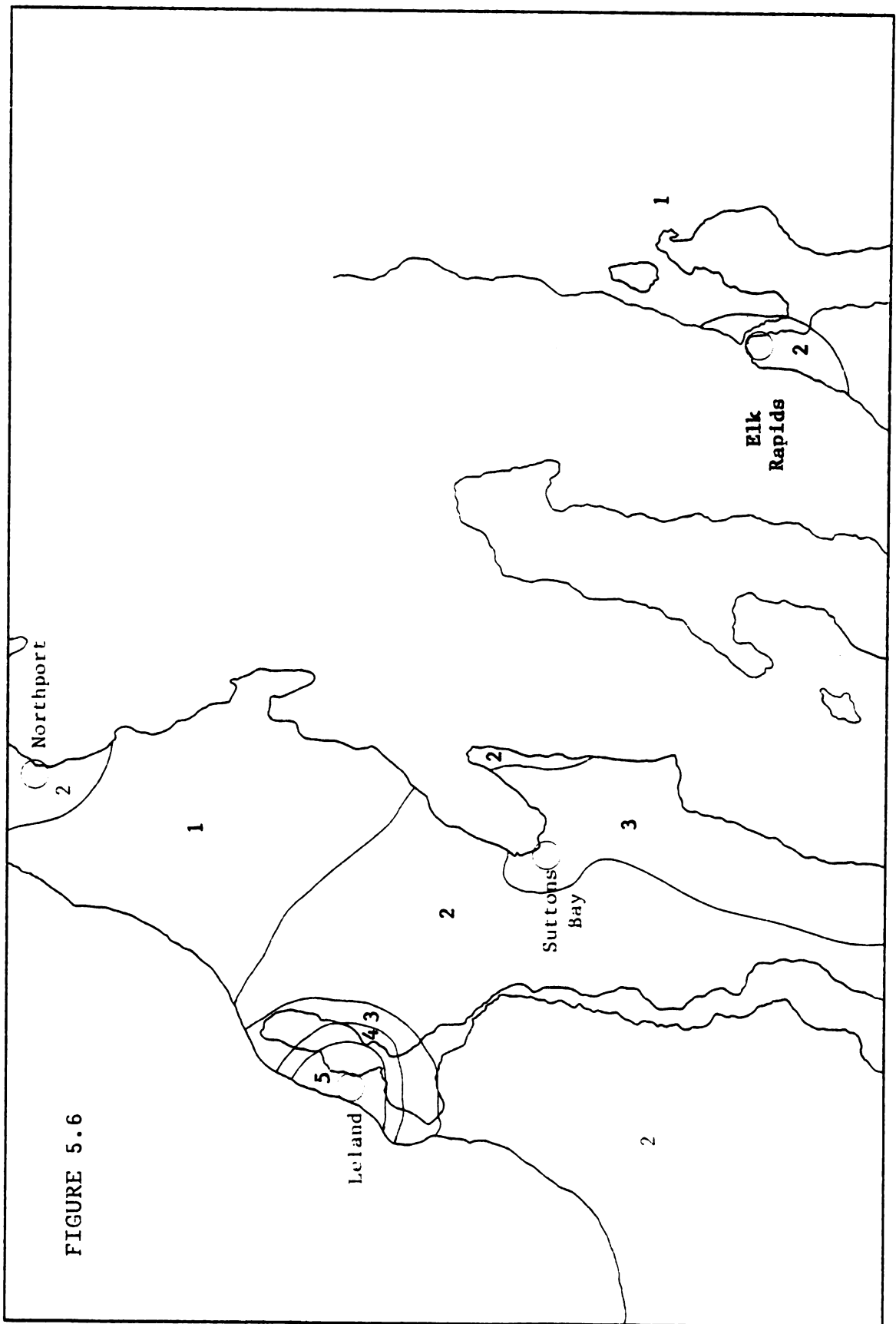
during the study period (1870-1890): Traverse City, Sutton's Bay, Leland, and Northport. In Antrim Co., there were only two market centers: Traverse City and Elk Rapids. The population figures used in the equation are from the 1880 Census since incomplete information existed previously. Since Norton found the constant (w) to be .5 for every year of his sixty year study, this value was retained in the current model. Figure 5.6 illustrates the distribution of land potential. The area adjacent to Leland was found to have the highest potential. This would seem logical due to the size of the market center and the area's proximity to both Northport and Sutton's Bay.

Referring to Table 5.3 the relationship between land value and the length of time the Native American held the land is statistically insignificant. Also, the lands potential in relation to market was statistically insignificant. Thus, the potential land value was not an important factor in determining how long the Native American kept the land. The Native American was not interested in the long term profits.

Price Per Acre

It is generally assumed that selling price reflects the actual value of the property sold. However, if the seller does not know the true value of a possession, it may

FIGURE 5.6 Calculated land potential by market center.



be sold for either the original price (to the seller) or for the value it holds for the seller. Also, a person may dispose of the item as soon as possible just to get rid of it or to acquire a short term gain. In the case of the Grand Traverse Bands, the latter two reasons seem to be relevant with respect to a Native American selling their land.

Of the four methods of transfer only two, warranty sale and quit claim sale, are directly controlled by the patentee. During the study period, there were three hundred and ninety-one warranty sales (14,165.55 acres), with an average price per acre of \$3.53. The maximum paid for an acres was \$30.00 the minimum \$0.001 . Of the ninety-four quit claim sales (3452.32 acres), the average price per acre was \$0.13 with a maximum of \$1.27 and a minimum of \$0.01 per acre. By definition, a person selling land by quit claim did so because of the expedience of the method, thus it can be assumed that most patentees who used a quit claim sale were doing so for quick profit.

A basic assumption is that the longer the Native American held the land the more valuable it would become. However, the data does not support this assumption. A weak negative relationship is found between the length of time the Native American held the title and the price paid per acre ($r = -.0945$ at .03 level of significance). Actually it appears that the longer the Native American kept the land the less that person was paid upon its sale. Generally

speaking, this can be accounted for by the number of transfers that took place between family members. A patentee, concerned that the parcel would not transfer to a family member after he or she died, would sell the land to a family member for \$1.00 or approximately \$0.025 per acre to insure that the land stayed within the family.

With regard to lands sold by quit claim, the assumption could be made that because a person sells by quit claim they want to dispose of the land faster than a warranty sale. However, statistically this is not shown to be a correct assumption. Again, a weak relationship is demonstrated between the length of time the title is held and the price paid per acre ($r = .237$ at .02 level of significance). This may represent the fact that as time progressed the number of available patented parcels decreased and the land speculator was willing to pay a slightly higher rate.

The relationship between the price paid per acre and the length of time the land was held is distinctly different for the randomly sampled control group. For them, the correlation coefficient (r) is .462 (.001 level of significance), demonstrating a slightly stronger relationship between the price paid and the length of time the land was held. In this instance, the assumption was correct, the longer the land was held the higher the price per acre. Further, the average price per acre of the sample group is \$5.16 for land sold by warranty deed, over \$2.35

more per acre than the allotted land.

There is an even more dramatic difference if the Euro-American population is separated from the Native American population in the control sample. The Euro-American received an average price of \$6.95/acre, almost \$4.50 more than the allotted land. This group held the land for over 11.7 years on the average. However, there was statistically no relationship between the length of time the Euro-American held their land and the amount paid per acre ($r = .075$ at .69 level of significance).

The results of these calculations support Brookings' findings based on interviews in 1878, that the Ottawa and Ojibwa in the Grand Traverse region were not receiving the fair benefits of their holdings. They were transferring their property without the benefit of any substantial income gains and selling their property at prices far below the market rates. The following examples relate the method of transfer more adequately than do the numbers on the register of deeds ledgers. Brooks relates that one scheme used to obtain the Native American's land was for unscrupulous Euro-Americans to get the Native American intoxicated and then persuade them to sell their land for "five or more dollars." Another technique employed against the Native American was to encourage an individual to accumulate a small debt and, once the credit was extended far enough, the creditor would threaten a lawsuit if the Ottawa or Ojibwa did not pay immediately. Afraid of the consequences, the

Native American would sign a legal tender, a deed or mortgage on his property, to avoid the suit. Finally, a ploy that demonstrated the craftiness of the land speculator involved convincing the Native American that certain equipment was essential to farming success. The farming implements were then sold to the Native American on credit with a mortgage signed as collateral:

...These transactions are planned in some cases with the greatest deliberation. Taking a successful neighboring farmer as an example, the Indian is told that if he had money he could be equally successful: this being admitted the tender of mortgage is made and accepted. The mortgage is then drawn, the date of payment fixed at a season when the Indian is expected to be unable to meet it and at maturity, payment not being made, the mortgage is foreclosed. If, by any chance, the Indian raises the principal and interest and attempts to redeem, he learns for the first time that he has heavy costs and a large attorney fee to meet, and in despair he abandons the contest and the perpetrator of the fraud reaps his anticipated reward... (NA, Roll 411, f 0113-0129)

Summary

Initially four questions were asked. The first and second questions dealt with the methods of transfer experienced by the Grand Traverse Band. The third question addressed whether or not the Ottawa or Ojibwa received a fair market price for their property. The fourth question has two parts, both concerning the length of time the land

was held. These questions have been addressed in past research, but not for this Native American group, not parcel by parcel, and not concerned with other settlers in the region.

The methods of transfer experienced by the Grand Traverse Bands were generally of the same type experienced by the general public; warranty sale, tax sale, quit claim sale, and administrative sale. However, the Grand Traverse Bands experienced a higher percentage of tax sales and quit claim sales than did Euro-Americans in the area.

The price paid per acre to the Native American was less than that paid the Euro-American for comparable land. Generally, if the Native American sold their land, they received \$3.53 per acre. However, if they sold their land by quit claim they received, on the average, \$0.13/acre. Comparatively, the Euro-American selling their land received \$6.95/acre, almost \$3.50 more per acre than the Native American.

The median length of time the Grand Traverse Ottawa or Ojibwa held their land was only 2.5 years. The average length of land tenure was somewhat longer, 6.3 years. The Native American held the land a significantly shorter period than the Euro-American population, who had an average land tenure of 11.3 years. The length of time Native Americans held their parcel was not significantly related to either the value of the land nor its location.

In the aggregate, the Grand Traverse Native Americans

neither kept their land for any substantial period, nor did they receive a fair market price when they sold their property. It is important, however, to investigate the facts behind the figures. Not only is the seller and method of transfer important, but also who subsequently acquired the land if a full understanding of the land transfer process is to be gained.

Chapter Six

Thus far, statistical techniques have been used in this study to prove or disprove several assumptions concerning Native American land transfers. These assumptions deal with the method of transfer, the length of time the land was held, and the price paid for the land. For the Grand Traverse Bands in the 19th century, the land transfers not always follow the assumed pattern. Not all their lands were forfeited for back taxes, not were the best lands apparently swindled from them. More than 75% of the allotted lands were sold, though the price paid for the land was dramatically different from that paid to the Euro-Americans for similar lands.

The Grand Traverse Ottawa and Chippewa experienced the same phenomena described by Mary Young (1961), local entrepreneurs acquired the majority of the land. Acquisition of land by local land speculators exhibits distinct patterns. The patterns are of two types, either date specific or buyer specific. The date specific patterns show a distribution of lands acquired during specific time intervals. For example, lands transferred immediately after

the patents were issued, June, 1872, were generally the lands away from the established villages (Figure 6.1). The name specific patterns demonstrate more of a regionalization by family. This spatial element of land transfers contributes to a fuller understanding of the land transfer process.

Temporal Patterns

In the preceding chapter it was demonstrated that the length of time the Native American held the title did not effect the price paid for the property. Another variable to be considered is the distance between the parcel and the nearest trade center. Again, logic would suggest that the parcels nearest the trade center would be sold first for the highest price because of their favorable location. However, it was demonstrated that location and the price paid for a parcel were not statistically related (Table 6.1).). Using the correlation coefficient (r) to determine if a statistical relationship exists between distance to market center and the length of time the parcel was held, produced the result that they were not significantly correlated (Table 6.1). Thus, distance to market center was not significant to either the price paid per acre or the length of time the Native American held their land.

FIGURE 6.1 Villages depicted on the Land Survey of
1850 - 1852.

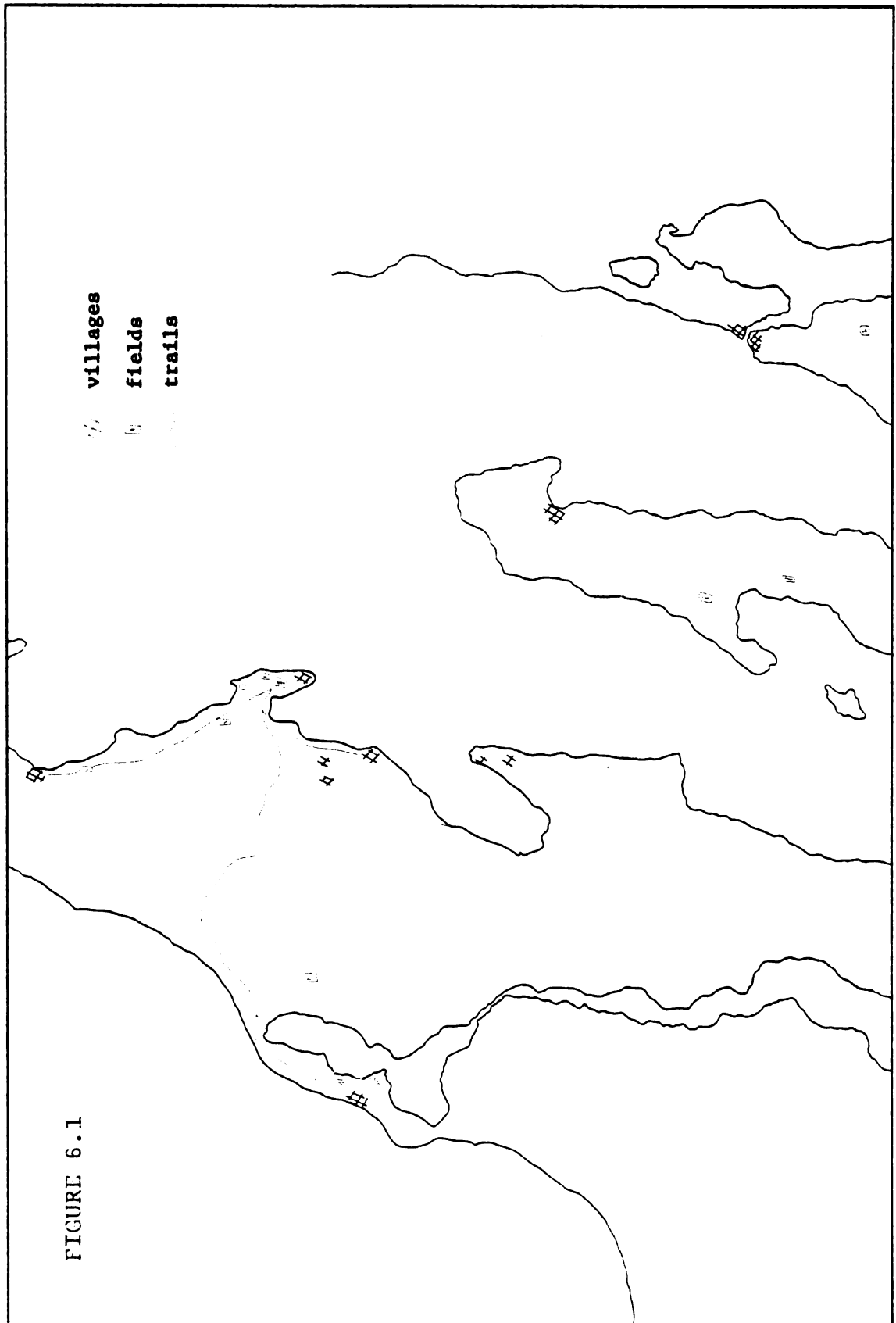


TABLE 6.1

CORRELATION OF DISTANCE AND TIME

	Trav City	Sut Bay	Leland	Nrthprt
distance	.12339	.08206	.00390	-.11608

Table 6.1a Correlation between distance from each parcel to market and the length of time the land.

	land value
time	-.17430

n=64

Table 6.1b Correlation between the land value and the length of time the land was held.

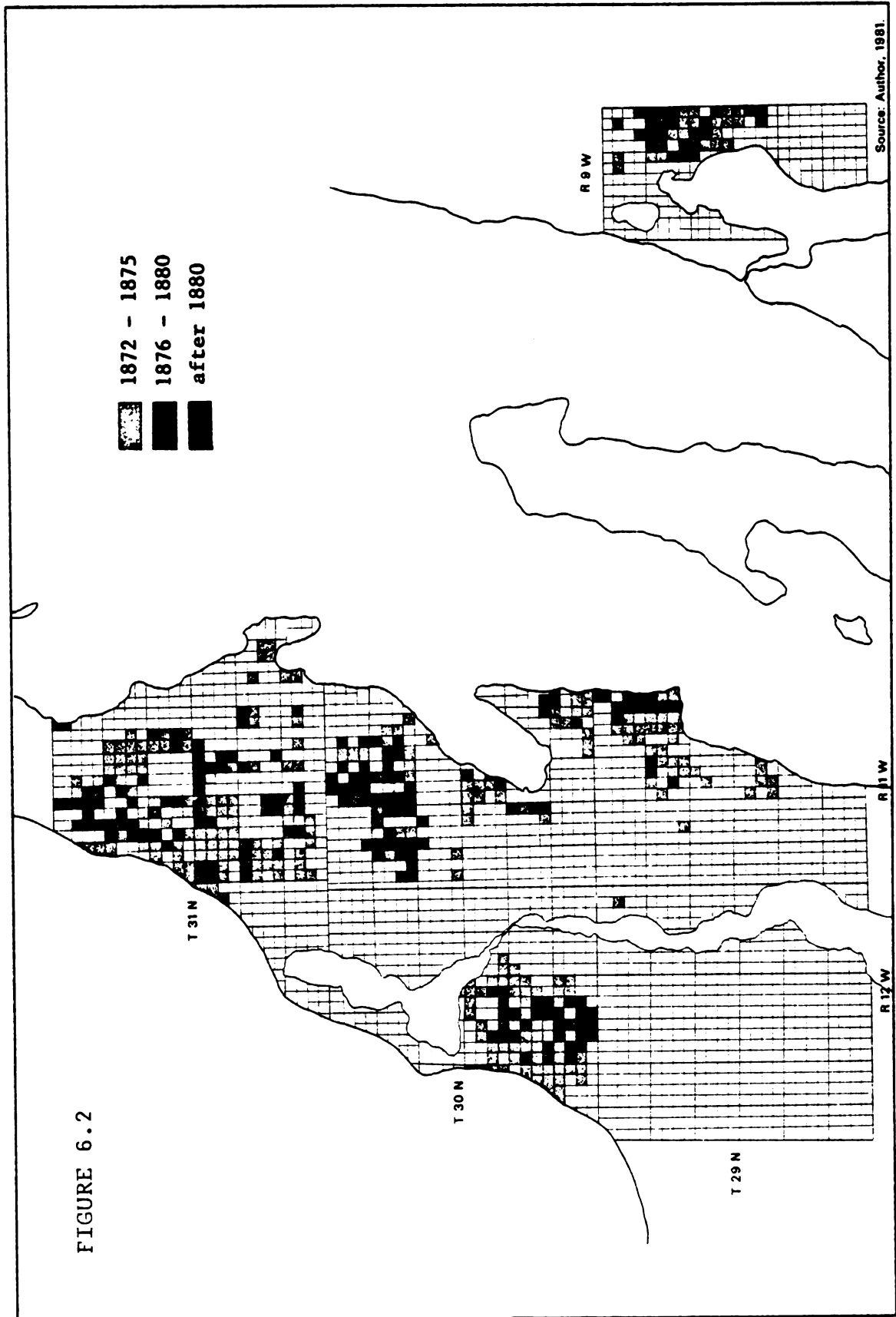
Source: Author.

A visual inspection of Figure 5.3 reveals that almost two-thirds of the allotted acreage transferred by 1880. The majority of transfers took place from 1872 to 1874, with a gradual decline until 1878, the last year a large number of transfers took place. In the Grand Traverse region, as in the area studied by Young (1961, 102), the majority of the lands were transferred within the first ten years after the fee simple title was received. Otis (1934, 447) cites the case of the Shawnee, Pottawatomies, and Kickapoo living in Kansas who lost the majority of their allotted lands after 5 years, even though there was a twenty year non-sale proviso in the treaty. The distribution of parcels transferring in the first six years following the issuance of the fee title display a definite trend. Most of these parcels are in the eastern portion of T29N R11W, the center region of T30N

R12W, the north central area of T30N R11W, and the west half of T31N R11W (Figure 6.2). This, however, is due to the fact that those areas are where the majority of the allotments were located (Figure 5.2). The four areas are in close proximity to their historic village sites, which were the focal points for allotment selection. The historical factor is well illustrated by the allotments adjacent to the churches established by Revs. Dougherty and Smith, in Omena and Northport respectively. Cracker (1935) reports that it was not until 1876 that the parcels around the Presbyterian Church (Omena) started to transfer, even though the church itself closed in 1871.

The distinct clustering of the patents portrays itself in the temporal patterns of land transfer. Basically, the four areas of settlement experienced transfers throughout the years 1872 - 1878, however, the number and density of the transactions changed through time. Table 6.2 presents statistically the distribution of the parcels transferred. Generally, the distributions tend to be random, however, because the four areas in which allotments occurred were distinct, transfers within the separate areas can be clustered. During the two and one half years from June, 1872 until the end of 1874, a major share of the land transfers occurred, 8213.2 acres (44.83% of the total). There were two major reasons for this temporal concentration of transfer activity. The first and the most important was the opening of the reserve to public

FIGURE 6.2 Parcel transfers by year.



sales in 1872, coinciding with the issuance of the fee simple patents. Starting in 1872, the general public could make selections and homestead in the six and one-half townships closed by the treaty. Early speculators were interested in acquiring as much land as possible. The new Native American patentee's were considered fair game for the speculation schemes. As mentioned previously, a number of different methods were used to extract the title from the naive Ottawa and Ojibwa.

TABLE 6.2
NEAREST NEIGHBOR ANALYSIS BY YEAR

YEAR	N	DENSITY	MEAN NEAREST NEIGHBOR DISTANCE	NEAREST NEIGHBOR STATISTIC
before				
1873	34	.116	.586	.429
1873	100	.267	.386	.329
1874	86	.234	.525	.414
1875	41	.100	.695	.376
1876	37	.131	.403	.482
1877	24	.095	.699	.308
1878	34	.169	.605	.324
1879	18	.094	.675	.700
1880	10	.065	.860	.329
1881	21	.076	.683	.633
1882	18	.090	.714	.304

Agents for land speculators circulated among the patentees and tried to persuade them to sell their lands. The two most noteworthy agents were Francis Blackman and John Ahgosa, since both were members of the Grand Traverse bands and could approach other members of the bands without generating the suspicion an Euro-American would. Generally, they would contact widows or the elderly or disabled persons. Brook's report of 1878, relates how a notary public would conveniently be available if a mortgage had to be signed, and it appears, from court records, that in a number of cases that notary public was Francis Blackman (Mich. Circuit Court, Dec. #62, Nov. 26, 1888).

The second reason for the transfers occurring so rapidly after the issuance of the patent was the fact the Native American did not know what to do with the land once they had the title. They were not adequately prepared, culturally and technologically, to become farmers on a scale to exist in a capitalist society. Both Revs. Smith and Dougherty mentioned this as early as the 1850s (Smith Diary, 1851; Dougherty Diary, 1852). Brook's reiterates this same sentiment in his 1878 report (NA, Roll 411, f C119), and Rubenstein further substantiates this in his research (1976, 1977).

Buyer Specific Patterns

Basically there were two types of people acquiring land in 19th century America: 1.) people wanting lands for investment or speculation, and 2.) people wanting the lands for their own farming use. Unfortunately, the distinctions between the two are not clear-cut. However, the differences between speculator and farmer may be implied by the number of acres a person or families owns in the area. Given the technology of the time, the terrain, and the types of crops produced, a family would have to be quite industrious to work more than 160 acres (Swenga, 1970). Thus, if a person or family acquired more than one hundred and sixty acres in transfers it may indicate the land was used for speculation and investment.

A listing of family names was made from the 506 transfers included in this study. Seventeen landholders received 160 acres or more from the treaty patentees (Figure 6.3). The acquisitions of this group from Native Americans total approximately 8603 acres (42.9% of the total). This, however, includes 602 acres which the State received, if this is excluded then the total acreage acquired by the remaining sixteen landholders is 8001 acres (39.9%). Thus, almost two-fifths of the land went to a relatively small group of people.

A visual survey of the parcels acquired by each family (Figure 6.4) reveals a concentration of holdings.

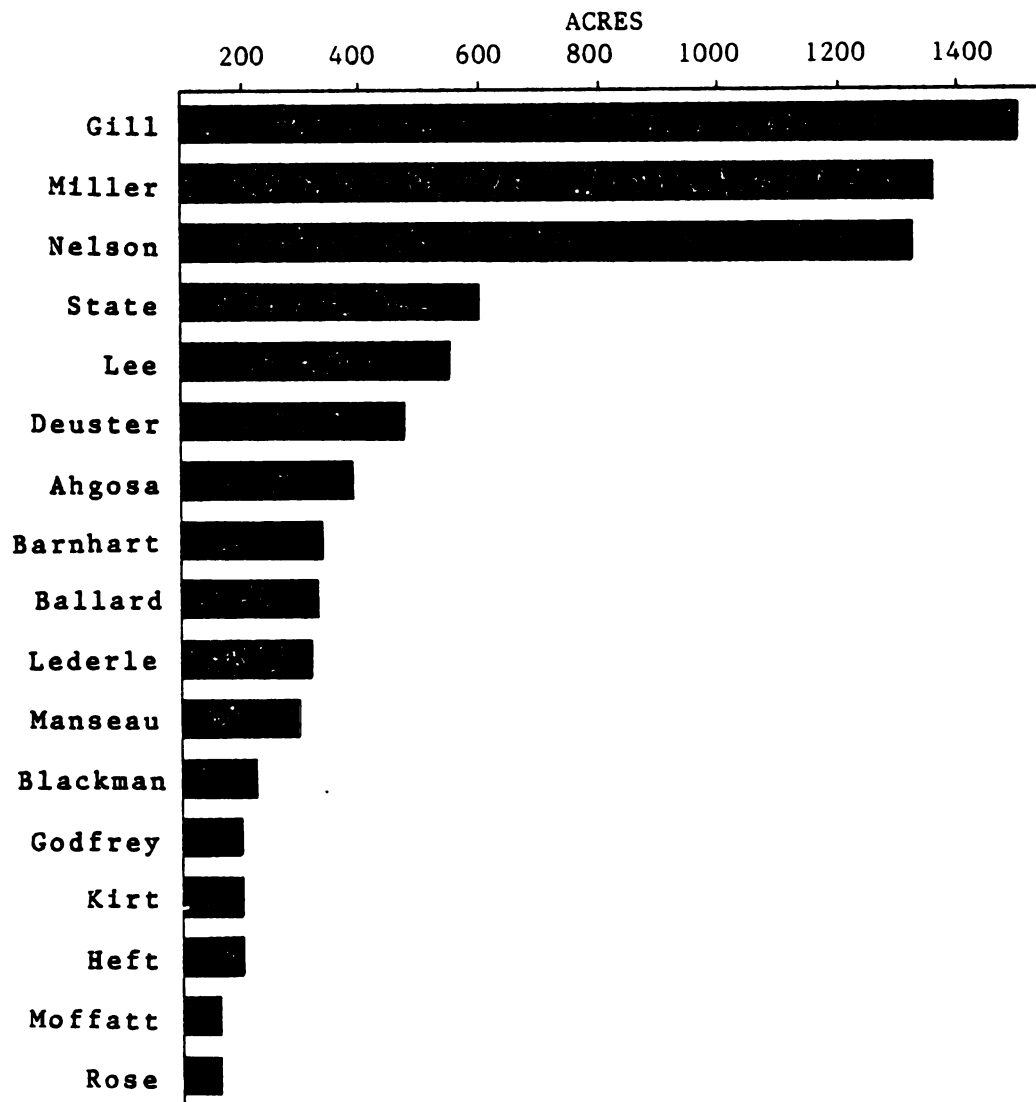


FIGURE 6.3 Native American land accumulated by family.

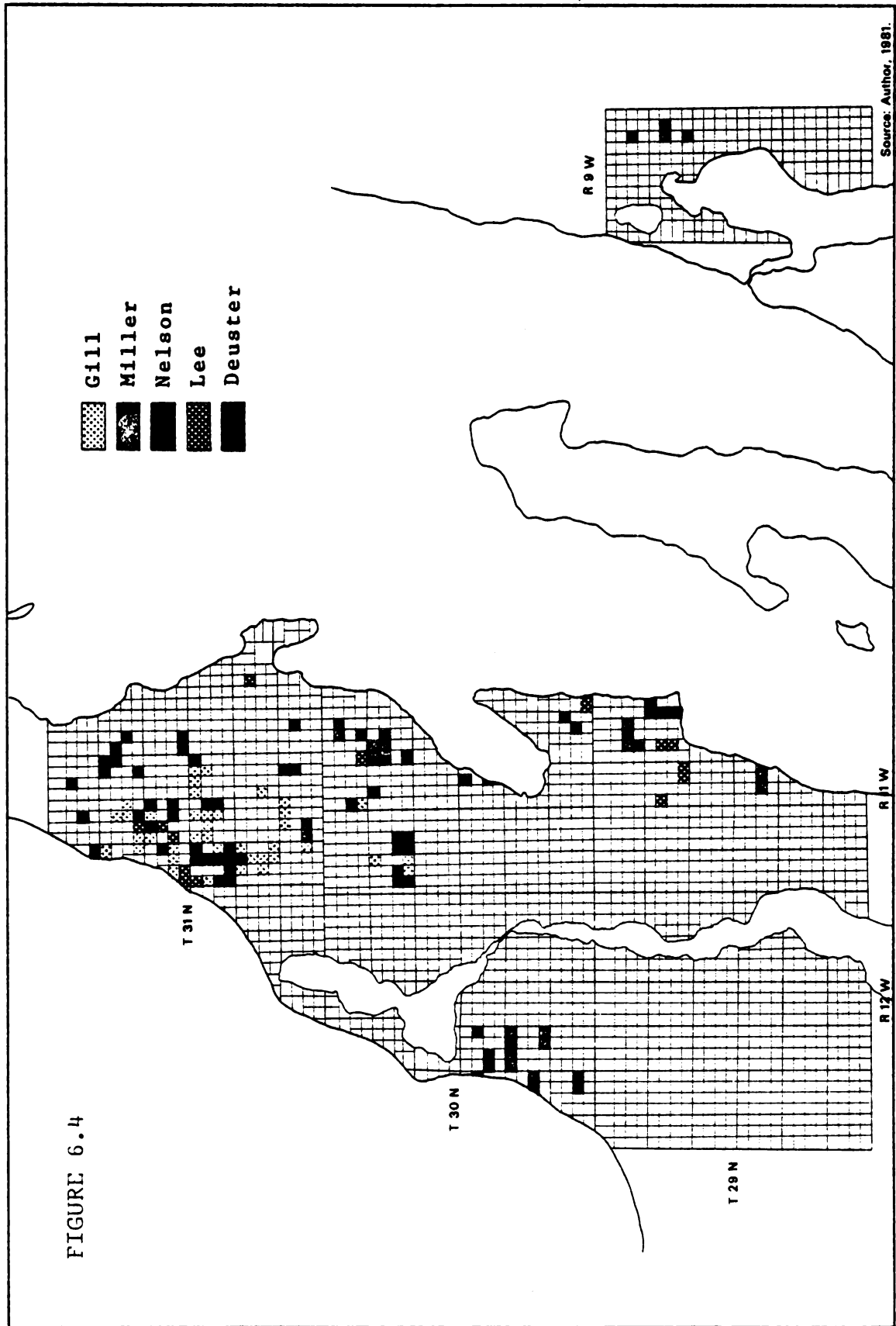
This has been tested statistically by a nearest neighbor analysis of the parcels obtained by the families from Native Americans (Table 6.3). Each of the families display a statistically clustered distribution of transferred parcels. The Miller and Nelson families illustrate the strongest grouping of acquired parcels, whereas the Manseau family had the weakest. However, the strongest or weakest still displayed statistically clustered patterns, knowing that a random pattern has a nearest neighbor statistic of 1.0.

TABLE 6.3
NEAREST NEIGHBOR ANALYSIS OF FAMILIES

Family	N	Density	Mean Nearest Neighbor Distance	Nearest Neighbor Statistic
Deuster	14	.257	.241	.244
Gill	37	.247	.302	.300
Lee	15	.104	.502	.323
Manseau	10	.534	.237	.346
Miller	28	.118	.178	.122
Nelson	36	.129	.264	.189

As illustrated in Figure 6.3, the Gill family accumulated over 1500 acres from Native Americans. This does not include any land the Gills acquired from Euro-Americans, from the public domain, or from Native Americans who did not receive the fee simple title vis-a-vis the Treaty of Detroit. The distribution of Gill family

FIGURE 6.4 Native American land accumulated by family.



parcels is centered generally in T31N R11W (Figure 6.4). The proximity of this land to either Leland or Northport is very advantageous. Which undoubtedly led to the establishment of Gills Pier, located in the northwestern portion of the township.

The Gill's acquired the land by either warranty or tax sale. Approximately 36.9% of the land (556 acres) was bought at tax auctions. The average price for this land was \$.098/acre. Of the lands bought in a warranty sale, the average price per acre was \$2.82, almost \$.70 less per acre than the average (\$3.52) the Native American was receiving, though more than the median value (\$2.50).

After many years of sailing, Capt. Peter Nelson settled in Northport. Eventually, the Nelson family accumulated over 1325 acres from the Grand Traverse Bands. The majority of the Nelson's land was concentrated in T31N R11W, close to Northport (Figure 6.4). A few parcels were acquired just south of Leland. Except for one hundred and twenty acres, all of the land was purchased through warranty sale (1243.76 acres) at an average price of \$3.95/acre. This is forty cents higher than the average paid the Native American. The other one hundred and twenty acres were acquired through tax purchases with an average price of \$.072/acre.

Except for the Gill and Nelson families, the other local entrepreneurs acquired less than six hundred acres each from the Grand Traverse Bands. The most notable of

this group are: Lee, Lederle, Deuster, Marseau, Blackman and Ahgosa. The first four were among the earliest settlers in the region. Blackman and Ahgosa were Native Americans that not only acquired land but assisted Euro-Americans to do so. Together, this group accumulated over two thousand two hundred acres (10.9% of the total). In most cases, the families were the initial homesteaders in an area and obtained lands through the various government sponsored land purchases. Eventually, they enlarged their holdings past the size which could be considered a family farm.

The Lee family came to the Grand Traverse region in the mid-1850s. The first parcels they received were in Sections 10, 15, and 21 of T29N R11W, totalling 296.39 acres. Eventually, they expanded their operations and holdings, acquiring approximately 550 acres from patentees (Figure 6.4). The parcels, however, are distributed throughout the reserve and are not concentrated in any one area. Five parcels in Section 9 and 10 of T29N R11W provided an enlargement of their initial holdings in that area. All of the land was purchased through warranty sale at an average cost of \$4.36 per acre. This is \$.84 more than the average paid for warranty sale to the Native Americans and \$1.55 more than the median paid. The general location of the Lee family in this area of the county is evident in that the jetty on the West Bay coast is named Lee's Point.

Another family which came to the Grand Traverse

region in the 1850s were the Deuster's. John and Hubert Deuster owned and operated a general store in Sutton's Bay and over the years accumulated 480.8 acres from the Ottawa and Ojibwa in the Bay area (Figure 6.4). The majority of the land was in T30N R11W with the exception of four parcels in Section 11 of T29N R11W. John Deuster purchased the acreage by warranty sales except for 40 acres, which were acquired by tax sale. The average price they paid for the warranty sale land was \$2.12/acre. This is \$1.40 less than the average price paid, and \$.36 less than the median. The Deuster's were involved in a couple of transactions which received notice either in the papers or in court (LCP, 1978).

Antoine Manseau was the first Euro-American settler on the Carp River in 1853 (Leach, 1883, 69). He built a dam for a saw mill, east of the Lake Michigan shore, which eventually became the site for the town of Leland (Littel, 1965, 5). He sold the land in the Leland area in 1859. His son, Antoine Manseau Jr., established a grist mill three miles north of Sutton's Bay and Manseau Sr. purchased 300 acres from Native Americans in T30N R11W in the vicinity of the mill (Littel, 1965, 51) (Figure 6.4). Of the lands purchased by warranty sale, Manseau Sr. paid an average of \$2.99/acre, or about \$.54/acre less than the average. The area in which the parcels were located is adjacent to what is now known as Manseau Station.

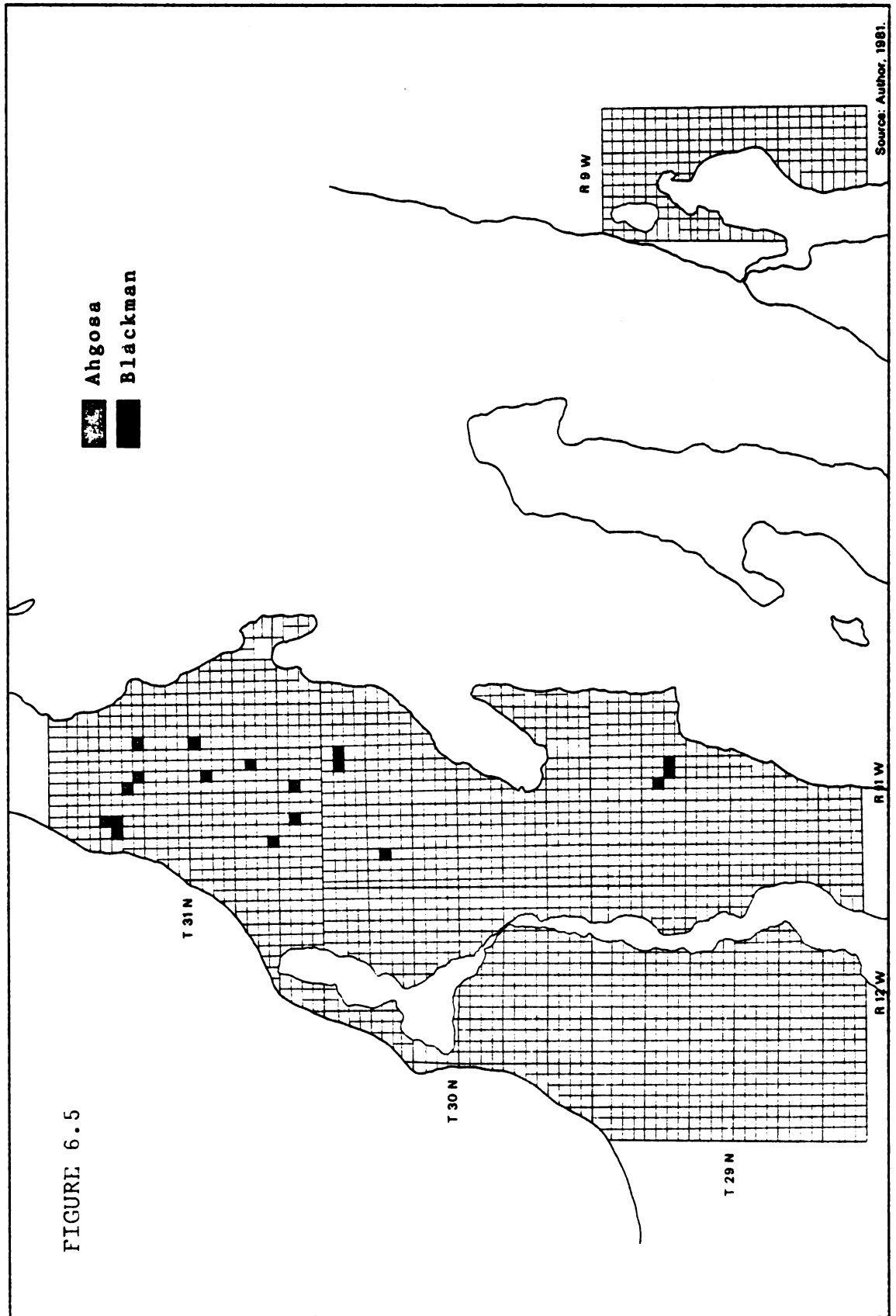
Among any group of people there are individuals who

are cyportunists, willing to take advantage of a situation to benefit themselves at the expense of others. Among the Grand Traverse Bands, two people were of this category and assisted Euro-Americans in acquiring allotted land, John Ahgosa and Francis Blackman. As noted previously, together both men received title to over eleven thousand acres while the land was closed to public sale, 1855-1872. This land was eventually sold to the persons who financed the advances to purchase the land.

It is impossible to calculate how many acres transferred from Native American ownership to Euro-American ownership due to the persuasion of Ahgosa and Blackman. It is possible, however, to calculate and illustrate the lands which they purchased. The Ahgosa family acquired 390 acres, the majority (275 acres) by warranty sale, the remainder by either tax sale (75 acres) or quit claim purchase (40 acres). The price paid per acre for the warranty deeds was \$1.36 or \$2.16 less than the average. The major concentration of the land was in T31N R11W, an area known as Ahgosatown (Figure 6.5).

The Blackman family did not accumulate as much territory, yet they were instrumental in a number of land transfers. For themselves, they bought only two hundred and twenty-three acres, at \$2.04/acre (\$1.48 below the average). The lands that they purchased were split between the northern part of T30N R11W and the center of T29N R11W (Figure 6.5). The northern parcels are close to the village

FIGURE 6.5 Blackman and Ahgosa holdings



of Peshabestown, and the southern parcels near the Lee holdings.

Summary

Two patterns can be discerned in the lands transferred from Native American to Euro-American ownership, a temporal and a family specific pattern. The year specific information demonstrated the fact that parcels were being transferred statistically in a random pattern but in actuality the transfers were clustered among the initial allotted parcels. The frequency of transfers after

the patents were issued indicates that there was, initially, intense effort to obtain Native American land, which subsequently tapered off as supply decreased.

The parcel distribution of the family specific transfers reveals the territoriality of the local land speculators. Each family had their particular region in which they procured parcels. The larger operators could better control the areas in which they wanted parcels and so their land holdings were more concentrated. The much smaller speculators, however, had to take what was available and had scattered distributions of holdings.

Chapter Seven

This study attempts to expand our understanding of the transfers of land from the Grand Traverse Ottawa and Ojibwa to the Euro-American. Questions concerning who owned the land, the method of transfer, and who purchased the land assist in completing the knowledge about the transfers. Additional information regarding the role of "land base" in the Great Lakes Algonquian cultural system and how allotments had been used by the Federal government provides a better understanding of the meaning or significance of these transfers.

This study deals only with parcels in which the original patentee received the fee simple title through the requirements specified by the Treaty of Detroit (1855). The original owner was a Native American and a member of one of the Grand Traverse bands who received title to a tract which was in a specific reserve in northwest Michigan.

The Grand Traverse Bands land transfers did not generally follow the unscrupulous frauds or tax sales which Washburn states as the general case. The majority of land transferred by warranty sale, though they did receive a price

that was substantially lower than the prices Euro-Americans received in the same time period. However, what is not known about the land is what kind of improvements were made, if any, on the lands of the Native American or Euro-American. The Euro-Americans did keep their land for a longer period, consequently affording them time to make improvements and thus able to command a higher price.

Overall, the Native American sold his or her land quite soon after receiving the fee simple title, on the average 4.3 years later. This was markedly sooner than their counter part, the Euro-American, who kept their title for at least 8.9 years. Further, when the land was sold the Native American received \$3.52 per acre, whereas the Euro-American received \$6.95 per acre.

The rapid turnover of the Native Americans' allotments and the low price for their land can be accounted for by two factors. First, the Ottawa or Ojibwa did not know how to manage the property and use it to its potential so they sacrificed long term gains for short term profits. Secondly, they encountered a number of local entrepreneurs who were anxious to obtain their lands and who, as demonstrated in a number of examples, used some deceitful techniques to do so.

Neither the length of time the land was held nor the price paid per acre was related to the potential production of the land or its location. Current economic land rent theory does not apply to the Grand Traverse Bands and their

land. The parcels were bought and sold irregardless of their location with respect to market centers. However, specific buyers purchased tracts which were adjacent or close to their other holdings. This is true for such land owners as Wm. Gill, J. Duester, R. Lee, and J. Miller.

Overall, seventeen local entrepreneurs purchased over 8000 acres of the more than 20,000 acres allotted. Assisting in the purchase of lands were two Native Americans, Francis Blackman and John Ahgosa. Who, themselves, had purchased lands from other members of the Bands. They also received title to vast sections of the reserve area once it was open to public market. They eventually, however, sold the parcels to several land speculators, who helped finance the initial purchases.

The percentage of Native American allotments sold for taxes was significantly different than the lands owned by Euro-Americans. This difference may be attributed to the fact that the Native Americans had no previous experience with these financial burdens and were ill-equipped to deal with it. The tax structure assumed a profit from land based economic endeavours from which the taxes could be paid. Unfortunately, many of the Ottawa and Ojibwa in this region were unaccustomed to a capitalist economy and were not motivated to accumulate a profit. They did not have the training or equipment to participate in this type of activity and so did not. This sentiment was expressed by Agent Smith before the patents were issued (RCIA, 1871) and

later by Brooks in his report (1878).

The Grand Traverse Bands land base was reduced dramatically after the patents were issued. The loss of their land base and increased Euro-American settlement of the Grand Traverse region combined to collapse the Band into one small community at Peshabestown. Today, this community is now trying to build its stature as a dynamic force in Native American revitalization.

Future Research Directions

This research addresses questions relating to the transfer of land from the Grand Traverse Bands to Euro-Americans. However, a number of other major questions concerning land and land base could follow from this study. One obvious expansion of this study is to the other Bands involved in the Treaty of Detroit, the Little Traverse, the Grand River, the Cheboygan, the Thunder Bay, Beaver Island, the Saulte Ste. Marie, and those peoples 'north of the Straits of Mackinac'.

Two other areas of research which correspond to the transfer question deal with the people involved in the transfers. What happened to the Native American after their land transferred? Did he or she leave the region, purchase other land, or move in with relatives? According to the Census Bureau the numbers of Native Americans in the Bay

area increased for a couple of decades after 1880. Does that mean the people remained, or was that natural increase? The second area which would expand our knowledge concerning Native American land and land base explores the contemporary perception of land base for the Great Lakes Algonquian. Do the contemporary Ottawa and Ojibwa in the Grand Traverse region have the same perceptions of the land base as their ancestors? What is their current perception? Is there a movement to preserve the 'old ways'?

In conclusion, there are three topics in which this initial research could be the foundation. The first area could continue study of land transfers. The second area would identify the settlement patterns of the displaced people. And the third, a contemporary definition of land base would be developed for the Great Lakes Algonquians. The potential to develop additional topics is very favorable because of the recent decision by the Federal government to recognize the Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Ojibwa as a tribal entity. This recognition now makes it possible for these people to receive the benefits of Federal support. The questions now to be asked relate to how the support can be best utilized.

APPENDIX A

TREATY OF DETROIT

JULY 31, 1855

Appendix A

TREATY WITH THE OTTAWA AND CHIPPEWA, 1855.

July 31, 1855.

11 Stat. 621.
Ratified April 16,
1856.
Proclaimed Sept. 10,
1856.

Articles of agreement and convention made and concluded at the city of Detroit, in the State of Michigan, this the thirty-first day of July, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, between George W. Manypenny and Henry C. Gilbert, commissioners on the part of the United States, and the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan, parties to the treaty of March 28, 1836.

In view of the existing condition of the Ottawas and Chippewas, and of their legal and equitable claims against the United States, it is agreed between the contracting parties as follows:

Certain lands in
Michigan to be with-
drawn from sale.

ARTICLE 1. The United States will withdraw from sale for the benefit of said Indians as hereinafter provided, all the unsold public lands within the State of Michigan embraced in the following descriptions, to wit:

For use of the six
bands at and near
Sault Ste. Marie.

First. For the use of the six bands residing at and near Sault Ste. Marie, sections 13, 14, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, and 28, in township 47 north, range 5 west; sections 18, 19, and 30, in township 47 north, range 4 west; sections 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 22, 23, 25, and 26, in township 47 north, range 3 west, and section 29 in township 47 north, range 2 west; sections 2, 3, 4, 11, 14, and 15 in township 47 north, range 2 east, and section 34 in township 48 north, range 2 east; sections 6, 7, 18, 19, 20, 28, 29, and 33 in township 45 north, range 2 east; sections 1, 12, and 13, in township 45 north, range 1 east, and section 4 in township 44 north, range 2 east.

For the use of the
bands north of the
Straits of Mackinac.

Second. For the use of the bands who wish to reside north of the Straits of Mackinac townships 42 north, ranges 1 and 2 west; township 48 north, range 1 west, and township 44 north, range 12 west.

For the Beaver Is-
land band.

Third. For the Beaver Island Band—High Island, and Garden Island, in Lake Michigan, being fractional townships 38 and 39 north, range 11 west—40 north, range 10 west, and in part 39 north, range 9 and 10 west.

For certain other
bands.

Fourth. For the Cross Village, Middle Village, L'Arbrechroche and Bear Creek bands, and of such Bay du Noc and Beaver Island Indians as may prefer to live with them, townships 34 to 39, inclusive, north, range 5 west—townships 34 to 38, inclusive, north, range 6 west—townships 34, 36, and 37 north, range 7 west, and all that part of township 34 north, range 8 west, lying north of Pine River.

For bands who are
usually paid at Grand
Traverse Township.

Fifth. For the bands who usually assemble for payment at Grand Traverse, townships 29, 30, and 31 north, range 11 west, and townships 29, 30, and 31 north, range 12 west, and the east half of township 29 north, range 9 west.

For the Grand River
bands.

Sixth. For the Grand River bands, township 12 north, range 15 west, and townships 15, 16, 17 and 18 north, range 16 west.

For the Cheboygan
band.

Seventh. For the Cheboygan band, townships 35 and 36 north, range 8 west.

For the Thunder
Bay band.

Eighth. For the Thunder Bay band, section 25 and 36 in township 30 north, range 7 east, and section 22 in township 30 north, range 8 east.

Purchase for bands
who wish to locate
near the missionary
lands at Iroquois
Point.

Should either of the lands residing near Sault Ste. Marie determine to locate near the lands owned by the missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Iroquois Point, in addition to those who now reside there, it is agreed that the United States will purchase as much of said lands for the use of the Indians as the society may be willing to sell at the usual Government price.

Grant of lands to
each Indian.

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

persons, 80 acres of land, and to each single orphan child under twenty-one years of age, 40 acres of land to be selected and located within the several tracts of land hereinbefore described, under the following rules and regulations:

Each Indian entitled to land under this article may make his own selection of any land within the tract reserved herein for the band to which he may belong—*Provided*, That in case of two or more Indians claiming the same lot or tract of land, the matter shall be referred to the Indian agent, who shall examine the case and decide between the parties.

For the purpose of determining who may be entitled to land under the provisions of this article, lists shall be prepared by the Indian agent, which lists shall contain the names of all persons entitled, designating them in four classes. Class 1st, shall contain the names of heads of families; class 2d, the names of single persons over twenty-one years of age; class 3d, the names of orphan children under twenty-one years of age, comprising families of two or more persons, and class 4th, the names of single orphan children under twenty-one years of age, and no person shall be entered in more than one class. Such lists shall be made and closed by the first day of July, 1856, and thereafter no applications for the benefits of this article will be allowed.

At any time within five years after the completion of the lists, selections of lands may be made by the persons entitled thereto, and a notice thereof, with a description of the land selected, filed in the office of the Indian agent in Detroit, to be by him transmitted to the Office of Indian Affairs at Washington City.

All sections of land under this article must be made according to the usual subdivisions; and fractional lots, if containing less than 60 acres, may be regarded as forty-acre lots, if over sixty and less than one hundred and twenty acres, as eighty-acre lots. Selections for orphan children may be made by themselves or their friends, subject to the approval of the agent.

After selections are made, as herein provided, the persons entitled to the land may take immediate possession thereof, and the United States will thenceforth and until the issuing of patents as hereinafter provided, hold the same in trust for such persons; and certificates shall be issued, in a suitable form, guaranteeing and securing to the holders their possession and an ultimate title to the land. But such certificates shall not be assignable and shall contain a clause expressly prohibiting the sale or transfer by the holder of the land described therein.

After the expiration of ten years, such restriction on the power of sale shall be withdrawn, and a patent shall be issued in the usual form to each original holder of a certificate for the land described therein. *Provided* That such restriction shall cease only upon the actual issuing of the patent; *And provided further* That the President may in his discretion at any time in individual cases on the recommendation of the Indian agent when it shall appear prudent and for the welfare of any holder of a certificate, direct a patent to be issued. *And provided also*, That after the expiration of ten years, if individual cases shall be reported to the President by the Indian agent, of persons who may then be incapable of managing their own affairs from any reason whatever, he may direct the patents in such cases to be withheld, and the restrictions provided by the certificate, continued so long as he may deem necessary and proper.

Should any of the heads of families die before the issuing of the certificates or patents herein provided for, the same shall issue to the heirs of such deceased persons.

The benefits of this article will be extended only to those Indians who are at this time actual residents of the State of Michigan, and entitled to participate in the annuities provided by the treaty of March 28, 1836; but this provision shall not be construed to exclude any Indian now belonging to the Garden River band of Sault Ste. Marie.

All the land embraced within the tracts hereinbefore described, that shall not have been appropriated or selected within five years shall

Selection, how made.

List of those entitled to be prepared.

Selections may be made within five years.

To be according to usual subdivisions.

Patents may be taken at once.

Sale within ten years forbidden.

After ten years a patent shall issue and restrictions on sales cease.

Provision for case of death.

To whom this treaty shall extend.

After five years the remaining lands may be entered in the usual

remain the property of the United States, and the same shall thereafter, for the further term of five years, be subject to entry in the usual manner and at the same rate per acre, as other adjacent public lands are then held, by Indians only; and all lands, so purchased by Indians, shall be sold without restriction, and certificates and patents shall be issued for the same in the usual form as in ordinary cases; and all lands remaining unappropriated by or unsold to the Indians after the expiration of the last-mentioned term, may be sold or disposed of by the United States as in the case of all other public lands.

manner by Indians for -
five years, and then
by anyone.

Nothing contained herein shall be so construed : s to prevent the appropriation, by sale, gift, or otherwise, by the United States, of any tract or tracts of land within the aforesaid reservations for the location of churches, school-houses, or for other educational purposes, and for such purposes purchases of land may likewise be made from the Indians, the consent of the President of the United States, having, in every instance, first been obtained therefor.

Grants for churches,
schools, etc., may be
made.

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

Indians may sell
with President's con-
sent.

Any Indian who may have heretofore purchased land for actual settlement, under the act of Congress known as the Graduation Act, may sell and dispose of the same; and, in such case, no actual occupancy or residence by such Indians on lands so purchased shall be necessary to enable him to secure a title thereto.

In consideration of the benefits derived to the Indians on Grand Traverse Bay by the school and mission established in 1838, and still continued by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, it is agreed that the title to three separate pieces of land, being parts of tracts Nos. 3 and 4, of the west fractional half of section 35, township 30 north, range 10 west, on which are the mission and school buildings and improvements, not exceeding in all sixty-three acres, one hundred and twenty-four perches, shall be vested in the said board on payment of \$1.25 per acre; and the President of the United States shall issue a patent for the same to such person as the said board shall appoint.

The United States will also pay the further sum of forty thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be applied in liquidation of the present just indebtedness of the said Ottawa and Chippewa Indians; provided, that all claims presented shall be investigated under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, who shall prescribe such rules and regulations for conducting such investigation, and for testing the validity and justness of the claims, as he shall deem suitable and proper; and no claim shall be paid except upon the certificate of the said Secretary that, in his opinion, the same is justly and equitably due; and all claimants, who shall not present their claims within such time as may be limited by said Secretary within six months from the ratification of the treaty, or whose claims, having been presented, shall be disallowed by him, shall be forever precluded from collecting the same, or maintaining an action thereon in any court whatever; and provided, also, that no portion of the money due said Indians for annuities, as herein provided, shall ever be appropriated to pay their debts under any pretence whatever; provided, that the balance of the amount herein allowed, as a just increase of the amount due for the cessions and relinquishments aforesaid, after satisfaction of the awards of the Secretary of the Interior, shall be paid to the said Chippewas or expended for their benefit, in such manner as the Secretary shall prescribe, in aid of any of the objects specified in the second article of this treaty.

ARTICLE 2. The United States will also pay to the said Indians the sum of five hundred and thirty-eight thousand and four hundred dollars, in manner following, to wit:

Payments to said In-
dians.

First. Eighty thousand dollars for educational purposes to be paid in ten equal annual instalments of eight thousand dollars each, which sum shall be expended under the direction of the President of the United States; and in the expenditure of the same, and the appointment of teachers and management of schools, the Indians shall be consulted, and their views and wishes adopted so far as they may be just and reasonable.

Eighty thousand dollars in ten equal annual instalments.

Second. Seventy-five thousand dollars to be paid in five equal instalments of fifteen thousand dollars each in agricultural implements and carpenters' tools, household furniture and building materials, cattle, labor, and all such articles as may be necessary and useful for them in removing to the homes herein provided and getting permanently settled thereon.

Seventy-five thousand dollars in five equal annual instalments.

Third. Forty-two thousand and four hundred dollars for the support of four blacksmith-shops for ten years.

Forty-two thousand four hundred dollars for blacksmith shops.

Fourth. The sum of three hundred and six thousand dollars in coin, as follows: ten thousand dollars of the principal, and the interest on the whole of said last-mentioned sum remaining unpaid at the rate of five per cent. annually for ten years, to be distributed *per capita* in the usual manner for paying annuities. And the sum of two hundred and six thousand dollars remaining unpaid at the expiration of ten years, shall be then due and payable, and if the Indians then require the payment of said sum in coin the same shall be distributed *per capita* in the same manner as annuities are paid, and in not less than four equal annual instalments.

Three hundred and six thousand dollars "to be paid per capita."

Fifth. The sum of thirty-five thousand dollars in ten annual instalments of three thousand and five hundred dollars each, to be paid only to the Grand River Ottawas, which is in lieu of all permanent annuities to which they may be entitled by former treaty stipulations, and which sum shall be distributed in the usual manner *per capita*.

Thirty-five thousand dollars in ten annual instalments.

ARTICLE 3. The Ottawa and Chippewa Indians hereby release and discharge the United States from all liability on account of former treaty stipulations, it being distinctly understood and agreed that the grants and payments hereinbefore provided for are in lieu and satisfaction of all claims, legal and equitable on the part of said Indians jointly and severally against the United States, for land, money or other thing guaranteed to said tribes or either of them by the stipulations of any former treaty or treaties: excepting, however, the right of fishing and encampment secured to the Chippewas of Sault Ste. Marie by the treaty of June 16, 1820.

Liabilities under former treaties released.

ARTICLE 4. The interpreters at Sault Ste. Marie, Mackinac, and for the Grand River Indians, shall be continued, and another provided at Grand Traverse, for the term of five years, and as much longer as the President may deem necessary.

Interpreters.

ARTICLE 5. The tribal organization of said Ottawa and Chippewa Indians, except so far as may be necessary for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this agreement, is hereby dissolved; and if at any time hereafter, further negotiations with the United States, in reference to any matters contained herein, should become necessary, no general convention of the Indians shall be called; but such as reside in the vicinity of any usual place of payment, or those only who are immediately interested in the questions involved, may arrange all matters between themselves and the United States, without the concurrence of other portions of their people, and as fully and conclusively, and with the same effect in every respect, as if all were represented.

Tribal organization dissolved in most respects.

Future treaties; how made.

ARTICLE 6. This agreement shall be obligatory and binding on the contracting parties as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President and Senate of the United States.

Treaty: when to be binding.

In testimony whereof the said George W. Manypenny and the said Henry C. Gilbert, commissioners as aforesaid, and the undersigned chiefs and headmen of the Ottawas and Chippewas, have hereto set their hands and seals, at the city of Detroit the day and year first above written.

APPENDIX B

THE CALCULATION OF POTENTIAL LAND VALUE

The Calculation of Potential Land Value

The land values for the allotments were calculated using the land value formula described by Barlowe (1978, 314), $V=I/r$. This involves calculating the income of a parcel (I) for ten years and dividing by the actualization rate (r). Generally speaking, the actualization rate for agricultural land is five percent in the United States. To calculate the income of a parcel in 1870, the income generating pursuits have to be identified. The Grand Traverse region of the 1870s was still virgin timber land and this would have to be cleared before any agricultural pursuits could be followed. Livestock breeding was not an active pursuit in this region, nor dairy farming. The major agricultural activity was crop and grain farming. Thus, income could be generated from the timber stands on the land and the products of farming.

No exact figures are given for timber yields in the Treaty area, so that, potential timber yields had to be interpolated from a variety of sources. Ramsdell suggested that the northwest portion of the Lower peninsula of Michigan could produce between 6000 and 8000 board feet of lumber per acre (1893, 110-111). This estimate was derived from a "typical" half section of land in Benzie County, just south of the Treaty area.

A second estimate of the potential board feet on an acre of land was presented by Brown (1919). He estimated the average yield per acre to be approximately 6117 board feet per acre. This figure takes into account the diversity of the biotic provinces in the United States and the potential yields of each province.

One method used to estimate the number of board feet on an acre is to use the annual growth rate of the timber on the acre in as a proportion of the density of the stand. The Leelanau Co. Soil Survey (1973) listed a table of the potential productivity ratings per acre per year for woodland types (Table 3., 27). Using this figure, it is then possible to calculate the potential stand for an acre, all that is needed is the proportion of the potential rate of growth to the density of the stand. This proportion varies according to vegetation regime and management technique. The Grand Traverse region is considered to be in the transition zone between the Carolinian and the Canadian biotic provinces (Dice, 1949). And as a primordial forest, it can be categorized as low or non-managed land. A proportion of 3.007% can be used as the net annual growth rate in relation to the growing stock inventory (Cliff, 1973; National Forest Service, 1974). The average potential productivity rating per acre in Leelanau Co. is 237.5 bd. ft. per acre (Leelanau Co. Soil Survey, 1973), and by dividing this number by the annual growth rate (3.007) will produce an estimated growing stock of 7898.2 board feet per acre. A number within the range estimated by Ramsdell.

A more accurate estimation of the timber production was possible using records from the Hannah and Lay Lumber Co. of Traverse City. The Company logged timber from the headwaters of the Boardman River, which flows into the Grand Traverse Bay. They kept accurate records of the number of trees cut, the logs produced and the board feet cut from the logs. The majority of their logging operations were in Grand Traverse Co., just south of the allotted lands. Generally speaking, the two areas are similar in soil types, vegetation, topography and climate. A sample of logging sites was taken and averages were calculated for the number of trees cut, logs produced and board feet saved on an acre of land. On the average, the Hannah and Lay Lumber Co. cut 29.97 trees per acre which produced 4.52 logs per tree and extracted 18.93 board feet per log. Thus, when the total estimated average yield per acre is 2562.99 board feet per acre. However, this is not the total number of board feet on an acre, this is only the number of board feet cut. Generally, only 41.09% of the timber is cut (National Forest Service, 1974). Thus, the potential board feet per acre is 6407.4. A number close to the average calculated by Brown and within the range estimated by Ramsdell.

It is now possible to calculate the monetary potential from timber sources on the land. Again, land value can be estimated by summing the income from the land for ten years and dividing by the actualization rate. In this case, the income should incorporate both lumbering and farming pursuits. It will be assumed that the owner will clear cut the land in one year, so that, farming can commence unhindered. According to the Census Bureau in 1870, lumber products were valued at \$16.24 per 1000 board feet. Thus, the average worth of the timber on one acre in Leelanau or Antrim Co. was \$104.06.

Assuming the owner would use the land for maximum profit, crops were weighted by production according to soil productivity. Four crops were used as the major farming production; corn, oats, wheat and hay. The market value of each crop was the average commodity price listed in the "Historical Abstract of the United States" (1976). In 1870 corn sold for \$.52/bushel, oats \$.43/ton, wheat \$1.04/ton and hay \$14.45/ton.

Income per parcel was calculated by summing the market value of the farm products for a nine year period. The potential productivity of the land for farming assumed low management techniques as specified by the Soil Survey (1973). The farming potential was calculated for each parcel and proportioned in relation to the percentage of land in each soil type. This is the same technique used in calculating the timber yields per acre per allotted parcel. Finally, the income from timber yields were added to the income from farming. The combined income was then proportioned by the profit margin of farm land under low management and input techniques (Eley and Wehrwein, 1940, Chap. V). In this case, a proportion of .04 on the market

dollar. Thus, for any parcel of land in Antrim or Leelanau Co. the hypothetical value of the land ranged from \$53.37 to \$108.82 per acre.

These figures, however, are the hypothetical land values or potential land values. If they are compared to the land values recorded in the Federal Population Schedule of 1870, they are only slightly larger than the recorded values. The average land value for an Euro-American in Antrim or Leelanau Co., assuming a 40 acre parcel was \$40.46 per acre. Whereas, the Native American's land was valued at \$11.42 per acre.

The hypothetical land value will be used in this study because it represents the potential land value with respect to both the timber and crop production. And, even though it is slightly higher than the recorded land values it does not incorporate the differences between Euro-American and Native American ownership.

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