

“Both the Honor and the Profit”: Anishinaabe Warriors, Soldiers, and Veterans from Pontiac’s
War through the Civil War

by

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	ii
List of Figures.....	ix
Introduction	1
Chapter One.....	29
Historical Background: Anishinaabe Warriors, Leaders, and Alliances	
Chapter Two.....	90
“Religious <u>rebels</u> ”: Odawa and Ojibwe Encounters with American Missionaries in Northern Michigan	
Chapter Three.....	132
“Our dear noble country:” Anishinaabe Soldiers Enlist in Company K	
Chapter Four.....	191
“We know him to be a Brave Soldier”: Company K in the Civil War	
Chapter Five.....	238
“I am an Indian and I fought through the War of Rebellion”: Anishinaabe Assertions of Identity in Civil War Pension Files	
Conclusion.....	285
Bibliography.....	296

List of Figures

I.1 Pocket Bible.....	10
I.2 Religious texts in Anishinaabemowin.....	10
1.1 Odawa Shimagnesheg (warriors).....	33
1.2 Map.....	39
1.3 Canoe carved by Jean Baptiste Assiginack.....	56
1.4 Figure in Canoe.....	56
1.5 1834 Map.....	73
1.6 Map of the Acting Superintendency of Michigan, 1837.....	83
1.7 1835 Map.....	87
1.8 Map of Mackinac Island.....	89
2.1 Presbyterian Church at Omena.....	97
2.2 Map of Dougherty’s missions.....	100
2.3 Map of Porter’s and Greensky’s missions.....	100
2.4 Mission at Bear Creek.....	103
3.1 Allotment Certificate.....	136
3.2 Allotment Certificate.....	137
3.3 Wigwam in Michigan’s Upper Peninsula.....	149
3.4 Naugechegumme.....	153
3.5 Greensky Hill Mission Church.....	168
3.6 View from Greensky Hill Mission Church.....	168

3.7 Leelanau Peninsula Map.....	177
3.8 Omena Bay.....	177
3.9 Northport Bay.....	177
3.10 Stained glass at Ste. Anne Catholic Church.....	182
4.1 Payson Wolf at Camp Douglass.....	209
4.2 Bandolier Bag.....	215
4.3 Andrew Blackbird with bandolier bag.....	215
4.4 Injured Soldiers.....	219
5.1 Land Surveyor.....	253
5.2 Mary Aghosa, Omena, MI.....	269
5.3 Mary Aghosa.....	269
5.4 “Katie Pshaba Unquot-quay Hoy-woma”.....	270
5.5 Anishinaabe woman with dried corn.....	270
5.6 Woman in Omena cornfield.....	270
5.7 First Michigan Sharpshooter Reunion Ribbons.....	273
5.8 Thomas and Mary Kechittigo.....	273
6.1 Plat Maps.....	287
6.2 Mwakewenah’s Allotment.....	288
6.3 Emmet County 1840 Survey Map.....	289
6.4 1838-1839 Survey Map of Elbridge Township in Oceana County.....	294

Introduction

“We fought a regiment of Indians. As we drove them back one Indian took refuge behind a tree. We saw him and supposed he would surrender,” recalled Thomas J. Watkins of the Fourteenth North Carolina Infantry. “As we moved on he shot our color bearer. Many turned and fired, riddling him with bullets. The Indians fought bravely in the wood. When driven into the open they did not again fire on us, but ran like deer. We captured not one of them.”¹ The Confederates failed to capture any of the retreating Indian Union soldiers after the 1864 Battle of the Wilderness in Virginia, but Colonel R.T. Bennett recounted: “Among the captures were copies of the Bible in the Ojibwa language.”² While Civil War soldiers commonly carried bibles, these Ojibwe books stand out and probably belonged to Anishinaabe (Ojibwe, Odawa, and Boodewaadamii) men in Company K of the First Michigan Sharpshooters.³

Company K fought Confederate soldiers for the first time in the smoke-filled, burning thicket of the Battle of the Wilderness.⁴ During this beginning stage of General Ulysses S. Grant’s offensive in Virginia, Private Daniel Mwakewenah, according to his comrades, killed thirty-two enemy soldiers; Sergeant Thomas Kechittigo successfully encouraged soldiers to camouflage their uniforms with mud and leaves for skirmishing; and First Sergeant Charles Allen was wounded,

¹W. A. Smith, *The Anson Guards: Company C, Fourteenth Regiment, North Carolina Volunteers, 1861-1865* (Charlotte, N.C.: Stone Publishing, 1914), 235; Raymond J. Herek, *These Men Have Seen Hard Service: The First Michigan Sharpshooters in the Civil War* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998), 121.

²Walter Clark, ed., *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-'65* (Goldsboro, N.C.: Nash Brothers, 1901), 2:46.

³Rumors circulated that a Bible placed in a shirt pocket could protect a man from bullets. Steven E. Woodworth, *While God is Marching On: The Religious World of Civil War Soldiers* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001), 69, 71-72.

⁴James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 728.

resulting in his death at a Fredericksburg Hospital two weeks later.⁵ After statewide speculation on whether Michigan Indians would make good soldiers, the Anishinaabeg of Company K proved to their white officers and the audience at home that they were loyal Union men and effective soldiers.

Anishinaabe men from Michigan had a unique path to the Battle of the Wilderness but they were not the only American Indian soldiers present. Ojibwe men in the Seventh Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry and Seneca soldiers also participated. As part of the Thirtieth United States Colored Troops, a Tuscarora soldier and a Pequot soldier helped guard the Army of the Potomac's trains. At the same battle, Catawba men fought for the Confederacy.⁶ Historians estimate that twenty thousand indigenous men fought in the Civil War. Even more indigenous peoples were part of and displaced by violent conflicts during the war, especially in the West. As scholars continue to connect the histories of the Civil War, Reconstruction, and the American West, more stories of indigenous peoples will become central to Civil War historiography as our understanding of important people and events continues to expand.⁷ Conflicts in the West and the East were interconnected in their contestation of United States' authority.

⁵ Civil War Pension File of John B. Shomin, Company K, First Michigan Sharpshooters, RG 15, National Archives, Washington D.C.; Pension File of Charles Allen; Compiled Service Record of Charles Allen, Civil War, Company K, First Michigan Sharpshooters, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, RG 94, National Archives, Washington D.C. For pension certificate and application numbers, as well as multiple spellings of names, see Chris Czopek, *Who was Who in Company K* (Lansing: Chris Czopek, 2010), 194-201.

⁶ Eric Hemenway, "Soldiers in the Shadows: Company K, 1st Michigan Sharpshooters," Robert K. Sutton and John A. Latschar, eds. *American Indians and the Civil War* ([Fort Washington, PA]: Eastern National, 2013), 54.

⁷ See, for instance, Adam Arenson and Andrew R. Graybill, *Civil War Wests: Testing the Limits of the United States* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 2-4. In the introduction to this volume of essays, Adam Arenson argues that "testing the limits of U.S. sovereignty is the central story of both the Civil War and the American West" and calls for more histories that are "attuned to the crises of authority and identity faced by the United States" in both the North and South, East and West. Historian Elliott West emphasizes that the "story of controlling, dispossessing, and confining American Indians beyond the Mississippi River" began before the Civil War and continued during the conflict. The army in the West became more aggressive towards Native peoples at the same time the nation was headed towards a sectional war. The military developed strategies in the West during the Civil War that they continued to use after the war. Elliott West, "Conclusion," Sutton and Latschar, eds. *American Indians and the Civil War*, 181, 188.

While this call to remember the importance of the West in the American Civil War is timely, and will incorporate American Indians more squarely into Civil War histories, it risks reaffirming the association of indigenous peoples with the West. This focus does little to disrupt the dominant narrative of nineteenth-century American Indians centered on the removal of indigenous peoples from their homelands to reservations west of the Mississippi River. Narratives of the nineteenth century frequently emphasize westward expansion of the United States, first through individual American settlers, followed by nation-building institutions that converted indigenous land into American space. Or so the metanarrative goes. The Anishinaabeg in Michigan disrupt these narratives. While the majority of indigenous peoples lived west of the Mississippi in 1861, there were large populations in Michigan, New York, and Wisconsin. Michigan had the largest population of indigenous people, with a total of 13, 949.⁸ The history of the Anishinaabeg emphasizes the diversity of Indian country, as well as experiences that were in contrast with those of the southeastern tribes (“Five Civilized Tribes”) and western Plains peoples: groups whose stories often dominate histories of the 1820s through 1860s.

While Company K men made up a small percentage of the twenty thousand indigenous soldiers who fought for the Union and the Confederacy, they stood out as a separate unit, which was unusual for a company outside of Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma). Unlike segregated African American soldiers, many indigenous soldiers were integrated into companies with white men. In contrast, over the course of the war, 139 indigenous men and seven Euro-American men served in Company K. All of the enlisted men were indigenous except for First Sergeant Henry Graveraet—a white trader and government employee who was married to a Euro-

⁸ This number includes “civilized” and “unenumerated.” For populations in 1860, see Deborah A. Rosen, *American Indians and State Law: Sovereignty, Race, and Citizenship* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 54. Moreover, historian Jean O’Brien argues that indigenous peoples were literally written out of existence by nineteenth-century authors in “firsting and lasting” narratives—meaning the number of indigenous peoples east of the Mississippi River has been undercounted. Jean M. O’Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

Odawa woman. Graveraet was the father of the only Anishinaabe commissioned officer in Company K—Lieutenant Garrett Graveraet. Other Anishinaabe men, however, earned the rank of first sergeant, sergeant, and corporal (noncommissioned officers were considered enlisted men). There were 136 Anishinaabe men in Company K (mostly Odawaag and Ojibweg) and the majority were from Michigan’s Lower Peninsula. There were thirteen men from the Upper Peninsula; most of these men lived near the Michigan border with Wisconsin. Two Anishinaabe soldiers came from Ashland, Wisconsin. In addition, two Anishinaabe men crossed the Canada-United States border to enlist. An indigenous man from Maryland also joined Company K at Petersburg.⁹ Thus, observers and military officials labeled Company K “the Indian Company”—comprised mainly of Anishinaabe men commanded by six white officers and one Euro-Odawa officer.

The presence of a company of Anishinaabe men and white officers at the Battle of the Wilderness and other major battles was significant. Many residents of the Great Lakes region were wary of arming Indian men, especially after the U.S.-Dakota War in Minnesota in the late summer and early autumn of 1862. In retaliation for Dakota violence against Euro-American civilians and soldiers, President Abraham Lincoln approved the execution of thirty-eight Dakota men in December of 1862—the largest mass execution in United States history. In addition, he supported the forced removal of the Dakota and Ho-Chunk from Minnesota. Approximately thirteen hundred Dakota were forcibly relocated to the Dakota Territory in May 1863.¹⁰

⁹ While indigenous soldiers who fought for the Confederacy frequently served in their own units, it was more common in the Union army for indigenous men to be part of companies with white soldiers. Lawrence M. Hauptman, “Introduction: American Indians and the Civil War” and Eric Hemenway, “Soldiers in the Shadows: Company K, 1st Michigan Sharpshooters,” Sutton and Latschar, eds., *American Indians and the Civil War*, 11, 54. “The Civil War in the East: 30th United States Colored Troops,” <http://civilwarintheeast.com/us-regiments-batteries/us-colored-troops/30th-united-states-colored-troops/>, accessed December 4, 2015. All the demographic information comes from Czopek, *Who was Who in Company K*.

¹⁰ Janet Youngholm, “Violence and the Dakota War of 1863,” in Sutton and Latschar, eds., *American Indians and the Civil War*, 28-47; “U.S.-Dakota War of 1862,” *Minnesota Historical Society*, <http://www.historicfortsnelling.org/history/us-dakota-war> accessed December 4, 2015; Gwen Westerman and Bruce White, *Mni Sota Makoce: The Land of the Dakota* (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2012), 201-202.

Newspaper reports of violence and the “Indian Troubles” spread stories of attacks on settlers and caused white residents in the Great Lakes anxiety regarding their Indian neighbors.¹¹

Euro-American settlers in Michigan worried that the violence in Minnesota in 1862 might spread to their state. The Anishinaabeg felt pressure to differentiate themselves from the Dakota, proclaiming to worried townspeople that they were “loyal” Indians and not hostile.¹² Largely barred from enlisting in the Union army at the beginning of the war, Anishinaabe men had to prove to white observers that they were competent and loyal soldiers. The Anishinaabeg began joining Company K in May 1863, the same month state and government officials removed Dakota peoples from Minnesota. From the perspective of some white observers, the Anishinaabeg had to transform from “savage” warriors to soldiers.¹³ Company K men became Union soldiers at the same time government policies concerning indigenous peoples—especially west of Michigan—focused on reservations and policies of removal and containment. It is striking that the United States armed certain Indian men at the same time it disarmed others.

The discomfort with arming indigenous men, even with their guns pointing towards the “southern rebels,” continued through the Civil War, and northern white observers carefully watched “the Indian Company.” Military officials placed Company K men within the discourse of savagery and civilization. Approximately twenty percent of the enlistment papers for Company K men label the recruit a “civilized Indian.”¹⁴ As defined by Michigan lawmakers, Indians who depended on hunting and fishing, rather than farming, were not “civilized.” In

¹¹ For example, see “The Indian Troubles—Fearful Scenes,” *Detroit Free Press*, 1, August 27, 1862.

¹² George N. Smith Journal, September 14 and 16, 1862, George Nelson Smith Papers, Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, MI.

¹³ Anishinaabeg in Wisconsin and Minnesota also enlisted in the Union army and, like Company K in the First Michigan Sharpshooters, Menominee men made up the majority of Company K of the 37th Wisconsin Infantry. Major Jo Ann P. Schedler, “Wisconsin American Indians in the Civil War,” Sutton and Latschar, eds., *American Indians and the Civil War*, 70-71.

¹⁴ Twenty-eight out of 139 enlistment papers for Company K men listed the individual as a “civilized Indian.” Compiled Military Service Records, Company K, First Michigan Sharpshooters, Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, RG 94, National Archives, Washington D.C.

contrast, Indians who farmed and lived in frame houses or log cabins as opposed to “tents and bark camps” were deemed “civilized.”¹⁵ While Euro-American recruiting agents and officers imposed the “civilized Indian” label on the indigenous soldiers, it was also a designation some Anishinaabeg embraced. They worked against the tide of federal removal policies by arguing that they were or were becoming “civilized”—learning English, converting to Christianity, and adopting Euro-American-style agriculture.¹⁶ Numerous Company K men, as well as members of their communities, purposefully distinguished themselves as “civilized” in order to make claims to rights associated with white men. Michigan’s 1850 Constitution allowed Indian men to vote if they were “civilized” and not a member of any tribe.¹⁷ As is frequently the case, Indian status was much simpler on paper than in reality. Both Anishinaabe and Euro-American practices and expectations influenced Anishinaabe social practices related to kinship and alliances, leadership, authority, and status. Many Anishinaabe peoples made claims to citizenship, while simultaneously maintaining their status as Indians, a strategy that began taking shape under the direction of the War of 1812 generation.¹⁸ Anishinaabe peoples made complex claims to certain rights and privileges during a period when some rights associated with modern citizenship were still the purview of individual states.¹⁹

¹⁵ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan 1861* (Lansing: Hosmer & Kerr, 1861), 143-145.

¹⁶ Cleland, *Faith in Paper*, 80; James McClurken, “Ottawa Adaptive Strategies to Indian Removal,” *Michigan Historical Review* 12 (Spring 1986), 30-55. McClurken points out that their northern location helped the Odawaag avoid removal, in contrast to the Cherokee in the South. Georgia, especially, wielded political pressure to remove the Cherokee and the desire for Cherokee land was intertwined with the institution of slavery in the South. For more on Cherokee claims to being “civilized” in order to remain in their homelands and how this led to a “new” Cherokee Nation, see William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

¹⁷ *Constitution of Michigan of 1850*, <http://www.legislature.mi.gov/documents/historical/miconstitution1850.htm> accessed May 12, 2016.

¹⁸ Theodore Karamanski also argues that the Anishinaabeg worked to maintain a “dual status.” Theodore J. Karamanski, *Blackbird’s Song: Andrew J. Blackbird and the Odawa People* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2012), 135.

¹⁹ Before 1880 the federal government largely left the question of citizenship up to states and did not grant citizenship to American Indians, broadly, until the Indian Citizenship Act in 1924. Previous to the 1924 act, Congress granted the Brothertown Indians in Wisconsin Territory full United States citizenship in 1839 (they also

Service in the Civil War was part of the citizenship claims of the Anishinaabeg. Company K men joined the Union army for political reasons and were motivated by their religious and social networks. They shared reasons for enlisting with white and African American soldiers, but they had particularly Anishinaabe motivations as well. Their history—their encounters with missionaries; their warrior past, including the not-so-distant War of 1812; their treaty relationship with the United States; and their conceptions of alliance and reciprocal relationships—affected decisions to enlist.²⁰ During the war, Anishinaabe soldiers gained the respect of many of their white comrades and created lasting social networks of support. During the war, white politicians, officers, and writers racialized Anishinaabe soldiers, perceiving them through the lens of savagery and civilization. Despite shared wartime experiences, white observers glossed over the soldiers' individual identities in favor of depictions of "Indianness." After the war, the Anishinaabeg (and white middlemen) took advantage of examiners' and pension officials' preconceptions of Native peoples to negotiate pension payments. Testimonies

fought in the War). "An Act for the Relief of the Brothertown Indians, in the Territory of Wisconsin" (1839), Ronald H. Lambert, *A History of the Brothertown Indians of Wisconsin* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2004, 2010), 151. Furthermore, Congress passed the Citizenship Act of 1901 and granted U.S. citizenship to the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole in Oklahoma Territory (the "Five Civilized Tribes"). Rosen, *American Indians and State Law*, 15, 126, 133-134, 285 N65.

²⁰ Historians have emphasized the Indian identity of Company K men. Laurence Hauptman notes that Company K "was the most famous Indian unit in the Union army fighting Confederate forces east of the Mississippi." Hauptman focuses on Company K in one chapter of *Between Two Fires*, which looks at the Civil War experiences of soldiers from multiple indigenous nations. He argues that Company K men and their communities were anxious as the number of white settlers continued to increase in Michigan and they hoped to use their Civil War service to strengthen their position in future treaty negotiations for a permanent land base. Similarly, historian Raymond Herek describes possible Anishinaabe motivations to fight, such as poverty and hopes to bolster land claims, in his regimental history, *These Men Have Seen Hard Service: The First Michigan Sharpshooters in the Civil War*. Herek and Hauptman begin to tell the story of Company K Anishinaabeg, beginning to explore the differences of Company K's reasons for enlisting—compared to their Euro-American and African American soldiers—as well as their wartime experiences. See, Laurence M. Hauptman, *Between two Fires: American Indians in the Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1995), 126 (quote). Hauptman largely focuses his chapter about Company K on Garrett A. Graveraet, a Franco-Odawa Second Lieutenant who helped recruit many of Company K's members. Hauptman's project involves narrating multiple indigenous communities so his book is more of an overview of Indian country rather than an in-depth portrait of Company K men and their communities. Also see, Raymond J. Herek, *These Men Have Seen Hard Service: The First Michigan Sharpshooters in the Civil War* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998) for a regimental history that follows the First Michigan Sharpshooters from enlistment through their lives as veterans after the war.

of Anishinaabe men and women also illuminate relationships and living practices that suggest the surprising ways in which parts of Michigan's Lower Peninsula remained an Anishinaabe place after the Civil War, one that often dealt with settler colonialism through negotiation. Embracing modernity, including such elements as the military and its bureaucracy, for indigenous purposes, the Anishinaabeg made claims to resources and recognition through their identities as veterans, family members, and Indians. The American Civil War was a defining moment for the United States, changing the social, economic, political, and constitutional makeup of the country (changes that happened during, because of, and after the war). The war helped define the modern contours of the United States and the Anishinaabeg were part of the creation of this modernity.²¹

Battlefield Bibles

The account of abandoned bibles lying in the dirt before being picked up by a Confederate soldier underlies this study of Company K men. Who carried and left behind copies of the Bible in Anishinaabemowin on a Virginia battlefield? This question has led to a focus on

²¹ In the nineteenth century framework of savagery and civilization, Indians were supposed to vanish and disappear in the face of modernity—coded as Western and “civilized.” They partook in economic, political, and social structures associated with modernity without ceasing to be Indian, working against Euro-American narratives that wrote them out of existence based on concepts of authenticity and Indianness. Michael Witgen argues that Native peoples were cocreators of modern North America who “had been integral to the development of national identities and the nation-state in North-America” created by a process of “mutual discovery.” Michael Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 120-364. Scott Lyons, when using the term “modernity,” views it as “a general sense of the new, a feeling regarding one’s life in ‘modern times’ that can be distinguished from ‘the way we used to live.’” He stresses that he does not view modernity as either inherently negative or positive, but rather agrees with Jürgen Habermas’ understanding of modernity as “an incomplete project.” Scott Richard Lyons, *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 11-12 (Jürgen Habermas, “Modernity—An Incomplete Project,” in Hal Foster, ed., *Postmodern Culture*, (London: Pluto Press, 1985), 3-15). Also, see O’Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, xxiii, 3-6, 189-191 and Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 134-139 for the ways in which Native peoples have been read as outside of modernity or as “temporal Others.” For more on the Civil War as a modern war that reshaped the United States, see, for an example, Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books Random House, 2008), xiv, 178, 252, 268-271.

individuals who are often marginalized or remain nameless in many textual sources.²² One of the largest challenges of writing American Indian history—the scarcity of written sources by Native peoples—changes slightly when analyzing the nineteenth century. Certain Company K men were literate and several of their letters—written in English and Anishinaabemowin—are accessible in bureaucratic archives. Their letters, while still small in number, reflect a shift in the written archive. The prevalent challenge becomes narrating the story of a diverse group of Anishinaabeg through an archive that is generally weighted towards the men who had relationships with Catholic and Protestant missionaries. Ethnohistorical methods are necessary to work past the gaps in the written sources. Careful upstreaming—juxtaposing ethnographies with government documentation for instance—teases out the stories of Anishinaabe soldiers, their families, and their bands.²³ The focus on individual men aims to give Anishinaabe soldiers a similar level of attention and analysis as white and African American soldiers—taking seriously ideological and political reasons Anishinaabe men had for joining the Union army. The story of Company K helps provide a more comprehensive picture of who fought in the Civil War and why, while demonstrating the ways racial hierarchies in the nineteenth century operated during wartime.²⁴

²² While I attempt to give equal coverage to individuals, due to sources, it is much easier to follow individuals after the War of 1812. Civil War records are much more likely to mention Anishinaabe peoples by name—as later nineteenth-century records are more generally prone to do—than the earlier records, especially from the War of 1812, which frequently mention the “Indians” without giving specific peoples, let alone individual names.

²³ Upstreaming involves using more recent ethnographies on the Anishinaabeg to understand practices in the past. For upstreaming, see Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 13, 369 N 18 and 19. For concerns regarding upstreaming, see Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), xiv.

²⁴ Works like James McPherson’s *For Cause and Comrades*, have written against other studies that linked Civil War soldiers to American soldiers in the Vietnam War and World War II, arguing that they were not overly concerned with ideology. McPherson takes seriously the ideological reasons men fought in the Civil War, stressing the nineteenth-century context cannot be conflated with twentieth-century soldiers, many of whom were professional regulars or draftees. See James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 4-5, 90-91. For more on the historiography regarding Civil War soldiers, see Reid Mitchell, “‘Not the General But the Soldier’: The Study of Civil War Soldiers,” in James M. McPherson and William J. Cooper Jr., eds. *Writing the Civil War: The Quest to Understand* (University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 81-95.



Figure I.1 and I.2 While some soldiers carried pocket bibles, the sizes of Anishinaabe religious texts spanned the range of nineteenth-century trim sizes, with some of the books too big to fit in a pocket. Soldiers would have had to carry them in a haversack or knapsack. Captain James S. DeLand, (one of the white officers in Company K and the younger brother of Colonel Charles V. DeLand, commander of the First Michigan Sharpshooters), carried the pocket bible on the left. Source: Left: DeLand Family Papers, 1816-1984, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, MI. Right: Various religious texts in Anishinaabemowin “Native American History at the Clements Library: An expanded version of the physical exhibit *American Encounters*, formerly on display at the William L. Clements Library, available from <http://www.clements.umich.edu/exhibits/online/american-encounters/american-encounters14.php>

The archive created when a Company K veteran or family member requested a military pension from the U.S. government largely sustains the focus on individuals. Company K pension files contains thousands of pages of bureaucratic paperwork—a rich yet underutilized resource for American Indian history. An Anishinaabe framework—one that takes into account changing practices and beliefs—provides a new angle on traditional sources that captures the lives of these men and their communities. There are 102 pension files related to Company K men, and juxtaposed with ethnographies, missionary journals, census data, and Civil War letters, they tell detailed narratives of Michigan’s Anishinaabe peoples.

Anishinaabewaki after the War of 1812

“Both the Honor and the Profit” focuses on individual soldiers and the long history of Company K. This work centers on moments of conflict and tension, both military and non-

military, in order to learn more about Company K men, their families, and bands. To understand why Anishinaabe men enlisted in the Union army, it traces changes in Anishinaabe masculinity, leadership, and status from Pontiac's War (1763) through the early 1900s. This project begins with Ojibwe warriors in the 1763 attack on Fort Michilimackinac and Anishinaabe warriors who participated in the War of 1812. It compares men of Company K to these fighters. Many recruiters in Michigan did not enlist Anishinaabe men due to laws and opinions influenced by stories and memories of the "savage" warriors of 1763 and 1812. Company K men came from a region with a long history of both violent and non-violent encounters between peoples.

Richard White's *The Middle Ground* has shaped the study of encounters in the Great Lakes region. White argues that encounters in this region between American Indians and Europeans, especially the French, involved "mutual inventions," "creative misunderstandings," and a process of negotiation with no particular group having enough power to control the other. This method of negotiation and mediation helped create the middle ground—a term White uses to describe the actual space of the *pays d'en haut* (French designation for the Great Lakes region or "upper country"), as well as the processes and relationships that created this space. He demonstrates how events in the eighteenth century, such as Pontiac's War, worked to restore middle-ground relationships and forced the British to act more like the French, the primary European partner in the seventeenth-century middle ground. White maintains that the middle ground dissipated in the nineteenth century, and he traces its demise to the end of the War of 1812, when, he argues, the United States took control of the region. White concludes that the nineteenth century was a period of Indian "defeat and domination."²⁵

²⁵ The middle-ground alliance with the French largely operated within an Anishinaabe understanding of reciprocal relationships, alliances, and kinship. White, *The Middle Ground*, x (second quotation), 15-20, 33-40, 50 (first quotation), 517.

Historians of Great Lakes indigenous history, such as Susan Sleeper-Smith, build on White's work and the power dynamics he presents. Sleeper-Smith disagrees with White's view of the nineteenth century as a time of Indian defeat. In *Indian Women and French Men*, she demonstrates that Native adaptation to change is part of a long history of persistence and encounters with strangers. Although more focused on the eighteenth-century fur trade, Sleeper-Smith describes how Native Catholic women used their roles as cultural mediators and facilitators of kin networks as survival strategies through the 1830s.²⁶ Sleeper-Smith's characterization of the nineteenth century is useful when considering the complex claims to citizenship of Company K soldiers. The lives of Anishinaabe men who fought in the Civil War suggest that the middle ground—as a contested space defined by ongoing negotiations—extended beyond the War of 1812. While a middle ground may have existed in certain spaces and at certain times in the nineteenth century, recent work on Anishinaabewaki—the homelands or territory of the Anishinaabeg—suggests that the middle ground was not as extensive in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but that much of the upper Great Lakes was dominated by Native peoples and social formations.

Michael Witgen, in *An Infinity of Nations*, argues that the Anishinaabeg of the upper Great Lakes shaped a Native New World: a transregional space created, in part, by the North

²⁶ Sleeper-Smith's work invites additional studies of the nineteenth century and serves as a template for examining religious practices and determining how Christianity helped some American Indians establish positions within their communities, expand alliances, and maintain long-standing kinship connections. This dissertation focuses on the experiences of men and male leadership. While the Ojibweg and Odawaag viewed women's support for community actions as an important part of the decision-making process, women were usually not civil or war leaders. The missionaries' letters do not mention women holding leadership roles in their communities, which may be a reflection of the Euro-Americans' partiality for *male* leaders or evidence supporting Carol Devens' argument that women were more reluctant to accept Protestant Christianity and thus would not have attempted to take an active role in the church. Although Methodists encouraged women to participate in prayer meetings, Karen Tucker points out that while women were not explicitly denied leadership roles in the church, they were restricted in practice. Women were similarly constrained in Presbyterian churches. Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People*, 71; Carol Devens, *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 113; Karen B. Westerfield Tucker, *American Methodist Worship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 263. Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001).

American fur trade. He discusses encounter in terms of this Native New World and the Atlantic World, arguing that the collision of these two constructions created, at times, a middle ground. Witgen depicts a world where the Anishinaabeg frequently dominated this region as their multipolar social formations determined their relationships with Europeans. Anishinaabewaki, an autonomous social world shaped by the shifting social formations of Anishinaabe peoples, was at the center of the Native New World.²⁷

Witgen's work is part of recent scholarship that has reimagined borderlands, encounter, and indigenous spaces in early America. Pekka Hämäläinen, Kathleen DuVal, and Juliana Barr have also shown how indigenous social formations dominated certain regions and that, rather than being at the peripheries of European empires, borderlands were often shaped around "indigenous cores."²⁸ Rather than a middle ground, for example, DuVal, sees a native ground in the Arkansas River Valley where indigenous sovereignty determined borders, relationships between peoples, and resource allocation through the beginning the nineteenth century. Meanwhile, further west, Hämäläinen describes how Comanches transformed Comanchería into an indigenous imperial core that served as a base for raiding, trading, incorporating immigrants (and captives), and collecting tribute. Hämäläinen argues this was an indigenous empire, which reached the height of its power in the 1840s.²⁹ These works highlight indigenous power and social formations and ask, what happens when the American nation-state works to incorporate these "indigenous cores" into the United States?

²⁷ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 18, 19.

²⁸ For indigenous cores, see Pekka Hämäläinen and Samuel Truett, "On Borderlands," *The Journal of American* 98, no. 2 (September 2011). For scholarship that looks at indigenous cores and spaces where indigenous social formations frequently dominated a particular space, see Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground: Indians And Colonists In the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), Juliana Barr, "Geographies of Power: Mapping Indian Borders," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 68, No. 1 (January 2011), pp. 5-46; Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); and Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*.

²⁹ Hämäläinen views the Comanche as an imperial power that aimed to coexist, control, and exploit rather than conquer and colonize. Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 4.

Considering the nineteenth century within the framework of the long history of Anishinaabewaki—a space dominated by Anishinaabe peoples— rather than as the final dissolution of the middle ground, reinterprets Anishinaabe actions, highlighting how mobility, fluid social formations, and alliances affected Anishinaabe approaches to missionaries and government officials. Disagreeing with White’s depiction of the nineteenth century, Witgen asserts that the United States’ treaties, even after the War of 1812, were more a reflection of the United States’ future power over this region than a sign of its actual power in the 1820s. He argues that “it would take serious political work to plant the institutions of the American nation-state in Anishinaabewaki. American officials would be forced to undergo constant negotiation over fundamental categories that defined the republic....”³⁰ Christian missionaries—important to the lives of Company K men—became part of this political work as they aided the U.S. government’s assimilation efforts. Native claims to autonomy continually disrupted or complicated U.S. claims to power and underline the importance of individual choices in the face of settler colonialism, removal policies, and poverty.³¹

The region that became Michigan remained a contested space after nineteenth-century treaty cessions and statehood. Everyday tensions between missionaries, traders, Euro-American politicians, and the Anishinaabeg arose over disputed definitions of citizenship, authority, and religious practices. The shifting alliances of the Anishinaabeg with different religious denominations, in a way, mirrored earlier social formations defined by fluidity, mobility, and multiplicity.³² Remnants of Anishinaabe social formations, practices, and patterns of movement around northwest Michigan thwarted missionaries’ and the U.S. government’s efforts to limit

³⁰ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 18, 19, 21 (quotation), 325, 338-49, 351.

³¹ Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People*, 3; Edmund J. Danziger, Jr., *Great Lakes Indian Accommodation and Resistance during the Early Reservation Years, 1850-1900* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 58.

³² Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 139.

mobility or to inspire regular church and school attendance. The Anishinaabeg of northwest Michigan were part of the place and peoples who had formed Anishinaabewaki, and they did not instantly lose this history or the expectations it created when more white settlers moved into the area. Anishinaabe leaders made claims to political and religious leadership in Michigan that reflected older Anishinaabe social formations and politics even when the region began to be more incorporated within the United States' realm of control. Christianity and service in the Civil War helped Ojibwe and Odawa men acquire or sustain leadership positions, maintain autonomy, and preserve rights to land even as white settlers surged and the power of federal and state government institutions in the Great Lakes region increased.

Citizenship and Settler Colonialism

Numerous Company K men, as well as members of their communities, purposefully distinguished themselves as “civilized” in order to make claims to rights associated with white men, specifically voting rights and land ownership. Michigan’s 1850 Constitution allowed that “every civilized male inhabitant of Indian descent...and not a member of any tribe shall be an elector and entitled to vote.” While enfranchised, Indian men were not necessarily considered state citizens, as Dewitt C. Walker explained during the 1850 constitutional convention: “we have left to the determination of Congress who shall be legally termed such citizens [of the United States.] But as to who shall be qualified to vote, Congress has....left this open to the state.” Joseph R. Williams clarified, “We make men electors within our own borders—not citizens beyond our borders. We make them electors for State purposes, not citizens for national purposes.”³³ Some Anishinaabeg worked to be recognized as citizens. In 1851, the Michigan

³³ Michigan Constitutional Convention. *Report of the Proceedings and Debates in the Convention to Revise the Constitution of the State of Michigan 1850* (Lansing: R.W. Ingals, 1850), 494-495. George A. Prescott, ed. *Michigan*

legislature issued a joint resolution that granted “civilized” Indians “equal rights and privileges with the white inhabitants” and requested that the federal government allow the Odawaag and Ojibweg to remain in the state, sharing in the “social, political, and religious privileges” of other residents of the state. The word “citizen,” however, was not explicitly used.³⁴ Anishinaabe men continued to balance claims to citizenship with band-level politics in their efforts to remain in their homelands. In the 1830s through 1850s, this meant arguing against removal from the state.

Various Anishinaabeg demanded rights that they associated with citizenship and explicitly requested American citizenship, as anthropologist James McClurken and historian Theodore Karamanski have shown. Particular Odawaag began petitioning for what they referred to as citizenship before it was a clearly defined legal concept.³⁵ Prior to the Civil War, many of the rights, responsibilities, and privileges associated with modern citizenship were left up to state

Official Directory and Legislative Manual for the Years 1907-1908 (Lansing: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, Crawford Co., 1907), 50.

³⁴The state census had similar qualifications, not enumerating “persons of Indian descent, who are not civilized or are members of any tribe” when determining districts for the Senate etc. Moreover, the voting clause includes “every male inhabitant of this State, being a citizen of the United States,” as well as men “of foreign birth...having declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States...” Men who met these qualifications, over the age of 21 and residing in the state for at least 6 months could vote. Given the first part of the voting clause, it seems “civilized” Indians were considered state citizens, but it is interesting that the part about men of Indian descent does not include a “become a citizen of the United States” qualifier, demonstrating how this was not a national citizenship, but state citizenship connected directly to voting rights. Moreover, given earlier debates regarding citizenship, it seems that delegates at the Michigan constitutional convention may not have viewed “civilized” Indians as citizens, even of the state, but rather potential voters only. *Constitution of Michigan of 1850*,

<http://www.legislature.mi.gov/documents/historical/miconstitution1850.htm>

accessed May 12, 2016. Cleland, *Faith in Paper*, 80-81, quoting April 7, 1851 Joint Resolution in *Acts of the Legislature of the State of Michigan passed at the Annual Session of 1851* (Lansing: R.W. Ingals, 1851), 258-260. Rosen, *American Indians and State Law*, 133-134. See Karamanski, *Blackbird's Song*, 135-137, to see how Andrew Blackbird and the Odawaag of Little Traverse Bay pressured state officials to grant them citizenship, or, at the least, the ability to stay in Michigan and not worry about removal West.

³⁵ Ottawa to State Legislature of Michigan, December 4, 1843, American Indian Correspondence: Presbyterian Historical Society Collection of Missionaries' Letters, 1833-1893 Collection, Box 7, vol. 3: 103, cited in McClurken, “We Wish to be Civilized,” 402n34; Karamanski argues that the state granted Michigan Indians a “conditional citizenship” after the 1850 Constitution. Theodore J. Karamanski, “State Citizenship as a Tool of Indian Persistence: A Case Study of the Anishinaabeg of Michigan,” *Michigan Historical Review* 37 no. 1 (2011), 138. As legal scholar and historian William Novak points out, before *Dred Scott* in 1857 and the Civil War, citizenship “simply did not figure as a particularly significant part of the eminent discussion of American public law” and was not the same “defining category” as modern citizenship. Instead, Novak stresses the importance of “the differentiated common law of status and membership” and legal debates regarding “substantive rights and duties, privileges and penalties, and inclusions and exclusions” in antebellum America. William Novak, “The Legal Transformation of Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century America.” In M. Jacobs ed., *The Democratic Experiment: New Directions in American Political History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003), 85-119. Quotes on pages, 88, 90, 93, 112.

governments.³⁶ While the Odawaag argued for citizenship, they articulated demands for particular rights, especially related to land ownership and voting.

The anxiety over land and removal prompted many Anishinaabeg to push lawmakers to define individual rights and concepts of citizenship. Historian Paul Quigley stresses how “ordinary” people shaped citizenship, which was “a capacious, fluid concept.”³⁷ In *Becoming American under Fire*, legal historian Christian G. Samito also focuses on the ways ordinary people influenced concepts of citizenship. He stresses that the “military served as a primary site of this rethinking of what citizenship meant in terms of identity and allegiance, rights, status, and protection.” After the war, veterans negotiated the definitions of citizens’ rights and obligations, as well as the obligations of the federal government.³⁸ Like African American soldiers, Company K men participated in discussions about citizenship during and after the war; they made claims to support from the government as veterans and citizens.³⁹ They also, however, made claims to Indian status and identity, which they expected government officials to acknowledge.

³⁶ Legal historian Christian G. Samito summarizes antebellum citizenship, arguing that “national citizenship largely functioned to determine whether one owed allegiance and certain obligations to the United States in exchange for its protection but left to the states the definition of most of the rights and privileges now attached to it.” Christian G. Samito, *Becoming American under Fire: Irish Americans, African Americans, and the Politics of Citizenship During the Civil War Era* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2009), 1.

³⁷ Quigley looks at the ways men contested the boundaries of citizenship during the Civil War in relation to conscription. Indian agents also considered conscription. Paul Quigley, “Civil War Conscription and the International Boundaries of Citizenship,” *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 4, No. 3 (September 2014), 375.

³⁸ Samito, *Becoming American under Fire*, 5.

³⁹ For African American soldiers’ claims to citizenship through military service, see W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880* (New York: Russel & Russel, 1935 and 1965), 104; Reid Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers* (New York: Viking, 1988), 193-194; Ira Berlin, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, *Freedom’s Soldiers: The Black Military Experience in the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 2, 8, 33, 41-45, 141-148; Chandra Manning, *What this Cruel War was Over: Soldiers, Slavery, and the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007), 194-199; Joseph P. Reidy, “The African American Struggle for Citizenship Rights in the Northern United States during the Civil War,” in Susannah J. Ural, *Civil War Citizens: Race, Ethnicity, and Identity in America’s Bloodiest Conflict* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2010), 213-236. For gendered citizenship, see Jim Cullen, “‘I’s a Man Now’: Gender and African American Men,” in Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber, *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 76-91; A. Kristen Foster, “‘We Are Men!’: Frederick Douglass and the Fault Lines of Gendered Citizenship,” *The Journal of the Civil War Era*, 1, No. 2 (June 2011), 143-175. For more on American Indians and military service, see Hauptman, *Between Two Fires* and Al Carroll, *American Indian Veterans from Colonial Times to the Second Iraq War* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2008).

Before the Civil War, officials debated Indian voting rights at the state level. Historian Deborah Rosen argues that from 1790 to 1880 territories and states gradually asserted direct rule over Native peoples through decentralized American Indian policies.⁴⁰ Rosen compares Michigan to Minnesota, noting that before the Civil War, delegates in both states' constitutional conventions focused on race and concepts of "civilized" and "uncivilized" when determining who could vote in the state. Michigan's 1835 constitution offered suffrage to white men and, in 1850, to "civilized" and detribalized Indians. Minnesota's first constitution also enfranchised "civilized" Indians but created different requirements for "full-bloods" and "mixed-bloods." Rosen argues that after the war the states shifted from a focus on race and culture to a focus on legal status. Rather than focusing on whiteness—associated with concepts of civilization—both states offered suffrage to Native men who were not members of a tribe and thus, according to legislatures, no longer under federal jurisdiction but state citizens who could be taxed.⁴¹ While there was a shift in rhetoric during the 1867 constitutional convention in Michigan, voters rejected the revisions and the 1850 constitution remained in effect until 1908—maintaining, at least officially, the "civilized" and non-tribal qualifications for voting. As Theodore Karamanski points out, the state offered a "conditional citizenship" predicated on concepts of "civilization"

⁴⁰ Rosen, *American Indians and State Law*, x-xi.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 128-152 (for summary of constitutional debates, see 151-152). In *American Indians and State Law*, Rosen's case study approach makes it difficult to understand change over time, especially considering her emphasis on both territories and states. (See Gary H. Whaley's review of *American Indians and State Law* in *Ethnohistory* 55: 675-676 for this critique.) Bethel Saler's settler colonial framework in *The Settlers' Empire*, in contrast, effectively emphasizes the changes from territorial status to statehood. Though Saler focuses on the state of Wisconsin, the first half of her study explores the political structures and blueprint for statehood laid out by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. She explains the American nation was both a "postcolonial republic and a contiguous domestic empire" through an exploration of the creation of the Northwest Territory, and subsequent Michigan Territory (and later Wisconsin). Saler points out that the United States offered the territorial settlers a "temporary colonialism" that would give way to popular sovereignty under statehood and a "settler republic." Saler's work diverges from Rosen's emphasis on state policies, leaving room for federal policies within her study, as well as local situations; both offer a framework from which to view American Indian citizenship, which was under the purview of the state prior to the Civil War. Bethel Saler, *The Settlers' Empire: Colonialism and State Formation in America's Old Northwest* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 1-2.

and “savagery.”⁴² The state required that some of the factors that made the Anishinaabeg “Indian” disappear in order for them to gain particular rights.

While Michigan offered “conditional citizenship,” the Anishinaabeg sought a type of dual citizenship that allowed them to claim the rights of state citizens while trying to maintain band organization and self-determination (related to subsistence practices, social relationships, politics, and religion). In *Firsting and Lasting*, historian Jean M. O’Brien’s analysis of William Apess’ writings in the 1830s shows how some indigenous peoples in the nineteenth century developed a working definition of dual citizenship. Apess, a Pequot and Methodist preacher, helped the Mashpee protest Massachusetts’ treatment of their tribe. The Mashpee tribe resolved to protect their land and “not permit any white man” to trespass or extract resources. Working with Apess, the tribe articulated their rights: “That we, as a tribe, will rule ourselves, and have the right to do so; for all men are born free and equal, says the Constitution of the country.” The tribe bolstered their claims to particular rights as Indians and as a tribe, but also made claims to rights associated with the U.S. Constitution.⁴³ These writings and declarations appeared in an aptly titled pamphlet in 1835: *Indian Nullification of the Unconstitutional Laws of Massachusetts Relative to the Mashpee Tribe; or, The Pretended Riot Explained*. A year later, Apess’ *Eulogy on King Philip as Pronounced at the Odeon, in Federal Street Boston*, ended with a related question and declaration: “And while you ask yourselves, ‘What do they, the Indians, want?’ you have only to look at the unjust laws made for them and say, ‘They want what I want,’ in order to make men of them, good and wholesome citizens.”⁴⁴ O’Brien argues that the only way to understand Apess’ multiple writings, which include both declarations for self-determination and citizenship,

⁴² Karamanski, “State Citizenship as a Tool of Indian Persistence: A Case Study of the Anishinaabeg of Michigan,” 138.

⁴³ Barry O’Connell, ed. *On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apess, A Pequot* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 175.

⁴⁴ O’Connell, *Ibid.*, 310 as quoted in O’Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, 186.

is to trace his developing ideas of dual citizenship.⁴⁵ O'Brien's readings of Apess help in understanding Anishinaabe articulations of state citizenship. To remain in their homelands, the Anishinaabeg claimed to be both Michigan and American citizens.⁴⁶ Pairing Anishinaabe actions with their claims to citizenship, however, suggests they were working towards a dual citizenship that would maintain certain degrees of self-determination, Indian status, and practices related to their Anishinaabe identities.

As indigenous peoples making claims to citizenship before and after the Civil War, the Anishinaabeg disrupted the logic of settler colonialism, which demanded that Indians disappear through physical removal or cultural and political assimilation. While colonialism is often characterized by the exploitation of indigenous peoples, settler colonialism removes indigenous people from colonial spaces in order for settlers to permanently occupy the land.⁴⁷ Patrick Wolfe argues that settlers employed a "logic of elimination" in order to acquire indigenous land and replace Native peoples. Scholars who use a settler colonial framework to understand U.S. expansion stress Wolfe's depiction of settler colonialism as ongoing; frequently citing his assertions that "settler colonizers come to stay" in an invasion of indigenous spaces that "is a structure and not an event."⁴⁸ Walter Hixson agrees that settler colonialism is a structure, but he

⁴⁵ O'Brien places Apess' writings in the context of his work on behalf of the Mashpee to demonstrate how he articulated Indian rights related to self-determination at the same time he declared Indians should have the rights related to citizenship. She sees in Apess' life work and writings the nascent beginnings of "something like the present-day situation of dual citizenship for federally recognized tribal nations." Ibid., 186-187.

⁴⁶ For a clear chronology of Michigan Anishinaabe claims to citizenship, see Karamanski, "State Citizenship as a Tool of Indian Persistence: A Case Study of the Anishinaabeg of Michigan," 119-138.

⁴⁷ For definition of settler colonialism, see, for example, Walter L. Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism: A History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 4-6 and Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen, *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, and Legacies* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 2-4.. Nancy Shoemaker sees settler colonialism as a "variant of colonialism." Nancy Shoemaker, "A Typology of Colonialism," *Perspectives of History* (October 2015), 29-30.

⁴⁸ Patrick Wolfe, "Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native," *Journal of Genocide Research* (2006), 8:4, 387-409 (Quotes, 388) and Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London and New York: Cassell, 1999), 2. For a succinct explanation of Settler Colonial Studies, see Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism*, 4-6.

is wary of the “rigid binaries” structuralism can create.⁴⁹ Many men in Company K disrupt the binary of settler colonialism and the Anishinaabeg do not disappear into the settler state.

The presence of indigenous peoples delegitimizes the settler collective. Lorenzo Veracini argues that “all settler projects are foundationally premised on fantasies of ultimately ‘cleansing’ the settler politic of its (indigenous and exogenous) alterities.”⁵⁰ Settlers work to replace indigenous peoples on the land through many different strategies, including assimilation where “indigenous peoples are ‘uplifted’ out of existence.”⁵¹ Meant to adapt settler cultural and political ideals, indigenous peoples are then absorbed into the settler body politic. Veracini argues that assimilation strategies ultimately fail when they coexist with strategies that reinstate difference.⁵² In Michigan, at the same time missionaries tried to influence Anishinaabe communities to emulate gender norms associated with Euro-American Christians, individualism, and farming—in short, to assimilate indigenous peoples into the American republic—others believed Indians were unchangeable, stuck in an uncivilized state that required their removal from white society. Some proponents of “civilizing” programs also supported removal, believing Indians needed to be isolated from the corrupt influence of white settlers.⁵³ These conflicting

⁴⁹ Hixson uses Homi Bhaba’s “third space” to consider ambivalence of colonialism, as well as possibilities for hybridity. Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism*, 5-7. As Frederick Hoxie points out, settler colonialism is “a complex array of collaborators, mediators and deal-makers operating on all sides of the confrontation.” Frederick E. Hoxie. “Retrieving the Red Continent: Settler Colonialism and the History of American Indians in the US,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31, no. 6 (2008): 1159. Patrick Wolfe defends a binary approach to settler colonialism, especially in regards to contemporary policies. He argues there are “good reasons for insisting on a binary approach to settler colonialism....such an approach undoes a strategic pluralism whereby the logic of eliminations has been implemented in recent Australian government policy.” Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London and New York: Cassell, 1999), 167-168.

⁵⁰ Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 33-34.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 37-38.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 38-39.

⁵³ By 1830, in support of President Andrew Jackson, Lewis Cass defended removal, arguing that the Indians would not change their habits but “are contented as they are.” Lewis Cass, “Removal of the Indians,” *North American Review* 30, no. 1 (1830), 100. For changes in Cass’ views, see Francis Paul Prucha, *Lewis Cass and American Indian Policy* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1967), 15-16. Some missionaries also supported removal. Isaac McCoy argued that removal west of the Mississippi would actually help “civilize” Indians. See Isaac McCoy, *Remarks on the Practicability of Indian Reform embracing their Colonization* (Boston: Lincoln & Edmands, 1827) and Isaac McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions: Embracing Remarks on the Former and Present Condition of*

ideas meant different solutions to the “Indian problem” coexisted and affected policies at the state and national levels. In contrast to the 1820s and 1830s, when some Michigan lawmakers believed removal was the solution to the Indian populations in their territory and state, by the 1850s Michigan offered citizenship to “detrribalized” Indians and the federal government offered allotments to individuals to remain in the state. A detrribalized Indian was no longer an “Indian” by settler colonialism’s “logic of elimination.” Nineteenth-century citizenship required disassociation from the tribe and that the individual be “civilized,” a concept connected to land use and individual allotments, as well as particular housing, clothing, and a gendered division of labor. By the “logic of elimination,” allotment and the transformation of Anishinaabe men from hunters to Christian farmers was one way to cause the disappearance of Native peoples into the settler body politic.

Daily realities disrupted settler colonial policies related to assimilation and concepts of civilization. Some settler interests actually required the Anishinaabeg remain “Indian,” economically involved in the fur trade, or able to collect federal annuities. Meanwhile, other regional settlers and more distant landed interests desired the dissolving of any type of collective or tribal claims on the government associated with land held in trust, desiring instead “assimilated” individuals who owned land fee simple and could be separated from their land through purchase and fraud. Nineteenth-century government treaty negotiators expected allotment to eventually dissolve tribal organization and social and political relationships deemed uncivilized. Some Anishinaabeg participated in the settler state as citizens. For example, Odawaag near Little Traverse Bay contributed to the local government of Emmet County,

the Aboriginal Tribes, Their Settlement within the Indian Territory, and their Future Prospects (Washington, New York: William M. Morrison and H. and S. Raynor, 1840), 39-40.

holding various public offices.⁵⁴ The Anishinaabeg's multifaceted identities, complex claims to citizenship, and participation in both settler and Anishinaabe politics challenges the rigid binary between settlers and the colonized.⁵⁵

The Ojibweg's and Odawaag's continual amalgamation of Anishinaabe practices and ideals with those of Euro-Americans disrupted assimilation policies, even as it factored into the marginalization of Odawaag and Ojibweg in Michigan. While Michigan voting rights required the Anishinaabeg to cut tribal affiliations, it is unclear what that severance would mean in practice. The Euro-American stress on "allegiance"—which took on a particular relevance during the Civil War—did not translate perfectly into Anishinaabe politics. Anishinaabe peoples did not swear allegiance or loyalty to their ogimaag (civil leaders).⁵⁶ The pension cases suggest Company K men maintained band affiliation during and after the war, highlighting the disconnect between U.S. government policies and Anishinaabe peoples' understanding of their own actions.⁵⁷ Christianity and service in the Civil War helped the Anishinaabeg claim the rights and responsibilities of male citizenship—voting, owning land, and serving in the army—while actively preserving long-standing practices and their status as Indians. Anishinaabe Union

⁵⁴ Karamanski, *Blackbird's Song*, 155-156.

⁵⁵ For an argument against the binaries theories of settler colonialism can sustain, see Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism*, 3-6. Regarding the U.S. as a settler colony emphasizes the connection between present conditions of indigenous peoples to past relationships, ideologies, and events. Carole Pateman, "The Settler Contract" in Carole Pateman and Charles W. Mills, eds. *Contract and Domination* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), 76. Recent work in American Indian Studies uses a settler colonial framework when looking at early America, the United States, and Canada. See Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014); Audra Simpson and Andrea Smith, *Theorizing Native Studies* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014); Jodi Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); Mark Rifkin, *When Did Indians Become Straight?: Kinship, the History of Sexuality, and Native Sovereignty* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁵⁶ Anishinaabe leadership was not coercive or authoritarian but based on respect and reciprocal relationships. The Anishinaabeg had expectations based on reciprocity; if an ogimaag did not operate within expectations they could lose the support of their band members. Karamanski, "State Citizenship as a Tool of Indian Persistence," 129. For leadership, see Gregory Evans Dowd, *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, & the British Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 10-11

⁵⁷ For instance, John Collins, Thomas Smith, and Thomas Nelson appear on the 1865 Annuity Roll for the Chippewa of Saginaw, Swan Creek and Black River (for payments associated with the 1855 treaty). Joseph Ne so got appears on the 1859 Annuity Roll. Raymond C. Lantz, *Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan, 1855-1868* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1991), 32-40, 60-70.

veterans continued to navigate their rights with the hope for a type of dual citizenship.⁵⁸ Their continual references to themselves as Indian, Ottawa, and Chippewa (Ojibwe), continued after the war and were important considering federal and state policies of allotment and assimilation.

It is crucial not to apply an assimilationist framework to the history of indigenous peoples. Associating cultural continuity with agency when considering individuals like the men in Company K misrepresents the adaptability of culture and assumes a static culture, which, for Native peoples in particular, can be a detrimental assumption. Ned Blackhawk argues that when “Native peoples adapt to foreign economies or utilize outside technologies, they are assumed to abandon their previous—that is, inferior—ways while in the process of losing parts of themselves; they lose the very things that according to others define them. Once adaptation becomes synonymous with assimilation, change over time—the commonplace definition of history—becomes a death knell. The more things change, the greater the loss.”⁵⁹ This essentialism, applied to American Indian identity, can deny indigenous peoples a shared influence on and participation in modernity.⁶⁰

The binary set up by an assimilationist framework—one that does not take into account adaptability and instead assumes that indigenous culture is static—does not apply to the complex identities of Anishinaabe peoples. As Scott Lyons observes in *X-Marks*, “Indian identity is never

⁵⁸Charles E. Cleland, *Rites of Conquest: The History and Culture of Michigan's Native Americans* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1992), 243. Due partly to bureaucratic inadequacies, the government did not issue patents for Mwakewenah's land until the stipulated ten-year period expired, which occurred after his death. The U.S. government issued a land patent to “Daniel MwawKe we naw (Chief)” on January 1, 1872, for 80 acres in Emmet County (Accession Number: M13210.486). Mwakewenah sold land to Daniel Rodd in 1860, suggesting he owned land prior to his death (Warranty Deed 2189426. Emmet County, MI Register of Deeds). O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, 188-89.

⁵⁹Ned Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006), 4.

⁶⁰O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, xxiii, 3-6, 189-191. O'Brien argues that nineteenth-century non-Indians deliberately tried to deny modernity to Indians, relegating them to the past and thus denying them both a shared present and a future.

static or singular but always dynamic and multiple.”⁶¹ Lyons proposes “a deeper analysis of Indians as human beings who *do* things—things like asserting identity, defining identity, and so forth—under given historical conditions.”⁶² It is important to avoid portraying Anishinaabe actions within an assimilationist model with the underlying implication that certain individuals were less “Indian” than others. An assimilationist framework does not accurately portray the history of Company K and their perceptions of self that could encompass the identities of a warrior, soldier, hunter, farmer, Christian, citizen, band member, and Anishinaabe.

Outline

Chapter One, “Historical Background: Anishinaabe Leaders, Warriors, and Alliances,” synthesizes scholarship on the Anishinaabeg in the region that became the state of Michigan from Pontiac’s War (1763) through the 1836 Treaty of Washington. Taking a generational approach, it traces changes in Anishinaabe masculinity, leadership, and alliances that shaped the lives of Company K men. Chapter Two, “‘Religious rebels’: Odawa and Ojibwe Encounters with American Missionaries in Northern Michigan,” focuses on the tensions between Protestant missionaries and Anishinaabe communities in the 1840s-1860s. Two Anishinaabe religious and political leaders (one a father of Company K soldiers, the other, a soldier himself) made interconnected claims to political and religious leadership that reflect remnants of an Anishinaabe space and its social formations. Chapter Three, “‘Our dear noble country’: Anishinaabe Soldiers Enlist in Company K,” argues that many Anishinaabe men joined the Union army due to the influence of religious networks, Anishinaabe leadership, concerns regarding their social and political status in their communities and in the state of Michigan, and political opinions (such as

⁶¹ Lyons, *X-Marks*, 65.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 59.

their views on slavery and the Union). Using the previous chapters' discussions of Anishinaabe Christianity, Chapter Four, "'We know him to be a Brave Soldier': Company K in the Civil War," deconstructs nineteenth-century representations of Company K soldiers. White observers racialized Anishinaabe men, placing them within a racial hierarchy that differentiated their Civil War experiences from those of their Euro-American and African American counterparts. Participating in Virginia battles in 1864, such as the Battle of the Wilderness and the Battle of the Crater, Company K men proved to skeptics that they were loyal Union men and good soldiers influenced by both Anishinaabe and Christian practices and expectations. The final chapter, "'I am an Indian and I fought through the War of Rebellion': Anishinaabe Assertions of Identity in Civil War Pension Files," explores post-war Michigan and the pension process for Company K men, and it considers how the Anishinaabeg made claims on the government as both veterans and Indians.

A Note on Terminology

This dissertation focuses on the Ojibweg and Odawaag, who made up the largest percentage of Company K. According to Company K scholar Chris Czopek, 51% of Company K men were Odawa, 36% Ojibwe, and 8% Boodewaadamii.⁶³ In some areas, it is difficult to label the men as Odawa or Ojibwe, given they lived in combined communities, but as approximations, Czopek's estimates seem accurate. The Odawaag (plural of Odawa) and Ojibweg (plural of Ojibwe) of northern Michigan lived together in communities during the nineteenth century and, as

⁶³ This dissertation infrequently mentions the Boodewaadamiig (Potawatomi or Bodéwadmik), because of the relatively few Boodewaadamii men in Company K. I want to stress, however that their history is important when speaking about Anishinaabe peoples. The Boodewaadamiig were part of the Three Fires Confederacy—"a loose political confederation"—along with the Odawaag and Ojibweg. While most Michigan Boodewaadamiig lived further south than my area of focus, their participation in the War of 1812, experience with the forces of removal, and participation in Company K are important to consider as points of comparison to the Ojibweg and Odawaag. Charles E. Cleland, *Rites of Conquest: The History and Culture of Michigan's Native Americans* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 39-40, 158; Czopek, *Who was Who*, 10.

Anishinaabe peoples, shared certain religious beliefs, political structures, and perspectives. Both groups—along with the Boodewaadamiig—would have identified as Anishinaabeg—Algonquian speakers with similar customs—and I use this term when talking about the Ojibweg and Odawaag together.⁶⁴

Anishinaabemowin has been written in multiple ways and there are different dialects. For instance, to designate plural, speakers use both a –k or –g, depending on where they are from or the orthography they have learned. An Odawa speaker from Little Traverse Bay, for instance, might refer to their people collectively as “Anishinaabek” (or “Anishinabek” if they do not use the Double-Vowel system). Meanwhile, an Ojibwe individual in Minnesota might write “Anishinaabeg.” Given the standardization of the western Ojibwe orthography, I use this spelling system—thus, Ojibweg, Odawaag, and Boodewaadamiig.⁶⁵ For the spelling of the names of Company K men, I use the same spellings as Czopek who has done extensive research on Company K and has conferred with speakers of Anishinaabemowin.⁶⁶

I use the term *Indian* frequently, as a designator of a particular status in the nineteenth-century as well as the label placed on Anishinaabe men and women by observers—I have tried to limit its use to those contexts. I use the term *Native peoples* and *indigenous* interchangeably. As the majority of the men I am discussing live in Michigan/the United States, I also use the term

⁶⁴ See, for example, “Extracts from the Instructions of the Executive Committee to . . . John Fleming and Peter Dougherty.” September 23, 1838, *Foreign Missionary Chronicle* 6 (November 1838): 348; and Charles E. Cleland, *Rites of Conquest: The History and Culture of Michigan’s Native Americans* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 27, 39-41.

⁶⁵ I have tried to be consistent—manidoog instead of manidouk, ogimaag instead of ogimak. Pronunciation of –k and –g are very similar. See John D. Nichols and Earl Nyholm, *A Concise Dictionary of Minnesota Ojibwe* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), vii. Andrew J. Blackbird, an Odawa historian and interpreter who spent time as a U.S. government blacksmith at Dougherty’s mission, created a grammar and a dictionary that is also helpful for questions pertaining to nineteenth-century language use. Both the Ojibwe language and Odawa language are part of the Algonquian linguistic family. Andrew J. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan* (Ypsilanti, Mich.: Ypsilantian Job Printing House, 1887), 107-28.

⁶⁶ Czopek, *Who was Who*. Across records—pension files, censuses, newspapers, service records—Anishinaabe names are spelled differently, which makes Czopek’s standardization necessary. For the spellings used in Civil War pension records, see *Ibid.*, 194-201.

American Indian. This is a bit of misnomer in the sense that a small number of the people I talk about were moving between the United States and Canada—and therefore the current term might more accurately be *First Nations*. This too is why, despite being stylistically repetitive, I most frequently use the term Anishinaabe.

Chapter One

Historical Background: Anishinaabe Warriors, Leaders, and Alliances

Imagined Preparations

1763

The Ojibwe war leader explained his plan to the gathered warriors. They would approach the fort with baggatiway (lacrosse) sticks and play a game while women—with guns and war clubs hidden under blankets—would stand nearby. They could take the English by surprise. The prophet had explained that the Master of Life wanted the Indians to reject white people, to “drive them out” and “make war upon them.” The war leader was ready to reject the English, who did not heed his warnings and treated him like a conquered slave.

1813

Before leaving the bay, the twelve Anishinaabe warriors offered tobacco to the manidoog in an appeal for protection and success in their attack against the Chi-Mookman (Big Knives/Americans).

1830s

The young man listened to the Ojibwe Methodist preacher speaking to the crowd in Anishinaabemowin. The speaker was known as a warrior who had fought against the Americans in 1814, but he energetically told the story of a different kind of warrior. He explained to those who would listen that he was a Christian in a state of warfare that required courage and

steadfastness. The young man was curious about Gichi Manidoo as a source of power and strength.

1863

Sitting next to other Anishinaabe men, the Union soldier opened his Bible to a page that began “Wahyashkud sah keahyah owh Ekedoowin, kiya dush owh Ekedoowin ooge-wejewegoon owh Keshamunedoo....” He could not focus long enough to read past the beginning words, but the book comforted him nonetheless and he hoped its power would help him in the upcoming battle. He felt confident in his skills with a rifle and was known as a good hunter—he was unsure about his skills in battle.¹

These moments highlight Anishinaabe men preparing for warfare (literal and figurative). While imagined, they are composites of particular individuals paired with narratives of long-standing Anishinaabe practices. They hint at an Anishinaabe world of interdependent relationships between people(s) and manidoog (other-than-human beings). The scenes are meant to trouble particular concepts, such as tradition, conversion, Christianity, warrior, and soldier. For example, the opening scene in 1763 reflects a pan-Indian religious revitalization and nativist movement inspired by stories (with Christian influences) of separate creations for white people

¹ **1763:** Gregory Evans Dowd, *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, & the British Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 94-105, (Quote, 104, from Pontiac’s recounting of Neolin’s message, see Mary Agnes Burton, ed. *Journal of Pontiac’s Conspiracy* (Detroit: Michigan Society of the Colonial Wars, 1912), 30); Keith R. Widder, *Beyond Pontiac’s Shadow: Michilimackinac and the Anglo-Indian War of 1763* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2013), 99-103; Milo Milton Quaife, ed., *Alexander Henry’s Travels and Adventures in the Years 1760-1776* (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1921), 42-44. **1812:** Harbor Springs Historical Society, *Turning Point: The War of 1812 from the Native American Perspective*, June 15, 2013-May 2014. **1830s:** Catherine Murton Stoehr, “Salvation from Empire: the Roots of Anishinabe Christianity in Upper Canada, 1650-1840,” Dissertation, July 2008, 192; Donald Smith, *Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians*, 2d ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 242. George Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels of Kah-ge-ga-gah-nowh (George Copway) [...]* (Albany: Weed and Parsons, 1847), 197 cited in Donald B. Smith, *Mississauga Portraits: Ojibwe Voices from Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 215; Peter Jones, *Life and Journals of Kah-ke-wa-qua-na-by (Rev. Peter Jones), Wesley Missionary* (Toronto: Anson Green, at the Wesleyan Printing Establishment, 1860), 105 cited in Smith, *Mississauga Portraits*, 215. **1863:** Peter Jones and John Jones, *The Gospel According to St. John: translated into the Chippewa Tongue* (London: Printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1831), 1.

and Indians, rejection of the English, and desire to reclaim sacred power.² The final scene from 1863 highlights an Anishinaabe man reading a Bible in Anishinaabemowin and taking comfort in the words on the page. Many Christian soldiers carried a Bible, which “was God’s Word, conveying information that was vital to man’s salvation....”³ The soldier may have viewed the Bible as an object possessing manidoo (power) or maybe he wanted to believe in the circulating stories that a Bible or Testament placed in a soldier’s pocket had stopped a bullet.⁴ While these sketches demonstrate change over time in Anishinaabewaki, they also explore Anishinaabe masculinity—ideals based on age; experience; skills related to hunting, warfare, and oratory; and social relationships. Like other Algonquians, the Anishinaabeg connected manhood with particular social roles, such as hunter and warrior, and related the “proper performance of manhood” to these roles and their associated skills.⁵

Anishinaabe social relations were based on reciprocal relationships, kinship, and alliance networks. Anishinaabe peoples regarded others within two categories—as a relative (inawemaagen) or an outsider (meyaagizid). A person could be considered a relative both through biological connections and also through ritualized exchange that “created mutual obligation” and could become the basis for fictive kinship. For example, the governor of New France took on the persona of Onontio (father), creating fictive kinship between the French and

² For more on spiritual revitalization and pan-Indian movements in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: the North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992). For separate creation stories, see 30-31. See, especially, 27-35 for an explanation of the “Indians’ Great Awakening,” pan-Indian identity, and Neolin’s message.

³ Steven E. Woodworth, *While God is Marching On: The Religious World of Civil War Soldiers* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001), 72.

⁴ For the importance of copies of the Bible to soldiers, see *Ibid.*, 68-72.

⁵ The French used the term Algonquian to designate linguistically related peoples. Algonquian refers to a large language group, with Algonquian-speaking peoples stretching from the East coast of upper North America, through the Great Lakes. Anishinaabemowin is part of this language group. For an example of how eastern Algonquian masculinity and manhood were constructed, performed, and contested in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Ann M. Little, *Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 13 (quote), 14. As Little demonstrates, Algonquian masculinity was a complex construction based on gender, but also age and status. Military success was just one of the ways Anishinaabe men defined and attested to their masculinity in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

their Anishinaabe allies that required ongoing exchange and fulfillment of obligations related to trade, gifts, and aid against shared enemies.⁶ Concepts of “reciprocal rights” and mutual obligations extended to manidoog—other-than-human beings who could appear in different forms. An individual could establish a relationship with particular manidoog through dreams, visions, and fasting. A war leader, for instance, might try to gain support from the manidoog for a war party through singing, drumming, and dreaming. Anishinaabe expectations of social relationships were based on these multilayered and interdependent networks of alliance with both human and other-than-human beings.⁷ Anishinaabe men and women were part of alliance networks that operated on multiple levels—between peoples, bands, and individuals. Fictive kinship facilitated alliances based on exchange and reciprocal obligations that had political, military, spiritual, and economic consequences.

Men who successfully negotiated and maintained alliances, reciprocal relationships, and access to manidoog could enhance their status. Anishinaabe men and women worked to create alliances of exchange. Unlike their Euro-American counterparts, the goal was not to accrue

⁶ For discussions of alliances and kinship, see Michael Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 31-32 (inawemaagen and meyaagizid), 51(quote), 52, 75; Rebecca Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People: A History of Minnesota Ojibwe Politics, 1825-1898* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1998), 10, 19, 106, 118, 199; Cary Miller, *Ogimaag: Anishinaabeg Leadership, 1760-1845* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 46, 79-80; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 101. As White and Witgen explain, the Anishinaabe and the French held different understandings of this paternal relationship that needed to be negotiated. While the French believed their role as father should carry the same authority as a patriarchal monarch, the Anishinaabeg viewed their French father as a provider or mediator. White, *Middle Ground*, 36-37 and Witgen, *Infinity of Nations*, 52. For women’s roles in alliances, see Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men*, 4-7, 29.

⁷ Witgen, *Infinity of Nations*, 31, 386n13; Miller, *Ogimaag*, 8; Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 18; Christopher Vecsey, *Traditional Ojibwa Religion and Its Historical Changes* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1983), 72-79; and Charles E. Cleland, *Rites of Conquest: The History and Culture of Michigan’s Native Americans* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1992), 68-69. For more on the meanings of manidoo, see Basil Johnston, *The Manitous: The Spiritual World of the Ojibway* (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1995), xxi-xxii. James McClurken describes manitous (manidoog) as “a special class of other-than-human persons that could be supplicated in songs, dances and rituals to prevent misfortune in daily life.” James McClurken, “We Wish To Be Civilized: Ottawa- American Political Contests on the Michigan Frontier” (PhD diss., Michigan State, 1988), 98 (He cites A. Irving Hallowell, “Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior, and World View” in Dennis Tedlock and Barbara Tedlock, *Teachings From the American Earth: Indian Religion And Philosophy* (New York: Liveright, 1975), 141-178). For social relations, see Miller, *Ogimaag*, 25, 130-131.

wealth, but rather to gain prestige by sharing resources in order to create reciprocal relationships. Leadership was based on redistribution of resources, generosity, mediation, and the ability to reach a consensus. Both ogimaag (civil leaders) and mayosewininiwag (war leaders) could gain



Figure 1.1 Pencil drawing of Odawa Shimagnesheg (warriors) during the War of 1812 by an Odawa student at Little Traverse (c.1838). Top portion shows Anishinaabe warriors' practices before leaving for combat (these images may depict Odawa preparations and attacks at Niagara and Prairie du Chien). The sinbangshkimet (animal skin pouch, pictured with the figure second to the left), for instance, may represent a medicine bundle. A dwegun (drum) and powagun (pipe) are depicted on the right.

Source: Author photo of display at the Harbor Springs Historical Society, *Turning Point: The War of 1812 from the Native American Perspective*, June 15, 2013-May 2014. Original at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria.

status through gift-giving.⁸ Warfare could result in the acquisition of more resources that could then be redistributed (including captives who, if they were not killed or ransomed, would become slaves or adopted band members).⁹

The opening vignettes hint at Anishinaabe social relationships, alliances, masculinity, and warfare, as well as changes in Anishinaabe social, cultural, and religious practices from the 1760s-1860s. The attack on Michilimackinac in 1763 serves as one beginning point for the story of Company K and the Anishinaabeg in the Civil War; it establishes a point of comparison between Anishinaabe warriors and Anishinaabe Union soldiers. In 1763, we get a glimpse of an Anishinaabe social world, as well as a shared history with the French, British, and other Native peoples. Men who participated in the War of 1812, like their 1763 counterparts, were able to follow the expected Anishinaabe trajectory related to manhood—from young warrior to war leader or ogimaag (civil leader), for example. After the War of 1812, the place of warriors in Anishinaabe society began to shift as Anishinaabe ogimaag signed a series of land cession treaties, especially in the 1830s. These treaties also contained clauses on agriculture and education, reflecting the U.S. government’s efforts to “civilize” indigenous peoples—in other words, to create Christian farmers working individual plots of land. Euro-American views of masculinity caused tensions between Euro-Americans and the Anishinaabeg. The Anishinaabeg valued effective hunters, warriors, orators, and leaders (who drew authority from their abilities to mediate and build a consensus). Euro-Americans did not always acknowledge decentralized Anishinaabe leadership. Christian missionaries and U.S. government officials influenced older models of Anishinaabe masculinity, impelling some Anishinaabe men to overstep their authority

⁸ For a clear and concise description of Anishinaabe leadership (Odawa in particular) see Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 10-11.

⁹ For captives and warfare, see White, *The Middle Ground*, 261-262, 324-329; Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 140-143, 294-297. For slavery, see Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slavery in New France* (Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture/Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

or proper roles, consequently losing the respect and recognition of other Anishinaabeg.

Anishinaabe social practices continued to be significant through the 1830s, when the region under discussion became the state of Michigan.¹⁰

Anishinaabe men who enlisted in Company K were from multiple geographic locations and many different bands connected by trading networks, waterways, alliances, shared resources, and both fictive and real kinship. Cultural and social change for Anishinaabe men occurred in a myriad of moments—choosing not to offer tobacco to manidoog, failing to go to southern hunting grounds in the winter, or marrying an Anishinaabe woman in a Christian ceremony. These changes are important to understanding later Anishinaabe Union soldiers who were part of a generation shaped by early nineteenth-century warfare and treaties. The grandfathers and fathers of Company K men were part of an earlier War of 1812 generation that had to negotiate the shifting American presence in Anishinaabewaki.

The Attack at Michilimackinac: Warfare, a Ball Game, and Social Relationships

The capture of Fort Michilimackinac in early June of 1763 started with a game of baggatiway (lacrosse) between Ojibwe men from the Straits of Mackinac and their Sauk opponents. Ojibwe women stood nearby, watching the painted men who carried sticks with nets hurl a ball towards the opposing team's stake. Two British men stationed at the garrison, Captain George Etherington and Lieutenant Leslie, ventured outside of the pickets to watch. After the players threw their ball towards the gate, the women handed hidden guns and war clubs to the Ojibwe players. Some of the men captured Etherington and Leslie while others rushed into the

¹⁰ James McClurken makes this argument in “We Wish to be Civilized” and “Augustin Hamlin Jr.: Ottawa Identity and the Politics of Persistence,” James A. Clifton, *Being and Becoming Indian: Biographical Studies of North American Frontiers* (Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1989), 89-90.

fort, taking it by surprise despite earlier rumors and warnings. This attack at Fort Michilimackinac became part of the collective memories of the inhabitants of the Great Lakes borderlands, which included British, French, and indigenous peoples, and, later, Americans.¹¹ Along with a siege on Fort Detroit and attacks on other forts that same summer, the attack on Michilimackinac enforced Euro-American fears of Indian “treachery” and violence. As a Native victory, it emphasized the large population of Native peoples in the Great Lakes, while strengthening Euro-Americans’ impressions of armed Anishinaabe men as a threat to their property and lives.

On the Straits of Mackinac, where Lake Huron and Lake Michigan meet, Fort Michilimackinac was strategically located both for military purposes and the Euro-Indigenous fur trade, especially due to its location within an indigenous social world.¹² Historian Michael McDonnell points out that Michilimackinac was a central and sacred place for the Anishinaabeg in the Great Lakes. The nineteenth-century Ojibwe historian William Warren described the Straits of Mackinac as the place where “the final separation” of the Anishinaabeg into three groups—the Ojibwe, Odawaag, and Boodewaadamiig—occurred.¹³ Several Anishinaabe doodemag (clans) also trace their origins to this region. Andrew Blackbird, a nineteenth-century

¹¹ *Alexander Henry’s Travels*, 78-79; William W. Warren, *History of the Ojibway Nation* (St. Paul, Minn.: Minnesota Historical Society, 1885), 202; *Beyond Pontiac’s Shadow*, 141-142; Capt. George Etherington to Henry Gladwin, June 12, 1763 Michilimackinac in Michigan Historical Commission/Pioneer Society of Michigan. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* 40 vols. (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission/Pioneer Society of Michigan, 1877-1929), 27: 203-204 (hereafter MPH); and Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 126.

¹² In 1763 Fort Michilimackinac was located at the tip of present-day Michigan’s Lower Peninsula at the Straits of Mackinac. In 1781, the British moved the fort to what is now Mackinac Island. Important waterways, such as the St. Lawrence and Mississippi, could be reached from Michilimackinac, and it was a primary stop from Montreal to the western Great Lakes. Widder, *Beyond Pontiac’s Shadow*, xviii; Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 6-8; Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 217-218; and White, *The Middle Ground*, 316. Jonathan Carver mentions the attack on Fort Michilimackinac in his *Travels*, a text which went through multiple editions and languages. Jonathan Carver, *Three Years Travels through the Interior Parts of North American for more than Five Thousand Miles* (Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by Joseph Crukshank in Market Street and Robert Bell, in Third Street, 1784), 24.

¹³ Michael A. McDonnell, *Masters of Empire: Great Lakes Indians and the Making of America* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2015), 21-22; Warren, *History of the Ojibway Nation*, 46-47.

Odawa author also claimed Michilimackinac as part of the early history of the Anishinaabeg. “Our tradition says that when the Island was first discovered by the Ottawas, which was some time before America was known as an existing country by the white man, there was a small independent tribe, a remnant race of Indians who occupied this [Mackinac] island...” Blackbird noted. He recorded that the island was named after these people, the “Mi-shi-ne-macki-naw-go”—a people who the Iroquois almost entirely “annihilated.” Blackbird’s story highlights Anishinaabe claims to the region, as well as their history of warfare with the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois).¹⁴ In addition, Michabous (Nanabush or Nanabozho) —the shape-shifting hare and trickster—is associated with the region and Mackinac Island in particular. An early eighteenth-century colonial official of New France noted that, according to the Odawaag, the island “has been the abode of one of their gods, named Michapoux, the place where he was born and taught his people to fish.”¹⁵ The Straits of Mackinac were central to the Anishinaabeg.

Surrounding the Straits of Mackinac stretched Anishinaabewaki, an autonomous social world shaped by the shifting social formations of Anishinaabe peoples. North of Mackinac, Bow-e-ting (Sault Ste. Marie), was home to a large number of Anishinaabeg.¹⁶ To the east of Mackinac, down the coast of Lake Huron at Cheboygan, Thunder Bay, and Saginaw Bay, Ojibweg had seasonal villages. Along the coast of Lake Michigan stretching from current-day Cross Village to Little Traverse Bay, Odawa villages lay in Waganagisi, a region the French referred to as L’Arbre Croche.¹⁷ In the 1760s, the northern Odawaag congregated in one of their

¹⁴ Andrew J. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan* (Ypsilanti, The Ypsilantian Job Printing House, 1887), 19-22.

¹⁵ W. Vernon Kineitz, *The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1615-1760* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1940), 379-380. Potherie tells a similar story in Emma Helen Blair, ed., *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes...*, 2 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), I: 283-288, cited in McDonnell, *Masters of Empire*, 22, 338 N1.

¹⁶ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 18, 19, 21, 50, 325, 338-49, 351.

¹⁷ The French term for the region, L’Arbre Croche, became used by the Odawaag as well. Both terms meant “crooked tree”—“*Waganagisi*, taking its name from a tall, crooked pine tree that overhung a high lakeshore bluff.”

largest villages, which was also known as Waganagisi. The Odawaag also had major villages closer to the southern part of Lake Michigan, such as Owasinong (Grand River) and near other rivers, including on the Muskegon, Manistee, and White Rivers.¹⁸ The Boodewaadamiig lived slightly south of the Odawaag, continuing down the shores of Lake Michigan. Through the 1760s there was also an Odawa presence near the Detroit River (as well as Wyandot and Boodewaadamiig). Ojibweg lived near Lake St. Clair, the St. Clair River, and Saginaw Bay. The size of villages depended on the season as Anishinaabe peoples regularly dispersed and regathered according to a seasonal round.

Theodore J. Karamanski, *Blackbird's Song: Andrew J. Blackbird and the Odawa People* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2012), 5. McClurken, "We Wish to be Civilized," 82.

¹⁸ James M. McClurken, *Gah-Baeh-Jhagwah-Buk = The Way It Happened: A Visual Culture History of the Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Museum, 1991), 4.



Legend-Figure 1.2

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| A. Little Traverse Bay | H. Waganagisi (L'Arbre Croche) |
| B. Grand Traverse Bay | I. Owasinong (Grand River) villages |
| C. Thomas Station | J. Noaquageshik's Village |
| D. Old Wing Mission | K. Keewaycooshcum's Village |
| E. Ottawa Baptist Mission | L. Thunder Bay |
| F. Fort Michilimackinac (Before 1781) | M. Cheboygan |
| G. Fort Michilimackinac (After 1781) | N. Saginaw |

*There are many other Ojibwe, Odawa, and Boodewaadamii villages in this region, the map only reflects places mentioned in the narrative

Source: Map adapted from www.miseagrant.umich.edu

The individuals present at the Straits of Mackinac when the Fort fell, and the subsequent prisoner negotiation, tell much about the eighteenth-century milieu of peoples in the region not long after the British victory in the Seven Years War. The British trader, Alexander Henry, in one of the most repeated accounts of the event, remembered hearing an “Indian war cry” before witnessing the Ojibwe attack on the garrison from his window. Henry tried to take refuge at Charles Langlade’s residence, but was met with Langlade’s unhelpful response: “Que voudriez-vous que j’en ferais [what would you like me to do]?” Henry recalled: “This was a moment for despair; but the next a Pani[s] woman, a slave of M. Langlade’s beckoned me to follow her.” The Indian slave directed him to hide in the attic, where the Ojibweg later found him.⁸⁵ Henry became the prisoner of an Ojibwe war leader, Minweweh. Another Ojibwe man, Wawatam, had ritually adopted Henry as his brother and gave Minweweh gifts to free the British trader.⁸⁶ Henry lived with Wawatam’s band for about a year and was unable to secure his safety and trade goods until he accompanied the British troops as they reoccupied Fort Michilimackinac in September 1764.⁸⁷ As an English trader, Henry was in the precarious position of an outsider in the Anishinaabe-French Straits of Mackinac.

Henry’s experiences during the Ojibwe attack on the garrison highlight the trading networks connected to Fort Michilimackinac. Despite the French evacuation of the fort in October 1760, British soldiers did not occupy the post until September 1761. At that time, Henry entered the region disguised as a Canadian voyageur, “his face and hair smeared with dirt and

⁸⁵ *Alexander Henry’s Travels*, 80-82.

⁸⁶ Widder, *Pontiac’s Shadow*, 151-152.

⁸⁷ Henry accompanied Captain William Howard and his troops. Many scholars view Henry’s account as an unreliable source. Here, it is being used to introduce the various people present during the attack on Fort Michilimackinac. David A. Armour, “HENRY, ALEXANDER (1739-1824),” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–
http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/henry_alexander_1739_1824_6E.html accessed September 7, 2015.

grease to obscure his complexion.”⁸⁸ As a British fur trader, Henry carefully engaged in a trade dominated by indigenous peoples and the French. Henry arrived without kinship ties, in contrast to established traders and families. Charles Langlade, for instance, was the son of Augustin Langlade, a French fur trader at Michilimackinac, and Domitilde, the sister of Nissowaquet, an important Odawa war leader and ogimaa.⁸⁹ Charles was part of an influential doodem; a patrilineal kinship unit (a clan) that extended beyond band and village boundaries.⁹⁰ His mother, Domitilde, belonged to Anishinaabe and French social and familial networks—she provided her husband with important trading connections. Moreover, Domitilde and Augustin were part of a Catholic network that helped to create fictive kinship and cement trading connections. A French-Odawa man, Charles Langlade embodied the complicated kinship networks that powered the fur trade. He became an influential warrior, trader, and diplomat at Michilimackinac. In contrast to Henry, Langlade was embedded in kinship networks—both biological and fictive—with Anishinaabe peoples who moved in and out of the Straits of Mackinac.⁹¹

Charles Langlade influenced the French-Odawa alliance in L'Arbre Croche and the Straits of Mackinac. Historian Brett Rushforth argues that Langlade's ownership of slaves contributed to his prominent social position, emphasizing slavery's importance to alliances and

⁸⁸ Brian Leigh Dunnigan, *A Picturesque Situation: Mackinac before Photography, 1615-1860* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 2008), 37.

⁸⁹ Paul Trap, “MOUET DE LANGLADE, CHARLES-MICHEL,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–
http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mouet_de_langlade_charles_michel_4E.html accessed June 22, 2015.

⁹⁰ McDonnell, *Masters of Empire*, 9-10 (for more on doodemag, he cites Heidi Bohaker, “Nindoodemag: Anishinaabe Identities in the Eastern Great Lakes Region, 1600-1900 (PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto, 2006)); Witgen, *Infinity of Nations*, 19, 92-93, 260-263.

⁹¹ Langlade participated in battles against the British at Fort Duquesne (Pittsburg), Fort William Henry (southern end of Lake George), Lake Champlain, and Quebec during the Seven Years War. Joseph Tasse, “Memoir of Charles de Langlade,” in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (Madison: E.B. Bolens, State Printer, 1876), 125; Eric Hemenway, “Langlade from a 21st Century, Odawa perspective,” *Essence of Emmet* (History Organization of Emmet County), 14 <http://www.emmetcounty.org/uploads/Essence-of-Emmet-FINAL-WEB-version.pdf>. For more on kinship, the structure of the fur trade, and power dynamics in the region, see Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 5-6 and Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 216-217.

social status in the region.⁹² Langlade's parents had owned slaves and he married the daughter of another prominent slaveholder. Langlade's Odawa kin sold and gave him panis slaves that had been captured in war.⁹³ Panis became the general term for slave in New France, and referred to an indigenous slave from a nation at war with New France's native allies—for the Anishinaabeg, enemies were enslavable.⁹⁴ The slaves' presence in Langlade's household increased his prestige, in addition to providing him workers who performed domestic labor, transported goods, and completed other work related to the fur trade. The identity of the Indian slave who helped Henry is unknown, but may have been Marie, the Langlades' slave who was baptized at Ste. Anne's parish at Mackinac.⁹⁵ The panis slave was part of a system of slavery that included mostly Indian, but also African American slaves. At times, certain slaves became part of the Catholic kin network of godparents and godchildren.⁹⁶ Prior to a significant Protestant missionary presence, Catholicism helped structure important kinship, religious, and social networks among the diverse peoples engaged in the fur trade.⁹⁷ The female slave who helped Henry, however,

⁹² Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 287 and 289.

⁹³ Langlade's father and mother owned panis slaves and Domitilde commanded at least seven slaves in thirty years, some of whom were baptized. Domitilde served as the godmother for her slave in 1752. Both Domitilde and her husband were active in a Catholic network that established kinship bonds through marriage and the role of godparents. Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 266, 290. Langlade married Charlotte-Ambroisine Bourassa, the daughter of René Bourassa.

⁹⁴ Panis became a signifier for Indian slaves from many indigenous nations. The Pawnee were a western nation who lived near the Missouri River in the eighteenth century and traded with the French, often providing them with slaves. These slaves would have been from various western peoples. The French began designating Indian slaves as Panis and justified the enslavement of this category of people. *Ibid.*, 165-173.

⁹⁵ The Northwest Ordinance in 1787 prohibited slavery but it did not emancipate those slaves already held by settlers in the region. Slaves still appeared in the 1810 Detroit census and in Ste. Anne's church records through 1813. Tiya Miles et. al, "Slavery in Detroit: Stories and Statistics," "Michigan in Perspective: Local History Conference," Historical Society of MI, March 22, 2013; Ste. Anne's Church Registers, 1704-1842, Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, MI (Archives of the Archdiocese of Detroit); and Donna Valley Russell, ed. *Michigan Censuses 1710-1830: Under the French, British, and Americans* (Detroit: Detroit Society for Genealogical Research, Inc., 1982), 87-91. Langlade had at least three female slaves, but two of them, Catherine and Marianne were still children in 1763. See records for St. Anne's, Island of Mackinac, available at <http://www.migenweb.org/cheboygan/church/stanne/stanne.html> accessed September 19, 2015.

⁹⁶ Slaves of Catholic masters were often baptized and buried in the parish cemetery, in both Mackinac and Detroit. Langlade was an active church member and he witnessed marriages and was godfather for many fellow Catholics, including slaves. See Tasse, "Memoir of Charles de Langlade," 186.

⁹⁷ Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 184, 191, 317, 319.

would always be partially an outsider. Even if she were adopted, she was removed from her family and community. Without male relatives or clan members for protection, she was vulnerable.⁹⁸ Both the panis slave and Henry were outsiders in Anishinaabewaki.

Another outsider, Captain Etherington was a new arrival to Fort Michilimackinac in the fall of 1762. In June of 1763, he ignored rumors of violence against the British and was accustomed to the presence of Anishinaabeg at the Fort: “the Chippewas who live in a plain near this fort, assembled to play ball, as they had done almost every day since their arrival; They play’d from morning till noon, then throwing their ball close to the gate, and observing Liet. Leslie and me a few paces out of it, they came behind us, seized, and carried us into the woods.” Taken captive, both men ended up with the Odawaag at L’Arbre Croche, who were not involved with the attack. The Ojibweg killed sixteen soldiers and an English trader, capturing the remaining garrison members.⁹⁹ The Ojibweg attacked only British individuals, leaving the French unharmed.

The two main war leaders of the attack on Fort Michilimackinac were part of a larger 1763 movement against British forts and colonists. Madjeckewiss was an Ojibwe war leader who spent summers about sixteen miles southeast of Michilimackinac near the Cheboygan River and wintered further south, near Thunder and Saginaw bays.¹⁰⁰ Already a respected war leader in his 20s, he was the younger of the two war leaders. The second, Minweweh, was an Ojibwe war leader and ogimaa from Mackinac Island allied with the French in the Seven Years’ War.¹⁰¹ Alexander Henry met Minweweh when he arrived at Fort Michilimackinac in 1761.

⁹⁸ Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 67-68.

⁹⁹ The Ojibwe killed fifteen soldiers and one lieutenant. Capt. George Etherington to Henry Gladwin, June 12, 1763 Michilimackinac, (MPHC V 27, 203-204)

¹⁰⁰ Widder, *Beyond Pontiac’s Shadow*, 142.

¹⁰¹ David A. Armour, “MADJECKEWISS,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003—http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/madjeckewiss_5E.html accessed July 6, 2015. David A. Armour, “MINWEWEH, Le Grand Sauteux,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 3, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003—http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/minweweh_3E.html accessed July 6, 2015.

Accompanied by approximately sixty armed men with charcoal-covered faces, Minweweh emphasized that the English were his enemies, forcefully telling Henry that the King of France was sleeping after making war, and would soon wake up to join “his children, the Indians.” Minweweh pointed out that the British had killed many Ojibwe warriors during the Seven Years War. He expected the British to cover the dead in order to enter into a peaceful trade relationship or alliance with the Anishinaabeg. In Anishinaabe social relations, the killing of a clan or village member demanded either retaliation against members of the responsible group or some kind of material compensation from that group. The British, should they want to be allies rather than enemies, needed to offer presents—goods or slaves. The British demand for trade without acknowledging the killings was not the way to treat potential allies. Minweweh declared: “Englishman, although you have conquered the French, you have not yet conquered us! We are not your slaves.” The Ojibweg expected the English to treat them with respect, rather than as a subjugated peoples or enemies who could be enslaved. Despite his warnings and complaints, Minweweh said he would trade with Henry. His speech took on significance, however, when he captured Henry during the subsequent attack on Michilimackinac in 1763.¹⁰²

The interconnected world of Anishinaabe warriors, women who carried the guns, British traders and soldiers, French-Anishinaabe individuals, and slaves, embodies Michilimackinac’s position as an important crossroads in the fur trade.¹⁰³ The Ojibwe attack was part of what has become known as Pontiac’s War, in which Native peoples captured eight British forts and laid

¹⁰² *Alexander Henry’s Travels*, 42–44. For explanations of Anishinaabe-British relationships after the Seven Years War, British disrespect of Anishinaabe peoples, and the rhetoric of slavery, see Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 63–75 and Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 374–377. Also, see Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 114–118, for an explanation of Native peoples’ strategies and motivations for their attacks against the British. For a description of covering the dead, see Brett Rushforth, “‘A Little Flesh We Offer You’: The Origins of Indian Slavery in New France,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 60, No. 4 (Oct., 2003), 784–785; Witgen, *Infinity of Nations*, 203–209; and White, *The Middle Ground*, 75–82.

¹⁰³ David A. Armour and Keith R. Widder, *At the Crossroads: Michilimackinac During the American Revolution* (Mackinac Island : Mackinac Island State Park Commission, 1978), 3.

siege to forts Detroit and Pitt. Anishinaabe peoples' expectations of alliances and proper social and political relationships conflicted with British goals and the officers' domineering attitudes. British attempts to incorporate this multi-cultural world into their empire led some Native peoples to attack British forts in an effort to remind the British that they had not been conquered and therefore had claims to land in the Great Lakes that needed to be acknowledged. Pontiac's War was the violent manifestation of these conflicting views of the status of Native peoples. The British expected Native peoples to act as subordinates and to acknowledge the Crown's sovereignty over land Britain claimed through the Treaty of Paris in 1763.¹⁰⁴ Anishinaabe peoples, however, repeatedly reminded British officials that they had not been conquered and that the British traders and forts, like Michilimackinac, were on Native land. The Anishinaabeg perceived British officials' and representatives' lack of respect as if they were relegating Native peoples to an inferior and subjugated status, a position associated with the condition of slaves more than potential allies or unconquered peoples.¹⁰⁵ Disagreements over status would continue, and Anishinaabe leaders would use the rhetoric of slavery again in the 1860s, albeit in a different context.

It is telling that Etherington did not foresee the subsequent violence as he watched the Sauk and Ojibwe men play baggatiway, nor was he alarmed to see painted Ojibwe men—similar to painted warriors—right outside his garrison's gates. He would have frequently observed groups of Native peoples around the fort—trading, working, and socializing. The game and the excitement drew the garrison's men, who would have witnessed the Sauk and Ojibwe teams

¹⁰⁴ Historian Greg Dowd argues that Pontiac's War was over the status of indigenous people in the British Empire as militant Anishinaabe made claims to their land. Pontiac drew inspiration from the Delaware prophet Neolin's teachings and rejection of the English in his spiritual revitalization messages. Dowd, *War Under Heaven*, 3.

¹⁰⁵ See Rushforth for discussion of how Anishinaabe worried about being relegated to a position in their relations with the British that was closer to the social position of slave than an ally/potential ally in a reciprocal relationship or alliance. Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, 371-377. Also, for disagreements over Indian status as the main cause for Pontiac's War, see Dowd, *War under Heaven*. For examples, see 3, 69-75, 230-31, 238, 257.

trying to gain possession of a ball (pikwâkwad) made of clay or wood, perhaps covered in skin.¹⁰⁶ William Warren, a nineteenth-century Ojibwe author, claimed two hundred players gathered outside Fort Michilimackinac's gate "their painted persons streaming with feathers, ribbons, fox and wolf tails, swayed to and fro as the ball was carried backwards and forwards by either party." Like the warriors who had visited Henry in 1761, the ballplayers had their faces covered with charcoal, some with their bodies covered in grease or white circles around their eyes.¹⁰⁷ Etherington and his men witnessed an intense sport. Warren described baggatiway as a rough game: "The great object is to obtain possession of the ball; and, during the heat and excitement, no obstacle is allowed to stand in the way of getting at it. Let it fall far out into the deep water, numbers rush madly in and swim for it, each party impeding the efforts of the other in every manner possible....and the most violent hurts and bruises are incident to the headlong, mad manner in which it is played."¹⁰⁸ The physical demands of baggatiway honed expertise that Anishinaabe men needed for both hunting and warfare.

Baggatiway could be violent and mimicked skills the Anishinaabeg would have needed in other arenas of life. Rituals associated with the game, as well as how it was played and Ojibwe stories about it, were often related to violence, warfare, and death.¹⁰⁹ It is telling that the

¹⁰⁶ Thomas Vennum, *Lacrosse Legends of the First Americans* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 52-53. Bishop Frederic Baraga, who spent time in the region of east of Lake Michigan and Lake Superior, recorded pikwâkwad as the Ojibwe word for the baggatiway ball, "knob in tree." Frederic Baraga, *A Dictionary of the Ojibway Language* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1992), 355.

¹⁰⁷ Henry described a player with "his entire face and body covered with charcoal and grease" with a white spot encircling each eye; *Alexander Henry's Travels*, 88.

¹⁰⁸ Warren, *History of the Ojibway Nation*, 202-203.

¹⁰⁹ See Vennum, *Lacrosse Legends*, 72-79 in which he analyzes a story collected by an anthropologist who interviewed Ojibwe near Lac Court Oreilles and Lac du Flambeau Reservations in 1941, 1942, and 1944. They tell a story of Madjikiwis and his new brother-in-law, Wakayabide. Odawa legend of O-na-wat-q-qut-o includes a scene of "young men engaged at ball" and an Ojibwe legend of Sault Ste. Marie/Bow-e-ting, includes a description of young men playing ball. (15).

Greg Dowd discusses the history and significance of baggatiway as the opening of an attack on the British at Michilimackinac. He points out that the Anishinaabeg had played baggatiway with the French during Feast of the Dead gatherings and it had also been a sacred component of intertribal diplomacy. Dowd places the violence against the British in the context of an "otherworldly" war linked to spiritual revitalization. In his telling, Anishinaabe

pikwâkwad, or game ball, shared the term used for an Ojibwe war club, a pikwâkwado-pagamâgan—“war club, with a big knob on the end.”¹¹⁰ Ethnomusicologist Thomas Vennum notes that baggatiway, for many Native peoples, imitated warfare. A proficient baggatiway player who could move swiftly during the game might also move swiftly to and in battle.¹¹¹ Warren’s description of the game focused on speed: “Occasionally a swift and agile runner would catch it in his bat, and making tremendous leaps hither and thither to avoid the attempts of his opponents to knock it out of his bat, or force him to throw it, he would make a sudden dodge past them, and choosing a clear track, run swiftly, urged on by the deafening shouts of his party and the by-standers, towards the stake of his adversaries, till his onward course was stopped by a swift runner....”¹¹² The importance of speed is echoed in stories of warfare, both in the early nineteenth century, and in later stories of Company K soldiers. These overlapping skills were deadly for those stationed at the garrison, as talented baggatiway players were also practiced warriors.¹¹³ As the most important identity categories in the area shifted from concepts of kinship to concepts of citizenship in the nineteenth century, Anishinaabe men continued to draw on these skills.

Warriors (Shimagnesheg) held a ritualized position in Anishinaabe society. Ojibwe, Odawa, and Boodewaadamii peoples shared many similarities in their fighting strategies, motivations, and rituals. Predominantly young men, warriors could gain prestige through their

warriors “took vital cues” from Nanabush—the shape-shifting hare and trickster—in their attack. Nanabush, or Nanabozho, appears in Anishinaabe origin stories and is a sacred being that, in some stories, brought the world into being. Baggatiway, as a game associated with Nanabush, was “a ritualized way of dealing with powerful, potential dangerous sacred beings.” It was “part sport, part ritual of regeneration, part ritual of war.” For a more in-depth description of Nanabush and baggatiway, see Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 12-15, 17, and 93. For Dowd’s narration of the attack on the fort, see *Ibid.*, 126.

¹¹⁰ Thomas Vennum emphasizes the similarities between a war club, lacrosse stick, and drum stick. Vennum, *Lacrosse Legends*, 52.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 63, 64.

¹¹² Warren, *History of the Ojibway*, 203.

¹¹³ Vellum, *Lacrosse Legends*, 126.

accomplishments in war, including their acquisition of resources and captives. Anishinaabe warfare was often for revenge against a perceived wrong or claim over certain territory, which might result in fewer casualties than European conflicts. Warriors protected their communities, accumulated resources, and worked to balance relationships with outsiders. The Anishinaabeg, by 1763, were experienced warriors in both intertribal conflicts, such as with the Haudenosaunee and Dakota, and in European-Indigenous conflicts. The position of warrior was only one of the many roles Anishinaabe men might hold in their community. Experienced and successful warriors gained respect and elevated status, some becoming war leaders.

Anishinaabe war leaders (mayosewinini) organized war parties for a specific purpose. Historian Cary Miller views mayosewinini as charismatic leaders whose authority was based on their success and ability to persuade others to follow them.¹¹⁴ Charismatic leaders demonstrated their abilities and their connections to manidoog through success and public rituals.¹¹⁵ The older war leader during the attack on Michilimackinac, Minweweh, was “the one with the silver tongue”, a name that denotes the charismatic aspect of his leadership.¹¹⁶ The name of the second war leader, Madjeckewiss, was the title for a hereditary chief—hinting at the possible connections between hereditary and charismatic leadership. While there were hereditary

¹¹⁴Miller builds on Max Weber’s definition of charisma as “a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, super-human, or at least exceptional qualities.” Eisenstadt, *Introduction to Max Weber on Charisma*, xviii in Miller, *Ogimaag*, 113-114. Miller argues against theorists who see charismatic leaders as aberrations or largely connected to unstable societies in transition, arguing that for the Anishinaabeg charismatic leadership could and did provide stability.

¹¹⁵ Miller explains that manidoog and humans had reciprocal relationships and it was important for adults to establish connections with the manidoog. If they did not have a relationship with manidoog than their community would not view them as a powerful individual. See, Miller, *Ogimaag*, 8. For more on manidoog, see Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 18; Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 386n13; Christopher Vecsey, *Traditional Ojibwa Religion and its Historical Changes* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1983), 72-79; and Cleland, *Rites of Conquest*, 68-69. In relationship to the Odawaag, James McClurken describes manitous (manidoog) as “a special class of other-than-human persons that could be supplicated in songs, dances and rituals to prevent misfortune in daily life.” McClurken, “We Wish To Be Civilized,” 98. He cites A. Irving Hallowell, “Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior, and World View” in Dennis Tedlock and Barbara Tedlock, *Teachings From the American Earth: Indian Religion And Philosophy* (New York: Liveright, 1975), 141-178.

¹¹⁶David A. Armour, “MINWEWEH, Le Grand Sauteux,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 3, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003—http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/minweweh_3E.html accessed June 26, 2015. minowe -s/he has a good voice, speaks well *Ojibwe People's Dictionary*.

ogimaag, their authority was still affected by their charisma and skills, especially abilities in warfare or oration.¹¹⁷ Leadership was often situational and while ogimaag could be war leaders, one did not have to be an ogimaag to be a war leader—the position was earned through actions against enemies. An Anishinaabe man could follow the trajectory of young warrior to war leader to ogimaag. A successful leader provided his band with goods, protection, and connections to manidoog, trading partners, and other Anishinaabe bands based on reciprocal relationships. Anishinaabeg leaders did not command. Even the war leader Pontiac, whose name is connected with the events of 1763, did not coercively control others, but instead earned their respect and belief in his cause.¹¹⁸

The Anishinaabeg around the Straits of Mackinac in the 1760s had varying reactions to the attack on Fort Michilimackinac that reflected different kinship networks, religious practices, and positions in the region. Many of the Odawaag at L'Arbre Croche were Catholic, unlike most of the Odawaag further south near the Detroit and the Maumee rivers.¹¹⁹ Some of the northern Odawaag joined Pontiac in his siege of Detroit and there were rumors that others were angry to not have been included in the Ojibwe attack on Fort Michilimackinac. After the attack on the garrison, the Ojibweg and the Odawaag met at Michilimackinac. The Odawaag took most of the British prisoners to L'Arbre Croche. When Lieutenant James Gorrell and Menominee, Sauk, Fox and Ho Chunk from La Baye arrived at the end of June, the Odawaag acted as mediators. Through diplomacy and emphasis on Menominee-Ojibwe animosity, Gorrell gained the support

¹¹⁷ See Miller, *Ogimaag*, 114, for a discussion of hereditary and charismatic leadership. Miller argues that charismatic leadership could help stabilize communities in some situations. Also, A.H. of Bay City explained who ogimaag were to Paul Radin: “The chief of the tribe had himself to be a good orator. He always came from a definite family. He was appealed to for advice on all matters.” Moreover, brothers and then sons often succeeded previous ogimaag. Paul Radin Papers, Ojibwa-Ottawa IV #1, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

¹¹⁸ Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 9.

¹¹⁹ Dowd argues that the historical link between Catholicism and commerce motivated the L'Arbre Croche Odawaag to aid the British after the Ojibwe attack on Fort Michilimackinac. Gregory Dowd, “Indigenous Catholicism and St. Joseph Potawatomi Resistance in ‘Pontiac’s War,’ 1763-1766,” *Ethnohistory* 63 no. 1 (January 2016), 152.

of particular Odawa bands for the British.¹²⁰ In order to trade with the British and also repair relations with the Ojibweg, who were moving captives through Odawa territory, the L'Arbre Croche Odawaag negotiated a captive exchange with the Ojibweg. The Odawaag accompanied the British prisoners to Montreal to be ransomed.¹²¹ This sequence of events highlights the importance of intertribal relations, in addition to relationships with colonial powers.¹²²

The British reoccupied Michilimackinac in September 1764 amid ongoing negotiations between British officials and Native peoples throughout the eastern Great Lakes.¹²³ Early in 1765, Minweweh joined Pontiac in violent threats to bar the British from Illinois Country. By that September, however, Minweweh was negotiating peace in Detroit. While Minweweh was establishing peace between his Ojibwe band and the British—in a reversal of their previous relations—the L'Arbre Croche Odawaag were threatening to go to war. The British were disrespectful allies and did not, from an Anishinaabe standpoint, properly recognize Odawa loyalty. The Odawaag felt passed over in the fur trade and wanted British traders to visit their

¹²⁰ The Odawaag “positioned themselves as saviors of the British,” McDonnell argues, even though some of the Odawaag were as angry at the British as the Ojibweg. McDonnell, *Masters of Empire*, 222-223.

¹²¹ Before he left, Etherington appointed Langlade as commander of the garrison. The Odawaag demanded that Langlade (whose mother was Odawa) be in charge of the post. *Ibid.*, 221. On May 5, 1763, Ojibweg received a wampum belt from Pontiac. White does not discuss in-depth the Ojibwe attack on Michilimackinac, but he points out that the Mackinac Ojibweg eventually denounced Pontiac for cruelties that they believed went against the wishes of the Master of Life. White, *The Middle Ground*, 288; Keith Widder, *Beyond Pontiac's Shadow*, 141-142.

¹²² The Odawaag met with the Ojibweg after the attack. Michael McDonnell points out that the Odawaag were traders who could benefit from the British garrison at the Straits of Mackinac. He argues that it is unclear if the Odawaag truly were against the attack or just wanted to convince the British that they were in order to reestablish trading relationships with the British. McDonnell, *Masters of Empire*, 219-223. Jason Sprague considers Odawa actions in relation to their role as mediators and traders, arguing that through captive exchange after the attack, the Ojibweg were mending social ties they had broken by excluding the Odawaag from the attack, despite the fact they were moving through Odawa territory. He emphasizes the relationship between the Ojibweg and the Odawaag. Jason Sprague, “Kin, Commerce, and Catholicism: The Odawa of L'Arbre Croche and the Issue of Catholic Native American Neutrality in Pontiac's War,” Native American and Indigenous Studies Association Annual Meeting 2015, Washington D.C.

¹²³ Historians disagree on the significance of the attack on Michilimackinac as part of Pontiac's War. White argues that the conflict forced the British to act more like Onontio, the French father; a role largely dictated by Anishinaabe concepts of reciprocity and mediation. In contrast, Dowd argues that the war did not reestablish the middle ground and, furthermore, the British never incorporated Indians into their empire with the rights of subjects. At places like Michilimackinac “regular relations with Indians proved impossible, whatever the British ministry might order.” White, *Middle Ground*, 268-270 and 305-314. Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 236-237.

winter hunting camps to trade. The Odawaag were also angry that some British traders sent goods directly to Native peoples west of Lake Michigan before ensuring the Odawaag were adequately supplied.¹²⁴ Despite multiple agreements of peace in 1765 and 1766, a stable relationship between indigenous nations and the British proved elusive, partially due to the Anishinaabe social structures (based on band and village-level leadership) and the multiplicity of leaders. In 1768, only five years after the attack on Michilimackinac, rumors circulated claiming that Minweweh was still actively working against British interests, despite his 1765 peace agreement. The British failed as mediators. They were both unable and unwilling to put the work and money into relationships based on mediation and negotiation, which had preserved the alliance between the French and the Anishinaabeg. The relationship between the British and Anishinaabeg did not begin to stabilize until after the Revolutionary War when the British worked to strengthen alliances (“chains of friendship”) with Native peoples against the new threat of an expanding American republic.¹²⁵

The War of 1812: Anishinaabe Warriors and Americans’ Fears

Almost fifty years after Pontiac’s War, Anishinaabe warriors attacked Fort Michilimackinac again. On July 16, 1812, two hundred and eighty Ojibwe and Odawa men, split ten to a canoe, left St. Joseph Island for Fort Michilimackinac, now located on Mackinac Island and under American control. The next morning, approximately 100 “Western Indians” (Dakota, Ho-Chunk, and Menominee), 200 Canadians, and the Anishinaabe warriors attacked the garrison. John Askin Jr., the storekeeper at St. Joseph’s, helped organize and lead the Odawa and

¹²⁴ See Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 219-225 for a discussion of the importance of rumors in the Illinois Country in 1765. See Widder, *Pontiac’s Shadow*, for the argument regarding the apparent reversal in Odawa loyalties, 214-217.

¹²⁵ Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 238. For discussions of the uneasy peace between the British and multiple Anishinaabeg, see *Ibid.*, 249-254. Also see White, *The Middle Ground*, 304-305; Timothy D. Willig, *Restoring the Chain of Friendship: British Policy and the Indians of the Great Lakes, 1783-1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 7.

Ojibwe attack, but he did not control their actions: “the Indians were like devils to Storm the place, they even advanced in spite of all my exertions & six or seven interpreters & volunteers [*sic*], near the Fort Pickets & would have kill’d Captn. Hanks (I’m told) had they not been prevented....” While the garrison surrendered with no casualties, Askin’s words reinforced British officers’ apprehensions regarding their Native allies who had their own motivations and means of warfare and did not always agree with the goals and manner of Euro-American battles.¹²⁶ The Anishinaabeg understanding of leadership also meant that British officials could not force them to do anything but instead needed to convince them it was in the best interests of the alliance.

The British became adept at leveraging their own uncertainties, playing on American fears of indigenous warriors when they proclaimed to American government and military officials that they could not control their Native allies. In the early nineteenth century, especially by 1807, both the British and Americans were concerned with the actions of Native peoples should there be a new conflict. Representations of “savage” warriors during the conflicts in the 1790s Ohio country echoed in Euro-American imaginations. These fears and anxieties, fueled by images and descriptions of “savage” warriors printed in newspapers and circulated in correspondence, manifested themselves in General William Hull’s surrender of Detroit without firing a shot in its defense. General Isaac Brock warned Hull that “the numerous body of Indians...will be beyond my Controul [*sic*] the moment the contest commences,” and Hull believed his garrison did not stand a chance.¹²⁷ Hull argued that the “surrender of Michilimackinac opened the Northern hive of Indians, and they were swarming down in every

¹²⁶ John Askin, Jr. to Unknown, July 18, 1812, Michilimackinac in MPHC 15, (Lansing: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, Crawford Co., 1909), 112-113; John Askin Jr. to John Askin Sr., July 19, 1812, Michilimackinac in MPHC 32 (Lansing: Robert Smith Printing Company, 1903), 482-483.

¹²⁷ Isaac Brock to William Hull, August 15, 1812, MPHC 40: 451

direction....” He believed that unrestrained Native warriors would unleash their “greedy violence” on Fort Detroit’s noncombatants.¹²⁸ Historian Alan Taylor summarizes Americans’ fear and dread of Native warriors: “An American soldier’s greatest foe lurked in his own vivid imagination.”¹²⁹

At the same time, the very real skills of Anishinaabe warriors, who were excellent shots and experts at hand-to-hand combat, fueled Americans’ fear. Moreover, warriors purposefully mutilated and scalped the dead—leaving behind alarming displays. Taylor points out that while both American combatants and Native warriors killed prisoners and scalped the dead during the war, Americans emphasized the brutality of their Native enemies.¹³⁰ Fear of Native warriors intensified after the battle of the River Raisin (Frenchtown), near Detroit. After a day of fighting and following the retreat of British and Indian allies, the Americans retook Frenchtown (current Monroe, MI). During the night, however, the British and Indian warriors—including Boodewaadamii, Odawa, and Ojibwe men—attacked and retook the village. The main body of British troops traveled to Amherstburg, fearing an American reinforcement was on its way. They left behind a small group of militiamen to guard American prisoners, but they were outnumbered by Native allies who expected access to captives and goods after the successful battle the day before. Warriors set fire to the houses containing the prisoners, killing those who tried to escape.¹³¹ “Remember the Raisin” became a motivating refrain for Americans in later battles.

Both real and imagined actions by Native warriors had lasting ramifications for the treatment of Native peoples in the Great Lakes. In 1834, John McDonell, President of the Territory of Michigan Legislative Council, petitioned Congress for claims against the federal

¹²⁸ William Hull to William Eustis, August 26, 1812, MPHC 40: 460-69. Also see, William Hull to William Eustis, August 4, 1812, MPHC Vol. 40: 433-35

¹²⁹ Alan Taylor, *The Civil War of 1812: American Citizens, British Subjects, Irish Rebels, & Indian Allies* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010), 205. For more on American fear, see *Ibid.*, 152-159.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 204-205.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 212.

government for property damages in the War of 1812: “Could the scenes which transpired at the bloody massacre of Winchester’s army [at the River Raisin], the war dance of the savages around the flaming houses of our citizens, be duly and truly represented to your honorable bodies...[?]” Even in 1834, McDonnell portrayed the warriors as the “cruel and unrelenting savage enemy” and he was angry that Indian men who participated in the War of 1812, allied with the British, were “receiving, under the sanction of Indian treaties and otherwise, thousands of dollars annually from the Government of the United States, whilst the just claims of so many citizens on this frontier, who made sacrifices in lives and property in defense of their country, have been hitherto denied.”¹³² Often-repeated memories and exaggerated anecdotes, as well as popular representations of “savage” warriors, influenced territorial lawmakers and citizens.¹³³ Depictions of the River Raisin and Indian violence remained in white settlers’ minds even into the 1860s when Michigan debated the wisdom of arming Anishinaabe men to fight Confederate soldiers. The ways Americans viewed Anishinaabe warriors and performances of masculinity differed from how the Anishinaabeg viewed the role of warriors and enacted masculinity.

¹³² “After the capitulation of Detroit, on the 16th day of August, 1812, the cattle of the citizens were shot down, the people were plundered of their provisions and clothing; their fences and barns, and, in many cases, their houses and furniture burned by a cruel and unrelenting savage enemy, notwithstanding the solemn pledges of their allies, the British, that private property be respected. And it is a lamentable truth, and no less lamentable than true, there may at this day be seen, on reference to the congressional public documents, the names of persons who were actually engaged in the service of the enemy, and some of whom were leaders at the robberies and massacres herein recited, receiving, under the sanction of Indian treaties and otherwise, thousands of dollars annually from the Government of the United States, whilst the just claims of so many citizens on this frontier, who made sacrifices in lives and property in defense of their country, have been hitherto denied.” John McDonell, *Memorial of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Michigan*, March 25, 1834, Docket Number 244, Vol. 4, House Executive Documents 4: 1834, 23rd Congress 1st Session 1-3.

¹³³ Historian Robert Owens connects fear of Indian violence to American policies. He argues that while the press and the British could exaggerate indigenous violence (both for their own reasons), Euro-American fear of Native warriors was real. “But the fear mongering directed at Indians, even at its most cynical, came from a sincere place—the deep-rooted frontier dread of an Indian War.” Owens’ work focuses on the fear of pan-Indian attacks, in particular, and considers how Euro-Americans became “pre-conditioned” to fearing armed Indian men. Robert M. Owens, *Red Dreams, White Nightmares: Pan-Indian Alliances in the Anglo-American Mind, 1763-1815* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 5, 185.

“Assiginack’s Canoe”¹³⁴: Life Stages and Community Expectations of Anishinaabe Men

Such representations were not the only survivors of the War of 1812; an object in the Canadian Museum of Civilization (Quebec) offers a contrasting image. The three-foot long model of a bark canoe (pictured below) highlights the mobility of an Anishinaabe war party, which often traveled by water.¹³⁵ The carved wooden figures painted in red and black war paint represent ogimaag and warriors that the creator—Jean Baptiste Assiginack—knew personally or had heard stories about. Assiginack, an Odawa born in Waganagisi, led warriors along the Niagara peninsula during the War of 1812.¹³⁶ Assiginack’s canoe commemorates the Anishinaabeg who fought against the Americans in the War of 1812.

¹³⁴ Taylor J. Garth, “Assiginack’s Canoe: Memories of Indian Warfare on the Great Lakes,” *The Beaver: Magazine of the North* 66, no. 5 (Oct/Nov 1988), 49-53.

¹³⁵ Alan Corbiere, “Assiginack’s Canoe: Anishinaabe War of 1812 Heritage at Canadian War Museum,” *Ojibwe Cultural Foundation Newsletter* 7, no. 2, (July 2012), 4, 13.

¹³⁶ Mackadepenessy and Assiginack had three brothers: Shawbenee (Good Heart), Ningegon (the Wing), and [Joseph] Wakazoo. During the War of 1812 the brothers were split in their support. As historian Theodore Karamanski notes, Ningegon sided with the United States, befriending Lewis Cass and eventually receiving a pension. The War of 1812 not only split communities, but families as well. Their other brother, Wakazoo, also became an influential leader who is important to the story of Company K. His people settled near Kalamazoo and he eventually invited the missionary, Reverend George Nelson Smith to his community. His brother, Peter Wakazoo, had a son, Joseph. Joseph Wakazoo thus grew up during a period when his bands seasonal subsistence practices changed. Robert P. Swierenga, William Van Appledorn, eds. *Old Wing Mission: cultural interchange as chronicled by George and Arvilla Smith in their work with Chief Wakazoo's Ottawa band on the West Michigan frontier* (Grand Rapids, Mich. : Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub., c2008), 623-626. Karamanski, *Blackbird's Song*, 18



Figure 1.3 Canoe carved by Jean Baptiste Assiginack.

Source: Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC 1969-038-001 a-n).

Figure 1.4 Close up of figure seated in the front of the canoe with a red and black painted face, as well as a hole drilled in the left ear that may have been adorned with an earring.

Source: [Canadian Museum of History, \(III-M-10\)](#); Crystal Migwans, "Four Views of a Model Canoe," Great Lakes Research Alliance for the Study of Aboriginal Arts and Cultures, <https://grasac.org/exhibit/four-views-model-canoe>, accessed July 7, 2015.



Assiginack's canoe hints at the Anishinaabe ceremonies and practices related to warfare. The canoe probably depicts a war party from L'Arbre Croche in early 1815 that included Assiginack's brother, Mackadepenessy. The figures' tattoos, hair, and painted faces indicate their status as active warriors. On the sides of the canoe, Assiginack painted depictions of the Underwater Panther and Thunderbird, two manidoog (manidouk). In order to prepare for war and bolster courage, Odawa warriors requested aid from the manidoog through fasting, dancing, singing, and attending community feasts.¹³⁷ Signs of a connection with the manidoog could augment a war leader's status and help them gather enough warriors for a war party.¹³⁸ Relationships with other-than-human beings were important to the relationships between Anishinaabe peoples.

The creator of the canoe, Assiginack, had multiple roles in his lifetime, including warrior, war leader, ogimaag, orator, religious leader, interpreter, and treaty signer. Despite his many positions, Assiginack chose to depict Anishinaabe warriors rather than ogimaag. He carved the canoe on Drummond Island between 1815 and 1827, likely for a friend or for sale, which may have influenced his choice. Nevertheless, he also encapsulated valued traits in these men—swiftly traveling to protect their peoples' interests and land. Anishinaabe warriors would have been esteemed for their mobility, speed, and deadly skills in battle. At home, these men were hunters and fishermen who supplemented other seasonal subsistence food (traded and consumed), such as berries and maple sugar, as well as agricultural products like corn and squash. This particular canoe is manned by Anishinaabeg who were British allies and expected to be rewarded for their actions in the War of 1812. Assiginack carved a reminder of a British-

¹³⁷ Eric Hemenway, exhibit curator and Mary Cummings, exhibit designer, "Turning Point: The War of 1812 from the Native American Perspective,"

http://www.harborspringshistory.org/images/downloads/HSAHS_Turning_Point_booklet_WEB.pdf
accessed September 19, 2015.

¹³⁸ Miller, *Ogimaag*, 122-123.

Anishinaabe alliance during the war—a symbol of his expectations that the British would preserve a land base or somehow provide for their Anishinaabe allies.

Assiginack and his brother Mackadepenessy tried to preserve their peoples' rights to their land in the Great Lakes borderlands. Mackadepenessy—an ogimaa at L'Arbre Croche—was a treaty signer who strove to remain in Odawa homelands largely through treaties and education. His son, Andrew J. Blackbird, described his father as a “brave man” who “led his warriors several times on the warpath, and he was noted as one who was most daring and adventurous in his younger days.” Blackbird highlighted his father's role as a warrior known for his bravery, a trait he also praised in relation to hunting. Blackbird also discussed his father's role as an orator, and his oratory gained others' respect. Mackadepenessy, echoing Minweweh's eighteenth-century rhetoric of slavery, complained “bitterly of the state of slavery” of the Odawaag after the War of 1812, arguing that the Americans took their land and “sometimes plunder them of everything they possess.”¹³⁹ Mackadepenessy's transition from a warrior or war leader to an ogimaa, orator, and treaty signer accorded with Anishinaabe concepts of proper roles for men based on age and experience.¹⁴⁰

Assiginack also held many different roles during his lifetime. He tried to maintain his people's autonomy and claims to land through an alliance with the British and warfare against the Americans. After the war, he worked as an interpreter for the British on Drummond Island, and he supported Catholicism while maintaining ties with L'Arbre Croche. According to his nephew, Andrew Blackbird, “when he [Assiginack] learned that his people had joined the Catholic faith, he left his home [...] and came to Arbor Croche expressly to act as a missionary

¹³⁹ An anonymously-authored nineteenth-century manuscript (written around the same time as the canoe was created) noted that the war party as Mokomanish (Little Knife); Clap of Thunder at Night, a war leader; Crawfish, a messenger for the British; Cub Bear; Mackadepenessy, Assiginack's brother; Bird of Day; and Eth-quoi-can-nai-be, the cook (now missing). Garth, “Assiginack's Canoe,” *The Beaver*, 49-53.

¹⁴⁰ Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan*, 27-31.

in the absence of the priest. Every Sunday he preached to his people and taught them how to pray [...]”¹⁴¹ Assiginack’s later role as a Catholic religious leader, who acted as a missionary to his people, highlights the possible connection between warriors, civil leadership, and religious leadership. Moreover, his actions demonstrate the significance of Anishinaabe religious leaders in the spread of Christianity, and it hints at how Anishinaabe customs and beliefs may have influenced their practice of Christianity.¹⁴²

Assiginack’s story reflects the many different roles Anishinaabe men had in their societies and how they tried to use their alliance system to maintain their land and autonomy. While the Anishinaabeg valued hunting skills, bravery, and mobility, men were also admired for their public speaking and abilities to negotiate with allies. Moreover, Assiginack was not alone as a well-known orator, ogimaa, interpreter, and religious leader with ties to the men of a later generation who joined Company K. While Catholic, Assiginack’s actions and political and religious positions in L’Arbre Croche and Drummond Island were similar to those of Methodist missionaries in the Great Lakes borderlands. Shawundais, or John Sunday, for instance, had also taken part in the War of 1812 and was known to be a skilled and successful warrior. After the war, Shawundais, like Assiginack, had problems with alcohol, which negatively impacted his status and authority. Both men, however, quit drinking and regained their communities’ respect as both religious and political leaders. Sunday was a leader of the Methodist Mississauga Ojibweg near eastern Lake Ontario and he traveled throughout the Great Lakes, eventually influencing men who would later inspire Company K soldiers.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 47.

¹⁴² Dictionary of Canadian Biography. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/assiginack_jean_baptiste_9E.html accessed August 23, 2013 . Garth, “Assiginack’s Canoe,” 49-53.

¹⁴³ Shawundais participated in conflicts such as the Battle of Crysler’s Farm. Sunday regained his community’s respect and at Grape Island he inspired many Ojibwe to become Methodists, declining when he was away on missionary work. He traveled to England and gave talks about the Mississauga Christians, working to secure title to Alderville—which ultimately failed. G. S. French, “SHAH-WUN-DAIS,” in

Anishinaabe men who transformed from warriors to respected ogimaag and religious leaders were following a modified male Anishinaabe trajectory. While not all warriors became ogimaag, it was a possible transition based on age, experience, accomplishments, oratory skills, and ability to maintain reciprocal relationships. Assiginack's son, Francis, explained the difference between two types of leaders: "There were two sorts of chiefs, namely, the war chiefs, and what may be called the civil chiefs, the former possessed a greater influence than the latter, and were really brave men, judiciously selected from the different families."¹⁴⁴ Both war leaders and civil leaders were important to Anishinaabe social relationships, and as was the case with Assiginack and Mackadepenessy, an individual could be both in their lifetime. Anishinaabe leadership was situational. Like war leaders, ogimaag did not hold absolute power. The community censured leaders, who could lose status and the respect of their followers. Ogimaag were heads of extended families or networks of families who formed a band, village, or group of villages. An ogimaa was supposed to facilitate consensus decisions within his band and with other bands.¹⁴⁵ Moreover, leadership was based on reciprocal relationships of exchange; an individuals' influence in their community could be increased through marriage (adding to kinship networks and reciprocal relationships), trading, and accumulating goods for the purpose of distributing them to band members or using them to otherwise benefit the community. Even

EN:UNDEF:public_citation_publication, vol. 10, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–
http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/shah_wun_dais_10E.html accessed July 7, 2015; Smith, *Mississauga Portraits*, 215; and Karamanski, *Blackbird's Song*, 29.

¹⁴⁴ Francis Assiginack (Assiginack's son with his second wife, Theresa Catherine Kebeshkamokwe) attended the Upper Canada College in Toronto and while he was a clerk and interpreter for the Canadian Indian Department he wrote three essays for the Canadian Journal. Francis Assikinack [Assiginack], "Legends and Traditions of the Odahwah Indians," *The Canadian Journal of Industry, Science, and Art* (Toronto: The Canadian Institute, 1858) Vol. 3, 115-126. Douglas Leighton, "ASSIKINACK, FRANCIS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/assikinack_francis_9E.html accessed February 2, 2015.

¹⁴⁵ Anthropologist James McClurken describes the role of an Odawa ogimaa as "helping his band members reach consensus decisions, and for carrying out the wishes of his band members within the band and through the interactions of band members with others outside of the community." James M. McClurken, *Our People, Our Journey: The Little River Band of Ottawa Indians* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2009), 17.

success in warfare was tied to this pattern. Warriors not only redressed imbalances, protected territory, and supported allies by attacking enemies, but they also secured plunder that could be distributed to their kin and community.¹⁴⁶

After the War of 1812, the increase in white settler populations, missionary presence, and the reach of government officials influenced Anishinaabe social practices. Connections between kinship and politics, as seen in the attack on Michilimackinac, endured in the early nineteenth century, but in new forms and with new actors. Anishinaabe peoples modified expected life cycles and the trajectory of leadership. This process was slow and demonstrates the limited reach of settler colonialism and the ways in which Anishinaabe social conventions operated in the Great Lakes borderlands, which remained an Anishinaabe place into the nineteenth century. Men like Mackadepenessy and Assiginack worked to keep their communities together and to secure resources, including land. Some of these men, like Assiginack, lived into the 1860s. They provided examples of Anishinaabe leadership to both the fathers of Company K men and the soldiers themselves. Anishinaabe concepts of masculinity continued to influence politics and kinship, even as the Anishinaabeg adapted to an increased American presence and responded to ideas of rights and citizenship. An understanding of the War of 1812 generation is important to Anishinaabe history and the early nineteenth-century treaties with the United States.¹⁴⁷

Treaty Signers: Veterans of the War of 1812 and Anishinaabe Leadership

In the Treaty of Ghent, signed after the War of 1812, the British relinquished Fort Michilimackinac. British Lieutenant Colonel Robert McDonall was “mortified” at the surrender and lamented: “I am penetrated with grief at the restoration of this fine Island, a ‘Fortress built

¹⁴⁶ Dowd, *War Under Heaven*, 11.

¹⁴⁷ For a similar generational approach to the Odawaag, see Karamanski, *Blackbird's Song*.

by Nature for herself....” He continued: “I met Assigenack & other Ottawa Chiefs this day in Council & succeeded beyond my hopes, in reconciling them to the peace. The chief difficulty was the mortifying cession of this Island. They behaved nobly on the occasion, and I trust shall be able to effect the object I have so much at heart, of inducing them to follow our fortunes to our new Establishment.”¹⁴⁸ Assiginack served as the interpreter at the British post at Drummond Island, and he later lived on Manitoulin Island. Other Anishinaabeg also moved to Canada, and the movement between the two countries continued into the nineteenth century (as the presence of a Canadian Odawa in Company K attests). Before the war, the border between the new American republic and British Canada had been, essentially, meaningless to Anishinaabe peoples. The Great Lakes region was a borderland where peoples moved in and out of territories claimed by multiple entities—a contested zone. In theory, this began to change when the Treaty of Ghent reaffirmed the border between the United States and Canada established in the 1783 Treaty of Paris. The Anishinaabeg—men like Assiginack—signed treaties with both the U.S. and Canada, however, claiming parts of their homelands on both sides of the international boundary, underscoring the artificial nature of the boundary.¹⁴⁹

The Treaty of Springwells, September, 1815, established peace between the U.S. and the Anishinaabeg and acknowledged previous treaties. The U.S. agreed to grant the Anishinaabeg all their “possessions, rights, and priviledges [*sic*]” from 1811 if they agreed to “place themselves under the protection of the United States, and of no other power whatsoever.” The U.S. wanted

¹⁴⁸ Lt. Col. McDonnel to Capt. Bulger, May 2, 1815 in MPHIC 23: 512-515. McDonnel quotes William Shakespeare’s *Richard II* when describing Mackinac Island, William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of King Richard the Second*, 2.1., for quote, see *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2ed. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997), 855.

¹⁴⁹ See Karl S. Hele, ed., *Lines Drawn Upon the Water: First Nations and the Great Lakes Borders and Borderlands* (Waterloo, ON (Canada): Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008), xix and Phil Bellfy, “Cross-border Treaty-signers: The Anishinaabeg of the Lake Huron Borderlands,” 21-41. For an expanded version of this argument, see Phil Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity: The Anishinaabeg of the Lake Huron Borderlands* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2011).

to confirm the loyalty of the indigenous peoples living within federal borders, even as Anishinaabe peoples continued to receive British presents and travel to Canada.¹⁵⁰ Anishinaabeg who crossed the border, remaining in Canada for most of the year, were, in a sense, acknowledging an alliance with the British while rejecting American requirements for remaining in the republic. In addition, border-crossing soon became one strategy to avoid removal from the Great Lakes region. The lakes and other environmental factors (like short growing seasons in some areas) limited the success of settler colonial institutions. The United States and British Canada had difficulty enforcing the artificial borders between the republic and empire and did not control Anishinaabe movement through their Great Lakes homelands.¹⁵¹

Many Euro-American veterans of the War of 1812 negotiated their military service into political currency, winning elections and appointments to government offices. President James Madison appointed Lewis Cass governor of the Michigan Territory in October 1813 as a reward for his military service. Cass, and another veteran, Duncan McArthur, became instrumental in negotiating treaties with Native peoples. Both Cass and McArthur began their military careers as colonels in regiments of the Ohio Volunteers during the war.¹⁵² In 1817, Governor Cass and McArthur (a member of the Ohio House of Representatives) negotiated the Treaty of the Maumee (Miami) Rapids, which included a small tract of land in the Michigan Territory, bordering Ohio.¹⁵³ The Acting Secretary of War, George Graham, believed: “The removal of the Indians, generally, from the vicinity of Lake Erie, and the advantages that would be derived from connecting the population of the State of Ohio with the Michigan Territory, give to the

¹⁵⁰ Treaty of Springwells, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol2/treaties/wya0117.htm> accessed September 19, 2015.

¹⁵¹ See, for examples, Taylor, *The Civil War of 1812*, 8-10; Hele, ed., *Lines Drawn Upon the Water*, 21-31, 65-84; Witgen, *Infinity of Nations*, 327.

¹⁵² McArthur, for instance, was one of the U.S. negotiators at the Treaty of Springwells. See Alec R. Gilpin, *The War of 1812 in the Old Northwest* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2012), 32-33.

¹⁵³ R. Douglas Hurt, *The Ohio Frontier: Crucible of the Old Northwest, 1720-1830* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996), 364.

acquisition of this country a political importance....”¹⁵⁴ Cass’ political career began in warfare against Britain’s Native allies and he augmented his status largely through pressuring Native peoples to cede land. Cass would be instrumental in additional treaties in the Great Lakes region where indigenous peoples made large land cessions in exchange for annuities, usufruct rights, and other promises.¹⁵⁵

After the war, the United States increased its efforts to survey and sell ceded lands. In the territory that would eventually become the Lower Peninsula of Michigan, individuals like Cass invested time and money in promoting the region as open to cultivation, hoping to attract enough settlers to become a state, using the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 as a blueprint.¹⁵⁶ Inherently, the Northwest Ordinance was a document of settler colonialism; its main purpose was to incorporate indigenous land, borderlands, and colonial spaces into the American nation-state.¹⁵⁷ Government officials aggressively and purposefully dispossessed Native peoples of their lands through treaties that relegated them to reservations or lands west of the Mississippi. Treaty officials often presented the treaties as indigenous peoples’ only option—sell their land now in exchange for annuities and other benefits, or risk losing their land to squatters and settlers whose numbers were increasing and who the U.S. government claimed they would not be able to hold

¹⁵⁴ Native peoples ceded approximately 4.2 million acres of land in this treaty. George Graham to Lewis Cass and Duncan McArthur, May 19, 1817, in United States Congress, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs II* (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1834), 137.

¹⁵⁵ Cass was a treaty commissioner for the Saginaw Treaty (1819) and Chicago Treaty of 1821, for instance. As Secretary of War and head of the Indian Department in 1836, he was also influential in 1836 when the Odawaag and Ojibweg negotiated a treaty with Henry Schoolcraft.

Governor Lewis Cass worked towards Indian removal during his political career. One of his main goals as governor was to encourage settlement and meet the requirements of statehood for Michigan. To that end, he proposed the creation of a road, prompted by the treaty cessions. See Lewis Cass and Duncan McArthur to Acting Secretary of War George Graham, September 29, 1817, ASP, 137-138.

¹⁵⁶ Per Article 5 of the Northwest Ordinance, the Northwest Territory would eventually be split into 3-5 states and these regions could become states when they reached a population of 60,000 or if Congress decided admitting the region to the Union as a state was “consistent with the general interest of the Confederacy....” Northwest Ordinance, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/nworder.asp accessed September 20, 2015.

¹⁵⁷ For a discussion of the United States as both postcolonial and colonial and a consideration of the Northwest Ordinance as temporary colonialism, see Bethel Saler, *The Settlers’ Empire: Colonialism and State Formation in America’s Old Northwest* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 25-29.

back. Article 3 of the Northwest Ordinance promised to treat the Indians with “the utmost good faith” and declared:

their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and, in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity, shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

Acting in the “utmost good faith” was a contentious issue, with many officials working to assimilate Indians into the American republic at the same time that ideas of removal gained support. Thomas Jefferson believed Native peoples could be assimilated into the republic if they agreed to exchange their large territories—necessary for hunting and seasonal subsistence practices—for individual small plots of land that they would cultivate as yeomen farmers. Jefferson thought this would lead to the Indians’ assimilation and allow Native peoples to “unite” with the settlers so that, in Jefferson’s words, “we shall all be Americans.” Jefferson focused specifically on changing the gendered division of labor in many Native communities:

Let me entreat you...to begin to give every man a farm; let him enclose it, cultivate it, build a warm house on it....Nothing is so easy as to learn to cultivate the earth; all your women understand it, and to make it easier, we are always ready to teach you how to make ploughs, hoes, and necessary utensils. If the men will take the labor of the earth from the women they will learn to spin and weave and to clothe their families.¹⁵⁸

Jefferson’s comments were predicated on the discourse of savagery and civilization. Euro-Americans viewed long-standing Anishinaabe practices as uncivilized. Anishinaabe peoples practiced seasonal subsistence strategies dependent on mobility. They would congregate in large summer villages and break up into smaller bands for winter hunting. Their seasonal mobility was carefully planned around the availability of resources, such as fish, game, berries,

¹⁵⁸ Thomas Jefferson to Captain Hendrick, the Delawares, Mohicans, and Munries, December 21, 1808 in Andrew A. Lipscomb and Albert Ellery Bergh, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson 16* (Washington D.C.: Issued under the auspices of the Thomas Jefferson memorial association of the United States, 1903),450-454. Also, quoted in White, *The Middle Ground*, 474.

and maple sap. White observers did not approve of what they saw as random wandering that did not improve the land in the Lockean sense of cultivation and the creation of private property. Euro-Americans refused to recognize certain Anishinaabe practices, such as Odawa women's agricultural labor, and they viewed male hunters as lazy for not cultivating the land. United States treaty commissioners discouraged seasonal subsistence strategies that required larger tracts of land than the cultivation of individual plots. Assimilationist ideology and treaty commissioners relegated indigenous peoples onto small plots of land or reservations in order to open the ceded land for surveying and sale.¹⁵⁹ If assimilation failed, Jefferson supported voluntary removal west of the Mississippi. Jefferson predicated that Native peoples "will in time either incorporate with us as citizens of the United States, or remove beyond the Mississippi."¹⁶⁰

For many Anishinaabe men and women, the nineteenth century was a period for negotiating resources, as well as redefining masculinity and femininity, as settler populations, government policies, and treaties eroded resources. Anishinaabe peoples forged new alliances with various missionaries, government officials, and traders to keep bands together and access resources that were part of their seasonal rounds.¹⁶¹ The Anishinaabeg and the U.S. government negotiated major treaties in rapid succession in 1817, 1819, 1821, and then in 1836. Given the government's goal of "civilizing" the Indians—creating idealized Christian farmers—many of these early nineteenth-century treaties included funds for missionaries and agricultural tools.

¹⁵⁹ Proponents of removal went a step further, and their "utmost good faith" efforts focused on removing Indian peoples west of the Mississippi. They argued that removing the Indians away from settlers would protect them from poverty, created by loss of their long-standing subsistence practices, as well as moral degradation these proponents associated with contact between Indian peoples and settlers.

¹⁶⁰ Anthony F.C. Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans* (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), 273-275. Wallace quotes Jefferson's letter to Henry Harrison, February 27, 1803 in Albert E. Bergh, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, 1907-), 90: 370-371.

¹⁶¹ White categorizes this period as a time of Indian defeat or demise. In contrast, Susan Sleeper-Smith demonstrates that Native adaptation to change is part of a long history of persistence and encounters with strangers. Although more focused on the eighteenth-century fur trade, Sleeper-Smith describes how Native Catholic women used their roles as cultural mediators and facilitators of kin networks as survival strategies through the 1830s. White, *The Middle Ground*, 517; Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men*, 2-3, 117, 209, 210n5.

These treaties directly affected the lives of Company K soldiers and their families, a large percentage of whom came from reserves and allotments near Little Traverse and Grand Traverse bays, as well as Oceana, Mason, Saginaw, and Isabella counties. Leaders in these historically Anishinaabe places worked to maintain access to land and resources, while continuing to build and sustain social relationships both with outsiders and with band members and associated Anishinaabe bands and villages. Many of the warriors and war leaders of 1812 became ogimaag and treaty signers in the 1820s and 1830s, making decisions that would affect the lives of Company K men.

A discussion of the Anishinaabeg in the Lower Peninsula largely becomes focused on citizenship, as many of these men, especially near Little Traverse Bay, worked to become dual citizens—both Anishinaabe peoples and, after 1837, Michigan citizens with the right to own land in fee simple and vote in local and national elections. These rights were unevenly secured, but treaty signers began considering them soon after the War of 1812.¹⁶² Anishinaabe peoples and treaty signers preserved parts of their land base, strove to maintain autonomy, and continued to look towards leaders—both recognized and unrecognized by the U.S. government—to help them reach a consensus. In this process, ogimaag and other male leaders who worked within Anishinaabe understandings and expectations of leadership were more successful in influencing other Anishinaabeg than were leaders who tried to wield more centralized authority in hopes of being recognized as important by state and federal government officials.

¹⁶² Literary scholar Scott R. Lyons considers the social and political roles of nineteenth-century Ojibwe treaty signers in Minnesota, and emphasizes how they used the occasions and the texts they produced to work towards the future. He argues that x-marks—treaty signatures—are “contaminated, coerced signs of consent made under conditions not of our [indigenous] making but with the hopes of a better future.” Native peoples who gave their x-marks probably viewed them “as promises of a new way of life, not the removal of ‘savage’ or ‘barbaric’ qualities.” Lyons’ portrayal of treaty signers counters an assimilationist framework while still acknowledging the real violence and disruptions caused by settler colonialism in the Great Lakes borderlands. Scott Richard Lyons, *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 9, 40.

Ogemagigido, “The Speaker”: The Treaty of Saginaw, 1819

The Ojibweg along the American coast of Lake Huron and Lake St. Clair were reluctant treaty signers. In 1807, the ogimaag told Governor William Hull, “Our Father we understand that you would buy our Lands at Saguina-We will not sell our Lands or give them – We think that you would do better to stay at Detroit and us here, because we love our Women and Children and young Men, and if you should come here against the Indians, the young men [will] perhaps kill your cattle, you will put us in jail and that would trouble us and perhaps we will get angry.”¹⁶³ They threatened Hull with the actions of their young men, which they implied they could not or would not control. The eventual treaty signers, however, sold 5 million acres in exchange for annuities, continued hunting and fishing rights, reservations on Lake St. Clair and the St. Clair River, and a subsidized blacksmith to be stationed at Saguina/ Saginaw. Many Ojibweg, however, were not happy with the 1807 treaty, and their anger intensified as the U.S. withheld annuity payments or used them to reimburse settlers for losses due to dealings with individual Ojibweg. Many Ojibweg became allies with the British in the War of 1812, and those in the Saginaw region did not sign an October 1814 armistice, but remained ready to continue the war. Other Saginaw Ojibweg, however, signed the 1815 Treaty of Springwells, promising to cease their attacks.¹⁶⁴

After the War of 1812, many of the Ojibweg continued to resist proposed treaties. Neome, Kishkahko (a war leader in the 1790s), and Ogemagigido represented the Ojibweg in the 1819 Treaty of Saginaw.¹⁶⁵ Ogemagigido declared: “Our waters grow warm, our land melts like

¹⁶³ Indians at Saguina to William Hull, June 22, 1807, MPH 40: 144-145 quoted in Benz, Charmaine M. et. al. *Diba Jimooyung, Telling Our Story: a History of the Saginaw Ojibwe Anishinabek (legally Called the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan)* (Mt. Pleasant, Mich.: Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan, Ziibiwing Cultural Society, 2005), 35.

¹⁶⁴ The Saginaw Ojibwe refused to be part of the October 14, 1814 armistice. *Ibid.*, 36, 38.

¹⁶⁵ Ogemagigido may have been the individual’s name or may refer to his position in the treaty council; ogemagigido means “speaker” in Anishinaabemowin and that was indeed his role.

a cake of ice; our possessions grow smaller and smaller... Our women reproach us. Our children want homes....” Thinking of future generations, they did not want to sell their lands, and they resisted initial negotiations.¹⁶⁶ Governor Cass met with the Ojibweg many times, holding formal councils but conducting most of the negotiations in private with individual band leaders. He also distributed large quantities of whiskey to keep particular individuals away from meetings. Conducted in this backroom fashion, the resulting treaty created sixteen reservations and preserved usufruct rights for the sixteen million acres that the Ojibweg sold to the U.S.. In *Diba Jimooyung: Telling Our Story*—a book put together by the Saginaw Chippewa’s Ziibiwing Cultural Society—the authors note that the “reservations that our *Anishinabe* ancestors kept for themselves were places where they held traditional lodge ceremonies and namings, where they sang and danced, and where children ran and played. It was a homeland—a place where gardens were planted and where we hunted, fished, and buried our deceased relatives.” The 1819 treaty made provisions for agriculture but the Saginaw bands continued trading, hunting, and, fishing, and they even rejected the introduction of cattle until 1822. They also rejected missionaries. Some families moved to the British side of the U.S.-Canadian border. Moving about in the Great Lakes borderlands had previously been part of seasonal rounds or trading expeditions. As the border between the U.S. and Canada took on new meanings, however, moving to Canada was also a way for Anishinaabe peoples to reject U.S. authority and to avoid American settlers.¹⁶⁷

Ogimaa Keewaycooshcum: The Treaty of Chicago, 1821

¹⁶⁶ MPHC 7: 264 quoted in *Ibid.*, 41.

¹⁶⁷ In 1822, the Ojibweg specifically requested cattle, farming equipment and seeds. Lewis Cass to Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, January 24, 1822, RG 75, Letters Sent at Michigan Superintendency, Letter Book Vol. 3, National Archives. Transcript in Ojibwe collection, Great Lakes and Ohio Valley Ethnohistory Collection, Glenn A. Black Laboratory of Archaeology, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN. It was not until the 1840s that Methodist missionaries were able to set up missions in these communities. *Diba Jimooyung*, 41-44.

Soon after the 1819 Treaty of Saginaw, Lewis Cass was again in negotiations to open land for white settlement. Meeting with the Odawaag, Ojibweg, and Boodewaadamiig at Chicago in 1821, Cass used similar techniques. Outside the formal councils, he negotiated privately, bribed individuals, supplied certain Anishinaabeg with alcohol, and used the separate interests of the various groups involved—Anishinaabeg, traders, and people of mixed French and Native descent—to gain large land cessions in southwestern Michigan (south of the Grand River).¹⁶⁸ The ogimaa Kewagoushcum (Keewaycooshcum) signed the Treaty of Chicago, and he ceded Odawa land for a mission school without first reaching an agreement with other band members and nearby ogimaag, who then viewed the sale as invalid.¹⁶⁹ Keewaycooshcum's actions negatively impacted his status among other Odawaag—a telling consequence suggesting that Anishinaabe expectations of leaders continued to operate after the War of 1812.

The 1821 Treaty of Chicago had lasting implications for the Anishinaabeg, especially for the Boodewaadamii and Odawa bands of lower Lake Michigan and the Grand River Valley. Funded by the federal government, as well as by national and local religious associations and donors, missionaries influenced the treaty process. The Treaty of Chicago included \$1,500.00 annually “to be expended as the President may direct, in the support of a Blacksmith, of a Teacher, and of a person to instruct the Ottawas in agriculture and in the purchase of cattle and farming utensils.”¹⁷⁰ The subsequently appointed Baptist missionary, Isaac McCoy, had difficulty convincing the Odawaag to support his mission: “While among the Ottawas, I ascertained that their backwardness to meet me in council, on the subject of a mission among them, grew out of their dissatisfaction with the proceedings at the treaty of Chicago. The main

¹⁶⁸ Cleland, *Rites of Conquest*, 220.

¹⁶⁹ Ogimaag like Muckatosha did not approve of the sale, which they considered invalid as it had not been completed by consensus. Karamanski, *Blackbird's Song*, 35-36.

¹⁷⁰ Treaty of Chicago, 1821, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol2/treaties/ott0198.htm#mn9> accessed September 19, 2015.

body of the tribe denied having authorized the sale of their country to the whites. They threw the blame on Kewikishkum [Keewaycooshcum]....”¹⁷¹ Thus, while McCoy ran the Carey station (mission) among the Boodewaadamiig to the south of the Odawa, Odawa opposition prevented him from actually establishing institutions on Odawa land until 1825 and then only after he earned the support of an influential ogimaa, Noaquageshik (Noonday). Noaquageshik desired a blacksmith shop and mission at Bowting (Grand Rapids) and “was anxious for the establishment of a school for the benefit of the youth, and wished also to hear preaching.”¹⁷² Noaquageshik had more influence than Keewaycooshcum, and these dynamics forced McCoy to establish the mission at Grand Rapids rather than at Keewaycooshcum’s village near the Flat River. In order to establish an Odawa mission station, McCoy had to acknowledge Odawa autonomy.¹⁷³

Keewaycooshcum’s social decline among the Grand River Odawa villages highlights aspects of Anishinaabe leadership, social prestige, and politics. Both Keewaycooshcum and Noaquageshik had fought beside the British in the War of 1812. Noaquageshik signed the Treaty of Springwells (1815). Both men were seen as important leaders, and, despite not living on land ceded, were present and signed Cass’ Treaty of the Maumee Rapids (1817) and the Saginaw Treaty (1819).¹⁷⁴ Keewaycooshcum, however, overstepped his authority. Anishinaabe authority was not absolute or coercive. Keewaycooshcum could not force others to support the land cession or the Baptist mission. His support for the 1821 treaty and McCoy’s mission did not

¹⁷¹ Isaac McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian missions : embracing remarks on the former and present condition of the aboriginal tribes and their settlement within the Indian territory, and their future prospects* (Washington : Wm. M. Morrison ; 1840), 25.

¹⁷² Accustomed to working with government officials and wary of previous deceptions, Noaquageshik implored McCoy to write down his commitment to the Odawa village. *Ibid.*, 249.

¹⁷³ McClurken, “We wish to be Civilized,” 104, 126.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 375 n35.

fulfill his obligations to his band and other Anishinaabeg. Anishinaabe expectations of leaders continued to have political and social influence in the Grand River Valley.¹⁷⁵

Keewaycooshcum's authority did not recover from his signing of the Treaty of Chicago. In 1836, a land speculator noted Keewaycooshcum during Odawa annuity payments in Grand Rapids:

Among these old Cu-gi-as-cum [Keewaycooshcum] interested me most.... For many years he was the leading Chief of his whole tribe whose favour [*sic*] he sacrificed by a treaty with the Genrl. Govrt. For the sale of their Lands in the southern part of Michg. The Indians, always averse to a sale, had unanimously resolved in full council, to shoote [*sic*] the first man who signed the Treaty. Cu-gi-as-cum was intimate with Govr. Cass who persuaded him (with the promise it is said of an annuity of \$500) to step forward in the face of this threat at the hazard of his life and affix his signature.

Other Odawaag threatened Keewaycooshcum's life, and he lost status: according to the speculator, he "seems to hold intercourse with none."¹⁷⁶ Yet, 1834 and 1836 maps depict Keewaycooshcum's village with forty lodges; U.S. officials still recognized him as a leader, even as his status among the Grand River Odawaag, especially outside of his band, diminished. The Anishinaabe and U.S. authorities had different views on kinship and leadership.

¹⁷⁵ McClurken makes this argument in both "We wish to be Civilized," and "Augustin Hamlin Jr."

¹⁷⁶ John M. Gordon, "A Speculator's Diary" in Justin L. Kestenbaum ed., *The Making of Michigan, 1820-1860: A Pioneer Anthology* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990), 155.



Figure 1.5 Portion of John Farmer's 1834 map. Kewawgooscum's [Keewaycooshcum's] Village on the right and McCoy's mission on the left.
 Source: John Farmer, Karte von Michigan [map] / nach den neuesten Vermessungen bearbeitet und herausgegeben von J. Farmer und Tr. Bromme. (Baltimore: C. Shield & Co., 1834), <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/c/clark/lic/x-000081764/39015091921976>, accessed September 5, 2015.

Leaders in the War of 1812 generation, like Noaquageshik and Keewaycooshcum, navigated Anishinaabe politics and expectations, which included creating and maintaining new alliances to benefit their bands. Missionaries were potential allies, able to provide both access to new sources of spiritual power and reciprocal relationships involving resources and land. Grand River Odawaag did not unanimously support the Baptist missionary Isaac McCoy, and he thus had trouble operating his mission. The Odawaag waited to see if this particular missionary—tied to the federal government and associated with the Treaty of Chicago—would deliver on his promises to provide resources. He built his Odawa mission (Thomas station) in stages—first sending two government laborers, building and operating a smith on Odawa winter hunting

grounds, and finally, erecting a schoolhouse near the Grand River at the end of 1826.¹⁷⁷ In 1827, Leonard Slater took over the operations of the Thomas station. Slater and McCoy initially disagreed on the future of Native peoples—McCoy advocated removal, traveling to Washington D.C. and writing in support of western relocation. Slater, in contrast, worked to keep his mission community in Michigan. From an Anishinaabe perspective, missionaries were unpredictable allies that could potentially provide support for remaining in homelands (by helping at treaty negotiations and also teaching English). Missionaries, of course, had their own conversion and “civilizing” agenda that required changes in Anishinaabe society, especially regarding gender roles.

The Odawaag at Grand River wished to purchase land collectively within the 1821 land cession. The Secretary of War refused and only agreed to aid the Odawaag in purchasing individually, in fee simple.¹⁷⁸ Ethnohistorian James McClurken points out that as early as 1837—after the Treaty of Washington in 1836—around ninety Grand River Odawaag purchased 830 acres with their cash settlements in Barry County, near Noaquageshik’s winter hunting lands.¹⁷⁹ This settlement, known as Prairieville/Gull Prairie included Slater’s Baptist school.

¹⁷⁷ McCoy wrote to Lewis Cass, hinting at the slow progress of his Odawa mission after the Treaty in 1821. He stressed: “The Indians are so exceedingly slow in all their movements that our business with them is often delayed beyond our hopes” He even had trouble establishing the laborers and admitted: “The labourers intended to assist those Ottawas, have been employed, as far as circumstances would admit, conformably to the regulations which occasioned their appointment. And at times when they could not directly aid the Ottawas, they have contributed in no small degree, to the promotion of a similar object among the putawatomies [*sic*]. Isaac McCoy to Lewis Cass, July 1, 1823 National Archives, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Cass Letter Books, 1823, vol. 2, pp. 1-7, transcript copy at Great Lakes and Ohio Valley Ethnohistory Collection. In 1826, there were only 5 Odawa scholars. By April 1827 fifteen scholars attended the Baptist school. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, 288-292. *Ibid.*, 299. McClurken, “We wish to be Civilized,” 114-115. By July 2, 1829 the school was discontinued. (390) The Thomas station outlived the school, which reopened in Barry County (Slater started at Grand Rapids and then moved with Noonday to Gull Prairie).

¹⁷⁸ McClurken, “We wish to be Civilized,” 197.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 197. “Rev. Mr. Slater reports that the Ottawas of Grand River, who were parties to the treaty of 28th of March, have purchased lands in Barry county for the \$6,400 allowed by the ninth article of the treaty, in trust for Chiminonoquet; and that a mission has been established on the lands purchased, which his called Ottawa Colony. Difficulties have occurred with pre-emption claimants in the same lands.” Recorded January 20, 1837, in Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1851), 553.

Slater encouraged the Odawaag to become idealized Protestant farmers, but he was disappointed by Anishinaabe economic and social practices. Many of the Odawaag integrated farming into their seasonal rounds and they continued to hunt, produce maple sugar, and collect berries. Moreover, women continued to participate in agricultural labor rather than learning Euro-American female domestic skills, like weaving. The Odawaag did not accumulate individual wealth, even when they produced a surplus of agricultural products.¹⁸⁰ The Odawaag frustrated the missionaries' earthly goals, a pattern that continued through the 1860s.

Anishinaabe alliances with various missionaries had political consequences, given the missionaries' own goals and political connections. The Baptists' presence was contested, both by unsupportive Odawaag and by some traders.¹⁸¹ Louis Campau, an influential trader who came to Bowting/Grand Rapids in 1827, found his interests as a trader and land owner were counter to the Baptist settlement and to private Indian land ownership. Campau invited Father Friedrich Baraga to Bowting, and the priest established a Catholic mission on the north side of the Grand River by the ogimaa Muckatosha's village.¹⁸² Campau had extensive family and trading networks, and strong connections to Saginaw and Detroit. His nephew, Cobmoosa, was an influential Odawa ogimaa. Muckatosha aligned his band with Campau and the Catholics, trusting the familial and trading relationships of French-Odawa peoples and traders. Muckatosha's alliance with Catholic missionaries, as opposed to the Baptists, may have been a rejection of federally sponsored missionaries and of the American program of civilization.

Muckatosha's alliances with Campau and the Catholic missionaries was an acknowledgement of long-standing trading networks and French-Odawa kinship. Campau was

¹⁸⁰ McClurken argues that the Odawaag continued to maintain an "egalitarian outlook." McClurken, "We wish to be Civilized," 301-305.

¹⁸¹ Ogimaa Noaquageshik moved to Gull Prairie, but his son-in-law remained at Bowting/Grand Rapids with Catholic and non-Christian Odawaag. The political and religious disputes of Odawa ogimaag disrupted band structures and created factions. *Ibid.*, 302.

¹⁸² The mission started operating around 1833. *Ibid.*, 122.

interested in maintaining trading relationships with Anishinaabe peoples, which depended on them continuing at least parts of their seasonal subsistence practices—hunting, fishing, planting, and collecting maple sap, cranberries, etc.—rather than farming exclusively. Moreover, Muckatosha, who had originally supported the blacksmith connected to the Treaty of Chicago (1821), may have been rejecting the connection of government funding to particular religious affiliations. In addition, his tenuous relationship with Noaquageshik (associated with the Baptist mission) may have influenced Muckatosha to ally with the Catholics and Campau instead. Despite the differences between the two ogimaag, however, they came together several times in the 1830s to petition against removal.¹⁸³ Ogimaag had many different reasons to ally with particular government employees, groups, missionaries, traders, and other bands—reasons that reflected differences among the newer arrivals in the region, but were also influenced by older relationships and kinship categories.

Missionary activity in this region caused divisions between bands as they chose different allies in their fight to remain on their land and maintain subsistence. Still, the number of Odawaag associated with the Baptist and Catholic missions was small—around 91 Odawaag lived at Grand Rapids/Bowling and associated with the Baptist mission, while Muckatosha’s band, associated with the Catholic mission, numbered around 53 people in the 1830s.¹⁸⁴ Despite such factionalism, Odawa leadership and band dynamics largely continued to function within Anishinaabe norms. The social and political fluidity of band allegiance mirrored long standing movements of Anishinaabe peoples between different villages based on seasonal subsistence. Moreover, many Odawaag chose not to ally with any missionaries at all.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ McClurken, “We wish to be Civilized,” 113, 116, 122, 126, 177, 183.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 122-124.

¹⁸⁵ McClurken, *Our People, Our Journey*, 25. For fluidity and Anishinaabe social formations, see Witgen, *Infinity of Nations*, 19, 367.

Augustin Hamlin: Preparing for a New Treaty at Waganagisi

Michigan Anishinaabeg largely directed where missionaries set up their churches and schools, requesting missionaries from certain denominations and supporting particular pieces of the missionaries' agendas. Catholic priests began to regularly visit Waganagisi (L'Arbre Croche) in 1825, after an absence since the 1760s.¹⁸⁶ In 1829, Odawaag who wished to have access to a Catholic priest and services, moved to Weekwitonsing (Harbor Springs) and built chapels with the support of Father Frederic Baraga in 1831.¹⁸⁷ The Odawaag appealed to multiple authorities to influence which missionaries were in their communities and to support education for young people. In a petition sent to the Secretary of War, over twenty ogimaag requested a resident priest for their village: "Trusting on your paternal affection, we come forward, and claiming the Liberty of conscience, we most earnestly pray that you may be pleased to let us have a teacher or a minister of the Gospel belonging to the same Denomination of the spiritual fathers which were sent to our parents by the french [*sic*] government and have long many years resided amongst us...we are willing to be taught Religion, Arts, and Agriculture by Ministers of the same Religion...."¹⁸⁸ They signed with marks representing doodemag or individual ogimaag; Mackadepenessy was among the signers. The letter acknowledged their Catholic history and alliance with the French. McClurken argues that the Odawaag requested Catholic missionaries and schools in "defiance of Protestant American authorities" and to support older French residents—and French-Anishinaabe, like Charles Langlade—around the Straits of Mackinac.

Ogimaag also supported educational opportunities in and outside of their communities. Odawaag

¹⁸⁶ A priest was not regularly in residence at L'Arbre Croche from approximately 1765-1825. Jason Sprague, "Trip to the Archives: An Odawa Petition for a Catholic Missionary," http://usreligion.blogspot.com/2016_02_01_archive.html accessed March 29, 2016.

¹⁸⁷ Swierenga and Van Appledorn, *Old Wing Mission*, 17 and McClurken, "We wish to be Civilized," 130.

¹⁸⁸ George Paré, *The Catholic Church in Detroit, 1701-1888* (Detroit: The Gabriel Richard Press, 1951), between 592-593.

from Waganagisi wrote to Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati in 1832: “We are very much pleased with your proposal and we send you four of our children from Old and New Arbre Croche...to learn the blacksmith and locksmith trade.... We also wish that these children learn to read and write your language.”¹⁸⁹ The Odawaag reached out to both religious and political authorities to provide education in order to remain near Waganagisi and the Straits of Mackinac.

Augustin Hamlin Jr. (of mixed Odawa, Ojibwe, and French descent) reached adulthood during this period of Anishinaabe leaders’ experimentation with education, negotiation of treaties, and confrontation with the missionaries’ “civilizing” agenda. Hamlin briefly went to a Presbyterian school on Mackinac Island before the growing rivalry between Protestants and Catholics discouraged his attendance. Along with William and Margaret Blackbird (two of Mackadepenessy’s children), Hamlin attended a Catholic seminary in Ohio before studying in Rome with William. Upon his return to Waganagisi in 1834, Hamlin taught and began to get involved in politics. Due to his education and position in the community, the ogimaag considered Hamlin—the grandson of an ogimaa—a suitable spokesman in the following years.¹⁹⁰ Given his education—both in the United States and Rome—Hamlin was even better educated than many of the U.S. officials with whom he dealt.

The same year Hamlin returned to the United States, the Grand River and L’Arbre Croche Odawaag met in Bowting/Grand Rapids. The ogimaag were against additional land cessions, and they agreed that their priority was to stay in their homelands along the shores of

¹⁸⁹ Joseph Nawimashkote, head chief and father of Medoayandagashe; Weshimaweto, father of Michael Shawanibinessi; Joseph Kiwekwaam father of Michael Fenwick (probably named after Bishop Fenwick); Wavisagime father of Joseph Boyd; Leon Pakusikan, father of Alexander Missawakwat. “We beg of you also to send the married man you promised us. We will give him and his family some land, so that he can live with us.” (1832) P. Chrysostom Verwyst, *Life and labors of Rt. Rev. Frederic Baraga, first bishop of Marquette, Mich.* (Milwaukee: M.H. Wiltzius & Co, 1900), 127-129.

¹⁹⁰ James McClurken, “Augustin Hamlin Jr.: Ottawa Identity and the Politics of Persistence,” in James A. Clifton, *Being and Becoming Indian: Biographical Studies of North American Frontiers* (Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1989), 89-90. Hamlin was the grandson of Kiminchigan.

Lake Michigan and various waterways. Passing around wampum after reaching their agreement, the council followed Anishinaabe practices of decision making, with speeches and discussions by multiple representatives.¹⁹¹ Upholding the consensus reached in the 1834 council, the Grand River Bands (men from multiple religious factions) addressed President Andrew Jackson in an 1836 letter regarding removal west: “We refuse to go, it is too hard for us...Were we desirous to make a treaty for your land, you would refuse us, or would say ‘I cannot sell the graves of my relation.’”¹⁹² Despite their determination, the Odawaag and U.S officials were soon negotiating land cessions.

The Odawaag at Waganagisi had invested in their future through education, and some demanded the rights of citizens. In 1835, they appointed Hamlin as their representative. Two traders registered a document with the Mackinac County clerk to acknowledge this role, a move that McClurken argues tried to connect Anishinaabe authority with the “American concept of power of attorney to summarily execute the signatories’ business.”¹⁹³ Hamlin accompanied ogimaag to Washington and expressed their refusal to move west and their willingness to sell only a small portion of land.¹⁹⁴ The representatives returned to L’Arbre Croche worried that the U.S. government would not agree to their wishes.

Hamlin’s education led to his role as a representative, a role he tried to continue through the negotiations for the 1836 Treaty of Washington. He tried to convince the Odawaag to sign a new treaty in exchange for reservations and annuities that would buy the tools of “civilization,” mainly Euro-American agricultural tools, while providing children with the education necessary

¹⁹¹ McClurken, *Our People, Our Journey*, 29.

¹⁹² Noaquageshik et al. to Andrew Jackson, January 27, 1836. National Archives, Series M234, RG 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Letter Receive by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, reel 422, frames 145-147, quoted in McClurken, 30; (Noaquageshik, Baptist; Muccatosha and Megisinini, Catholic; Cobmoosa, Lowell “traditionalist” James M. McClurken, *Our People, Our Journey*, 30).

¹⁹³ McClurken, “Augustin Hamlin Jr.,” 91.

¹⁹⁴ The ogimaag and Hamlin planned to sell the Manitou Islands and a sliver of land in the Upper Peninsula in exchange for money to pay debts.

for citizenship. The young Hamlin, however, was not an ogimaa.¹⁹⁵ It was only when he operated within Anishinaabe boundaries of authority—as a representative—that he had his community’s support. McClurken points out that many Odawaag distrusted him and questioned his authority. Hamlin needed to act appropriately to his experience and age—he was younger than most ogimaag. Anishinaabe conventions dictated he work with other Odawaag and be a mouthpiece to their wishes, rather than push his own agenda. Hamlin did not have the foreign role of “power of attorney.” Even if a U.S. official recognized him as an ogimaa, he was not recognized as such by the Anishinaabeg. Despite supporting education, farming, and claims to citizenship, the Odawaag expected leaders to act within longstanding structures of situational authority and consensus, while remaining in roles appropriate to their age and status.¹⁹⁶ The roles of Anishinaabe men had largely changed in Waganagisi since 1812, with many becoming farmers and supporting the education of their children for multiple purposes, yet leadership roles were regulated within the bounds of longstanding Anishinaabe social practices.

Conclusion: The Treaty of Washington, 1836

Prior to statehood, the northwestern Lower Peninsula and all of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan remained largely Anishinaabe; yet, through the efforts of U.S. political officials, such as Lewis Cass and Henry R. Schoolcraft, pressure to cede land and change lifestyles intensified. In 1835, traders lacked hard currency and began calling in Odawa debts while both groups suffered from the effects of successive hard winters, smallpox epidemics, crop failures, and the decline of the fur trade. Therefore, the Odawaag, with the help of Hamlin, approached Superintendent Schoolcraft, hoping to alleviate some of their debt through the sale of marginal

¹⁹⁵ See Treaty with the Ottawa, Etc., 1836 in Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 456. Hamelin signed as a witness.

¹⁹⁶ McClurken, “Augustin Hamlin Jr.,” 96-97.

lands. Schoolcraft and Secretary of War Lewis Cass (whose Department of War housed the Indian Department), negotiated with the Odawa and Ojibwe representatives, taking vastly more land than the communities had intended to sell. In exchange for thirteen million acres, including the western portion of the Lower Peninsula north of the Grand River as well as the eastern part of the Upper Peninsula, the Ojibweg and Odawaag received payments and fourteen reservations.¹⁹⁷

The 1836 Treaty of Washington included annuities for education, missions, agricultural equipment, medicine, tobacco, and provisions. The allocation of resources exacerbated some of the band and denominational divides. For instance, Odawa Catholics near the Grand River appealed to President Andrew Jackson: “Our chief spoke to thee at Washington to give some land for our Catholic Mission here at Grand River, thou answered it would be done, but not in land, now we are told that what will be given by the Treaty is to be given to the protestant Mission only.” They requested that the Catholic mission be given government money.¹⁹⁸

Anishinaabe alliances with different groups had political, social, and economic consequences.

The ogimaag believed they still had rights to the lands they ceded to the United States, and they planned to continue fishing and hunting there until the lands were “required for settlement.”¹⁹⁹ The Senate amended the treaty such that, in order to receive the promised payments, the Anishinaabeg were forced to accept new provisions dictating a five-year limit on the reservations with the expectation of eventual removal from the state. Ethnohistorian Charles Cleland explains that the treaty did not include an explicit removal agreement and “removal was left entirely to the discretion” of the Odawaag and Ojibweg. Due to the specified five-year

¹⁹⁷ The payments for the Treaty of Washington included \$300,000 to pay debts to the traders and \$30,000 annually for 20 years (to be split among 6,500 individuals). Treaty with the Ottawa, Etc., 1836, March 28, 1836 in Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties 2* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904) <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/vol2/treaties/ott0450.htm> accessed April 8, 2016.

¹⁹⁸ Grand River Odawa to President Andrew Jackson, August 12, 1836, John Whalen McGee Collection, Grand Rapids Public Library.

¹⁹⁹ Article 13 of the Treaty of Washington, 1836, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/vol2/treaties/ott0450.htm> accessed April 8, 2016.

limitation on reservation land, many Odawa and Ojibwe individuals used their annuity money to purchase allotments that were part of the temporary Little Traverse reservation. Meanwhile, in 1837, after the United States acquired the ceded land, Michigan became a state. Some bands accepted missionaries into their communities and cleared land, citing “their progress in civilization” and land purchases to argue for permanent homes in the state.²⁰⁰ Native peoples used a combination of old and new strategies to push back against settler colonial ideology—the basis for U.S. Indian policy—that required they give up control of their lands.

²⁰⁰ Philip McM. Pittman and George M. Covington, *Don't Blame the Treaties: Native American Rights and the Michigan Indian Treaties* (West Bloomfield, Mich.: Altwerger and Mandel, 1992), 140-43; Virgil J. Vogel, “The Missionary as Acculturation Agent: Peter Dougherty and the Indians of Grand Traverse,” *Michigan History* 51 (Fall 1967): 186; Charles E. Cleland, *Faith in Paper: The Ethnohistory and Litigation of Upper Great Lakes Indian Treaties* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 65 (quotation); idem, *Rites of Conquest*, 227, 228, 229, 236 (quotation); Wesley L. Andrews and the Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians, *Our Land and Culture: A 200 Year History of Our Land Use* (Harbor Springs, Mich.: Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians, 2005), 38. See <http://www.ltbodawa-nsn.gov/Departments/ArchivesAndRecords/Our%20Land%20and%20Culture%20for%20web.pdf> Accessed June 26, 2012.



Figure 1.6 Henry Schoolcraft, Map of the Acting Superintendency of Michigan, 1837, which indicates the limited-term reservations created by the 1836 Treaty of Washington. Source: https://www.lib.msu.edu/branche/s/map/MiJPEGs/schoolcraft_1837/ accessed March 25, 2016.

After Michigan became a state, missionary activity increased as the government provided funding for missions, education, and agriculture. The Ojibweg and Odawaag continued to enlist the missionaries' help to purchase land and to negotiate with government officials. The Anishinaabeg of northwest Michigan successfully avoided removal through careful negotiation, the acquisition of allies—such as missionaries and traders—and the purchase of parcels of land that had been recently ceded. They used strategies that Grand River Odawaag had employed earlier, purchasing land through traders, missionaries, and in rare cases, in their own names.²⁰¹

²⁰¹ Grand River bands include Wakazoo, who purchased land in 1839; Antoine Campau, father of Cobmoosa, purchased village lands at Lowell; Muckatosha and Meginisini combined resources to purchase land under the name

The government did not make a decision regarding removal from the Michigan reservations when the five-year reservation deadline passed in May 1841, and the Odawaag and Ojibweg continued to purchase land and worry about their future.

Many Company K men were born in the late 1830s and early 1840s. The outcomes of Odawa alliances with missionaries or lack thereof determined their childhoods. The history and the actions of ogimaag and their band members are important to understanding the complex political, social, and religious world Company K men grew up in. By the time of enlistment, the Odawaag who had been scattered throughout the Grand River Valley and southeast Michigan had, for the most part, moved north or west, while some joined other Anishinaabeg.²⁰² Some of the “Slater Indians” ended up in Pentwater, as did many other southern Odawaag who relocated to re-established reservations in Oceana, Mason, Manistee, and Muskegon counties in the 1850s. In 1863, twenty-one men enlisted in the Union army on the same day near the Odawa reservation in Oceana County. These men hailed from bands that had long resided near the Manistee River, but they also came from the bands that had moved north to Mason, Muskegon and Oceana Counties. For example, Louis Genereau, an ogimaa and the father of a Company K soldier, moved his family from Maple River Village to the Odawa village in Barry County, then to Wakazoo’s Odawa/Congregationalist settlement in Allegan County, before moving to land on the Manistee River. His son, Private Louis Genereau Jr., would have been a young child in Allegan County and would have grown up close to the Manistee River before living near

of Richard Godfroy; Rix Robinson purchased land around the Thornapple River and Nebawnaygezick’s village so they could continue to use it; and other Odawaag joined missionary Jame Selkrig’s Griswold Colony. McClurken, “We Wish to be Civilized,” 214-217.

²⁰² In the 1840s most of the Grand River Odawaag remained near the Grand River and practiced seasonal subsistence strategies. By the 1850s many chose to leave lower Michigan. McClurken, *Our People, Our Journey*, 36.

Elbridge (Oceana County).²⁰³ During their childhoods, Company K men witnessed firsthand the results of land cessions and treaties.

The childhoods of many Company K men coincide with both these movements and with changes in access to subsistence. Company K member Joseph Wakazoo was the son of Agatha Petoskey (Naw-zhe-way-quay) and Peter Wakazoo (Pendunwan).²⁰⁴ He was around six years old when his father became an ogimaa, and his family moved permanently north when he was ten.²⁰⁵ Joseph's cousin, Payson Wolf—also a Company K member—was born to Charlotte Kinnequay (Peter Wakazoo's sister) and Miegun between 1833 and 1835. Payson lived near the Leelanau Peninsula.²⁰⁶ Both Wakazoo and Wolf grew up with multiple influences and examples of masculinity. Company K men heard stories about their warrior relatives and learned hunting rituals related to the manidoog. They were raised when speaking skills, ability to reach a consensus, and reciprocal relationships remained important for civil leaders and older Anishinaabe men. At the same time, many of them lived in or near mission communities, and some attended schools. Both Euro-American ideals of individualistic male farmers and authoritative leadership based on Euro-American expectations and Anishinaabe reciprocal social relationships and consensus-building influenced Company K men.

Band members, grandfathers, great-uncles, fathers, and uncles of Company K men were part of the War of 1812. Some of the fathers of Company K men would take cautious steps

²⁰³ “Ogema Louis Genereau and his family left Maple River Village and sought refuge at Ottawa Colony in Barry County before moving to the Old Wing settlement in Allegan County, and then to the Manistee River area.” McClurken, *Our People, Our Journey*, 40 and MPHC 10: 161.

²⁰⁴ Joseph Wakazoo was born in 1839 around Petoskey. His mother died when he was five. Swierenga and Van Appledorn, *Old Wing Mission*, 625. Joseph's family was connected with other families of ogimaag—his sister Mary married David Aghosa and his brother Moses married Elizabeth Agatha Petoskey.

²⁰⁵ Swierenga and Van Appledorn, *Old Wing Mission*, 625. His enlistment papers suggest he was born in 1840.

²⁰⁶ 1860 United State Federal Census, 1860 Northport, Leelanau, Michigan; Roll: *M653_550*; Page: 808; Image: 813; Family History Library Film: 803550; and Payson Wolf, Enlistment Papers, Compiled Military Service Records, Company K, First Michigan Sharpshooters, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, RG 94, National Archives, Washington D.C.

towards a dual citizenship—state citizenship and a special status related to being part of an Indian nation. Ogimaag from the Great Lakes borderlands made numerous decisions to keep their people together. They requested schools as treaty negotiations, missionary promises, and land sales became more and more urgent. Men like Mackadepenessy, Assiginack, Noaquageshik, and Keewaycooshcum, as warriors and war leaders in the War of 1812, followed an Anishinaabe man's life trajectory by becoming civil leaders later in life. Some of the ogimaag in the early-to-mid nineteenth century allied their bands with missionaries to preserve access to resources and land, which affected the trajectory of the lives of younger Anishinaabe men (men like Hamlin did not have the same opportunities to gain status as a warrior, and thus obtained different skills). Joseph Wakazoo, Payson Wolf, Louis Genereau, and other Anishinaabe men became Union soldiers after their families and bands had been relegated to smaller territories and reservations created by the treaties and land cessions that provided the state of Michigan with its land base. New leaders would need to learn to combine traditional Anishinaabe leadership skills with the ability to navigate increasing settler populations; they also raised the possibility for rights associated with land ownership and state citizenship.



Figure 1.7 This 1835 map (pre-1836 Treaty of Washington) depicts the southern part of the Michigan Territory, which had been surveyed. Note the northern part of the Lower Peninsula: Michilimackinac. This region is marked as territory of the “Ottawas.”

Source: Thomas G. Bradford's "Michigan and the Great Lakes," 1835. Clarke Historical Library, Central Michigan University, Mt. Pleasant, MI.

Coda

Bela Hubbard visited Michigan's coastlines as Douglass Houghton's assistant during a geological survey of the state. In 1838, the surveyors approached Waganagisi and were met by Odawaag who were disappointed and angry regarding the final terms of the 1836 treaty. They claimed to not speak English or French but managed to convey to the surveyors that they wished to wrestle. Hubbard noted that the surveying party agreed to the wrestling match, but that the Odawaag "rather worsted us."²⁰⁷

Hubbard does not go into detail concerning the Anishinaabe who wrestled and bested the surveying party. Given the context of the alarming treaty—which limited Anishinaabe reservations to a five-year period—and the subsequent surveyors visiting Anishinaabe land in order to evaluate its resources and prepare it for eventual sale, the wrestling match had sinister undertones. The Anishinaabe men physically bested the surveyors. It was not an attack on the Americans by any stretch of the imagination, but the match had underlying connotations. Given missionaries' and government officials' attention to gender roles and preoccupation with converting Anishinaabe hunters into "civilized" Christian" farmers, the Odawa show of physical strength foreshadowed the gendered tensions between the Anishinaabeg and white missionaries and settlers in the nineteenth century.

²⁰⁷ Journal 2, Box 1, Bela Hubbard Papers, 1837-1893, Bentley Historical Library.

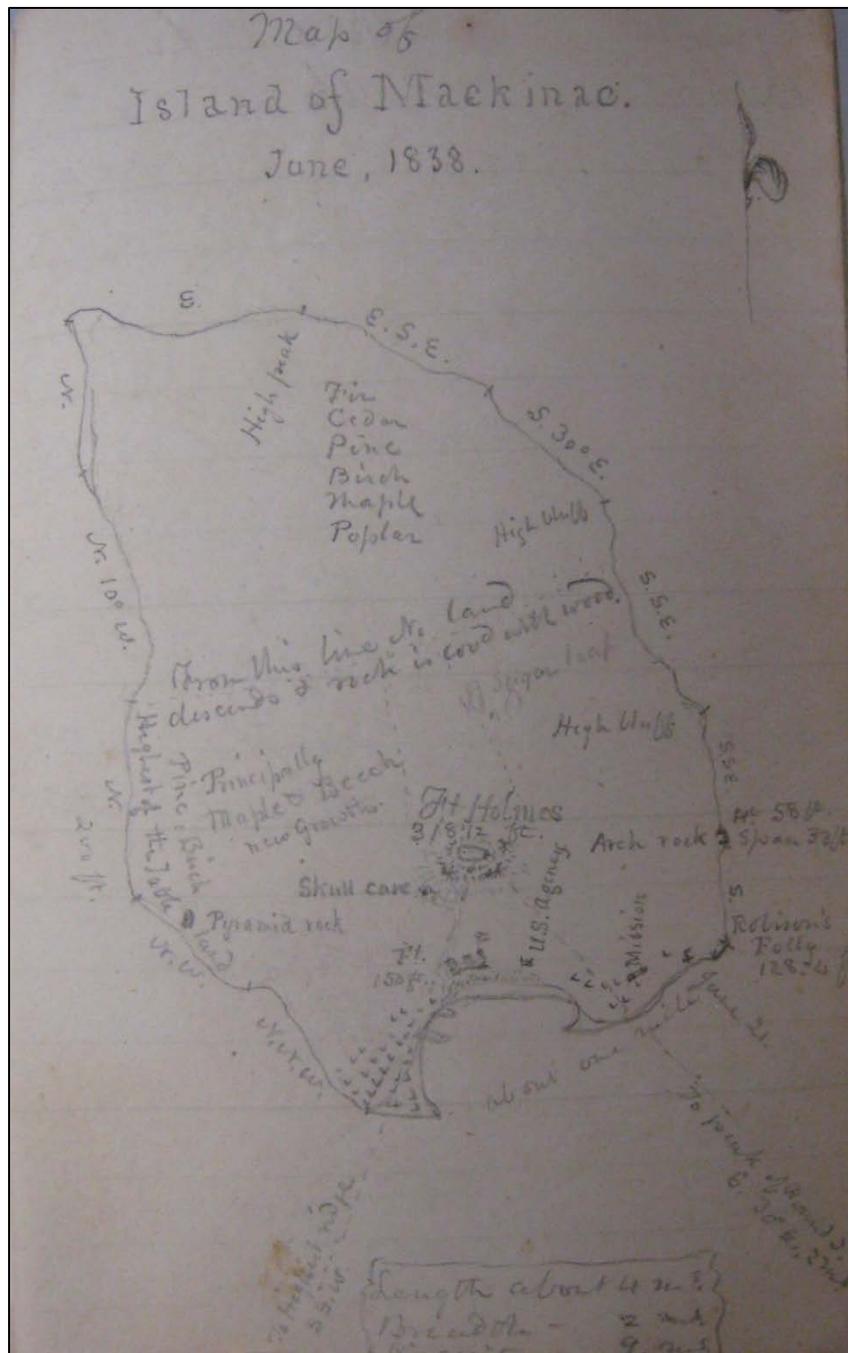


Figure 1.8 Bela Hubbard’s map of Mackinac Island shows how U.S. surveyors appraised Anishinaabe land for resources (i.e. the types of trees). Notice the location of Fort Michilimackinac, drawn in as a three-towered structure between the bay on the lower part of the island and Fort Holmes. Hubbard noted locations of geological features as well, such as Skull Cave and Arch Rock—sites connected to Anishinaabe, French, and British stories about the island’s history.

Source: Journal 2, Box 1, Bela Hubbard Papers, 1837-1893, Bentley Historical Library.

Chapter Two

“Religious rebels”¹: Odawa and Ojibwe Encounters with American Missionaries in Northern Michigan

Before enlisting in Company K, Benjamin Greensky married Emma Redbird in a Methodist ceremony in July 1863. He was killed May 12, 1864 at the Battle of Spotsylvania (Virginia). Two weeks later, Private Daniel Mwakewenah died of wounds he sustained at the same battle. Known as “the Indian Preacher,” Mwakewenah had religious and social connections to both Methodist and Presbyterian missionaries in northwest Michigan. It is possible that one of the Ojibwe bibles found by a Confederate soldier a few days earlier, at the Battle of the Wilderness, belonged to Mwakewenah or Benjamin Greensky. Benjamin’s brother, Jacob, joined Company K in the fall of 1864. After the war, he became a Methodist licensed preacher, like his father, Peter Greensky.²

The Greensky family and Mwakewenah embody the broader religious, social, and political tensions that arose between missionaries and Anishinaabe peoples after the 1836 Treaty of Washington supported an increase in missionary activity. Both Peter Greensky and Mwakewenah came into conflict with the missionaries sent by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions (BFM), Peter Dougherty and Andrew Porter. Dougherty’s mission stood on Grand

¹ Andrew Porter to Walter Lowrie, December 24, 1861 (emphasis in original) in Peter Dougherty Papers, Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, MI (hereafter Dougherty Papers).

² Marriage Certificate, Civil War Pension File of Benjamin Greensky (widow, Emma Greensky), First Michigan Sharpshooters, RG 15, National Archives, Washington D.C.; Compiled Service Record of Benjamin Greensky, Civil War, Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, RG 94, National Archives, Washington D.C. The Grand Traverse District recommended Jacob Greensky as a local deacon in 1879. September 10, 1879, Grand Traverse District, Box 4, West Michigan Conference United Methodist Archives, Stockwell-Mudd Library, Albion College, Albion, MI (hereafter WMC). For the Ojibwe bibles on the battlefield, see Walter Clark, ed., *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-’65* 2 (Goldsboro, N.C.: Nash Brothers, 1901),46.

Traverse Bay, and Porter's mission stood on the southeast side of Little Traverse Bay.³ Dougherty's and Porter's reliance on cultural intermediaries such as Greensky and Mwakewenah, paired with Anishinaabe leaders' claims to authority, heightened tensions between the Presbyterian missionaries and the Anishinaabeg.⁴ Practicing Christianity within a Native space, the Ojibweg and the Odawaag rejected certain religious authorities and embraced others. Greensky and Mwakewenah strengthened their authority through the tools Christianity provided and became rivals of the Presbyterian missionaries. Influenced by Anishinaabe Methodist missionaries from Canada, they chose to practice Methodism, which seemed more familiar to them and encouraged them to assume a more active leadership role in their practice of

³ James McClurken identifies Mwakewenah (Mokewenaw) as Chippewa (Ojibwe), but he was possibly Odawa. Many Odawaag and Ojibweg around Grand Traverse Bay lived together in communities in the nineteenth century, which makes the separate labels of Odawa and Ojibwe problematic. The instructions to Dougherty from the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions (BFM) included a description of their village arrangements, which helps explain the community dynamics at the time of Dougherty's mission: "These two tribes speak the same general language; and although much intermixed, and living in alternate villages, a distinction is kept up between them,— which, however, is not marked by any strong traits in their habits and condition." The current location of the Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa (Ojibwe) Indians' reservation near Traverse City reflects this shared history. See James McClurken, "We Wish to be Civilized: Ottawa-American Political Contests on the Michigan Frontier" (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 1988), 323; Wesley L. Andrews, "Okimak Odawak," unpublished manuscript, 97-99; "Extracts from the Instructions of the Executive Committee to the Rev. Messrs. John Fleming and Peter Dougherty," September 23, 1838, *Foreign Missionary Chronicle* 6 (November 1838): 348; and Charles E. Cleland, *Rites of Conquest: The History and Culture of Michigan's Native Americans* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 27, 39-41.

⁴ This chapter focuses on the experiences of two men, Greensky and Mwakewenah, who both assumed leadership positions. Although the Ojibweg and Odawaag viewed women's support for community actions as an important part of the decision-making process, women were usually not civil or war leaders. The missionaries' letters do not mention women holding leadership roles in their communities, which may be a reflection of the Euro-Americans' partiality for male leaders or evidence supporting Carol Devens' argument that women were more reluctant to accept Protestant Christianity and thus would not have attempted to take an active role in Protestant churches. Although Methodists encouraged women to participate in prayer meetings, Karen Tucker points out that while women were not explicitly denied leadership roles in the church, they were restricted in practice. Women were similarly constrained in Presbyterian churches. There is evidence that female Anishinaabe Methodists in Canada, however, served as Methodist class leaders. Rebecca Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People: A History of Minnesota Ojibwe Politics, 1825-1898* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1998), 71; Carol Devens, *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 113; Karen B. Westerfield Tucker, *American Methodist Worship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 79, 263.

Christianity.⁵ Mwakewenah's and Greensky's religious choices were connected to Anishinaabe social and political influences.

To understand these encounters and individual choices requires an Anishinaabe framework that considers religious practices, alliances, and fluid social formations.⁶ The actions of Greensky

⁵ Methodism—as it may have been practiced by Greensky, Mwakewenah, and their followers—might have seemed more familiar to Anishinaabe individuals based on their prior religious experiences. For a further discussion of the ways Methodist teachings and practices were intelligible to the Anishinaabeg, see Catherine Murton Stoehr, “Salvation from Empire: the Roots of Anishinaabe Christianity in Upper Canada, 1650-1840,” (PhD diss., Queen's University, 2008). For example, Stoehr, discusses how John Sunday stressed memorization of the Ten Commandments, believing that *Gitche Manitou* [God] would bless the Anishinaabeg if they followed his teachings. Stoehr points out that the Ten Commandments are largely social and that following them was “analogous to gaining a guardian spirit,” who “required certain practices and bestowed particular blessings.” (139-140). In addition, reciting stories from the Bible, the Ten Commandments, or hymns was similar to “reciting the *adisokanag* [Manitou stories]” which “attracted *Manitous* and gave people a chance to be near them” (140). Comparing baptism to Anishinaabe naming ceremonies, Stoehr argues that many Anishinaabeg viewed baptism as another ritual to gain power (214-215). An “old warrior” in 1838 noted that he “had expected the Methodist movement to propose ethical practices contrary to Anishinaabe customs, and was surprised to find continuity between the two ways” (226). There were, of course, fundamental and irreconcilable differences between Anishinaabe and Methodist beliefs and practices as well. Stoehr stresses that a “Methodist person could imagine a virtuous act which was condemned by their community whereas in Anishinaabe tradition virtue derived in large part from community approval.” She argues that Anishinaabe Methodists devalued “the role of community in regulating virtue” and that this attitude influenced social relationships (141).

⁶ This chapter builds on work by Cary Miller and Rebecca Kugel that considers similar interactions between Anishinaabe peoples and missionaries and U.S. government officials. Both historians consider the strengths of Anishinaabe leadership, arguing against representations of Anishinaabe leadership as weak. Representations of weak Ojibwe leadership reflect American officials' perceptions of a strong leader rather than the dynamics of Anishinaabe bands. Kugel argues that the Ojibweg used internal political divisions to preserve autonomy and control their resources. Where nineteenth-century Euro-Americans saw weakness and factionalism, Kugel sees two different forms of leadership that could play off of one another. Miller argues that the fluidity of Ojibwe social organization was a strength, not a weakness, and that Anishinaabe charismatic authority was a stabilizing institution. She shows that charismatic authority was based on demonstrated and situational skills.

Both Miller and Kugel focus on Ojibweg west of Lake Superior and there are differences between their situation and the Anishinaabe peoples east of Lake Michigan. Dougherty's and Porter's missions included both Odawa and Ojibwe individuals, while Kugel and Miller focus on the Ojibweg. Second, the Minnesota Ojibweg included warrior factions (e.g., at Leech Lake) and communities led by civil leaders who often disagreed with these warriors. Anishinaabe peoples in Michigan, in contrast, did not have the exact community dynamics that Kugel highlights; dynamics which depended on the existence of warriors and strong war leaders, as well as *ogimaag*. While the Anishinaabeg discussed in this chapter were in a different situation than Ojibweg further west, James McClurken demonstrates that Odawaag around Little Traverse Bay were similar in that their fluid social groups and decentralized political organization was an asset that helped them to avoid removal. Looking at Odawaag around Little Traverse Bay, McClurken argues that *ogimaag* (*ogemuk*) remained politically vital through 1855 and drew their authority from kin-based support. He argues Odawa political organization based on cooperation and reciprocity demonstrates how the Odawaag “maintained a distinct identity based on a core of cultural traits.” Miller, Kugel, and McClurken provide a framework to analyze the leadership of Mwakewenah and Greensky. They were charismatic leaders and drew their authority partially from their religious leadership. It is also possible that Mwakewenah was a hereditary leader. Miller highlights how Anishinaabe politics and religion were connected; a factor that definitely influences the authority of these two men and their influence over small bands of Anishinaabe peoples. Cary Miller, *Ogimaag: Anishinaabeg Leadership, 1760-1845* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 113-116, 217, 231-233. Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders*, 189. McClurken, “We Wish to be Civilized,” 287, 328-329.

and Mwakewenah demonstrate how Anishinaabe political power, as well as perceptions of spiritual power, shaped Native life in the mid-nineteenth century. As civil leaders, these men acted as cultural intermediaries between their communities and outside political and religious forces, shaping a critical period of change and complicating U.S. claims to power over this region. Missionaries like Dougherty and Porter became part of the political work necessary to control an Anishinaabe space as they aided the U.S. government's assimilation efforts. Native claims to autonomy, such as those made by Mwakewenah and Greensky, continually disrupted or complicated U.S. claims to power. Their interconnected claims to political and religious leadership reflect remnants of an Anishinaabe space and its social formations even in the mid-nineteenth century, when the region became incorporated within the United States' realm of control. Mwakewenah's and Greensky's actions affected these power dynamics in northwest Michigan as they tried to maintain social and political autonomy, to bring Anishinaabe expectations and practices into Christian practice, and to strengthen their leadership positions.⁷

The Anishinaabeg attempted to make sense of Christianity from an indigenous perspective. Their interaction with the missionaries did not automatically result in assimilation. Rather their practice of Christianity reflected Anishinaabe social patterns. The Anishinaabeg went to different denominational services and actively changed denominations for reasons connected to kinship, resources, worship styles, and faith. Porter's and Dougherty's difficulty in retaining Native converts to the Presbyterian Church had to do as much with indigenous social structures and cultural logic as with doctrinal religion. Anishinaabe seasonal subsistence strategies, for example, led to intermittent school and church attendance. Anishinaabe kinship

⁷ As discussed in the introduction, Michigan was part of the space Witgen terms Anishinaabewaki, an autonomous social world shaped by the shifting social formations of Anishinaabe peoples. Anishinaabe multipolar social formation determined their relationships with Europeans through the beginning of the nineteenth century. Michael Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 18, 19, 21, 325, 338-49, 351.

networks, location, community structures, subsistence strategies, and political divisions determined how the Anishinaabeg accepted Christianity and how they interacted with Christian missionaries.

Ogimaag and Protestant Missionaries

Anishinaabe ogimaag welcomed Presbyterian missionaries into their communities for political and material reasons. Perceiving Peter Dougherty and Andrew Porter as political agents of the United States, they invited them to live among them in order to strengthen political alliances that they deemed important and to learn English, which would benefit them in future treaty councils. Like the “x-marks” made on government treaties, Anishinaabe interest in these elements of "civilization" were not signs of assimilation but of "assent to the new," tools that leaders believed would strengthen themselves and their communities.⁸

The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions sent Reverend Peter Dougherty to Michigan in 1838 using the federal money granted for missionaries in the 1836 Treaty of Washington.⁹ Trained at the Presbyterian Princeton Seminary, Dougherty left New York and began setting up his mission among sixty men and their families on the east side of Grand Traverse Bay. Peter Greensky helped Dougherty construct a house. They had begun building a school before circumstances led them to abandon their work. Unable to convince Indian Agent Henry Schoolcraft to establish the government employees, including a blacksmith and an agricultural instructor, at the village on the east side of Grand Traverse Bay, Dougherty

⁸ Scott R. Lyons, *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 9-10, 33, 40.

⁹The note from the BFM to Dougherty enumerated the “United tribes of Chippewas and Ottawas” at 6,500 and asserted “by the treaty with them, a liberal provision is made for their instruction and improvement, and from this fund a large part of the expenses of the present mission will be defrayed.” “At Washington, District of Columbia Treaty with the Ottawa, etc., 1836,” 178-79; “Extracts from the Instructions of the Executive Committee to . . . John Fleming and Peter Dougherty,” 348 (quotation); Vogel, “The Missionary as Acculturation Agent,” 187-88. Schoolcraft, 575-October 25, 1837-received letters from Presbyterian Methodist boards about Missions for the Odawa and Chippewa via 1836 treaty. And they were both advised to select places south of Mackinac

recounted: “I succeeded in getting him [Schoolcraft] to locate [them] at Agousa’s [sic] village. . . . The effect of locating there was certain to my mind as it respected the determination of the Indians removing to the place they had selected for us.”¹⁰ While Schoolcraft was in the area determining where to locate the government employees, he introduced Dougherty to the region’s Anishinaabeg. This introduction via Schoolcraft suggests the Anishinaabeg may have associated the missionary with the government official and thus the U.S. government. Schoolcraft was a Presbyterian, which may have also encouraged the Odawa ogimaa, Aghosa, and the Anishinaabeg to consider a Presbyterian missionary for their village on the small peninsula in Grand Traverse Bay (now Old Mission).¹¹ Considering Anishinaabe alliance practices, accepting the missionary—connected to the same faith as the Indian Agent—would have been equivalent to reinforcing a potential alliance with the U.S. government or Indian Agency.¹² Alliances with missionaries were dissolvable relationships when missionaries failed to understand and uphold reciprocal obligations.

¹⁰ Peter Dougherty to Daniel Wells, July 9, 1839, Dougherty Papers

¹¹ Keith R. Widder, *Battle for the Soul: Métis Children Encounter Evangelical Protestants at Mackinaw Mission, 1823-1837* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999), 71.

¹² Peter Dougherty to Daniel Wells, July 9, 1839, Dougherty Papers (quotation); Schoolcraft similarly introduced the northern Minnesota Ojibweg to the Presbyterian missionary William T. Boutwell, who was then viewed as a participant in the alliance. The Anishinaabeg often understood their relationship with the missionaries as part of an alliance in which allies constructed social and political relationships based on reciprocal obligations and kinship. Anishinaabe communities and ogimaa wished to negotiate alliances that could benefit them materially, politically, and spiritually. As historian Rebecca Kugel argues, the Ojibweg of Minnesota viewed their nineteenth-century treaties with the United States within their established framework of alliance that was crucial to all relationships. Alliances implied certain responsibilities and required ceremonies, symbolic acts, and ritualized language. The Anishinaabeg continued to view their relationships with the missionaries within this context of alliance. They invited missionaries, connected to the U.S. government due to treaties, into their communities to reenact rituals of alliance that included adopting the clothes of allies, allowing allies to live in their communities, and learning unfamiliar skills from these allies. Minnesota Ojibweg viewed missionaries as instructors whose teachings they could accept parts of while rejecting others; from the reports of Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist missionaries, it seems Michigan Anishinaabeg held similar views. Alliances with missionaries were dissolvable relationships when missionaries failed to understand and uphold reciprocal obligations. Kugel argues that the civil leaders also perceived conversion as a way to ally with “all the good Christians.” Insisting on autonomy and an equal relationship, nineteenth-century Minnesota Ojibweg “did not see themselves as conquered people—though they recognized the Americans’ continued efforts to force such an admission from them—nor did they consider their culture and belief system as deficient to those of the Americans and in need of replacement.” Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People*, 10, 19, 31, 106, 118, 199.

Dougherty acknowledged the reasons why certain Native communities were receptive to his missionary work. The missionary had something the Anishinaabeg wanted: English-language skills. He wished to convert Aghosa, an ogimaa, and his band. Dougherty remarked:

Immediately on his [Schoolcraft's] leaving I held a talk with Agousa [*sic*] as to what his people would do if the Black Smith and farmer were located at his present place. He said they wished to remain....I asked Agousa [*sic*] if he would like me to come over and live in his village and have school....He was very desirous to have me come and live in his village. . . .You can easily believe that I regretted having to remove—I must leave all that has been done and commence [again].¹³

Aghosa played an active role in the establishment of Mission Harbor and attempted to dictate the terms of the “civilizing process” mandated by the Treaty of Washington. Toward this end, Aghosa sought to locate both the government employees and the missionary school at his village. Aghosa and his people valued an English-based education, as Dougherty reported: “They manifest great interest to learn and are investing in application repeating and repeating until they know it. Some have learned the alphabet at one lesson.” Although not particularly eager to convert to Dougherty’s religion, the Native community at Mission Harbor valued the benefits of a government-employed blacksmith and agriculturist and the opportunity to learn English provided by the mission.

Conversions and church attendance proceeded slowly, frustrating Dougherty. “The chief told me after my first address to the people that his people were at liberty to take our religion if they wished. He said one would take it now and another at another time from which it can be seen that he contemplates a progressive work.”¹⁴ Individuals joined the church slowly; Aghosa himself did not convert until 1842 or 1843. Dougherty noted among those who “were received on confession of their faith” on June 4, 1843, “Muh cu ah non” [Mwakewenah], baptized with

¹³Dougherty to Wells, July 9, 1839, Dougherty Papers.

¹⁴Ibid.

the name Daniel Wells.¹⁵ Mwakewenah later questioned Dougherty's style of worship and religious authority, but in the beginning of the 1840s he was part of the Presbyterian mission community.

The problems the Anishinaabeg had with land-ownership diminished their desire for a school at Mission Harbor. In 1850, Aghosa's Odawaag began moving to the west side of Grand Traverse Bay after they were unable to purchase their Mission Harbor lands. With the second Michigan Constitution (1850) encouraging Native peoples to purchase land and become citizens, the Anishinaabeg found land-ownership in a dispersed area a better option than remaining near Dougherty's mission and school. Dougherty thus found a day school impractical, so he moved from Mission Harbor in 1852 with Aghosa, and set up a school in a settlement they named Omena, on the Leelanau Peninsula. Similar concerns over land ownership affected other Anishinaabe bands in Michigan at mid-century.¹⁶



Figure 2.1 Peter Dougherty's Presbyterian Church at Omena (Leelanau Peninsula). Dougherty oversaw the construction of Grove Hill Mission Church and its dedication of the church building in 1858. It sits on a slight hill with glimpses of Omena Bay. To the right of the church, among the trees pictured, lies the church cemetery, which includes the graves of members of the Agosa (Aghosa) family and band members, as well as Company K member Thomas Miller. Source: Author Photograph, May 2015.

¹⁵ Peter Dougherty, *Minutes of the Session of the Indian Mission Church, Grand Traverse Bay, Michigan*, 1, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

¹⁶ Devens, *Countering Colonization*, 101; Vogel, "The Missionary as Acculturation Agent," 198-99. "Omena History," <http://www.omenahistoricalociety.com/OMENA-HISTORY.html> ; accessed April 22, 2016.

When Aghosa's band moved to the west side of Grand Traverse Bay in 1850, they joined established Odawa villages of other ogimaag, including Nagonabe, Onumunese, and Shabwasong. They also joined Peter Wakazoo (Pendunwan), an ogimaa who had just returned to the area in 1849. Wakazoo sold the land his band had been living on—southern hunting lands they had purchased in 1839 near Black Lake (now Lake Macatawa, near Holland, MI)—due to the increasingly bold encroachments of Dutch settlers.¹⁷ Wakazoo's band disinterred their dead and traveled north to Grand Traverse Bay in Mackinaw boats and birch bark canoes. They brought the Congregationalist missionary, George N. Smith, with them.¹⁸ Aghosa and Peter Wakazoo allied with missionaries within an Anishinaabe framework and had certain expectations of their Christian allies related to religion, education, and land. Anishinaabe movements in the 1840s and early 1850s involved multiple bands with shifting alliances and configurations.

Instead of moving with Aghosa and Dougherty, several of the Odawaag at Mission Harbor moved to Bear River in the spring of 1850 in order to purchase land for family plots. In

¹⁷ Peter Wakazoo was the father of Company K soldier, Joseph Wakazoo, born in 1839. Joseph was probably named after his uncle and grandfather, both ogimaag in their lifetimes and also both known as Joseph (for clarity purposes, listed as Joseph I, II, and III here). Joseph I—"Old" Joseph Wakazoo—was the brother of Mackadepenessy and Assiginack. Joseph II and his brother Peter, were thus nephews of multiple ogimaag. First Joseph II and then Peter became ogimaa themselves. Joseph's brother Peter became ogimaa in 1845, and, in 1849, moved his band north. For Wakazoo family information, see Swierenga and Van Appledorn, *Old Wing Mission*, 623-626.

¹⁸ After the Treaty of 1836, Joseph Wakazoo (II) petitioned the government for the right to purchase land in southeast Michigan. In late 1837, he attended a meeting of the Western Michigan Society to Benefit the Indians (part of the Congregational-Presbyterian American Home Missionary Society), where he met Reverend George N. Smith. Wakazoo invited the Congregationalist missionary to his community, encouraged by the missionary and education article in the 1836 treaty. Smith began preaching and teaching Odawa children. Wakazoo's band purchased 1,360 acres May 29, 1839 on a branch of the Black River where 29 families (118 Odawaag) settled. The government failed to offer adequate support for farming and the Odawaag continued to hunt, fish, and gather cranberries. The Odawaag inconsistently attended Smith's services, a problem that only increased with the arrival of the Catholic priest Father Andreas Vizosky. Like the Odawaag who allied themselves with McCoy, Slater, and Baraga, these Odawaag also made strategic choices based on land, resources, existing bands, tensions among ogimaag, and religion. Both Smith and Vizosky spoke at Joseph Wakazoo's (II) funeral in October 1845, a reflection of the religious divides in the community. Robert P. Swierenga, William Van Appledorn, eds. *Old Wing Mission: cultural interchange as chronicled by George and Arvilla Smith in their work with Chief Wakazoo's Ottawa band on the West Michigan frontier* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub., c2008), 13, 28-33, 38-39, 48-49, 52, 59; Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, 663.

1851, they requested a school. “We made our wants known to him [Dougherty],” they wrote to Walter Lowrie, the corresponding secretary of the BFM, “and we told him that we wanted a school whereby our Children could be taught.” The Odawaag argued that they did not want a Catholic school because it would be taught in Anishinaabemowin and they specifically wished for English-language instruction. Catholic missions in the area, including the missions at La Croix (Cross Village) and Middle Village, often did not teach English. The letter demonstrates how some of the Odawaag at Bear River sought missionaries associated with the government funding promised in the Treaty of Washington. The Odawaag anticipated future treaty negotiations and wanted their children to have the skills necessary to deal directly with the agents of the federal government. The Odawaag at Bear River desired to be able to handle both white settlers and property issues, which were becoming more pervasive after the 1851 general survey of the state.¹⁹ Ten signatures line the bottom of the letter. The first name listed—“Mwahkewenah”—merits attention due to the subsequent role he played at the Bear River mission and school.

¹⁹Dougherty provoked the writing of this letter when he visited Little Traverse Bay, and his missive to Lowrie, informing him about the forthcoming Odawa letter, is ambiguous about who first requested the school. Comparing the wording in the two letters, it seems that the Odawaag were more instrumental in requesting a school, which demonstrates their desire to learn English. Blackbird complained the Catholic mission did not consistently teach the children English, but instead instructed mostly in Anishinaabemowin at Little Traverse around 1829. Peter Dougherty to Walter Lowrie, October 23, 1861; Odawa Indians to Walter Lowrie, October 26, 1851 (quotation), both in Dougherty Papers; Albert Langheim, *The Catholic Mission at Cross Village: The First 200 Years* (Cross Village, Mich.: A. Langheim, 1995); Andrew J. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan* (Ypsilanti, Mich.: Ypsilantian Job Printing House, 1887), 49; Philip McM. Pittman and George M. Covington, *Don't Blame the Treaties: Native American Rights and the Michigan Indian Treaties* (West Bloomfield, Mich.: Altwerger and Mandel, 1992), 148.

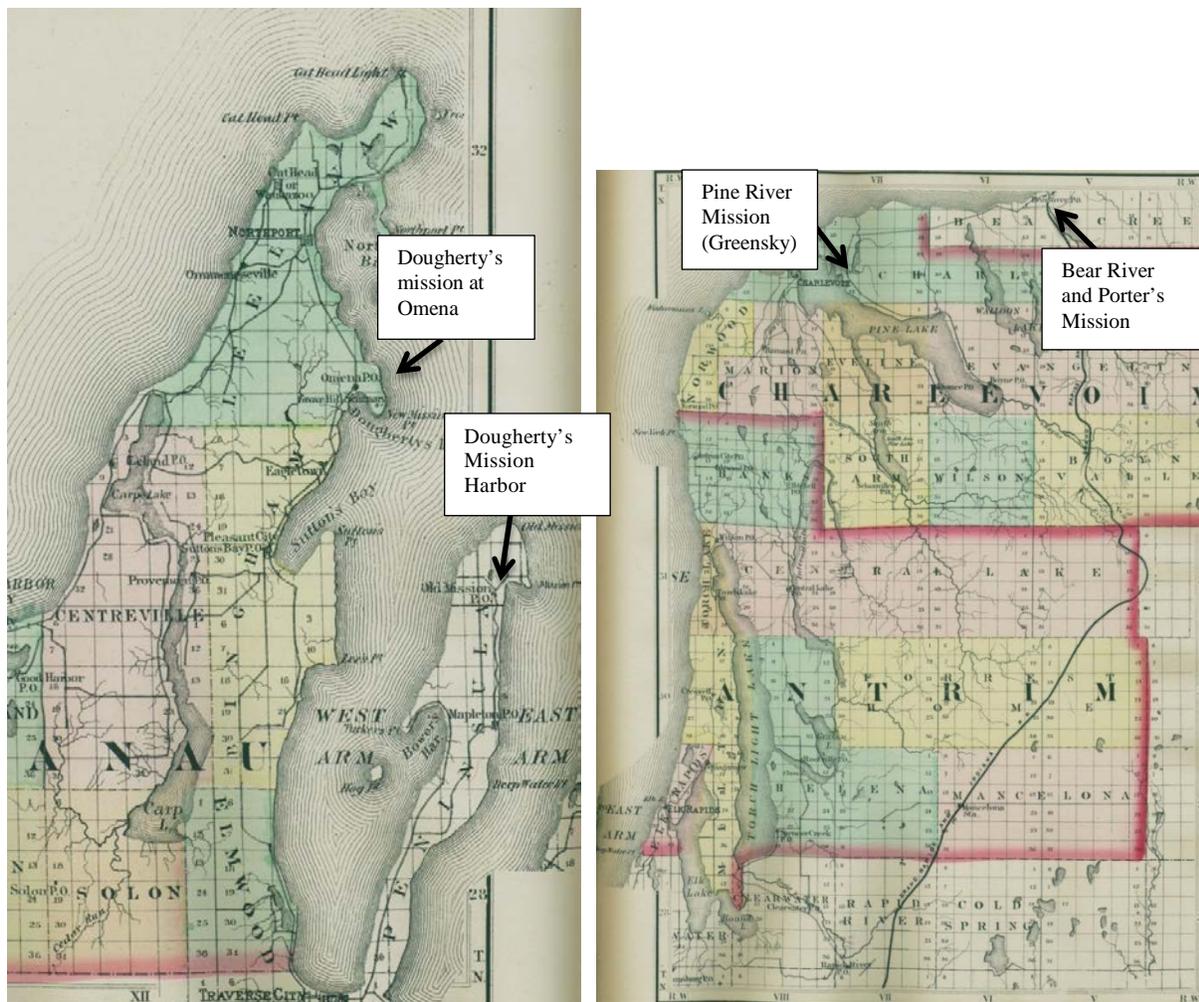


Figure 2.2 and 2.3 Dougherty's, Porter's, and Greensky's missions.
 Source: Henry Francis Walling, *Atlas of the State of Michigan: Including Statistics And Descriptions of Its Topography, Hydrography, Climate, Natural And Civil History, Railways, Educational Institutions, Material Resources, Etc.* (Detroit, Mich.: R.M. & S.T. Tackabury, 1873), 57, 58.

Presbyterians in a Changing Anishinaabe Space

Despite their initial positive reception of Presbyterian missionaries as political allies and academic instructors, the Anishinaabeg maintained control over their own religious practice, frustrating missionaries with their inconsistent commitment to mission life. Seasonal rounds

meant regular absences at mission schools, while kinship networks extending across denominational lines led converts to worship in multiple denominations simultaneously or to leave the Presbyterian fold. Presbyterian missionaries' reliance on Native cultural intermediaries also complicated their message, leading to creative theological misunderstandings. For cultural, social, and political reasons, ogimaag such as Mwakewenah were drawn to Methodism.

The mission at Bear River exemplifies the manner in which the Odawaag expected missionaries to work on their terms and to accommodate their continuing, if shortened, seasonal rounds. The BFM granted the Odawa request—largely inspired by a desire to learn English—for a mission and school, sending Andrew Porter, a Presbyterian missionary from Pennsylvania and Lowrie's nephew, to Bear River in 1852. Upon his arrival, Porter stayed with Mwakewenah, who helped construct the mission buildings, including the school that opened in July. By 1853, Porter grew increasingly frustrated at inconsistent school attendance, as the Odawaag took their children out of the classroom to hunt and to help with sugar-making. Dougherty acknowledged similarly sporadic attendance due to sugar-making at Grand Traverse Bay. The Mackinac Indian agent, DeWitt C. Leach, noted in 1862: "I have tried to impress upon the parents the importance of keeping their children in school. They say: 'Yes, this is so; we will do it;' but when the fishing season, or the hunting season, or the berry season comes, away go parents and children to the fishing ground or the forest, forgetting the school and most of what was learned in it during the brief period it was attended."²⁰ The Odawaag continued to practice a seasonal round, albeit truncated by land restrictions and decreasing resources, throughout the operation of the school

²⁰ D.C. Leach to William P. Dole, October 26, 1862, "1862 Annual Report of the Mackinac Indian Agent," transcription in Larry M. Wyckoff, ed. *Annual Reports from the Mackinac Indian Agency, 1833-1888*, 455-456. available at https://www.academia.edu/14147162/Annual_Reports_from_the_Mackinac_Indian_Agency_1833-1888.

until its closing in 1867.²¹ The Odawaag expected the school, located in an area of land they had purchased, to work around their schedules and needs.²²

Kinship and religious factors both motivated Anishinaabe actions and frustrated the Presbyterian missionaries. Porter complained: “Our church has dwindled to a very small band... one girl gone back to the Catholics and others to the ranters [Methodists] leaves us all told only 13 members and there are two of those who may . . . leave soon as the man is a hypocrite and has been patterning after the ranters in his prayers and . . . yesterday evening he took offence in the prayer meeting.”²³ Porter’s interaction with the man he called “a hypocrite” underscores the tension between the missionary and the Anishinaabeg. The Native man took offense because Porter restricted his ability to speak about a deceased relative, which would have been allowed in a Methodist camp meeting. Porter wrote, “this Indian began to complain that he had not been allowed to speak [and] he would have given such a good exhortation ec [sic] as he felt so badly about a nephew (papist) who had died a day or two before; and whom doubtless he wished to send to heaven as he had done in a speech a year ago when a papist sister died.”²⁴ Religious differences, among denominations or between Christians and non-Christians, frequently split

²¹ Nancy Jarvis, ed., *Historical Glimpses: Petoskey* (Petoskey, Mich.: Little Traverse Historical Society, 1986), 15-21; Porter to Lowrie, October 7, 1853; Porter to Lowrie, March 22, 1867; Dougherty to Lowrie, March 21, 1862, Dougherty Papers.

²² James McClurken argues that the Odawaag used money from the settlement of the 1836 treaty to purchase some of the land they had lost, strategically preserving access to fishing, maple sugar groves, and villages. Focusing on the years between the 1836 and 1855 treaties, McClurken explores how the Grand River and L’Arbre Croche Odawaag maintained seasonal rounds, taking advantage of an expanding market to sell their products and adapt to the American economy. Susan Grey also argues that the Grand River Odawaag maintained their trade in the 1830s and 1840s in furs, berries, and maple sugar, testifying “to the persistence of a distinctive Indian economy.” “The system of surveying the public domain and selling parcels on the open market provided the Ottawa with an opportunity to acquire acreage in the vicinity of their villages, especially those parcels on which their homes, gardens, fishing stations, and maple sugar groves were located.” The Ottawa used the missions “as bases from which to pursue a seasonally migratory economy.” James McClurken, “Ottawa Strategies to Indian Removal,” *Michigan Historical Review*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spring, 1986), 47, 49. Susan E. Gray, “Limits and Possibilities: White-Indian Relations in Western Michigan in the Era of Removal,” *Michigan Historical Review*, Vol. 20, No. 2, (Fall, 1994), 83.

²³ Porter to Lowrie, November 12, 1863, Dougherty Papers (emphasis in original).

²⁴ *Ibid.* It appears that this man’s sister married a Catholic and moved to a Catholic community.

Native communities.²⁵ This incident, however, demonstrates that kinship ties and networks still mattered despite religious differences. Since the late seventeenth century, when French missionaries had arrived in northern Michigan, the area had included Catholic communities, although the strength of Catholicism among the Anishinaabeg fluctuated. It is unsurprising that many individuals wavered between Protestantism and Catholicism and had family connections that crossed these denominations.



Figure 2.4 Andrew Porter’s mission at Bear River (Petoskey).

Source: Ruth Craker, Photograph Album, c. 1900-1940. Omena Presbyterian Church Photograph Series, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

Newly created alliances, such as marriages, also thwarted the Presbyterian missionaries’ goals. In 1861, Dougherty recounted that Eliza, who spent over three years at his school, married and “removed to the Little Traverse in the midst of a strong Catholic influence. She was a consistent member of our church but I fear that her new relations may lead her from Christ.” Similarly, “One Sophia, a smart interesting child, who had been some four years in school and had made good improvement, was taken away to be married to a young man who

²⁵ Cleland, *Rites of Conquest*, 241.

has removed with the Methodist colony. She was very young and wished to stay.”²⁶ Dougherty worried that many of the female students left his school too soon.

Northern Michigan Indians had practical reasons to join churches, but they also changed faiths based on kinship, converting to a new religion upon marriage, or after moving to a different community.²⁷ Both Porter’s and Dougherty’s missions lost members to the Catholics and the Methodists.²⁸ After having spent time at the Presbyterian missions, Greensky, and possibly Mwakewenah, became Methodist preachers; Porter and Dougherty were especially distressed when members of their communities left to follow these Native religious leaders.

²⁶ Ojibwe clan membership was patrilineal and wives moved with their husbands, often living with their husbands families. James A. Clifton, George L. Cornell, James M. McClurken, *People of the Three Fires: The Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Ojibway of Michigan* (The Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council, Grand Rapids: West Michigan Printing, 1986), 7-8; Cleland, *Rites of Conquest*, 43; Dougherty to Lowrie, 1861, Dougherty Papers (emphasis in original).

²⁷ Despite focusing on strategic reasons for embracing Christianity or the missions, I am not judging conversions as sincere versus insincere. An individual can be Odawa and Methodist simultaneously. Despite the lack of loyalty described by the missionaries, as Anishinaabeg determined and changed religious affiliation based on various factors, this chapter reconstructs their motivations and not the genuineness of their conversions. Christopher Vecsey argues that many Ojibwe conversions were superficial and then provides an “evaluation of various Ojibwa conversions.” See idem, *Traditional Ojibwa Religion and Its Historical Changes* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1983), 51. Instead of using Vecsey’s framework, this chapter relies on more recent works that suggest ways American Indian Christians were, during certain times and in specific places, essentially practicing an indigenous form of Christianity. Although Allan Greer’s study focuses on the seventeenth century, his concept of hybridity extends into the nineteenth century and applies to individuals such as Mwakewenah and Greensky. See Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). Also see Neal Salisbury, “Embracing Ambiguity: Native Peoples and Christianity in Seventeenth-Century North America,” *Ethnohistory* 50 (Spring 2003): 257, for further discussion of hybridity and ambiguity. Anishinaabe Christians were complex individuals with many motivations for conversion and various levels of commitment to Christian denominations. Also see, David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), 15, 161. Hall traces the range of religious beliefs and practices in early New England. He explores, for example, “horse-shed” Christians whose religious practice differed from the strict theology and expectations of the clergy.

²⁸ Church and school attendance fluctuated. For example, Devens identified 72 students in 1844 and 23 students in 1861 at Dougherty’s school. Dougherty recorded 23 church members (15 of whom were Indians) in 1844, 57 church members (Indian and white) in 1857, and 40 individuals who attended his church meetings regularly in 1870. By contrast, in 1865 Porter listed 15 full church members with 30 people attending regularly on the Sabbath. Porter had 26 students in September 1862, which is representative of the number of students at Bear River. In comparison, in 1877 Greensky’s mission at Pine River had 120 members and 20 students in Sunday School (there does not appear to have been a day or boarding school at Pine River). In 1866, Methodist records claimed more than 1,000 American Indians were within the area of Pine River Mission, which also included the area around Dougherty’s and Porter’s missions. See Dougherty to Wells, July 9, 1839 (quotations); Devens, *Countering Colonization*, 103-4, 107, 157n69; Vogel, “The Missionary as Acculturation Agent,” 186, 197; Andrew Porter to Walter Lowrie, June 21, 1865; “Report of the Indian School at Bear River, Michigan as taught by Andrew Porter, teacher to the Ottawas and Chippewas of Northern Michigan for the third quarter of 1862 commencing July 14 and ending September 30th,” both in Dougherty Papers; Dorothy H. Reuter and Ronald A. Brunger, *Methodist Indian Ministries in Michigan, 1830-1990* (n.p.: Michigan Area United Methodist Historical Society, 1993), 154; and *Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the Year 1865* (New York: The Society, 1866), 120.

Dougherty provided a summary of the Omena community in 1861: “There are with us 44 members of the Church in good standing—14 have removed with Mr. Greensky—12 are residing at Bear Creek and are gathered into the church there—5 have been married into catholic families and reside in their villages—11 have been called from time into eternity—25 have removed or wandered away to other settlements some of whom we hope will be gathered under other care. Some have fallen into grievous wrong, having returned to former ways.”²⁹ The Anishinaabeg moved for a variety of reasons, including marriages, seasonal rounds, smallpox epidemics, conversion to other denominations, and anxiety about removal (the missionaries mentioned bands moving to Canada to avoid removal west).

Porter, providing Lowrie with reasons why a day school would not work at Bear River, complained: “We teach them English and also have them read a chapter in the Indian New Testament. . . . But alas few of them attend on the Sabbath meetings choosing rather to go to the Catholics or to the (so called) Methodists [with] . . . their strange gestures.”³⁰ This letter, juxtaposed with Mwakewenah’s request for a school, demonstrates that some of the Anishinaabeg viewed the Presbyterians simply as academic teachers who would help them or their children learn to speak, read, and write English. Certain Anishinaabeg used resources provided by the Presbyterians and then attended other denominations’ religious services. American Indians’ desire for missionary schools reflected the gaps between the two groups’ expectations in the areas of education and sectarianism.

The motivations and actions of the Anishinaabeg, who attended religious ceremonies outside of the Presbyterian mission, frequently confounded the missionaries’ expectations for their church members. Dougherty’s and Porter’s interactions with the Anishinaabeg suggest that

²⁹ Dougherty, “Report of School at Grove Hill, the Mission Church,” February 5, 1861, Dougherty Papers.

³⁰ Porter to unknown, August 17, 1863, Dougherty Papers (emphasis in original).

they considered their relationship with the Presbyterian missionaries to be part of their alliance with the United States.³¹ Within the framework of Anishinaabe alliance-making, allies were expected to contribute goods to the community. Dougherty commented on two boys, former members of his church, who accompanied Peter Greensky to Pine River, leaving Dougherty's mission and only returning to receive clothes from the Presbyterian mission. After obtaining the clothes—a common handout at the school—the boys stole an ax and several other items from the mission. Dougherty worried that they may have fallen through the bay's ice on their way back to Greensky's Methodist community.³² It seems that the boys viewed the missionary as a dispenser of goods since Dougherty frequently provided the community with clothes and medicine through funding from the government and the BFM.

Although economic choices and patterns of mobility motivated the frequent denomination changes of the Anishinaabeg, they may have also considered Christianity, and particularly any one Christian denomination, less as the singular path to salvation than as a way to access both grace and power, or manidoo.³³ The movement of church members hindered meeting attendance and frustrated the missionaries. Anishinaabe actions and interactions with the missionaries, influenced by kinship, practices of mobility, and concepts of alliance, were vital remnants of earlier fluid and situational social formations that, at times, hindered the missionaries' goal of assimilation.³⁴ The Anishinaabeg continued to structure their relationships with Christian missionaries within existing indigenous patterns of social

³¹ See footnote 12.

³² Dougherty to Lowrie, March 10, 1860, Dougherty Papers.

³³ Manidoo has multiple meanings. In this instance, manidoo refers to power. As Witgen explains, "Guns, knives, hatchets, and like objects similarly possessed manidoo, that is, a capacity to control or manipulate the natural world in an extraordinary way." Manidoo could be embodied in an object or being (human or other-than-human). Witgen, 52.

³⁴ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 19, 87-96, 100, 139.

relations.³⁵ Religious practice could represent an attempt to establish a relationship that provided manidoo to the practitioner.³⁶ Within this framework, Anishinaabe individuals practicing Christianity might not have felt they were being unfaithful to a particular denomination when they attended another denomination's service, ceased to attend church completely, or changed faiths. Instead, they were trying to gain access to manidoo in different ways.³⁷

Cultural intermediaries negotiated the space between Anishinaabe practices and U.S. government and missionary goals. Dougherty and Porter could not have influenced the Anishinaabeg alone, and they depended on Anishinaabe skills, labor, and interpretation to help with spiritual matters and routine tasks such as farming and kitchen work. Their dependence on interpreters to translate day-to-day interactions and religious services and to teach in the mission schools had the potential to create tension, especially due to overlapping claims to authority. Daniel Rodd, for instance, was an interpreter whom both missionaries depended on for daily operations. Rodd, fluent in Anishinaabemowin, was probably part Ojibwe. He was received into the Presbyterian Church in July 1844.³⁸ Rodd witnessed the Little Traverse Bay

³⁵ The Anishinaabe understood and incorporated Christian missions into their communities based on Anishinaabe social practices (albeit changing), as well as Anishinaabe understandings of spiritual power. For a comparative example—and both the social and religious incorporation of Christianity into indigenous practices—see, for example, Frederick E. Hoxie, *Parading Through History: The Making of the Crow Nation, 1805-1935*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Hoxie explores how, over the course of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, the Crow viewed religious groups as “open-ended and mutually supportive.” He looks at the way the Crows incorporated both long-standing and new religious practices into their practices of Christianity. He also considers how religious practices helped link and support the Crow nation and served to reinforce social values. See, especially, chapter 6 in Hoxie, *Parading Through History*, 197, 225 (quote).

³⁶ Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 33, 52-53, 75, 106-7; Vecsey, *Traditional Ojibwa Religion*, 115. Rachel Wheeler considers how Mohicans saw certain Moravian practices as ways to access spiritual power. See idem, *To Live upon Hope: Mohicans and Missionaries in the Eighteenth-Century Northeast* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008).

³⁷ Alternatively, the Anishinaabeg may have been participants in the “religious marketplace” where sectarianism provided many different options to practicing Protestants. Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), 61, 67, 165. The Anishinaabeg made denominational changes based on many different factors.

³⁸ Andrew Blackbird, an Odawa historian and interpreter who spent time as a U.S. government blacksmith at Dougherty's mission, described Rodd as a “half-breed from St. Clair River.” Andrew J. Blackbird, *History of the*

Indians' request for a mission in 1851 and probably wrote their letter. He served as an interpreter and assistant teacher, moving back and forth between the Presbyterian missions. In 1854, his tasks included teaching, helping to take care of the male boarders, and working in the kitchen at Dougherty's mission.³⁹ As a cultural intermediary, Rodd helped both the missionaries and the Ojibweg and Odawaag, took advantage of the salary associated with his skills, and negotiated the changes taking place in his region. Rodd was extremely important to Dougherty's and Porter's missions and Dougherty mourned the interpreter's death in 1868.⁴⁰

Both Greensky and Rodd helped Dougherty translate religious texts. Rodd was instrumental in producing three 1847 publications: *The First Initiatory Catechism with the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer in the Ojibwa Language*, *Short Reading Lessons in the Ojibwa Language*, and *Easy Lessons on Scripture History in the Ojibwa Language*. These texts aided Dougherty's work, as both the Anishinaabe and the Protestant missionary placed importance on being able to read.⁴¹ Dougherty used different texts in Anishinaabemowin, including hymns translated by Ojibwe Methodist Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) who was born in Canada but worked as a missionary throughout the Great Lakes.⁴² These texts highlight the translation processes necessary for the missionaries to influence Anishinaabe religious beliefs.

Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan (Ypsilanti, The Ypsilantian Job Printing House, 1887), 55 (quotation); Peter Dougherty to Daniel Wells, July 15, 1844, Dougherty Papers.

³⁹ In 1853, Rodd helped Porter at Bear River before returning to Omena to assist with Dougherty's school. As late as 1861, Rodd was still going back and forth between the missions. Porter reported to Lowrie on June 26, 1861, that despite all the other church members who were removing to the Methodist community, Rodd seemed content to stay due to his salary and land. Despite having similar disagreements with Dougherty as Greensky, Rodd remained with the missionaries through the 1859 and 1861 spiritual and political divisions that led to other converts' abandonment of the Presbyterian missions. Although, like Greensky, Rodd later tried become a leader himself and he may have resented the Presbyterians' authority. J. Boynton, "Memoir," in *Minutes of the Thirty-First Session of the Michigan Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Chicago: Methodist Book Depository, 1866), 9; Porter to Lowrie, May 12, 1854; Dougherty to Lowrie, January 16, 1854, both in Dougherty Papers.

⁴⁰ *The Thirty-First Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York: Mission House, 1868), 6.

⁴¹ See, Devens, *Countering Colonization*, 100-101.

⁴² Peter Dougherty to Robert Stuart, August 30, 1842 in Larry M. Wyckoff, ed., *Annual Reports of the Mackinac Indian Agency, 1833-1888* (1999),

Translating Christian concepts into Anishinaabemowin was often imperfect. Religious historian Michael McNally considers Peter Jones' translations and argues that translators like Jones wanted their translations to be faithful to the original Anglo-American texts. He notes that the "words they chose, however, like the collective practice that gave them voice, were malleable ... carriers of meaning." McNally contends that new concepts like sin and grace were "couched in an idiom that allowed for a range of meanings that appreciated familiar resonances in Christianity."⁴³ Considering sin (baataaziwin), Larry Cloud Morgan (White Earth Ojibwe), translates baataaziwin as "that which is done wrong." Baataaziwin is an imbalance that does not quite fit Christian concepts of sin as being within (not external to) an individual. Rodd's translations include concepts like baataaziwin (spelled baataazewin in his text).⁴⁴ These translation issues did not affect all Anishinaabe Christians, as some learned English in Presbyterian and Methodist schools; yet, many Anishinaabeg consulted a translated version of Christian teachings that may have conveyed meanings that did not quite fit Christian concepts and theology.⁴⁵

As another cultural intermediary, Greensky influenced the development of the mission, the religious practices of the Anishinaabeg, and the community. He became an itinerant Native missionary who may have viewed Canadian Native preachers as a model for how he could serve God and make a place for himself in northern Michigan. Greensky became a Methodist during an

https://www.academia.edu/14147162/Annual_Reports_from_the_Mackinac_Indian_Agency_1833-1888 accessed April 27, 2016.

⁴³ Michael D. McNally, *Ojibwe Singers: Hymns, Grief, and a Native Culture in Motion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 14, 67, 183. Spellings for the Ojibwe names of the Mississauga Methodists mentioned are from Donald B. Smith, *Mississauga Portraits: Ojibwe Voices from Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 63-34. James Gall. *The First Initiatory Catechism with the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer in the Ojibwa Language* Translated by Rev. P. Dougherty, aided by D. Rodd (John Westall and Co: Grand Traverse Bay, 1847), 6-7.

⁴⁵ For more on translation and the ways Anishinaabe translators influenced Christian texts, see Smith, *Mississauga Portraits*, 135.

1831 revival at Sault Ste. Marie led by John Sunday (Shawundais) and other Native preachers from a Canadian Methodist mission north of Lake Ontario. In 1838, Greensky visited Henry Schoolcraft at Mackinac Island, where he learned of Dougherty's Presbyterian mission and the opening for an interpreter, which he agreed to fill. After Greensky moved to Aghosa's village in July 1839, Dougherty praised the interpreter, noting that he conducted school "very well." Greensky continued helping the Presbyterian missionary until the Methodist Episcopal Church licensed him to preach in 1844. From 1844 to 1846, he served as a junior preacher, traveling to Fond du Lac and then working at Sault Ste. Marie. He then seems to have officially dissociated himself from the Methodists for several years, before obtaining a license as a local Methodist preacher in 1859 and working at the Pine River Mission (near Charlevoix).⁴⁶

In 1859, Greensky's preaching began to conflict with Dougherty's meetings and caused attendance to decrease. "I am having some trouble with some of the young men members of the church," Dougherty complained. "Some of them have got in the habit of crying and hollowing [*sic*] and making a great noise in the prayer meeting held at Mr. Greensky's." Dougherty confronted these men who continually refused to cease their "rowdy meetings." He related that he had told Greensky that "he was hired to help me conduct meetings in such [a] way as I thought best and not meetings in opposition to me. I told him if he persists I could not continue to employ him. Last Sabbath he refused to come to church and I am forced either to yield to him and allow the disorder to go on or seek someone else to interpret." Dougherty believed Greensky's followers held sincere religious convictions and he worried that Greensky was leading them astray. Mirroring other clergymen who were concerned over the emotional

⁴⁶ Methodist records disagree on the date of Greensky's conversion. McClurken points out Greensky's association with Bay Mills mission in 1830. Reuter and Brunger, *Methodist Indian Ministries in Michigan*, 148-59; McClurken, *Gah-Baeh-Jhagwah-Buk*, 25; Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years*, 434; Boynton, "Memoir," 9, 149; Dougherty to Daniel Wells, July 9, 1839. In 1846, Greensky received a salary from the Methodist Michigan Conference of \$232 for his work at Sault Ste. Marie. Typed manuscript on the stationary of Ronald A. Brunger, Archivist, Adrian College Library, Adrian, MI, [n.d.].

conversions and preaching style of evangelical revivalists, Dougherty despaired that the young men had acquired “wrong notions and appear to think the more noise they make the more evidence of being under the influence of the spirit.”⁴⁷ The same Ojibwe and Odawa men even worshipped too loudly according to a Methodist elder who once ordered them to leave a camp meeting.⁴⁸ Protestant missionaries—including some evangelical leaders—disapproved of the style of worship of some Anishinaabe Christians led by Native religious leaders.

Dougherty worried about the “unhappy division” of his congregation. Although other Presbyterians felt that Greensky, a Methodist, had been planning this usurpation of Indian converts all along, or had been encouraged by Methodists at Northport, Dougherty attributed it to a lack of self-discipline: “it is the natural result of excitement they have not properly governed.” Dougherty complained, “Mr. Greensky did not aid me to restrain these demonstrations but rather fostered them” leading others “to make unnecessary noise.” Dougherty advised the Indians to stop their loud demonstrations of faith but worried that they interpreted his censure as though he was “opposing the spread of religion.”⁴⁹ Greensky’s religious leadership added to the growing list of Presbyterian frustrations.

Anishinaabe Methodists

The actions of Greensky’s followers—the “Greensky Indians”—can be interpreted in several ways. Considered in the context of the Second Great Awakening revivals from the 1790s through the 1840s, Greensky’s conversion to Methodism during a revival movement originating in Canada was not unusual. In this period, many religious groups committed themselves to social

⁴⁷ Dougherty to Lowrie, n.d. [January or February 1859?], Dougherty Papers.

⁴⁸ Reuter and Brunger, *Methodist Indian Ministries in Michigan, 1830-1990*, 150 and James M. McClurken, *Gah-Baeh-Jhagwah-Buk: The Way it Happened* (East Lansing, Michigan State University Press, 1991), 25-26.

⁴⁹ Dougherty to Lowrie, February 16, 1859, Dougherty Papers.

reform and the idea of human perfectibility. Religious reformers believed that Christ's second coming would occur once all Americans converted to Christianity and gave up their sins and social evils, such as drinking or gambling—a goal that inspired an increase in missionary activity among American Indians. Revivalism bolstered the popularity of Methodism, which by employing “ordinary” individuals, such as American Indians, African Americans, and the rural poor as ministers, spread in the South and Midwest. Dougherty and Porter's “ranters” probably originated from the traditions of the self-proclaimed “shouting Methodists” of the early-nineteenth century. Their camp meetings provided a public space for worship that could include shouting, loud praying, and singing—often referred to as noise in the Presbyterian missionaries' letters.⁵⁰

The proliferation these “ordinary” Methodist preachers meant that the Anishinaabeg often experienced Methodism in predominantly Anishinaabe settings where the dominant language was Anishinaabemowin. As mentioned, Greensky became a Methodist during camp meetings and missionary work led by John Sunday and other Mississauga (Ojibwe) Methodists near Sault Ste. Marie. William Ferry, a Presbyterian missionary on Mackinac Island thought that Sunday spoke too loudly, foreshadowing Dougherty's complaints of Greensky's loud meetings. Sunday explained to Ferry that “We have only a little time to work. We must work as hard as we can.”⁵¹

Schoolcraft believed that the Anishinaabe Methodists' success could be attributed to

⁵⁰In 1837, the Presbyterian Church divided into the Old School and the New School (1837-1869). The Old School formed the Board of Foreign Missions, to which both Dougherty and Porter belonged, with the belief in a denominational missionary effort. Although the BFM still cooperated with other Protestant denominations, it believed in preserving its denominational differences. The Old School was alarmed by the “excesses of emotionalism and enthusiasm.” See D. G. Hart and John R. Muether, *Seeking a Better Country: 300 Years of American Presbyterianism* (Phillipsburg, N.J.: P & R Publishing, 2007), 126. Also see Michael Coleman, *Presbyterian Missionary Attitudes toward American Indians, 1837-1893* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1985), 9-11; Mary Beth Norton, et al., *A People and a Nation: A History of the United States*, 8th ed. (Boston: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning, 2009), 319-22; and Ann Taves, *Fits, Trances, & Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 76; Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*.

⁵¹ John Sunday, “John Sunday's Journal of a Missionary Tour,” October 29, 1831, *The Christian Guardian*, 1 cited from Smith, *Mississauga Portraits*, 228.

Anishinaabe-speaking preachers such as “John Sunday and his companions, who enjoy extraordinary advantages in the use of their vernacular tongue in speaking to the Indians.”⁵²

Sunday was well known for his speaking skills. George Copway (Kahgegagahbowh), an Ojibwe Methodist, described Sunday addressing his audience in Anishinaabemowin: “His keen black eyes flashing fire...gave great effect to his speech.”⁵³ Peter Jones also noted Sunday’s energetic speeches.⁵⁴ Sunday’s enthusiasm seems to have sparked Greensky’s Methodist beliefs.

Before Sunday inspired Anishinaabe in northwest Michigan to become practicing Methodists, John Sunday and other Canadian Methodists influenced the religious practices of the Great Lakes Anishinaabeg. Sunday was one of the leading preachers at a camp meeting that Copway attended at Rice Lake, Ontario, in 1827. Copway saw a large group of converted Indians singing and praying with the “great many preachers” who were present. He explained, “The Indians lay about me like dead men. All this was the effect of the power of gospel grace, that had spread among them. The shouts, praises, and prayers . . . were heard from every quarter. Those who had just appeared as dead, arose, and shouted the praises of God! They clapped their hands and exclaimed, ‘*Jesus nin ge shah wa ne mig,*’ Jesus has blessed me.” Copway discussed the spread of Methodism along the Great Lakes, claiming that at the camp meeting “the Ojebwas [*sic*] sat in squads, giving and receiving instruction in singing, learning and teaching the Lord’s prayer and other things.”⁵⁵ Copway’s account provides an idea of what Greensky’s conversion and camp-meeting experiences might have entailed. While part of a more widespread revival and

⁵² Henry Schoolcraft to William Case, March 1, 1833, cited by William Case in the *Christian Guardian* May 8, 1833, cited from Smith, *Mississauga Portraits*, 227.

⁵³ George Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels of Kah-ge-ga-gah-nowh (George Copway) [...]* (Albany: Weed and Parsons, 1847), 197 cited in Smith, *Mississauga Portraits*, 215.

⁵⁴ Peter Jones, *Life and Journals of Kah-ke-wa-qua-na-by (Rev. Peter Jones), Wesley Missionary* (Toronto: Anson Green, at the Wesleyan Printing Establishment, 1860), 105 cited in Smith, *Mississauga Portraits*, 215.

⁵⁵ Copway, quoted in A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff and Donald B. Smith, eds., *Life, Letters, and Speeches: George Copway (Kahgegagahbowh)* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 97 (first quotation), 98 (second quotation), 102.

denomination struggles, the Anishinaabe identity of these particular converts differentiated them from others.

Another interpretation of the tension between Dougherty and Greensky focuses on Ojibwe and Odawa religious rituals. These dynamic practices continued to change with European contact, but missionary and trader accounts have helped scholars construct an idea of commonly held Anishinaabe beliefs. Although Ojibwe and Odawa cosmologies were not identical, both Anishinaabe groups believed in manidoog. These independent manidoog were unranked and could provide humans with power. Early missionaries often misinterpreted Gichi-manidoo or the “master of life” with the Christian God, due to their own religious beliefs. The Ojibweg believed Gichi-manidoo created the earth but was not all-powerful.⁵⁶ For some Anishinaabe Christians, Gichi-manidoo, or God, became the highest ranked manidoog and a source of power. Historian Catherine Murton Stoehr emphasizes that both the Anishinaabeg and the Methodists believed that “the spiritual power God gave to humans” was “the most important aspect of the relationship between God and humans.” She sees this commonality as the basis for a Methodist-Anishinaabe alliance.⁵⁷ Anishinaabe practices and their relationship to manidoog begin to explain why many Anishinaabeg might have found the Methodists’ “ranting” more appealing than the Presbyterians’ worship.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Gregory Evans Dowd, *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, & the British Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 18; Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 386n13; Vecsey, *Traditional Ojibwa Religion*, 72-79; and Cleland, *Rites of Conquest*, 68-69. Basil Johnston explains that Manitou encompasses more than Manitou beings and forces and that word also means: “spiritual, mystical, supernatural, godlike or spiritlike, quiddity, essence.” Basil Johnston, *The Manitous: The Spiritual World of the Ojibway* (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1995), xxi-xxii. In relationship to the Odawaag, James McClurken describes manitous (manidoog) as “a special class of other-than-human persons that could be supplicated in songs, dances and rituals to prevent misfortune in daily life.” McClurken, “We Wish to be Civilized,” 98. He cites A. Irving Hallowell, “Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior, and World View” in Dennis Tedlock and Barbara Tedlock, *Teachings from the American Earth: Indian Religion and Philosophy* (New York: Liveright, 1975), 141-178.

⁵⁷ The context of Anishinaabe Methodists in Canada was different than Michigan, as they were competing with Anglicans. Stoehr, “Salvation from Empire,” 124.

⁵⁸ Michigan Methodist Conference Reports indicate that the Methodists provided the missionaries with salaries and collected donations for the running of the missions. It is unclear how much of the donations and the missionaries’

Visions played a large role in Anishinaabe religious practices as an individual could gain personal and community knowledge through them. The Anishinaabeg believed visions established a relationship between the visionary and the manidoog.⁵⁹ Many Protestants believed in the power of visions, but their opinions about who could have visions and what they meant differed. It is possible the relatively egalitarian Methodists encouraged visions at these camp meetings more than the Presbyterians did at their meetings. Porter, for instance, neither encouraged visions, nor respected the Indians who had visions, nor viewed their visions as a source of power. One of Porter's former church members, who started to attend Methodist meetings, "told his brethren that he had only the day before been in heaven ec ec [*sic*] and the chief made a wonderful demonstration on the recital, as though some wonderful fact had been related."⁶⁰ Porter did not take this experience seriously, and the chief's reception and interpretation of the vision angered him. Porter viewed similar experiences as the negative impact of Native preachers and Methodists.

Presbyterian ministers' negative response to visions provides a possible explanation of why the Odawaag and Ojibweg were willing to risk losing the school that they had requested and leave their community to follow Native Methodist preachers. He claimed that "rangers practise [*sic*] seeing visions, going to heaven, [and] seeing the dead in heaven."⁶¹ The Ojibweg and

salaries were used to provide goods to their communities. The Methodist Annual reports do not record a school at Pine River Indian Mission until 1865 (when it had 20 scholars). It is possible Peter or Isaac Greensky set up a school before this date, but records suggest there was not a school in the area when Greensky left the Presbyterian mission. The Missionary Society report suggests that Greensky's followers worshipped in a schoolhouse that they built prior to 1864. Bear River was associated with Pine River Indian Mission in 1866. *Journal of the Thirtieth Session of the Michigan Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Detroit: Free Press Mammoth Book and Job Printing House, 1865), 32. *Forty-Fifth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: Printed for the Society, 1864), 89.

⁵⁹ Scholars argue that many Anishinaabeg, disillusioned by the failure of the manidoog to protect them from European diseases or to supply game, began to doubt the power of the manidoog and turned to Christianity as an alternative. Other Anishinaabeg tried to fit Christianity within their framework of manidoog, viewing the Christian God as part of the "matrix" of manidoog. Vecsey, *Traditional Ojibwa Religion*, 64, 72, 82-83, 101

⁶⁰ Porter to Lowrie, December 24, 1861 (emphasis in original), Dougherty Papers.

⁶¹ Porter to Lowrie, November 12, 1863 in *Ibid.*

Odawaag were familiar with the power of visions and, even though they were an unusual occurrence, believed in journeys to the afterworld and conversations with the dead that reflected the Methodist practices introduced at camp meetings. Porter's and Dougherty's attempts to strengthen their roles as religious leaders, including Porter's decision to allow the dissenters in his congregation to pray but not to preach, may have caused the Ojibweg and Odawaag to look for a religion that seemed more familiar and encouraged them to take a more active role in their practice of Christianity.⁶²

The actions of individuals like Greensky and Mwakewenah, who in Euro-American documents are sometimes referred to as chiefs, acquire a new meaning considering their claims to religious leadership. The Anishinaabeg, who believed in the power of manidoog, maintained a high degree of personal religious autonomy since an individual could communicate with the manidoog directly, without intermediaries, in visions and dreams. Individuals who had more religious power than others were more successful at understanding and using the power of manidoog.⁶³ Religious leaders gained status through demonstrating their abilities in particular situations.⁶⁴ The Anishinaabeg could bolster their authority or social status through their connections to manidoog and their power.⁶⁵ Although religious leaders were not always ogimaag

⁶² Stoehr claims that Peter Jones treated his first camp meeting in 1823 as a vision quest when he went into the woods alone and received a vision of "heavenly" people and beautiful trees, Stoehr, "Salvation from Empire," 134

⁶³ Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there were many different Anishinaabe religious leadership positions. For instance, Jiisakiiwinini (jassakids) were leaders in the shanking tent ceremony in which they spoke to manidoog, asking them specific questions. Midewiwin (Grand Medicine Society) leadership was composed of different roles and levels of knowledge. McClurken describes Mides, or Midewiwin leaders, as "priests who had special access to the spirit world who were also healers." McClurken, "We Wish to be Civilized," 98; Miller, *Ogimaag*, 177; Vecsey, *Traditional Ojibwa Religion*, 182-184; and McClurken, *Gah-Baeh-Jhagwah-Buk*, 17.

⁶⁴ Vecsey, *Traditional Ojibwa Religion*, 101-3, 160, 162, 164. As discussed in the previous chapter, Anishinaabe leadership was often situational. Cleland, *Rites of Conquest*, 68-69; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 37, 170; and Edmund J. Danziger, Jr., *Great Lakes Indian Accommodation and Resistance during the Early Reservation Years, 1850-1900* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 159, 178.

⁶⁵ Miller, *Ogimaag*, 180. Religious leaders in Anishinaabe society were expected to fulfill many roles. Stoehr highlights that Anishinaabe Methodist leaders, like *Mide* leaders, helped people during times of illness. Stoehr, "Salvation from Empire," 199.

and vice versa, civil leaders often influenced their followers' religious decisions, including their conversion to Christianity. For example, Minnesota Ojibwe ogimaag tried to legitimize their claims to tribal authority through conversion to Christianity, alliances with the missionaries, and access to American goods through the missionaries. One ogimaa asserted to the Episcopalian Bishop Henry Benjamin Whipple, "In religion and other things I ought to be the main leader of my people."⁶⁶

The Methodists enabled Greensky and Mwakewenah to acquire their religious leadership positions; however, these two men, in inspiring groups to move away from their land and some family members, strengthened their own authority. Their assertion of leadership might also explain their willingness to defy the Presbyterian missionaries and leave their communities to form new Native Methodist communities or to join established missions. Considering that long-standing means of acquiring power and leadership positions—such as actions in war—were becoming scarcer, religious leadership was a way for an Ojibwe or Odawa man to gain political power. The Methodists' encouragement of Native preachers' leadership roles and evangelizing efforts provided Anishinaabe men with a way to augment their status in Anishinaabe and Euro-American communities.

Thinking about Native Methodist preachers like Sunday and Greensky as political leaders suggests how the spread of competing Christian denominations among the Anishinaabeg actually reflected a struggle for power.⁶⁷ Ogimaag claimed religious authority in order to assert their spiritual power and to demonstrate their qualification for leadership. Ojibwe Methodist minister Peter Marksman recalled an experience, similar to Copway's with Sunday, which provides some

⁶⁶ This quote inspired Kugel's title for her book. "Letter of Bad Boy," March 24, 1875, Whipple Papers, Box 11, cited in Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People*, 125 (also see, 8-9).

⁶⁷ See Miller, *Ogimaag*, for an in-depth discussion of how access to spiritual authority could strengthen a leader's position in their community based on the connection between Anishinaabe politics and religion. Miller, *Ogimaag*, 217.

insight into how Greensky might have felt upon hearing Sunday preach. Marksman remembered: “I was very much delighted when I saw those preachers. They appeared good. Their dress was like a white man’s, clean and neat. The people delighted in their singing and the manner of their preaching, and they were well received on both sides of the Sault. A great many Roman Catholics left their own religion and joined with those missionaries.”⁶⁸ Marksman noticed how many people carefully listened to and considered the missionaries’ influential message. These religious missionaries, like their non-Indian counterparts, had power and garnered respect.⁶⁹ Perhaps Native preachers also inspired Greensky and served as models of Native religious leadership.⁷⁰

Anishinaabe Methodists, like the Mississauga John Sunday, moved through the Great Lakes borderlands to spread Christianity, as well as skills, they believed would aid the Anishinaabeg in the future.⁷¹ This Anishinaabe Methodist movement started in the Lake communities (around the Bay of Quinte, near River Credit and Rice Lake) in the 1820s and continued into the 1830s.⁷² Stoehr argues that leaders like Sunday convinced their communities “of the value of their new [Methodist] teachings because they followed Anishinabe conventions of leadership both in their deportment and also by supporting community *Bimadziwin* [health and

⁶⁸ John H. Pitezal, *Life of Rev. Peter Marksman: An Ojibwa Missionary Illustrating the Triumphs of the Gospel among the Ojibwa Indians* (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern, 1893), 45.

⁶⁹ Miller points out that Ojibwe Methodist ministers, like George Copway, were like Midewiwin leaders in that they had “access to spiritual authority and functioned as charismatic leaders within the Ojibwe community.” Miller, *Ogimaag*, 217.

⁷⁰ Chad Waucaush argues that Methodism was largely successful due to Native religious leaders in the Great Lakes. Chad M. Waucaush, “Becoming Christian, Remaining Ojibwe: The Emergence of Native American Protestant Christianity in the Great Lakes, 1820-1900.” (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 2009), 218.

Stoehr argues that Anishinaabe Methodist leaders treated the authority of the Methodist hierarchy similarly to how they treated ogimaag in that they had no obligation to submit to their authority if they disagreed. Stoehr, “Salvation from Empire,” 39.

⁷¹ For Stoehr’s depiction of a pan-national movement led by Anishinaabe Methodist leaders, see *Ibid.*, 184; Lyons, *X-Marks*, 9-10.

⁷² This movement spread throughout the Great Lakes. Stoehr points out that the mantra “God is no respecter of persons” became a popular belief among the Anishinaabeg in Upper Canada, as well as later in Minnesota. Stoehr, 129, N23 cites McNally, 98. For more on the influence in the Great Lakes of bilingual Ojibwe Methodists (especially from the Credit Reserve), see Smith, *Mississauga Portraits*.

long life] by providing needed resources.”⁷³ These leaders “showed evidence of *Manitou’s* blessings and deferred to the will of the community and *ogimaag*.” They connected this religious revitalization with social reforms that would restore *Bimadziwin* in a time of colonial rule.⁷⁴ The mobility of these Anishinaabe Methodists, as well as the texts they helped create, translate, and circulate, guided the religious practices of Michigan Anishinaabeg. As previously mentioned, Greensky converted to Methodism when Sunday visited Sault Ste. Marie, and Greensky needs to be viewed within this larger Anishinaabe Methodist movement.

Greensky used his position as a cultural intermediary to gain influence in his community. Ironically, as Dougherty believed Greensky worked for him, Greensky helped create his own following through his work with the missionaries. Anishinaabe religious leadership attracted potential converts. Peter Jacobs (Pahtahsega) stressed the use of indigenous intermediaries: “I then met with Peter Jones, who was converted a few months before me, and, to my surprise, I heard him return thanks at meal, in Ojibway. . . . I now saw that God could understand me in my

⁷³ Stoehr, “Salvation from Empire,” 6, 38, 120. She argues that this Anishinaabe Methodist movement was a combination of Anishinaabe and Christian practices influenced by Nativist and anti-colonial ideas brought back to Ontario by warriors who participated in Pontiac’s War. Stoehr argues that some Anishinaabeg saw Christianity as their “salvation from empire.”

⁷⁴Stoehr argues that to “the Anishinaabeg, the preachers sounded like prophets and acted like virtuous community leaders. Like prophets, they offered a revitalization of old, valued beliefs through new forms of worship and protocols of behavior.” Stoehr goes so far as to argue that many Anishinaabe Methodists experienced the Methodist movement as revitalization, not conversion. Stoehr, “Salvation from Empire,” 168 (quote), 170, 206. Stoehr uses Anthony Wallace’s theory of revitalization movements to explore Anishinaabe Methodism, which she argues “shared more with other revitalization movements like Handsome Lake’s and those led by the prophets Neolin and Tenskwatawa than it did with either earlier forms of Anishinaabe spirituality or with English/American Methodism.” Stoehr, 31-32. For more on revitalization movements, see Anthony F.C. Wallace, “Revitalization Movements,” *American Anthropologist* 58: 2 (1956). Wallace argues that revitalization movements were “a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of society to construct a more satisfying culture.” Wallace, 265. For frameworks in dialogue with Wallace’s theory of revitalization, see for example Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1992). Dowd sees the revitalization movements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as related and “intertwined,” and he argues against Wallace’s portrayal of the movements as “discrete.” Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, xix. Also see, Michael E. Harkin, *Reassessing Revitalization Movements: Perspectives from North America and the Pacific Islands* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2004).

Ojibway, and therefore went far into the woods, and prayed, in the Ojibway tongue, to God.”⁷⁵ John Sunday also noted the importance of Peter Jones, asking him to pray in Ojibwe. Sunday prayed, ““O Keshamunedo, shahnanemeshin’ (Oh Lord have mercy on me poor sinner)” and shouted, “I feel something in my heart.”⁷⁶ Christian missionaries in northern Michigan employed Anishinaabe peoples for their own goals; within the context of Native culture, however, those Anishinaabeg understood the religion and individuals involved differently and created unintended meanings and autonomy.

Although Dougherty viewed Greensky as an employee, Greensky saw himself as an Ojibwe Methodist, evangelizer, and leader. Because Dougherty valued Greensky’s skills, Dougherty continued to try and retain him as an interpreter and teacher, but threatened to fire him if he did not stop encouraging the young men’s “disorder.”⁷⁷ Greensky did not return to Dougherty’s meetings, forcing the missionary to find a new interpreter. “Fourteen members of the church cling to him [Greensky]. . . . They went to North Port on [the] Sabbath forming themselves into a class and have continued to hold separate meetings,” Dougherty lamented in 1859, “They have been laboring to get as many as they could to form a colony and remove to the reservation on the Little Traverse. Mr. Greensky has been licensed [by the Methodists] to preach.” Greensky sold his land to a white settler and moved to Pine River. Dougherty worried

⁷⁵Peter Jacobs, *Journal of the Reverend Peter Jacobs from Rice Lake to the Hudson’s Bay Territory* (Toronto: Anson Green, 1853), iii; Vecsey, *Traditional Ojibwa Religion*, 169.

⁷⁶ Jones, *Life*, cited in Smith, *Mississauga Portraits*, 222.

⁷⁷ Greensky was paid for his work as an interpreter. In October 1855 Dougherty paid him a salary of \$22.78. In addition, he was paid for traveling expenses from Sault Ste. Marie to Grand Traverse. From October 1855-January 1856, Greensky was paid \$25.00. From January to July 1856, the BFM paid Greensky a salary of \$131.25. Expenses from Grove Hill, Box 7 Volume 4. Major Tribes: Chippewa, Ottawa. N.d. *American Indian Correspondence: Presbyterian Historical Society Collection of Missionaries’ Letters, 1833-1893 Collection*. Presbyterian Historical Society. *Archives Unbound*. Web. 24 Oct. 2013, 21, 26 (hereafter, AIC).

about the stability of his mission: “some of these young men [who left with Greensky] were our most promising members. I highly esteem them . . . [and their absence is] a trial to us.”⁷⁸

The Methodists documented the other side of Dougherty’s “unhappy division.”⁷⁹ In 1859, Greensky obtained a license as a local preacher and worked at the Pine River Indian Mission. By 1860, this mission had thirty members, many of whom had probably followed Greensky from Dougherty’s mission to the shores of Susan Lake (near present-day Charlevoix).⁸⁰ The Pine River Mission continued to grow, even when Greensky was miles away as a junior preacher at Isabella Mission, and then a deacon at Oceana Mission.⁸¹ The Methodist Michigan Conference admitted Peter’s brother, Isaac, as a deacon and full member in 1862, but he had probably been preaching at Pine River earlier. Reverend Solomon Steele, the Superintendent of the Michigan Conference of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, noted in his 1863 Annual Report: “I am happy to inform you that at both of the missions upon this district there has been unusual prosperity the past winter. The missionaries are both natives and brothers, Peter and Isaac Greensky; the former at Oceana Mission and the latter at Pine River.” Steele reported, “At PINE RIVER the work has been gradually extending and almost every prayer and class meeting is attended with some new victories of grace in the conversion of some poor pagan or Catholic to Christ. The work is assuming an importance that we are surprised to witness, and even the whites in their vicinity have been brought to yield to its power.”⁸² From 1861 to 1863, membership fluctuated. Peter returned in 1864 and in that year there were 130 members of the

⁷⁸For an analytic framework, see Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, 127. Also see Peter Dougherty to Walter Lowrie, July 9, 1859, Dougherty Papers (quotations).

⁷⁹ Dougherty to Lowrie, February 16, 1859, *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Minutes of the Michigan Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, twenty-fifth session* (Detroit: Free Press Book and Job Printing House, 1860), 21.

⁸¹ In 1861, the Methodists paid him \$250 and \$11 for his house rent. For his work at Oceana, he received \$300. At Pine River as deacon, he received \$225 in 1864. Typed manuscript on the stationary of Ronald A. Brunger, Archivist, Adrian College Library, Adrian, MI, [n.d.]

⁸² Rev. S. Steele, Superintendent of the Michigan Conference, *The Forty-Fifth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church [for 1863]* (New York: printed at the Conference office, 1864), 88.

Pine River Mission, which included “four preaching places”—one of which was near Susan Lake and the other at Bear River.⁸³ Peter became an elder in 1865.⁸⁴ Before his death in 1866, membership of the Pine River Indian Mission had increased to 150.⁸⁵

The Greensky brothers’ religious leadership was an advantage for the Methodists, in comparison to the Presbyterian missions nearby. “It [the Pine River Mission] now promises to absorb and swallow up all of the other missions upon the Grand Traverse Bay—It has from its beginning been supplied only with Native laborers except the positions of the Presiding Elder,” noted Steele in an 1861 or 1862 report.⁸⁶ Isaac Greensky continued his brother’s work with the Anishinaabeg who had moved from Dougherty’s mission on Grand Traverse Bay, adding Methodist church members from the surrounding communities, including some of Porter’s followers at nearby Bear River (also known as Bear Creek). In 1862, Porter’s mission went from

⁸³ *Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Session of the Michigan Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Detroit: Free Press Mammoth Book and Job Printing House, 1861), 17; *Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Session of the Michigan Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Detroit: Free Press Mammoth Book and Job Printing House, 1862), 17; *Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Session of the Michigan Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Detroit: Free Press Mammoth Book and Job Printing House, 1863), 17; and Methodist Episcopal Church, *Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth Session of the Michigan Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Niles: Freeman and Job Rooms, 1864), 17.

⁸⁴ “Both of our Indian Missions have enjoyed a good degree of prosperity. Some thirty Roman Catholic Indians have been converted & have united with our church. If we vigerously prosicute [*sic*] our work upon these missions a few years more, all others will abandon the field and all these red men & women will embrace Methodism.” J. Boynton, P.E., Albion, September 13, 1865, 6, Manistee Distract, Box 1, WMC.

⁸⁵ Membership from 1864-1866 went from one-hundred and thirty, to one-hundred and twenty to one-hundred and fifty people. Methodist Episcopal Church, *Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth Session of the Michigan Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Niles: Freeman and Job Rooms, 1864), 17; *Journal of the Thirtieth Session of the Michigan Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Detroit: Free Press Mammoth Book and Job Printing House, 1865), 9, 32; *Minutes of the Thirty-First Session of the Michigan Annual Conference*, 26; *Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Session of the Michigan Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Detroit: Job Printing House, 1861), 5, 12; Reuter, *Methodist Indian Ministries in Michigan*, 152-153. “Our Indian Missions are still enjoying a good degree of prosperity. Pine River Mission however suffered considerable, 1st from the protracted illness & 2nd from the death of their beloved Missionary Rev Peter Greensky.” Report of the Presiding Elder of the Manistee District for the year ending Sept 6th, 1866, J. Boynton, P.E., 4 Manistee Distract, Box 1, WMC.

⁸⁶ S. Steele to the, Representation of the Grand Traverse District, 1861 or 1862 [top of the document has a penciled in 1861, but the numbers Steele reported for the mission match the 1862 Conference Report. Furthermore, he mentions three years growth, and Greensky established a mission at Pine River in 1859. Grand Traverse District, Box 4, WMC.

thirty-six members to twenty-one—eight had left to join the Greenskys’ mission at Pine River.⁸⁷ Meanwhile, Pine River Mission claimed 130 members.⁸⁸

Pine River was an Anishinaabe Christian space dominated by the Greensky brothers and their followers. Greensky’s record of his mission does not survive but it is possible Greensky, as a Methodist elder, authored the 1865 report to the corresponding secretary of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which the secretary then compiled into the printed annual report.⁸⁹ It is more likely, however, that Greensky reported to the Superintendent of the Michigan Conference, Steele, who then authored the report. “It [the new church] is not entirely finished inside, but is nearly so, and all the work, thus exclusively the handicraft of these sons of the forest, is done in a neat workmanlike manner. No white man has contributed any thing toward the erection of this temple of praise, but the Indians have built it with their own means and by their own hands.” Similarly, the church at Bear River “was produced by means and toils of the Indians, unaided by any one else.” Whether or not these are Greensky’s words, they demarcate a Native Christian space created by Indian labor.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ *The Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America* (New York: Published for the Board, 1862), 8, 9. Dougherty reported that eighty to one-hundred people attended services at Omena at this time.

⁸⁸ *Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Session of the Michigan Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 17. Both Porter and the Greensky brothers competed with the Catholic missionaries in nearby Little Traverse and Cross Village. St. Francis Church was built at Bear River in 1859. <http://www.emmetcounty.org/churchtours/>, accessed November 20, 2013.

⁸⁹ J. Boynton’s memoir for Greensky indicates he could read and it is likely he could write as well. “In those hours he did not read merely, but he STUDIED. He become [*sic*] well versed in history, both sacred and profane. He was a good theologian, and I never saw any Indian who was as well acquainted with English Grammar. He had collected a library which would be an honor to any man. In his library I found the complete works of Clarke, Wesley, Fletcher and Watson; and in his preaching he gave evidence that these authors had been well studied.” J. Boynton, “Memoir,” 9. Multiple sources indicate Peter Greensky wrote in Ojibwe and English, recording his mission’s history in a book that was then destroyed in the house fire of his grandson, George Greensky. Elizabeth Wood, *Council Trees of the Ottawas* (S.I., E. Wood [?], 1937), 15.

⁹⁰ J. Boynton, the presiding elder of the Manistee District in 1866, also might have written this report. *The Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the year 1865*, 120-121. Salomon Steele had reported on the building of a church in 1863 and he noted that “a very good church edifice” was “accomplished independent of Missionary appropriations.” Salmon [Salomon] Steele, Presiding Elder, Report of the Manistee District, 1863 [?], Manistee District Box, WMC.

The Methodists at Bear River concerned Porter, especially Greensky and Mwakewenah. In 1860, he noted that “Our Sab. Meeting as full as ever but I had to do almost all the praying the chief [Mwakewenah] not allowing the Indians to pray because I would not let them preach.”⁹¹ The following year, the Anishinaabe leaders and other church members did not attend Sabbath meetings. Porter feared that they were attending Greensky’s camp meetings.⁹² Porter, however, was satisfied that a particularly problematic ogimaa was leaving the mission. This man “had become so vain and impudent as to be past endurance. [H]e would preach and [oh] dear Lord he did ‘disfigure his face.’”⁹³ Porter often complained about Anishinaabeg who preached and tried to control his meetings. Detailing his experience with the “vain” leader, Porter explained that they “now meet at his house and have as we hear ranting times.” Porter hoped the tensions would soon end, and that “our prayers are being answered that some might either be converted or removed from our communion [who] we have long counted . . . [as] a nuisance.”⁹⁴ The situation continued and Porter reported, “Our religious rebels . . . have obtained the services of a blind Indian to lead them” and “are building a church in which to rant.”⁹⁵ Porter considered himself part of a battle for souls among the Catholics, Methodists, and Presbyterianism. He did not appreciate or respect the evangelizing efforts of the Anishinaabe Methodists.

Porter’s problems continued into 1863, when he again complained that few members attended Sabbath meetings, opting instead “to go to the Catholics or to the (so called) Methodists

⁹¹ Porter to Lowrie, February 22, 1860. Letter 38, AIC.

⁹² Porter to Lowrie, June 26, 1861, Dougherty Papers.

⁹³ Porter highlights what he views as the chief’s hypocrisy by quoting Matthew 6:16 (KJB).

⁹⁴ Porter to Lowrie, June 26, 1861, Dougherty Papers.

⁹⁵ Porter to Lowrie, December 24, 1861, Ibid. Methodist records do not mention a meeting place in Bear River until 1865, *The Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the year 1865*, 121.

[who attracted followers with] their strange gestures.”⁹⁶ Porter’s labeling of the Native Methodists as “so called” underscores the heightened tension between Porter and the Native preachers. At times, Presbyterians and Methodists worked together in their missionizing efforts, were more attuned to collaboration, and viewed each other as, at the very least, better than the Catholic alternative.⁹⁷ Porter, however, felt more threatened by these Anishinaabe Methodist preachers than did Dougherty, which may reflect their different positions in the church hierarchy. Dougherty was an ordained minister, while Porter was a layman who could hold social prayer meetings but depended on Dougherty to conduct baptisms and communion at Bear River.

The Presbyterian missionaries were not alone in facing schismatic tensions. Mwakewenah faced them as well. Porter described a divide occurring in the Anishinaabe community: “The trouble among the Methodists seems to be that Mwakiwina [Mwakewenah] wants to be preacher himself and have both the honor and the profit of the thing and for this reason quarreled with the blind preacher going all the way to Grand Traverse to lodge a complaint.”⁹⁸ Porter did not think many followed the “blind” preacher, whose name he never mentioned, but instead wrote that “almost all the ranters are with the chief,” probably referring to Mwakewenah, who was an ogimaa. Porter later heard rumors that the blind preacher led several of the Anishinaabeg to Pine Lake, near Greensky’s church, after all; he did not mention what happened to Mwakewenah.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Decreasing membership continued into 1865 when Porter despaired that his church only had 15 members as many Christian Indians continued to go to the Methodist meetings instead of the Presbyterian meetings. Porter to Lowrie, June 21, 1865, Dougherty Papers.

⁹⁷ Methodists occasionally attended Dougherty’s meetings. See for instance, January 9, 1870, Dougherty, *Minutes of the Session of the Indian Mission Church*, 27.

⁹⁸ Porter to Lowrie, November 12, 1863, *ibid.* The Methodists’ annual conference reports do not list Mwakewenah as a recipient of funding or payment. It is possible, by “profit,” Porter meant the respect or influence Mwakewenah would gain as a religious leader. Also see M. L. Leach and J. A. Van Fleet, *The Traverse Region, Historical and Descriptive with Illustrations of Scenery and Portraits and Biographical Sketches* (Chicago: H. R. Page, 1884), 129-32 for information regarding Dougherty’s and Porter’s positions.

⁹⁹ Porter to Lowrie, November 12, 1863; Jarvis, ed., *Historical Glimpses*, 20; Perry F. Powers and Harry Gardner Cutler, *A History of Northern Michigan and Its People*, vol. 1 (Chicago: Lewis Publishing, 1912), 300.

Mwakewenah, like Greensky, attempted to strengthen his power through religious authority.¹⁰⁰ Holding a leadership position before Porter's arrival, Mwakewenah belonged to Dougherty's mission community before moving to Bear River to purchase land and influencing others to do the same. His name appears first on the letter to Lowrie requesting a school at Bear River, which implies that he was an ogimaa in 1851.¹⁰¹ He welcomed Porter to the community and allowed the missionary to stay with him until the mission house was built—his actions and attitudes were similar to those of the ogimaa Aghosa toward Dougherty at Mission Harbor and they further confirmed his leadership position. Mwakewenah's religious leadership at Bear River suggests he could have held an official role in the Methodist Church similar to Greensky; however, Mwakewenah does not appear in the Methodists' annual reports or other records. Nonetheless, his leadership clearly angered Porter, who wrote: "I am here to help keep the children straight. I think the chief [Mwakewenah], who is set on mischief, has some hand in keeping the children from coming regularly to school but he is so foolish with his Methodism as to be likely to lose his influence and he dare hardly come out openly in opposition." There are two nonexclusive ways to interpret Mwakewenah's actions—he deeply believed in Methodist theology and style of worship or he strongly desired to maintain his leadership role in the community as a Methodist preacher. His enlistment in the Union army in 1863 suggests he was

¹⁰⁰ Miller examines non-hereditary Ojibwe leadership positions, both religious and military—to demonstrate how individuals' bolstered their authority through ritual demonstrations of their connection to manidoog. In this framework, conversion to Christianity created "alliances with other sources of religious power," which "helped to stabilize and expand an individual's authority. Therefore, as the new religious tradition of Christianity expanded into Anishinaabeg communities, some Anishinaabeg leaders sought to join the church and use its authority in a similar manner." Miller's depiction of Anishinaabe leadership informs this study's view of Mwakewenah's and Greensky's leadership positions and the ways they attempted to bolster their authority. Miller, *Ogimaag*, 113-116, 181.

¹⁰¹ Three other names that appear on the letter belong to men who were originally part of Dougherty's church and who led prayers in 1842. "Mr Rodd led the first prayer afterwards Menonequd, Nichegumekisshin & Shawahnongeosa. Menonequd made a very good prayer." Odawa Indians to Walter Lowrie, October 26, 1851, Dougherty Papers; Peter Dougherty, "The Diary of Peter Dougherty," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* 30 (December 1952): 244 (quotation).

trying to strengthen his authority and do everything he could to help his people remain on the land that they had tried to purchase around 1851.¹⁰²

Mwakewenah's dual role as an ogimaa and religious leader highlights the connections between religion and politics in northwest Michigan. As mentioned, the Indian Agent for the Mackinac Agency, Schoolcraft, introduced Dougherty to the region's Anishinaabeg, symbolically connecting Dougherty to the federal government, annuities, and the treaty relationship between the Anishinaabeg and the United States. In 1853, the Mackinac Agency began to report directly to the Office of Indian Affairs.¹⁰³ Mackinac Indian agents received their positions largely based on their political affiliations and patronage. From Schoolcraft's appointment onward, the Indian agents who moved in and out of office had different political affiliations based on the current administration in power—Whig and Democrat, then Republican and Democratic. Their religious affiliations, however, were always Protestant. Schoolcraft and his successor were associated with William Ferry's Presbyterian mission on Mackinac Island.¹⁰⁴ In the late 1840s and early 1850s, denominational affiliation of agents changed. In 1851, a Methodist minister, became agent. From 1857 until the agency's closing in 1889, the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church recommended the men who would become the Indian agents for the Mackinac Agency.¹⁰⁵ Greensky and Mwakewenah's initial support of a

¹⁰²Powers and Cutler, *A History of Northern Michigan*, 1: 300; "Report of the Mission of Grand Traverse" in *Public Documents Printed by the Order of the Senate of the United States during the Second Session of the Twenty-Sixth Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Blair and Rives, 1841), 1: 359-60. The report was from 1840. Also see Porter to Lowrie, June 26, 1861 (quotation, emphases in original); and Dougherty to Lowrie, October 23, 1861, both in Dougherty Papers.

¹⁰³ The Mackinac Agency was part of the Michigan Superintendency until it closed in 1851 and was subsumed under the Northern Superintendency. After 1853, the Mackinac agency reported to the Office of Indian Affairs until its closing in 1889. For a brief history of the Michigan and Mackinac agencies, see Wyckoff, *Annual Reports of the Mackinac Indian Agency*, 10-11.

¹⁰⁴ Widder, *Battle for the Soul*, 75, 80.

¹⁰⁵ Historian Bruce Rubenstein points out that five of the eleven agents from 1855-1889 were active Methodist preachers when they became Indian agents. Rubenstein lists Andrew M. Fitch, William H. Brockway, George Bradley, George I. Betts, and George W. Lee as active preachers when they were appointed as Indian agents. Although not preachers, there were other Methodist agents as well, including Richard M. Smith and George Lee.

Presbyterian missionary and then their later participation in Methodism and their strong counter to Presbyterians in the 1860s may have had much to do with their alliances with Indian agents and need for political allies. It also may have been determined by Mwakewenah's participation in local politics as a voter.

Ogimaag and Citizens

The tension between the missionaries and Methodist Native preachers occurred during a period when U.S. government officials and tribes contested particular rights associated with state citizenship. The second Michigan Constitution granted the rights of state citizenship to American Indians who renounced tribal membership.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, the 1855 Treaty with the Odawa and Ojibwe—a treaty Mwakewenah signed—implied eventual citizenship based on allotment and the dissolution of tribal organization.¹⁰⁷ Charles E. Cleland, an anthropologist who has served as an expert witness in numerous American Indian land claims and fishing rights cases, argues that the treaty's mention of tribal dissolution was actually a return to band politics. “Ironically, the government was suggesting a return to band-level politics that the Indians had, in fact, always maintained, despite the fiction of the larger political groupings

Rubenstein argues that, by 1855, “Indian agents in Michigan were openly and actively engaged in religious persecution of dissenters, and this course was pursued with the knowledge and consent of the overwhelmingly Protestant Indian Department.” While I agree with Rubenstein's argument that many Anishinaabeg became affiliated with the Methodists due their connection to the Indian department, I take their conversions, affiliations, and confessions of faith seriously. The Anishinaabeg had political, social, and religious reasons for converting to Christianity and changing their denominational affiliations. While acknowledging the “superficial” and “materialistic” reasons many Anishinaabeg became Christians, I do not think it is possible to accurately judge or enumerate individuals who “embraced Christianity as the ‘true religion’ or were “sincere converts.” Bruce Alan Rubenstein, “Justice Denied: An Analysis of American Indian-White Relations in Michigan, 1855-1889 (Michigan State University, Dissertation: 1974), 3 FN 8, 6, 99-101, 101 FN 87.

¹⁰⁶ Article 7, section 1, Constitution of Michigan of 1850, <http://www.legislature.mi.gov/documents/historical/miconstitution1850.htm>, accessed November 20, 2013.

¹⁰⁷The treaty reflected the goals of George Manypenny, commissioner of Indian affairs from 1853-1857. Manypenny believed Indians needed to be protected in bounded reservations where they could be assimilated through education. He believed in allotment in severalty where the head of household would eventually own land fee simple. Manypenny wished Native peoples to become farmers participating in the American economy. Charles E. Cleland, *Faith in Paper: The Ethnohistory and Litigation of Upper Great Lakes Indian Treaties* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2011), 15-16.

created by the United States for its own purposes.”¹⁰⁸ As an ogimaa, Mwakewenah operated within band-level politics. Meanwhile, Peter Greensky influenced Anishinaabe religious practices and was also active in local government, serving as a Justice of the Peace in 1861.¹⁰⁹ Anishinaabe politics were not mutually exclusive from participation in Euro-American politics.

Mwakewenah and Greensky demonstrated their band allegiance by their actions, leadership positions, and their relationships with missionaries and government officials. The Anishinaabeg claimed certain rights and land while maintaining levels of autonomy and self-determination for their communities. It is possible they acted with an understanding or expectation of a not-yet-articulated dual citizenship that Jean M. O'Brien argues may have existed as early as 1836.¹¹⁰ As state citizens, Mwakewenah and Greensky expected to have rights to their land, which Mwakewenah reinforced with his enlistment in the Union army. At the same time, these Anishinaabe men expected and tried to retain their religious and political autonomy, and the ability to influence their people—Greensky as a Methodist minister and Mwakewenah as an ogimaa, Methodist preacher, and Union soldier. Many Anishinaabe leaders and individuals associated with Christian missions worked towards rights associated with state citizenship at the same time they articulated their Anishinaabe identity and Indian status.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 297, Cleland, *Rites of Conquest*, 252. He cites the 1864 treaty with the Chippewa (Ojibweg) of Saginaw, Swan Creek, and Black River as evidence that the government continued to recognize tribal organization.

¹⁰⁹ April 9, 1861, Emmet County *Supervisors Journal, 1859-1863 and Statement of Votes, 1855-1867*, 53, Office of Emmet County Clerk, Petoskey, MI.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 243. Due partly to bureaucratic inadequacies, the government did not issue patents for Mwakewenah's and Greensky's land until the stipulated ten-year period expired, which occurred after their deaths. The U.S. government issued a land patent to “Daniel Mwaw Ke we naw (Chief)” on January 1, 1872, for 80 acres in Emmet County (Accession Number: M13210.486). Peter Greensky's land patent for 109 acres in Charlevoix County was issued on August 19, 1875, either granted after his death or to his grandson who was also named Peter Greensky (Accession Number: M13250.219). Mwakewenah sold land to Daniel Rodd in 1860, suggesting he owned land prior to his death (Warranty Deed 2189426. Emmet County, MI Register of Deeds). Jean M. O'Brien discusses William Apess' articulation of dual citizenship in 1836, arguing he felt Indian people should be equal U.S. citizens who could also exist within sovereign Indian nations. Jean M. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 188-89.

Missionaries' goals related to assimilation both succeeded and failed given the complex identities and political participation of men like Mwakewenah and Greensky.¹¹¹

Mwakewenah's and Greensky's lives highlight strategic choices that demonstrate continuity despite drastic changes, underlining the importance of individual choices in the face of U.S. colonization, removal policies, and poverty.¹¹² Mwakewenah and Greensky found opportunities—changing to be sure—to maintain Anishinaabe leadership roles with the tools Christian missionaries provided. As part of a space that had been dominated by Anishinaabe peoples and social formations, the Anishinaabeg of northwest Michigan did not instantly lose this history or the expectations it created when more white settlers moved into the area.¹¹³ In a way, the shifting alliances of the Anishinaabeg with different religious denominations mirrored earlier social formations defined by fluidity, mobility, and multiplicity.¹¹⁴ Remnants of these social formations, as well as Ojibwe and Odawa practices and their movement around northwest Michigan, thwarted missionaries' and the U.S. government's efforts to limit these Native peoples' mobility or inspire regular church and school attendance.

Mwakewenah, Greensky, and other Anishinaabeg negotiated state citizenship before the Civil War. The war became part of American Indians' negotiation of their status in relation to the nation-state. Referring to men like Mwakewenah or Benjamin Greensky, an 1866 Methodist report noted: "These people are *patriots* as well. This mission [Pine River], was represented in the noble

¹¹¹ Also, on assimilation and the settler project, see Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 33-34, 38-39.

¹¹² Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People*, 3; Danziger, *Great Lakes Indian Accommodation*, 58.

¹¹³ Considering 1837-1871 within the framework of the long history of Anishinaabewaki, rather than as the final dissolution of the middle ground, slightly alters the ways in which the actions and encounters of the Anishinaabeg with the missionaries are interpreted. Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 19.

¹¹⁴ Mwakewenah's and Greensky's claims to leadership and shifting alliances reflect Anishinaabe roles and social formation that affected relationships with the U.S. government and power dynamics into the mid-nineteenth century. Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 139. The missionaries in northern Michigan were also part of the competitive "religious marketplace" where sectarianism offered believers different choices. See Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, 61, 67, 165.

army of the Union. Some of their numbers went forth to return no more to the altars hallowed by their penitence, prayers, and conversion. They fell in the conflict, and are now sleeping in honorable and honored graves on the battlefields of the republic.”¹¹⁵ Government officials and Anishinaabeg later used similar rhetoric when negotiating citizenship after the war.

Anishinaabe participation in the Union army cannot be understood without a consideration of Anishinaabe leadership, claims to autonomy, and religious beliefs and practices. Porter noted Mwakewenah’s death after the Battle of Spotsylvania: “Mwkiwina who was the first + chief in leaving our church was wounded & has died. So far the rod of god has fallen.”¹¹⁶ Mwakewenah—with his complex history and claims to multiple leadership roles and alliances—was not the only religious and political leader who enlisted in Company K. Moreover, many of the younger men who joined the company were the sons and nephews of political and religious leaders from different regions in Michigan. Influential religious and social networks motivated some of the Anishinaabe men who would fight in the Civil War.

¹¹⁵ *The Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 121. The author was probably Solomon Steele, but could have been Peter Greensky.

¹¹⁶ Porter to Lowrie, August 10, 1864, AIC, 191.

Chapter Three

“Our dear noble country:” Anishinaabe Soldiers Enlist in Company K¹

Thomas Kechittigo traveled from his home in Saganing to Bay City in August 1861 to enlist in the Union army. With several other men, he approached the recruiters for the Second Michigan Calvary and was told by the officers that Michigan would not accept any “Injuns.” Many Michigan lawmakers and white citizens feared Indian soldiers “would get crazy and ‘murder and scalp all the womens and childrens.’”² As Kechittigo and other American Indians were turned away, Kechittigo’s non-Indian childhood friend, Bernard Bourassa, successfully enlisted in Company A of the Second Cavalry.³ Despite these initial rejections, Anishinaabe men later became Civil War soldiers in the First Michigan Sharpshooters and other regiments. Given their tumultuous relationship with federal and state governments, why would American Indians join the Union fight against the Confederacy? Why would Anishinaabe men volunteer to fight for Michigan, a state in which their legal status was often situational and contested?

While historians have considered the nineteenth-century context for Anishinaabe participation in the Civil War at both national and state levels, Anishinaabeg motivations merit

¹ General Court Martial Case number 9 (00558) for Louis Bennett, Private, Company K, 1st Michigan Sharpshooters, February 28, 1865, National Archives.

² Perry Ostrander, “Biography of Thomas Ke-chit-ti-go,” *Crawford County Avalanche*, 4 February, 1915 found in Civil War Pension File of Thomas Kechittigo (Kee-Cee-Dego), RG 15, National Archives, Washington D.C.

³ Michigan Adjutant General’s Office, *Record of Service of Michigan Volunteers in the Civil War, 1861-1865* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Ihling bros. & Everard, 1905), 32: 21. Bourassa recalled that he and Kechittigo “were raised together [...] and went fishing and hunting together” but that they were separated when the recruiters “would not take Indians.” Bernard F. Bourassa, Deposition C, 15-16 and H.F. Gloetzner to the Commissioner of Pensions May 31, 1920 in Pension file of Thomas Ke Chittigo (Mary Ke Chittigo).

further exploration.⁴ Historian Laurence M. Hauptman states that men in Company K fought in the Civil War because they were “desperate.” Discussing the Odawaag specifically, Hauptman details land cessions, removal, disappointing treaties, settler encroachment, and environmental changes that negatively affected seasonal subsistence practices. Hauptman and Company K historian Chris Czopek agree that the Anishinaabeg hoped to negotiate a new treaty and enlisted in order to influence these future negotiations.⁵ In *These Men have seen Hard Service*, Raymond Herek argues that the Anishinaabeg fought for land and freedom. But why did these *particular* Anishinaabe men choose to enlist? “Oddly, only 145 Indians served in Michigan units,” historian Frank B. Woodford observes, “even though during the war period the state had a relatively large Indian population.”⁶ The state of Michigan (Mackinac Agency) from 1861-1865 had, on average, a population of 7,861 Indians. In 1865, there were 3,799 Indian men of various ages. Approximately 150-200 indigenous men from Michigan served in the Civil War.⁷ If Indians fought because they were “desperate,” why did fewer than 200 of close to 4,000 men enlist?

Men like Kechittigo, Mwakewenah, and the Greensky brothers may have fought in the Civil War for some or all of the reasons enumerated by Hauptman, Czopek, and Herek, which are central to any understanding of Company K men. For many of the men, however, community

⁴ Herek also argues that many Anishinaabeg believed the South would enslave them if the Confederacy controlled Michigan and some descendants of Company K men agree that the fear of enslavement motivated enlistment. Chris Czopek, in David B. Schock, *The Road to Andersonville* [film], Penultimate, Ltd., 2013; Raymond J. Herek, *These Men Have Seen Hard Service: The First Michigan Sharpshooters in the Civil War* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998), 59; Hauptman, *Between Two Fires*, 130.

⁵ Laurence M. Hauptman, *Between Two Fires: American Indians in the Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1995), 133.

⁶ Frank B. Woodford, *Father Abraham's Children: Michigan Episodes in the Civil War* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1961, 1999), 252.

⁷ According to the numbers reported by Indian agents D.C. Leach and Richard M. Smith. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1865* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865), 449-450. Chris Czopek, *Who was Who in Company K* (Lansing: Chris Czopek, 2010), 12. Indian agent Richard M. Smith estimated 196 Indian men from the Mackinac Agency enlisted. Richard M. Smith, Mackinac Indian Agency, October 30, 1865 in *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1865*, 452. According to Woodford, 90, 048 men fought in the Union army from Michigan—12% of the 1860 population. Woodford, *Father Abraham's Children*, 3-4.

dynamics and their roles in particular locales may have influenced their choices, as seen in the previous discussion of Mwakewenah, whose struggle for land and autonomy were key aspects of his life and politics. Mwakewenah demonstrates how Christianity and service in the Civil War provided some men with multiple strategies to acquire or sustain their leadership positions and to preserve rights to their land—actions particular to their identities as Anishinaabeg. The Ojibwe bibles left on a Virginia battlefield are reminders that many of these men were practicing Christians or had been in contact with missionaries, with Christian Anishinaabeg, or with Christian settlers.

Historians have used sources created by Christian missionaries without fully weighing the influence of religious practices and networks on these men. The Greensky brothers' and Mwakewenah's stories cannot be told without considering their religious practices. Religious networks, ideology, and leaders influenced Anishinaabe enlistment. There were approximately fourteen practicing Catholics, seven Methodists, five Presbyterians, four Congregationalists, and one Episcopalian in Company K; at least fifty percent of the company was associated with Christian denominations through family, marriage, or intermittent church attendance.⁸ It would be plausible to conclude that as Christians, these men were more assimilated to white culture and thus would be more likely to fight in a Euro-American war, but Mwakewenah's and Greensky's stories demonstrate that these were Anishinaabe men, often practicing Christianity among other Anishinaabeg and living in Anishinaabe places. What role did Christianity play in Anishinaabe involvement in the Civil War? Is it a coincidence that many of these men were associated with Christian denominations, especially Catholic and Methodist missionaries?

⁸ These numbers are based on information from pension files and missionary records. The numbers of practicing Christians are based on implications that these men attended services at some point (31 men). Moreover, 38 additional men were associated with Christian families, were buried in Christian cemeteries, and/or were married in a Christian ceremony. These numbers and the information used to reach them are imperfect but there are strong indications that at least 50% of Company K men were associated with Christianity to varying degrees, whether or not they were practicing Christians.

While it is important to consider how these Anishinaabe men differed from their Euro-American counterparts, it is equally crucial to realize that they inhabited both Anishinaabe and Euro-American social and political worlds. While some of the men did not speak English and were not in regular contact with white settlers, many were associated with missionaries or had family members or acquaintances who were associated with Protestant and Catholic missions. Moreover, the 1850 Michigan Constitution raised the possibility of state citizenship for Indians, granting “civilized” men of “Indian descent” who were “not a member of any tribe” the right to vote. In an 1851 joint resolution, the Michigan legislature indicated that Indians considered to be “civilized” were to have “equal rights and privileges with the white inhabitants.”⁹ Local politicians courted Anishinaabe men as potential voters, and some of the men who later enlisted had voted in past elections. As individuals taking part in church services, prayer meetings, local government, and elections, these men held opinions regarding the war and slavery. Anishinaabe individuals who voted and owned land in fee simple may have been invested in the preservation of the Union. To stay in their homelands they exercised the political and property rights associated with Michigan citizens.

By the 1850s, the federal government aspired to assimilate, rather than remove, Michigan Indians, but indigenous peoples’ continuing political cohesion forced policymakers to treat them as Indians before and during the Civil War. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, George Manypenny and Mackinac Indian Agent, Henry Gilbert, put this policy into practice in Michigan in 1855, negotiating treaties with the Ojibweg and Odawaag that reserved land for allotments. The stipulations of these agreements granted tracts of land to Anishinaabe individuals or heads of household in an attempt to inculcate the values of property ownership and European-style land

⁹ Charles E. Cleland, *Faith in Paper: The Ethnohistory and Litigation of Upper Great Lakes Indian Treaties* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 80-81, quoting April 1, 1851 Join Resolution.

cultivation.¹⁰ Issuing certificates and patents based on Indian status, the government promised to protect the land from sale for ten years. The 1855 Treaty of Detroit with the Chippewa of Saginaw, Swan Creek, and Black River created the Isabella and Saginaw Bay reservations— individuals had five years to select allotments and become assimilated farmers.¹¹ Squatters, slow bureaucratic processes, and officials’ incompetence meant many Ojibwe and Odawaag still did not possess land patents when the Civil War began. As the additional treaty in 1864 demonstrates, the government was still dealing with these groups as Indians and the Anishinaabeg expected particular resources and acknowledgement.¹²



¹⁰ Cleland, *Faith in Paper*, 82. As allotment treaties, both the Treaty with the Chippewa of Saginaw and the Treaty with the Ottawa and Chippewa included funds for education, agriculture, blacksmiths, and annuities. Treaty with the Ottawa and Chippewa, 1855 and Treaty with the Chippewa of Saginaw, 1855, Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties II* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904). Available from <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/vol2/treaties/chi0733.htm> ; accessed March 14, 2016.

¹¹ Charmaine M Benz et. al. *Diba Jimooyung, Telling Our Story: a History of the Saginaw Ojibwe Anishinabek* (Mt. Pleasant, Mich.: Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan, Ziibiwing Cultural Society, 2005), 57-59.

¹² Cleland, *Faith in Paper*, 80-87, 286-300.



Figure 3.1 and 3.2 Allotment certificate from the 1855 Treaty with the Chippewa of Saginaw. Note the iconography of the Noble Savage—an Indian man depicted with his bow and arrow—with a train—a symbol of “civilization” and “progress”—barreling towards him. This image was part of the myth of the vanishing Indian—the nineteenth-century belief that Indians and their way of life would disappear in the face of “civilization” and “progress.”

Source: The Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, Records of the Land Division, Volume 46F, National Archives, Washington D.C.

Anishinaabe peoples, in other words, negotiated their place both inside and outside of the settler state. Remnants of their Indian status continued to operate after allotment. At the same time, some Anishinaabe men participated in Michigan politics, largely through their claims to a type of dual citizenship.¹³ Interconnected claims to political and religious leadership, such as Mwakewenah’s, affected enlistment. Anishinaabe leaders prompted young men to enlist in order to increase their political leverage. Some of the men who enlisted had their own claims to status and authority. Men younger than Mwakewenah, who was older than the average recruit, also were community leaders who influenced local politics. Participation in the Civil War had the potential to augment their status in both their Anishinaabe communities and in the larger social and political context of the state of Michigan in the 1860s.

Of course, Company K men came of age in an increasingly cosmopolitan and contested world, and their complex motivations for enlisting cannot be reduced to their Indian identities.

¹³ Citizenship largely did not live up to Anishinaabe expectations as the state offered a limited or “conditional citizenship” in practice and Anishinaabe demographic strength decreased after the Civil War. Theodore J. Karamanski, “State Citizenship as a Tool of Indian Persistence: A Case Study of the Anishinaabeg of Michigan,” *Michigan Historical Review* 37 no. 1 (2011), 138.

Reflecting on the motivations of white soldiers, historian James M. McPherson argues that soldiers enlisted because of concepts of duty and honor, ideals associated with masculinity, community and peer pressure, patriotism, belief in a cause, and desire for adventure. As McPherson and other historians point out, generalizing motivations for fighting in the Civil War is possible, but the method cannot fully take into account either the myriad of reasons why individuals fought or the contingencies of their enlistments.¹⁴ Company K men may have shared some of the same motivations for enlisting as white soldiers—desire for adventure, patriotism, and sense of duty.

Like African American Union soldiers, Anishinaabe men also saw military service as a means to lay claim to citizenship rights, but their status as members of indigenous political communities meant that the shape and stakes of this pursuit differed from those of their black counterparts. Historian A. Kristen Foster explores Frederick Douglass' call for African American soldiers as tied to his gendered conceptions of "republican manhood" and "martial... male citizenship." Douglass connected the military uniform with American citizenship: "Once let the black man get upon his person the brass letters U.S.; let him get an eagle on his button, and a musket on his shoulder, and bullets in his pocket, and there is no power on the earth or under the earth which can deny that he has earned the right of citizenship in the United States."¹⁵ Some Company K men shared African American soldiers' concerns regarding citizenship. The Anishinaabeg, however, made claims to citizenship and political participation while also maintaining their status as Indians and their Anishinaabe identities. They had reasons for

¹⁴ James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 14-29.

¹⁵ A. Kristen Foster, "'We Are Men!': Frederick Douglass and the Fault Lines of Gendered Citizenship," *The Journal of the Civil War Era*, 1, No. 2, (June 2011), 143-175. For more on African American citizenship connected to enlistment in the Union army, see Christian G. Samito, *Becoming American under Fire: Irish Americans, African Americans, and the Politics of Citizenship During the Civil War Era* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2009). Frederick Douglass, *Address of the Hon. W.D. Kelly, Miss Anna E. Dickenson, and Mr. Frederick Douglass... July 6, 1863*, 7, quoted in Samito, 6.

enlisting tied to their history and status in the state of Michigan.¹⁶

Recruitment and Enlistment

Officials in Saginaw turned away Thomas Kechittigo and five other Ojibwe men when they tried to enlist, a pattern repeated elsewhere.¹⁷ During the first months of the war, the novel prospect of enlisting American Indians as regular citizen-soldiers in the United States Army provoked a public debate, one that often revealed competing attitudes about Indians and their uncertain political and racial status. Ojibwe Methodist minister George Copway, for example, employed nineteenth-century stereotypes about Indian warriors to represent Michigan Indians as particularly suited for the soldier's life. In 1861, Copway proposed to raise a regiment of "Indian warriors" who would be "inured to hardship, fleet as deers, shrewd and cautious, and will doubtless prove of great service to the army."¹⁸ At the same time, a writer in *The Detroit Free Press* worried that Indian soldiers would be uncontrollably violent: "Every man knows the system of warfare adopted by these demi-savages, and the civilized people of the northern states

¹⁶ Like all soldiers—the Company K soldier "was infinitely various" and had many different motivations for putting himself in harm's way. Due to the scarcity of letters written by Company K Anishinaabeg, especially during the Civil War, it is difficult to reach as detailed an understanding of soldiers' motivations for enlisting and fighting as McPherson is able to achieve. Letters by Charles Allen, Payson Wolf, and Joseph Wakazoo written during the war are an exception. Still, given the men's activities before and after the war, as well as traceable political, social, and religious influences, it is worth piecing together individual and communal reasons for fighting in the conflict. Anishinaabe motivations for Civil War service illuminate Anishinaabe experiences after state and federal removal efforts had largely failed to remove the Ojibweg and Odawaag from Michigan. Gregory Dowd points out that only around 651 Michigan Indians were removed west out of a population of around eight thousand. Moreover, one third of federally counted Indians living east of the Mississippi lived in Michigan by 1853. Gregory Evans Dowd, "Michigan Murder Mysteries: Death and Rumor in the Age of Indian Removal," R. David Edmunds, ed., *Enduring Nations: Native Americans in the Midwest* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 125; Bruce Catton, "The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union by Bell Irvin Wiley," *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Nov., 1952), (quote) 516-517; Also quoted in Robert Bruce Donald, *Manhood and Patriotic Awakening in the American Civil War: The John E. Mattoon Letters, 1859-1866*, (Lanham: Hamilton Books, 2008), 1.

¹⁷ Herek, *These Men have seen Hard Service*, 24.

¹⁸ "George Copway," *Detroit Free Press*, May 8, 1861, 1, also quoted in Herek, *These Men have seen Hard Service*, 24. George, and his brother David, recruited indigenous men from Canada to fight in the Union army in 1864, collecting the enlistment bounties, see Donald B. Smith, *Mississauga Portraits: Ojibwe Voices from Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 205.

will hardly consent this year [1861] to become responsible for the performance of such allies.”¹⁹

The writer’s anxiety regarding “the performance of such allies” alludes to memories and fears from the War of 1812 and the ways in which the British did not control their Native allies’ actions. Michigan laws reflected popular doubts pertaining to Indian military service connected to memories and stories of Anishinaabe warriors in the War of 1812.²⁰

On May 10, 1861, the Michigan House of Representatives struck down a resolution to organize a “regiment of Chippewa Indians” with the committee stating, “this State has no authority to employ the Indians in the capacity in which they desire to be employed, viz: as scouts, without the call of the President, and that the people of this State who are pressing to be employed in the defense of the government, will not consent to the organization of a regiment, when the probability is that only a few regiments will be called for from this State.”²¹

Michigan’s caution in enlisting Native peoples, especially en masse, highlights the “conditional citizenship” of Anishinaabe peoples in the state and the special relationship Native nations had with the federal government.²² The newspaper writer’s use of the term “allies,” juxtaposed with the House of Representatives’ claim that the state did not have the authority to raise a company of Indian men, hinted at John Marshall’s concept of Indian tribes as “domestic dependent

¹⁹ Woodford, *Father Abraham’s Children*, 252, from *The Detroit Free Press*, May 14, 1861. The article uses the term “allies” rather than soldiers, an indication of how the alliance system may have still been relevant. Memories of past alliances were definitely still relevant. During the war, the Democrats largely influenced the *Detroit Free Press*, which printed anti-war articles. In contrast, *The Detroit Advertiser and Tribune* was Republican and supported President Lincoln’s war efforts. Norman McRae, *Negroes in Michigan during the Civil War* (Lansing: Michigan Civil War Centennial Observance Commission, 1964), 24.

²⁰ In 1862, Michigan updated their militia laws, and, while they did not explicitly bar the arming of indigenous men, indicated that “able bodied, white male citizens” were to be armed for militia and military purposes. “An Act for the re-organization of the military forces of State of Michigan,” *Acts of the Legislature of the State of Michigan passed at the Extra Session of 1862* (Lansing: John A. Kerr & Co.), 20; Herek, *These Men have seen Hard Service*, 24-25. Alan Taylor, *The Civil War of 1812: American Citizens, British Subjects, Irish Rebels, & Indian Allies* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010), 204-205, 212.

²¹ Edward W. Barber, *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1861*, II (Lansing: Hosmer & Kerr, 1861), 71-72.

²² Karamanski, “State Citizenship as a Tool of Indian Persistence,” 138.

nations.” The state was not consistent in viewing Native men as citizens.²³ *The Detroit Advertiser and Tribune* reported on Indian enlistment and noted: the “Government will not accept Geo. Copway’s 800 Michigan Chippewa warriors.”²⁴ Given stereotypes of Great Lakes’ Indian violence that circulated even before the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862, Michigan citizens and lawmakers were initially unwilling to arm a unit of Indian soldiers. Certain Anishinaabe men, however, continued to try and enlist after initial rejections. Michigan Indians never formed a regiment of 800 men, but served in lower numbers.

By 1863, however, the practical need for soldiers began to override racial concerns, opening the door for the organization of an Indian company in Michigan. Kechittigo successfully enlisted in Company K of the first Michigan Sharpshooters in May. Not coincidentally, that same month the Union army created the Bureau of Colored Troops to direct the recruitment and management of African American troops. Mounting casualties had prompted Congress and the Lincoln administration to look beyond white volunteers as the sole source of enlistment, leading to the enrollment of black soldiers and the institution of a national draft.²⁵ At the same time, as the war dragged on, many states reconsidered their stance on Indian enlistment; meanwhile other states had already freely enlisted Indian men, including as part of home guards.²⁶ The problems

²³ Cherokee Nation v. State of GA., (1831)

²⁴ “The War News!” *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, May 24, 1861, 1.

²⁵ In addition, Company K organized after the Negro Regimen Law (February 1863). John C. Mitchell, *Grand Traverse: The Civil War Era* (Suttons Bay, MI: Suttons Bay Publications, 2011), 205-206. The War Department authorized Michigan “to raise one regiment of infantry to be composed of colored men” in July 1863, which led to the creation of the 1st Michigan Colored Infantry (mustered into service February 1864). McRae, *Negroes in Michigan during the Civil War*, 40; George S. May, *Michigan and the Civil War Years, 1860-1866: A Wartime Chronicle* (Lansing: Michigan Civil War Centennial Observance Commission, 1964), 56.

²⁶ Similar to Thomas Kechittigo, for example, Isaac Newton Parker, a Seneca from New York, was barred from enlisting in 1861. Hauptman, *Between Two Fires*, 166. The Unions stance on enlisting African Americans and American Indians also changed as the war dragged on. On July 17, 1862, the Second Confiscation and Militia Act freed slaves with masters in the Confederate Army. After Lincoln announced the Emancipation Proclamation, which included that African-American men “of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States,” recruitment of African Americans intensified. “Teaching With Documents: The Fight for Equal Rights: Black Soldiers in the Civil War,” the National Archives, available from <http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/blacks-civil-war/>; and *The Emancipation Proclamation*, January 1, 1863,

with enlistment rested at the state level. Commissioner of Indian Affairs William P. Dole indicated that the Indian Office would not make enlistment “compulsory” for Native peoples but he did not impede Indian men from becoming soldiers. He wrote to Ely S. Parker, the rising pro-Union Seneca, “I do not feel called upon to interpose any obstacle to prevent the Indians from volunteering to enter upon ‘the war path,’ if they feel impelled so to do.”²⁷ Parker was initially barred from enlisting by New York officials and, like Company K men, he also did not successfully enlist until May 1863.²⁸ As the bloody realities of Shiloh and Antietam supplanted initial optimism for a short campaign, the practical need for soldiers began to override concerns about race and citizenship.

Still, Michigan residents hesitated, and beliefs that the Indians were “at the best...semi-civilized,” caused many to question the wisdom of arming Indian men.²⁹ Throughout the Civil War, opinions on Indian soldiers varied; while the differing opinions affected enlistment, several Anishinaabe men successfully enlisted before 1863.³⁰ Joseph Wakazoo joined the Sixteenth

Featured Documents, National Archives,

http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/featured_documents/emancipation_proclamation/transcript.html; accessed January 28, 2014. In 1862, the 37th Congress passed a bill that encouraged “persons of African descent” to be enlisted to perform labor in the military. Bill S. 386, July 9, 1862 and Journal of the Senate of the United States of American, Thursday, July 10, 1862, in *A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774 – 1875*. Available from http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?hlaw:14:./temp/~ammem_kwEg:: and <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsb&fileName=037/llsb037.db&recNum=1355> accessed February 20, 2014. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, William Dole worked to recruit Indian men for a home guard in Kansas and had convinced the War Department by March 1862 to muster two regiments of “loyal Indians” in Kansas. See, Deborah Nichols and Laurence M. Hauptman, “Warriors for the Union,” *Civil War Times*, February 1997, <http://www.historynet.com/warriors-for-the-union-cover-page-february-1997-civil-war-times-feature.htm>; accessed August 30, 2014.

²⁷ William P. Dole to Ely Parker, March 12, 1862, Ely S. Parker Papers, Box 5, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA. For more on Parker, especially in his role as Commissioner of Indian Affairs after the war, see C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, *The Crooked Path to Allotment: The Fight over Federal Indian Policy after the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

²⁸ Ely Parker’s brother, Isaac Newton Parker, was able to enlist sooner than Ely. Hauptman notes that the Haudenosaunee lobbied to be able to enlist, and New York began excepting Haudenosaunee recruits in the spring of 1862, Hauptman, *Between two Fires*, 165-166.

²⁹ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, July 1, 1863 quoted in Herek, *These Men have seen Hard Service*, 25.

³⁰ The half-brothers, William Duvernay and John Kedgnal, enlisted in Company B of the First Michigan Sharpshooters in December of 1862. Indians in other states also enlisted, such as George Copway’s son, George Albert, who served in the New York Light Artillery beginning in 1862. Smith, *Mississauga Portraits*, 205. Enlistment of American Indian soldiers in Michigan increased after the Second Confiscation and Militia Act of July

Michigan Infantry in Virginia in November of 1861, for example (he later transferred to Company K).³¹ Michigan recruiters in some areas were willing to enlist individuals or small groups of Anishinaabe men while others were not. The Anishinaabeg faced obstacles when attempting to enlist early in the war, and their subsequent success demonstrates that they held a strong conviction to fight or they believed they would benefit from military service.

Anishinaabe men played significant roles in recruiting other Anishinaabeg, and Anishinaabe connections, influences, and history determined their Union service. As with Methodist deacons and local preachers, Anishinaabe men became recruiters and leaders during the enlistment process for an all-Indian sharpshooting unit. Second Lieutenant Garret A. Graveraet, for instance, visited several Anishinaabe places in northwest Michigan to recruit Indian soldiers, including Northport in the beginning of July 1863. Graveraet—a man of Anishinaabe and European descent—recruited thirty of the 109 original enlistees. His language skills and links to Catholic and Anishinaabe fur trading networks may have contributed to his success as a recruiter. The son of Henry G. Graveraet, Jr. (the only white man in the lower ranks of Company K) and Sophie Graveraet née Bailly (mixed Odawa and European descent); his parents were well-respected and connected to Anishinaabe and Euro-American networks.³² Garret had cultivated his own reputation in northern Michigan, teaching at Little Traverse for three years before enlisting. In July 1863, Colonel Charles V. DeLand issued the order: “Liet Garrett A. Graveraet of Co K is hereby detailed upon Recruiting Service among the Indians + settlements upon Lake Michigan until further orders... Joseph Tabersasche is hereby detailed to

17, 1862. Company K enlistments, however, did not start until after the Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863) and the Negro Regimen Law (February 1863), when African-American soldiers were authorized for combat duty. The enlistment of American Indian men seems to have occurred on a case by case basis. New York rejected Ely’s enlistment at the same time other Seneca volunteers successfully enlisted.

³¹ Czopek, *Who was Who*, 170.

³² For more info on Henry G. Graveraet, see Herek, *These men have seen Hard Service*, 36, 59, 148, 150, 155 and Hauptman, *Between Two Fires*, 127-129 (Note, Henry Graveraet is not Bear River ogimaa Mankewenan. Hauptman’s reference to Mankewenan is probably Mwakewenah (Daniel Wells).

accompany + assist Lieut. G. in this service.”³³ DeLand probably referred to Francis Tabasash of LaCroix (Cross Village); a well-respected member of the Little Traverse Catholic community. Graveraet recruited thirteen of the eighteen men from the Little Traverse area who were associated with the Catholic Church and several may have been persuaded by Tabasash.³⁴

Colonel DeLand tried to take advantage of local relationships and shared histories by sending Anishinaabe men to different parts of Michigan to recruit other Indian soldiers. He ordered Sergeant Louis Genereau Jr. to recruit “in the Northern part of the State of Michigan among the Indians. He is authorized to enlist men, arrest deserters and perform all duties of a genl Recruiting officer.” Sergeant Charles Wabesis and Private James Watson, two other recruiters, were under his authority.³⁵ Genereau, whose father may have been an ogimaa, was particularly suited to the task, given his interpreting skills and his family’s prominence in Oceana County. His family was also familiar with many different people due to trading activities and multiple moves—from Maple River Village to Prairieville (Ottawa Colony/Leonard Slater’s Baptist Mission) in Barry County, followed by the Old Wing settlement in Allegan County, and then closer to the Manistee River.³⁶ Anishinaabe leadership and status in multiple communities affected recruitment efforts for Company K.

Recruiting continued throughout the war, as the First Michigan Sharpshooters lost men to desertion, combat, and disease. Home on furlough, Private Payson Wolf managed to recruit three men— John Jacko, Aaron Sahgahnahquato, and John Kinewahwanipi. Wolf, acquainted with the

³³ Special Order No 53, Dearborn, MI, July 31, 1863, *Letter and Order Book for First Michigan Sharpshooters*, RG 94: Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, National Archives, Washington D.C.; Hauptman, *Between two Fires*, 130.

³⁴ Compiled Military Service Records for Company K, First Michigan Sharpshooters, Civil War, Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, RG 94, National Archives, Washington D.C.

³⁵ They were given about ten days to complete their task. Special Order 65, August 24, 1863, Camp Douglass, IL, *Letter and Order Book for First Michigan Sharpshooters*.

³⁶ James M. McClurken *Our People, Our Journey: The Little River Band of Ottawa Indians* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2009), 40.

harsh realities of war, was weak from starvation after spending months in Andersonville prison.³⁷ The new recruits may have hoped the war would soon end, especially given Union victories in the later months of 1864 and Sherman's "March to the Sea." Still, Wolf must have encouraged them to enlist even as the men had reasons of their own to become soldiers. John Jacko, for example, was the son of Jacko Penaiswanquot—Wolf's fellow POW at Andersonville who died in November 1864. Like Jacob Greensky, Jacko enlisted after a family member died. Aaron Sahgahnahquato also had family in Company K. Part of Reverend Peter Dougherty's mission, he was the nephew of Private Joseph Kakakee. The third recruit, John Kinewahwanipi, was part of Reverend George N. Smith's mission (as was his fellow recruit, John Jacko). These men enlisted after other community members had been imprisoned and/or killed. The timing of their enlistment was reminiscent of earlier Anishinaabe warriors attacking their enemies as revenge for the deaths of band and family members.³⁸ Family and community connections to men already in Company K suggest reasons men had for enlisting beyond bounty payments.

In addition to using personal connections, recruiters appealed to shared ideologies, a sense of duty, and a desire for adventure, but bounties and other payments still persuaded men to enlist. The Enrollment Act of 1863 provided drafted men with the option of paying \$300.00 or finding a substitute to take their place, usually with compensation. There were six substitutes in Company K. The Descriptive Rolls listed five out of the six as hunters; three of these men were from the Upper Peninsula, rather than from an area with higher numbers of enlistees. As such, these men probably did not own land, and the collapse of the fur trade may have hurt them economically. American Indian soldiers in Company K were paid the same as their white

³⁷ George Nelson Smith, February 6, 1865 and December 7, 1865 in George Nelson Smith journals and letters, 1840-1879, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (hereafter George N. Smith Journal).

³⁸ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 15; Michael Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 129-13 (honor attached to revenging the death of relatives (including fictive kin)).

counterparts. Upon enlistment, they were to receive \$25.00 and, once mustered, \$75.00 from the federal government. Michigan added its own \$50.00 bounty in March 1863. A private received \$13.00 a month—like many soldiers, however, Company K experienced delayed payments.³⁹ This monetary compensation was important to many of the men and their families. Charles Allen sent pay home to his mother, Emma (Oje equa), and Payson Wolf tried to send his pay regularly to his mother and his wife.⁴⁰ The intended parties did not always receive the payments and bounties. Reverend George N. Smith noted he became the trustee for some men and helped get both their bounties and payments to their families.⁴¹ As Hauptman suggests, many of these men needed the economic opportunities the war offered in the wake of land loss. Economic reasons, however, were just part of the complex motivations Anishinaabe men had for enlisting in the Civil War.

In the spring of 1863, the Michigan Sharpshooters actively recruited a company of American Indian men. Kechittigo's early enlistment in Company K was followed by the first large group of recruits several days later. On May 18, 1863, nineteen men enlisted from Isabella County due to the recruitment efforts of William J. Driggs and William S. McClelland. William Collins, an Ojibwe man and interpreter who enlisted on May 18, aided in recruitment efforts.⁴² As public opinion shifted, newspaper editorials continued to be skeptical towards Indian soldiers, but also portrayed them as potentially excellent soldiers: "These Indians were recruited near

³⁹ Herek, *These Men have seen Hard Service*, 19. Company K men who enlisted in 1863 did receive a state bounty of \$50.00, to see payment information, see Records of Bounty to Volunteers, 1863-1865, RG 59-14, State Archives of Michigan, Lansing, MI. Military service records indicated that the government owed soldiers payments. For example, upon his death, Mwakewenah had received \$25.00 advanced bounty, but the government owed him \$75.00 bounty. Compiled Military Service Record of Daniel Mahkewenaw [Mwakewenah].

⁴⁰ Charles Allen to his family, February 28, 1864, Camp Douglass, Charles Allen, Civil War Pension File of Charles Allen.

⁴¹ Smith noted helping the families of Wolf's three recruits: "Eve spent at Mr Tuttle's Office fixing...Ind's Payson has got to enlist 2 of 3 them make me their trustee- I take charge of their Bounty Bonds when drawing by Home Board each to amount of 250.00 1 yr John Jacko 1 John Kewouoah ninpsi [Kinewahwanipi] I also take order from Payson for the amount due him when they are accepted 75, 00," George N. Smith Journal, February 6, 1865.

⁴² Herek, *These Men have seen Hard Service*, 34.

Saginaw, and are citizens of Michigan, not belonging to any tribe. Their superiority as Sharpshooters will be great, as they have been accustomed all their lives to daily practice with the rifle while hunting in the forests of Northern Michigan. They will also be able to endure camp life much better than those who have been accustomed to living in houses.”⁴³

The writer’s description of Company K men reflected both ideas of savagery and civilization, as well as the lived experience of Anishinaabe peoples. The language of citizenship and allegiance (to the state versus a tribe) in wartime newspapers echoed language in the 1850 Michigan Constitution. The state only offered citizenship based on Euro-American concepts of “civilized” manhood.⁴⁴ Even as Anishinaabe men made claims to being “civilized” citizens in order to participate in local politics and remain in their homelands, white observers who held idealized and racialized concepts of Indianness marked them as racially different. The article differentiated the Indian recruits from their white counterparts, stating that Indian men were more accustomed to outdoor living and more skilled at hunting. In the context of nineteenth-century literary representations, Indians were viewed as closer to nature—Noble Savages who had not been corrupted by “civilization.”⁴⁵ Concepts of “primitive masculinity” also began to circulate, and survival skills related to hunting, for example, began to be seen as a mark of “true manhood.”⁴⁶ While this newspaper account reflects how Euro-Americans viewed Michigan’s Anishinaabe men as different—more accustomed “to hunting in the forests of Northern

⁴³ “The Sharpshooters,” *Detroit Free Press*, May 27, 1863, 3.

⁴⁴ Recruiters at Elbridge and Pentwater (Oceana County), East Saginaw, and Isabella, more frequently labeled Company K enlistees as “civilized” on enlistment papers than at other places. See Compiled Service Records for Company K.

⁴⁵ Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man’s Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 87.

⁴⁶ Historian Anthony Rotundo, traces concepts of “primitive masculinity” to the 1870s. But he notes Americans had been curious about “primitivism” before, the shift he sees is holding it up as a model of masculinity that Euro-Americans might want to emulate in some aspects. E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 227-229. Also cited in Gail Bederman, *Manliness & civilization : a cultural history of gender and race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 22-23.

Michigan” and “able to endure camp life,” it also alludes to the diversity of Anishinaabe experiences. Many Anishinaabeg did depend more on hunting than their Euro-American counterparts. Even within the same region of Michigan, some Anishinaabeg lived in houses (log cabins and framed houses built of milled lumber) and practiced agriculture in the same way as their white neighbors, as part of their claims to citizenship. Meanwhile, other Anishinaabeg lived in wigwams (pictured below) and had dwellings in multiple locations determined by long-standing seasonal rounds. Lived experience differed by region at the same time Anishinaabe men and women did not fit into easy categorization. Not only did the Anishinaabeg have an ambiguous status determined by Euro-American preconceptions of Indianness and savagery and civilization, they also lived in regions that had been engaging European and Euro-American practices for centuries, creating amalgamations of Euro-American and Anishinaabe practices.



Figure 3.3 Example of a wigwam from Michigan’s Upper Peninsula in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. The title suggests it was a structure used as a barn (to store farming tools or shelter small livestock?). The Anishinaabe man has a watch chain hanging out of his pocket, which suggests he used this structure at the same time he participated in activities that led to accumulation of wealth or required he know the time. A watch could also be a marker of socioeconomic status.

Source: Collection #45, West Michigan Indians, Box 6, folder 12, “Birch Barn” Marquette, MI, Grand Rapids Public Museum, Grand Rapids, MI.

This newspaper article attempted to reassure its readers that these men were citizens who were not associated with a tribe. Company K men— such as “these Indians recruited near Saginaw”—were still associated with tribal status and maintained band affiliation during and after the war.⁴⁷ The concept of not belonging to any tribe existed more firmly on paper than the more complicated reality where men and women identified as Ojibwe (Chippewa) or Odawa and

⁴⁷ For instance, John Collins, Thomas Smith, and Thomas Nelson appear on the 1865 Annuity Roll for the Chippewa of Saginaw, Swan Creek and Black River (for payments associated with the 1855 treaty). Joseph Nesogot appears on the 1859 Annuity Roll. Raymond C. Lantz, *Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan, 1855-1868* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1991), 32-40, 60-70.

often belonged to particular bands. Euro-American conceptions of private property determined Michigan citizenship. Some of the Anishinaabe men in Company K voted, owned land, and paid taxes. Others received land allotments. Allotment certificates marked these men as Indians, at least for a ten-year period in which they, in theory, could not sell the allotted land. At the same time the state tried to assimilate Indians into Euro-American “civilized” society, it still set them apart, as evident by newspaper coverage of Company K during the Civil War.⁴⁸ Lorenzo Veracini argues that assimilation ultimately fails when ideas of assimilation coexist with strategies that reinstate difference. The “conditional citizenship” of Anishinaabeg in Michigan, as well as concepts of “civilized manhood” and “Noble Savagery,” continued to designate Anishinaabe men as different even as the logic of settler colonialism called for the erasure of Indians from the landscape through assimilation.⁴⁹

Indian citizenship became an issue in discussions of state quotas and conscription. Andrew Porter believed: “The Indians are much afraid of being drafted for the war and some threaten resistance but were they called all their threats would go up in smoke I presume, but bad men try to make political capital out of everything.”⁵⁰ Before clear guidelines, some counties viewed Indian men as qualified for conscription, which created “intense excitement among the Indians.” While the *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune* approved of volunteer enlistment of “the more intelligent class of Indian,” it was skeptical of trying to conscript Indian men into military service and it used the political discourse of civilizing programs to debate Indian citizenship.

⁴⁸ Constitution of Michigan of 1850; <http://www.legislature.mi.gov/documents/historical/miconstitution1850.htm> ; accessed August 29, 2014.

⁴⁹ Karamanski, “State Citizenship as a Tool of Indian Persistence,” 138 (conditional citizenship); Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 38-39.

⁵⁰ Andrew Porter to Walter Lowrie, Undated, appears before a June 30, 1863, (395 of online document), Box 7 Volume 4. Major Tribes: Chippewa, Ottawa. N.D. *American Indian Correspondence: Presbyterian Historical Society Collection of Missionaries' Letters, 1833-1893 Collection* hereafter AIC. Presbyterian Historical Society. *Archives Unbound*, <http://go.galegroup.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/gdsc/i.do?&id=GALE%7CSC5102612990&v=2.1&u=umuser&it=r&p=GDSC&sw=w&viewtype=Manuscript> ; accessed September 5, 2014.

But as a race they have not yet reached that degree of civilization which should entitle them to all the rights, and place on them all the responsibilities, of citizenship. Very few of them can read, and by far the greater portion can neither speak nor understand our language. At the best they are but semi-civilized. Should they be drafted, it will cost the government more to get them into the army, than their services would be worth. Their facilities for escape are infinitely superior to those possessed by the whites, and their dread of conscription is such that they would run great risks and endure great hardships to avoid it.

The same article argued that the government regarded Indians as “wards,” placing them under “special laws for protection.” Viewing conscription as a breach of trust, the author explained: “This one act, if persisted in, will do more to check the progress of civilization among them than can be overcome by a dozen acts of kindness and special favor,” and he urged the Michigan Indian agent to bring this to the attention of the federal government in order to avoid including Indians in the conscription laws.⁵¹ Several days later, the *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune* happily noted that William Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and Indian Agent Dewitt C. Leach had successfully ensured that Indians were not to be drafted.⁵² “It affords us great pleasure to announce that the efforts of Indian Agent DeWitt C. Leach and the *Advertiser and Tribune* have been successful in getting Indians and *Half breeds* relieved from draft under the operations of the conscription law.”⁵³ Despite their special status and omission from conscription, Anishinaabe men, like other volunteers, were hired as substitutes during the draft. Amos Crane, an Ojibwe from the Upper Peninsula, was the substitute for Indian Agent Leach, for instance. These wartime discussions were necessary due to the Indians’ ambiguous status in Michigan and the multiple levels of government—local, state, and federal—in which they operated.

⁵¹ “The Conscription and the Indian,” *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, July 1, 1863, 4. The Anishinaabeg’s anxiety over conscription came after the Enrolment Act of March 3, 1863, which required the enrollment of every male citizen between the ages of twenty and forty-five, including immigrants who had indicated they wished to become citizens. Enforcement of the act in New York City caused rioting in July.

⁵² “Enrollment of Indians,” *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, July 10, 1863, 4.

⁵³ “No Indians or Half-Breeds to be Drafted,” *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, July 23, 1863, 1. The article reprints, Circular number 52 from the Provost Marshal General’s office from July 13, 1863 in which William Whiting, solicitor of the War Department, declared Indians could not be drafted unless they were part of exceptions—acts of Congress—that declared them citizens, giving the example of the Stockbridge tribes and Choctaws.

Saginaw and Isabella

At the arsenal grounds at Dearborn (Dearbornville) in May of 1863, Naugechegumme, an ogimaa of the Saginaw Chippewa, spoke to the assembled Company K Anishinaabeg, including new recruits from around Saginaw Bay.⁵⁴ He declared that he came to “see you on parade and in camp and learn if you behave like *true sons and noble braves*.” Naugechegumme pulled on Anishinaabe ideals of manliness, reminding the soldiers that they were “young and inexperienced,” asking them to “be not boys, but brave and good men.” He highlighted Ojibwe history and previous alliances with the Odawaag, comparing the assembled soldiers to their ancestors, who “fitted themselves for warriors of the soverest [*sic*] training and fasting....” Trying to inspire the men to live up to an ideal, Naugechegumme asked them to save their pay to take care of their fathers, who would respect them as “brave and valiant heroes who fight for their country and the right.” He noted that while other ogimaag were indifferent, he wished to help. In urging them to be men, Naugechegumme also told his listeners how to act. Speaking again of their ancestors: “They listened to the words of their Chiefs and obeyed them.” He implored them to listen to their officers: “learn your duty and do it, and like your ancestors, you will be heroic and brave. Have confidence in the Great Spirit....Do not desert. It will disgrace your people.”⁵⁵ Naugechegumme pressured Anishinaabe soldiers to meet community expectations and reminded them that white state officials would be watching how they performed as soldiers.

⁵⁴ Thirty-six recruits from East Saginaw arrived at Camp Dearborn around the time of Naugechegumme’s speech. “Indian Sharpshooters,” *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, May 23, 1863, morning ed., 1. The name of the ogimaa is spelled differently in various sources: Nauck che gaw me on the 1865 Annuity Roll and Nock-ke-chick-jaw-me in the *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*.

⁵⁵ “Speech of a Loyal Indian to the Indians of the 1st Michigan Sharpshooters,” *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, July 14, 1863, 1. For discussions of Anishinaabe leadership, see Cary Miller, *Ogimaag: Anishinaabeg Leadership, 1760-1845* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2010) and Rebecca Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People: A History of Minnesota Ojibwe Politics, 1825-1898* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1998).

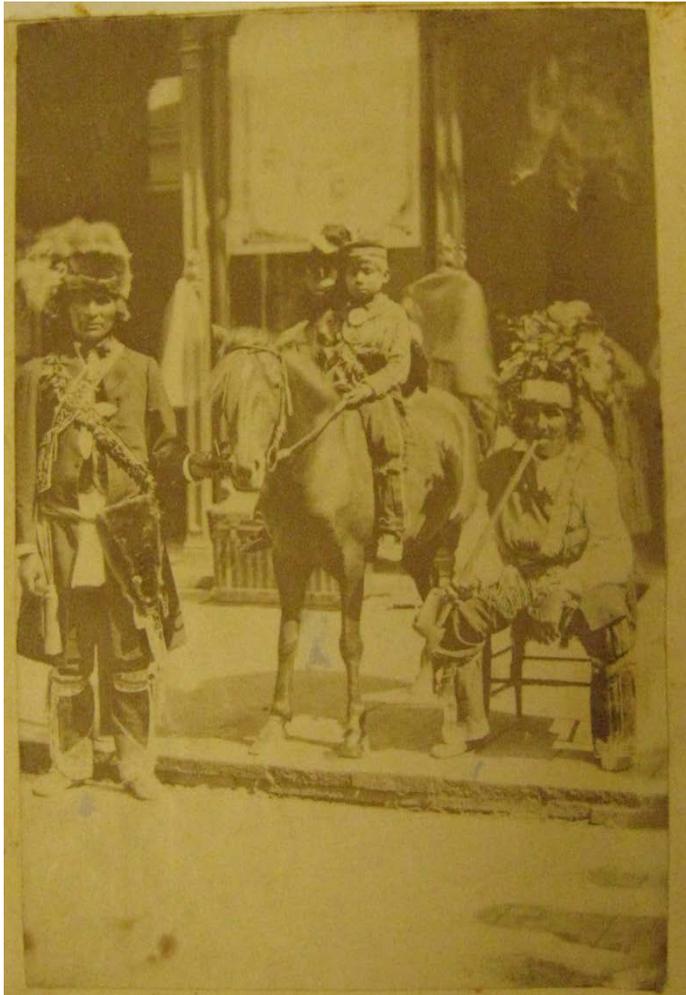


Figure 3.4 Naugechegumme on far right, circa 1870s. Recorded as “Nah-ta-chi-ke-me, chief” of the Chippewa of Saginaw, pictured with his son and grandson.

Source: Hess Family Scrapbook, Bentley Historical Library.

Naugechegumme was one of the many ogimaag who adapted to changing political and economic conditions. He and his band initially opposed Methodism in the 1840s, in contrast to other ogimaag and Anishinaabeg who were practicing Christians. Naugechegumme, however, signed treaties with the United States in 1837, 1855, and 1864. He was familiar with political negotiations and had experience appealing to the president and federal officials.⁵⁶ In a letter to Michigan Indian Agent William Richmond and President James Polk, Naugechegumme asked

⁵⁶ Benz et. al. *Diba Jimooyung, Telling Our Story*, 49, 50. Naugechegumme signed the 1837 Treaty with the Chippewa, the 1855 Treaty with the Chippewa of Saginaw, and the 1864 Treaty with the Chippewa of Saginaw, Swan Creek, and Black River. See respective treaties, his name is spelled Nauk-che-gaw-me and Naum Gitchegomee.

the President to “take pity on us” and aid his children. “Father! I am in difficulty here in Zebewaing, but I hope you will assist me & help me out of the same if possible....Father! I determined to have my children also join the church such as are willing to do so – but for us old folk you must not think it hard if we wait a little longer to consider on the subject, neither if we sometimes keep a little feast among us.”⁵⁷ Both his speech and his letter reflect his position as an ogimaa representing his people and collecting annuities from the federal government. While he was originally against Methodist missionaries, he later moved closer to the missionaries on the Saganing reservation, perhaps viewing them as political allies in land cases. His son, James Nachigami, later became an ogimaa and a practicing Methodist.⁵⁸ Nachigami did not enlist in the Union army, which perhaps inspired Naugechegumme to connect with the soldiers in some other way. He may have wanted to associate himself with soldiers who might eventually be rewarded politically and economically for their military service.

Naugechegumme highlighted treaty agreements and relationships with the federal government in his prewar letter and he used similar language when reminding the Anishinaabe soldiers that, as children of the President, they had responsibilities. Naugechegumme framed his speech in terms of alliance and the special relationship between the Anishinaabeg and the U.S. government, embodied by the father metaphor. His rhetoric was reminiscent of an alliance system where Ojibwe children helped their French, British, or American father in exchange for certain protections and trade goods. “Do not turn your backs to the foes of this Government. Meet them face to face and drive them away. Then will the President, our great Father, reward

⁵⁷ Naugejekomeh to William Richard, May 22, 1848, NAM M1 R62:165-166 quoted in Benz, *Diba Jimooyung*, 50.

⁵⁸ Benz, *Diba Jimooyung*, 81; Reverend Griffith, “Handwritten Records,” Algonac, MI, Box 4, Native American Files, Detroit Conference United Methodist Archives, Adrian College Library, Adrian, MI.

you, and the Great Spirit, if you die, welcome you to the land that is beyond.”⁵⁹

Naugechegumme wished that the Anishinaabe soldiers would “discharge every duty to our country: be loyal to our great father the President of the United States.” Using the metaphor of father and children that went back to the relationship between Great Lakes Anishinaabeg and the governor of New France, Naugechegumme told Company K: “Our Great Father the President calls you; -- you may go. Go for your country, homes, and friends! If the South conquers, you will *be slaves, dogs*. There will be no protection for us; we shall be driven from our homes, our lands, and the graves of our friends.” Naugechegumme used the rhetoric of slavery and freedom, echoing Anishinaabe leaders in the 1760s, in order to emphasize anxiety that the South would be even less respectful of Anishinaabe rights and earlier treaties than the North. Naugechegumme knew of attempts to remove the Boodewaadamiig, which prompted many to immigrate to Canada while around 1,200 Michigan Boodewaadamiig were removed to Kansas.⁶⁰ His anxiety regarding the South suggests he felt that their government might complete the partial removal of Indians from the state of Michigan. Knowledge of the removal of southern tribes, such as the Cherokee and Creek, was still fresh in the minds of indigenous peoples in the Great Lakes as a possible outcome should Southerners control the federal government or gain more influence in the North. Naugechegumme warned his audience against alcohol: “If you drink you will not be faithful to the country who is your friend, nor the army who is our protection.”

Naugechegumme’s emphasis on the federal government’s protection of Native peoples reflects

⁵⁹ Naugechegumme had refused to convert to Methodism. His reference to the Great Spirit may have had to do with practices related to the Midewiwin. He may have become a Methodist later in life.

⁶⁰ James A. Clifton, George L. Cornell, James M. McClurken, *People of the Three Fires: The Ottawa, Potawatomi and Ojibway of Michigan* (Grand Rapids: Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council, 1986), 64.

the precarious position of the Anishinaabeg in Michigan in 1863, including the Saginaw Chippewa, who hoped for a new treaty to help combat fraud and allotment problems.⁶¹

The Ojibweg who enlisted may have been motivated by the failure of the 1855 treaty to secure land allotments for the Saginaw Chippewa. The allotment process became “snarled” due to squatters and conflicting land selections and claims. As Charles Cleland points out, the Saginaw ogimaag wished to negotiate a new treaty in order to assure their children would be issued allotments when they came of age. In addition, they wanted to collectively purchase land that spanned six townships using money from the 1855 treaty. Their hopes to negotiate a new treaty may have motivated some men to join the Union army in order to gain status and influence treaty negotiations through military service. Serving in the military was a responsibility and duty of a citizen—for the Anishinaabeg, military alliances had also been part of reciprocal relationships.⁶² These men were working in multiple frameworks that encouraged military service for multiple reasons.

It is difficult to know how the recruits received Naugechegumme’s speech, which was followed by the “patriotic” speech of the government interpreter—a former Methodist missionary—Henry Jackson. In May and June of 1863, thirty-three men from mid-east Michigan (Isabella, Saginaw, Bay, and Lapeer counties) enlisted and probably would have heard Naugechegumme’s appeal to the soldiers. They may have been personally acquainted with Naugechegumme, since he moved to the Saganing reservation and lived near the Methodist mission. Men in Company K were part of a younger generation than the ogimaa, and their fathers

⁶¹ Dorothy H. Reuter and Ronald A. Brunger, *Methodist Indian Ministries in Michigan, 1830-1990* (Michigan: Michigan Area United Methodist Historical Society, 1993), 177-178. Schock, *The Road to Andersonville* [film]. This quote from Naugechegumme seems to be one of the leading sources for the Anishinaabe fear of slavery. “Speech of a Loyal Indian to the Indians of the 1st Michigan Sharpshooters,” *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, July 14, 1863, 1, part of this speech is quoted in Herek, *These Men Have Seen Hard Service*, 59.

⁶² Hauptman, *Between two Fires*, 133, cites James McClurken, *Gah-Baeh-Jhagwah-Buk (The Way it Happened): A Visual Cultural History of the Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Museum, 1991), 78-79; Cleland, *Faith in Paper*, 299-300.

were more likely to have known him from treaty negotiations and political meetings, especially since several of the soldiers came from politically active families. Luke Dutton, for example, enlisted June 2, 1863 and was the son of Thomas Dutton, a local Methodist preacher and ogimaa who later signed the 1864 treaty.⁶³ Similarly, Thomas Smith enlisted May 18—his father, William Smith was also an ogimaa who signed the 1864 treaty, which included a statement that he was to receive eighty acres for his services. Thomas was a member of the Methodist mission and became a local preacher after the war.⁶⁴ The Smith and Dutton family histories further underscore the connections between religious leadership and political leadership. In *Diba Jimooyung: Telling Our Story*—a book put together by the Saginaw Chippewa’s Ziibiwing Cultural Society—the authors point out that many political leaders were also church deacons. Moreover, Anishinaabe Methodist ministers “helped to unify” the tribe as they traveled to scattered communities.⁶⁵ Like Mwakewenah, political leaders and their children on the Saginaw reservation seem to have viewed enlistment in the Union army as another way to earn respect, status, and leverage, especially in treaty negotiations over land.

Eighteen other men enlisted at the same time as Thomas Smith, including Thomas Wabano, John Waubenoo, Marcus Otto, and George Corbin, all men with ties to the Methodist church.⁶⁶ Thomas Kechittigo was also connected to the Methodist community, a circumstance

⁶³ David McNalley, Deposition B, April 1, 1924, 7-8, Pension File of Luke Dutton (Charlotte Kaw gay aw she, widow); Reuter, *Methodist Indian Ministries in Michigan, 1830-1990*, 125. Dutton’s band lived near the Saginaw Bay River, see H.J. Alvord to William P. Dole, October 31, 1864, transcription in Larry M. Wyckoff, ed. *Annual Reports from the Mackinac Indian Agency, 1833-1888*, 476-477, https://www.academia.edu/14147162/Annual_Reports_from_the_Mackinac_Indian_Agency_1833-1888 ; accessed May 29, 2016.

⁶⁴ Thomas Smith was on probation in the Methodist Church in 1877, he married in 1884, and became a local preacher. Isabella Indian Mission Record Book of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1841-1908, Clarke Historical Library, Central Michigan University, Mt. Pleasant, MI. Thomas Smith’s death certificate lists his occupation as minister, see Thomas Smith Pension File.

⁶⁵ Benz et al., *Diba Jimooyung*, 84-88.

⁶⁶ George Corbin attended Methodist camp meetings after the war and his wife Margaret and daughter Julia were listed as probationers in the Methodist records in 1881. Margaret had been received in 1877, the same day as George Corbin’s fellow veteran, William Jackson. John Waubenoo was in the first class led by Pay shin-nin-nee in 1877.

that may have become important during the war. Ties between Methodism and Anishinaabe leadership may help explain why “Big Tom” became an important leader who helped Anishinaabe men adjust to army life.⁶⁷ After a proliferation of Methodist missions in the Saginaw Bay area, beginning in the 1840s, Methodist influence increased and continued through the nineteenth century.⁶⁸ Connections to northern Methodism suggest that these men may have held anti-slavery beliefs. Both Methodist Michigan conferences issued opinions on the “State of the Country.” The 1863 meeting of the Detroit Conference issued pro-Union and government proclamations that blamed the South’s commitment to slavery as the instigator for the “wicked rebellion” that needed to be put down:

It is...our deliberate conviction that the Southern slaveholders had no just and reasonable ground for an appeal to arms...let us keep distinctly before our minds the fact the South is in *rebellion*—rebellion against the best, most equitable, most righteous...government God in his providence ever gave to men. A rebellion in favor of slavery...We, therefore, regard it as a solemn duty which the Government owes to every peaceful, law-abiding citizen—a duty which it owes to God, by all means to suppress this wicked rebellion—a duty as imperative as to protect the life and property of the individual citizen...and secure equal justice to all.⁶⁹

The Detroit Conference highlighted the language of duty and the idea that God blessed the Union government. The 1863 meeting of the Michigan Conference explicitly supported anti-slavery measures: “in the opinion of this Conference, the President of the United States has done the right thing in both the confiscation and emancipation proclamations.” The conference committee pledged support to the President: “the Union, as it will be when restored, cherished and loved; the rebellion overthrown, and its cause—the blighting curse and damning sin of African

Marcus Otto also appears in the Methodist records. United States census for Isabella township, June 27, 1880, 35; *Isabella Indian Mission (MS)*. After the war, these Methodist networks proved important to the pension process. See Pension File of Thomas Smith, which includes depositions by prominent Methodist Ojibweg, including Joseph Bradley, Philip Gruett, John M. Collins (Methodist preacher), Marcus Otto, and Daniel Covert.

⁶⁷ Thomas Chig-gum is a probationer in 1877 at the Isabella Methodist Mission, *Isabella Indian Mission (MS)*.

⁶⁸ See map, Benz, *Diba Jimooyung*, 48.

⁶⁹ Saginaw and East Saginaw were part of the Detroit Conference. *Minutes of the Eighth Session of the Detroit Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, September 14-22, 1864* (Detroit: Steam Power Printing Establishment of O.S. Gulley, 1864), 10-11. Saginaw and East Saginaw were part of the Detroit Conference.

slavery—be forever banished from the our fair land; every yoke broken; and every slave fetter and cuffle band knocked off, and the people of every shade and type become the Lord’s free servants.”⁷⁰ Many Michigan Methodists viewed slavery’s destruction as connected to the preservation of the Union, which may have influenced some Anishinaabe Methodists to enlist in the Union army. Also, sentiments such as the support of “people of every shade and type” becoming “the Lord’s free servants” may have held special meaning for the Anishinaabeg who were dealing with racial prejudice based on concepts of savagery and civilization.⁷¹ While northeast Michigan Ojibweg included Christians and non-Christians, it seems likely some of the men enlisted for ideological reasons connected to conversations of slavery and duty—duty as Anishinaabe men and as Christians.

Oceana Indian Reserve, July 4, 1863

Colonel DeLand sent Captain Edwin V. Address to Pentwater to recruit the “Indians of the western Lake shore.” DeLand instructed, “Great care will be taken in enlisting Indians to give them all necessary + correct information upon all subjects relating to pay, bounties, etc., and to this end particular attention will be paid to the accompanying instructions. William Collins an enlisted Indian is hereby detailed to accompany actg Lt. Address as interpreter + will at once report to him for duty + remain subject to his control until further orders.”⁷² Collins, one of the

⁷⁰ *Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Session of the Michigan Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Wednesday, September 23, 1863* (Chicago: Charles Philbrick, 1863), 41-42. It even supported the arming of African American men. The Michigan Conference included most western missions in Michigan, while Detroit represented the eastern parts of the state and parts of the Upper Peninsula (Lake Superior District).

⁷¹ Many Methodist Episcopal congregations in Michigan were antislavery beginning in the 1850s. In the 1850s, the Michigan Annual Conference included a committee on slavery that denounced the practice and was against admitting slaveholding members. Margaret Burnham Macmillan, *The Methodist Episcopal Church in Michigan during the Civil War*, Lewis Beeson, ed. ([Lansing] Michigan Civil War Centennial Observance Commission, 1965), 12, 14. Most soldiers, James McPherson argues, were anti-slavery because they believed it needed to be destroyed to preserve the Union. It was rarely their first priority going into the war. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 118.

⁷² Special Order No 34, Dearborn, MI, June 23, 1863, *Letter and Order Book First Michigan Sharpshooters*.

eighteen men who enlisted May 18th at Isabella, helped facilitate an even larger recruitment. On July 4, 1863, Lieutenant Andress and the ogimaa Paybawme spoke at the Odawa reservation located about fifteen miles from Pentwater. Like Naugechegumme, Paybawme had recently relocated and also consented to treaties. There do not appear to have been any men from Company K in Paybawme's band—similar to Naugechegumme—and both ogimaag may have wished to show their loyalty to the United States through their speeches.⁷³ Like other ogimaag, Paybawme sent petitions to the government and he too would have been well versed in appealing to the American father, the President. Several years after the war, angered by the loss of land and broken promises regarding the new reservations, he declared: "Cannot we have a chance to purchase some land, and will not our Great Father let our children who are grown & are now heads of families have an equal share with us." His 1863 Fourth of July speech may have appealed to the young men to enlist for this very reason—to ally themselves with the United States to make further claims to their land and further leverage in future treaty negotiations. His postwar speech reflected a sense of betrayal and diminished hopes. "We have had so many disappointments," lamented Paybawme, "we have suffered so much that our hearts have turned sick and we have looked in vain for aid." One can imagine his earlier speech had been full of hope that Anishinaabe soldiers' sacrifice would be rewarded with more firm land patents and understandings of their rights as citizens, in addition to their protected trust relationship with the government and Indian status. Regardless of content, his message inspired many of the men assembled—twenty-one enlisted on the spot, including the interpreter, Louis Genereau Jr., followed by an additional recruit the next day.⁷⁴

⁷³ 1857 Annuity Roll Grand River Ottawa, in Lantz, *Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan*, 22-30. There are no readily apparent names of men who enlisted in Company K in the bands of these ogimaag.

⁷⁴ McClurken, *Our People, Our Journey*, 47, 61, 100 and 162 (quote); L.M. Hartwick and W.H. Tuller, *Oceana County Pioneers and Business Men of To-Day* (Pentwater: Pentwater News Steam Print, 1890), 45-46.

James and John Mashkaw were two such recruits, and like some of the men at Isabella, they had ties to Anishinaabe leadership and the Methodist church. John Mashkaw's enlistment papers labeled him "a civilized Indian" and his father, in addition to being an ogimaa, as well as a treaty and petition signer, was also a licensed Methodist exhorter.⁷⁵ Exhorters described their conversion and experiences of faith, and some exhorters also preached to their audiences. At a Methodist revival, "old chief Mash-kaw...became excited and went round pounding on the heads of each one on the anxious seat, at the same time exclaiming in Indian, 'Pound the devil out of them.'"⁷⁶ Mashkaw became well-known for his oratory skills, which may have bolstered his authority as an ogimaa.

Not all the men in Company K held leadership roles in their churches or communities, nor were they necessarily even Christians. Yet, the number of Company K soldiers who were associated with Christian missions, leadership roles, or family members who held leadership roles is not a coincidence. Christian Anishinaabeg, especially Methodists, appear frequently in records related to Company K in both Ojibwe and Odawa communities located in multiple regions of Michigan.⁷⁷ Moreover, due to government positions, as well as Methodist circuits, these men were often individually associated and familiar with multiple Anishinaabe communities. Their movement, considered in an Anishinaabe framework, mirrored the earlier mobility of traders and leaders who regularly traveled throughout this region and maintained

⁷⁵ Private John Mashkaw was the son of John Mashkaw. His mother was Wah-owu-qua (Who-o-wo-quay). According to an 1854 Methodist record, he probably had three brothers, John, Jacob and Isaac. The 1880 census listed Peter and Isaac as the sons of John Mashkaw (with a five-year old "boarder" named Johnnie Jake). In John Mashkaw's pension file, Louis Genereau says the father's name is Bangman Mashkah, which is interesting paired with Methodist records from 1854 that list John, Peter, J.A., Jacob B., and Isaac B. Bangham all in a row. Clearly John was related to these three and to the ogimaa. See, 1880 U.S. Census for township of Eden in Mason County Michigan June 27, 1880; Pension File of John Mash Kah (father Bang Man Mash Kah).

⁷⁶ He was a licensed exhorter from 1854 to at least 1858. H.R. Page, *History of Manistee, Mason and Oceana counties, Michigan* (Chicago: H.R. Page & co., 1882), 82; John H. Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 29,30.

⁷⁷ Part of the dominance of Christian Anishinaabeg in the records is related to the archive and types of written records that have been preserved.

connections with multiple villages. Henry Jackson, the Methodist preacher and interpreter in the Isabella/Saginaw area, for instance, had also been assigned to the Oceana Indian Mission where many Odawaag from Nottowa and the Grand River Valley worshipped. Jackson was at Oceana in 1857 and became the interpreter in 1858—the same position he held in 1863 when he gave a “patriotic” speech after Naugechegumme. After Jackson, Peter Marksman served the Oceana mission from 1861-62, followed by local preacher Peter Greensky from 1862-64, and then his brother, Isaac Greensky from 1864-68. The traveling life of the itinerant Methodist preacher aside, it is useful to consider how these men may have influenced Anishinaabe peoples in multiple places.⁷⁸

The relatively large number of recruits at Oceana needs to be placed within this context. Religion, ideology, and Anishinaabe leaders helped persuade these twenty-two men to enlist at the same time. Peter Greensky was at Oceana when this large group enlisted, and given that his two sons would later enlist, it is possible that he encouraged young men to participate in the war. While there is no evidence that Greensky was anti-slavery or pro-Union, he may have authored a post-war report that commended the loyalty of Anishinaabe peoples using patriotic rhetoric: “These people are *patriots* as well. This mission and all the other Indian missions of Michigan, were represented in the noble army of the Union. Some of their numbers went forth to return no more....They fell in the conflict, and are now sleeping in honorable and honored graves on the battlefields of the republic.”⁷⁹ Moreover, during the war, it was not unusual for large groups of

⁷⁸ Peter Greensky is identified as an Odawa man in McClurken, *Our People Our Journey*, 108. The Greensky family, from Sault Ste. Marie, was probably Ojibwe. The multiple identities of the family demonstrate how the distinction of Odawa or Ojibwe became blurred in many regions of Michigan, reflecting living together in the same communities and intermarrying. It also shows, however, how the Greenskys were intricate parts of the communities they lived in, becoming main nodes in multiple Anishinaabe networks.

⁷⁹ J. Boynton, the presiding elder of the Manistee District in 1866, also might have written this report. *The Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the year 1865* (New York: printed at the Conference office, 1866), 121.

men to enlist in the same company or regiment together and the men who enlisted, men like Louis Genereau, Jr., may have encouraged each other to enlist.

Oceana County was a place where these young Native men may have felt vulnerable and in need of economic opportunities. Many of these men understood that their status in the state was uncertain. Furthermore, at the time of enlistment, these young Anishinaabeg did not yet have land assignments, since they were under twenty-one and did not meet the requirements of the 1855 treaty. Only three of the twenty-one men would have been awarded allotments.⁸⁰ Their situations, their Anishinaabe leaders, their acquaintances, and their soon-to-be comrades in arms all motivated these men to enlist in a war fought by a state that had just forced them to leave their established homes and land.

*Bear River: "The Indian Preacher"*⁸¹

Anishinaabe leaders played important roles in enlistment. They also joined the Union army themselves. Mwakewenah seized the opportunities provided by the Civil War to assert his right to land in new ways and perhaps to fulfill the role of a war leader, making additional claims to leadership and autonomy similar to those he claimed through his religious leadership. Second Lt. Graveraet recruited Mwakewenah in 1863. Mwakewenah was wounded three times before he stopped firing at the Battle of Spotsylvania, and he died of an infection on June 5, 1864. The officers of Company K used their connections with Congressman John Driggs, Lieutenant William Driggs' father, to have Mwakewenah's body embalmed (an expensive procedure) and

⁸⁰ In a report about the state of Michigan's Anishinaabeg after the War, the special agent noted "Indians at Oceana and Mason desire that their children who have no land should have allotments made to them, though not provided for by existing treaty stipulations, after which they desire to have the balance of the lands within their four townships dispersed of to white settlers, among and with whom they desire to live." H.J. Alvond to L.V Bogs, November 16, 1866. Letters Received by the Office Of Indian Affairs, RG 75, M-234, Roll 407 Frames 852-865, National Archives Microfilm.

⁸¹ "The Sharpshooters," *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, Evening Edition, May 23, 1864, 1.

sent back to Michigan. Newspapers commented on Mwakewenah's death, reporting, "his men say that in the fight . . . he killed not less than thirty-two rebels, a number of them officers."

Although he was only a private, the phrase "his men" suggests Mwakewenah had an unofficial leadership role. Furthermore, the *Washington Star* claimed that he was "principal" in enlisting men from his band near Little Traverse Bay.

Mwakewenah's claims to religious authority had defied the Presbyterian missionaries' expectations and suggest that the Anishinaabeg, despite missionary-implemented assimilation policies, viewed Christianity from an Anishinaabe perspective determined by their history and dynamic social formations. Considering Mwakewenah's actions within an Anishinaabe framework is necessary in order to analyze his motivations for fighting in the Civil War.

Hauptman contends that the Odawaag and Ojibweg may have enlisted to "follow their ancestors' footsteps into battle." If Mwakewenah helped with recruitment, as newspaper accounts suggest, his decision to fight in the Civil War reversed the customary Anishinaabe transition from a war leader to a civil leader.⁸² Mwakewenah made the transition in the other direction. In the mid-nineteenth century, traditional means of gaining authority through warfare, including intertribal warfare, decreased; the missionaries' presence and policies of assimilation challenged Anishinaabe leadership. Becoming a war leader later in life offered Mwakewenah a way to increase his political authority, as he had done through his Methodist leadership in the 1850s; he may have felt the Civil War provided another opportunity to act as a leader of his people.⁸³

⁸²For connections between land claims and Civil War service, see Hauptman, *Between Two Fires*, 126, 128, 130, 132-33; and Virgil J. Vogel, "The Missionary as Acculturation Agent: Peter Dougherty and the Indians of Grand Traverse," *Michigan History* 51, no. 3, (1967), 187, 191. Garrett Graveraet taught at a school at Little Traverse and was responsible for recruiting thirty out of the 109 original soldiers raised for Company K. Mwakewenah was around forty years old at his enlistment. *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, June 23, 1864, 4; *Saginaw Weekly Enterprise*, June 30, 1864, 2; quoted in Herek, *These Men Have Seen Hard Service*, 155-56; White, *The Middle Ground*, 37, 300; Czopek, *Who was Who in Company K*, 120.

⁸³ See Hauptman, *Between Two Fires*, 131 (quotation); White, *The Middle Ground*, 37; Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People*, 4-5; and Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 4, 125.

As a leader, Mwakewenah may have understood his enlistment in the Civil War as fulfilling his part in the Ojibwe-Odawa alliance with the United States, expecting the federal government to reward his service by preserving his people's claims to land and self-determination. If the Anishinaabeg viewed their relationship with the United States in terms of an alliance, coming to the aid of allies during a time of war was a crucial responsibility.⁸⁴ Mwakewenah, as a Christian Indian who invited missionaries to his community, likely viewed his actions within an alliance that was meant to help the Anishinaabeg preserve their land. His disruption of Presbyterian authority, leadership positions, and move to Bear River, paired with his land purchase, suggest he wished to enlist in the Union army to bolster his existing land claims. An alliance with the United States, like an alliance with Presbyterian missionaries, did not mean relinquishing cultural and political autonomy. Mwakewenah supported his commitment to a relationship with the United States while leading his community in political and religious matters. He claimed autonomy within the tightening restrictions and dwindling land base due to pressure from U.S. government officials and missionaries.

Although many Company K Anishinaabeg exercised rights associated with state citizens, including voting and even holding public office, most continued to view citizenship as a complement to their indigenous political affiliations, rather than a renunciation. Despite owning land, Mwakewenah appears not to have renounced his tribal membership (largely because the Ottawa and Chippewa "tribe" referred to in the Treaty of 1855 was a treaty construction to begin with and did not affect Anishinaabe band-level leadership).⁸⁵ Company K pension files from

⁸⁴ Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People*, 10, 19.

⁸⁵ For an explanation of Article 5 of the 1855 Treaty with the Ottawa and Chippewa, which dissolved "the tribal organization of the said Ottawa and Chippewa Indians," see Cleland, *Faith in Paper*, 87. Cleland argues that this clause reflected the prompting of ogimaag and treaty signers who did not approve of Henry Schoolcraft's "artificial political amalgamation" of the tribes for the earlier treaty in 1836. For the treaty, see Treaty with the Ottawa and Chippewa, 1855, in Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties 2* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 725-731.

after the war suggest band organization and Anishinaabe leadership continued to function in some areas. The concept of tribal membership mentioned in treaties can be misleading. It assumes the U.S. or Michigan governments had the authority or power to dissolve political organization, which they did not. While the governments could refuse to recognize Anishinaabe leaders, they could not dissolve Anishinaabe social practices or band leadership. The Anishinaabeg claimed certain rights and land while maintaining levels of self-determination for their communities. It is possible they acted with an understanding or expectation of a not-yet-articulated dual citizenship.⁸⁶ As citizens, men like Mwakewenah expected to have rights to their land and wished to retain their religious and political autonomy, and the ability to influence their people—Mwakewenah worked to do so as an ogimaa, Methodist preacher, and Union soldier.

Greensky Hill and the Civil War

Both Benjamin and Jacob Greensky observed how their father, Peter, inspired other Ojibweg and Odawaag to leave Dougherty's Presbyterian mission. Like their father, both men were associated with the Methodists. Benjamin was killed at the Battle of Spotsylvania in May 1864 at the age of 25, not long after he had been promoted to corporal. His promotion suggests the white officers of Company K believed he could set a good example for the other men and he would have been responsible for explaining orders and "theoretical instruction" to the privates.⁸⁷

⁸⁶Charles E. Cleland, *Rites of Conquest: The History and Culture of Michigan's Native Americans* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1992), 243. Due partly to bureaucratic inadequacies, the government did not issue patents for Mwakewenah's land until the stipulated ten-year period expired, which occurred after his death. The U.S. government issued a land patent to "Daniel MwawKe we naw (Chief)" on January 1, 1872, for 80 acres in Emmet County (Accession Number: M13210.486). Mwakewenah sold land to Daniel Rodd in 1860, suggesting he owned land prior to his death (Warranty Deed 2189426. Emmet County, MI Register of Deeds). Jean M. O'Brien discusses William Aposs' articulation of dual citizenship in 1836, arguing he felt Indian people should be equal U.S. citizens who could also exist within sovereign Indian nations. Jean M. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 188-89.

⁸⁷Silas Casey, *Infantry Tactics, for the Instruction, Exercise, And Manœuvres of the Soldier, a Company, Line of Skirmishes, Battalion, Brigade, Or Corps D'armée* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1863), 12-13, 20-21; William P. Craighill, *The 1862 Army Officer's Pocket Companion: A Manual for Staff Officers in the Field* (Mechanicsburg,

His short life is not well documented. Jacob, in contrast, survived the war. While his activities before the war are difficult to trace, his life after the war illuminates his motivations for joining the Union army.

After the war, Jacob Greensky became a religious leader in the Methodist Church, largely following the trajectory of his father and uncle. The Methodists' Michigan Council appointed Jacob to the Pine River Indian Mission where he may have assisted his uncle, Isaac Greensky. On August 27, 1879, the Methodist Quarterly Conference of Petoskey examined Jacob. "Being acquainted with gifts, graces + usefulness of our brother Jacob Greensky (Indian Interpreter) do hereby recommend him as a reliable person to be ordained a local Deacon."⁸⁸ A pension examiner reported: "The soldier it is said was an educated Indian and acted as a sort of preacher among the Indians."⁸⁹ Jacob's commitment to Methodism and his role as a religious leader were similar to his father's. Like Mwakewenah, Greensky may have seen the war as both his duty and a way to bolster his own claims to leadership. Unlike Mwakewenah, however, there are not indicators that Greensky became an ogimaa; instead, he focused on religious leadership.

James Awonogezhik (Arwouageshick) enlisted two days after Benjamin Greensky. Awonogezhik listed his home at Pentwater, but he had connections in the Grand Traverse and Little Traverse Bay regions and probably would have had ties to the Greenskys before the war. A local preacher in the Methodist Church, he claimed that he was at Jacob Greensky's home when Greensky died and that he officiated at the funeral.⁹⁰ Also known as Wasagesick, he or a relative

PA: Stackpole Books, 2002), 111. Also see, <http://civilwartalk.com/threads/corporal-rank.23357/> accessed August 30, 2014.

⁸⁸ W.F. Lawton Sed and A.P. Muors, P.E. to the Michigan Annual Conference, September 10, 1879, Michigan Annual Conference, West Michigan Conference United Methodist Archives, Stockwell-Mudd Library, Albion College, Albion, MI.

⁸⁹ J.H. Bell to Commissioner of Pensions, January 31, 1918, Jacob Greensky Pension File. Married Esther by Justice of the Peace John Haton, witnessed by Joseph Micksawba.

⁹⁰ Awonogezhik was at Jacob's home when he died August 31, 1887 (Czopek says he died June 25, 1888). His funeral on December 3, 1887 does not fit if he died June 25, 1888 (the date his wife gives). It seems likely that

may have donated the land for Peter Greensky's mission.⁹¹ After the war he lived in Charlevoix, Omena, and Northport. Like Peter Greensky and Mwakewenah, Awonogezhik took an active role in religion and evangelizing among Anishinaabe people.⁹² At the time of his death in 1917, "Jim Wosegesic" had "been preaching for the last 51 years among the Indian people and was noted for his kindness and generosity to the sick and poor" and he was buried at the cemetery near Susan Lake (Greensky Hill).⁹³ He was known as the "old Indian Patriot"—an appellation given to him by the white community that intertwined his Indian identity with his Civil War service.



Figure 3.5 and 3.6 Greensky Hill Mission Church (built in the early 1860s). The cemetery where Awonogezhik is buried is located behind the church. The sloping land behind the building overlooks Susan Lake (in the distance in the image on the right).
Source: Author photos, April 2015.

Awonogezhik either got the dates wrong but it is possible that he did not actually attend Greensky's death and funeral, but only claimed to in the pension case. Emma Jane Muir, "Herald news... 100 years ago," *Grand Traverse Herald*, April 27, 2005, <http://static.record-eagle.com/herald/2005/apr/27histor.htm> ; accessed January 31, 2014. James Arwouageshick affidavit, November 3, 1887, Jacob Greensky Pension File.

⁹¹ Audrey V. Miller, "A History of the Greensky Hill Mission," Central Michigan University Term Paper, 1952 (accessed at Shipman Library, Adrian College), 3 and Czopek, *Who was Who in Company K*, 45. James Arwonogezice (Awonogezhik) was also known as Wasagesick (1890 Veterans Census) and Wassagezhic (Death Certificate, County Clerk Office, Charlevoix Co.).

⁹² Awonogezhik may also have been part of George N. Smith's Congregational mission community in Northport or had relatives who actively participated in Smith's mission. George N. Smith Journal, September 4, 1861; April 15, 1863; July 12, 1865; August 29, 1865. The Awasakezhik (Awosakezhik or Awasakezhik) in Smith's journal might be a relation of the Company K soldier (James Arwonogezice), but not the soldier since the dates in Smith's journal correspond with the time period the soldier was away fighting. Because Anishinaabe names are often spelled in multiple ways in Euro-American records and the last names are used to identify two different people (like a father and son, for instance) it seems the two men may have been related.

⁹³ "Old Indian Patriot Died Last Thursday," *Charlevoix Courier*, May 23, 1917, 5.

Awonogezhik was part of the religious networks of Anishinaabeg in northwest Michigan and, like other members of Company K, was a religious leader.⁹⁴ Men like Awonogezhik and Mwakewenah enlisted in the war during a period when Anishinaabe leadership and the roles available to men fluctuated. Military service may have been a way to negotiate status in their communities. On the other hand, the Christian practices of these religious leaders and other Anishinaabe associated with different Christian missions, was also part of a larger phenomenon taking place across the country at the beginning of the Civil War. Recruitment meetings were often held in churches and many northern church leaders pledged their support for Lincoln and the Union. Christian clergy rhetorically linked patriotism to godliness, encouraging “moral, upstanding citizens” to enlist. Perhaps, as men hoping to negotiate more treaties, purchase land fee simple, and exercise the rights of citizens of a “Christian nation,” these men enlisted.⁹⁵ Approximately 5,000-6,000 Union soldiers from Michigan were Methodists (90,048 men fought in regiments from the state).⁹⁶ Given at least twenty-eight Company K men were associated with the Methodists, they may have shared reasons for enlisting with Euro-Americans. As shown with the interpretation of Mwakewenah’s enlistment, however, it seems more likely their multi-faceted reasons depended on both their Anishinaabe backgrounds and their interactions with state and federal officials.

Leelanau Peninsula

Political ideals and religiously-inspired antislavery ideology also influenced Company K

⁹⁴ James Arwouageshick affidavit, November 3, 1887, Pension File of Jacob Greensky. Emma Jane Muir, “Herald news... 100 years ago.”

⁹⁵ Historian Steven Woodworth notes the number of Methodist and Baptist ministers who became captains of companies composed of local boys, or enlisted as privates themselves. Steven E. Woodworth, *While God is Marching On: The Religious World of Civil War Soldiers* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001). 94-95, 124.

⁹⁶ Macmillan, *The Methodist Episcopal Church in Michigan during the Civil War*, 25; Woodford, *Father Abraham’s Children*, 4.

men to enlist in the Union army. Soldiers Louis Miskoguoan, William Mixinasaw, Joseph Wakazoo, Jacko Penaiswanquot, and James Awonogezhik attended prayer and Sabbath meetings at George N. Smith's congregational mission at Onumeneseville (a few miles north of Wakazooville, which became Northport).⁹⁷ Payson Wolf, who enlisted in August of 1863, married Smith's oldest daughter Mary Jane in July of 1851.⁹⁸ Smith was a Republican, who shared his party's mixed degrees of anti-slavery sentiment.⁹⁹ Smith received a copy of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* from Dougherty in 1861 and lent the influential book to others.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps Smith read aloud excerpts from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to his family, which, at this point included Wolf, his son-in-law. Or, Smith may have mentioned the text to others; thus members of Smith's mission were aware of abolitionist ideas and narratives, such as Stowe's, that emphasized the evils of slavery. Moreover, Smith supported the emancipation of slaves and

⁹⁷ Anishinaabe Christianity and religious leadership played a role in Civil War enlistment. The Anishinaabeg took an active role in their religious practices. Anishinaabe men often led prayer at Onumeneseville, especially at their Wednesday meetings. (George N. Smith Journal, July 24, 1861; January 29, 1862; February 12, 1862; February 19, 1862; July 9, 1862; October 29, 1862; November 19 and December 17, 1862.) Awasakezhik appears frequently in Smith's account and seems to have acquired an unofficial leadership role in the mission. At meetings Awasakezhik spoke "with much warmth + effect" and Smith believed that he demonstrated a strong knowledge of scripture and "depth of experience." (Ibid., June 16, 1865.) After one meeting, Smith wrote about another church member: "he liked to sing slow like eating something good he wanted it to taste good a long time-at the close of meeting he said he did not see how some could talk at everything as soon as meeting closed he could not bear to leave off talking on religion." (Ibid., February 6, 1861.) This man, who was attending a meeting with three other men and two women, also led prayer. While women also led and spoke in prayer meetings, men did so more frequently. Moreover, Anishinaabe men, such as Awasakezhik and Wasaequaua, represented the Anishinaabe mission at regional conferences. (Ibid., February 28, 1863, January 8 and 13, 1864; December 24, 1862). It is possible Company K men like Louis Miskoguoan or Jacko Penaiswanquot led prayer meetings.

⁹⁸ It was more common for indigenous women to marry white men than for indigenous men to marry a white woman. There were, however, other marriages in northern Michigan like Wolf's. Andrew Blackbird, for instance, married Elizabeth Fish, a white woman. Katherine Ellinghaus argues that historians should pay attention to these marriages and explores why it was unusual for white women to marry indigenous men: "Intermarriage was often understood as a means of assimilation into the dominant society, not the other way around. When the white partner was a man, this could make perfect sense. But women, seen traditionally as following their husbands' nationalities and social and economic status, faced a more complicated prospect, and the way their relationships were viewed is revealing of the inherently gendered and raced notions of national belonging." Katherine Ellinghaus, *Taking Assimilation to Heart: Marriages of White Women and Indigenous Men in the United States and Australia, 1887-1937* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), XI. For Smith and Wolf family information, see Robert P. Swierenga and William Van Appledorn, eds., *Old Wing Mission: cultural interchange as chronicled by George and Arvilla Smith in their work with Chief Wakazoo's Ottawa band on the West Michigan frontier* (Grand Rapids, Mich. : Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub., c2008), 619-622.

⁹⁹ Smith was connected to an anti-slavery family through his wife, Arvilla Almira Powers, who was the abolitionist John Brown's cousin. *George Nelson Smith Papers, 1837-1857*, Finding Aid, Bentley Historical Library.

¹⁰⁰ George N. Smith Journal, February 12, 1861 and April 7, 1861.

mentioned reading *Among the Pines; or South in Secession Times* (1862) by Edmund Kirke, which Smith declared “ought to be read by every man in the North it would open the eyes of some who do not or who will not see the facts of slavery.”¹⁰¹ Claiming his work was non-fiction, Kirke detailed stories told to him by slaves and whites alike that illustrated how the poor whites helped keep the slave oligarchy in power. Kirke believed that emancipating or confiscating the South’s slaves would cause the “rebellion” to “crumble to pieces in a day. Omit to do it, and it will last till doomsday.”¹⁰² Smith’s esteem for Kirke’s book suggests he would have shared the book with others or publically expressed similar views on emancipation at meetings or social interactions with the Leelanau Anishinaabeg. Smith helps explain how antislavery sentiments might have flowed through Anishinaabe spaces.

Smith, along with the Anishinaabeg, attended various talks on slavery and other political issues. On June 24, 1864, a Miss W “told the Indians about the freedman-she spoke well-chief answered as well he said it made his heart hum like a heated stove to hear such things.” It is noteworthy that some of the soldiers heard speeches, readings, and sermons on emancipation and abolition that may have influenced their opinions regarding the war.¹⁰³ Company K soldiers did not enlist until after the Emancipation Proclamation (largely due to white resistance to arming Indian men). While Anishinaabe soldiers had different motivations than their white counterparts for fighting in the Civil War, they would have also shared motivations, including varying degrees of anti-slavery opinions, given their involvement in mission communities, relationships with

¹⁰¹ Ibid., February 9, 1863. Edmund Kirke was the pen name for James Roberts Gilmore.

¹⁰² CS Henry, “Among the Pines,” *The North American Review* 95, no. 2 (1862): 534-545.

¹⁰³ Furthermore, the Grand Traverse Bay area had visitors who lectured about their war experiences. Smith, for instance, heard L.G. Wamen speak about being a “prisoner among the rebels,” as well as Reverend George Thompson on his prison sentence for aiding fugitive slaves in Missouri. George N. Smith Journal, December 29, 1862.

white traders, and knowledge of local, state, and federal governments.¹⁰⁴

Members of Smith's congregation participated in, or overheard, discussions on slavery, freedom, and the Union. Smith read sermons that were connected to abolition and participated in pro-Union celebrations. For instance, in early May 1861, Smith read H.W. Beecher's sermon on the war and then the gathered crowd sang "America," "the Star Spangled Banner," and "the Marseilles Hymn."¹⁰⁵ Before the war, Payson Wolf participated in Smith's pro-Union activities. Smith noted: "Annie has made Union Colors 4 by 8 feet Payson painted the stars he +I got a pole + raised the flag PM on the N[orth] end of our house over 40 feet high. Our Country is rousing to battle against the rebels of the South who are seeking to destroy the government-the object is to extend + perpetuate slavery [...] Merskogwan [Miskoguan?] came."¹⁰⁶ How did Wolf feel about the Union Colors? Did he and Louis Miskoguan wish to halt the expansion of slavery and protect the federal government and the Union? On July 4, the Union flag was raised and the community had an interdenominational celebration that included the Star Spangled Banner and "singing down the traitors."¹⁰⁷ The excitement and patriotism these types of celebrations encouraged may have inspired or predisposed some Anishinaabe men—especially those associated with Smith's mission who spoke some English—to enlist when recruiters came to the area. Smith and his community followed war news, and they were invested in the outcome of the conflict.¹⁰⁸ Ten men from the Leelanau Peninsula enlisted, a relatively small number considering the population of Ojibwe and Odawa men in the area. The history of the individuals who enlisted suggests they

¹⁰⁴ Despite his interest in politics, anti-slavery, and the war, Smith did not frequently mention it in his journals. When he did mention slavery, it is often next to his more frequent and quotidian notations: "News of Manassas, Shocking! Payson hoed corn part of the day." George N. Smith Journal, July 25, 1861.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, May 7, 1861. Also, see January 14 1860 (HW Beecher's thanksgiving sermon).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, May 20, 1861.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, July 4, 1861.

¹⁰⁸ Smith tried to keep his congregations current with national affairs. April 20, 1862 he read Lincoln's April 10, 1862 "Proclamation of Thanksgiving" and on April 14, 1862 Smith read President Lincoln's proclamation for a fast *Ibid.*, April 20, 1862 and April 14, 1863.

did so for ideological reasons and due to particular religious and social networks.

Smith competed with local and state Democrats for political influence over the Anishinaabeg. In northern Michigan, Ojibwe and Odawa men frequently voted for Democratic candidates because Indian agents were often Democrats.¹⁰⁹ Smith attended Republican meetings and served in local public offices; he was concerned about the Democrat's influence.¹¹⁰ On March 25, 1860, he worried: "Our Indian meeting was thinly attended. I have almost no doubt-I am rather almost certain that the Democrats are using their influence to make them shun us lest I shall persuade them to vote for their liberty." Smith worried about the local election in 1860. In early April, he lamented that "the Democrats carried the election by fraud" and he notes that no Anishinaabeg attended his April 4th meeting. A few days later, Smith noted that his Northport [?] Sunday meeting was "well filled with a deeply attentive + interested audience All Republicans (I believe) but one man..." Yet, "our Indian meeting was thin in consequence I have no doubt of Democrats influence at election." Democrats, according to Smith, had secured all of the town positions aside from treasurer using "the vilest means."¹¹¹ Smith lost his run for Leelanau Township Supervisor.¹¹² In November 1860, Wolf's colt was beaten with a club the day before the election, which was held on the sixth at the district schoolhouse. The same day as the election, Smith noted: "Payson's Colt died last night it had been pounded + kicked it was a cruel wicked thing."¹¹³ Given the proximity to elections, it is possible someone had tried to intimidate

¹⁰⁹ Andrew Blackbird remembered that Agent Gilbert encouraged Indian men to vote the democratic ticket in an 1856 at Northport and Grand Traverse. Andrew J. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan* (Ypsilanti, The Ypsilantian Job Printing House, 1887), 65-66.

¹¹⁰ George N. Smith Journal, March 17 and 31, 1860.

¹¹¹ Smith frequently mentioned the behavior of the Democrats. In the April 1862 local election, the Democrats carried the town positions again, leading to Rose and Fox trying to physically attack Brother Powers. Smith later treated a man hurt election day who had tried to keep Fox and Rose off of Powers: "it was one of the vilest days I ever witnessed the Democrats seemed determined to bully down the Republicans—for a while the whole mass was in a riot—it was begun by Fox attacking Br Powers." Ibid., April 2, 3, 4, 8, 1860 and April 7 and 11, 1862.

¹¹² Mitchell, *Grand Traverse*, 91-92.

¹¹³ George N. Smith Journal, November 5 and 6, 1860.

Wolf or other voters by attacking the horse. In the end, the majority of Grand Traverse County voted for Lincoln.¹¹⁴ In March 1861, Smith commented: “Mr Lincoln was inaugurated in great style on the 4th and appears to promise great energy to the government. May the Lord preserve his life + give him wisdom + success.”¹¹⁵

Anishinaabe men in Northport voted in elections, both local and national, through their rights under the Michigan Constitution. Both the Republicans and Democrats tried to court Anishinaabe voters’ favor. For instance, during an 1863 June election for the Leelanau county seat, Hiram Rose visited Carp River to ensure the Indians had a chance to vote.¹¹⁶ Rose, a lumberman, dock owner, businessman, and trader, was one of Smith’s political rivals. He served as Leland treasurer and influenced the early government of Petoskey.¹¹⁷ Rose and Smith were both concerned with how the area’s Anishinaabeg would vote. Before the November 1862 election was held, Smith preached at a morning meeting in Northport “on human responsibility especially in relation to the present fearful crisis of our nation.”¹¹⁸ Anishinaabe men and women may have been present at this meeting, but it is more likely that he repeated these sentiments on responsibility at his political meeting with the Anishinaabeg on November third. The next day, Smith helped facilitate the election and noted the results: “we have gained a glorious victory over the semi secession Democrats the Indians came up like men + voted the Rep. Ticket (except perhaps 6 in all) apparently without fear of their old masters who have ruled over them with an

¹¹⁴ Only Leelanau township did not see a “substantial” Republican victory. Mitchell, *Grand Traverse*, 110. The popular vote and six electoral votes in Michigan in 1860 went to Lincoln. Gerhard Peters - The American Presidency Project, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/showelection.php?year=1860>; accessed March 26, 2014 and http://www.archives.gov/federal-register/electoral-college/votes/1853_1869.html#1860 ; accessed March 26, 2014

¹¹⁵ George N. Smith Journal, March 18, 1861.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, June 1, 1863

¹¹⁷ The Traverse region, historical and descriptive, with illustrations of scenery and portraits and biographical sketches of some of its prominent men and pioneers (Chicago: H.R. Page & Co., 1884), 154-155.

¹¹⁸ George N. Smith Journal, November 2, 1862.

iron hand.”¹¹⁹ Smith referred to his rivals—the Democrats—as Anishinaabe voters’ “old masters”; a mocking acknowledgement of the Democrats’ prominent positions in the Michigan Superintendency of Indian Affairs (and political positions in the state more generally). Wolf delivered the election results to Mr. Suttons for official recording.¹²⁰ Anishinaabe votes in 1862 emphasize that some of these men were active in United States politics and their 1863 enlistment was influenced by political, as much as economic concerns. The Anishinaabeg were interested in politics at multiple levels and, at different times, voted for Democrats and Republicans.

Smith’s frequent interaction with the Anishinaabeg on the Leelanau Peninsula suggests that they were aware of the conflicts between the Democrats and Republicans, Unionists and secessionists, and Northerners and Southerners. Smith was active in both the Anishinaabe and white communities in the Northport area and held various political positions, in addition to his role as a missionary. Smith tried to keep track of his family members who were Union soldiers. He was proud of his three nephews serving in the military and hoped they would “be noble supporters of the government.”¹²¹ He spoke with the soldiers who volunteered, sometimes providing them with bibles.¹²² Smith probably shared these views with Wolf and other Anishinaabe men living around his mission and may have encouraged the men to enlist. For Smith, he would have seen their enlistment as another proof of their progress in becoming “civilized” Christian farmers. The Anishinaabe men who enlisted may have partly shared in his beliefs, in addition to having beliefs of their own.

The political ideals of Smith and others circulated in the religious and social networks of Christian Anishinaabeg in northwest Michigan. Many of the Company K men knew each other

¹¹⁹ Ibid., November 4, 1862.

¹²⁰ Ibid., November 5, 1862.

¹²¹ Ibid., January 20, 1862.

¹²² For instance, Smith received a box of Bibles from the county’s Bible Society and he distributed them to the volunteers. Ibid., August 27, 1862; December 29, 1862; January 13, 1864. Providing Bibles for soldiers was a common practice, see Woodworth, *While God is Marching On*, 69-70.

before their enlistments. People frequently traveled between Grand and Little Traverse Bays, as well as the Straits of Mackinaw. The Anishinaabeg frequently traveled by foot, horseback, wagon, Mackinaw boats, and canoes for subsistence practices, work, religious services, and social reasons. For example, Louis Miskoguan and Wolf, two Company K soldiers who participated in Smith's meetings, traveled to Pine River to deliver farm goods and help outsiders navigate the bay area.¹²³ Both men probably knew members of the Greensky family due to their prominence at Pine River, as well as their visits to the Leelanau Peninsula. Given the proximity of Dougherty's and Smith's missions, Miskoguan and Wolf would have had many acquaintances connected to both missions and they sometimes attended Dougherty's meetings themselves.¹²⁴ Men associated with Dougherty's mission would have occasionally attended religious meetings with Anishinaabe from Bear River as well, and thus may have known enlistees like Mwakewenah.¹²⁵ Moreover, Peter Greensky's influence extended beyond northwest Michigan due to his Methodist missionary work at Isabella and Oceana.¹²⁶ Before enlisting in Company K, men associated with different Christian missions, especially Protestant, interacted in Anishinaabe-Christian religious networks of men and their families. Given these connections, it seems like the anti-slavery Republican Smith, as well as leaders like Mwakewenah and Greensky, may have persuaded some Anishinaabe men to join the Union army.

¹²³ George N. Smith Journal, October 27, 1862 (Muskoguan); November 8, 1862.

¹²⁴ Anishinaabeg from Smith's mission attended Dougherty's meetings. See Peter Dougherty, January 6, 1867, *Minutes of the Session of the Indian Mission Church, Grand Traverse Bay, Michigan*, 25, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Wolf and Miskoguan probably knew Charles Allen, for example. Allen, a member of Dougherty's church, also interpreted for Smith when he visited Dougherty's mission. Smith and Dougherty frequently visited and in early 1863 Smith proposed that they have "social meetings for mutual fellowship + improvement." George N. Smith Journal, January 5, 1862; February 7, 1863.

¹²⁵ Charles Allen accompanied Mrs. Smith and several others to visit "Mr. [John Sergeant] Dixon's young Indians" at Bear River. *Ibid.*, June 5, 1863.

¹²⁶ Typed manuscript on the stationary of Ronald A. Brunger, Archivist, in 2-2 Greensky Hill Indian Mission folder, Detroit Conference United Methodist Archives [n.d.]



Figure 3.7, 3.8, and 3.9 Onumenseville and Northport were north of Peter Dougherty's mission in Omena. Dougherty's mission overlooked Omena Bay, part of Grand Traverse Bay (top right). Northport is located at the northern part of Grand Traverse Bay (Northport Bay) (bottom right).

Source: H. F. Walling, *Atlas of the state of Michigan: including statistics and descriptions of its topography, hydrography, climate, natural and civil history, railways, educational institutions, material resources, etc.* (Detroit: R.M. & S. T. Tackabury, 1873), 58 (map by Alexander Winchell). Author photos, April 2015.

Some of the Anishinaabe recruits were also part of religious and social networks that extended beyond the Leelanau Peninsula. On August 1, 1863, Charles Allen and Payson Wolf left on the *Tanawanda* to join the First Michigan Sharpshooters. Through letters to his family from Camp Douglass, it is clear Charles Allen was a practicing Christian and his correspondence suggests he took part in the temperance movement; his ideas on reform may have expanded to include abolition. As a boy, Charles Allen attended Dougherty's mission school, along with his siblings, as well as another boy who would enlist in Company K, Aaron Pequongay (Sahgahnahquato).¹ Dougherty believed Allen and his sister, Mary Ann, were two of the most advanced students.² Allen's parents, Moses (Maish ka ze) and Emma (Oje equa) presented their son to Dougherty for baptism in January of 1844. Allen joined the church in May of 1859 and then went to school at the Twinsburg Institute in Ohio in the fall.³ Started by congregational minister, Twinsburg Institute, a private school, included Ojibwe, Odawa, Boodewaadamii, and Seneca students over the years as Bissell supported Indian education.⁴ There, Allen would have been part of an atmosphere infused with "reformist spirit" influenced by Bissell and other Christian faculty members. Temperance and antislavery were part of their agenda for the reforming of society.⁵ Dougherty noted: "He [Allen] reports himself in the first class in algebra + Arithmetic [*sic*]. He gives good promise."⁶ When he returned to the Leelanau Peninsula, Allen

¹ Ruth Craker, *First Protestant Mission in the Grand Traverse* (Mount Pleasant, MI: Rivercrest House, 1979), 29. Dougherty baptized Aaron Sahgahnahquato May 8, 1864. Peter Dougherty, *Minutes of the Session of the Indian Mission Church, Grand Traverse Bay, Michigan*, 20.

² Peter Dougherty to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, January 2, 1860, Peter Dougherty Papers (hereafter Dougherty Papers), Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

³ Later that year, his mother was listed among a list of Allen relatives suspended for drinking. January 7, 1844, July 1844, May 22, 1859, and January 1, 1871, *Minutes of the Old Mission and New Mission (Grove Hill)*, Omena Presbyterian Church Records, 1836-1940, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

⁴ Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio, An Encyclopedia of the State II* (Norwalk, OH: The Laning Printing Co., 1896), 654.

⁵ Theodore J. Karamanski, *Blackbird's Song: Andrew J. Blackbird and the Odawa People* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2012), 120. See, Augustus M. Mixinossaw, July 8, 1853, Container 1, Folder 5, MS 116 Samuel Bissell Papers [hereafter SBP], Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, OH.

⁶ Peter Dougherty, Report of Mission, January 2, 1860, Dougherty Papers.

became the interpreter for Dougherty's mission.⁷ On June 20, 1863, Dougherty noted, "Charles Allen our interpreter has just enlisted and left us-Recruiting officers are here trying to enlist the Indian some have gone and other are talking of going."⁸ Bissell later recalled: "During the war of the Rebellion one from the West raised a company of sharpshooters, [and] became their Captain.... Several other[s] joined the army and acted a loyal part."⁹

Like Allen, Joseph Wakazoo—son of the ogimaa Peter Wakazoo—also attended Twinsburg Institute. George Smith encouraged Wakazoo to further his education, believing him to be a studious and promising young man.¹⁰ Wakazoo attended Twinsburg in the 1850s, and like Blackbird, viewed education as an important tool for Anishinaabe men.¹¹ He regretted being unable to return to Twinsburg due to his situation at home, writing to Bissell: "My dear teacher I am very sorry to say that I will not come down this fall my father wants me to stay with him this winter he is lame he can not do anything for himself and therefore [*sic*] he wants me to stay with him all this winter....I love you teaching me the holy bible, every Sabbath day I go to the meeting house intent to join the church...."¹² Wakazoo's education would have first included reading and writing skills, then college preparatory classes, including foreign languages (Greek, Latin, French, and German), chemistry, and mathematics (applicable to bookkeeping, navigation, and surveying).¹³ In the summer of 1860 Wakazoo was a day laborer at John Porter's

⁷ Allen was paid \$50.00 for interpreting for Dougherty from January to July of 1862. See Grove Hill expenses, 1862 in Box 7 Volume 4, 323, AIC.

⁸ Peter Dougherty to Walter Lorie, June 20, 1863, Box 7 Volume 4, 392, AIC.

⁹ ND, Box 1, Folder 13, Biographies, SBP.

¹⁰ George Nelson Smith to Samuel Bissell, October 4, 1850, Grand Traverse, Container 1, Folder 2, SBP. Wakazoo was active in Smith's mission, often serving as the interpreter. During the war, Wakazoo corresponded with Smith, describing his experiences, including a letter about the battle of Fair Oakes. George N. Smith Journal, January 8, 1860; June 23, 1862.

¹¹ Joseph Wakazoo to Samuel Bissell, June 16, 1852, Grand Traverse, Container 1, Folder 2, SBP. Wakazoo attended Twinsburg from 1849-1850 [?].

¹² Joseph Wakazoo to Samuel Bissell, October 5, 1856, Grand Traverse, Container 1, Folder 2, SBP.

¹³ Karamanski, *Blackbird's Song*, 119. A book list gives an idea of the topics covered at Twinsburg, ranging from political and historical documents, such as the U.S. Constitution, to religious texts, science, Greek, Latin, and Schoolcraft's works. Samuel Bissell Order, New York, April 1, 1850, Container 1, Folder 5, SBP.

Presbyterian mission on the Leelanau peninsula, but he managed to return to Twinsburg Institute, graduated in March 1861, and then enlisted in Company H of the Sixteenth Infantry in Virginia.¹⁴ Wakazoo was unusual in that he enlisted before 1863 and had already fought in several battles before joining Company K.

Wakazoo deserted in August 1862, returning to Northport where he spread information about the war. When D.C. Leach held a council in October 1862 with the Anishinaabeg in Smith's school house to discuss the condition of the government, Wakazoo also spoke about the war. The next day, Leach continued speaking on the "state of the country" and those gathered sang "Brave Boys:" "This was our part-ing trust: "God bless you boys! we'll welcome you home, When reb-els are in the dust. Brave boys are they! Gone at their country's call; And yet, and yet, we cannot for-get, That many brave boys must fall."¹⁵ Being a deserter, did Wakazoo discourage others from enlisting or did he plan on returning to the war? While home, Wakazoo participated in Smith's church, speaking and praying at the Indian congregation at Onumeneseville. Wakazoo was arrested September 9, 1863 for desertion—the charge was dropped when he was reassigned to Company K "there being no other Indians" in his old regiment.¹⁶ He served the remainder of the war in Company K without additional desertions. After the war Wakazoo became a Methodist preacher. He was not an ogimaa like his father; rather, he spent his time as a missionary in Minnesota at the Leech Lake and White Earth reservations (Ojibweg). Wakazoo is a reminder that while it is useful to look at the connections between Anishinaabe political and religious leadership, such as with Greensky and Mwakewenah, there are some men and converts who focused on their roles as religious leaders.

¹⁴ George Nelson Smith to Samuel Bissell, August 1, 1851. Container 1, Folder 2 and Volume 3, SBP. June 11, 1860 Census for the Township of Leelanau, available through Heritage Quest.

¹⁵ George N. Smith Journal, October 15 and October 16, 1862.

¹⁶ Lemuel R. Nichols note on Individual Muster out Roll for Joseph Wakazoo, Compiled Military Service Record of Joseph Wakazoo. George Nelson Smith Journal, October 13, 1862; May 29, 1863.

Wakazoo left the community where he would have had hereditary claims to leadership. Unlike the ogimaag near Manistee, Oceana, and Little Traverse who continued to lead their people, Wakazoo made the choice to go to other Anishinaabe communities and spread the Gospel.

Mass at Little Traverse

Like the men from Bear River, Northport, and Oceana, many of the Anishinaabe soldiers from the Little Traverse Bay region were connected to missions that were central to land struggles, religious practices, local politics, and community networks. The Protestant missionaries—like Porter, Smith, and Dougherty—worried about the strong Catholic influence around Little Traverse Bay. In 1827 or 1828, the Catholic faction of the Little Traverse Odawaag moved south of their village near Nine Mile Point, calling the location New L'Arbre Croche (current-day Harbor Springs). Peter Shomin was among the Catholic Odawa who began building cabins at the site. Peter's nephews—Louis and John Baptiste Shomin, brothers, and their cousin John O. Shomin—served in Company K.¹⁷ The three Shomins were from LaCroix (Cross Village) and were part of Holy Cross Church; John Baptiste was an active church member before the war.¹⁸ The Shomins were part of an extensive Catholic-Anishinaabe network at the Straits of Mackinac and Waganagisi (L'Arbre Croche).

¹⁷ Karamanski, *Blackbird's Song*, 55.

¹⁸ John O. Shomin enlisted June 11, 1863 at LaCroix the same day as his cousin Louis Shomin. John B. Shomin enlisted on August 17, 1863. John B. served as a witness with Joseph Shomin for a wedding ceremony in June 1857, he was a witness along with Augustin Shomin for the marriage of Benjamin Wedejinewa and Lucia Assiniwe, both of Middle Village, October 23, 1869,. He was the godfather of Michael, son of Peter Onewagons on October 4, 1862, as well as Susanna daughter of Franc Nissawakwad and Josepha Mijiwanedinokwe on April 20, 1862, both of Cross Village. Holy Cross Church (Cross Village, Mich.) Records, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.



Figure 3.10 John Baptiste Shomin moved to Mackinac Island after the war and may have been the John Shomin memorialized in stained glass at Ste. Anne Catholic Church.

Source: Photo given to author by Connie Larson of Grand Rapids, MI.

Many of the soldiers from Little Traverse (Harbor Springs) and Cross Village were Catholic or had a life event marked by a Catholic ceremony (i.e. marriage or burial). Amable Ketchebatis, Leon Otashquabono, Albert Pesherbay, Simon Sanequaby, Charles Shabena, Antoine Tabyant, Joseph Ashkanak, Betoës Awanakwad, Louis Bennett, and Samuel Kaquatch lived in the L'Arbre Croche area and were associated with Catholic Church in various ways. These men may have been connected through various kinship and community roles, and also through church. Attending church with the Shomins, Francis Tabasash was one of the more active members: he had his children baptized soon after their births, witnessed multiple marriages, and was the godfather of thirteen children and one adult from 1848-68. For instance, he served as godfather for Francis Ogima (son of Sophie and Michel Ogima)—a name implying

a connection to civil leadership. While not all of these men were as active in the church as Tabasash, they represent a network of Anishinaabe-Catholic men; a network that became useful after the war during the pension process.¹⁹ Many Company K men were connected to families who were active church members.²⁰ This network of Anishinaabe peoples suggests these men also influenced one another when it came to enlisting in the U.S. Army.

Francis Tabasash's enlistment papers symbolize the multiple networks these Anishinaabe men were active in, both religious and political. Before the Civil War, Tabasash served as the voting inspector from Cross Village for county elections, Register of Deeds, and Justice of the Peace. He often attended Board of Supervisors' meetings in the early 1860s, along with Andrew Porter and Richard Cooper. Cooper helped with recruitment and, as a Justice of the Peace, he witnessed Tabasash's enlistment.²¹ Thirty-eight years old when he enlisted, Tabasash, like Mwakewenah, was older than the average recruit and held a more established position than many of the younger men. He was part of a politically active network of Odawa men who took advantage of citizenship to make land claims. Theodore Karamanski argues that the Anishinaabeg "worked assiduously for nearly two decades to acquire citizenship in order to protect their right to live on the lands where their ancestors were buried" and their efforts and

¹⁹ Francis Tabasash in *Ibid.* Alfred Pesherbay, for instance, recalled attending church with John O. Shomin during pension interviews. Civil War Pension File of Alfred Peshowbay (Pesherbay) and Holy Cross Church Records.

²⁰ Czopek, *Who was Who in Company K*, 10. Examples: the Catholic missionary, Reverend Father Seraphin Zorn married the veterans Betoës Awanakwad to Teresa Marangowi at Middle Village, Leon Otashquabono to Mary Ann Ne-wick-wa-se at Little Traverse (Harbor Springs), and Charles Shabena to Mary Ann Kijebenessi at Cross Village. Declaration for Widow's Pension, August 1, 1865, and copy of Marriage Record, June, 1865 in Civil War Pension File of Betoës Awanakwad, First Michigan Sharpshooters, RG 15, National Archives, Washington D.C.; Simon Green and Joseph Tap-pa-sosh, General Affidavit, May 31, 1902, Charlevoix County; Leon Otashquabono, Pension Questionnaire, Ironton, MI, June 4, 1898 in Civil War Pension file of Leon Otashquabono (Mary, widow); and Claim for Widow's Pension, February 18, 1869, Civil War Pension File of Charles Shabena.

²¹ Tabasash served as voting inspector from Cross Village for the 1858 county elections, he was Register of Deeds in 1859, and Justice of the Peace that same year. He was at the Board of Supervisors' meeting November 11, 1862, for instance. When he returned from the war, he continued working in the county government and was present at several meetings in 1867. In the 1850s and 1860s, Anishinaabe men held many Emmet County positions. For example, Augustus Hamlin (County Surveyor, 1858), Louis Petosegay (County Treasurer, 1856), and Peter Greensky (Justice of the Peace, Charlevoix, 1861). Emmet County Abstract of Supervisors' Proceedings (transcript), Roll 56, pages 10, 13-14, 16, 18, 22, 107, 121. Michigan Historical Records Survey Microfilm, Bentley Historical Library.

political activism helped them avoid removal. Karamanski traces their efforts to gain certain rights, particularly the right to vote and own land fee simple. He discusses how the Odawaag organized Emmet County in 1855, electing many of their “literate young leaders” to political positions. Karamanski sees a darker side to citizenship in the coercive power of Indian agents to influence Indian voters and he also views Anishinaabe enlistment in the Civil War as the “price of citizenship.” While enlistment in Company K was a multi-leveled sacrifice for Anishinaabe men and their families, it was part of this longer history of claiming citizenship rights. Politically active Odawa men hoped their service would help them continue to be elected to local government positions so that Anishinaabe voices would be heard and Anishinaabe families could benefit from the pay some of these positions entailed.²² Given their earlier actions to ensure their voting rights—including trips to Lansing to influence the state Constitution—Anishinaabe enlistment would have been another way to claim citizenship rights as men who served in the Union army for their state.

As citizens, the Anishinaabeg may have also enlisted to ensure the whites of their loyalty to the Union. Michigan Anishinaabeg had to differentiate themselves from both the “hostile Indians” in the West and the anti-war Democrats, or “Copperheads.”²³ Indian Agent DeWitt Leach noted circulating “rumors of hostile acts by the Indians of this agency” but stressed his confidence that the Indian were loyal, with no “sympathy for the men who have raised their bloody hands against the government.”²⁴ Furthermore, when violence between the Dakota in Minnesota and white settlers intensified in August of 1862, Michigan settlers became anxious

²² Karamanski, “State Citizenship as a Tool of Indian Persistence,” 134-135,138.

²³ Hauptman points out that some Company K men fought to avoid being labeled disloyal or a Copperhead and to differentiate themselves from “hostile Indians.” Hauptman, *Between Two Fires*, 144. For more on “copperheadism” and party politics in Michigan, see Martin J. Hershock, “Copperheads and Radicals: Michigan Partisan Politics during the Civil War Era, 1860-1865,” *Michigan Historical Review* 18 no 1. (Spring, 1992), 29-69.

²⁴ D.C. Leach to William P. Dole, October 26, 1862, “1862 Annual Report of the Mackinac Indian Agent,” transcription in Larry M. Wyckoff, ed. *Annual Reports from the Mackinac Indian Agency, 1833-1888*, 457-458.

about their own Indian neighbors, especially as the violence—known at the time as the Sioux Uprising—continued into September. Reverend Smith noted at the September 14 Sabbath: “At the close of the meeting I talked to the men about the fright. Aghosa said the Indians all felt bad about it, would have a council at N.P. Tuesday PM to assure the whites of their friendship.” Two days later, the “Indians gave the whites every possible assurance of their friendship.”²⁵ In common practice during the war, the label of “Copperhead” was often assigned to anyone who demonstrated opposition to President Lincoln or the war effort, and Smith worried that Peter Dougherty—a man he respected and often worked with— “nearly took” a “copper head position.”²⁶ Anishinaabe men associated with Dougherty may have been vulnerable to accusations of anti-war sentiments. Given that Anishinaabe men were not drafted and that many of them voted the Democratic ticket, they were susceptible to accusations of holding Copperhead sympathies. Stories of anti-war positions or disloyalty, if allowed to circulate, could have affected new treaties with the federal government, as well claims to citizenship. During the war, Governor Austin Blair personally and politically supported Union war efforts. The Anishinaabe had many reasons to take a pro-Union stance.

Conclusion

Many different communities’ expectations influenced Company K men. By fighting in the Civil War, Anishinaabe men met multiple ideals of what a man should be and do. First, as many historians of Company K contend, they fulfilled a warrior role Anishinaabe men had historically held. As part of the expected life cycle of Anishinaabe men, young men might earn community admiration through bravery and marksmanship, which could have motivated

²⁵ George N. Smith Journal, September 14 and 16, 1862.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, July 5, 1864.

enlistment in the army.²⁷ Even as Euro-American concepts of individualism, agricultural work, and Christian masculinity influenced the Anishinaabeg, longstanding practices and ideals shaped Anishinaabe expectations.

These men also may have been motivated to enlist as aspiring citizens. Karamanski discusses how Andrew Blackbird connected citizenship with masculinity and for some of the men of Company K, these standards, which would have been influenced by Christian ideals regarding gender roles, would also have been significant. In his study of Confederate and Union soldiers' letters, McPherson finds that many volunteers viewed enlistment as their duty, connected to their manhood and honor. He considers the competing "versions of manhood"—the hard-living "man's man" versus the "sober, responsible, dutiful son or husband"—and how both could find a place in the army. Philo Gallup of the Second Michigan believed that a man who could not handle the hardships of war "had better pack up his knapsack and gow [*sic*] home to his mother."²⁸ Concepts of duty and masculinity, tied with direct peer pressure could be powerful motivating factors. Associated through band, familial, and religious connections, these particular men would have had many different reasons to enlist in the Civil War tied to both Anishinaabe and Euro-American masculinity.

The Anishinaabeg in the 1860s were anxious about unresolved allotments and land fraud.²⁹ Persistent anxiety about their ability to remain in their homelands was the most urgent reason for enlisting. Both the Ojibweg and the Odawaag pressured government officials for another treaty, since the 1855 Treaty of Detroit had left many Anishinaabeg without allotments as people reached the age of twenty-one (the age requirement of allottees in the 1855 treaty). Also,

²⁷ Karamanski argues that the "two principle standards by which young men had been measured, their prowess as hunters and their bravery as warriors, no longer seemed relevant" in the later nineteenth century. Yet, pension files from after the war suggests these standards remained pertinent Karamanski, *Blackbird's Song*, 24, 155.

²⁸ McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 26

²⁹ See Hauptman, *Between Two Fires*, 133; Cleland, *Rites of Conquest*, 237-240.

bureaucratic inadequacy meant most Anishinaabeg did not receive their allotment certificates until the 1870s, and therefore were still worried about land during the war. Many Anishinaabeg claimed particular rights that they associated with citizenship and tried to influence Michigan politics through voting and political participation. Simultaneously, the Anishinaabeg expected the federal government to meet with them again in treaty negotiations. In this way, the Anishinaabe soldiers differed from African American soldiers; Anishinaabe demands for citizenship and rights based on military service did not preclude maintaining Indian status. Hopes to influence future treaty negotiations through claims to loyalty, patriotism, alliance, and citizenship were important. It is useful to deconstruct this overarching motivation and see its multiple parts in order to understand individuals' reasons for fighting in the Civil War.

Stationed at Camp Douglass for five months before being sent into active combat, Payson Wolf had plenty of time to worry about his family back home and to question his decision to leave them. He explained:

My dear wife if I had wished otherwise I would not have left you, for the good of you and our children. I have undertaken such a work as this now, and not that I should be promoted to good reputation before men....And now although I would have been very glad to stay with you at home, to see me every day, and know that my mother love me very much for I am her only son...and that she has to feel very bad about me if I did leave for soldiering where I may have to endure hardships and although I knew that I should have to put a piece of wood under my head for a pillow....All this did not stop me, I determined to go for the good, of you dear wife, if you think over this you will see. And you will know, that none person did me to enlist it was my own will that brought me here, and I often, very often spend my time in thinking about you... above all pray to God for blessing his will is that we should meet again that will be done.

Wolf enlisted for the good of his family. It is not clear if he refers to monetary benefits in this letter or if he was thinking of what might happen to his children of mixed parentage should the South have more influence over the region. Other parts of his message, however, were clear: "*it*

*was my own will that brought me here.”*³⁰

It is important to consider individual motivations for enlisting. By October 1863, Indian Agent D.C. Leach reported that efforts to recruit Indian men had not met expectations. He estimated that around 150 men had enlisted from the Mackinac Agency.³¹ By the end of the war, the Mackinac Indian Agent believed that 196 Anishinaabe men had served in the Union army; a small number considering the number of Anishinaabe men in the state.³² Although treaty relationships, politics, and claims to the rights of citizens were dominant factors in enlistment, secondary factors related to ideology and religious, political, and social networks were significant. Anishinaabe political and religious leadership remained important in the 1860s.

The roles available to men in their communities were changing as some townships and counties allowed Indian men to run for office. As the state’s infrastructure grew, spreading to northern Michigan and represented by the changing townships, counties, and villages in the Little Traverse and Grand Traverse Bay region, the Anishinaabeg navigated complex and changing political and economic opportunities. Anishinaabe leadership was not based on coercive policies or control. While the role of an ogimaa changed as outside politics influenced band structures, the presence of Anishinaabe religious and political leaders during the enlistment process for Company K suggests that these leaders still had some influence in their communities, as well as a role outside of the collection of annuity payments. Political leaders like Paybawme, whose speech was followed by twenty-one new recruits for Company K, and religious leaders like Peter Greensky, influenced Anishinaabe men to enlist in the Civil War. Furthermore, some

³⁰ Payson Wolf to Mary Wolf, Camp Douglass, Ill., January 16, 1864, in the private collection of Avis Wolfe, Northport, MI. See, Northport Historical Society, “Wolfe” The First Family of Northport [DVD].

³¹ D.C. Leach to William P. Dole, October 17, 1863, “1863 Annual Report of the Mackinac Indian Agent,” transcription in Larry M. Wyckoff, ed. *Annual Reports from the Mackinac Indian Agency, 1833-1888*, 466.

³² Richard M. Smith to D.N. Cooley, October 30, 1865, “1865 Annual Report,” *Ibid.*, 481. In 1865, there were 3,799 Indian men of various ages. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1865* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865), 449-450

men may have seen service in the military as ways to augment their status, both as an Anishinaabe man and as a citizen of the state of Michigan.³³

To highlight the importance of Christianity, social relationships, and politics as motivating factors in enlistment is not to diminish the role of economic necessity in Anishinaabe enlistment. Many of these men came from places with inconsistent and unreliable opportunities. Young men unsure of their land prospects, such as the men from Pentwater who were not yet twenty-one at the 1855 treaty, would have been looking for economic opportunities. In addition, men like Charles Allen sent money home to support their families. Yet, Anishinaabe men, who were promised land or owned property, also enlisted. Many treaty promises of patents for allotments were delayed and Anishinaabe men may have had financial incentives for enlisting, at the same time they felt it necessary to make further claims to citizenship and their land.

While it might be accurate to argue that Anishinaabe men were desperate due to treaties, settler encroachments, and dwindling access to certain resources, such determinism fails to capture their full motivations. The various reasons these men enlisted can be traced to religious networks, the circulation of ideas related to duty and antislavery, and the desire to join the army with friends. Indeed, some of their motivations would have been similar to Euro-American soldiers. Many of the patterns seen in white enlistment—young men, multiple members of the

³³ While many of the men who joined Company K were part of their local leadership or were the sons of ogimaag, there were just as many who fell into this category who did not enlist in the war. For example, Mitchell and Francis Petoskey, sons of the ogimaa and influential fur trader Ignatius Petoskey, attended Twinsburg Institute, like Charles Allen and Joseph Wakazoo; yet these brothers did not enlist. Andrew Blackbird was also another Twinsburg student who did not join the Union army. He wrote Bissell: "I would have gone to the front as a soldier at the outbreak of the rebellion, but the Government could not spare me as U.S. Interpreter...."Perhaps like Blackbird, Mitchell and Francis Petoskey had positions they did not wish to give up. These men were also older than the average recruit. Blackbird was around forty-three years old in 1863, Mitchell, thirty-six, and Francis probably would not have been allowed to enlist given he was over forty-five years old. While Mwakewenah enlisted at the age of forty, he was unusual and the average age of Company K men was similar to that of the Union army in general, twenty-five. (Andrew Blackbird to Samuel Bissell, May 1, 1865, Container 1, Folder 2, SBP; 1880 U.S. Census for Petoskey, June 15, 1880, p 37 and 76; 1880 U.S. Census for Little Traverse township, June 8, 1880, 7. Available at Heritage Quest Online; <http://www.civilwar.org/education/history/faq/> and <http://www.civilwar.org/education/history/warfare-and-logistics/warfare/who-fought.html> accessed September 12, 2014.

same family, and Protestant—can also be seen with Company K members. While living in largely Anishinaabe places, these men were not isolated—they were aware of ideas circulating in the larger communities and in print. In other words, they shared reasons for enlisting with white soldiers that would fit with McPherson’s concepts of duty, cause, and comrades.³⁴ Yet, Company K men had particularly Anishinaabe and individual motivations for joining the Union army as well. Their history—their encounters with missionaries; their warrior past, including the not-so-distant War of 1812; their treaty relationship with the United States; and their conceptions of alliance and reciprocal relationships—affected decisions to enlist.

³⁴ McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 5-6.

Chapter Four

“We know him to be a Brave Soldier”: Company K in the Civil War¹

Recruited by Lieutenant Garret Graveraet, Louis Miskoguon enlisted in the Union army at Little Traverse on September 10, 1863. The six-foot tall, hazel-eyed Miskoguon guarded Confederate prisoners at Camp Douglass, where his regiment spent seven months. Reassigned in March of 1864, he boarded a train with other soldiers in the First Michigan Sharpshooters. They traveled through Ohio and Pennsylvania, and then boarded a ship in Baltimore bound for Annapolis. Once there, they spent much of their time completing chores, drills, and target practice. This Michigan regiment became part of Major General Ambrose E. Burnside’s Ninth Corps, which fought alongside the Army of the Potomac in May 1864. Miskoguon frequently participated in active combat, including the Battle of the Wilderness and the Battle of Spotsylvania.

After the Battle at Petersburg, Confederates captured Miskoguon along with fourteen other men in Company K on June 17, 1864.² He was sent to Andersonville, where he suffered from scurvy. Paroled in the spring of 1865, Miskoguon boarded the *Sultana* at Vicksburg. On its way up the Mississippi River, the steamboat exploded near Memphis, killing around 1,700 passengers on April 27, 1865.³ Miskoguon survived. Payson Wolf recalled seeing his old

¹ Joseph Dusk-she-de-won and Charles Wab-sis, General Affidavit, Elbridge, MI, October 18, 1886, Civil War Pension File of Amos Ashkebugnekay (Green), First Michigan Sharpshooters, RG 15, National Archives, Washington D.C.

² For discrepancy in Louis Miskoguon’s service record, see Chris Czopek, *Who was Who in Company K* (Lansing: Chris Czopek, 2010), 116.

³ Stephen Ambrose, “Remembering *Sultana*,” Expedition Journal, May 1, 2001, National Geographic News, accessed April 3, 2014, http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2001/05/0501_river5.html.

acquaintance in Columbus, Ohio on his way to Jackson, Michigan to be officially discharged. Wolf met him in Jackson and the two traveled to Northport where Reverend George N. Smith remarked: “Louis Muskaquan came yesterday [...] he was released from Andersonville prison the 26 of March-was on the Sultana when she blew up-he seems to have lived thro [sic] almost everything, it is wonderful that he is alive--”⁴

While the fact Miskoguan survived is remarkable, his Civil War experiences were not unique. As one of the 45,000 Union soldiers imprisoned in the overcrowded Camp Sumter military prison throughout the war, Miskoguan suffered from a common disease caused by poor nutrition and prison conditions.⁵ Like many soldiers, his life during wartime varied and included monotonous chores, drilling, and traveling, in addition to active combat. His experiences were not uncommon for American Indians either, as approximately twenty thousand served in Confederate and Union forces during the war.⁶ As a member of Company K, however, Miskoguan was part of an almost entirely Anishinaabe sharpshooting unit. In contrast, Anishinaabe men from Wisconsin and Minnesota fought in units that also included many white soldiers. White officers, politicians, and writers viewed the Anishinaabe soldiers within a racial hierarchy. While they did not face the same discrimination as African American soldiers, they were perceived as culturally and racially different from their white counterparts. White observers

⁴ Another Company K soldier, Amos Ashkebugnekay (Green) also survived both Andersonville and the *Sultana* explosion. George Nelson Smith Journal, July 27, 1865, George Nelson Smith Journals and Letters, 1840-1879, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Raymond J. Herek, *These Men Have Seen Hard Service: The First Michigan Sharpshooters in the Civil War* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998), 65, 67, 94-95, 369; Czopek, *Who was Who*, 48, 116; Compiled Military Service Record of Louis Miskogwan, Civil War, Records of the Adjutant General's Office RG94, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; John B. Shomin affidavit, July 28, 1894 and Payson Wolf General Affidavit, January 22, 1894 in Civil War Pension File of Lewis Miskoguan (widow, Susan Miscogeom).

⁵ National Park Service, Andersonville, <http://www.nps.gov/ande/index.htm> accessed April 15, 2014.

⁶ Laurence M. Hauptman, *Between two Fires: American Indians in the Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1995), x; Robert K. Sutton and John A. Latschar, eds. *American Indians and the Civil War* ([Fort Washington, PA] : Eastern National, 2013), 6.

paid special attention to Miskogoon and Company K—“the Indian Company”—as they traveled from their homes in Michigan through northern cities to southern battlefields.⁷

It is striking that Miskogoon and his fellow Anishinaabe soldiers experienced increased mobility during the Civil War. An Odawa man from near Kalamazoo, Miskogoon had relocated with the ogimaa Joseph Wakazoo and Reverend George N. Smith from southwest Michigan to the Leelanau Peninsula in the 1840s. Previous to this move, many of the Odawaag would have traveled south in the winter to hunt and north during the summer; after 1849 men like Miskogoon were more likely to remain north, near Grand Traverse Bay. Treaty land cessions sharply curtailed Anishinaabe movements even as the Anishinaabeg tried to preserve parts of their seasonal rounds.⁸ Anishinaabe peoples tried to purchase land as treaties created reservations meant to restrict Native peoples to smaller land bases.⁹ During a period of theoretical containment, Anishinaabe men who would have spent their lives in Michigan and Canada traveled to places like Chicago, Baltimore, Annapolis, and Petersburg. While this increase in mobility applied to non-Indian soldiers as well—many white men would not have traveled farther than twenty-five miles from their rural homes during peacetime—the reservation system and policies of containment were unique to American Indians.¹⁰

The increased mobility of Company K Anishinaabeg sharply contrasted with federal and state efforts of containment, especially in the West. Indeed, it is difficult to discuss the Civil War without considering the “Indian Wars” that continued during and after the four-year conflict.

Company K men guarded Confederate prisoners at Camp Douglass, a military post that had

⁷ “The Michigan Sharpshooters,” *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, September 5, 1864, 4.

⁸ See James M. McClurken, “Ottawa Adaptive Strategies to Indian Removal,” *The Michigan Historical Review* 12 (Spring 1986): 29-55 and Susan E. Gray, Possibilities: White-Indian Relations in Western Michigan in the Era of Removal, *Michigan Historical Review* 20 (Fall, 1994), 71-91.

⁹ Philip Deloria stresses: “Reservations, we know, functioned as administrative spaces, meant to contain Indian people, fixing them in place through multiple forms of supervision.” Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 153.

¹⁰ “The Cause,” *The Civil War*, Ken Burns, PBS Video, 1990, DVD.

recently housed paroled Union soldiers on their way to western forts as part of the Indian Wars.¹¹ Michigan Anishinaabeg worried that they would be associated with “savages” farther west, especially after Dakota attacks on white settlers during the U.S.-Dakota War in 1862. The federal government imprisoned Dakota peoples in the winter of 1862 before the military forcibly removed them to North and South Dakota beginning in 1863. Similarly, in the spring of 1864, federal military troops forced the Diné (Navajo) to march hundreds of miles from Arizona Territory to Fort Sumner in New Mexico to an internment camp meant to become a permanent reservation. Between 1864 and 1866 thousands of Diné marched to Sumner, which they called Hweeldi (“the place of suffering”).¹²

In contrast, federal and state authorities in Michigan did not forcibly move the Anishinaabeg to their reservations. Treaties in the 1850s created the Michigan reservations—based on individual allotments—where many Company K men already lived.¹³ While Company

¹¹ Herek, *These Men*, 65. See also, Hauptman, *Between Two Fires*, 134.

¹² For a discussion of the U.S.-Dakota War and the imprisonment and removal of the Dakota, see Minnesota Historical Society, “Forced Marches & Imprisonment,” *The US-Dakota War*, <http://usdakotawar.org/history/aftermath/forced-marches-imprisonment> accessed on January 14, 2016; Janet Youngholm, “Violence and the Dakota War of 1862,” in *American Indians and the Civil War*, 42-47. For the narrative of the Navajo during the war, see Peter Iverson, “The Navajo Nation and the Treaty of 1868,” *Ibid.*, 165-177.

¹³ As mentioned in chapter 3, the reservations created by the Treaty of 1836 were limited to a five-year period. Two treaties in 1855 were meant to resolve this issue. The Odawaag reservation on Little Traverse Bay and the Odawaag and Ojibweg reservation near Grand Traverse Bay, for instance, were created in 1836 and some of that land was then allotted in 1855. Others had never moved to reservations—some of the Grand River bands purchased land by the Grand River (instead of moving north to the Manistee Reservation) and did not move to a reservation until after the 1855 treaty when, due to settler pressure and the treaty, they moved to reservations in Mason, Oceana, and Muskegon counties. The 1855 reservations were supposed to be divided into individual allotments. Due to logistical and personal delays, the government did not issue many of the land patents until the 1870s. Like after the 1836 treaty, many Anishinaabeg were left with ambiguous claims to land after the 1855 treaties, which led to the 1864 treaty with the Chippewa of Saginaw, Swan Creek, and Black River. The Anishinaabeg, in conversations with the Mackinac Agency Indian Agent, believed there would be additional treaties to address the problems with allotments after the 1855 treaties, but there were no treaties with Michigan Anishinaabeg after the 1864 treaty. See Charles E. Cleland, *Faith in Paper: The Ethnohistory and Litigation of Upper Great Lakes Indian Treaties* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2011), 81-87, 299-300; Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 164-165; Richard White, *The Burt Lake Band: An Ethnohistorical Report on the Trust Lands of Indian Village*, unpublished report, n.d.; and James McClurken, *Our People, Our Journey: The Little River Band of Ottawa Indians* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2009), 36-43; Treaty with the Ottawa, 1836 (Treaty of Washington), Treaty with the Ottawa and Chippewa, 1855, Treaty with the Chippewa of Saginaw, Swan Creek, and Black River, 1864 in Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs:*

K Anishinaabeg were not subjected to the same violent surveillance as, for example, the Diné and Dakota, they were pushed to reservations and allotments that were only small parts of their larger territories. Encroaching white settlers (who could be violent in their destruction of Anishinaabe land and resources) caused many Anishinaabeg to leave their homes in southwest Michigan. Anishinaabe peoples stayed within the boundaries or near reservations because of their Indian identity, their desire to maintain Indian status and receive annuities, and because of land fraud and lack of economic opportunities. Certain members of Company K owned land near other Anishinaabeg while others were waiting for their allotment certificates for land the federal government had reserved for that purpose in 1855. Arming Indian men—especially those considered “civilized”—and facilitating their travels beyond reservation and allotment limits occurred at the same time the state government limited other Anishinaabe movements and the federal government disarmed other Native peoples.

The Civil War experiences of Company K men highlight changes in Anishinaabe identity, illuminating nineteenth-century constructs of masculinity and Indianness. The antebellum lives of these Anishinaabe men, especially their religious practices and association with Christianity, serve as an analytical and critical framework that questions the stories white observers told about Company K, highlighting a tension between their identity as Anishinaabe soldiers and others’ expectations of them. These men were soldiers with both a warrior and Christian history. In the minds of Euro-American contemporaries, the image of Indian warriors influenced their expectations more than the image of “civilized” Indians. In contrast, Anishinaabe men were multi-faceted individuals from different social, educational, and religious backgrounds. They were also Anishinaabeg—Odawaag, Ojibweg, and Boodewaadamiig. While

Laws and Treaties 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904) available at <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/vol2/toc.htm>.

their observers frequently reduced the Anishinaabe soldiers' cultural practices to stereotypes, Company K men continued Anishinaabe practices and drew from knowledge gained from their home communities, as well as their long history of Euro-American encounter evident in their Christian practices, varied knowledge of treaties, and articulations of dual citizenship.¹⁴

“He was a good soldier”

In contrast to the mid to late nineteenth century, Anishinaabe men in the early nineteenth century were highly mobile, often traveling long distances as part of their seasonal subsistence practices, in addition to warfare.¹⁵ While no culture is static and thus gender norms and ideals constantly shift, the changes in Anishinaabe masculinity during the nineteenth century exemplify the ways Anishinaabe peoples negotiated their identities and reputations among multiple communities of people. Comparing Company K men with their War of 1812 counterparts emphasizes the importance of their warrior past and older practices, as well as the Union army's drilling and discipline.

Multiple ideals shaped Anishinaabe men during the second half of the nineteenth century, thus making an archetype of masculinity multifaceted and somewhat ambiguous. Odawa historian Andrew J. Blackbird—Payson Wolf's and Joseph Wakazoo's uncle—illustrates this ambiguity about gendered roles and expectations in his *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan*, which highlights the many forces affecting an Anishinaabe man's view of himself and his reputation in his community. Blackbird observed that many late nineteenth-century Odawaag were “trying to become civilized....The greater part of them are being

¹⁴ Several Company K soldiers were not Anishinaabeg, but Czopek believes they were from tribes who also spoke an Algonquian language. Czopek, *Who was Who in Company K*, 57.

¹⁵ Anishinaabe war parties from around the Straits of Mackinac traveled to lower Michigan, parts of Canada, and West of the Great Lakes (Prairie du Chien) during the War of 1812. “Mookmanish,” *Turning Point: The War of 1812 from the Native American Perspective*, exhibit, Harbor Springs Area Historical Society, June 2013-May 2014, Harbor Springs, MI.

Christianized and are members of various Christian churches of the country, erecting houses of worship with their own hands in order to worship....” He consistently supported education and Christianity, especially when discussing treaties, suggesting he believed the “civilized” Indian man could do much for his family and community through educated negotiation with federal and state government.¹⁶ Blackbird supported many pieces of the U.S. government’s “civilization” program, yet his writings also highlight older concepts of Anishinaabe masculinity that still influenced expectations of Anishinaabe men before, during, and after the Civil War.¹⁷

Despite his support of the Christian “civilized” model of masculinity, Blackbird praised his father and uncles throughout *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan* for traits that he himself was not able or willing to extensively develop. Blackbird praised his male family members for skills from the War of 1812 and an earlier era where Odawa warriors had more freedom of movement. For instance, Blackbird described his father as a “brave man” who “led his warriors several times on the warpath, and he was noted as one who was most daring and adventurous in his younger days.” Blackbird emphasized his father’s role as a warrior noted for his bravery—a trait he also praised in relation to hunting. Acknowledging the multiple changing roles of an Anishinaabe man, Blackbird also discussed his father’s role as an orator. His father transitioned from a warrior or war leader to an ogimaa (civil leader), orator, and treaty signer, following one of the trajectories an Anishinaabe man might take.¹⁸ An ideal Anishinaabe man would have been a successful hunter and warrior as a young man, and transitioned into a

¹⁶ Blackbird consistently supported education. For example, see, Andrew J. Blackbird, *The Indian Problem, from the Indian's standpoint* (Ypsilanti, Mich.: Scharf Tag, Label & Box Co.; obtained by application to the Secretary of the National Indian Association, Philadelphia, 1900).

¹⁷ In Scott R. Lyons’ framework, Blackbird frequently made his *x-mark*, an “assent to the new” that did not render him a non-Indian or an inauthentic Indian. Scott Richard Lyons, *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 33.

¹⁸ Andrew J. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan*, (Ypsilanti, The Ypsilantian Job Printing House, 1887), 27-31.

respected community leader adept at consensus-building and fulfilling reciprocal relationships.¹⁹ While Anishinaabe communities' valued male hunting skills, bravery, and mobility, men also earned their communities' respect through public speaking and ability to negotiate with allies. Multifaceted identities and multiple roles throughout a lifetime had a long history among Anishinaabe peoples.

Men's roles, as well as the concepts of identity and masculinity tied to these roles, were changing when Company K men enlisted; but the role of warrior, and its associated traits—as evident by Blackbird—were not forgotten. The tension between “civilized” educated men on the path to American citizenship and the “uncivilized” lifestyles of the hunter and warrior comes into focus when discussing Anishinaabe soldiers from multiple backgrounds, inviting a comparison to earlier Anishinaabe warriors. Did the men of Company K transform from warriors to soldiers? Company K veteran Moses Thomas referred to his grandfather, who fought in the War of 1812, as both “a chief warrior” and an “old war” soldier.²⁰ By 1916, Thomas did not distinguish between warriors and soldiers when writing in English. In addition, he did not differentiate between his grandfather's service as an American *ally* in the War of 1812 and his own service as an *enlisted* Union soldier. Moses' conflation of terms reflected overlapping characteristics.²¹ Moses' identification with his grandfather encourages the comparison of Anishinaabe warriors to Anishinaabe soldiers, while simultaneously suggesting that these terms were not contradictory.

¹⁹ Cary Miller, *Ogimaag: Anishinaabeg Leadership, 1760-1845* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 231. Miller also discusses how manidoog and heredity influenced who became ogimaag.

²⁰ Moses Thomas to the Commissioner of Pensions, May 17, 1916. Company K researcher Quita Shier provided the letter, which appears to be from Thomas' pension file. His file is inaccessible without the family's written permission.

²¹ Word choice, however, is meaningful. Ojibwe warrior societies today are called *Okijida* (ogichidaa, warrior/veteran) and not a word closer to zhimaaganish (soldier) probably in an effort to connect with, and reclaim, their longer history of Anishinaabe warfare and to honor the unique place of warriors in Anishinaabe society. *The Ojibwe People's Dictionary*, <http://ojibwe.lib.umn.edu/> accessed September 18, 2014,

The Anishinaabeg saw themselves as both warriors and soldiers by the 1860s. While most Company K men used the term soldier when talking about themselves and their comrades, they occasionally used the term warrior, suggesting the two terms were interchangeable and had similar meanings when used by Anishinaabeg to describe other Anishinaabeg during the Civil War. Writing home, Sergeant Charles Allen referred to his comrades as soldiers—“shemahgahneshug” [zhimaaganishag]. In another letter, he referred to his “warrior money” or pay “nemahnasenah shoneya” [n’minisinoo-zhoonyaa].²² To Allen, he and other Company K members were “ahneshenahbaig shamahgahneshewejig” [Anishinaabeg shimaaganishiwijig] who earned minisinoo-zhoonyaa—Anishinaabe soldiers who earned warrior’s pay. In postbellum testimonies for pensions, as well as letters written between veterans, Anishinaabe men used soldier more frequently than warrior when describing themselves and their comrades. White writers also used the terms warrior and soldier interchangeably when describing white combatants during the war, thus it is unsurprising that Anishinaabe men did not make a hard and fast distinction.

While both Anishinaabe men and white writers used the terms soldier and warrior interchangeably, there was still a particular connotation when a white writer, soldier, or politician used the term warrior, rather than soldier, to describe an Anishinaabe combatant. Newspaper accounts suggest that white contemporaries carefully watched Company K men because of the specter of Indian warriors from the War of 1812, when British and Americans alike referred to Native allies or enemies as “warriors” or “Indians”—not soldiers.²³ Moreover, western

²² Charles Allen, October 27, 1863 and February 28, 1864 in Civil War Pension File of Charles Allen. Translations provided by Professor Margaret Noodin, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and translated by Mike Zimmerman Jr., Pokagon Potawatomi Tribal Liaison at the University of Wisconsin and former Tribal Historical Preservation Officer.

²³ Nineteenth-century accounts of Anishinaabe soldiers were reminiscent of earlier portrayals of Indian warriors “skulking” in the forest. For depictions of American Indian fighting, see Peter R. Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2008).

“savages” influenced Euro-American views of armed Indian men. During the U.S.-Dakota War in 1862, reports of armed Dakota men in Minnesota differentiated Indian combatants from their white counterparts. Newspaper articles described federal soldiers as “well-disciplined,” in contrast to Indian warriors.²⁴ Descriptions of the conflict in Minnesota depicted Euro-American and Indian warfare as different, with Indian warfare being less regimented and honorable: “With a fair and square fight, we would have no fears; but with this lurking, bushwhacking mode of warfare and a sudden dash of legions of savages upon barracks...the position of this small force might be exceedingly perilous.”²⁵ Images of “savage” warriors attacking white civilians in Minnesota affected preconceptions of Indian Union soldiers.

Wartime newspaper articles—like the articles published during recruitment—often depicted Indian men as particularly suited for warfare and harsh conditions due to their identities and their warrior ancestors. Although white observers interchangeably referred to Anishinaabe sharpshooters as soldiers and warriors, they frequently questioned Anishinaabe men’s ability to be soldiers, especially at the beginning of the war. This suggests that, at least when applied to armed Indian men, warrior and soldier had very different connotations. Furthermore, Company K men were “Indian soldiers” who were part of the “Indian Company.”²⁶ Even when white

²⁴ Dictionary definitions differentiate the meanings in terms of payment—warriors are “engaged in or experienced in battle” whereas a soldier “serves in army” as an “enlisted person” who is paid for their services. See *The American Heritage Dictionary*, <http://ahdictionary.com/> accessed June 6, 2014 also <http://www.merriam-webster.com/> which explains how “soldier” originated from *soudeour* or mercenary (associated with payment).

²⁵ A.J. Van Vorhes in “LATEST FROM THE INDIAN WAR, BATTLES AT THE FORT,” *The Chicago Tribune*, August 27, 1862, 2.

²⁶ Contemporaries also used the word warrior to refer to *any* Civil War soldier. For instance, “No doubt the same interest is felt in the cause but war and warriors have become familiar to us and perhaps our feelings are subdued by the thought that many cannot return to us for they ‘sleep their last sleep’ on southern soil,” William H. Randall, “Civil War Reminiscences, 1867,” February 10, 1864, Civil War Collections, Bentley Historical Library. See also “The News,” *Chicago Tribune*, February 21, 1864, 1 and “Washington Correspondence: A Draft for 300, 000 Men,” *Ibid.*, May 20, 1863, 2.

observers acknowledged armed Indian men as soldiers, they differentiated them from white soldiers in a racial hierarchy based on concepts of savagery and civilization.²⁷

Preparing for Battle: The Long Wait

Company K, as an entire company of American Indian soldiers, stood out among the other sharpshooters from enlistment through the post-war regimental reunions. As seen in newspapers during recruitment, Euro-American contemporaries observed Company K and frequently scrutinized and judged their actions through a different lens than they applied to Euro-American soldiers. Often, their commentary mixed nineteenth-century stereotypes and curiosity regarding the performance of these Anishinaabe men. A few commentators hinted that Indian men were warriors, not soldiers, and that they needed to be taught how to be a soldier: “They are learning the duties of soldiers, and by their conduct have removed much of the prejudice against them, proving that native Americans make good soldiers.”²⁸ Writers for the *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, after initial misgivings about arming Anishinaabe men and sending them into battle, decided they were particularly suited for sharpshooting duty. As twenty-four newly enlisted sharpshooters joined other recruits at Dearborn, the newspaper commented, “nearly all tall and good-looking fellows. They are the stuff, no doubt, of which good sharpshooters can be easily made. They were put into a new company by themselves.”²⁹ The press continually singled out “Indian Sharpshooters” even if just to apprise their readers of their movements.³⁰ Stories

²⁷ For nineteenth-century ideas of savagery and civilization, see Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 91-96.

²⁸ “Speech of a Loyal Indian to the Indians of the 1st Michigan Sharpshooters,” *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, July 14, 1863, 1.

²⁹ For articles against enlistment of Indians, see “Latest by Telegraph,” *Detroit Free Press*, May 24, 1861, 1; “The Conscription of Indians,” *Ibid.*, July 1, 1863; “The Sharpshooters,” *Ibid.*, May 28, 1863, 3; and Herek, *These Men*, 25.

³⁰ “Indian Sharpshooters,” *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, May 23, 1863, 1 and “Grand Presentation at Dearborn,” *Ibid.*, May 21, 1863, 3.

about Company K appeared next to articles that reflected the federal government's ongoing political negotiation with, and payments to, the Anishinaabeg in Michigan. Contemporary readers may have failed to make the connection, but newspaper pages inadvertently highlighted the possible political motives Indian men had for enlisting.

Early recruits for Company K spent several months at the U.S. Arsenal at Dearborn that housed thousands of Enfield and Springfield rifles. Here the men drilled, guarded the arsenal, and paraded in front of Governor Austin Blair. By the end of July 1863, Michigan had assembled a full company of Indian men who began training. The men drilled with Springfield rifled muskets—the weapon of Union infantry. Colonel DeLand repeatedly requested the faster-loading Sharps rifles.³¹ Throughout the war, however, the First Michigan Sharpshooters used .58 caliber muzzle-loading Springfield “rifles” (Models 1855, 1861, and 1863), some with bayonets for close-proximity fighting.³² According to historian Raymond Herek, only one soldier complained about being armed with the same firearm as an infantry unit. Nevertheless, DeLand did not give up in his quest for specialized weapons and was still attempting to get breech-loading Sharps rifles after the Battle of the Crater at the end of July 1864.³³ Edward J. Buckbee, the regimental adjutant, claimed the men “became very much attached to the Springfield rifle” for use in the field.³⁴ Accounts of Company K during the war suggest that they sometimes acted in the capacity of sharpshooters despite their standard rifles.

³¹ Herek, *These Men*, 31, 42, 45-46, 58. Charles DeLand reported a feeling of dissatisfaction among the men when he told them only standard Springfields would be issued. Charles DeLand to Brig Gen L. Thomas, September 5, 1864, Letterbook for Company K, National Archives.

³² Michigan Civil War Centennial Observance Commission, *Small Arms Used by Michigan Troops in the Civil War* (Lansing, Mich., 1966), 75, 92, 102-104. Hauptman suggests that the First Michigan Sharpshooters were armed with Sharps NM 1859 breechloaders, but his sources are about the U.S. Sharpshooters, which were outfitted with different weapons than the First Michigan Sharpshooters (a state regiment). I defer to Raymond Herek's and Chris Czopek's assertions that Company K used standard Springfield rifles. Hauptman, *Between Two Fires*, 127, 224-225, N3; Czopek, *Who was Who*, 11; and Herek, *These Men*, 42.

³³ Herek, *These Men*, 42, 239.

³⁴ Julian Edward Buckbee, *The Story I Tell my Children*, Buckbee Family Papers, 1841-1999, Bentley Historical Library, 7.

Company K arrived at Camp Douglass August 17, 1863. Three and a half miles south of Chicago, Camp Douglass served as a training camp for Union soldiers and then a prison for Confederates.³⁵ Company K would spend five months at this camp, guarding Confederate prisoners, drilling, performing routine maintenance, and making improvements to the facilities. According to a sharpshooter who reported to the *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, the company of Indians “excited” much “curiosity....The Chicagonians seem to be all eager to see them, The Indians seem to be ‘all the go’ with them, and make good soldiers; they have done well....”³⁶ When the Anishinaabeg participated in a parade, the *Chicago Tribune* remarked on their presence: “Noticeable in the parade was, also, part of a company of ‘big Indians’ connected with the 1st Michigan Sharpshooters, now on duty at Camp Douglass....and they seemed as much at home in the discipline and uniform of Uncle Sam as the most thorough paced white soldiers in the army.”³⁷ Newspaper articles continued to address doubts about Indian men becoming disciplined soldiers even as Company K drilled at Camp Douglass.

In the fall of 1863, opinions of Indian soldiers differed from pre-enlistment prejudice, but the need to comment on Indian presence in the regiment persisted, demonstrating how white reporters, as well as officers, carefully watched these particular soldiers. Some writers felt it necessary to assure their readers that Indian men did, in fact, make good soldiers. The *Chicago Tribune* reported that this “stalwart, well-built company of men” were becoming soldiers. “The company of Indians are the most singular and attractive features about this regiment. They were going through their regular drill under the instruction of their commander, Capt. Anderson, and considering that but barely six weeks have elapsed since they enlisted, they drill remarkably

³⁵ Ibid., 65.

³⁶ “Camp Douglass,” *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, August 22, 1863, 3.

³⁷ “Parade of the Zouave Battalion,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 21, 1863, 4.

well.”³⁸ Skeptical about arming American Indian men, Euro-Americans in the Great Lakes states waited to see how these particular soldiers would perform during their military service. The tone of early reports about Company K suggests that the writers and their expected audience doubted Anishinaabe men’s ability to be disciplined enough to be effective soldiers.

If discipline and military drills differentiated warriors from soldiers, the amount of training Company K completed indicated that they had become soldiers. The First Michigan Sharpshooters went through drills even more than other regiments due to their extended stay at Dearborn and Camp Douglass.³⁹ A First Michigan Sharpshooter described the scene at Camp Douglass: “As they form into line now, on dress parade, in the evening, it does not need a skillful eye to tell where the line is; but every man is in his place, and the line is a straight one, and the ‘Order arms,’ ‘shoulder arms,’ ‘present arms,’ etc., are all executed ‘decently and in order’—the thumps of the muskets along on the ground are all together as one thump, and the presentations &c., are all correct and in unison.”⁴⁰ Buckbee noted: “By the time that we had some seven months of drill, which was the fact before we were sent to the front, the Indians had learned all the bugle calls....”⁴¹ Company K grew accustomed to the military orders and formations of the Union army.

While many accounts suggested that Company K men were adjusting to army life, Charles Bibbins of Company E remembered otherwise. He claimed few of the Anishinaabe men knew English and thus it was “very hard to drill them like the other soldiers, and they often rebelled in many little things they were required to do, and had to be handled with soft gloves, so to speak, in order to keep them in line with the other soldiers. The idol of their company was Big

³⁸ “Camp Douglass Matters,” *Chicago Tribune*, August 19, 1863, 4.

³⁹ According to Herek, “Major Piper drilled the men mercilessly.” The men were inspected at the drills that ran twice a day from 10:00 to 11:00 AM and 1:30 to 2:30 PM. Herek, *These Men*, 74.

⁴⁰ *Hillsdale Standard*, November 10, 1863, 1, quoted in Herek, *These Men*, 74.

⁴¹ Buckbee, *The Story I Tell my Children*.

Tom, an Indian Sergeant of immense proportions, and it was thru this Sergeant that the officers of the company were able to handle them.”⁴² “Big Tom”—Thomas Kechittigo—had enlisted as a Sergeant. He corresponded, in English, with Adjutant Buckbee after the war; he probably served as an interpreter and intermediary between other officers and Company K men during the war. As a unit of Anishinaabe men, Company K may have taken longer to adjust to military life, with its strict daily schedule, ceaseless drilling, and military vocabulary. These men came from Anishinaabe spaces and had varying levels of preparation for their lives as Union soldiers in daily contact with white officers, soldiers, or prisoners.

Despite the unfamiliarity with military life and their confinement to Camp Douglass, Company K men did not desert more frequently than Euro-American soldiers. Three of the forty-nine First Michigan Sharpshooters who deserted Camp Douglass were Anishinaabeg. The high numbers of deserters may have been due to the monotony of drilling and the relative inaction of guarding prisoners.⁴³ Two white soldiers were marched out of camp with boards bound to their backs with *deserter* written across the boards and sentenced to two years’ labor on fortifications without pay. In contrast, Company K member Luke [Luther] Dutton arrived at Camp Douglass after his earlier desertion at Dearborn and his arrest; the army deducted \$17.00 from his pay. Similarly, Louis Bennett deserted and his pay was docked after he was caught.⁴⁴ Around fifteen Company K men deserted during the war, the majority leaving Dearborn or Camp Douglass and later returning on their own or due to an arrest.⁴⁵

In addition to disciplining desertions, Colonel DeLand did not tolerate the regular consumption of alcohol. For First Michigan Sharpshooters, punishments for drinking in excess

⁴² Charles Bibbins, *National Tribune*, October 16, 1917, 7 quoted in Herek, *These Men*, 36-37.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁴⁴ Compiled Military Service Record of Luke [Luther] Dutton, Civil War, Records of the AGO, RG94, National Archives.

⁴⁵ Company K Roster, *Descriptive Rolls of Michigan Civil War Units, 1861-1865*. Records of Michigan Military Establishment, Adjutant General, Roll 593, Vol. 44, Archives of Michigan, Lansing, MI.

included hard labor, imprisonment, withheld pay, extra guard duty, and fines.⁴⁶ Despite DeLand's wishes, many men visited the beer gardens located less than a mile from Camp Douglass. Officials attributed multiple fights and accidents to intoxication. Investigations suggested that Private Sashkobanquot from Pinconning was intoxicated when he was crushed by two railroad cars in December 1863.⁴⁷ The *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune* reported that police arrested "an Indian belonging to the Michigan Sharpshooters" in Chicago after being ejected from a drinking establishment: "He instantly sounded the war whoop, pulled out a pistol, and threatened instated death to the passerby."⁴⁸ Sergeant Charles Allen wrote to his family about intoxicated Anishinaabe soldiers. He argued that their state "was made possible because of that American who poured the alcohol"⁴⁹ Allen interpreted for the Anishinaabe witnesses at an American "bootlegger[s]" trial in Chicago. Soldiers' easy access to alcohol angered Allen. His association with both Reverend Peter Dougherty's and Reverend George N. Smith's missions, his time at Twinsburg Institute in Ohio, and his sentiments in his letters home imply Allen may have supported temperance. Several Anishinaabe soldiers associated with missions may have made temperance pledges before they left their communities. Despite several incidents blamed on alcohol consumption, Company K members did not have more problems with alcohol than other soldiers. Alcohol remained a problem for the regiment despite DeLand's strict rules.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Herek, *These Men*, 38, 77, 451 N78, 460 N 70.

⁴⁷ Sashkobanquot died December 27, 1863. *Ibid.*, 77.

⁴⁸ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, November 3, 1863, 3. Grand Rapids Public Library, Grand Rapids, MI.

⁴⁹ (Me dush kaheshetahkonind ahwe kechemokomon kahsegenahonahgaid ew ahshkodawahbo [Mii dash gaa ezhitaaagenid e-wa kchimookoman gaa ziiiginid iwi ishkodewabo])." Charles Allen to his family, Camp Douglass, December 21, 1864, Civil War Pension File of Charles Allen.

⁵⁰ Sash-ko-bon-quot was not the only Company K casualty during their time at Camp Douglass—Thomas Wabano became sick and died after he went home on furlough. Czopek, *Who was Who*, 167 and Herek, *These Men*, 77. For more on the soldiers drinking habits, see, Herek, *These Men*, 37-38, 74-75, 77, 451-452 N78. Buckbee recorded a story particular to Company K, in which the men saved their whisky rations from "extreme duty" near Petersburg and would then get intoxicated together when they had saved enough whisky for that purpose. See, Buckbee, *The Story I Tell my Children*, 9.

Many soldiers drank; there are numerous incidents in the regimental books. Some incidents suggest that officials and merchants watched Indian men more carefully and expected them to cause trouble or become a threat when intoxicated. While assigned to Camp Douglass in March 1864, Charles Wabesis was accused of stabbing John Moynihan. The witness in the case, Joseph Teahan, testified that he visited Moynihan's saloon the night of the incident: "Two soldiers, apparently Indians, were at the bar, and on the counter was some postal currency. One of the soldiers picked up the currency, and saying it was his, started for the door.... Deceased raised up from behind the counter ... and said he wanted twenty cents before the Indian could leave. The soldier told him 'to go to h—l and get his twenty cents there,' and called him a ----- --. Moynihan came out from behind the counter with a cane in his hand, walked up to the Indian and said, 'Mr. Indian, I have been watching you. I want that twenty cents.'" The Indian man refused, pulling out a knife and stabbed Moynihan. Officers followed the soldier and arrested him, finding a knife in his pocket. "The Indian was somewhat under the influence of liquor, but was not drunk—he was able to walk straight, and was cool. The other Indian was so much intoxicated that he was hardly able to stand." The jury decided to hold Wabesis for trial and he served a six-month jail sentence for "getting mixed up in a row."⁵¹

Were the events at the saloon that led to Moynihan's death racially charged? Did the Chicago saloon owner, prompted by stereotypes and carefully surveilling an "apparent" Indian, provoke the attack? The surveillance of Indian men associated with reservations followed Charles Wabesis to Chicago. In incredulous tones, various newspaper writers questioned Indian soldiers' abilities and suitability for service in the Union army when discussing Company K.

⁵¹ "The Moynihan Murder," *Chicago Tribune*, March 19, 1864, 4. Czopek, *Who was Who*, 168. Wabesis was held by civil authorities from March 15, 1864 to July 28, 1865. He was furnished with a discharge certificate December 12, 1890. Compiled Service Record of Charles Wabesis, Notation from Record and Pension Office, December 13, 1890. In addition, intoxicated Indians were portrayed differently than intoxicated white soldiers in the press. See, *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, November 3, 1863, 3 for an example where a "disorderly" Indian "sounded the war whoop" while drinking.

Paired with Teahan's testimony in Wabesis' case, newspaper accounts illuminate the additional scrutiny Company K men faced both on and off duty. Civilians were often wary of soldiers—large groups of armed men away from home—and they were both curious about and doubly wary of Indian soldiers.

Newspaper accounts marked Company K as “the Indian Company” and racialized them in a particular way during the war. Descriptions of Company K men as “well-built” “big Indians” suggest they were tall men who stood out in a crowd. While observers described them as “nearly all tall and good-looking,” the average height of the company was 5’ 8”—the same as the average height of Union soldiers.⁵² While eight men were six-feet tall or taller, including “Big Tom” Kechittigo, the rest of the company appears to have been similar to their white counterparts in height, which suggests white observers' perceptions were based on something other than empirical evidence. In the discourse of savagery and civilization, Native peoples were perceived as closer to nature—Noble Savages. Observers may have identified Indian men as particularly “stalwart” and “well-built” due to these preconceptions. After the war, concepts of “primitive manhood” circulated and inspired middle-class Euro-Americans to value the “virile survival skills of primitive man” and participate in outdoor activities, such as hunting and fishing; emulating some of the skills that they associated with American Indian men.⁵³ Despite

⁵² For the heights of Company K men, see Compiled Military Service Records of Company K, Civil War, Records of the Adjutant General Office, RG 94, National Archives, Washington D.C. (121 out of 128 enlistment papers included height information). For descriptions of Company K men as tall see “Camp Douglass Matters,” *Chicago Tribune*, August 19, 1863, 4; “Parade of the Zouave Battalion,” *Ibid.*, September 21, 1863, 4; and “The Sharpshooters,” *Detroit Free Press*, May 28, 1863, 3. For the average height of soldiers in the Union army, see Donald Vaughan, *The Everything Civil War Book* (Avon, Massachusetts: Adams Media Corporation, 2000), 97 and “Civil War Soldiers,” <http://www.historynet.com/civil-war-soldiers> accessed on January 12, 2016; and Elbridge J. Copp, *Reminiscences of the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865* (Nashua, New Hampshire: The Telegraph Publishing Company, 1911), 531.

⁵³ Historian Anthony Rotunda, traces concepts of “primitive masculinity” to the 1870s. Nevertheless, he notes Americans had been curious about “primitivism” before; he traces a shift and sees “primitive masculinity” as a model of masculinity that Euro-Americans might want to emulate in some aspects. E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993),

being dressed in Union uniforms, Company K men still stood out in the minds of some white onlookers due to these conceptions of “civilized” and “primitive” manhood.

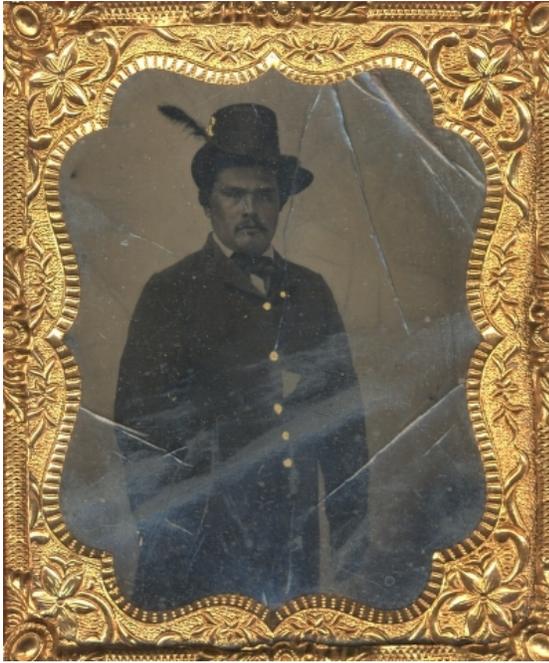


Figure 4.1 Payson Wolf, dressed in his uniform, had his picture taken while stationed at Camp Douglass in Chicago. He may have sent the picture home to his wife, Mary, as the same archive also includes images of Mary’s family, the Smiths. In his Union uniform, Wolf made a clear claim to citizenship and the right to remain in Michigan.

Source: Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan.

Native American men in Washington D.C. were not an uncommon site in the nineteenth century, as many delegations and individuals traveled to the capital to meet with the “great Father.”⁵⁴ A large group of armed indigenous men, however, would have been a less common sight. During a review of the Ninth Corps in April of 1864, Anishinaabe men marched past President Abraham Lincoln as he stood on the Willard Hotel balcony on Pennsylvania Avenue, flanked by the Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton and General Burnside.⁵⁵ Walt Whitman observed: “It looked funny to see the President standing with his hat off to them [African-American troops] just the same as the rest as they passed by-then there [were] Michigan regiments, one of them was a reg’t of sharpshooters, partly composed of Indians....” Whitman

227-229; Gail Bederman, *Manliness & civilization: a cultural history of gender and race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 22-23.

⁵⁴ Augustin Hamlin Jr. (Payson Wolf and Joseph Wakazoo’s cousin), for example, made several trips to D.C. as a spokesperson (and contested leader) of the Odawa at Little Traverse Bay.

⁵⁵ Herek, *These Men*, 104-105.

seemed to have been more startled by the gesture of deference the president accorded to African-American soldiers, but his additional note on Company K demonstrates how contemporaries noticed the Indian company.⁵⁶ Marching in front of the President as part of the United States Army was an act of mobility, rather than containment, of American Indian men. While Company K men were not part of a delegation to discuss treaty rights, they nevertheless made a political statement, marching past the “Great Father” as Indian soldiers who were taking part in a modern war that was expected to shape the “fate of these United States.”⁵⁷

“They would hold their own”: Company K Men in Battle

Company K engaged in active warfare from May 1864 until April 1865 as part of the Ninth Corps. Throughout their service, other Euro-American contemporaries, like Whitman, noted the presence of American Indians in the Union army. In both Union and Confederate reminiscences, Company K men appear both as real men who fought alongside white soldiers and as nineteenth-century stereotypes that captivated Euro-American imaginations prone to exoticize or to “other” indigenous peoples.⁵⁸ The number of Christian Company K soldiers, the places in Michigan they traveled from, their time spent drilling in Chicago, and the half century that had passed between the War of 1812 and the Civil War, suggest that these men did not fit many of the popular nineteenth-century Indian stereotypes that shaped descriptions of Company K’s Civil War service. While it is possible that all the stories of Company K are true, and depict

⁵⁶ Walt Whitman to Louisa Van Velsor Whitman, April 26, 1864 in Walt Whitman, ed. Edwin Haviland Miller, *The Correspondence*, Volume 1: 1842-1867 (New York, New York University Press, 1961), 212. Also cited in, Herek, *These Men*, 105, 467.

⁵⁷ A commonly used phrase in political discourse in the 1860s. See, for instance, Abraham Lincoln’s Message to Congress in Special Session, July 4, 1861 <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/message-to-congress-in-special-session/> accessed October 20, 2015.

⁵⁸ For a discussion of the creation of Indian “others” see Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 20-22. For changes in and prominence of Indian stereotypes in Euro-American imaginations, see Berkhofer, Jr. *The White Man’s Indian*.

Anishinaabe men pulling on changing traditions while in active combat, it is more plausible that many of the depictions are a mixture of reality and stereotype, reflecting ways in which white observers expected Indians to act and not fully recognizing Anishinaabe men as different from Plains warriors or other Indians. Seeing these men through the concepts of the Noble Savage or “savage” warrior, contemporaries did not always recognize individual Anishinaabe men who did not fit these preconceptions—Anishinaabe Christian preachers, day laborers, farmers, fishermen, and elected local government officials, as well as warriors and soldiers. Contextualizing the service of Company K men with their earlier history and comparing accounts written closer to battles with those written many years later provides a clearer understanding of these men as they traveled to far away battlefields and made their presence known as Union soldiers.

Battle of the Wilderness

On May 5, 1864, Company K performed picket duty in a densely wooded area known as the Wilderness, advancing ahead of the Ninth Corps in Spotsylvania County, Virginia, south of the Rapidan River. They were relieved at dusk and fell asleep to the sounds of cannons and musket fire. Waking up at 2:00 AM on the sixth, the Sharpshooters led the advance over a field and by 7:00 AM, they were skirmishing in the woods. Sergeant Thomas Kechittigo—“Big Tom”—ordered the company to camouflage their blue uniforms with twigs to blend into their surroundings so that they could move their line forward through the trees and thickets. The Anishinaabe soldiers were known for camouflage and Buckbee recalled that the Anishinaabe men quickly realized the disadvantage of the blue uniforms against their surroundings. To solve this problem: “they would go out and find a dry spot of earth and roll in it until their uniforms was the complete color of the ground before going out on the skirmish line; and if the day was wet, they would not hesitate to take mud and rub it over their clothes.... The custom was

adopted by the whole Regiment and it was often remarked that our Regiment could do the closest skirmishing at the least cost of any Regiment in the Division.”⁵⁹

Use of camouflage was remarked upon more sensationally after the war by First Lieutenant George W. Campbell of the Sixtieth Ohio Infantry, a regiment also present at the Battle of the Wilderness. Campbell told the story of “Old Choctaw”—a name that most closely matches the pronunciation of Sergeant Thomas Kechittigo’s name.⁶⁰ Campbell remembered how “Choctaw was quick to take in the situation, and ordered each brave to cover his breast and head with twigs and leaves to prevent contrast of color with their surroundings.” Campbell’s use of the term “brave” instead of “soldier” hints at the ways he viewed indigenous soldiers and the narrative conventions when he wrote this account in 1913. Campbell described a “short council” that the Indian men held in which they decided to scalp the first officer they could: “and it was said during the day they captured a Lieutenant, removed his scalp and allowed him to escape as a warning to others.”⁶¹ The practice of scalping would have been familiar to Campbell from popular depictions and newspaper accounts of postbellum violence in the West.⁶² Scalping was a long-standing motif in early American writings, including the use of scalping as a warning to an enemy.⁶³ Odawa and Ojibwe men in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had been known to sometimes scalp their enemies, but the stories told of Company K men are legend, not history.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Herek, 118-119. Buckbee, *The Story I Tell my Children*, 8.

⁶⁰ Kechittigo’s name was spelled different ways and may have been pronounced as Chittigo, which Herek believes may have been remembered as “Choctaw” years later. Herek, *These Men*, 469, n 28.

⁶¹ George W. Campbell, “Old Choctaw: The 1st Mich. Chippewa Indian Sharpshooters and Their Methods,” *The National Tribune*, September 11, 1913. This trope was common in early American writing.

⁶² Near Rogersville, Tennessee, Hauptman, *Between Two Fires*, 113.

⁶³ Greg Dowd explores the rhetorical power of stories and rumors of scalping, see chapter 8 in Gregory Evans Dowd, *Groundless: Rumors, Legends, and Hoaxes on the Early American Frontier* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), 167-186, especially 173,200-201. For European and indigenous scalping practices, see Armstrong Starkey, *European and Native American Warfare, 1675-1815* (London: UCL Press, 1998), 30-31.

⁶⁴ While it is possible the Union soldiers scalped an enemy soldier, there were no other descriptions of Company K men taking part in this practice. There were, however, other stories of Cherokee Confederates scalping fallen Union troops during the war.

Campbell's account exemplifies other writings about Company K, as it mixed verifiable information with rumors and stories that seem closer to stereotypes than reality, especially when juxtaposed with Company K men's lives before and after the war. Campbell continued his account of "Old Choctaw," claiming he was a chief "who carried a square piece of wood about one foot long and one inch thick on which he cut a notch for each rebel he killed." Campbell continued, "before we arrived in front of Petersburg, Old Choctaw's stick showed 35 notches, and he was told that if he should ever fall into the hands of the enemy he would be burned at the stake." Campbell may have been pulling from nineteenth-century stories of Indian warriors, or perhaps "Old Choctaw" did keep track of the men he killed. Undoubtedly, the depiction of Indians as savage warriors (i.e. newspaper cover of the "Sioux Uprising"/1862 U.S.-Dakota War) and Noble Savages influenced Campbell's concluding remarks: "This brave old warrior, like most of his comrades, never appeared to fear either capture or death...."⁶⁵ This portrayal of Kechittigo's demeanor echoed popular depictions of the disappearing Indian or stoic war leaders, like Pontiac or Tecumseh. Campbell's "Old Choctaw" article appeared in the *National Tribune*, a national publication for Civil War veterans and their families. It demonstrates how representations of Company K men conflated them with popular depictions of Indians, obscuring their history.⁶⁶

Other accounts of the battle at the Wilderness testified to the bravery and skills of Company K men. Driven out of the woods, Company K was attacked by Confederate soldiers as they returned to the open field. A Fourteenth North Carolina Infantryman remembered: "We fought a regiment of Indians. As we drove them back one Indian took refuge behind a tree. We

⁶⁵ *National Tribune*, September 11, 1913, 7.

⁶⁶ These types of depictions applied to indigenous soldiers outside of Company K as well. One writer explicitly compared a Seneca soldier in the 14th New York Artillery to James Fenimore Cooper's literary representations of Indians. The Seneca soldier in the story camouflaged himself with pine boughs to capture a Confederate sharpshooter. "Indian Strategy," *Grand Rapids Daily Eagle*, July 2, 1864, 1.

saw him and supposed he would surrender. As we moved on he shot our color bearer. Many turned and fired, riddling him with bullets. The Indians fought bravely in the wood. When driven into the open they did not again fire on us, but ran like deer. We captured not one of them.”⁶⁷

Taken out of context, this description is reminiscent of eighteenth-century portrayals of Indians “skulking” in the forest. This account, however, exemplifies many of the descriptions of Company K that depicted the unit as particularly brave and well-suited for warfare, skirmishing, and fighting in wooded areas. The Indian man behind a tree may have been Charles Allen, the only Company K soldier injured at the Battle of the Wilderness. Colonel Charles V. DeLand noted that Allen was among the officers who handled heavy fire with “conspicuous coolness, courage and gallantry.”⁶⁸

The North Carolina Infantrymen may not have captured Company K men after the Battle of the Wilderness, but they did find items on the battlefield possibly linked to these men. T.J. Watkins picked up a beaded satchel, for example, and a member of the Fourteenth North Carolina Infantry found bibles in Anishinaabemowin.⁶⁹ These battlefield remnants are poignant reminders of the lives these men left behind to fight for the Union. The beaded satchel was most likely a soldier’s link to a female family member who did beadwork or, if it was an older item, to a male family member who carried the bag. It is possible the satchel looked like an Anishinaabe bandolier bag, which was modeled on European ammunition satchels. The Anishinaabeg often used these bags, especially the heavily beaded ones, for decoration and it is unclear if the soldier

⁶⁷ W.A. Smith, *The Anson Guards: Company C, Fourteenth Regiment North Carolina Volunteers, 1861-1865* (Charlotte: Stone Publishing Co., 1914), 235; Herek, *These Men*, 121.

⁶⁸ Herek, *These Men*, 386; Charles DeLand, Regimental Letterbook, May 26, 1864. DeLand noted the “conspicuous coolness, courage and gallantry” of several officers who were “entitled to special comment.” His list included Edwin Andress, Garret Graveraet, James DeLand, and Charles Allen. Charles DeLand to Captain [?], May 26, 1864, First Michigan Sharpshooters Letterbook, National Archives.

⁶⁹ Walter Clark, ed. *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-'65* (Goldsboro, N.C.: Nash Brothers, 1901), 2:46. Maj. W.A. Smith, *The Anson Guards*, 235; Herek, *These Men*, 469 n 40.

carrying this Civil War bag used it to carry belongings or as some kind of token carried into battle. The bag and bibles both symbolize encounter between Anishinaabe peoples and Euro-Americans. Carried by Anishinaabe soldiers, these items were markers of place and identity that differentiated these soldiers from their white counterparts.



Figure 4.2 “Anishinaabe bandolier bag c. 1870, Upper Great Lakes.” Source: A.E. Brooks Collection, *Infinity of Nations: Art and History in the Collections of the National Museum of the American Indian*, online exhibit, available at <http://nmai.si.edu/exhibitions/infinityofnations/woodlands/011125.html#about> accessed May 6, 2014.

Figure 4.3 Andrew Blackbird wearing a bandolier bag, probably as a decorative, rather than utilitarian, item.

Source: Andrew Blackbird Museum, Harbor Springs, MI.

The bibles challenge the accounts of Company K men that pull from Indian stereotypes. The recovered volumes reflect a long history of encounter with missionaries, as well as the more recent history of Anishinaabe preachers and religious leadership. Charles Allen’s death from wounds received at the Battle of the Wilderness also represents the fact that many of these men were Christians or were associated with Christian missionaries. Allen’s letters home testify to

this history. Discussing his loneliness, Allen concluded: “ningahyah kahgenig apeechi menoongwahlenah wahwedahbemenahgoog gahkenah aindahchiyaig nindahpowawening ehahtayah ahbedik sah dush go kegahmennowahbahmenin naming ape keeshpin mondah pe ahkeeng eshiwahbahsenoog.” Allen was thinking of his loved ones staying with him forever; he sees those he left at home in his prayers. He hoped to see them again on earth, but if not, he hoped to be with them in heaven.⁷⁰ While not all men in Company K had the same background or missionary education as Allen—whose family belonged to Peter Dougherty’s church and also knew Reverend George N. Smith—many Company K members were associated with Christian missionaries who influenced their religious practices and how they would have approached life and death. Allen’s death, as the first man killed from Company K, together with the bibles found on the battlefield where he sacrificed his life, symbolize the tension between the lives of these men and the way nineteenth-century sources portray them.⁷¹

Battle of Spotsylvania

From May 10 to 12, near the Spotsylvania Courthouse, intense skirmishing and fighting took its toll on Company K. General Robert E. Lee’s forces blocked the Union approach to Richmond, Virginia. At Spotsylvania the Sharpshooters gained more confidence and made up for their “unfortunate record” near the Ni River a few days before.⁷² Lieutenant Garret Graveraet in

⁷⁰ Charles Allen to his family, Camp Douglass, October 27, 1863 in Charles Allen pension file. In another letter, Allen wrote to his family because it was “ahmeageshegak”: Sunday, prayer day. Translations provided by Professor Margaret Noodin, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and translated by Mike Zimmerman Jr., Pokagon Potawatomi Tribal Liaison at the University of Wisconsin and former Tribal Historical Preservation Officer.

⁷¹ It is important to explore this tension, as current historians of Company K who work with these sources are not always critical of their content, repeating the stories without fully analyzing the men’s pre-war lives and practices.

⁷² Herek views Spotsylvania as a turning point. The Sharpshooters were part of the action at Ni River (near Spotsylvania) after which the First Michigan Sharpshooters and Charles DeLand received censure from General Wilcox. Thus, they had something to prove at Spotsylvania Court House despite their earlier “good name” earned at the Battle of the Wilderness. Byron M. Cutcheon, “The Twentieth Michigan Regiment in the Assault on Petersburg, July, 1864, MPHC 30 (1906), 117, quoted in Herek, *These Men*, 134-135, 151.

particular distinguished himself as a leader and a soldier: “On the left of the sharp-shooters were a company of civilized Indians, in command of the gallant and lamented young Graveraet, an educated half-breed—as brave a band of warriors as ever struck a war-path; they suffered dreadfully, but never faltered nor moved, sounding the war-whoop with every volley, and their unerring aim quickly taught the rebels they were standing on dangerous ground.”⁷³ This depiction, constructed from interviews with soldiers, illuminates the way some white soldiers viewed the actions of their Anishinaabe comrades. While considered “civilized,” Company K men “whooped.” Did their cries sound like “the horrid savage yell” of 1812 Anishinaabe men, the Dakota warriors’ “whoops” in Minnesota, or the bone-chilling Rebel Yell?⁷⁴ In combat before the assault on Petersburg, the Indians “set up a yell that would have frightened old Nick himself,” Buckbee noted, “and went straight at the Rebs on the river.”⁷⁵ White Union soldiers occasionally yelled loudly when charging into battle as well.⁷⁶ When an Anishinaabe soldier yelled, however, they “whooped.” In the nineteenth-century context, an Indian war whoop had its own connotations (beyond that of the “rebel yell”) that associated Indians with warfare. Impressions of “savage” warriors influenced how observers viewed indigenous soldiers. For their part, the Anishinaabe may have been pulling from battle practices dating back to the War of 1812 and earlier; or, they simply may have been answering the rebel yell with one of their own.

⁷³ Charles Lanman, *The Red Book of Michigan: A Civil, Military and Biographical History* (Detroit: E.B. Smith & Company, 1871), 307. Also see, John. Robertson, *Michigan in the War* (Lansing: W.S. George & Co., State Printers and Binders, 1882), 545 quoted in Hauptman, *Between Two Fires*, 138.

⁷⁴ James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988 and 2003), 344, 659. Fergus M. Bordewich, “Civil War Veterans Come Alive in Audio and Video Recordings,” *Smithsonian*, October 5, 2011, <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/civil-war-veterans-come-alive-in-audio-and-video-recordings-97841665/?no-ist> accessed May 15, 2014. For “savage yell,” see the *Freeman's Chronicle Extra* (Franklinton, Ohio), December 23, 1813 [January 2, 1813?] in Richard C. Knopf, *Document transcriptions of the War of 1812*, (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1957), 4: 223.

⁷⁵ Edward J. Buckbee to Mollie Church, March 28, 1865, Buckbee Family Papers.

⁷⁶ There are different theories about the “Rebel yell” that include its origins in Indian war cries or battle cries in the Scottish Highlands. The Rebel yell was “was a shriek or scream that started out low in pitch, but immediately rose to a shrill, piercing, drawn-out yelp that was repeated several times in a charge.” Union men may have made a different sound going into battle than the distinctive Rebel yell. Andrew S. Hasselbring, *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, 25:2 (Spring 1984), 198-201.

Still viewed differently than other soldiers, Anishinaabe men at Spotsylvania also proved they could be successful in battle against the Confederates. Buckbee commended the Indian soldiers who “held their ground in the woods with obstinate pluck.”⁷⁷ Similarly, Captain Edwin V. Andress asserted that Company K “fought with the greatest courage” and “a large number of them were killed or wounded” at the Battle of Spotsylvania.⁷⁸ “One of the most noted of the Ottawas,” Daniel Mwakewenah, was wounded. “He was very skillful in the use of his rifle, and his men say that in the first fight in the Wilderness he killed not less than thirty-two rebels, a number of them officers.” A ball hit Mwakewenah in the hand, forcing him to quit the field because he could not reload his rifle. Another account claims he suffered face, hand, and head wounds before he stopped firing.⁷⁹ Reports of his death tell the story of a dedicated soldier who tried to continue fighting even after his initial injury. On June 5, 1864, Mwakewenah died at the Armory Surgical U.S. Army General Hospital in Washington D.C. after a surgeon amputated his fractured hand and an infection set in. His possessions at death included one blanket, an overcoat, a pair of shoes, and a pair of pants. His “Record of Death” lists “American” as his nativity, in contrast to the majority of Company K records that identified the men as “Indians.”⁸⁰ The formulaic death record, with its nativity category, suddenly acknowledged Mwakewenah as an “American” man. When Chaplain Heagle identified Mwakewenah as one of the dead, he simply listed him as the “Indian Preacher.”⁸¹

⁷⁷ Buckbee, *The Story I tell my Children*, quoted in, Herek, *These Men*, 150.

⁷⁸ Herek, *These Men*, 157, 475 N142. Herek cites the *Detroit Free Press* May 31, 1864, 1 (I have not been able to find this quotation). It does, however, mirror the language used by Charles DeLand to describe fighting at the Battle of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania, Letterbook, May 26, 1864, National Archives.

⁷⁹ “A Michigan Indian Sharpshooter,” *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, June 23, 1864, 4. Also see Herek, *These Men*, 155-156.

⁸⁰ On some enlistment papers, “Indian,” is listed as the color of complexion. See, for example, the Volunteer Enlistment papers for Jacko Pestawin [Penaiswanquot], Daniel Mwakewenah, and Jacob Greensky in Compiled Military Service Records.

⁸¹ Much of the information on the Sharpshooters during the war comes from the Chaplain, David Heagle, a Baptist minister who sent reports to the *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*. Herek, *These Men*, 29. For quote, see “The Sharpshooters,” *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, May 23, 1864, 2. The *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune* reported that



Figure 4.4 Injured soldiers at a hospital near Fredericksburg, VA. The man standing on the far right may be Thomas Kechittigo, who was wounded in his left arm from a shell fragment at Spotsylvania on May 12, 1864. Source: LC-DIG-cwpb-01550, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.⁸²

Battle at Petersburg

On the way to Petersburg, Virginia, William H. Randall, a member of Company D, remembered hearing a “splendid sermon” as the “sun was just setting in [a] blaze of golden light shedding its last rays on the broad and beautiful James [River]...” with the “deep muttering of the artillery” in the background. After the death of the “Indian Preacher,” perhaps men in Company K also heard this sermon by a member of the Christian Commission. To Randall, the moment seemed “imposing & grand,” renewing his resolve to fight and “sacrifice all.”⁸³ Would a sermon in English have reached Company K men? It may have boosted moral, which many

“Daniel Mah-que-nah (the Indian preacher)” was wounded near Spotsylvania Court House. Given his claims to religious leadership but omission from Methodist records, it is telling that he was known as such.

⁸² Historians frequently cite this as an image of Company K. The image’s caption reads: “wounded Indian sharpshooters on Marye’s Heights after 2nd Battle of Fredericksburg, May 1864.” For Thomas Kechittigo identification, see “Conceived of Liberty” Exhibit at the Michigan Historical Museum, Lansing, MI.

⁸³ William H. Randall, “Civil War Reminiscences, 1867,” 77, Civil War Collections, Bentley Historical Library. Also quoted in Herek, *These Men*, 174-175.

would have needed for the upcoming Battle at Petersburg, and, for some, the subsequent time in Andersonville Prison.

Lieutenant Freeman S. Bowley of the Thirtieth United States Colored Infantry described the patience and sharpshooting skills of two members of Company K while at Petersburg. He remembered they had special rifles with telescopic sights in order to stop a Confederate sharpshooter posted a mile away behind a chimney. The Indian men watched the chimney all day and did not fire a shot until after sundown, when they killed the Confederate soldier who had been completely obscured from view until he had tried to descend from his perch. Bowley may have written this anecdote many years after the event given he spent thirty years on his memoirs, augmenting his military record with additional material. Moreover, Bowley was writing as a Unionist and Reconciliationist, and the appearance of Company K in his writings might reflect his desire to show that African American and American Indian troops were “fighting for their place in the nation’s history.” Bowley’s memoirs mentioned these men during sectional reconciliation, thus claiming a place for them in the country’s future.⁸⁴ There is little evidence to suggest Company K men were outfitted with rifles with telescopic sights. It is possible that a Company K sharpshooter shot the Confederate man behind the chimney. If so, however, it was probably with a Springfield rifle at 300-500 yards. Alternatively, the sharpshooters may have borrowed a Sharps rifle or scope from a different regiment.⁸⁵ Either way, the discrepancy in details suggests that Bowley’s memories of the Sharpshooters were creative misrememberings,

⁸⁴ Keith Wilson, ed. *Honor in Command: Lt. Freeman S. Bowley’s Civil War Service in the 30th United States Colored Infantry* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 14-15, 38, 40-41.

⁸⁵ Throughout the war, the sharpshooters used Springfield rifles (see page 9). Yet, Randall noted: “I took a sharps rifle & exchanged a few shots with them [the Confederates]” while on picket duty near Petersburg in July 1864. Randall, *Reminiscences*, 81.

and, like many accounts written about Native peoples in the Civil War, were affected by lapsed time and the writers' goals.⁸⁶

Captain Robert D. Graham of the Fifty-Sixth North Carolina Infantry remembered that Company I found Springfield rifles and ammunition on June 17, 1864 after capturing Anishinaabe men from Company K at Petersburg. "Some of these guns were ornamented on the stocks with carvings of fish, animals, snakes, turtles, etc. They were highly prized and carried by the men to the close of the war." Graham believed the guns belonged to Minnesota Indians. The First Minnesota Infantry was present at Petersburg and their roster included Indian men.⁸⁷ It is equally possible the rifles belonged to Company K of the Thirty-Seventh Wisconsin Infantry, which also included many indigenous men. Historian Raymond Herek, however, attributes these rifles to the Anishinaabeg in Company K. It is possible the North Carolina captain thought the rifles were from Minnesota simply because he was more familiar with Minnesota Indians due to the press coverage of the U.S.-Dakota War. Perhaps Graham did not associate Michigan with Native peoples.⁸⁸

These Springfield rifles—if they belonged to Company K—suggest these men carved the stocks of their guns during downtime, perhaps during their long stay at Camp Douglass, away from the battlefields. While these may have just been the carvings of bored men, they could have held a deeper meaning. The Anishinaabeg had carved imagery onto war clubs.⁸⁹ Moreover, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, depictions of animals designated Anishinaabe clans (doodemag), and Anishinaabe leaders made their totems on treaties into the nineteenth century in

⁸⁶ Herek, *These Men*, 42.

⁸⁷ Wayne D. Jorgenson, *Every Man did his Duty: The Men of the First Minnesota* (Minneapolis: Tascara, 2012), 79.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 185, 481 n 117. For Minnesota rosters, see <http://www.beyondthecrater.com/resources/units/union-u/union-inf/mn-inf/> and <http://www.1stminnesota.net/EditChoose3.php> and <http://collections.mnhs.org/civilwar/index.php/10003866> accessed April 17, 2014.

⁸⁹ Heidi R. Bohaker, *Nindoodemag: Anishinaabe Identities in the Eastern Great Lakes Region, 1600 to 1900* (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2006), 132.

the Great Lakes borderlands. Perhaps the soldiers were simply missing home and thinking about Anishinaabe stories that involved animals during their downtime. The carved gunstocks, however, could also suggest they continued to identify and associate themselves with doodemag.⁹⁰

Eight men in Company K were injured at Petersburg and two later died from their wounds. Lieutenant Garrett Graveraet, son of First Sergeant Henry G. Graveraet, Jr., was among the wounded. He wrote to his mother and sister, hopeful that he would recover from his injury: “I was wounded in the left arm by a mince ball and the arm had to be amputated below the shoulder....I’ve had not opportunity to write about father’s death. Don’t be discouraged about me. Mother’s teachings and prayers is all that has kept me up, I have thought of them a great deal I feel determined to become a christian if possible. This fighting for my country is all right It has brought me to my senses....”⁹¹ Graveraet died June 30th after being visited by a priest several times.⁹² His deathbed conversion or thoughts of Christianity were not uncommon in the Civil War, as many soldiers worked to prepare for the possibility of death and often looked to religion for comfort.⁹³ Graveraet, however, does not mention the priests and missionaries of the Straits of Mackinac, but his mother, her faith, and her teachings. Sophie Graveraet, née Bailly, was of mixed Odawa and European descent. Her family was prominent in the Great Lakes fur trade and she was a student at the Catholic mission at Michilimackinac where Madame (Magdelaine) La Framboise—an Odawa cultural broker, widow, and independent trader—trained her to be a

⁹⁰ At the same time, without hard evidence to connect these men to these guns, this repeated story becomes problematic, leading to unsupported conjectures that obscure the experiences of these men and their complex histories and identities.

⁹¹ Garret Graveraet to Sophia Bailey and Sophia Alice or Marie Rosine (mother and sister), June 22, 1864 copy in Emerson R. Smith Papers, 1859-1964, Bentley Historical Library and original in Civil War Pension File of Garret Graveraet (Sophia Graveraet).

⁹² Joseph Finch to Sophie Bailey, July 26, 1864, Ward 2 Washington D.C. Garret Graveraet Pension File.

⁹³ See, Steven E. Woodworth, *While God is Marching On: The Religious World of Civil War Soldiers* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011), 64-66 and Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books Random House, 2008), 23-25, 174-180.

teacher. She subsequently taught Catholic school in St. Ignace. Garrett's reference to his mother's teachings highlights the role of Native women in religious experiences and practices and serves as a reminder that religious leadership was not reserved to men.⁹⁴

Accounts of Petersburg praised Graveraet for being "cool and calm," while emphasizing the skirmishing skills of Company K. Back in Michigan, newspapers reported about the battle, and, as usual, noted the "Indian Company": "The Indians were thrown out on the front and flank as skirmishers, and, as is always the case with them soon silenced the rebel batteries for the day...." The First Michigan Sharpshooters took part in hand-to-hand combat with guns, bayonets, pistols, sabers, clubs, and fists. Their reputation as excellent skirmishers was one detail observers actually agreed upon in regards to this company. Buckbee stated: "taking everything together, they made the best skirmishers I have ever seen and I will make no exception to this statement."⁹⁵ Skirmishers would advance ahead of the main battle line and some military strategists suggested skirmishers be chosen due to above-average marksmanship.⁹⁶ Company K's boldness and skirmishing skills came at a cost; in addition to the wounded, many were captured and became prisoners of war.⁹⁷

Andersonville

⁹⁴ Susan Sleeper-Smith *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 153,155.

⁹⁵ Buckbee, *The Story I Tell my Children*, 7.

⁹⁶ Earl J. Hess, *Civil War Infantry Tactics: Training, Combat, and Small-Unit Effectiveness* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015), 53-55; Paddy Griffith, "The Infantry Firefight," in Michael Barton and Larry M. Logue, eds., *The Civil War Soldier: A Historical Reader* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2002), 212-219.

⁹⁷ "The 1st Sharpshooters," *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, July 4, 1864, 4. It is possible Anishinaabe men were recruited because of their hunting skills and given the reputation of Company K men, as well as Ojibwe from Wisconsin and Minnesota as effective skirmishers, perhaps they were also recruited especially for this skill.

Confederates captured fifteen Company K men on June 17, 1864 and imprisoned them at Camp Sumter in Andersonville, Georgia.⁹⁸ Even at the infamous Andersonville, Company K members stood out. Charles D. Bibbins of Company E remembered how the men of Company K fought against the efforts of the “raiders”—a group of Union prisoners who stole from and beat unsuspecting new arrivals or weaker prisoners. Bibbins claimed that the Anishinaabe men “were great lovers of trinkets” and refused to give up their “watches, chains, rings and earrings.” The Raiders “proceeded to relieve them of their jewelry the second night after their arrival, but the Indians back in a bunch, cut and slashed the ‘raiders’ they we were obliged to fight, with two killed and several wounded. They were not bothered after that....”⁹⁹ As seen by their combat history, theirs was not an easily intimidated group of men. Andersonville, however, contained many unseen enemies that the men could not combat with their strength or skirmishing skills—disease and starvation took its toll on Company K prisoners.¹⁰⁰

Seven men survived Andersonville and eight men died due to conditions in the overcrowded prison.¹⁰¹ Reverend Smith learned of Payson Wolf’s capture in June and his subsequent imprisonment. Wolf wrote to “Pepegwa,” a man he had attended school with at the

⁹⁸ Czopek, *Who was Who*, 11. There may have been another man captured, but he escaped during the night: “An Indian escaped from the Rebs night before last....” Major S. Case (near Petersburg, VA) to Mollie Church, June 19, 1864.

⁹⁹ C.D. Bibbins, “The Indian Sharpshooters,” *The National Tribune*, October 16, 1917, 7 as quoted in Herek, *These Men*, 289. Bibbins’ inventory of Company K men’s material possessions stands in contrast to military records, which suggest that, like many non-commissioned soldiers, most Company K men were not carrying much. However, by the time death records were created, it is possible some of their possessions had been stolen. See, for instance, *Inventory for the effects of John David*, John David Compiled Service Record. David died May 4, 1864 at a hospital in Annapolis of typhoid fever. His effects were few: one cap, one pair of trousers, and one pair of boots. He had no money and the effects were disposed of for \$1.00, which was given to a paymaster. For additional accounts of Anishinaabe sharpshooters becoming traders at Andersonville, see John S. Maltman, “Andersonville,” *The Michigan University Magazine* (Ann Arbor: Dr. Chase’s Steam Printing House, 1869), 224.

¹⁰⁰ Many of the raiders began mugging other prisoners at Belle Island and Cahaba prisons and continued their activities at Andersonville. They were known for individual muggings and they often beat their victims, sometimes to death. Company K was not the only group that retaliated; there were police companies and other vigilantes that tried to curtail the raiders’ muggings. See, Robert Scott Davis, *Ghosts and Shadows of Andersonville: Essays on the Secret Social Histories of America’s Deadliest Prison* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 2006), 108-109. Davis includes newspaper accounts of the trial of the raiders in Appendix A, 233-248.

¹⁰¹ Daniel Ashman was also captured and sent to Andersonville, but Czopek believes that Ashman died while en route or at another prison.

old Wakazooville mission. Wolf said that Adam Sawbequom and Jacko Penaiswonquot had died in prison. Meanwhile, Miskoguon was ill and feared dead. Wolf had gone without food for four days and “had suffered beyond description.”¹⁰² Wolf later testified in Jacko Penaiswonquot’s widow’s pension claim: “the said Jake Penaiswonquot together with myself and others were taken Prisoners of War on the 17th day of June A.D. 1864 and that on or about the 30th day of October A.D. 1864 the said Jake Penaiswonquot died while in Rebel Prison in Andersonville Georgia that I helped take care of him while sick and know that he died while in said prison...”¹⁰³

Wolf testified in at least six pension cases involving Andersonville prisoners—either a testament to the diligence of the special examiners or to Wolf’s desire to help those who “suffered terribly while prisoners.”¹⁰⁴ While on parole, Wolf told Smith “shocking stories” and explained that he and his fellow inmates went without eating for up to four days. He explained how they were robbed of their blankets and overcoats, perhaps by the raiders. The men “slept in the open weather...[on the ground] the rain water sometimes 4 inches deep where they had to lie.”¹⁰⁵ Wolf explained that men became so weak they could not keep down food and they frequently ate food with maggots, among other things—the alternative being starvation. Despite his ordeal, Wolf had enough energy (and the desire) to attend prayer meetings and small gatherings on his furlough after he was paroled.¹⁰⁶ In the beginning of 1865, he attended Sabbath

¹⁰² “Pepegwa got a letter last night from Payson Dec. 2 in which he says Laquaan [Adam Sawbequom] is dead-1 of our members-also Shako [Jacko Penaiswonquot] + Kewaquiskining [Miskoguon] when he last heard from him was sick probably long ago dead he is also a member-Payson had been 4 days without food—had suffered beyond description-it may be it is quiete [*sic*] probable all the rest of the prisoners are dead-how shocking to contemplate the cruelties of the Southern rebels...” George Nelson Smith Journal, December 18, 1864. Czopek speculates that Kewaquishkining is Kewagoshkom or Miskoguon, Czopek, 191. Also, Avis Wolf’s transcription of Smith’s journals listed Laquaan as Sa-Qua-On and Czopek thus thinks Wolf was referring to Adam Sawbequom.

¹⁰³ Payson Wolf, February 6, 1866 in Civil War Pension file of Jake Penaiswanquot.

¹⁰⁴ Payson Wolf has depositions in the pension files related to the following men: James H. Hamlin, Jake Penaiswanquot, Lewis Miskoguon, Louis Marks, William Newton, and John B. Shomin.

¹⁰⁵ Smith. Journal, December 27, 1864. Quote from *Ibid.*, December 30, 1865.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

at Onumeneseville where he gave an account of the suffering of Andersonville prisoners.¹⁰⁷

Despite his knowledge and stories of the harsh realities of war, Wolf recruited John Jacko (son of Jacko Penaiswonquot), John Kinewahwanipi, and Aaron Sahgahnahquato (nephew of Company K soldier Joseph Kakakee and, later, husband of Charles Allen's sister).¹⁰⁸ Given Union victories in the fall and winter of 1864, these three new recruits may have wanted to collect the bounties for a war that looked like it may soon be over. Yet, their familial relations and networks also played a role in their late enlistment. Company K included several groups of multiple family members with several men joining after the death of their relative—a pattern common to Civil War soldiers.

Battle of the Crater (Petersburg, Virginia)

While their comrades languished in Andersonville, the men of Company K continued battling the Confederates. In early July, 1864, Randall recalled watching the mortar shells fall like shooting stars: “I have counted 13 to 20 shells in the air at one time, cutting their bright path towards the heavens. We are under fire night and day from the shells, and continual fire from the Infantry....”¹⁰⁹ This firing wounded several men over the span of many days, including Charles Herbert, an Ojibwe man from Sault Ste. Marie.¹¹⁰ The men soon faced even heavier firing when they fought in the Battle of the Crater—a self-created disaster for the Union. Union soldiers exploded a mine, creating a large crater that immediately killed many Confederate soldiers. The Union troops were unable to break Lee's lines. Instead of moving around the perimeter of the crater, as planned, many entered the hole. The confederates surrounded the crater, shooting down

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., January 1, 1865. Smith noted that “Payson gave a brief account of the suffering of the prisoners in Andersonville....” at a Sunday meeting. Wolf received a clasp Testament while home. Wolf and Louis [Miskoguo?] received hymnbooks as they boarded a boat to rejoin their regiment. Smith, Journal, August 5, 1865.

¹⁰⁸ Herek, *These Men*, 290; Smith, Journal, February 7, 1865; and Czopek, *Who was Who*, 143.

¹⁰⁹ Randall, *Reminiscences*, 82, 83.

¹¹⁰ Czopek, *Who was Who*, 85 and Herek, *These Men*, 401.

at the trapped Union soldiers.¹¹¹ Accounts of Company K suggest the Anishinaabe soldiers continually stood out in the minds of contemporaries—even in the chaos of the Crater—both for their courage under fire and because of their race.

Lieutenant Bowley, who recounted Company K's skills at Petersburg, remembered them at the Crater as well: "They did splendid work, crawling to the very top of the bank, and rising up, they would take a quick and fatal aim, then drop quickly down again. Some of them were mortally wounded, and, clustering together, covered their heads with their blouses, chanted a death song, and died—four of them in a group."¹¹² Randall has a similar recollection of the Indian men's courage and fighting abilities. He noted: "Almost all our men were hit in the head and they lay as they fell. The Indians showed great coolness. They would fire at a Johnny & then drop down. Would then peek over the works and try to see the effect of their shot."¹¹³ Randall omitted any mention of the death song recounted by Bowley. Wounded Company K men might have "chanted a death song," but it seems unlikely. Stereotypes of warriors and death songs influenced Bowley's accounts and perhaps he wished to show his readers that Company K was composed of "authentic" Indians.¹¹⁴ Given the number of men associated with Christian missionaries, it is just as likely many of them would have sung hymns or said a hasty prayer if they believed death was approaching.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ The Battle of the Crater was part of the campaign at Petersburg where the Federals worked to infiltrate General Robert E. Lee's defensive line around the city. Last-minute changes to who would execute the planned attack, as well as the weak position of Union soldiers in the crater, meant the Union was not able to break through Lee's line. There were heavy casualties that included unarmed African-American troops who had surrendered. According to Earl J. Hess, the failure of Union forces to succeed in their plans was due to lack of leadership, especially on the part of General Burnside's lieutenants. See, Earl J. Hess, *Into the Crater: The Mine Attack on Petersburg* (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2010), xi, xii, 166-167, 188, 189, 227-236.

¹¹² Wilson, *Honor in Command*, 139.

¹¹³ Randall, *Reminiscences*, 89, 92.

¹¹⁴ For examples of death songs, see, for instance, John Stands in Timber and Margot Liberty, *Cheyenne Memories* 2d ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 145-146.

¹¹⁵ For a discussion of Christian soldiers' approach to death and dying, see Woodworth, *While God is Marching On*. Woodworth discusses soldiers singing and listening to hymns as they were dying, 194-195, 216.

There is a plausible counterargument. Ojibwe warriors historically stayed connected to manidoog and spiritual power through “prayers in the form of song.”¹¹⁶ Odawa historian Andrew Blackbird related a story that includes the “death song of the warriors” returning to their village as part of mourning.¹¹⁷ More recently, Yvonne Walker-Keshick, an archivist for the Little Traverse Bay Band of Odawa Indians, placed this incident within an Odawa context. She thinks these soldiers could have been chanting a song Odawa mothers created for their children: “It would be one or two lines—maybe ‘I am strong, you are strong, we will survive.’” These words were sometimes repeated for comfort in dire circumstances.¹¹⁸ It is possible that Anishinaabe men sang or chanted during the Battle of the Crater. It is unlikely, however, that it was a “death song” as Bowley described. Care is necessary when analyzing accounts like Bowley’s and it is doubly important to place these accounts within their longer history outside of Civil War battlefields to avoid obscuring or misrepresenting the lives of Company K men.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Cary Miller, *Ogimaag: Anishinaabeg Leadership, 1760-1845* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 119, 135.

¹¹⁷ Blackbird, *History*, 90.

¹¹⁸ Elizabeth Edwards, “The Bravery of Company K, *Traverse*, February 2003, 53; Czopek, *Who was Who*, 54.

¹¹⁹ Bowley’s account might be another case where Indian men were indistinguishable to Euro-Americans outside of their regiment as indigenous men from Wisconsin also participated in the Battle of the Crater. Considering the men who were wounded also suggests Bowley’s accounts drew from nineteenth-century stereotypes of plains warriors, rather than the actions of Company K men. Moses Williams (from Marquette or Ashland, Wisconsin) and Charles Carter were killed at the battle. Randall, who was a Michigan Sharpshooter (Bowley was not), mentioned Carter’s death but not a death song. Randall remembered how he “saw an Indian fall who had joined our Reg’t during the campaign. He belonged to a tribe in Maryland, and had served in the Indian Company for some time. Just before the battle I took him to Hd. Qrs. And had had him mustered into the U.S. service.” Carter was from Hagerstown, Maryland and he had enlisted at Petersburg in late June. In addition, John Pakemaboga later died of his wounds and Jacob Collins’ left arm was fractured. These four men were from different places and probably did not know each other before the war. In addition to the four men listed above, several other men were reported as missing in action after the Battle of the Crater: A. Chibadice, Amable Kitcherbalist, Louis Muskoguo, Jackson Narwegeshequabey, and John Wabesis. Antoine Scott testified: “John Wabesis and I was in a fort and the rebels came in on to us and a shell dropped down and busted and killed several, and I saw John Wabesis lying on the ground and he was lifeless and I supposed he was dead.” Scott’s story is from a pension file and he may have testified in order to help an applicant, but his testimony also contradicts Bowley’s memories of a death song. See, Hauptman, *Between Two Fires*, 125-126; Elizabeth Edwards, “The Bravery of Company K, *Traverse*, February 2003, 53; Czopek, *Who was Who*, 57, 104, 116; Antoine Scott, “Soldier’s Certificate to Disability of Soldier,” October 15, 1873 in Civil War Pension File of John Wabesis (minor, Kah-bay-wo-quay Wa-be-sis).

While many of the depictions of the soldiers seem partly based in truth and partly steeped in common stereotypes and ideologies related to “savages”—noble or otherwise—there is no doubt that Company K men fought valiantly to survive the Battle of the Crater and that other soldiers noticed their bravery under fire. Covering the retreat after the battle, Antoine Scott, “instead of screening himself behind the captured works... stood boldly up and deliberately fired his piece until the enemy was close upon him, when, instead of surrendering, he ran the gauntlet of shot and shell and escaped.”¹²⁰ Scott’s superiors recommended him for a Medal of Honor because his actions gave other Sharpshooters more time to climb out of the crater. If there was any doubt left regarding the ability of Anishinaabe men to perform as disciplined soldiers under fire, the Battle of the Crater proved otherwise. These men were hardened soldiers.

Few Company K men remained combat-ready after the Battle of the Crater. Colonel DeLand scrambled to find more recruits, including men to lead them.¹²¹ DeLand noted on August 5, “When we entered the campaign Company K had an aggregate of 101 Officers and men with eighty-three present for duty.” After the Battle of the Crater, only fifty-six soldiers remained alive with ten present for duty. “In every action in the campaign the Indians have stood bravely up to the work + won the admiration of all.” Left with only a sergeant and a corporal, DeLand called for a new officer: “If you can fetch upon any good man who can speak Indian and who has influence among them I will willingly give him or them the Lieutenancies of the Company.” He suggested contacting DeWitt C. Leach, Indian Agent for the Mackinac Agency, or requesting that Richard Cooper at Little Traverse, who had helped with initial recruitment, become an officer himself.¹²² DeLand had difficulty finding new officers and, in November, promoted from within Company K’s ranks. James DeLand—Charles’ brother—became captain

¹²⁰ A.G.R., Recommendation for a Medal of Honor. Scott died in the 1870s without receiving the award.

¹²¹ Herek *These Men*, 234-235.

¹²² Charles V. DeLand to John Robertson, August 5, 1864, First Michigan Sharpshooters Letterbook.

and Lemuel Nichols took over as First Lieutenant—neither spoke Anishinaabemowin. Anishinaabe men occupied lesser ranks, such as first sergeant and sergeant. While Indian men from Company K became respected soldiers, the military did not offer them high-ranking positions, especially not as commissioned officers.

The First Michigan Sharpshooters were among the first to occupy Petersburg in 1865; their flag was the first Union standard over the city.¹²³ Ordered to map the area and camp at a particular mansion, Adjutant Buckbee recalled meeting the residents. He heard weeping and upon entering a drawing room saw two young women hugging and crying. They asked him if he could control “those men” and one girl exclaimed, “My God, that’s a nigger Regiment.” Company K was near the house, and, according to Buckbee: “The rest of the boys...were nearly a dark colored as the Indians, and when I looked out of the window, I did not wonder at the girls’ mistake.” Buckbee reassured the startled, prejudiced girls that these were not African-American troops, but tanned white men and Indian soldiers.¹²⁴ The young women’s reactions to Indian soldiers, especially their immediate association with African-American men, demonstrate the ways Euro-American observers racialized and othered Company K soldiers. Their complexions were different from other soldiers—although apparently the sun and army conditions mitigated these differences—and on enlistment papers nineteenth-century vocabulary described their complexions as “dark,” “red,” “copper,” or “Indian.” As a regiment of Anishinaabe men, they were an unexpected sight in Virginia. Given the racial hierarchy and tensions in the South, it is unsurprising that the two young women—members of the prestigious Chaffin family—would have mistaken Indian men (and tanned white soldiers) for African-American troops. As a house full of women, the two girls and their mother were vulnerable. Yet, they were excited to meet

¹²³ Herek, *These Men*, 325

¹²⁴ Buckbee, *The Story I Tell my Children*, 62-63.

“Yankee officers.” Buckbee and a few officers even serenaded the girls—Company K men were not invited.¹²⁵ While the girls were reassured by the fact that the soldiers were not African American men, they still required assurance from the white officers and did not invite the Indian men into their home.

“The Indian Company had fine soldiers”¹²⁶

Given the mid-to late-nineteenth century was the era of reservations, treaties, and surveillance of Indian peoples, it is unsurprising that observers consistently identified Company K soldiers as Indians as their appearance, language, and names marked them as Anishinaabeg. Arvin F. Whelan, State Surgeon for the First Michigan Sharpshooters, recalled: “We had a company of Indians-and they looked so similar in feature and build unless I was very well acquainted I did not try to remember their Indian names....”¹²⁷ The bureaucratic processes could not steamroll over these differences and Euro-Americans had difficulty pronouncing and spelling Anishinaabe names. Working on the muster rolls for Company I and K, Randall noted, “The Indian Company have some jawbreaking names to write out.”¹²⁸ Trying to help identify soldiers, First Lieutenant Lemuel R. Nichols explained: “The man whos Discriptive [*sic*] list is enclosed within is an Indian. Their names in Indian is Amos AshKebugneka and Lewis Miskogeone and they quite often give their names in English which is S Kogan and Green.”¹²⁹ Military officials mixed up Indian men—or did not bother to tell them apart at all—and recorded the wrong

¹²⁵ Herek, *These Men*, 331-332.

¹²⁶ Buckbee, *The Story I Tell my Children*, 7.

¹²⁷ Arvin F. Whelan, State Surgeon, First Michigan Sharpshooters, October 20, 1886, Civil War Pension File of Leon Otoshqabona [Otashquabono]. Also see a similar comment by Whelan in September 13, 1887, Civil War Pension File of George Kabayacega.

¹²⁸ Randall, *Reminiscences*, 81.

¹²⁹ Lemuel R. Nichols to Captain E W Cliss, May 25, 1865 in Compiled Service Record of Amos Ash-ke-bug-nekay (Ashkebugnekay was taken prisoner before Petersburg, June 17, 1864, and this letter may have been written to clarify his identity for payment as the next letter indicates he was to receive three months of pay, August 7, 1865 letter, U.S. Mustering office).

names, creating problems for Anishinaabe men both during and after the war. Officers, surgeons, and bureaucrats may have inadvertently caused a family or veteran to miss out on a pension as the military may have lost track of Anishinaabe men when names were misspelled or changed. Company K men were Anishinaabe soldiers—demarcated from others by name and language.

The Ojibwe, Odawa, and Boodewaadamii men were frequently clumped together, and very few articles, reminiscences, or government paperwork label these men as Chippewa (Ojibwe), Ottawa (Odawa), or Potawatomi (Boodewaadamii), instead opting for the all-encompassing “Indian.” Of course, these men differed from one another, as evident by the multiple languages they spoke and varying levels of literacy. Some of the Anishinaabe men were multilingual, speaking English, French, and Ojibwe or Odawa (Anishinaabemowin). Others, however, knew few English words and depended on other Anishinaabe men to help them understand orders and regulations. “Many of them could understand and speak English when they came to us. Some had been educated by French priests as teachers among their people,” Buckbee recalled.¹³⁰ Many of these men spoke French due to Catholic missionaries, the eighteenth-century French alliance system, and the Great Lakes fur trade. The *Chicago Tribune* reported that the Ojibwe “speak French fluently but generally require an interpreter for the English language. They appear to understand the military orders well. The interpreter says they shall never learn the meaning of ‘skedaddle’ or ‘retreat’ that they have no use for such words; that brave Indians never go backwards.”¹³¹

Some of the depictions of Company K men recorded—or pretended to record—the conversations and words of these men. At Camp Douglass, the *Chicago Tribune* reported: “a number of the Indian Sharpshooters were placed upon the outside guard, which pleased them

¹³⁰ Buckbee, *The Story I Tell my Children*, 7.

¹³¹ “Camp Douglass Matters,” *Chicago Tribune*, August 19, 1863, 4.

greatly--one of them said in French ‘this business is good for me-I like it very much to shoot a traitor, breaking away.’”¹³² As Company K worked their way towards Petersburg in March of 1865, the First Michigan Sharpshooters suffered comparatively few casualties. Adjutant Buckbee wrote to his mother: “Capt. DeLand was there sent forward with his inguns [*sic*]-It would have pleased you to hear their remarks. One big fellow yelled ‘me shoot um damn Johnnie’ another ‘Me kill um much’ ec ec.” The language in Buckbee’s account and the words he attributed to “ingun” soldiers echoed literary Indians speaking broken English in nineteenth-century literature. Yet, this language was echoed in a letter Buckbee received from Thomas Kechittigo after the war in which he identified himself as “big Indian me.”¹³³

These depictions of Company K men speaking might be fabricated, but they do reflect the multiple languages and the varied English proficiency of Anishinaabe men. All of these words attributed to Indian men who supposedly did not need to learn the meaning of “retreat” show their enthusiasm for the war and combat with the Confederates. These anecdotes may be attributed to the way Indian men were seen as particularly suited for war, but considering their war record and reputation throughout the war, depictions of Company K men’s conversations show how they were, or at the very least were known as, enthusiastic soldiers. While these accounts are not evidence that all of these men were also committed to preserving the Union and attacking the South, they do suggest some Anishinaabeg shared a northern sense of patriotism with their Euro-American counterparts.

Some commissioned officers had difficulty communicating with Indian soldiers, suggesting that despite mixed knowledge of English, Anishinaabe men may have experienced

¹³² “Camp Douglass Prisoners of War,” *Ibid.*, August 24, 1863,4.

¹³³ Edward J. Buckbee to his mother, March 25, 1865, Buckbee Family Papers (also quoted in Herek, *These Men*, 306). Herek places Buckbee near Petersburg during their forward march on the 25th when he wrote this letter. Thomas Chittigo Pinconning, MI to Julian Edward Buckbee, November 13, 1886 and Thomas Chittigo Pinconning, to J.E. Buckbee, Chicago, June 19, 1892, Buckbee Family Papers.

challenges unique to people speaking English as their second language. These language barriers influenced the reputations of Anishinaabe men and newspaper depictions of their actions, while also potentially causing problems in the midst of warfare. Bibbins declared that Company K men “made fairly good soldiers, but could not be trusted with any special duty on account of their limited knowledge of English.”¹³⁴ The company’s record books do not mention any particular incidents due to language. Yet, First Lieutenant William J. Driggs wrote to his father, Congressman John Driggs, “I...have led my Company of Indians since the first days fight...and until all of my Company have been killed or wounded except fifteen or twenty. The Indians have fought bravely and desperately and I think as I cannot speak the language and have no Indian officers left to interpret they should be relieved from further duty in the immediate front until reofficered and recuperated.”¹³⁵ Language was a concern for Company K, but it did not prevent the assignment of officers with little to no knowledge of Anishinaabemowin to the unit.

Their reluctance or inability to speak English may explain why many of the Anishinaabe men kept to themselves. Army Surgeon Whelan remembered that numerous men in Company K understood English, but that “a large majority...would talk little or no English.”¹³⁶ From Anishinaabe spaces in Michigan, these men were more comfortable speaking Anishinaabemowin or being with their comrades from similar places. Similarly, Bibbins stated that most of the Indian men did not socialize with the white soldiers, “always keeping strictly to themselves from the time they joined the regiment until they were mustered out.”¹³⁷ Marcus Otto, an Ojibwe man from Isabella, remembered: “All of us Indians ate together...” Though not alienated from white

¹³⁴ Charles Bibbins, *National Tribune*, October 16, 1917, 7 quoted in Herek, *These Men*, 36-37.

¹³⁵ William Driggs Resignation, June 26, 1864 and William Driggs to J.F. Driggs June 26, 1864 in Compiled Military Service Record of William Driggs.

¹³⁶ Arvin F. Whelan, October 20, 1886 in Civil War Pension File of Leon Otoshqabona.

¹³⁷ Charles Bibbins, *National Tribune*, October 16, 1917, 7 quoted in Herek, *These Men*, 36-37.

soldiers they stood apart as “the Indian Company.”¹³⁸ As such, they were often identified as Indian—an identity that led many observers to search for proof that they were good soldiers. The majority of opinions suggest that their white comrades came to respect these men over the course of the war. Buckbee stated: “There is no question as to their personal bravery, in fact, I would be willing to wager that they would hold their own with the average white man under like conditions and with like arms.” Mid and post-war opinions differed greatly from the early newspaper reports and state laws that barred many Anishinaabe men from enlisting in the Union army.¹³⁹

Like all Civil War soldiers, Company K men underwent a transformation from their enlistment to their mustering out. As filmmaker David Schock points out, none of these men were ogitchedaw (veterans) before the Civil War; they had never been in battle.¹⁴⁰ Those who returned were hardened veterans, who had become soldiers respected by their comrades. Viewed by others as soldiers, they were still differentiated as Indian men. Contemporaries often conflated or confused Michigan Anishinaabeg with Native soldiers from Minnesota and Wisconsin. Furthermore, many of the depictions mix stereotypes with reality. At the same time, some of the Anishinaabe soldiers’ experiences during the war highlight changing traditions heavily influenced by Anishinaabe war practices. Considering the demographics of the company and the number of men who were Anishinaabe Christians with various levels of education, however, it seems that many contemporary observers missed the multi-faceted identities of these Anishinaabe men, glossing over their individual identities in favor of depictions of “Indianness” as these men were consistently marked as racially different.

¹³⁸ Marcus Otto Deposition, January 15, 1897, Civil War Pension File of James Ohbowakemo (Lucy Oh-bow-aku-mo). Some white soldiers in the First Michigan Sharpshooters remembered talking with Company K men and white officers testified in Anishinaabe pension files.

¹³⁹ Buckbee, *The Story I Tell my Children*, 7.

¹⁴⁰ “The Road to Andersonville,” promotional website for the film, <http://roadtoandersonville.com/>, visited September 19, 2014.

Arlington National Cemetery: Testaments to Service in the Civil War

Participation in the Civil War meant that many Anishinaabe men are buried far from home. Private George David, for example, shares his final resting place in the Lower Cemetery, section twenty-seven with the earliest interments near Robert E. Lee's occupied plantation. David died May 12, 1864 and may have been buried before the land officially became Arlington National Cemetery on June 15. James Park, a former slave of General Lee who remained at Lee's plantation, dug many of the early graves and may have dug this Anishinaabe man's grave.¹⁴¹ Slaves, freedman, and African American troops occupy much of section twenty-seven, but, unlike David, they were segregated from the other burials.¹⁴² David, in contrast, was buried next to white soldiers, as were Sergeant Peter Burns and Private Oliver Aptargeshick.¹⁴³ When men from the "Indian Company" died during battle, they were buried near their white counterparts. In contrast, African American troops and free black civilians were not, at least in section twenty-seven; a reminder that while the "Indian Company" was frequently racialized and viewed as something unique, it was not placed in the same category as "Colored Regiments."

Graves scattered from Michigan to Georgia mark the travels of Company K men away from their land in Michigan. These soldiers were buried in numerous national cemeteries, including in Philadelphia, Poplar Grove (near Petersburg), Annapolis, Andersonville, Fredericksburg, and, of course, Arlington. The gravestones are silent reminders of their mobility during a period of containment and their choice to serve in the Union army. Unusually, several men who died in battle were buried in Michigan. After the war, Lieutenant Garrett Graveraet's

¹⁴¹ Robert M. Poole, *On Hallowed Ground: The Story of Arlington National Cemetery* (New York: Walker & Company, 2009), 61.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 58-61.

¹⁴³ Burns and Aptargeshick are both buried in Section 13. David is buried next to Jacob Wiesman, Co C 5 Regiment Wisconsin Volunteers and William D. Ball, US Navy. Arlington National Cemetery, <http://www.arlingtoncemetery.mil/Map/ANCEplorer.aspx>, accessed May 9, 2014.

body was sent back and he was buried in Ste. Anne's Cemetery on Mackinac Island due to the efforts of his family, who gained the assistance of Congressman John Driggs, First Lieutenant William Driggs' father. In contrast, Graveraet's father's body remained in Fredericksburg. Driggs was also responsible for having Mwakewenah's body embalmed and sent back to Michigan where he was buried in Saginaw—a measure of the respect some of these soldiers gained for their service.

While Aptargeshick was buried in Arlington, there is also a granite memorial to him etched with crossed rifles and eagle feathers located on Walpole Island, Ontario.¹⁴⁴ Combined with his grave in Arlington, the memorial demonstrates the ways the Civil War service of Anishinaabe men has been placed into the larger context of American Indian military service. This continues today. Descendants of Company K soldiers and Anishinaabe Ogitchedaw Veteran and Warrior Society members have recently visited Andersonville and Petersburg to honor the Civil War soldiers from their nations.¹⁴⁵ In doing so, they honor men who had to fight to earn the respect of their white comrades. While the goals of Company K men to strengthen their citizenship and land rights would be largely unmet in the subsequent decades after the Civil War, the presence of Ogitchedaw members at Civil War gravesites in the present is a testament to Anishinaabe peoples' continual presence in the state of Michigan.

¹⁴⁴ Czopek, *Who was Who*, 44. Bob Boughner, "Walpole honours Civil War Vet," *Chatham Daily News*, November 11, 2008, <http://www.theobserver.ca/2008/11/11/walpole-honours-civil-war-vet-2> accessed April 7, 2014.

¹⁴⁵ See, David B. Schock, *The Road to Andersonville* [film], Penultimate, Ltd., 2013.

Chapter Five

“I am an Indian and I fought through the War of Rebellion”¹: Anishinaabe Assertions of Identity in Civil War Pension Files

Special Examiner T.G. Sims almost got lost in a blizzard on his way to question Mary Wesley, the widow of the remarkably named John Wesley, a member of Company K. A stranger to the area, Sims only made it to Wesley’s cabin near Freesoil, Michigan thanks to an Anishinaabe hunter he stumbled into as he tried to navigate the snow-covered path. With the Odawa hunter serving as the interpreter, Sims questioned Mrs. Wesley as twelve other Anishinaabeg crowded around her stove, attempting to keep warm in the bitter snowstorm. Before sending his report to the Commissioner of Pensions, Sims interviewed five other people—a relatively small number for an American Indian pension file—in a process he labeled a “tedious inquiry...out of line of ordinary work.” Despite confusion over possible previous marriages and the date of the Wesleys’ marriage, the examiner declared that Mrs. Wesley “lived with [the] soldier for many years, bore him 14 children, and was recognized as his wife for many years before the marriage ceremony.” Lacking some of the required paperwork and unable to untangle all of the contradictory statements, Sims still recommended that the case be considered by the Chief of the Board of Review for a pension and Mary Wesley was eventually awarded a widow’s pension of \$12.00 a month in 1912.²

¹ Marcus Otto, Weidman, MI to Secretary of Interior, August 1, 1900, Civil War Pension File of Marcus Otto, RG 15, National Archives, Washington D.C. It is unclear if Otto actually wrote this letter, see Deposition A, September 10, 1900, Ibid.

² T G [Grant] Sims, Special Examiner, Grand Rapids, MI, to the Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., March 20, 1912 and J.L. Davereport to Thomas S. Stephens, April 2, 1912 in Civil War Pension File of John Wesley

Mary Wesley's claim exemplifies the pension process for many Company K veterans and their families.³ Of the 136 American Indian men in Company K, 97 have pension files, many of which contain special examiners' reports. The Pension Office's special service frequently investigated Company K claimants and their families due to suspected fraud or the lack of required evidence. In order to receive a pension, a veteran had to prove his identity and provide evidence of a disability connected to a wartime injury or condition. Family members had to verify their relationship to a deceased soldier or veteran, as well as their dependence on that individual. The pension office required particular documents as evidence, such as marriage certificates, doctor's notes, and military service records. Unable to provide documentation, many veterans (both indigenous and non-indigenous) were either denied pension payments or subjected to lengthy examinations by special examiners. Veterans complained of skeptical bureaucrats, invasive questions, and medical exams.⁴ Congress frequently modified pension laws, changing eligibility requirements and payment rates. For example, more individuals became eligible for a pension when the Dependent and Disability Pension Act in 1890 reduced the evidentiary requirements; veterans could qualify for a pension if they were unable to perform manual labor, regardless of the cause of their disability.

The archive created by this process in relation to Company K soldiers contains thousands of pages of bureaucratic paperwork—a rich yet underutilized resource for American Indian

(Mary Wesley, widow), Company K, First Michigan Sharpshooters, RG 15, National Archives, Washington D.C. Pension award granted in 1912 but went back to original application from November 17, 1910.

³ For more on Company K, see Laurence M. Hauptman, *Between two Fires: American Indians in the Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1995), 125-144.

⁴ Brian Matthew Jordan, *Marching Home: Union Veterans and Their Unending Civil War* (New York and London: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2014), 151-169.

history.⁵ An Anishinaabe framework—one that takes into account changing practices and beliefs—provides a new angle on traditional sources that reveals the lives of these men and their communities. Composed of affidavits, pension files are as problematic as they are informative, at times the creation of bribed deponents, greedy middlemen, and general misunderstandings. However, comparing files to one another to decipher patterns and juxtaposing them with other sources, a reader can piece together life stories and detect the formulaic responses of intelligent witnesses who knew what to say to special examiners. Many deponents, motivated by payment or loyalty, tried to help a claimant receive pensions from the federal government.⁶

This archive highlights how the Anishinaabeg (and white middlemen) took advantage of special examiners' and pension officials' preconceptions of Native peoples to negotiate pension payments. At the same time, testimonies of Anishinaabe men and women illuminate relationships and living practices that suggest the surprising ways in which parts of Michigan's Lower Peninsula remained an Anishinaabe place after the Civil War, one that often dealt with settler colonialism on its own terms and through negotiation. In the pension files, we see Anishinaabe men and women embracing modernity, including such elements as the military and

⁵ Each individual's pension file contains anywhere from 20 pages (for a straightforward case with evidence) to roughly 300 pages of paperwork (for cases that lasted several years). Affidavits (interviews with claimants and their community members) are filed with the government forms.

⁶ One-hundred and two men have pension files out of the one-hundred and forty-six who fought in Company K. In addition, the pension files of two Ojibwe men—half-brothers—who enlisted in Company B of the Michigan Sharpshooters provide additional information. These files are valuable as long as the challenges are considered. Examining the files as a group uncovers patterns. Several people—Euro-American and Anishinaabe—appear repeatedly in different pension claims and their testimonies reveal some of the strategies claimants used to receive a pension. Sometimes, a deponent used the same narrative or vocabulary in multiple cases, calling into question all the testimonies given by that individual. Deponents also used the vocabulary that they knew had been successful previously, listing symptoms of conditions that they knew had led people to receive pensions in the past. These patterns help in the evaluation of evidence in specific pension claims and hint when people are using strategies to earn a pension. Moreover, many of the individual pension files contained fifty or more documents—by reading through each pension file in its entirety, the reader—special examiner and historian alike—can make an educated guess as to what evidence may have been fabricated based on all the other information in the file, which ranged from medical reports from a surgeon's examination board to neighbors' affidavits. In some cases, the special examiner's report along with the evidence shows that the claimant bribed deponents or got them to sign testimonies they did not understand (similar to signing papers that led to land fraud and loss). The files in the cases where deponents stretched the truth are still valuable as the narratives underline familiar discourses and how the deponents presented themselves to Euro-American bureaucrats and strangers.

its bureaucracy, for indigenous purposes as they made claims to resources and recognition through their identities as veterans, family members, and Indians.

In the 1850s, federal Indian policy shifted from removal to assimilation. New treaties allotted land to individual Anishinaabeg or heads of household in an effort to accomplish the government's goals of assimilation through individual land ownership and cultivation. Government treaty negotiators expected allotment to dissolve tribal organization and social and political relationships deemed uncivilized. The Bureau of Pensions sent special examiners to Anishinaabe landscapes shaped by the allotment process. Land loss and the increase in Euro-American settlers in many regions of Michigan affected Anishinaabe peoples' status and their influence in the state declined.⁷ Hopes for new treaties ended with an 1871 provision added to a House of Representatives appropriations bill: "no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty...."⁸ While the inability to negotiate new treaties was a blow to internal tribal sovereignty and also changed the role of Anishinaabe leaders who had been part of these types of negotiations, Anishinaabe band leadership continued to operate for different purposes.⁹

The pension files suggest Company K men maintained band affiliation during and after the war, highlighting the disconnect between U.S. government policies and Anishinaabe peoples'

⁷ Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 179.

⁸ Quoted in Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, *The Crooked Path to Allotment: The Fight over Federal Indian Policy after the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 25. The last treaty with the Michigan Anishinaabeg was negotiated between the United States and the Chippewa of Saginaw, Swan Creek, and Black River in 1864, which the U.S. ratified in 1866. Charles E. Cleland, *Faith in Paper: The Ethnohistory and Litigation of Upper Great Lakes Indian Treaties* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2011), 299-300.

⁹ Tribal governments could still negotiate "agreements" and these agreements had to be ratified by both the House and the Senate to go into effect. See David E. Wilkins and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiiik Stark, eds., *American Indian Politics and the American Political System* 3e (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011), 88.

understanding of their own actions.¹⁰ The binary set up by an assimilationist framework—one that does not take into account adaptability and instead assumes that indigenous culture is static—does not apply to the complex identities of Anishinaabe peoples. The Ojibweg’s and Odawaag’s continual amalgamation of Anishinaabe practices with Euro-American practices and ideals disrupted the logic of assimilation policies, even as it factored into the marginalization of Odawa and Ojibwe peoples in Michigan. While actively preserving long-standing practices related to their Anishinaabe identity, many Company K soldiers also bolstered their claims to the rights and responsibilities of male citizenship through Christianity and service in the Civil War. Some also tried to maintain Indian status. Anishinaabe Union veterans continued to navigate their rights related to citizenship.¹¹ Their citizenship was contingent on the perceptions of white officials, however, who inconsistently upheld the rights of male Anishinaabe citizens based on conceptions of “civilized” manhood and tribal membership. From the perspective of settler colonial ideology, these men and their families were taking steps that ought to have hastened their demise as Indians. They, however, used the rights and responsibilities associated with citizenship—owning property, serving in the army, and voting—to also preserve Indian status and seasonal subsistence practices (related to Anishinaabe social practices and structures) within an American settler state.

¹⁰ For instance, John Collins, Thomas Smith, and Thomas Nelson appear on the 1865 Annuity Roll for the Chippewa of Saginaw, Swan Creek and Black River (for payments associated with the 1855 treaty). Joseph Ne so got appears on the 1859 Annuity Roll. Raymond C. Lantz, *Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan, 1855-1868* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1991), 32-40, 60-70.

¹¹ Charles E. Cleland, *Rites of Conquest: The History and Culture of Michigan’s Native Americans* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1992), 243. Due partly to bureaucratic inadequacies, the government did not issue patents for Mwakewenah’s land until the stipulated ten-year period expired, which occurred after his death. The U.S. government issued a land patent to “Daniel MwawKe we naw (Chief)” on January 1, 1872, for 80 acres in Emmet County (Accession Number: M13210.486). Mwakewenah sold land to Daniel Rodd in 1860, suggesting he owned land prior to his death (Warranty Deed 2189426. Emmet County, MI Register of Deeds). Jean M. O’Brien discusses William Apress’ articulation of dual citizenship in 1836, arguing he felt Indian people should be equal U.S. citizens who could also exist within sovereign Indian nations. Jean M. O’Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 188-89.

The pension claims of Company K men and their families hint at how Anishinaabe lifestyles and places hindered white bureaucrats in the same way they had frustrated missionaries associated with federal Indian policies. In the opening scene, Sims, an outsider to the history shared by the Anishinaabeg and white settlers, literally could not find Wesley's cabin. His inability to navigate the region extended to his dealings with Anishinaabe peoples, which he had to do through an interpreter. Other special examiners complained about the inaccessibility of some of the places the deponents lived, especially in the winter months. They often were not able to find men and women who were away from their main residences participating in truncated seasonal rounds. Language differences often required interpreters and complicated the special examiners' task. Anishinaabe individuals resented strangers' demands for personal information and often did not fully understand the questions. Many of the people interviewed could not give exact dates, but instead marked time by the seasons or in relationship to other events. Furthermore, marriages and divorces by "Indian custom" and treatment of claimants by Indian doctors who did not keep records meant that the special examiners had to overcome a lack of paper evidence.

The pension files illuminate the social, political, and religious networks of Anishinaabe peoples in late nineteenth-century Michigan. Many Company K members kept in contact with, or heard gossip about, other veterans. Some Anishinaabe veterans joined the Grand Army of the Republic. This fraternal organization represents another network these men belonged to and one of the several types of masculinities they ascribed to or emulated. They lived according to new patterns that reflected men's changing roles and the multiple concepts of masculinity that shaped their communities' expectations of them. Simultaneously they inhabited a Euro-American world where they voted in local and federal elections, where Anishinaabe leaders' influence and status

were changing, and where men were identifying less as warriors or ogimaag (civil leaders), and more as soldiers, farmers, laborers, preachers, and/or veterans. Ojibwe and Odawa men adhered to many Anishinaabe beliefs and gender roles, while also adopting some Christian and Euro-American gendered ideals.

Anishinaabe Veterans and the Pension Process

In the late nineteenth century, many Anishinaabe men and women struggled to survive, mixing wage labor and farming with long-standing but curtailed seasonal subsistence practices.¹² Pensions became another means of economic support, and veterans and their families went to great lengths to receive payments. Leon Otashquabono, for instance, wrote Captain James DeLand: “I am very glad I have found you I have been looking for you about 2 years.”¹³ He went on to list seven comrades and their place of residence.¹⁴ Five of the men Otashquabono listed testified in his pension case as he did in four of their cases.¹⁵ Otashquabono wrote his letter in 1887 when he was in the middle of his application for an increase in his pension.¹⁶ In 1886, DeLand had written to Commissioner John E. Mack acknowledging he remembered Otashquabono but could not recall what had happened to him during the war.¹⁷ Otashquabono reminded his captain of his war injury: “well I was not sent to hospital I was treated by the Regt doctor I caught cold you sent me to my quarters I was taken with cattarrah [*sic*] and cough ever

¹² Many Anishinaabe men worked multiple jobs as manual laborers, in addition to farming and hunting and women also helped grow food, while making baskets and taking employment as washerwomen or maids.

¹³ Leon Otashquabono to James S. DeLand, June 5, 1887, DeLand Family Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, MI.

¹⁴ James Arwinkishig, Francis Tabasash, Alfred Peshowbay, John O. Shomin, Lewis [Louis] Shomin, George Ashkebog [Ashkebug], and Sergeant Scott. Ibid.

¹⁵ Civil War Pension files of Leon Otashquabono, James Arwinkishig, John O. Shomin, Louis Shomin, George Ashkebug, and Antoine Scott.

¹⁶ Leon Otashquabono to Captain James S. DeLand, June 4, 1887, DeLand Family Papers, 1816-1984, Burton Collection, Detroit Public Library. Leon Otashquabono was discharged at the same time and place as four of these men. Michigan Adjutant General’s Office, *Record of Service of Michigan Volunteers in the Civil War, 1861-1865* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Ihling bros. & Everard, 1905), 44:67.

¹⁷ James S. DeLand to Commissioner John E. Mack, Jackson, MI November 3, 1886.

since I would like to have you do what you can for me My health is very poor.”¹⁸ Otashquabono compelled a white officer to supplement his Anishinaabe comrades’ testimonies and strengthen his request for a pension payment increase. Many other Anishinaabeg also depended on networks of comrades and neighbors to build cases that would meet a special examiner’s criteria. Some of the testimonies were true and others were embellishments or purposeful misunderstandings. All of the testimonies illuminate Anishinaabe networks and life ways in late nineteenth-century Michigan.

Pension files contain valuable information about Anishinaabe living conditions, religious practices, and relationships. Many also suggest how applicants could deceive the special examiners to increase their chances of receiving a pension. An analysis of a sample case illustrates the types of information in these files. The pension claim of Joseph Kakakee (Me-she-ka-kack) reads like a who’s who of Company K and includes the testimonies of ten fellow veterans. The witnesses are mostly Odawa men who were familiar with both L'Arbre Croche and the Grand River Valley. Their testimonies provide personal details about the seasonal movement of the Grand River Odawa and then the split between those who moved more permanently to the Little Traverse Bay area and those who found places to live in the Ludington, Manistee, and Custer areas. Unprovoked stories that have little connection to the case’s main focus—the soldier’s health—offer tantalizing narratives for analysis. Albert Pesherbay related: “I well remember MeSheKaKack being there [breastworks near Petersburg, VA], he had a gun and was going to hit a cupple [*sic*] of rebels in the head and some of his officers stopped him, telling MeSheKaKack that they were prisoners of war.”¹⁹ Other witnesses did not remember this

¹⁸Leon Otashquabono to James S. DeLand, June 5, 1887, DeLand Family Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, MI.

¹⁹ Albert Pasherby [Pesherbay], Deposition K, March 16, 1897, Petoskey, MI, Civil War Pension file of Joseph MiShiKaKack.

incident and it is unclear whether Pesherbay invented the story, was the only witness to these actions, or misremembered the incident after over thirty years had passed. The deponents shared details that are only informative considered in juxtaposition with other deponents' testimonies and other sources. For example, a Methodist preacher remembered hunting with Me-she-ka-kack and another remembered seeing him at camp meetings, suggesting he was a practicing Methodist.²⁰

Me-she-ka-kack's [Kakakee's] case, however, warns against taking this information at face value. John Wesley, one of the deponents, testified that Me-she-ka-kack offered him payment in exchange for his testimony. Did Me-she-ka-kack bribe other deponents to make particular statements? Even the files containing clear contradictions or suspicious testimonies are revealing. The large number of Company K veterans who testified for their comrades is significant since it is unlikely every deponent was paid or bribed. Even the deponents who did not receive a bribe may have stretched the truth in order to help their fellow soldiers or their comrade's families.²¹ Perhaps deponents felt the government had not done enough to aid soldiers who sacrificed time, limbs, and lives for the Union cause. Broken government promises and the cessation of treaty-making disappointed many Anishinaabe deponents who continued to worry about staying in their homelands. Anishinaabe men became soldiers and their shared experience is highlighted in their statements to special examiners—true, fabricated, or misremembered. While they embellished some specific relationships and ailments, Company K soldiers had more

²⁰ Joseph McDavis, May 21, 1897, Fountain, MI, and Charles E. Hickey, Deposition L, April 10, 1897, Fountain, MI Civil War Pension file of Joseph MiShiKaKack.

²¹ James McPherson notes that common danger meant that close comrades—tent or messmates, squads of men under the command of a sergeant etc.—became a “true band of brothers” when faced with common dangers and the need for support and group cohesion to function in battle. Organizations like the Grand Army of the Republic perpetuated this feeling of comradeship and mutual support after the Civil War. He argues, “the ties of comradeship caused many soldier to resist a soft assignment away from his company or even to refuse a promotion if it meant transfer to another unit.” Comradeship fortified men in battle as they did not want to let their comrades down in dangerous situations. James M. McPherson, *For Cause & Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 85, 88.

than money at stake. The veterans acknowledged the significance of being from the same places, going through similar experiences of land dispossession and change, and then fighting in a war. Also, while some of these depositions are fabricated stories based on personal feelings (or bribe-induced), the deponents frequently pulled from shared experience and thus their stories are useful for understanding Anishinaabe experiences in Michigan. Pension requests were part of a high-stakes process and a scramble for federal resources in an era when the U.S. government stopped negotiating new treaties.

After the Civil War, many Company K soldiers returned to a constantly changing landscape. In the 1870s, the majority of Michigan Anishinaabeg lived north of Saginaw Bay and Grand Rapids. The process of creating reservations and allotments continued into the 1870s. Many Ojibwe men returned to the Isabella and Saginaw Bay areas after the war to find that the Ojibweg had relinquished “permanent” reservations near Saginaw Bay in the 1864 treaty. The government consolidated the Saginaw, Swan Creek, and Black River Chippewa (Ojibweg) onto the Isabella reservation.²² Ojibweg at Isabella experienced rapid loss of land due to allotment and fraud. Similarly, Swan Creek land went up for public sale before allotments were even distributed. Officials deemed allottees that could not read or write English “competent” and capable of land sales. Parties interested in opening up reservations for sale took advantage of individuals and families who did not understand how land transactions were being conducted.²³ The state even taxed Indian allottees deemed “not so competent.” By 1867, Agent George Lee estimated around one thousand Ojibweg lived on the Isabella Reservation and another one thousand of the Saginaw, Black River, and Swan Creek Ojibweg were scattered throughout the

²² Cleland, *Faith in Paper*, 300; Tanner, *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History*, 168.

²³ Charmaine M. Benz, R. Todd Williamson, Eds. *Diba Jimooyung; Telling our Story: A History of the Saginaw Ojibwe Anishinabek* (Mt. Pleasant, MI: Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan, Ziibiwing Cultural Society, 2005), 57-76.

Saginaw Valley under the leadership of ogimaag. By 1871, land and timber fraud were out of control in the Saginaw area.²⁴

Similarly, Odawa reservations promised to the Grand River Ottawa in the 1855 Treaty were quickly diluted by white land speculators and lumber interests. Some Odawa families managed to select allotments along the Pere Marquette River in Mason County and in Elbridge Township in Oceana County. At enlistment, some of the Company K men had just moved north from their previous locations near Grand Haven to places closer to Pentwater and Ludington.²⁵ Odawa men also came from the Little Traverse Bay area where communities were working to preserve land through the government and individual land purchase.²⁶ The treaty with the Odawaag also allotted land, but even at the end of the Civil war, very few individuals had actually received allotment certificates. The inadequacy of the very bureaucratic processes, like allotment, that were supposed to transition Indians into their roles as Christian citizens made it necessary for the Anishinaabeg to consistently claim both Indian status and citizenship in attempts to gain land patents, a process that extended into the 1870s.²⁷

In the 1870s, land loss and the increase in Euro-American settlers in many regions of Michigan greatly impacted the status of Great Lakes Anishinaabeg. The reach of the states' infrastructure increased, facilitating the movement of white populations. For instance, railroad lines from Chicago to Petoskey were completed in 1874, leading to the regular arrival of tourists drawn by the Little Traverse Bay area's emerging status as a vacationing spot. As more Euro-Americans purchased land assigned to the Anishinaabeg in treaties, Native men were less likely

²⁴ Cleland, *Faith in Paper*, 300-301, 302, 305, and 306.

²⁵ The History of the Little River Band of Ottawa Indians, <https://www.lrboi-nsn.gov/images/docs/History%20Eras%20of%20LRBOI.pdf> accessed on July 29, 2013.

²⁶ Like the Ojibweg who were consolidated onto a reservation, Odawa bands also consolidated in northern Michigan with other Odawaag and Ojibweg, living in the same areas together most of the year, whereas before they had been separate political and social entities for much of the year and had moved around more frequently.

²⁷ Bruce Alan Rubenstein, "Justice Denied: An Analysis of American Indian-White Relations in Michigan, 1855-1889" (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 1974), 102-138.

to be appointed or elected for local political positions. The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions closed the missions at Omena and Bear River in 1871, the same year Congress voted to cease treating with Native groups as sovereign units. Anishinaabe hopes for a new treaty ended and annuity payments were also scheduled to end that year. In 1865 there were 32 schools catering to Michigan Indians—by 1871 there were sixteen and in 1885 there were only six.²⁸ Given the importance ogimaag like Mwakewenah had attached to schools near Anishinaabe villages, this is a telling decrease and correlates to a decline in Anishinaabe influence in the state as their demographic strength waned. Nevertheless, these men and women were politically, socially, and religiously connected to their identity as Anishinaabe. The special examiners' pension reports demonstrate that the Anishinaabeg were still living in a largely Anishinaabe social world and this confused outsiders who arrived in northern Michigan and expected to find an American space.

Many of the special examiners' reports highlight the poor living conditions of some Anishinaabe men and women, who were dealing with restricted mobility and small land bases.²⁹ These conditions motivated claimants to take extreme measures to receive a pension. Claimants lied under oath and bribed neighbors, other veterans, and doctors to help advance their claims. Moreover, white lawyers, merchants, and townspeople took advantage of Anishinaabe men and women who did not understand English well, starting the pension claims process themselves and relentlessly pursuing the claim in order to get a cut of the payments. A disgruntled examiner believed that the Anishinaabe he interviewed could only be “depended upon to tell the truth” when they had no personal interest in the case.³⁰ In addition, some of the testimonies were

²⁸ Tanner, *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History*, 179-180.

²⁹ In Mason County, for instance, the special examiner commented on Mary Wesley's home, stating, “The old woman's cabin was so open that I nearly froze by the stove where a dozen Indians were trying to get warm.” T G [Grant] Sims, Special Examiner, Grand Rapids, MI, to the Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., March 20, 1912, Civil War Pension File of John Wesley (Mary Wesley, widow).

³⁰ George F. Burba, Special Examiner, Grand Rapids to Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C. May 16, 1896 in Civil War Pension File of George Stoneman (Mary Elliott, widow).

recorded twenty years or more after the events in question, and creative misremembering could lead to erring in a way that might help an impoverished community member receive government money. Fabricated stories obscure much of the daily lives of the claimants, but they also show how the Anishinaabeg used Euro-American preconceptions about Indians to elicit positive results for their pension claims.

The pension files often reveal more about the white officials than they do about the Anishinaabe individuals testifying. Special examiners travelled from the pension office in D.C. or from offices in larger towns in Michigan to question the claimants, neighbors, family, and fellow veterans. The special examiners approached their cases with preconceptions about Indians and extreme biases towards claimants whom they fervently believed or disbelieved. Prejudice is embedded in their reports through words like drunkard, immoral, and ignorant. Special examiner Fred Jows [Jarvis] noted: “These Indians [near Little Traverse Bay] are generally an indolent worthless set of no standing whatever...”³¹ Preconceptions could work against claimants who the examiners had predetermined were immoral by Euro-American standards. Even cases in which an examiner articulated prejudiced stereotypes, however, could lead to awarded pensions.³² While concepts of the ignorant savage or vanishing Indian influenced the examiners’ reports and judgments, the Anishinaabeg learned how to use this rhetoric to their own advantage. If they were “ignorant” Indians who did not understand time, how could they be expected to recall dates properly? Special examiners also believed deponents could not understand the pension system and government paperwork and thus must be telling the truth.³³ While several special examiners

³¹ Fred Jows [Jarvis], Reed City, MI to the Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C. February 15, 1890, Civil War Pension File of Jacob Greensky (Esther Greensky, widow).

³² Samuel Kagawich’s mother appealed six times, for example. Civil War Pension File of Samuel Kagawich.

³³ Special examiner George Burba, for instance, did not think the deponents he interviewed in Mason County understood the “object of the examination.” George F. Burba, Special Examiner, Grand Rapids to Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C. May 16, 1896 in Civil War Pension File of Mary Elliott, widow of George Stoneman.

speculated that deponents might be pretending not to understand English or were otherwise being deceptive, more of the examiners believed that the deponents and claimants were ill-informed and incapable of navigating the pension process. These conceptions could work to a claimant's advantage as many of them were either well-informed or had the assistance of a white or Anishinaabe community member who was familiar with the necessary forms.³⁴ Knowledgeable claimants used a particular vocabulary, told specific narratives, provided plausible reasons for not having access to written evidence, and informed others how to testify on their behalf. Far from being ignorant, Anishinaabe individuals and communities employed common stereotypes and preconceptions to strengthen pension claims.

Anishinaabe claimants bribed deponents, employed preconceptions, and fabricated stories or evidence to influence the outcome of their cases, but the pensions also provide evidence that Michigan remained an Anishinaabe place despite its political incorporation into the Union. The examiners assigned to Anishinaabe claims often found the interview process arduous. Depositions frequently raised more questions than they answered as the examiners tried to navigate Anishinaabe places and understand Anishinaabe peoples. Special examiners had trouble reaching deponents in Anishinaabe counties like Mason, Oceana, Emmet, and Isabella. While

"It would have been an endless task to have secured two witnesses to the depositions, owing to the isolation of these people from persons who can read and write."

³⁴ Examiner's beliefs that Indians were different than their white contemporaries meant that they often acknowledged marriages and divorces without any written record, recognizing what they referred to as marriage by Indian custom. Some examiners also took into account Michigan's recognition of common law marriages (through 1887). Additionally, Anishinaabe deponents claimed to not remember dates of births, marriages, and deaths. While they often did not know exact dates, as discussed above, at the same time they could use examiner's assumptions regarding time to their advantage, modifying dates slightly so that a child would have been a minor at the time of their father's enlistment or a widow was married to the claimant before he enlisted. Also, examiners looked for Indian doctors when evidence of white medical treatment could not be found. Sometimes, this seemed suspicious, as in the file where everyone claimed they treated the applicant as his "Indian doctor." Some cases are not so obvious and with a lack of evidence to the contrary suggest Native doctors did play a large role in healing practices and treating illnesses. Some claimants mentioned conditions that prevented them from seeing a Euro-American doctor, which is plausible given living conditions and the isolation of some of their homes. There are examples of claimants who could not afford to see the doctor. Many of the special circumstances of Anishinaabe pension claims are plausible. At the same time, it is clear some Indian claimants and the white lawyers who worked on pension cases took advantage of preconceptions of Indians to bolster claimants' chances of receiving a pension.

people familiar with the area, such as traders, merchants, missionaries, and lumberman, were able to traverse these regions due to a shared history with Anishinaabe peoples, the difficulty with which the examiners navigated these rural locations suggests one way in which they largely remained Anishinaabe places. Examiners complained of their inaccessibility, noting the poor conditions of roads or paths and the lack of trains to some of their destinations into the late 1800s. These men experienced more problems in the winter and their complaints underscore the rural location of some of the Anishinaabeg.³⁵ In 1924, R.S. McCall, travelling near Mt. Pleasant, noted that the Ojibweg “live out in the brush and I had to walk half a mile through the snow to reach her [Charlotte Kaw-gay-aw-she’s] place of residence.”³⁶ The examiners were not familiar with the claimants or their communities. R.P. Fletcher, an examiner who worked on multiple claims, remarked: “I took up this claim last fall but then failed to located cmnt [claimant Louis Shomin] + did not succeed in determining his whereabouts until the snow got too deep for me to work in the localities where most of the witnesses were.” Fletcher resumed the claim when water navigation reopened as he could reach many places by boat.³⁷ In the case of Thaddeus Lamourandere’s mother, Fletcher noted: “The vicinity of Newaygo is not inviting to settlers because of sterile soil—consequently is very thinly settled + after the pine is removed the sand remains idle. This claimant and her family (as is the custom of their race) remain in the wildest

³⁵ “There is no convenient train service to Hamilton and auto route is poor in winter months, so it is necessary to know where he lives and when he will be at home. Perhaps if the dept. wrote him he or his friends would make some reply.” George H. Thomas, M.D., Board of U.S. Examining Surgeons, Holland, MI in reply to letter from Medical Referee, Bureau of Pensions, April 26, 1922, Pension File of George Moogargoe (Mogage). In 1918, T.G. Sims, a special examiner with an office in Grand Rapids, travelled near the town of Free Soil in Mason County and noted that the “day I went to her [Mary Wesley’s] cabin was one of its bitterest of the year and a blizzard besides and I had to leave my team a mile from her cabin and try to follow an Indian path which was obliterated by drifting snow and had I not met an Indian hunter I should have had to return, he picked the path and I used him as an interpreter.” T.G. [Grant] Sims, Special Examiner, Grand Rapids, MI, to the Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., March 20, 1912, Civil War Pension File of John Wesley (Mary Wesley, widow).

³⁶ R.S. McCall, Special Examiner, Grand Rapids, MI, to the Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., January 18, 1924, Civil War Pension File of Luke [Luther] Dutton (Charlotte Kaw-gay-aw-she, widow), 6.

³⁷ R.P. Fletcher, Special Examiner, Reed City, MI, to the Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., May 20, 1887, Civil War Pension File of Louis Shomin.

of this thinly settled locality—several miles from any well defined road (using the river as their highway) and with no neighbors save a few Indians scattered now and then along the river.”³⁸

Location and transportation were only the first in a series of barriers that frustrated examiners and led to pension claims that remained unresolved for years.



Figure 5.1 “Moses in the Wilderness or the difficulties of assessing property in Saginaw County in 1851.” This sketch depicts a land surveyor dragging his reluctant horse through water and forests in Saginaw County—a region where some Company K Ojibweg lived. This image, depicting the land as a “wilderness” exemplifies the transportation difficulties experienced by special examiners—both real and exaggerated.

Source: Hess Family Scrapbook, Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, MI.

The language difficulties white officers had complained about during the war became more pronounced during the pension process and were one of the larger challenges the special examiners faced. Typically, they interviewed deponents and claimants through interpreters who acted under oath.³⁹ Mary Kechittigo, wife of veteran Thomas Kechittigo, was “illiterate and ignorant and understands English, but imperfectly....She did not impress me as candid, tho [*sic*]

³⁸ R.P. Fletcher, Grand Rapids to Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., February 11, 1889 Civil War Pension case of Mary A. Lamourandere, mother of Thaddeus Lamourandere.

³⁹ A special examiner in the area of Little Traverse Bay noted, “I employed an interpreter in interviewing most of the witnesses, this was necessary because many of them could not understand or speak English.” Quote from R.P. Fletcher, Special Examiner, Reed City, MI, to the Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., May 20, 1887, Civil War Pension File of Louis Shomin (Harbor Springs, MI), 4 and similar appears in R.P. Fletcher, Special Examiner, Reed City, MI, to the Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., May 1887, Civil War Pension File of Leon Otashquabono (Ironton, MI), 3 and R.P. Fletcher, Special Examiner, Reed City, MI, to the Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., May 20, 1887, Civil War Pension File of Louis Shomin, 4. Many pension files note non-English speaking claimants and their neighbors.

this may in part have been due to her contradictory statements owing in many instances to her failure to understand the questions put to her.”⁴⁰ Language differences frustrated Native claimants and witnesses trying to answer unfamiliar questions and ensure their responses were understood. Miscommunication occurred even with the help of interpreters.⁴¹ Special Examiner F.K. Armstrong noted “the absence in [the] Indian language of so many of the words the Bureau commonly employs.” The perceived absence of a bureaucratic vocabulary, of course, hardly scratches the surface of differences between English and Anishinaabemowin.⁴² Despite centuries of contact and a century of missionaries, treaties, and land purchases, many Anishinaabeg still lived in places where they only spoke Anishinaabemowin or did not have a strong grasp of English, demonstrating the limits of the reach of settler colonialism to some rural areas.

Language was both a true barrier between Euro-American bureaucrats and Anishinaabe deponents and an obstacle some deponents purposefully exaggerated as they refused to completely cooperate with the officials. As discussed previously, many but not all Company K members spoke English, reflecting varying levels of education and the mixed results of missionary and government run schools. Interpreters were often of mixed Anishinaabe and European ancestry due to a shared history in the Great Lakes. Some deponents pointedly mentioned land fraud and poverty and they provided purposefully ambiguous or incomplete responses. “I have learned that for a stranger to attempt to obtain information from them is absolutely useless—they pretending to not understand you, or reply ‘Don’t Know’ no matter

⁴⁰ R.F. Goetzuir, Detroit, MI to the Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., May 31, 1920, Civil War Pension File of Thomas KeChittigo (Grayling, MI), 4.

⁴¹ Mary Ka-va-ya-ce-ga (the widow of George Ka-va-ya-ce-ga) and Henry Quewis “did not give their answer clearly, even through the interpreter.” Chas. H. Thomas, Special Examiner, East Saginaw, to James Tanner, Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., May 21, 1889, Pension File of George Ka-ba-ya-ce-ga (Mary Ka-va-ya-ce-ga, widow), 5. This comment has to do with language difficulty but also is in a questionable case where people were purposefully obscuring what they knew.

⁴² F.K. Armstrong, Special Examiner, to the Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., June 2, 1924, Civil War Pension File of Luke [Luther] Dutton (Charlotte Kaw-gay-aw-she, widow), 1.

what the question,” reported examiner R.P. Fletcher. “For this reason I took claimants attorney along to inspire confidence, and between us managed to apparently have our questions understood, after putting each question in half a dozen ways.”⁴³ Out of all the special examiners, Fletcher vented his frustration the most frequently—partially to explain to the commissioner of pensions why he could not provide the required evidence. On reports concerning Leon Otashquabono and Louis Shomin, Fletcher noted: “and those who could understand it [English] fairly well refuse to talk to a stranger because they have been so persistently and shamefully defrauded by the whites that they think any time a white stranger enters into conversation with them it is for the purpose of gaining information that will bring them trouble or deprive them of their property in future.”⁴⁴ Some examiners realized deponents purposefully misunderstood or falsely claimed to not know something in order to obscure details of a case. Prior pension examinations coincided with land fraud and stories circulated about dishonest land speculators obtaining land deeds. Some Anishinaabe men and women signed away a land deed after being told it was a receipt or other document. The Anishinaabeg were wary of strangers, questions, and paperwork.⁴⁵

The special examiners came from a bureaucratic world of dates, numbers and documents, and were frustrated when deponents could only give them estimates for major life events. Some examiners thought the Anishinaabe deponents had no clear understanding of the passage of time:

⁴³ He continued, “The ‘Indian’ is silent and uncommunicative to a degree that it is almost impossible for the ordinary white man to learn or know any thing of them or how they live or whether they own property individually or collectively, therefore only a very few people who came here in early day (and of those few only some ½ dozen are living) could give any information of the character desired concerning any Indian except of the most vague and indefinite sort...” R.P. Fletcher, Grand Rapids to Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., February 11, 1889 Civil War Pension case of Mary A. Lamourandere (Lamonaindier), mother of Thaddeus Lamourandere.

⁴⁴ Quote from R.P. Fletcher, Special Examiner, Reed City, MI, to the Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., May 1887, Civil War Pension File of Leon Otashquabono (Ironton, MI), 3 and similar appears in R.P. Fletcher, Special Examiner, Reed City, MI, to the Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., May 20, 1887, Civil War Pension File of Louis Shomin (Harbor Springs, MI), 4.

⁴⁵ Bruce Rubenstein details different schemes land speculators used to obtain land deeds, including tax fraud, signatures obtained through deception, and stacked loans. Rubenstein, “Justice Denied,” 115-117.

“It seemed to me that the Indians ideas of duration of time and of ages was vague and indefinite,” vented one special examiner, “Nor do I believe that in most cases they clearly locate events as having happened before, or since, the civil war. I also think they exaggerate their ages, but probably unintentionally and through their inability to keep track of the passing years.”⁴⁶ Deponents and claimants purposefully misremembered, obscured, or forgot dates in order to meet the specific requirements of certain pension acts. Others seemed to have really not known or cared about dates and when asked for the date of a key life event—birth, marriage, illness, death—they simply could not answer in a way that would satisfy the examiner.

The Anishinaabe deponents remembered when events occurred in relation to other events, and their memories were often community based. When asked for the date of death or birth, deponents often referred to a different event as a point of reference, or they referred to another community member who might remember the particular date or have a written record. For example, to determine the date of George Ashkebug’s death, George A-gatch-ie recalled that he had mortgaged Ashkebug’s horses to buy his burial clothes, and he indicated that the merchant would probably have a record the examiner could use.⁴⁷ In another instance, a deponent declared a birthday was the last day in March: “It was the day before the day when the white folks say to each other things what isn’t so, for fun.” [April Fools’ Day]⁴⁸ Lucy Ohbowakemo, James Ohbowakemo’s widow, remembered his death occurred four or five days

⁴⁶ Clarence F. Barrett, Special Examiner, Saginaw, MI to Hon. Vespasian Warner, Commissioner of Pensions, June 19, 1905, Civil War Pension file of Simon Singoby (Mary Singoby, widow), 6. For another example, see John R. Bailey for Thomas KeChittigo, Mackinac Island to the Office of Pensions, January 24, 1906 “the dept. will please note this man is an Indian, and that few, or hardly any, records of the old members of tribes are accurate and it is nothing for them to make statements that they think are true, widely at variance on the same subject they do not intend to deceive they generally know birth or other events on something that happened when they were young.”

⁴⁷ George A-gatch-ie, Civil War Pension File of George Ashkebug (widow, Mary Estabrook).

⁴⁸ Naw-se-she-waw, Deposition, Mt. Pleasant, January 9, 1897, Civil War Pension File, James Ohbowakemo (widow, Lucy).

before Christmas in 1896. The Anishinaabeg were aware or participated in white holidays or Christian celebrations that served as reference points for births, marriages, and deaths.

Examiners often could not acquire the paper evidence relevant to life events and had to rely on relational community memory. Community understandings played a large role in the definition of marriage, which ranged from “Indian custom” to ceremonies performed by a Christian official or a justice of the peace. A special examiner in Mason County explained to the commissioner of pensions that “The Indians are divided as to religion. They are Christian or pagan. The Indian who is Christian usually marries by ceremony but the pagan takes a spouse and they live together a while and either quit or get a cabin and raise a family.”⁴⁹ Collectively, the pension files illustrate a mix of Christian and civil ceremonies, as well as community acknowledgement of a relationship, reflecting different beliefs and an Anishinaabe history that included French, British, and American influence.

The majority of marriages discussed in the pension files were Christian ceremonies—Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregationalist. Catholic and Methodist religious officials performed the marriages for most veterans who had Christian ceremonies.⁵⁰ Many Odawaag at L’Arbre Croche were Catholic or were associated with Catholic missionaries.

⁴⁹ T G [Grant] Sims, Special Examiner, Grand Rapids, MI, to the Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., March 20, 1912, Civil War Pension File of John Wesley (Mary Wesley, widow), 6-7.

⁵⁰ Not all of the pension files included an indication of marriage. Currently, the sample size is 39 [working on these numbers with other sources]. Czopek, *Who was Who in Company K*, 10. Examples: the Catholic missionary, Reverend Father Seraphin Zorn married Betoës Awanakwad to Teresa Marangowi at Middle Village, Leon Otashquabono to Mary Ann Ne-wick-wa-se at Little Traverse (Harbor Springs), and Charles Shabena to Mary Ann Kijebenessi at Cross Village. Declaration for Widow’s Pension, August 1, 1865, and copy of Marriage Record, June, 1865 in Civil War Pension File of Betoës Awanakwad; Simon Green and Joseph Tap-pa-sosh, General Affidavit, May 31, 1902, Charlevoix County; Leon Otashquabono, Pension Questionnaire, Ironton, MI, June 4, 1898 in Civil War Pension file of Leon Otashquabono (Mary, widow); and Claim for Widow’s Pension, February 18, 1869, Civil War Pension File of Charles Shabena. Methodist examples include: Louis Genereau, Jr. married Louisa Dewing in Elbridge by Minister of the Gospel J. Boynton, William Newton and Angeline Nebawnegezhick married in Leelanau County by Reverend John Jacobs, and Joseph Shaw-an-nis (Shaw-an-ese) married Hellen Joseph in Indian Town (1875) By M.E. Minister A.S. Yais. Marriage Certificate, August 14, 1864, Civil War Pension file of Louis Genereau, Jr. Isaac Greensky was a witness; copy of Marriage Certificate, January 1922, Civil War Pension File of William Newton and Confirmation of Marriage, November 8, 1879 in Civil War Pension File, Joseph Shaw-an-ese.

Methodist Ojibweg and Odawaag came from many different regions in Michigan, including Isabella and around Little Traverse and Grand Traverse bays. Religious marriage ceremonies resulted from the work of both Euro-American and Anishinaabe missionaries.

Pension cases also depict marriage by “Indian custom,” which illustrates community factions, as well as the coexistence of multiple beliefs and practices.⁵¹ While it is possible that some of the cases of marriage by “Indian custom” indicate a claimant was not married to the soldier or simply could not provide evidence, the consensus on what constituted “Indian custom” suggests Anishinaabe peoples continued to establish and maintain relationships outside of Christian churches and civil institutions.⁵² The main components of marriage by “Indian custom” were cohabitation, acknowledgement of a person as a spouse, and recognition as husband and wife by the community.⁵³ In the pension files, a few marriages by “Indian custom” required a woman’s parents’ consent.⁵⁴ For instance, the widow of Simon Singoby [Sanequaby], Mary, explained to the special examiner that her first marriage to Antoine Ahdawish (Mock-sun-ge) was arranged by her parents when she was sixteen and he was thirty and that she was not well

⁵¹ Charles Wa-be-sis and Mob-beese Caub-mo-say claimed that John Wabesis married Moh-tway-ne-keh-noh in March 1856 on Tamarack Creek near Croton according to “Indian custom and practice” and that she married Chingwon in Elbridge according to Indian practice Charles Wa-be-sis and Mob-beese Caub-mo-say, Affidavit, Elbridge, October 24, 1873, Civil War Pension File of John Wabesis.

⁵² For a comparative example, see Frederick E. Hoxie, *Parading Through History: The Making of the Crow Nation, 1805-1935* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 182-194. Hoxie demonstrates how the Crow maintained marriage practices related to band structure and extended families. He argues that the Crow adapted long-standing marriage practices to their new reservation conditions.

⁵³ The importance of community acknowledgement of marriages becomes evident when considering cases where the community did not recognize a relationship as a marriage. The special examiner in the Wesley’s pension cases noted: “It is very evident from what the Indians tell me that they never considered that Charley Wabasis had taken Pashna ne quay for his wife and the same[?] as to John Wesley and Peton Petoquay.” T G [Grant] Sims, Special Examiner, Grand Rapids, MI, to the Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., March 20, 1912, Civil War Pension File of John Wesley (Mary Wesley, widow). Community acknowledgement was also important in non-Anishinaabe pensions, see Megan J. McClintock, “Civil War Pensions and the Reconstruction of Union Families,” *Journal of American History*, 83:2 (Sept. 1996), 456-480. McClintock discusses the importance of “domestic devotion” to pension claims, see McClintock, 476.

⁵⁴ Odawa historian Andrew Blackbird mentioned parental consent in his 1887 *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians* as well. Blackbird, 17-18.

acquainted with him before they married.⁵⁵ Marriages by “Indian custom” could be dissolved by one spouse leaving the other and the community’s recognition of their separation. William Newton explained his marriage history to the special examiner: “I was married twice before I married my wife now. My former wife was Martha Kewakoum. But I don’t know the date of my marriage. I only marry her 1 yr. And she part with me and I marry another—Alice Mashkeyasha. She often fight me and I part again.”⁵⁶ In Oceana County an Odawa widow who was legally married “Indian Style” received her husband’s estate after his death.⁵⁷ While these examples suggest the occurrence of marriages by “Indian custom,” these practices were changing.⁵⁸

Marriages by “Indian custom” were often followed later in life by other forms of marriage. Local justices of the peace also performed wedding ceremonies. These marriages often occurred after the man and woman had already been recognized by other Anishinaabeg as married. Therefore, marriage by a justice of the peace demonstrates not a loss of belief in Anishinaabe practices, but an increase in the bureaucratic processes Native peoples were finding more and more necessary (including for pension applications). Claimant Charlotte Kaw-gay-aw-she was married to veteran Luke [Luther] Dutton according to “Indian customs,” and after his death, she married Stephen Kaw-gay-aw-she (James) in the same manner. When Stephen Kaw-gay-aw-she became ill, Justice of the Peace Stephen Hart performed another marriage ceremony for the couple.⁵⁹ This later ceremony might represent the couple’s concern that their marriage be

⁵⁵Deposition of Mary Singoby, Bay Shore, June 7, 1905 Civil War Pension file of Simon Singoby.

⁵⁶ William Newton, Bureau of Pensions Questionnaire, Honor, MI, April 7, 1915, Civil War Pension file of William Newton (widow, Angeline Newton).

⁵⁷ Elizabeth Shaw-be-gno-um, December 2, 1873, Oceana County Register of Deeds, Hart, MI.

⁵⁸ According to ethnohistorian James McClurken, “before the missionaries arrived at Wawgawnawkezee [L’Arbre Croche] in 1829, marriages were made when a groom moved into a woman’s house. A woman could divorce a man simply by placing his belongings outside the door of the house.” None of the deponents mentioned this gendered aspect of marriage practices. James M. McClurken, *Gah-Baeh-Jhagwah-Buk = The Way It Happened: A Visual Culture History of the Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Museum, 1991) 46-47.

⁵⁹Stephen Hart Denver Township November 28, 1885 R.A. Hales, Reviewer, Memorandum, S.E. Division, January 23, 1924; Certified Copy of Marriage of Stephen Ko-gash and Charlotte Dutton, Isabella, May 23, 1923 and

recognized by white officials. In another instance, Justice of the Peace Martin H. Foster performed the marriage ceremony of John Wesley to Mary (Pashuanequay) in March of 1892. The pension office had recently awarded Wesley his invalid pension in February, which might have influenced his decision to wed Mary “officially” in a ceremony performed by a justice of the peace. While his marriage to her earlier, probably around 1866, was recognized by other Anishinaabeg, it seems the couple wished to ensure that their union and parental status be recognized by state and federal officials.⁶⁰ Marriages by “Indian custom” preceded or coexisted with marriages by a justice of the peace or Christian officials. While these marriages can be seen as meeting state goals to surveil and incorporate indigenous peoples into the American nation-state, the pension process meant Anishinaabe veterans and their families increasingly found it beneficial to make their relationships legible to the settler state.

The confusion over what constituted marriage by “Indian custom” reflected change as Euro-American, Christian, and state practices influenced local marriage practices. At the same time, the very nature of pension claims encouraged contradictory testimonies. For example, the special examiner for the minor children of veteran William Cabecoung (Cay-bar-coung)

Charlotte Kaw-gay-aw-she, Declaration for Remarried Widow’s Pension, Isabella, MI, March 22, 1923 in Civil War Pension File of Luke [Luther] Dutton (widow, Charlotte Dutton).

⁶⁰John Wesley, Bureau of Pensions Questionnaire, May 1, 1899 and Mary Wesley, Declaration of a Widow for Original Pension,” November 23, 1908 in Civil War Pension File of John Wesley (Mary Wesley, widow), Company K, First Michigan Sharpshooters. The special examiner noted: “The main facts are that this woman lived with soldier for many years, born [bore] him 14 children, and was recognized as his wife for many years before their marriage by ceremony.” In this case, a woman’s roles as child-bearer and mother served as proof of a relationship. The examiners’ expectations related to domesticity helped a widow receive a pension without the required evidence. T G [Grant] Sims, Special Examiner, Grand Rapids, MI, to the Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., March 20, 1912, Civil War Pension File of John Wesley (Mary Wesley, widow), 8-9. The historiography of domesticity, gendered ideology, and women’s roles is important to this discussion. For example, see, Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Motherhood: “Women’s Sphere” in New England, 1780-183*, 2nd Ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 8-9, 84-85. Also for discussions of Native American marriages in relation to state and local governments, as well as government monitoring of marriages in pension cases, see Nancy Cott, *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 25-27, 103-104

investigated three of Cabecoung's relationships.⁶¹ The examiner determined that Cabecoung had two children with Geghan-quoto-qua, his first wife whom he married by "Indian custom."⁶² Nancy Jacobs, the mother of Geghan-quoto-qua told the examiner that her daughter and Cabecoung "were not formally married but lived together as husband and wife in Indian way. I consented to my daughter being his wife. [...] yes it was understood among the Indians that William and my daughter were married-that was the customary way."⁶³ Another deponent did not know if Cabecoung had been married, but agreed "that custom required the man to obtain the consent of the girls parents and then they could go to living together."⁶⁴ Their descriptions highlight parents' consent, an older practice that is only mentioned twice in the pension cases. Next, Cabecoung lived with Julia Todd, whom many of the deponents viewed as his second wife.⁶⁵ Lastly, he was in a relationship with Ke-ko-mo-qua—the deponents were split on whether this was a sexual relationship (she is referred to as a "fancy woman" and a concubine), whether she did housework for him, or whether she was his wife. A male deponent stated that he thought Ke-ko-mo-qua was Cabecoung's wife because they lived together and he "saw them sleep together under one blanket."⁶⁶ This testimony stressed that the marriage was legitimate when acknowledged by community members. Others agreed and commented on marriage in general, "We always understand that an Indian man and woman are husband and wife when they live together as Cay-baicoung and Ke-ko-mo-qua did."⁶⁷ Another deponent testified that Ke-ko-mo-qua was not Cabecoung's wife, but his concubine; the special examiner later issued a

⁶¹ N.D. Avis, Special Examiner, Saginaw, MI to Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., January 27, 1899, Civil War Pension File of William Cay-bar-coung (Cabecoung).

⁶² Jane David, Deposition E, November 21, 1898, Saginaw County, Ibid.

⁶³ Nancy Jacobs, Deposition C, Saginaw County, December 21, 1898, Ibid.

⁶⁴ William Turner, Deposition A, February 6, 1890 [1898?], Fergus, Pension file for minors of William Cay baicoung.

⁶⁵ John Jackson, Deposition X, January 3, 1899, Civil War Pension File of William Cay-bar-coung.

⁶⁶ Deposition Q, John Net-em-up, Cheboyganing, January 4, 1899, Ibid.

⁶⁷ William Turner, Deposition O, Fergus, December 22, 1898, Ibid.

judgment of his own, noting Ke-ko-mo-qua was often intoxicated and had given birth to three children after the soldier's death.⁶⁸ The examiner determined, "In many cases, an Indian man and woman appear to have lived together as husband and wife, so long as they have found it agreeable to do so and then have separated to find other partners and probably the union of the soldier and Ke-Ko-mo-qua was of such a character."⁶⁹ The confusion over Cabecoung and Ke-ko-mo-qua's relationship suggests that marriages by "Indian custom" were less common after the Civil War.⁷⁰ The lack of consensus also opens questions as to whether marriage the "customary way" was as frequent as deponents described or if these descriptions of marriages without paperwork—the "Indian way"—were part of a strategy to receive pensions.⁷¹

Testifying for the same case, William Turner, an Ojibwe farmer and Methodist minister, explained to the special examiner in 1890:

William Cay-bae-coung as well as myself belonged to what was and is known as the Chippewa tribe of Indians. We have no tribal organization now and have not had as far back as well near the war. When we were drawing pay from the government we had a man we called chief. Jim Fisher. We haven't drawn anything from the government now for over 20 years + longer. No we do not have to obey the orders of any chief now. We have to obey the civil laws of Michigan and the United States like any other citizen. We vote at all elections-national and state-I have voted ever since I was 21 years old. Each one who owns property owns it to himself. We are citizens and bound by the laws of Michigan the same as any other citizen. Since the marriage license law of Michigan came in force we must get a license and be married by a minister or an officer authorized for that purpose.⁷²

His testimony, in one fell swoop, seems to undermine the continuity of tribal status and identity, and along with it, the integrity of the pension files with affidavits by "chiefs" and marriages by

⁶⁸ James N. Coon, Deposition V, St. Charles, January 25, 1899, Civil War Pension File of William Cay-bar-coung.

⁶⁹ N.D. Avis, Special Examiner, Saginaw, MI to Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., January 27, 1899, Civil War Pension File of William Cay-bar-coung.

⁷⁰ The pension files included lower numbers of marriage by "Indian custom" in comparison to Christian and civil ceremonies.

⁷¹ Geghan-quot-qu's sister, Jane David, corroborated her mother's testimony, "They weren't married according to any form—just Indian way. They asked the old folks consent and called it marriage." Pension file for minors of William Cay-bar-coung.

⁷² William Turner, Deposition A, February 6, 1890 [1898?], Fergus, MI, Pension file for minors of William Cay-bar-coung.

“Indian custom.” The special examiner in Cabecoung’s case, however, only rated Turner as “fair,” and he believed that despite the 1887 marriage license law in Michigan, few Anishinaabeg in the area married by a state-acknowledged ceremony.⁷³ The second examiner in the case diverged from his predecessor, agreeing with Turner that the Anishinaabeg were subject to state laws like other citizens. Turner’s testimony highlights the rapidly changing circumstances of the Anishinaabeg after the Civil War. By 1890, the situation in many Anishinaabe places had changed dramatically from the 1850s and 1860s. The contradictions in Cabecoung’s pension record, however, might also indicate differing circumstances based on location. In addition, Turner may have been one of the Indian advocates of the federal policy of total assimilation, articulating his ideal rather than the reality. Cabecoung’s case and its discussion of marriage highlight the “conditional citizenship” and status of the Anishinaabeg in Michigan.⁷⁴

“We wish now to become men”: Anishinaabe Masculinity, Gender Roles, and Citizenship

The contradictions within pension cases underline the ways these files—even when juxtaposed with other sources—are open to multiple interpretations. William Turner’s description of citizenship suggests that the other depictions of marriage in William Cabecoung’s file might be contrived. During the 1870s, ogimaag and other leaders lost influence in many areas of Michigan as American Indians’ status and relationship with the federal government changed. Turner might have been correct when he asserted that the Anishinaabeg were the “same as any other citizen.” If so, it would suggest that the “logic of elimination” and assimilation into the settler state had been successful. When it was convenient for the government and public

⁷³ In 1887 Michigan began to require that justices of the peace and ministers issue a marriage license, providing the couple with a written copy. N.D. Avis, Special Examiner, Saginaw, MI to Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., January 27, 1899, Civil War Pension File of William Cay-bar-coung; Carol McGinnis, *Michigan Genealogy: Sources and Resources* (Baltimore : Genealogical Pub. Co.,1987), 43.

⁷⁴ Theodore J. Karamanski, “State Citizenship as a Tool of Indian Persistence: A Case Study of the Anishinaabeg of Michigan,” *Michigan Historical Review* 37 no. 1 (2011), 138

officials, Anishinaabeg were often treated the same as other citizens in that they were expected to abide by state laws. Yet, there are instances where the Anishinaabeg were not treated as citizens by their neighbors or by the state government. Their status as citizens was contingent on their tribal and band affiliations, location, and who was in control of local politics. Moreover, there is evidence that many Anishinaabeg continued to self-identify as Ojibwe and Odawa and expected to be recognized as such. Even men who claimed the rights of citizenship also worked to retain Anishinaabe land and hunting and fishing rights particular to them. Furthermore, Turner's testimony could reflect the fact that various Anishinaabe bands were not having the exact same experiences. The Saginaw, Black River, and Swan Creek Chippewa—the groups Turner was familiar with—had different experiences based on if they were living on the Isabella Reservation or if they were a member of the bands scattered throughout the Saginaw Bay area and still influenced by *ogimaag*.⁷⁵ Ojibwe and Odawa men adhered to some Anishinaabe concepts of gender and leadership in their struggle to retain land and maintain autonomy. They also claimed the rights of Michigan citizens and tried to establish their status as “deserving citizens” through their service in the Civil War.

As discussed previously, government policies of assimilation, paired with the efforts of missionaries, sought to convert Anishinaabe men from hunters to Christian farmers. The enlistment papers of Company K men suggest they partially succeeded with sixty percent of 135 men listed as farmers compared to seven percent who declared they were hunters. Twenty-seven percent, the next largest category, were laborers. For some, indicating at enlistment that they were farmers may have been part of their claims to be “civilized” and thus citizens. Two laborers and eleven farmers, however, also indicated they were hunters, a reminder that these positions were not mutually exclusive. While many Euro-American farmers supplemented their farm

⁷⁵ Cleland, *Faith in Paper*, 299-293.

products with hunting, these Anishinaabe men felt it necessary to include hunting on their enlistment papers demonstrating that they and their communities still valued their roles as hunters as some communities and family groups practiced modified forms of their seasonal subsistence practices.

Taken mostly from enlistment papers, these statistics come to life when juxtaposed with pension claims, which include evaluative statements about the soldiers. Deponents often used the same vocabulary and thus the instances in which the deponent used different descriptive words are significant to understanding circulating concepts of Anishinaabe masculinity, gender roles, and admired qualities or skills. While “hardworking” is an adjective that appears frequently and can be applied to Anishinaabe farmers, none of the deponents specifically praised an individual for their farming skills. This is a noticeable silence when considering the number of men who identified as farmers at enlistment and it might reflect the poor results of farming in many areas. Deponents specifically praised men for their hunting skills, however. Joseph Dusk-she-de-won and the veteran Charles Wabesis commented in their affidavits for veteran Amos Green: “we know there was no man here smarter or stouter or better hunter or runer [*sic*] than he before he went to the army.”⁷⁶ They valued his skills as a hunter, skills Anishinaabe men were expected to have before missionaries and government employees invaded their communities to transform them into farmers. Similarly, Waw-say-yaw-se-gay and Henry Pego testified in the pension case of James Ohbowakemo’s widow, stating that when he returned from the war “he could not run or perform any valiant exercise. [...] He was a strong well man when he enlisted, one of the strongest and best runner[s] among all the Indians but after he came home he was never again

⁷⁶Amos Green was a laborer and trapper. Joseph Dusk-she-de-won and Charles Wab-sis, General Affidavit, Elbridge, MI, October 18, 1886, Civil War Pension File of Amos Ashkebugnekay (Green).

well could not work but little nor hunt much like other Indians.”⁷⁷ Their judgment on his running and hunting demonstrates how deponents admired these skills and the resulting resources. While assimilationist programs affected Anishinaabe men’s and women’s roles, long-standing values influenced expectations and community perceptions of individuals. This gendered language—an amalgamation of ever-changing Anishinaabe and Euro-American concepts of proper masculinity—was used strategically by Odawa and Ojibwe men and women to access resources, both from their own communities and the U.S. government.

Many Ojibweg and Odawaag were still practicing some form of their seasonal rounds in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Michigan Anishinaabeg practiced a mixed economy that included a limited seasonal round and wage labor.⁷⁸ While seasonal rounds required a lot of territory, they were also adaptable to the decrease in Anishinaabe land bases as they continued to practice truncated seasonal rounds in postbellum Michigan. Anishinaabe farmers and laborers supplemented their agricultural activities with hunting and fishing.⁷⁹ Many examiners noted that they were unable to speak with former affiants because they were away, such as when veteran George Corbin, from Isabella, was away hunting bear in 1889 and the examiner could not ascertain when he would return.⁸⁰ “Rodney Negoke, Joseph Tush-she-de-nan or Paw-ne-shing, and Peter Louis, all Indians, were off on the lakes fishing,” noted another examiner conducting a review around Muskegon, Oceana, and Mason counties. “They lead roving lives and it is almost

⁷⁷James Ohbowakemo was a laborer. Waw-say-yaw-se-gay and Henry Pego, Neighbor’s Affidavit, June 19, 1896, Nottawa Township; Naw-se-ohe-waw, Deposition, Mt. Pleasant, MI, January 9, 1897, Civil War Pension file of James Oh-bow-ake-mo (Lucy Oh-bow-ake-mo, widow).

⁷⁸ See Edmund J. Danziger, Jr., *Great Lakes Indian Accommodation and Resistance during the Early Reservation Years, 1850-1900* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 46.

⁷⁹ For additional examples, see Antoine Tabyant Testimony, Emmet County, February 1, 1879 in Pension File of Antoine Tabyant and R.S. McCall, Special Examiner, Grand Rapids, MI, to the Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., January 18, 1924, Civil War Pension File of Luke [Luther] Dutton (Charlotte Dutton, widow), 6.

⁸⁰ Chas. H. Thomas, Special Examiner, East Saginaw, to James Tanner, Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., May 21, 1889, Civil War Pension File of George Ka-ba-ya-ce-ga (Mary Ka-ba-ya-ce-ga, widow), 4.

impossible to locate them.”⁸¹ Discussing an older Indian farmer, one deponent stated, “he works with spade and how [*sic*] and like most Indians do goes fishing, picks berries, and makes maple sugar.”⁸² Farmers subsidized their agricultural products with resources derived from established seasonal rounds. Women also partook in seasonal rounds. A special examiner noted that he could not obtain the testimony of Nancy [?], a soldier’s sister during “black-berrying season” because “she was some 18 miles away from home, camping out, picking berries.”⁸³ The mix of subsistence strategies, which included a truncated seasonal round, farming, hunting, fishing, and wage labor, frustrated special examiners who had trouble locating Anishinaabe individuals who were not the stationary farmers that missionaries and government officials wished them to be.⁸⁴

It is significant that the Anishinaabeg were incorporating intensified farming into their seasonal rounds, considering Anishinaabe gender expectations were largely defined by subsistence practices and the subsequent importance government officials placed on creating male Christian farmers. Pension claims suggest that the number of farmers recorded on the enlistment papers is misleading as both missionary and Anishinaabe beliefs continually influenced gender roles. The testimonies of wives, mothers, and daughters of Company K men demonstrate that Anishinaabe women also continued older practices while adapting to changing circumstances. For example, Lucy Ohbowakemo, the widow of James Ohbowakemo, mentioned

⁸¹ George F. Burba, Special Examiner, Grand Rapids, MI, May 16, 1896 to Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C. Civil War Pension File of George Stoneman (Mary Elliott, widow).

⁸² Daniel Naganashe and Angeline Ogitchewano, Emmet County, MI, February 23, 1887, Pension File of John Etarwegeshig. There are other examples of seasonal rounds, although some appear in suspicious claims or depositions that might have been influenced by an individual involved in multiple pension files, such as Rose Etarwegeshig and Paul Etarwegeshig, Harbor Springs, Sworn Testimony before a Notary Public, April 10, 1886, Pension File of John Etarwegeshig, 2.

⁸³ W.H. Harnsberger, Special Examiner, Cadillac, MI to Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., September 16, 1893, Civil War Pension File of George Ashkebug (Estabrook) (Mary Estabrook, widow).

⁸⁴ Anishinaabe subsistence activities were a manifestation of deliberate preservation of different parts of a seasonal round that included hunting territories, sugar bushes, and berry patches. See James McClurken, “Ottawa Strategies to Indian Removal,” *Michigan Historical Review*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spring, 1986), pp. 29-55, p 47, 49. Susan Gray points out that Odawaag used the missions “as bases from which to pursue a seasonally migratory economy.” Susan E. Gray, “Limits and Possibilities: White-Indian Relations in Western Michigan in the Era of Removal,” *Michigan Historical Review*, Vol. 20, No. 2, (Fall, 1994), 71-91, 83.

planting corn together after their marriage. She stated that her marriage occurred, “Just a little before planting time, seven years ago, next spring. Yes, I mean before we put in the early crops in the spring, what we expect to eat about in July.”⁸⁵ Both Lucy and James planted corn together or Lucy was referring to other women. Before missionary influence, Anishinaabe women were the main agriculturalists in their communities, supplementing their gathering activities. It is striking that Lucy not only partook in agricultural labor after the Civil War, but also marked time based on her crops and the planting seasons.

⁸⁵ Lucy Oh-bow-aka-mo, Deposition A, Mt. Pleasant, January 8, 1897, Civil War Pension file of James Ohbowakemo (Lucy, Oh-bow-aka-mo, widow), 12, 18.



Figure 5.2 Left: Men help Mary Aghosa harvest potatoes in Omena, Michigan in 1915. The photo's caption notes that during the busy season "the Indians of Omena work their farms in groups."

Figure 5.3 Mary Aghosa in her potato fields. Mary's husband, George Aghosa, was the son of the ogimaa, Aghosa, discussed in chapter 2.

Images of the early-twentieth century document both men's and women's agricultural labor, reflecting a change from agriculture being mostly women's domain. Given the missionaries investment in changing Anishinaabe female labor from gathering activities and horticulture to the domestic arts (weaving, sewing, etc.) and men from hunters to farmers, it is striking how many women continued to be associated with agriculture.

Source: Collection #45, West Michigan Indians, Grand Rapids Public Museum, I



Figure 5.4 Top Left: “Katie Pshaba Unquot-quay Hoywoma,” an 83 year old Ojibwe woman who had just come in from working in a cornfield.

Figure 5.5 Top Right: Anishinaabe woman with dried corn near Suttons Bay (Leelanau Peninsula).

Figure 5.6 Bottom Left: Woman in Omena cornfield.

Source: Collection #45, West Michigan Indians, Grand Rapids Public Museum, Grand Rapids, MI.

After the war, Anishinaabe men pulled from skillsets and ideas of masculinity tied to their multiple roles as hunters, leaders, preachers, and farmers, as well as their ability within an Anishinaabe framework to hold multiple positions in their lifetime.⁸⁶ In addition to valuing skills associated with their roles as warriors and hunters, Company K men were also exposed to ideals associated with the Christian farmer. Some Anishinaabe men wished to use the tools of “civilization”—such as reading and writing—to defend their land base and gain resources.

Andrew Blackbird—veterans Joseph Wakazoo’s and Payson Wolf’s uncle—helped claimants

⁸⁶ For discussions of multiple roles and forms of leadership, see chapter 1 and 2. Also, Cary Miller, *Ogimaag: Anishinaabeg Leadership, 1760-1845* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 114, 145-146, 174-175, 234-236.

complete pension paperwork. He valued education, much like Mwakewenah had in the 1850s.⁸⁷ In an appeal for educational funding, Blackbird proclaimed: “We wish now to become men, men of knowledge and education, that we may hold an equal standing with our white brothers [...]” Like Turner, he described how his people had renounced their “chiefdoms” and no longer practiced their customs and laws.⁸⁸ A number of Company K men seemed to have similar aspirations, and censuses taken after the war indicate that they sent (or were heavily encouraged to send) their children to school. Reading and writing in English helped Anishinaabe men exercise the rights of citizens, and as citizens they expected their land to be protected.

Anishinaabe Veterans (Ogichidaag): Claims to Citizenship

Anishinaabe soldiers who returned home used their veteran status to try and augment their resources or standing in their community. Blackbird recounted how veteran Sergeant Frances Tabasash participated in a war dance and spoke about his exploits as a member of Company K.⁸⁹ James W. Long, an Indian Agent at Mackinac, attended this event and Tabasash probably wished to remind the agent of the high number of Little Traverse Bay men who had fought in the late conflict. Perhaps his war dance would have also affected his reputation within his community. There are other instances of Company K men highlighting their veteran status in a public arena. When Thomas Kechittigo (Chittigo) moved to Grayling, he placed an

⁸⁷ For Wakazoo family genealogical information, see Robert P. Swierenga, William Van Appledorn, eds. *Old Wing Mission: cultural interchange as chronicled by George and Arvilla Smith in their work with Chief Wakazoo's Ottawa band on the West Michigan frontier* (Grand Rapids, Mich. : Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub., c2008), 623-626.

⁸⁸ Andrew Jackson Blackbird, *Education of Indian Youth, Letter of Rev. Samuel Bissell and Appeal of A.J. Blackbird, A Chippewa Indian* (Philadelphia: William F. Geddes, 1856) as quoted in Theodore J. Karamanski, *Blackbird's Song: Andrew J. Blackbird and the Odawa People* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2012), 154.

⁸⁹ A.J. Blackbird to James W. Long, December 12, 1869 (written from Little Traverse). Francis Tabasash also participated in Memorial Day parades: “After the war he returned to his farm, and his stooped form and gray hair were always seen in the soldiers’ parade here on Memorial day. He was the oldest member of the local G.A.R.. “Indian Veteran *Grand Rapids News*, November 23, 1912, 5. Grand Rapids Public Library.

advertisement in the *Crawford County Avalanche*, “Chitago, an Indian veteran soldier, has located in Grayling, and will be thankful for any work that may be given him to do.”⁹⁰ Company K men emphasized their service to benefit themselves and their families.

Company K veterans also joined fraternal organizations that could provide social and economic support. After the war, sixteen Anishinaabe veterans joined their local Grand Army of the Republic posts.⁹¹ The G.A.R. and Michigan Sharpshooter reunions provided these men with networks of fellow veterans. As members of the G.A.R. they were part of an organization meant to “preserve and strengthen those kind and fraternal feelings which bind together soldiers [...] and to perpetuate the memory and history of the dead,” to aid “former comrades” and their widows and children, and “to maintain true allegiance to the United States of America.”⁹² Membership in the G.A.R. was another opportunity created by their service in the Civil War.

A member of the G.A.R., Thomas Kechittigo, an Ojibwe man born in Saginaw County who lived in Pinconning and Grayling after the war, wrote at least two letters to Julian Edward Buckbee, a commander of Company K. Using G.A.R. rhetoric, Kechittigo signed his letter to the former major of the First Michigan Sharpshooters as “Your Comrade.” The tone and content of the two letters suggest Buckbee and Kechittigo became friends during the war or at the subsequent reunions of the First Michigan Sharpshooters. Kechittigo informed Buckbee in 1892, “I am pretty well, ‘big Indian me.’ I can kick six feet high yet. I do not feel old at all. I am just as

⁹⁰*The Crawford County Avalanche*, October 1, 1894, cited in Fay Bovee, “Ke-Chit-ti-go leaves his mark in Grayling” *The Crawford County Avalanche*, August 21, 2003, Thomas Ke-chit-ti-go Collection, Clarke Library, Central Michigan University.

⁹¹ James Arwonogezice, Joseph Ashkanak, Amos Ashkebugnekay, Amos Chamberlain, George Corbin, Cornelius Hall, William Isaacs, John Jacko, Thomas Kechittigo, William Newton, Leon Otashquabono, Marcus Otto, Aaron Sahgahnahquato, Simon Sanequaby, Francis Tabasash, and Payson Wolf belonged to the G.A.R. Czopek, *Who was Who in Company*, 45, 46, 48, 58, 65, 82, 87, 88, 101, 127, 131, 132, 143, 144, 162, 183.

⁹² Department of Michigan, Grand Army of the Republic, *Constitution and by Laws of Custer Post No. 5* (Grand Rapids: A. Van Dort, 1890), 3. John A. Logan, General Order No. 11, Grand Army of the Republic Headquarters, Washington D.C., May 5, 1868. Hosea W. Rood, “The Grand Army of the Republic,” *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Jun., 1923), pp. 403-413.

good a man to day as I was 31 years ago.” “Big Indian me” seems to have been a nickname, as he ended a previous letter to Buckbee in 1886, “that all tell you i am Big engen me.”⁹³ Kechittigo regularly attended Sharpshooter reunions, including one in Detroit in 1891 and another in



Figure 5.7 Ribbons from reunions of the First Michigan Sharpshooters. Source: DeLand family papers, 1816-1984. Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.

Figure 5.8 Thomas Kechittigo with his wife Mary. He is wearing a G.A.R medal and it appears she is wearing a medal from the ladies auxiliary of the G.A.R. Source: Civil War Pension File of Thomas Kechittigo, RG 15, National Archives, Washington D.C.

Lansing the following year. He told Buckbee of the 1891 reunion, “I was glad to see all our boys I met them there. I did not know some of them they were so old and gray.”⁹⁴ Kechittigo remained in contact with a network of sharpshooters and Company K men. He served in multiple

⁹³ Thomas Chittigo Pinconning, MI to Julian Edward Buckbee, November 13, 1886 and Thomas Chittigo Pinconning, to J.E. Buckbee, Chicago, June 19, 1892. Buckbee Family Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

⁹⁴Ibid. Also cited by Raymond J. Herek, *These Men Have Seen Hard Service: The First Michigan Sharpshooters in the Civil War* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998), 352.

elected positions in the 1900s at the G.A.R. post in Grayling, including color bearer.⁹⁵ His service as a soldier in the Union army made him part of a network of Anishinaabe and Euro-American men.

In contrast to Kechittigo, veteran Leon Otashquabono had a clear purpose connected to his pension case when he wrote Captain James S. DeLand in 1887. While he conveyed a sense of comradery and common identity, Otashquabono highlighted his relationship with other Anishinaabe men as much as with DeLand.

there are some of the Boys at Charlevoix and some at Cross Village and some at Suttons Bay I have not see [*sic*] them lately there are some at Petoskey and some at Harbor Springs *James Arwinkishig* resides at Charlevoix Mich. *Francis Tabasash* resides at Cross Village Emmet Co Mich *Alfred Peshowbay* resides at Petoskey Emmet County *John O Shomin* resides at Harbor Springs Emmet Co *Lewis Shomin* Resides Suttons Bay Lelanaw Co Mich there were some of the Boys at Pentwater or man there I cant tell if they are there yet or not some up Lake Superior There is some of the Boys around here when I see them I will speak to them or tell them where you are *George Askhkebog* is dead. He died about a year ago at North Port Mich *Sergt Scott* died about seven years ago at Pentwater Mich⁹⁶ [*italics added*]

Otashquabono listed the location of seven other Company K veterans, most of whom testified in his pension case, as he did in theirs. Many of them were Catholic, representing a network of Odawa men from around Little Traverse Bay.⁹⁷ In addition to Otashquabono, three of the other men listed were G.A.R. members. Otashquabono attended G.A.R. functions, even traveling to Washington D.C. for a national event, and his network of veterans extended beyond his fellow Anishinaabeg.⁹⁸ He signed his letter to DeLand, “yours in F, C, and L”—Fraternity, Charity, and

⁹⁵ Fay Bovee, “Ke-Chit-ti-go leaves his mark in Grayling” *The Crawford County Avalanche*, August 21, 2003, Clarke Library, Central Michigan University.

⁹⁶ Leon Otashquabono to James S. DeLand, June 5, 1887, DeLand Family Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, MI.

⁹⁷ Leon Otashquabono to Captain James S. DeLand, June 4, 1887, DeLand family papers, 1816-1984, Burton Collection, Detroit Public Library. Leon Otashquabono was discharged at the same time and place as four of these men. Michigan Adjutant General’s Office, *Record of Service of Michigan Volunteers in the Civil War, 1861-1865* (Kalamazoo, Mich., Ihling bros. & Everard, 1905), 44: 67.

⁹⁸ Special Examiner’s Report to Commissioner of Pensions, October 15, 1892 in the Civil War Pension file of George Ashkebug (widow, Mary Estabrook).

Loyalty—the motto of the Grand Army and a reminder to DeLand of their fraternal connections. He began his letter to DeLand, “Dear comrade” and approached the captain as a fellow soldier and citizen who expected the United States government to provide a pension. Otashquabono’s letter underlines how Anishinaabe men negotiated networks as veterans; a status that, for some Anishinaabe veterans, was tied to claims to citizenship.

The pension files were part of multifaceted Anishinaabe claims on the government both as Indians and as citizens. Many Company K veterans exercised their rights as potential state citizens. As mentioned previously, the second Michigan Constitution, granted “civilized” Indians who were not part of a tribe the right to vote, a right associated with state citizenship. The 1855 Treaty with the Odawaag and Ojibweg, paired with the 1850 constitution, implied the Ojibweg and Odawaag could become state citizens based on the dissolution of tribal organization.⁹⁹ Government officials and indigenous peoples contested what forms this citizenship would take.¹⁰⁰ Anishinaabe voting rights were contingent on white officials’ judgments.

Michigan election officials unevenly (and opportunistically) supported Anishinaabe enfranchisement. In a local township election in Bingham (on the Leelanau Peninsula) in 1866, officials barred members of the Grand Traverse Band from the election, declaring “they were not citizens” and since they received government annuities, “were not subject to the draft...and were consequently minors.” The Anishinaabe men argued that they were willing to take the risk

⁹⁹ “Tribe,” in this instance, was an entity created to negotiate treaties between the U.S. and the Ojibweg and Odawaag so that the U.S. did not have to disperse annuities to separate peoples after the 1836 treaty. As Cleland points out, the Ojibweg requested this artificial construct be dissolved. It did not change Anishinaabe understanding of band-level leadership, which continued to operate in varying degrees. Similarly, the General Allotment Act of 1887 extended United States citizenship to Native allottees that were “civilized” or no longer part of a tribe.

¹⁰⁰ Cleland, *Rites of Conquest*, 243. Even Indians who considered themselves Michigan citizens were not U.S. citizens. The Dawes Allotment Act of 1887 included provisions for citizenship but its requirements meant citizenship did not extend to all Native peoples.

of losing annuities, declaring “we will run the risk—we have voted ten years—receiving our annuities in the meantime as usual and we are confident we shall not forfeit it by exercising our rights as citizens by voting.”¹⁰¹ In the minds of the Anishinaabe voters, receiving annuities from treaties was not contradictory to voting “as citizens.” Michigan officials and Anishinaabeg continued to contest citizenship after this 1866 incident, largely due to ongoing demands for treaties and the conditions placed on citizenship that left it up for debate.

Anishinaabe men voted in elections, and some politicians considered them as a potential partisan voting bloc. As President Lincoln’s and Governor Austin Blair’s popularity decreased in some regions of Michigan, Indian Agent DeWitt C. Leach—a Republican—hoped the negotiation of a treaty with the Saginaw Chippewa (Ojibweg) would regain votes for the Republican Party. “We hope to make the proposed changes in the treaty [treaty of 1864] of some political use to us. Our Indians are voters and their votes may be of great importance to us in the approaching election. They [the Saginaw Chippewa] reside in the closest congressional district in the State and hence, anything fair and honorable that we can do to put them in good humor and to favorably dispose them towards the government we wish to do.”¹⁰² Due to political pressure, the Saginaw, Swan Creek, and Black River Ojibwe bands got their new treaty; the Odawaag were not so fortunate.¹⁰³

The government’s willingness to negotiate treaties with the Anishinaabeg after the series of 1855 treaties had “dissolved” tribal membership, demonstrates, in Richard White’s estimation, that Anishinaabe bands “were autonomous units with whom new treaties could be made.”¹⁰⁴ The debacle following the 1855 treaties—failure of government officials to survey and issue

¹⁰¹ A.B. Page to R.M. Smith, Bingham, MI, August 1, 1866, Record Group 75, M-234, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Roll 407 quoted in Matthew L.M. Fletcher, *The Eagle Returns: The Legal History of the Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2012), 114.

¹⁰² Cleland, *Faith in Paper*, 300. NAM M234 R 407: 538-40, Leach to W.P. Dole, October 4, 1864.

¹⁰³ Richard White, *The Burt Lake Band: An Ethnohistorical Report on the Trust Lands of Indian Village*, 49-50.

¹⁰⁴ White, *The Burt Lake Band*, 48.

allotments in a timely fashion—led the Anishinaabeg to demand new treaties. The Odawaag relentlessly pursued a new treaty in the 1860s; the Grand Traverse band even sent a delegation to Washington in May 1866. The Odawaag from Grand Traverse, Little Traverse, and Grand River bands continued requesting a new treaty in 1867, the year their voting rights once again came into question.¹⁰⁵

During the state's 1867 constitutional convention, Leach (the former Indian Agent), representing Grand Traverse, wished to clearly confirm the Michigan Indians right to the elective franchise. The convention debated the language with the representative from Isabella proposing to keep the part of the language from the 1850 Constitution, enfranchising "all civilized male Indians, natives of the United States" rather than "*all* male Indians." Leach worried the "civilized" condition would, in practice, exclude some Anishinaabe men from voting. "On the ground of civilization some would be cut off from voting and others would not," Leach argued. And, given the tribal organization was only "partially dissolved," Leach wondered if that language "would not cut off the whole of them from voting." He pointed out that many Anishinaabe men had been voting for seventeen years and he, in sharp contrast to his 1864 arguments about the voting power of Indians in the state, told the conventions only small percentages voted: "I do not think over five or six hundred Indian votes have ever been polled at any election throughout the entire State....very little harm would be done, even if the

¹⁰⁵ In 1869, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Nathaniel Green Taylor still refused to negotiate a treaty with the bands, declaring that the Indians wishes could be "more readily accomplished by Congressional enactment" (legislation). White, *Ibid.*, 50-57,(quote, 53). White points out the Odawaag were not U.S. citizens until 1887 (Dawes General Allotment Act) and, given his argument that band-level leadership continued to operate, believes that they were not actually citizens until the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act.

Indians always voted on the wrong side.”¹⁰⁶ He hoped the convention would clearly support enfranchising Indian men.

Leach worried that the rights Anishinaabe were already exercising would be taken away. He specifically referred to Emmet County Indian voters and township office holders. Anishinaabe men entered politics at the municipal and county level. Odawa men helped organize Emmet County in the 1850s and worked as deputy sheriffs and supervisors in Little Traverse, Bear Creek, and La Croix townships.¹⁰⁷ Francis Tabasash, for instance, was part of the county board of canvassers in the late 1850s and early 1860s, and justice of the peace from 1859 to 1863 (when he enlisted). When Tabasash returned from the war, he continued working in the county government and was present at several county meetings in 1867. John O. Shomin, also a Company K veteran, represented La Croix at an 1871 county board meeting and was part of the Board of County Canvassers in 1874.¹⁰⁸ Odawa and Ojibwe men got involved in local governments in parts of the state where there were large numbers of Anishinaabe voters in the 1850s. In the 1870s, as white populations increased, Anishinaabe men were not elected as frequently to county and township positions. There were exceptions, of course, and it appears some Company K members used their status as veterans and citizens to become part of their local governments. For example, the Republican Caucus in Grayling Township nominated veteran Thomas Kechittigo in early April 1896 to serve as a constable and later that month he

¹⁰⁶ WM. Blair Lord and David Wolfe Brown, *The Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Michigan* (Lansing: John A. Kerr & Co., 1867), 259-260. Also see Rosen, *American Indians and State Law*, 143-149.

¹⁰⁷ Karamanski, *Blackbird's Song*, 155-157.

¹⁰⁸ Emmet County, *Supervisors Journal 1859-1863 and Statement of Votes, 1855-1867*, 23, 33, 46, 70; *Statement of Votes II, 1863-1873* (Microfilm 120.1); *Board of Supervisors 1874-1879*, 5, 21, Office of the Emmet County Clerk, Petoskey, Michigan. In the 1850s and 1860s, Anishinaabe men held many Emmet County positions, such as Augustus Hamlin (County Surveyor, 1858), Louis Petosegay (County Treasurer, 1856), and Peter Greensky (Justice of the Peace, Charlevoix, 1861). Emmet County Abstract of Supervisors' Proceedings (transcript), Roll 56, 10, 13-14, 16, 18, 22, 107, 121. Michigan Historical Records Survey Microfilm, Bentley Historical Library.

was voted in as one of four constables and was reelected in 1898.¹⁰⁹ Despite serving in roles reserved for citizens, Anishinaabe citizenship was not universally acknowledged or understood.

Even as Anishinaabe men voted, there are hints that band affiliation still operated. Citizenship conditions concerned with allegiance meant that officials paid attention to how Anishinaabe politics functioned. When discussing the 1855 treaty with the Odawaag and Ojibweg, Special Agent E.J. Brooks acknowledged, in 1878: “I know that they accepted the conditions and obligations of citizenship reluctantly and even now many among them claim that the constituted authorities have no jurisdiction over them.”¹¹⁰ Even in 1886, Anishinaabe leadership continued to operate. Indian Agent Mark Stevens noted “in every respect, so far as the rights of citizenship are concerned, they stand on an equality with whites. While no tribal relations exist, yet the Indians annually elect certain of their number, whom they call chiefs or headmen, whose duty it is to transact all business with the Government or the Indian agent, sign all papers and stipulations, which they consider as binding upon the band.”¹¹¹ Michigan and, after the war, United States citizenship was not straightforward for Native peoples and officials and certain Anishinaabe contested rights and responsibilities. Deponent William Turner noted in William Cabecoung’s case that many Anishinaabe men voted. The special examiner took him at his word, noting “Ever since Pres Lincolns administration these Chippewa Indians have been citizens—voting at all county, state + national elections owning property in severalty +

¹⁰⁹ Excerpts taken from the *Crawford County Avalanche*, April 2, 1896 and April 9, 1896 cited in Fay Bovee, “Ke-Chit-ti-go leaves his mark in Grayling” *The Crawford County Avalanche*, August 21, 2003, Clarke Library, Central Michigan University.

¹¹⁰ E.J. Brooks to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 1, 1878, National Archives, M-234 quoted in White, 57.

¹¹¹ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1886*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886), 165. Richard White finds evidence of band-level leadership even later, in relation to the Cheboygan band or Burt Lake band. He notes that in 1908 leaders in the band determined/delineated band membership and that the government still recognized indigenous leadership and the band. White, *The Burt Lake Band*, 58, 61.

answerable to no chief + no law except the civil laws of the land, state and national.”¹¹²

Citizenship, however, continued to be debated in the state and, after the war, nationally.

Within Michigan, there was confusion over the legal status of Indians and their actual status as it operated in the state. In addition, the federal government attempted to define citizenship after the war. As one of the 1867 Michigan constitutional delegates pointed out, the 1866 Civil Rights Act and the Fourteenth Amendment (then still pending in several states) potentially granted citizenship to Indians who had “abandoned their tribal relations.” Section one of the Fourteenth Amendment, ratified in 1868, granted United States citizenship to “all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof....” The second section of the Amendment excluded “Indians not taxed” from being enumerated as persons when deciding representatives for states.¹¹³ The first section seemed to open the possibility for Indian citizenship, but in 1870 a Senate Judiciary Committee explained that

¹¹² Special Examiner, Saginaw to H. Clay Evans, February 9, 1900. Civil War pension File of minors of William Cay-bar-coung.

¹¹³ George P. Sanger, ed. *The Statutes at Large, Treaties, and Proclamations of the United States of America, from December 1865, to March 1867* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1868), 358. Quoted in David E. Wilkins and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiiik Stark, eds., *American Indian Politics and the American Political System 3e* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011), 42. Taxes, mentioned in the Fourteenth Amendment, were also important to Michigan understandings of citizenship. The Michigan House of Representatives viewed owning land and paying taxes as a major part of citizenship. (In this ruling, there is an understanding that the tribe was dissolved in 1855 and that the Indian men owned land “the title to which they hold by patent from the United States government, and can dispose of it at pleasure” and that fourteen out of the forty-one Indian men in question paid taxes. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan, 1861*, 1 (Lansing: Hosmer & Kerr, 1861), 145 (quote), 145-148.) Anishinaabeg who purchased land, even before the Civil War, often paid taxes. For instance, Joseph Wakazoo and other ogimaag who helped their band purchase land before allotment paid taxes. Many Odawaag and Ojibweg did not receive their allotments from the 1855 treaty until the 1870s and Michigan taxed these allotments as well.¹¹³ Indeed, sometimes deceptive officials overtaxed Indians as part of a strategy to gain access to Anishinaabe lands. For instance, near Little Traverse Bay, an Emmet County official threatened to continue raising taxes until the region had “relieved itself of the presence of Indians.” In 1877, Indian tax payers were taxed twice the amount of non-Indians for eighty acres. In contrast, unallotted land held in trust by the government for the Anishinaabeg was not supposed to be taxed. James McClurken, “We Wish To Be Civilized: Ottawa- American Political Contests on the Michigan Frontier” (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 1988), 213-214; “Indians of the Midwest,” Interactive Timeline, The Newberry Library, http://publications.newberry.org/indiansofthemidwest/wp-content/themes/plainscape/timeline/timeline_marketplace.html accessed May 10, 2016; (quote) Edwin J. Brooks to Ezra A. Hayt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 12, 1878, NAM234, roll 413, quoted in Rubenstein, “Justice Denied;” Cleland, *Rites of Conquest*, 254. Michigan Public Act 206 exempted the “property of Indians who are not citizens” from taxation in 1893. *Public Acts and Joint and Concurrent Resolutions of the Legislature of the State of Michigan Passed at the Regular Session of 1893* (Lansing: Robert Smith & Co., 1893), 358; Rubenstein, “Justice Denied,” 164.

Indians affiliated with tribes were not subject to the Fourteenth Amendment.¹¹⁴ In *Elk v. Wilkins* (1884), the Supreme Court affirmed that the Fourteenth Amendment did not apply to Indians born as tribal members and denied John Elk, who left his indigenous nation and moved to Omaha, Nebraska, the right to vote.¹¹⁵ The General Allotment Act (1887) declared any Indian who received allotments or “voluntarily taken up...his residence separate and apart from any tribe of Indians...and has adopted the habits of civilized life, is hereby declared to be a citizen of the United States....”¹¹⁶ Like the 1850 Michigan Constitution, the national act condition Indian citizenship on “civilization.” Also, similar to the 1855 treaty in Michigan, the act put the allottee’s land in trust, which led to various opinions on when an Indian allottee was actually a citizen—upon receiving an allotment, or once the trust relationship was complete. Even after the Civil War, citizenship was conditional and questioned by officials at various levels.¹¹⁷

Conclusion

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century pension files capture the uneven and incomplete changes in Anishinaabe-American spaces, where new categories borrowed or adapted from Euro-Americans began to replace older categories that defined identity, authority, power, and gender roles. The Anishinaabeg claimed certain rights and land while maintaining levels of autonomy and self-determination for their communities. Assimilation policies and

¹¹⁴ As David E. Wilkins and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark point out, this committee opened up the possibility for “assimilated” individuals to become “subject to federal jurisdiction, but stopped short of declaring even detribalized Indians American citizens.” Wilkins and Stark, *American Indian Politics and the American Political System*, 42-43.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹¹⁶ *The Dawes Act (1887)*, available from <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=50&page=transcript> ; accessed May 19, 2016.

¹¹⁷ Because Michigan voters rejected the 1867 constitutional convention’s revisions, the 1850 constitution with restrictions based on tribal membership and concepts of civilization, remained in effect until voters approved a 1908 revision that enfranchised “every inhabitant of Indian descent.” *Constitution of the State of Michigan of 1908* available from <http://www.legislature.mi.gov/documents/historical/miconstitution1908.htm> ;accessed May 27, 2016. Also, see “Michigan Manual 2009-2010: Michigan Constitutions,” available from http://www.legislature.mi.gov/publications/MichiganManual/2009-2010/09-10-MM_II_pp_01-02_Intro.pdf accessed May 27, 2016.

increasing settler populations affected Anishinaabe politics, government structures, and leadership as the influence of ogimaag continued to decrease, especially as declining resources weakened gift-giving practices and American Indians relationship with the federal government changed. During the pension claims process, however, different forms of Anishinaabe leadership continued to function in many areas along with band organization.¹¹⁸ Despite the growing power of government Indian agents, municipal, county, and state governments, Anishinaabe individuals continued to lead their people and influence the changes in Michigan, but in multiple roles.

The pension files narrate Anishinaabe men's and women's struggles to obtain resources, in this case from a federal government that was in the process of allotting Indian land and implementing policies of assimilation. Placed in the context of the rapid changes in late nineteenth-century Michigan, some of the pension claims were part of a long struggle of the Anishinaabeg for federal recognition of autonomy. The successful pension cases, in which special examiners acknowledged Anishinaabe testimony and Anishinaabe practices as legitimate evidence, are examples of the Anishinaabeg asserting their identity and working for the recognition of practices that partially fell outside of nineteenth-century Euro-American ideals.¹¹⁹ Moreover, Odawa and Ojibwe individuals strategically used government officials' preconceptions of Native peoples to acquire monetary payments, sometimes manipulating evidence to assert that their long-standing practices deserved recognition. Approximately seventy percent of the pension applications were successful despite the difficulties faced by examiners in

¹¹⁸ As Richard White clarifies: "The treaty [of 1855] dissolved the tribe but retained the band, and thus kept the Indians under federal supervision at the same time as it technically made them eligible to vote in state elections." White, *The Burt Lake Band*, 43.

¹¹⁹ Charlotte Dutton, for instance, was awarded a pension despite not having proof of her marriage by "Indian custom" to Luther Dutton. Pension File of Luke [Luther] Dutton (widow, Charlotte Dutton).

reaching claimants' homes, as well as the frequent lack of paper evidence for life events, medical issues, and family connections.¹²⁰

While Anishinaabe individuals were able to use stereotypes to their advantage, they also had to overcome many obstacles in order to receive a pension. Mary Wesley, for instance, received a pension up until her death through a white guardian after she was judged “not competent to handle money.”¹²¹ Many of the applicants, especially widows, would not have received their pensions without the aid of white middlemen or other Anishinaabeg. The bureaucratic process required to receive a pension was confusing and difficult for some applicants because they lived in largely Anishinaabe spaces where they did not need to speak much English. The pension narratives describe places where Anishinaabe identity continued to change, as Ojibwe and Odawa individuals, families, and leaders, worked to have their voices heard by government officials. Many of the men of Company K negotiated the rights of citizens to provide for their families at the same time many emphasized their identities as Indian people. Pension deponents used many different self-identifiers—Ottawa, Chippewa, Indian, “full blood,” and “half French and half Indian”¹²² Anishinaabe veterans did not fade away or disappear, but rather forced the state to affirm their presence and reward their service.

While the ideology of assimilation, supported by many of the Christian missionaries, predicted Anishinaabe peoples would become detribalized “civilized” citizens—individualistic farmers who cultivated the land in a recognizable way—the Anishinaabeg continued to assert

¹²⁰ This percentage is approximate, assuming that certificate numbers represent a successful pension claim (in many cases, also paired with other indications of payments). While 97 members of Company K have pension files, there were actually 156 pension applications (family members), 109 of which received certificate numbers. Czopek, *Who was Who*, 194-201.

¹²¹ T G [Grant] Sims, Special Examiner, Grand Rapids, MI, to the Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., March 20, 1912 in Civil War Pension File of John Wesley (Mary Wesley, widow).

¹²² For examples, see Angelica Ma-tchi-ga-bo, Deposition B, June 8, 1894, in Pension File of John B. Anotagan (Peter Amderling); Henry Wassagezie, Pension File of John B. Anotagan; Louisa Genereau (widow of Louis Genereau), Civil War Pension File of Louisa Genereau (Genereau).

their Indian identity even as they owned property, served in the army, and voted. While the logic of settler colonialism insisted on the disappearance of indigenous peoples from the land—either by assimilation or removal—long-standing Anishinaabe social organization, networks, and subsistence practices ensured that many Anishinaabeg were able to remain on small pieces of their homelands.

Conclusion

“Her son Peter, had he lived and discharged a son’s part, would have supported her in old age, but he gave his life to his country....” Joseph Wakazoo testified on behalf of Lucy Kamiskwasigay, the mother of Peter South, his comrade. Louis Miskogouon, the soldier who miraculously survived imprisonment and the *Sultana* explosion, confirmed that South had died in December 1864 while they were both at Andersonville. By August 1865, Andrew Blackbird and other Odawaag also tried to help Kamiskwasigay receive a pension. In his 1868 deposition, Wakazoo pleaded on behalf of Kamiskwasigay: “All her property—except a piece of land granted to her by the Indian Department, + which she has no right to sell, or means to improve—would not sell for over fifty dollars, and that amount would not pay her debt, contracted on the sure belief that the United States Gov. would redeem its pledge by granting her, in common with others, a pension.” Wakazoo makes many claims on the government in his brief deposition. He appeals, like many veterans, to the government’s “pledge” to support soldiers and their families who fought for the Union, stressing that Peter South had died for his country. By mentioning Kamiskwasigay’s allotment, which was still held in trust by the U.S. government, he also noted her Indian identity and status. Kamiskwasigay lived about two miles from the south shore of Little Traverse Bay, near Bear River. Andrew Porter—invited decades earlier to Bear River by Odawaag interested in education—was a helpful ally in this moment, testifying on behalf of the “poor woman.”¹ The pension files tell many such personal and textured stories. Paired with the

¹The Presbyterian missionary, Andrew Porter, underlined possible confusion due to translations of Odawa names into the bureaucratic record. He recounted: “[I] named her son South, as our interpretation of one of his mother’s names—

pre-war narrative of this area, these stories show Anishinaabeg deliberately making their “x-marks” and preparing for their future in their homelands.² The Anishinaabeg worked both inside and outside of the settler colonial framework to avoid removal as they dealt with the United States’ settler colonial policies, including allotment. Their history demonstrates the complexities of settler colonialism, challenging the rigid binary between settlers and the colonized.

Wakazoo suggests Kamiskwasigay received a land patent and lived on her allotment, but that would have been unusual for the Anishinaabeg in northwest Michigan. As of 1868, many had still not received allotments from the 1855 treaty. Daniel Mwakewenah, for instance, died in the war before the government issued his allotment certificate. “Daniel Mwaw-ke-we-naw Chief” is posthumously mapped onto 1871 plat maps in Resort Township (Township 34) in Emmet County (see figure 6.1 and 6.2). Given his fight in the 1840s to avoid removal, had he returned from the war, Mwakewenah may have seen allotment as a victory. In the 1840s, Mwakewenah had argued that the Odawaag should be allowed to purchase land. He owned land in Bear River (see figure 6.3).³ Many Anishinaabeg worked to be recognized as “civilized” land owners after the 1836 Treaty of Washington established limited-term reservations. Serving in the Union army was another way men like Mwakewenah asserted rights to their land. While not all Anishinaabeg supported allotment, for some, the plat maps recorded a culmination of strategies to remain in the region.

they have often two or three names—Shawananokewe...” Civil War Pension File of Peter South (Lucy Kamiskwasigay, mother), Company K, First Michigan Sharpshooters, RG 15, National Archives, Washington D.C.

² Scott R. Lyons, *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 9-10

³ Due partly to bureaucratic inadequacies, the government did not issue patents for Mwakewenah’s land until the stipulated ten-year period expired, which occurred after his death. The U.S. government issued a land patent to “Daniel MwawKe we naw (Chief)” on January 1, 1872, for 80 acres in Emmet County (Accession Number: M13210.486). Mwakewenah sold land to Daniel Rodd in 1860, suggesting he owned land prior to his death (Warranty Deed 2189426). Emmet County Register of Deeds, Petoskey, MI. Wesley L. Andrews, “Okimak Odawak,” unpublished manuscript, 97-99.

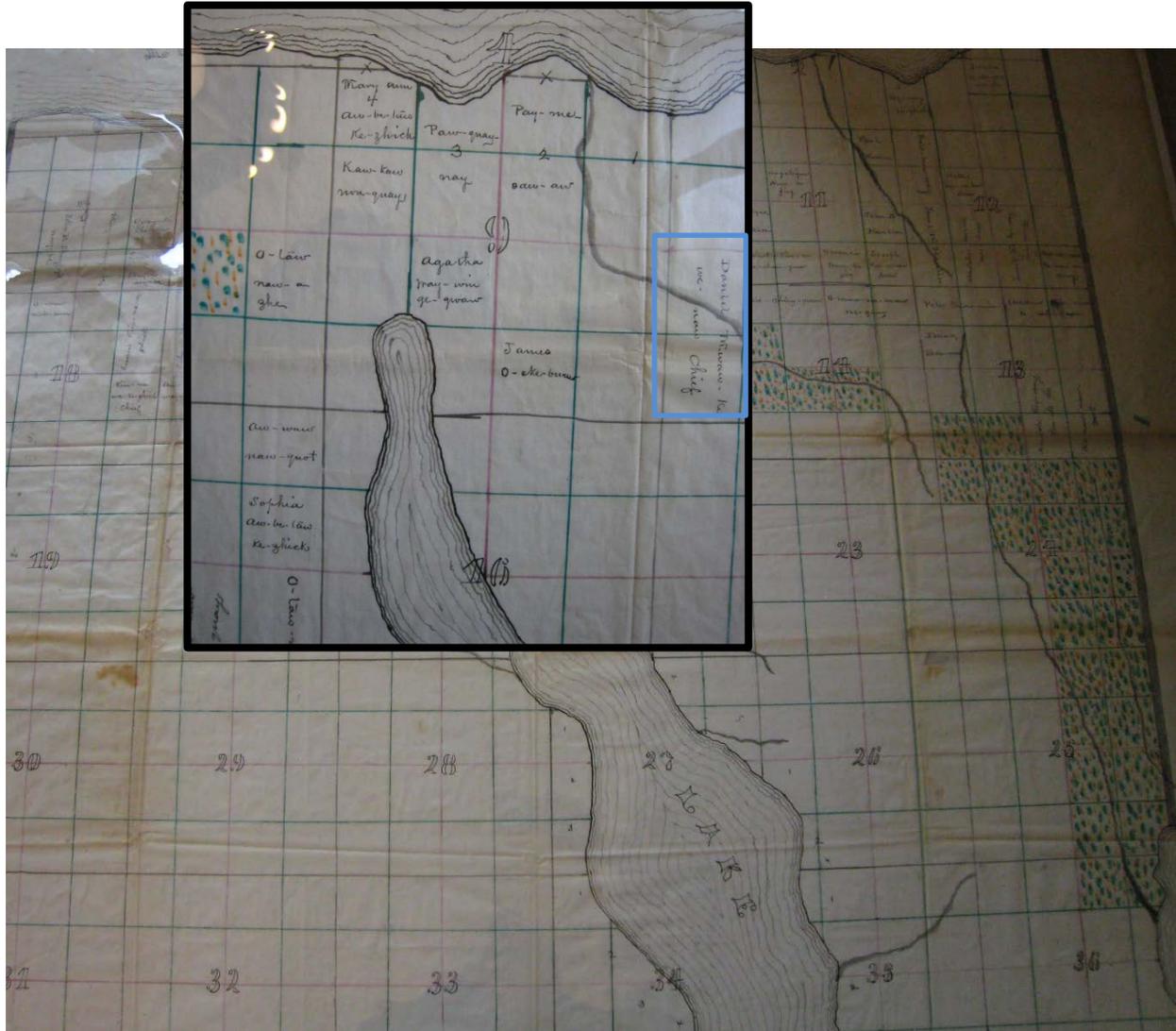


Figure 6.1 The blue square indicates allotment of “Daniel M-waw-ke-we-naw Chief.” Like earlier maps, the 1871 plat maps were projections—what was supposed to be there according to the creator of the maps. Many Anishinaabeg did not keep their patents for long, both due to fraud and due to the need for the funds they could gain through sale. Moreover, the process of selecting allotments was fraught with dramatic disagreements and pre-claims. Source: Township plats showing allotments to the Chippewa and Ottawa Indians of the Mackinac Agency [371-1871], Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington D.C.

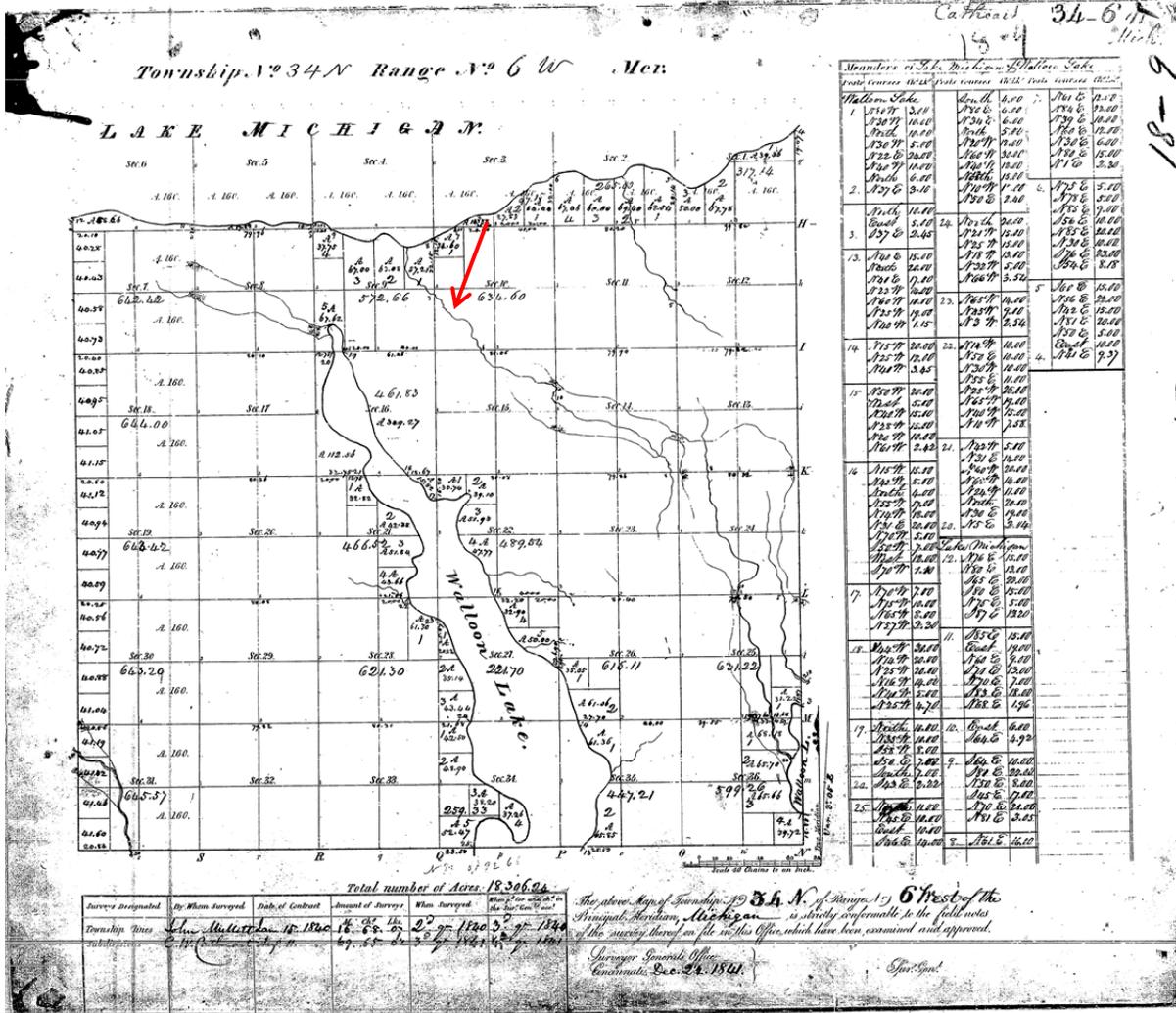


Figure 6.2 The red arrow shows approximate location of Mwakewenah's allotment, which had a creek running through it. The 1840 survey map illustrates the location of the allotment, near Little Traverse Bay and also not far from Walloon Lake (Marqua Lake on the 1871 plat map). Source: 1840 Survey Map, Emmet County, Resort Township, State Archives of Michigan available online, Michigan Department of Natural Resources, http://www.michigan.gov/dnr/0,4570,7-153-10371_14793-31058--00.html

Lake Michigan.
Township. N. 34 Range. W. 5

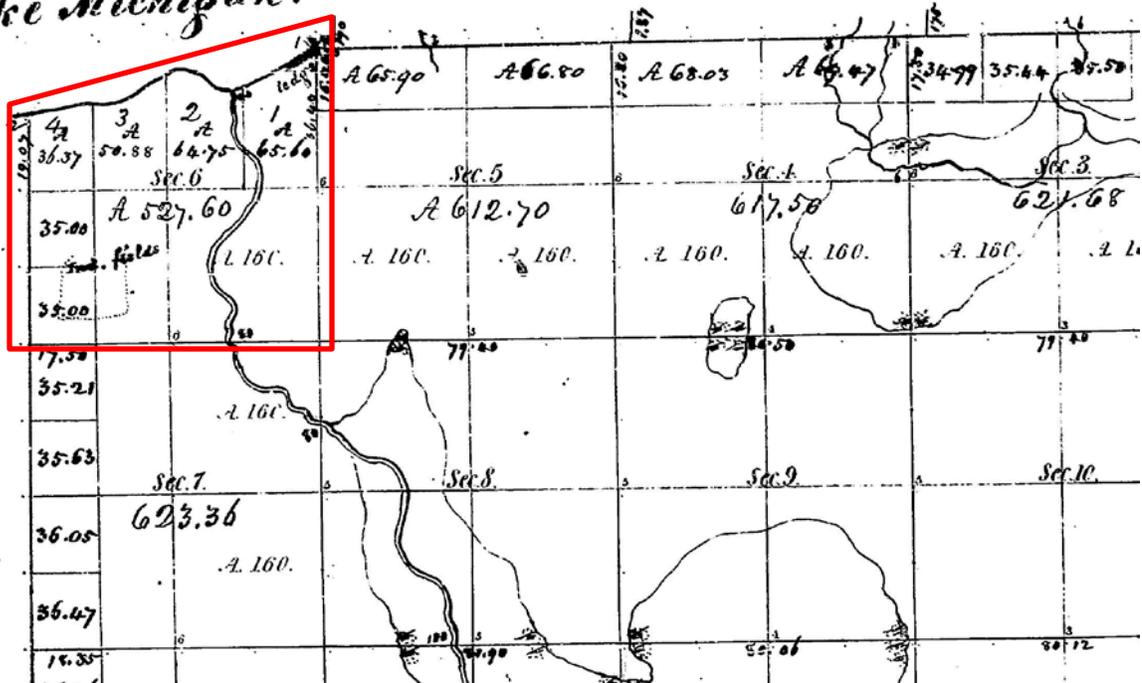


Figure 6.3 In 1860, Daniel and Catherine Mwakewenah sold land in Bear River to Daniel Rodd (who interpreted for Dougherty and Porter in the 1850s and 1860s). The lot, in the southwest portion of section 6 in Bear Creek Township, was located near where “Indian fields” had been in the 1840s. Mwakewenah also sold land to other Anishinaabeg, including Petahbuwaqua in 1859 (also in section 6). At the time of the sale, Petahbuwaqua’s house was located on the lot (lot number 4), suggesting Mwakewenah, as an ogimaag, had purchased land for other Anishinaabeg before eventually selling it to some individuals. He also inherited his father’s estate.⁴ Source: 1840 Survey Map, Emmet County, Bear Creek Township, State Archives of Michigan available online, Michigan Department of Natural Resources, http://www.dnr.state.mi.us/spatialdatalibrary/pdf_maps/glo_plats/emmet/34n05w.pdf

Despite large land cessions and the allotment process, the Anishinaabeg maintained shifting communities in the nineteenth century. They cultivated different allies in their struggles to avoid removal from Michigan. The Anishinaabeg demanded particular rights and land using some of the skills and practices Euro-American missionaries promoted. Christianity and service in the Civil War helped some Ojibwe and Odawa men bolster their influence in multilayered

⁴ Daniel Wells to Petahbuwaqua, January 26, 1859, Warranty Deed 2189187, Emmet County Register of Deeds.

communities while creating new leadership roles to politically, socially, and economically benefit themselves, their families, and their bands. Certain Anishinaabeg gained new political allies and negotiated a permanent place in the state of Michigan by declaring they were “civilized” state citizens with the right to own land. Company K soldiers strengthened their citizenship claims through military service. Anishinaabe individuals asserted their Indian identity even as they owned property, served in the army, and voted. The Anishinaabe strove for a dual citizenship that would provide the rights and protections associated with state, and later, national, citizenship, while also claiming Indian status and determining the political, social, and religious practices of their communities. The Anishinaabeg manipulated the federal bureaucratic pension system in particular ways for Anishinaabe purposes and in recognition of Anishinaabe social arrangements. Their achievements in generating an Anishinaabe modernity within Michigan went beyond land to matters of faith, education, leadership, and intercultural negotiation.

Anishinaabe modernity in the state of Michigan came at a cost, however.

Kamiskwasigay’s poverty, highlighted by Wakazoo in her pension claim, was by no means unusual for Anishinaabe individuals. The Anishinaabeg faced enormous land losses and many experienced social and political degradation. White officials and settlers categorized the Anishinaabeg within the racial hierarchy of nineteenth-century America. Individuals motivated by personal gain often did not hesitate to take advantage of confusion and misunderstandings caused by language differences, ambiguities, and incomplete and mismanaged bureaucratic processes. In other words, Anishinaabe land ownership and claims to citizenship did not lead to a secure or respected place in Michigan due to racial prejudice and unscrupulous individuals who took advantage of Anishinaabe allottees and land owners. Despite their military service, Anishinaabe veterans remained vulnerable to land fraud due to poverty and their Indian

identities. For example, John and Louis Shomin lived on homesteads and produced sugar after the war. While they did not hold their final ownership papers, they believed they had lived and worked on their land long enough to prove ownership. Failing to respond to notices of abandonment because they could not afford a trip to Traverse City, they lost their land near Cross Village.⁵ The special examiner in Louis Shomin's pension case may have referred to this incident when he noted that "they have been defrauded so shamefully by the whites."⁶ The Anishinaabeg continued to lose land due to fraud through the twentieth century.⁷ Considering the importance men like Mwakewenah placed on land ownership and claims to citizenship, the secure future many Company K soldiers worked for was not realized within their lifetimes.

Present-Day Anishinaabewaki

In May 2010, descendants of Company K men traveled from Michigan to Andersonville, Georgia to honor the seven Company K soldiers who died at the Confederate prison. Members of the Ogitchedaw Veterans and Warriors Society conducted a drum ceremony, sang a Mukwa (bear) song, and saluted the graves of Company K men. They also offered tobacco and sweet grass to the Great Spirit.⁸ Their presence at Andersonville remains part of a national narrative—both for the United States and indigenous nations. There are twelve federally recognized tribes in Michigan. Many of these tribes include descendants of Company K men, including the Little Traverse Bay Band of Odawa Indians, the Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa

⁵ Theodore J. Karamanski, *Blackbird's Song: Andrew J. Blackbird and the Odawa People* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2012), 200-201.

⁶ R.P. Fletcher, Special Examiner, Reed City, MI, to the Commissioner of Pensions, Washington D.C., May 20, 1887, Civil War Pension File of Louis Shomin, 4

⁷ In a violent case of land fraud in 1900, Cheboygan County Sheriff Fred Ming and a timber speculator, John McGinn, burned the Anishnaabe homes, forcing the Burt Lake band to relocate. See Richard White, *The Burt Lake Band: An Ethnohistorical Report on the Trust Lands of Indian Village*, unpublished report, n.d.

⁸ David B. Schock, *The Road to Andersonville* [film], Penultimate, Ltd., 2013.

Indians, and the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe.⁹ The presence of Anishinaabe peoples in their homelands attests to the work of their ancestors to avoid removal from Michigan.

Company K historian Chris Czopek accompanied the Ogitchedaw Veterans and Warriors Society to Andersonville. His research has uncovered the final resting places of many Company K soldiers whom he has been researching for years.¹⁰ At first, I did not understand why documenting and visiting a grave was so important to him and other Civil War historians. Nevertheless, listening to his advice, I went to many cemeteries while conducting research, often taking wrong turns, ending up driving on one-lane paths or unexpectedly and belatedly realizing graves were on private property.

Seeing someone's final resting place reveals much about their life, and, at times, the lives of their descendants. Visiting soldiers' graves soon became part of my research routine. First, a moment of silence to acknowledge an individual's life and to show respect, then an opportunity to look around with the eyes of a historian and observe the landscape, which includes hints of what Company K men and their families would have seen from the same spot: The gentle hills of the Leelanau Peninsula. The view of Omena Bay from the site of Private Thomas Miller's grave. Glimpses of the same bay from another hillside where a gray-spotted white marker reads: "Aaron Sargonquatto: Co. K 1 Mich. Sharp Shooters: Known as Aaron Pequongay, 1837-1916." In the Omena cemetery, where Sargonquatto was buried, there are many other familiar names—

⁹ For example, the Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians was "federally reaffirmed" in September 1994. The Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan reorganized in 1937 as part of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). The Grand Traverse Bay Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians were initially denied recognition under the IRA and were not re-recognized until May 1980. A portion of the Grand River Ottawa—bands located on the Pere Marquette River, Manistee River, and in several places near the Grand River—were federally recognized after their reaffirmation of status in 1994. See tribal websites, <http://www.ltbodawa-nsn.gov/TribalHistory.html>; <http://www.sagchip.org/ziibiwing/aboutus/history.htm>; <http://www.gtbindians.org/history.asp>; <https://www.lrboi-nsn.gov/>; http://www.michigan.gov/dhs/0,4562,7-124-5453_7209-216627--,00.html and http://www.michigan.gov/documents/dhs/NAA-Tribal-Service-Area-Map_305179_7.pdf; accessed June 1, 2016.

¹⁰ He has documented all 136 men and, where he can, he includes where they are buried. Chris Czopek, *Who was Who in Company K* (Lansing: Chris Czopek, 2010) outlines demographic information for each Company K soldier, along with stories about their lives.

descendants of Company K men—with several gravestones indicating twentieth-century military service. Anishinaabe cemeteries in northwest Michigan attest to American Indians’ high rate of military service.¹¹

On my search for Louis Genereau Jr.’s grave, I drove back and forth on Tyler Road in Elbridge Township, before, just as I was giving up, realizing a tiny graveyard lay next to a house in the middle of farm fields and small orchards. The identifying plaque reads “The Genereau Burying Ground: An Early Methodist Cemetery.” The cemetery, located near the former site of the Genereau government schoolhouse, was probably named after the Company K soldier’s father, an ogimaag and fur trader. The name reflects a French-Odawa past and the influence of ogimaag as some Grand River Odawaag moved to reserved land in Oceana County in the late 1850s.¹² Not far from the Genereau Cemetery, Odawaag are among the current parishioners at the Kateri Tekakwitha Native American Center and St. Joseph’s Catholic Church. The church, built in the 1880s, is located near where the Pay-Baw-Me schoolhouse used to stand (see figure 6.4).¹³ Paybawme, the ogimaag whose speech may have inspired the mass recruitment of Odawa soldiers near Pentwater on July 4, 1863, lived on allotted land on the Oceana reservation. Searching for one particular grave turned into tracing the contours of what was simply known on 1860s maps as the “Indian Reserve.”¹⁴

¹¹ Kevin Gover, “American Indians Serve in the U.S. Military in Greater Numbers than any Ethnic Group have Since the Revolution,” May 22, 2015, *Huffington Post*, available from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/national-museum-of-the-american-indian/american-indians-serve-in-the-us-military_b_7417854.html; accessed June 1, 2016.

¹² In 1994, the U.S. government reaffirmed the Little River and of Ottawa Indians (descendants of the Grand River Odawaag) and tribal members still live in Oceana County with the service area for the tribe extending to this area (the tribal government is located in Manistee, MI). James McClurken, *Our People, Our Journey: The Little River Band of Ottawa Indians* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2009), 270

¹³ “Things we call Sacred,” *Ludington Daily News*, July 20, 2001. In 2001, the church was named after the Catholic saint and seventeenth-century Mohawk woman, Kateri Tekakwitha (her mother was an Algonquian captive of the Mohawks).

¹⁴ The Odawa reservation stretched over four townships, two located in Mason County and the other two, including Elbridge Township, located in Oceana County. Some Grand River Odawaag moved to this reservation in 1858 and 1859 after reserving the land in the 1855 treaty.

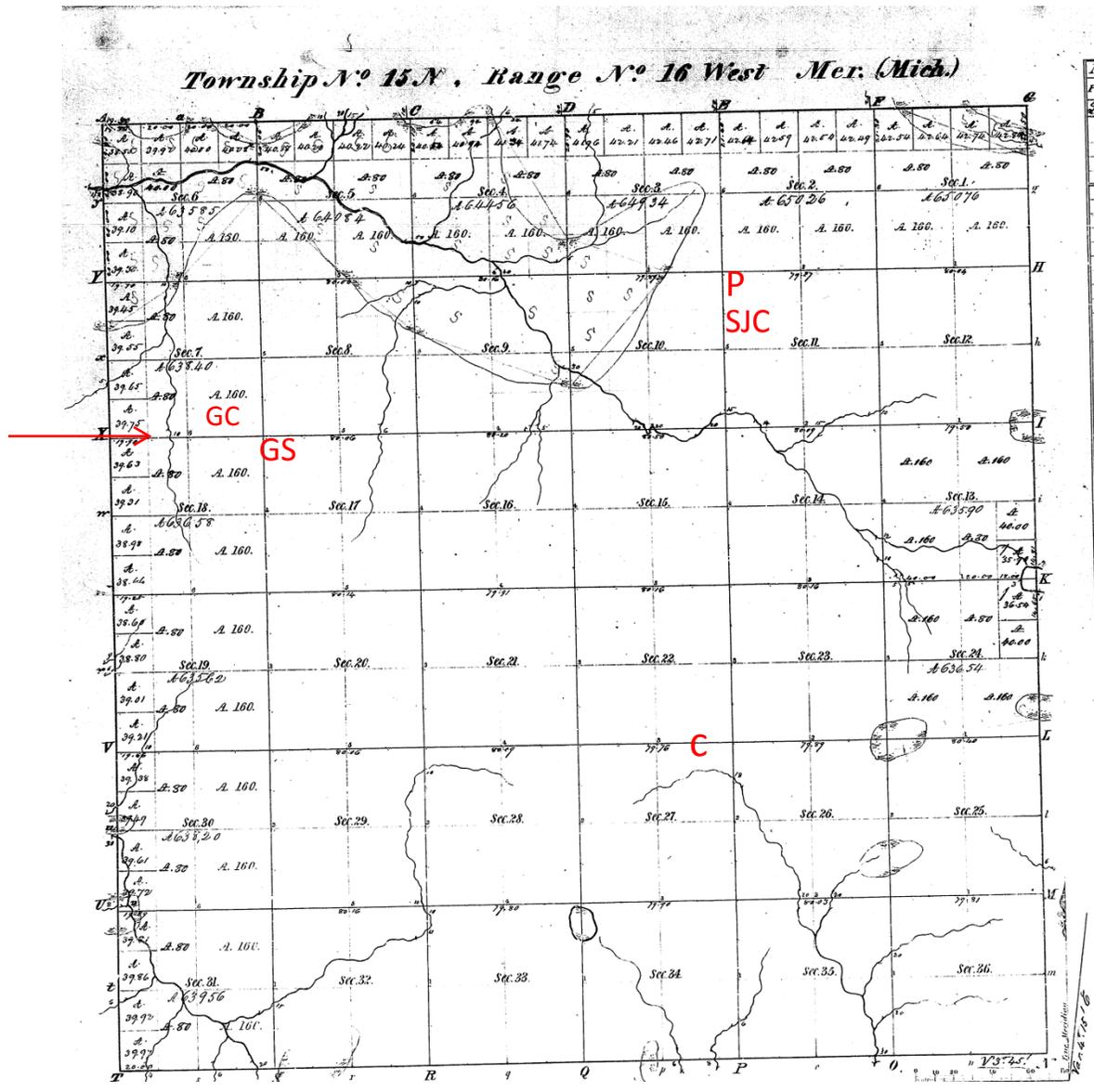


Figure 6.4 1838-1839 Survey Map of Elbridge Township in Oceana County with late 1850s reservation settlements mapped in red.¹⁵ Arrow points to Tyler Road. GC: Genereau Cemetery; GS: Genereau School; P: Paybawme Schoolhouse; SJC: St. Joseph's Church; C: Cobmoosa Schoolhouse.
 Source: 1839 Survey Map, Oceana County, Elbridge Township, State Archives of Michigan available online, Michigan Department of Natural Resources,
http://www.dnr.state.mi.us/spatialdatalibrary/pdf_maps/glo_plats/oceana/15n16w.pdf

¹⁵ Map created using Google maps, L.M. Hartwick and W.H. Tuller, *Oceana County Pioneers and Business Men To-Day* (Pentwater, MI: Pentwater News Steam Print 1890), 59-61; McClurken, *Our People, Our Journey*, 66.

Like the Anishinaabe battlefield bibles found by a Confederate soldier after the Battle of the Wilderness, the gravesites of Company K men and the surrounding landscape and structures tell a particular story of the complex claims to citizenship of the Anishinaabeg. The bibles probably belonged to men from Company K who came from places like Omena and the Oceana County “Indian Reserve.” Tensions between settlers, government employees, missionaries, and the Anishinaabeg in conflicts over souls, land, and rights defined these spaces during the nineteenth century. The Anishinaabeg enlisted in the Union army to influence their future in these places.

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Lucius Lyon Papers, 1770-1934
Michigan Collection, 1759-1947
Native American History Collection

Detroit Conference United Methodist Archives, Shipman Library, Adrian College: Adrian, MI

Native American Files

Office of the Emmet County Clerk and Register of Deeds: Petoskey, MI

Supervisors Journal, 1859-1863 and Statement of Votes, 1855-1867
Statement of Votes II, 1863-1873 (Microfilm 120.1)
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Richard White, *The Burt Lake Band: An Ethnohistorical Report on the Trust Lands of Indian Village*, unpublished report, n.d. (also available at the Clark Historical Library, James A. Clifton Native American Research Collection, Box 2, Folder 25)
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Native American Photo Collection
Small Manuscript Collection
John Whalen McGee Collection

Grand Rapids Public Museum: Grand Rapids, MI

Collection #45, West Michigan Indians
Anishinabek: The People of this Place (Exhibit, 2015)
Thank God for Michigan! : Stories from the Civil War (Exhibit, 2015)

Office of the Grand Traverse County Clerk: Traverse City, MI

Elections-Grand Traverse County, Records No. 1
Record of the Board of Election Commissioners 1894-1896

Great Lakes and Ohio Valley Ethnohistory Collection, Glenn A. Black Laboratory of Archaeology, Indiana University: Bloomington, IN

Tribal History Document Series, 1540-1957
-Chippewa, 1613-1927
-Ottawa, 1600-1900
-Potawatomi, 1600-1898
Transcribed Documents Series
-National Archives
-Wisconsin Historical Society

Library of Michigan: Lansing, MI

Newspaper Collection

Little Traverse History Museum: Petoskey, MI

Photograph Collection

Office of the Mason County Clerk: Ludington MI

Supervisor's Record Volumes 1, 2, 4 & 5

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Annual Conference Materials

Conference Correspondence, 1842-1890

Conference Reports, 1836-1887

Grand Traverse District Reports, 1867-1890, n.d.

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Kalkaska Methodist Episcopal Church Records, 1882-1887

Manistee District Letters/Reports to the Bishop District Box

Missionary Society

John H. Pitezal Papers, 1814-1906

Michigan Historical Museum: Lansing, MI

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National Archives: Washington D.C.

RG 15 Civil War and Later Pension Files, Records of the Veterans' Administration Affairs

RG 94 Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780s-1917

Compiled Military Service Records, Company K, First Michigan Sharpshooters

Letter and Order Book for First Michigan Sharpshooters

RG 75 Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs

Surveying and Allotting Records, Township Plats Showing Allotments to the Chippewa and Ottawa Indians of the Mackinac Agency [371-1871]

National Archives, Microfilm Collections

RG 75 M-1, Letters Received by the Agent at Mackinac

Records of the Mackinac Agency

Records of the Michigan Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1814-1851

M-234, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881

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RG 8 British Military and Naval Records, C Series

RG 10 Indian Affairs

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William McKay Fonds

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State Archives of Michigan: Lansing, MI

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Charlevoix Sentinel

Chicago Tribune

Christian Guardian

Crawford County Avalanche

Detroit Advertiser and Tribune

Detroit Free Press

Grand Rapids Daily Eagle
Grand Rapids News
Grand Traverse Herald
Saginaw Weekly Enterprise
Petoskey Evening News
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