

Fig. 1. Source: James Finlayson, "Michigan Territory," in *A Complete Historical, Chronological, and Geographical American Atlas* (Philadelphia: H. C. Carey and I. Lea, 1822), plate 36.

"Michigan Territory"
James Finlayson, 1822

claimed (admittedly in his 1820 prospectus) "than an unremitting perseverance bordering on enthusiasm could have enabled him to have brought these maps to their present state; in early life he conceived the idea of this work, and Providence has given him to complete, amidst various dangers, all that one man could hope to perform."¹³³

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¹³³ Jenish, *Epic Wanderer*, 218.

Mapping the Grand Traverse Indian Country: The Contributions of Peter Dougherty

by
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The Reverend Peter Dougherty (1805-1894) came to northwestern Michigan in 1838 as a missionary sent out by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. He has not been known as a cartographer, but his sketch maps of the Grand Traverse region in letters sent back to his superiors in Philadelphia are the earliest reasonably accurate record of the contours of Grand Traverse Bay and the distribution of the Indian population in the vicinity. For this coastal region, as well as interior lower Michigan, the age of discovery, exploration, and accurate mapping was delayed until the mid-nineteenth century. Previous travelers who informed mapmakers about their journeys clearly had followed the outer coastline of the east shore of Lake Michigan and never entered Grand Traverse Bay.

Dougherty came to northwestern Michigan a year ahead of the initial surveys of this little-known section of the new state, which had only been admitted to the union in January 1837. He returned in 1839, the year after his initial visit, to establish a school and mission. He met the first survey teams to reach Grand Traverse Bay and remained vitally interested in their progress toward opening up the region for land sales. Dougherty's particular concern was to see that reservations or public lands be secured for his neighbors, the Ottawa and Ojibwe (called "Chippewa" at the time), as well as for the Presbyterian Church's mission site.

A review of the maps of Michigan available in the 1830s indicates general ignorance of the northwestern Lower Peninsula in contemporary cartographic representations of the region. A typical example is James Finlayson's map "Michigan Territory," published at Philadelphia in 1822 in an atlas brought out by the well-known firm,

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Carey and Lea.¹ In this characteristic map of the era, Grand Traverse Bay is tilted to the southeast and lacks the identifying peninsula dividing the bay into two separate arms (fig. 1). A main purpose of this particular map was to give some idea of the land southeast of the Grand River and Saginaw Bay ceded to the federal government by the resident Ottawas, Ojibwes, and Potawatomis in 1819 and 1821 treaties.² The coastal outlines of lower Michigan in maps of the 1820s are all similar to their eighteenth-century predecessors.

A reasonably accurate map of lower Michigan was not published until 1841, following the completion of basic surveying in 1840. But when Peter Dougherty arrived at Mackinac Island in 1838, surveying was just beginning northwest of the Grand River. The first survey map of Michigan land, appearing in 1825 (fig. 2), covered only the southeastern section of the territory.³ In 1830 John Farmer began publishing an annual map indicating the progress of government surveys in southern Michigan. His ambitious map of the Michigan and Wisconsin Territories, included in a Colton atlas of 1836 (fig. 3), exaggerates the area actually surveyed by featuring projected counties in color, as well as those in which surveys had been completed.⁴ More realistic is Farmer's map of Michigan published by Colton a year later (1837) showing no land surveyed north of the Grand River in western Michigan but an extension of surveys southwest of Saginaw Bay. Yet the inset in the 1837 edition of Farmer's map (fig. 4) portrays the same general outline of northwestern Michigan seen in maps printed fifteen years earlier.⁵ None of the early-nineteenth-century maps of Michigan by Farmer, or any other cartographer, shows the established

¹ James Finlayson, "Michigan Territory," in *A Complete Historical, Chronological, and Geographical American Atlas* (Philadelphia: H. C. Carey and I. Lea, 1822), plate 36. See also fig. 1.

² A prominent feature of the map is the "Indian Line" extending south from Saginaw Bay, an inaccurate dashed line probably intended to represent the northern boundary of land ceded by the Saginaw Chippewas in the 1819 treaty. The identical line appears in the map used as a poster and program for the conference "Mapping in Michigan and the Great Lakes Region," which was presented by the *Michigan Historical Review* and the Clarke Historical Library at Central Michigan University, Mt. Pleasant, on June 11-12, 2004. This map is the work of Fielding Lucas, Jr. See Lucas, *A General Atlas, Containing Distinct Maps of All the Known Countries in the World* (Baltimore, Md.: F. Lucas, Jr., 1823), plate 75.

³ Orange Risdon, *Map of the Surveyed Part of the Territory of Michigan* (Albany: Rawdon, Clark, 1825). The mapped area extends north into the "thumb" region and is restricted to land east of the Michigan meridian, a line running north and south just east of present-day Jackson. See also fig. 2.

⁴ John Farmer, *Improved Map of the Territories of Michigan and Onisconsin (Pronounced Wisconsin)* (New York: J. H. Colton, 1836). See also fig. 3.

⁵ John Farmer, *Map of the Surveyed Part of Michigan* (New York: J. H. Colton, 1837). See also fig. 4.



Fig. 2. Source: Orange Risdon, *Map of the Surveyed Part of the Territory of Michigan* (Albany: Rawdon, Clark, 1825).

Map of the Surveyed Part of the Territory of Michigan
Orange Risdon, 1825

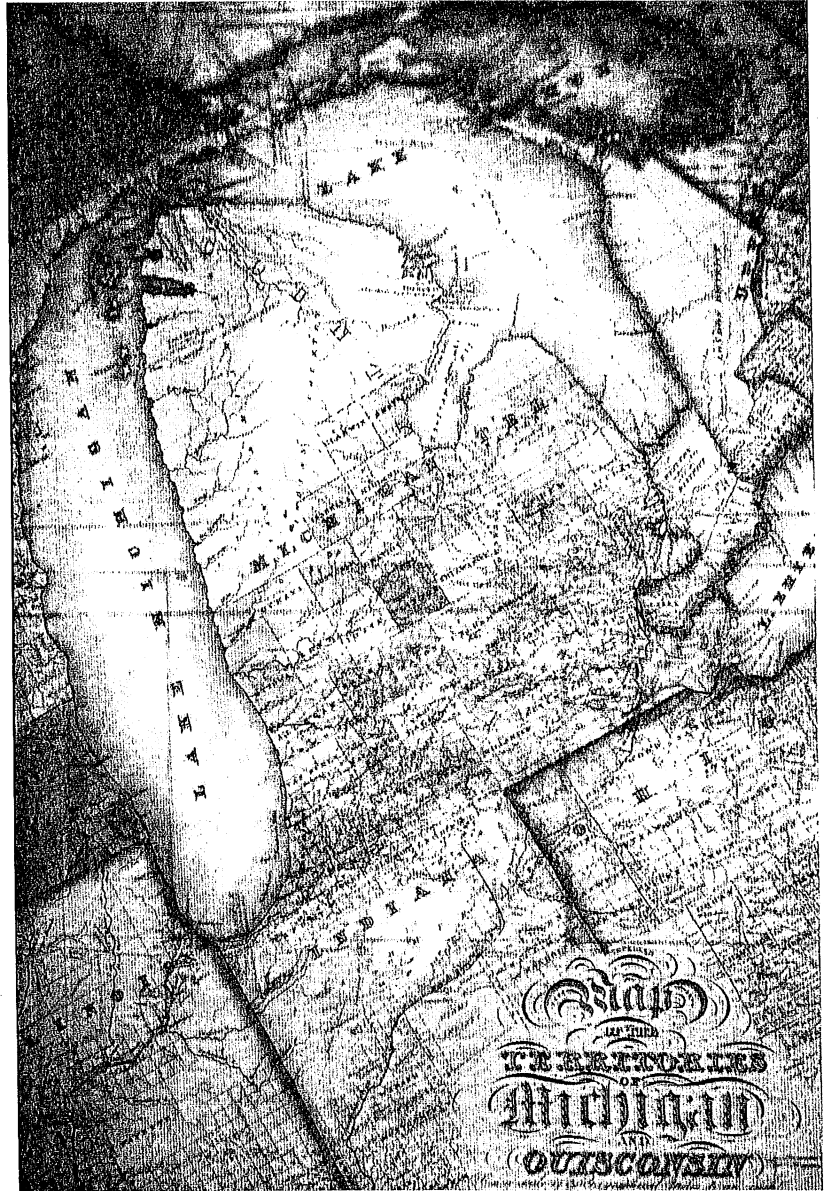


Fig. 3. Source: John Farmer, *Improved Map of the Territories of Michigan and Ouisconsin (Pronounced Wisconsin)* (New York: J. H. Colton, 1836).

Improved Map of the Territories of Michigan and Ouisconsin
(Pronounced Wisconsin)
 John Farmer, 1836

Indian towns, with one exception, a Farmer map included in a volume for prospective German immigrants published in Baltimore in 1834.⁶ This map identifies twenty-two Indian villages in southern Michigan. Present-day Michigan northwest of the Grand River was still an unknown area except to Indians and fur traders.

In contrast to the professionally produced maps of the early nineteenth century—maps that are conspicuously erroneous in their representation of Michigan north of the Grand River—the hand-drawn maps of Henry R. Schoolcraft and Peter Dougherty provide significant information because they had personal knowledge of the area. Slight progress in mapping northern Michigan began with the map drawn by Schoolcraft, who was acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to accompany his 1837 report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Although the delineation of the Lower Peninsula follows the distortion typical of the 1820s, this hand-colored manuscript map for the first time draws the little peninsula dividing Grand Traverse Bay (fig 5).⁷ Schoolcraft had received firsthand information about the bay and the peninsula from his brother-in-law, John Johnston, who traded at Grand Traverse during the winter of 1834-1835. The main purpose of the Schoolcraft map was to portray approximate locations of Indian reservations created by treaties within the Michigan superintendency.

Far more accurate and complete for the Grand Traverse region are two small sketch maps drawn by Peter Dougherty after he set up a school and mission on the bay in the spring of 1839. In a letter sent to Philadelphia in June, Dougherty draws for the first time a recognizable outline of Grand Traverse Bay including the peninsula. He also presents for the first time the human geography of the region, showing the location of contemporary Indian settlements (fig. 6).⁸ More complete is a second map, with additional Indian villages, which he constructed after

⁶ Traugott Bromme, *Michigan* (Baltimore, Md.: C. Scheld, 1834).

⁷ Henry R. Schoolcraft, "Map of the Acting Superintendency of Michigan, 1837," RG 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (photostat in The Newberry Library). See also fig 5.

⁸ Peter Dougherty to David Wells, c. June 18-20, 1839, Peter Dougherty Papers (hereafter cited as Dougherty Papers), microfilm, Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, Mich. The originals can be found at the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. See also fig. 6, which shows the location of Aischquagonabe's village (the leading chief) at present-day Eastport, Agosa's village and two other village sites on the peninsula, and the school temporarily built at present-day Elk Rapids.

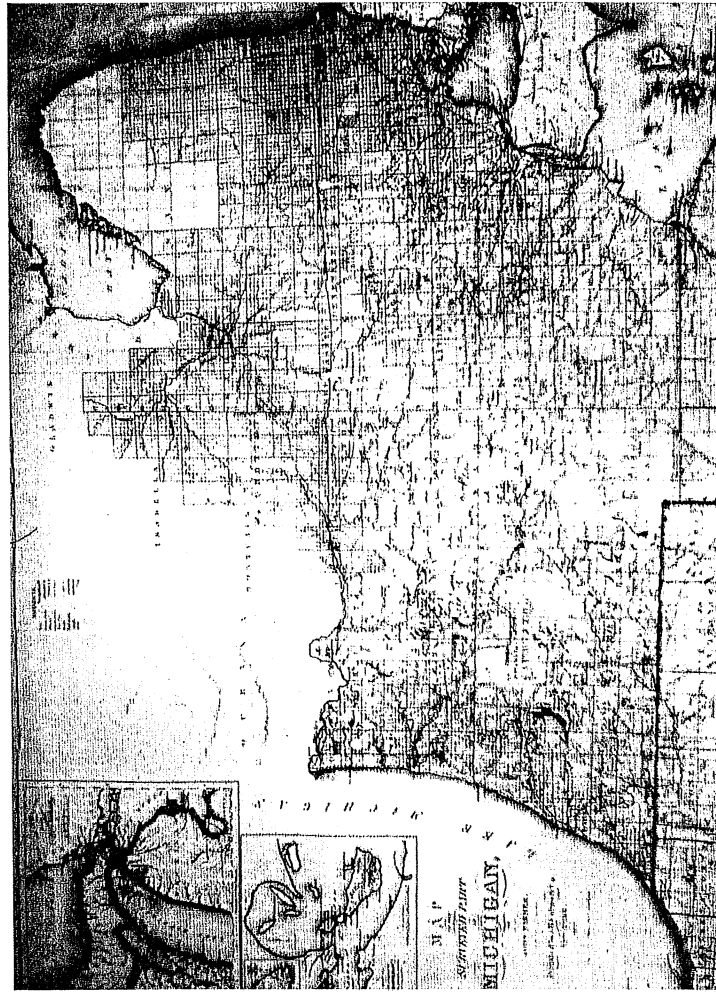


Fig. 4. Source: John Farmer, *Map of the Surveyed Part of Michigan* (New York: J. H. Colton, 1837).

Map of the Surveyed Part of Michigan
John Farmer, 1837

he had talked with government surveyors later in 1839 (fig. 7).⁹ In fact, Peter Dougherty represents the link between informal exploratory cartography and the organized government surveys that led to the sale of lands in the public domain. In the Grand Traverse region this procedure made halting progress over a period of twenty years, from 1839 to 1859. Peter Dougherty's correspondence throughout this period reveals the effects of the surveying and mapping process on the lives of the resident Indian population.

From a historical point of view, the same course of events was responsible for the creation of the Schoolcraft reservation map and Dougherty's sketch maps and for the arrival of surveyors in northwestern Michigan. This sequence of events began with the negotiation of a treaty in March 1836 by which Indians ceded homelands in northwestern Michigan and the Upper Peninsula to the federal government, followed by the achievement of Michigan statehood in January 1837, and culminating with organized surveys and mapping in the years 1838 to 1852. Progress toward the first two goals, land acquisition and statehood, proceeded simultaneously, during a complex interval in Michigan history. It is important to understand the human as well as the cartographic consequences of this course of events. With that emphasis in mind, this story of surveying and mapping now turns to the Indian residents of the Grand Traverse region, and the changes that treaty making, statehood, and surveying brought to their lives and to their local advocate, Peter Dougherty.

The Indian people whom Peter Dougherty came to know in 1839 were Ojibwes and Ottawas who were reported to be mid-eighteenth-century arrivals in the Grand Traverse region.¹⁰ Recent archaeological evidence indicates two significant periods of much earlier occupation, and intervening eras of hunting activity in the bay area, beginning perhaps

⁹ Peter Dougherty to Walter Lowrie, January 8, 1841, Dougherty Papers. See also fig. 7, which shows the recently surveyed section lines on the peninsula that had been selected by the Ojibwe and Ottawa as their 1836 Treaty reservation. Also noted are the location of the Presbyterian mission and school near Agosa's village, established c. June 20, 1839 (no. 1); Aishquagonabe's former village site (no. 2); and five other Indian communities on the west side of the bay (nos. 3-7). Aishquagonabe probably lived at site no. 3 at this time.

¹⁰ Joanna E. Feest and Christian F. Feest, "Ottawa," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 15, *The Northeast*, ed. Bruce Trigger (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 772-73.



Fig. 5. Source: Henry R. Schoolcraft, "Map of the Acting Superintendency of Michigan, 1837," RG 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

"Map of the Acting Superintendency of Michigan"
 Henry R. Schoolcraft, 1837

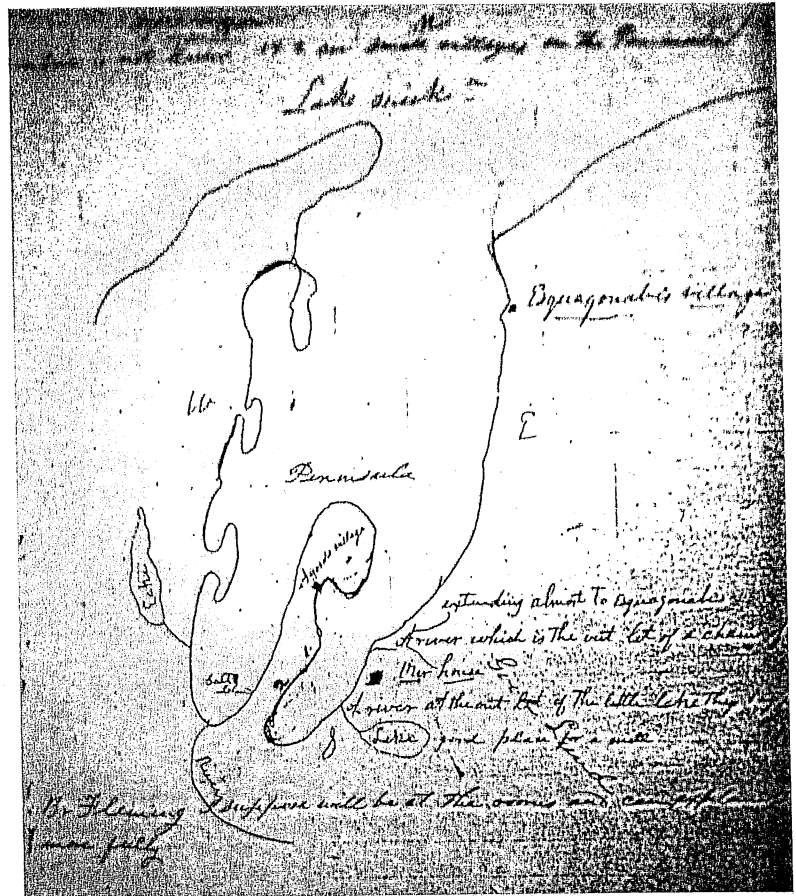


Fig. 6. Courtesy of the Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

"Sketch of Grand Traverse Bay"
Peter Dougherty, 1839

as early as 400 C.E. with the latest occupancy ending about 1420 C.E., long before the appearance of the Ottawas and Ojibwes.¹¹

The Ottawas originally came from Manitoulin Island in northern Lake Huron and from territory on the Bruce Peninsula and the shores of Georgian Bay in present-day Ontario. Their name means "trader," and they were allies of the more numerous Wendat (called "Huron" and "Petun" by the French and "Wyandot" by the British) who lived in large agricultural villages between the southern end of Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe. Ottawas carried surplus corn and tobacco to western tribes by way of well-known transcontinental canoe routes.¹² The principal Great Lakes travel route from Georgian Bay went through the Straits of Mackinac, across northern Lake Michigan to Green Bay, then up the Fox River portaging to the Wisconsin River, which entered the Mississippi River at present-day Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. On war expeditions, Ottawas followed this route to the western plains to bring back captives.¹³ Ottawas had long been familiar with the Straits of Mackinac, but the Grand Traverse region and eastern side of Lake Michigan were infrequently traveled in comparison with the constant canoe traffic along the northern and western shorelines.

The Ottawas took over the northwestern part of Michigan's Lower Peninsula by expansionist warfare. According to the traditional historian Andrew J. Blackbird, lands in what are now Emmet, Charlevoix, and Cheboygan Counties were earlier occupied by the "Prairie Tribe," whom he identified as the "Mush-co-desh," in modern terminology "Mascoutins." The Ottawas were allies of these people until they received an insulting reception at the Mascoutin village at Seven Mile Point north of Little Traverse Bay when they were returning from a western war expedition. In retribution, the Ottawas organized their forces at Manitoulin Island and proceeded to destroy or drive southward the entire population of the Mascoutin villages scattered in the northern part of the Lower Peninsula. Blackbird claimed that vestiges of the abandoned Mascoutin village at Seven Mile Point could still be seen at the time that he was writing in the 1880s.¹⁴

¹¹ Michael Jay Hambacher, "The Skegemog Point Site: Continuing Studies in the Cultural Dynamics of the Carolinian-Canadian Transition Zone" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1992), 305-8, 328-29. Lake Skegemog is a southeastern extension of Elk Lake, east of Grand Traverse Bay.

¹² Conrad E. Heidenreich, "Huron," in *The Northeast*, ed. Trigger, 368-69, 384-85.

¹³ Andrew J. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan: A Grammar on Their Language, and Personal and Family History of the Author* (Ypsilanti, Mich.: Ypsilanti Job Print, 1887), 25-26.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 90-92.

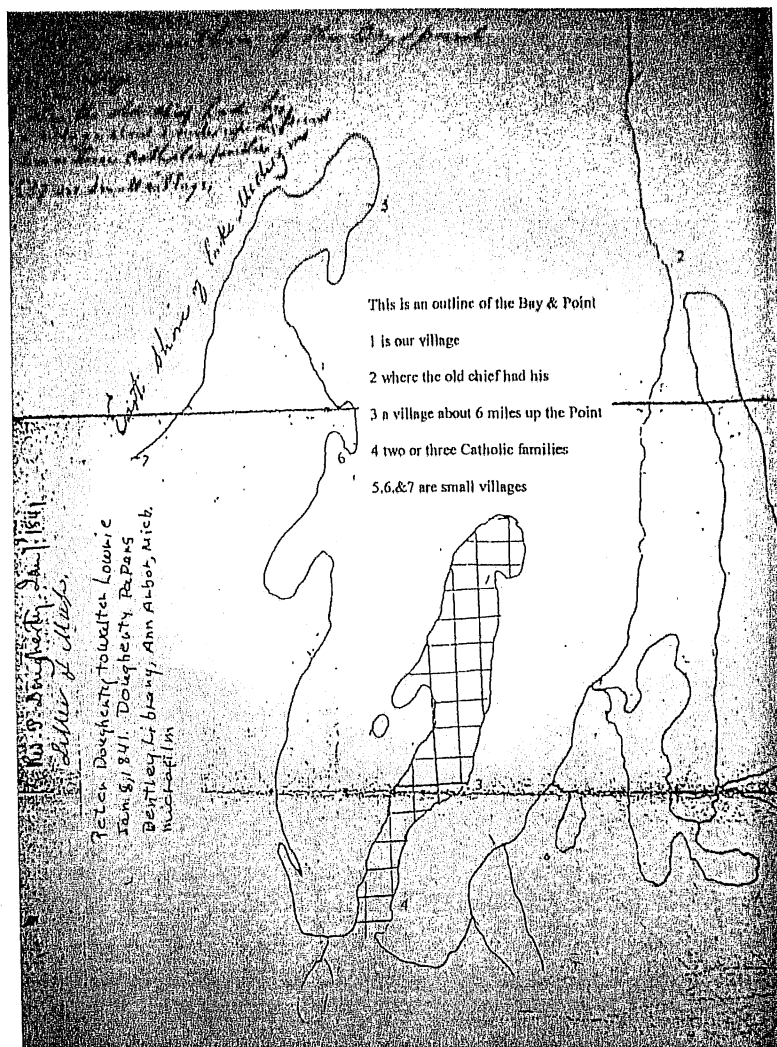


Fig. 7. Courtesy of the Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

“Sketch of Grand Traverse Bay”
Peter Dougherty, drawn 1840

The westward shift of the Ottawa people to Michigan in the seventeenth century was not only a consequence of war and trading expeditions, but also a reaction to aggressive campaigns of the Iroquois living in northern New York against the Wendat, which began in 1649 and continued for a half century.¹⁵ As a consequence, the Ottawas temporarily abandoned Manitoulin Island and joined the main Wendat refugee band from the Lake Simcoe area in an odyssey that took them to Green Bay, Wisconsin, the upper Mississippi River in Minnesota, and back to the present-day Upper Peninsula of Michigan. In 1671 the two groups established neighboring villages, with a Catholic mission at what is now St. Ignace on the protected harbor facing Mackinac Island. Some of the Ottawa returned to their traditional base on Manitoulin Island at this time.¹⁶ Others moved to Detroit where a French fort was established in 1701 immediately following the peace treaty signed at Montreal to end widespread Iroquois warfare.

The main center for Ottawa leadership in Michigan became the northwestern part of the Lower Peninsula after they constructed a village near the new Fort Michilimackinac, built by the French in 1715 at present-day Mackinac City. By this time the Ottawas had guns and needed the services of the fort's blacksmith to repair their weapons and sharpen the metal tools they had acquired by trading. In 1742 the Ottawa leaders shifted their headquarters about twenty-four miles southwest to L'Arbre Croche, a district identified by a particular crooked tree that marked the Lake Michigan bluffs near present-day Good Hart.¹⁷ The previous year they were reported to have shown interest in settling at Grand River and had made clearings at Grand Traverse.¹⁸ Expanding southward along the Lake Michigan shoreline, Ottawas established settlements with fields and orchards in the Grand River valley, and they often wintered in the interior among the Potawatomis living throughout southern Michigan. The Grand Traverse Ottawas, who were in a less favored agricultural region,

¹⁵ Warfare ended with an intertribal treaty conference at Montreal in 1701. See Helen Hornbeck Tanner, ed., *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 29-35.

¹⁶ Feest and Feest, "Ottawa," 772.

¹⁷ "Speech of the Outaouacs of Missilimackinac, June 16, 1742," in *The French Regime in Wisconsin, II, 1727-1748*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1906), 17: 372.

¹⁸ M^{onsieur} de Celeron, Commandant at Missilimackinac, to the Marquis de Beauharnois, September 2, 1741; the Marquis de Beauharnois to the French Minister, September 26, 1741, in *ibid.*, 359-60, 367-69.

remained on the southern fringe of the more densely settled Little Traverse Bay communities. At one time there were fifteen miles of Ottawa habitations along the Lake Michigan shore north of Little Traverse Bay, according to Andrew Blackbird.¹⁹ But the population diminished markedly following a smallpox epidemic attributed to the British, who took over Fort Michilimackinac along with the rest of French Canada as a consequence of the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

When Peter Dougherty arrived as the first outsider to settle in the Grand Traverse region, Ottawa communities were spread around what is now the Leelanau Peninsula on the west side of Grand Traverse Bay. Ojibwes distant from the main body of their people lived on the east side of the bay. The leading communities of Ojibwes in the upper Great Lakes were at Baweting, named Sault Ste. Marie by the French, and at Chequamegon, also called La Pointe or Madeline Island, in present-day Wisconsin.²⁰ In the eighteenth century, Sault Ste. Marie Ojibwe began hunting in the Lower Peninsula east of what is now Mackinaw City, where the line between Ottawa and Ojibwe country was well respected. The Ojibwes claimed both Mackinac Island and Bois Blanc Island, which their representatives gave to the United States government in 1795 at Greenville during treaty proceedings there.

There are two explanations for the presence of Ojibwes among the Ottawas on Grand Traverse Bay. The first account, given by Andrew J. Blackbird, states that following a quarrel over fishing in the Straits resulting in the death of an Ojibwe, and after many subsequent councils, the Ottawas granted the Ojibwes a strip of land extending from the Sleeping Bear sand dunes southeastward to the headwaters of the Muskegon River.²¹ An alternative explanation was given to Indian Agent Henry R. Schoolcraft by Aischquagonabe, an Ojibwe who was the leading chief of the Grand Traverse Indians in the 1830s. Aischquagonabe stated that the Ojibwes had assisted the Ottawas in the warfare that drove the Mascoutins from northwestern Michigan and

¹⁹ Blackbird, *History*, 9-10.

²⁰ The Upper Peninsula Chippewas are a separate western division of the Ojibwe people, different from the eastern or Mississauga Ojibwe of the north shore of Lake Huron. The Mississauga Ojibwe advanced southward across the Ontario peninsula in the later years of the Iroquois wars, reaching Lake Ontario by 1696, and establishing a base on the delta of the St. Clair River. They spread westward into the Saginaw Valley of Michigan and have remained a separate entity, with a treaty history different from the Sault Ste. Marie Chippewas.

²¹ Blackbird, *History*, 15.

thus had gained the right to establish their own settlements in the conquered territory.²²

For whatever explanation, Peter Dougherty found two Ojibwe communities on the east arm of Grand Traverse Bay, Aischquagonabe's at or near present-day Eastport on the east shore of the bay and Agosa's on the harbor at the western tip of what is now known as Old Mission Peninsula. Aischquagonabe, "Feather of Honor," is described as a veteran fighter who had taken scalps in the British-Indian action regaining Mackinac Island during the War of 1812.²³ His village included about 60 men, implying a total population of 250 or 300 persons.²⁴ According to local reports, Agosa had been born in the St. Clair River district of southeastern Michigan and lived on an island near Mackinac (probably one of the Les Cheneaux Islands east of present-day St. Ignace) before coming to the Lower Peninsula. He lived near what are now Charlevoix and Norwood before moving to the peninsula in Grand Traverse Bay.²⁵ After establishing a school and a mission on the peninsula in 1839, Peter Dougherty received the impression that occupation of the location was fairly recent. Writing in November 1850, he stated: "The son of the Chief who first settled here is still living and has built a house near the spot where his father had his lodge and on the ground where he had his first garden."²⁶

The principal Ottawa leader on Grand Traverse Bay in the 1830s was Shabwasson, who was well-established on the west shore of the bay at present-day Omena Point, about five miles south of modern Northport. The other longstanding Ottawa village, Chemogobing, was located at the river mouth site, called Carp River, that has become modern-day Leland. Other small Ottawa communities were noted at Cat Head Bay on the tip of the Leelanau Peninsula, at what is now Sutton's Bay, at Good Harbor on the Lake Michigan coast, and also farther south in the Platte River valley.²⁷ In the 1830s, the Indian

²² Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the Indian Tribes of the United States*, vol. 6, *History of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, 1857), 205-6.

²³ Ruth Craker, *The First Protestant Mission in the Grand Traverse Region* (Leland, Mich.: Leelanau Enterprise, 1935), 38.

²⁴ This figure was given to Dougherty at the village in 1838. Peter Dougherty to Walter Lowrie, Report for 1838, 18, microfilm, Dougherty Papers.

²⁵ Craker, *First Protestant Mission*, 35-36.

²⁶ Peter Dougherty to David Wells, November 1850, Dougherty Papers.

²⁷ Principal sites are shown in *Atlas*, ed. Tanner, map 25, 134. On this map the site "Wequagemog" on the east shore of Grand Traverse Bay at present-day Elk Rapids should be deleted as a consequence of postpublication research in the Dougherty Papers.

population of the Grand Traverse region was probably at least six hundred people.²⁸ Chiefs of the two major Ojibwe villages were principal representatives of the Grand Traverse band at negotiations for the land-cession treaty signed March 28, 1836, in Washington, D.C. They were also the leaders Peter Dougherty dealt with when he founded a school and mission on the peninsula, carrying out provisions of the treaty. In the Grand Traverse region, the Ojibwe and Ottawa were directly affected by the mapping process brought about by the cession of territory in northern and western Michigan, providing land for the state in the process of formation.

Political leaders in Michigan Territory, aspiring for statehood, realized that they needed to acquire the land comprising the entire Lower Peninsula in order to have an adequate geographical base. This would require a cession of the land north of the Grand River by the Ojibwes and Ottawas living in that region. From the preliminary proposal for a small land sale in the summer of 1835 until the final approval by Ottawa and Ojibwe leaders of the United States Senate's treaty alterations in July 1836, negotiations for the major Michigan land-cession Treaty of Washington, March 28, 1836, involved the interrelated objectives of many interested parties. People involved in the treaty making included Indian factions, individual federal and state officials, the U. S. Senate, Protestant missionaries, land developers, and American Fur Company personnel. It would be an oversimplification to think that the provisions of this treaty were determined by the treaty commissioner, Indian Agent Henry R. Schoolcraft, and the twenty-four Indian representatives who assembled in Washington, D.C., that winter of 1835-1836 to discuss a treaty. They were, however, the principal figures at the final treaty "signing."

Although preliminary suggestions for small land cessions had been circulated, Ottawas from Manitoulin Island, or the "Ottawa Island," in British territory made the first proposal, setting in motion the chain of events leading to the large-scale cession of land in Michigan. In the summer of 1835, a delegation came to Henry R. Schoolcraft at Mackinac Island with an offer to sell Drummond Island, situated adjacent to the eastern tip of the present-day Upper Peninsula.²⁹ With this odd proposition as a start, Schoolcraft began an exchange of correspondence

²⁸ Henry R. Schoolcraft, "Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1837," Edward E. Ayer Collection (hereafter Ayer Collection), The Newberry Library.

²⁹ For an account of the treaty by a biographer of Schoolcraft, see Richard G. Bremer, *Indian Agent and Wilderness Scholar: The Life of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft* (Mt. Pleasant, Mich.: Clarke Historical Library, 1987), 158-68.

with federal officials concerning the possibility of an extensive land cession and sent out inquiries about lands that regional Indians might be willing to sell.

By this time in his career, Schoolcraft had been the Indian agent in Michigan since 1822, stationed first at Sault Ste. Marie and then at Mackinac Island in 1834 when the office at the Sault was closed as part of a reorganization of the federal Indian administration. His wife, Jane, was the daughter of an Irish trader at Sault Ste. Marie who had married the daughter of an influential Ojibwe leader at La Pointe. Jane's three brothers were among the eight Schoolcraft relatives who held posts on the staff of Schoolcraft's Indian agency.³⁰ With considerable treaty-making experience, Schoolcraft in 1835 began the steps that he expected would lead to a treaty conference in Michigan in 1836. His personal contacts were closest to the Indian bands near Sault Ste. Marie; he had never visited Grand Traverse Bay.³¹

After notifying the Indian Office late in October 1835 that an unauthorized Ottawa delegation from L'Arbre Croche had taken off from Michigan to talk about a treaty, Schoolcraft himself left for Washington in November, stopping en route at New York where he talked with the president of the American Fur Company, Ramsey Crooks.³² The American Fur Company had a major interest in the outcome of treaty negotiations since the Ottawas and Ojibwes were heavily in debt to the company's traders, and prospects were poor for collecting from the Indians since there was every evidence that hunting was declining in their home country. Traders counted on a treaty to include provisions for paying the outstanding Ottawa and Ojibwe debts. Through their Indian wives and extended kinship networks, traders exerted considerable influence among their Indian clientele.³³ The Indians themselves had diverse views. One contingent of Little Traverse Bay Ottawas was most eager for a land sale but wanted to sell land south of Manistee away from their home territory. The Grand River Ottawas were generally opposed to a land sale, but ultimately their missionary escort, Reverend Leonard Slater, succumbed to pressure when offered a

³⁰ Helen Hornbeck Tanner, "Henry Rowe Schoolcraft," in *American National Biography*, ed. John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 19: 424-25.

³¹ A more detailed account of events preliminary to the 1836 treaty is included in Helen Hornbeck Tanner, "Report," *United States of America v. State of Michigan*, no. M 26-73 C.A., U.S.D.C., 1974, Exhibit P 17, 53-63.

³² Bremer, *Indian Agent and Wilderness Scholar*, 159.

³³ Bruce A. Rubenstein and Lawrence E. Ziewacz, *Michigan: A History of the Great Lakes State* (St. Louis: Forum Press, 1981), 59-60.

grant of land for a mission. The Grand Traverse representatives do not appear to have played any role in these negotiations.

When Schoolcraft finally reached Washington, D.C., in mid-December, he found that Secretary of War Lewis Cass was already planning for a large-scale treaty. Schoolcraft arranged for a "power of sale" to be sent from Fort Mackinac where all visiting Indians had been urged to add their signatures, creating an important document that arrived in the middle of the treaty negotiations.³⁴ Charles C. Trowbridge in Detroit took charge of organizing additional delegations so that the entire area northwest of the Grand River would be represented. Since Robert Stuart, the American Fur Company's agent at Detroit, told him a treaty would be doubtful without the influential presence of Rix Robinson, the firm's representative on the Grand River, and John Drew, company agent at Mackinac, Trowbridge arranged for these men to escort regional delegates to Washington, D.C. Lucius Lyon, the senator-elect from Michigan, also sent letters to Robinson and Drew urging them to bring Indian leaders to Washington for a land-cession treaty, and he closely followed the progress of the subsequent negotiations.³⁵ Robinson brought the Ottawa and Ojibwe delegates from the area between the Grand River and Grand Traverse Bay, so he was responsible for recruiting in the Traverse Bay region. To represent the Grand Traverse bands, Robinson brought the Ojibwe leaders Aischquagonabe and Agosa and an Ottawa identified in the record of the proceedings as "Chawaneenesse," whose name was more accurately written Oshawan Epenaysee (South Bird) at the end of the list of treaty signers.³⁶

As a preliminary to the treaty negotiations, Indian delegates were invited to the White House on March 14, 1836, to meet President Andrew Jackson, veteran Indian fighter and supporter of the Indian Removal Act of 1830, which instituted the program to transfer all

³⁴ For a journal of treaty proceedings, see John Hulbert, "Records of a Treaty Concluded with the Ottawa & Chippewa Nations at Washington, D.C., March 28, 1836" (manuscript in Henry Rowe Schoolcraft Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.), Exhibit P 17A, Appendix A-1, in Tanner, "Report," *United States v. Michigan*.

³⁵ Tanner, "Report," Appendix A-1, 59-61. Also see George W. Thayer, "Life of Senator Lucius Lyon," in *Michigan Historical Collections* (Lansing: Historical Society of Michigan, 1896), 27: 407-12; and Letters: Section 1 #24 to Rix Robinson, December 25, 1835; #25 to John A. Drew, December 26, 1835; #32 to John A. Drew, January 2, 1836; Section III, #82 to George Crawford, March 12, 1836; #84 to A. E. Wing, March 19, 1836; #93 to C. C. Trowbridge, March 17, 1836, in *ibid.*, 416ff.

³⁶ A Grand Island (Lake Superior) chief by the same name is on the list of 157 leaders at the end of the treaty who were designated for individual financial awards.

eastern Indians to territory west of the Mississippi River. The same day, Henry Schoolcraft received from Lewis Cass a formal appointment as sole commissioner to arrange a land sale with the Ottawa and Ojibwe delegates, allowing considerable latitude in arranging the specific provisions of the treaty.

On March 15, 1836, the opening session of treaty negotiations between the Ottawas and Ojibwes of Michigan and the federal government convened at the Masonic Hall in Washington, D.C., with an address to "My Children" by Henry R. Schoolcraft, speaking on behalf of the president and by authority of the secretary of war. In the course of his remarks, Schoolcraft set forth the dimensions of a vast land cession, which would extend south to Washtenong on the Grand River and north to the Chocolate River on Lake Superior, near present-day Marquette in the Upper Peninsula. He urged the delegates to take time in making up their minds concerning the quantity of land they would cede. Furthermore, a commissioner would visit them next summer to pay the amount of all just debts. On the subject of reservations, Schoolcraft explained: "No objection will be made, if you deem it imperative, to your fixing on proper and limited reservations to be held in common; but the President judges it best that no reservations should be made to individuals. . . . The usual privilege of residing and hunting on the lands sold till they are wanted will be granted."³⁷

The formalities of treaty signing proceeded smoothly on Monday, March 28, 1836, in the presence of the delegates and escorts who had attended the opening session on March 15, with the addition of army and navy representatives and Michigan's senator-elect, Lucius Lyon. The final treaty bore evidence of the personal dealings that had gone on outside the formal meetings. The arrangement for reservations in the final treaty was much different from the initial proposal for one hundred thousand acres in two locations that had been discussed in the treaty proceedings. By contrast, the final treaty provided for five separate reservations on the mainland of the Lower Peninsula, plus all the Beaver Islands and a dozen other locations north of the Straits from Bay de Noc to the lower St. Marys River.³⁸ The Grand Traverse reservation of twenty thousand acres was allocated to "the north shore of Grand Traverse Bay," a designation that not only reveals the contemporary geographical perceptions of the terrain but also indicates that Schoolcraft was aware of the location of Aishquagonabe's village in that area.

³⁷ John Hulbert, "Records of a Treaty."

³⁸ See Articles Second and Third of the treaty, cited in n. 39.

The final treaty, revised and ratified by the Senate in May 1836, also included reference to possible removal of Michigan Indians, a subject that had not been mentioned in any correspondence prior to the treaty. Neither was it mentioned in the instructions that Cass gave to Schoolcraft, nor in the official records of the public sessions. Indicating that any removal was optional, Article Eighth stated clearly that "as soon as the said Indians desire it," arrangements would be made to look at sites either between Lake Superior and the Mississippi River or someplace west of the Mississippi, later adding, "When the Indians wish it," the United States would remove them and provide a year's subsistence.³⁹

The thirteen articles of the lengthy original treaty brought about some discussion following the formal signing.⁴⁰ The reservations described in the treaty seem to have been satisfactory to the delegates, for the subject brought forth no reported comment or controversy. Henry Schoolcraft's jubilation at the conclusion of the treaty was only temporary, however; for in ratifying the document, the Senate made significant and troublesome changes. Most critical were those in Articles Second and Third, canceling the permanent reservations and reducing their existence to five years "unless the United States grant them permission to remain on said lands for a longer period." Furthermore, if the Indians should choose to remove, the revised treaty (proclaimed on May 27, 1836) eliminated the option of going to Ojibwe country west of Lake Superior. The only possible removal destination was land "southwest of the Missouri River."⁴¹ The payment of an additional two hundred thousand dollars in return for giving up the permanent reservations was expected to be a persuasive measure in gaining the Indians' acceptance of the altered treaty.

The Ottawas and Ojibwes did not find out about these changes until July 1836, when their leaders were summoned to Mackinac Island for a council that concluded with their signed assent to the changes, which was only achieved with considerable difficulty. As Schoolcraft explained, it was only his emphasis on the continued use of ceded territory specified in Article Thirteenth, which had no time

³⁹ For the complete original treaty, with the list of amendments, see Richard Peters, ed., *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America* (Boston: C. C. Little and J. Brown, 1848), 7: 491-97.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 496.

⁴¹ The final treaty is printed in *Indian Treaties, 1778-1883*, comp. and ed. Charles J. Kappler (New York: Interland Publishing, 1972), 450-56.

limit and therefore was considered permanent, that brought the Indians' acquiescence to these changes. Reservations with a five-year legal restriction had little utility for the Grand Traverse Indians and the rest of the Ottawas and Ojibwes. They wanted assurance of permanent land assignments, either through a presidential order or through purchase of land when it became available for sale. They planned to use their annuities created by the land-cession treaty to purchase their own homesites.

The Treaty of March 28, 1836, as a whole took on increasing significance for people in Michigan during the period when the treaty was progressing from the planning stages to final approval, from November 1835 to the summer of 1836. Concurrently, the state government was in the process of formation, despite a heated controversy with Ohio about the southeastern boundary that delayed Michigan's admission to the union. In November 1835, Michigan voters, at the time assuming that the state would include just the Lower Peninsula, elected a governor and representatives to Congress, although they were not seated.⁴² Since the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 and the subsequent increase in passenger traffic on Lake Erie, the population of southern Michigan had risen rapidly to 175,000 and more land was needed for expansion. The first road across southern Michigan, begun in 1825, was completed by 1835, and stagecoaches made the trip from Detroit to Chicago twice a week.

More land for settlement in Michigan was a personal interest of the senator in waiting, Lucius Lyon, a surveyor and land developer who had attended the signing of the treaty in 1836. He was involved with the American Land Company, a group of investors from upstate New York with ties to Vice President Martin Van Buren, that had an interest in Grand River valley land. (Henry R. Schoolcraft had an interest in the same speculative venture.) Lyon's long effort to have another government land office in Michigan aside from the one in Monroe finally became a reality in 1836 with the opening of the office at Ionia, about thirty miles east of Grand Rapids and close to the eastern boundary of the new land cession.⁴³ In 1836 land sales in Michigan, where speculation reached a temporary peak, were the highest in the nation, with the greatest excitement over lands in the Grand Rapids area.

⁴² Rubenstein and Ziewacz, *Michigan*, 60-63.

⁴³ Dallas Lee Jones, "Survey and Sale of the Public Land in Michigan, 1815-1862" (master's thesis, Cornell University, 1952), 172-73.

In June 1836, Congress voted to admit Michigan as a state whenever the territory agreed to give up its claim to the "Toledo Strip" and accept instead land north of the Straits of Mackinac that had long been considered part of Wisconsin. The land north of the Straits, which is now the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, had been acquired by the treaty signed three months earlier. Although the proposition to accept Upper Peninsula land and relinquish Toledo was initially rejected by Michigan voters in September 1836, it was finally accepted on a second vote in December, enabling Michigan to join the union in January 1837. Approximately three-eighths of the new state's total territory was acquired from the Ottawas and Ojibwes in the Treaty of Washington that had been signed on March 28, 1836. The state government as well as the federal government began to take an interest in the development of the hitherto remote "Indian Country" in the northern part of "The Peninsula," as the region south of the Straits had always been identified. This now became "The Lower Peninsula," while the old "mainland" of the era of French exploration and trading became Michigan's Upper Peninsula.

In the spring of 1837, Henry Schoolcraft was eager to have all the reservations in the Lower Peninsula surveyed promptly. He wrote to John Mullett, a Detroit surveyor who was put in charge of the assignment, specifically requesting that surveys be made during the current season of the reservations at Little Traverse, Grand Traverse, on the Manistee River (for Grand River bands), and at Cheboygan. He hoped that Mullett would do these surveys even if there was not yet an appropriation to pay for the work.⁴⁴ Nothing happened, however, until two years later, after surveyors had worked their way north of the Grand River and arrived at Grand Traverse Bay. The intervening territory, with its forests and swamps, was formidable to survey. In 1837 a team tried to carry the United States mail overland from Detroit to Mackinac, but became lost northwest of Saginaw for ten days. Members of the team were rescued by a group of Indians and led to their destination, but thereafter they returned to their customary mail route following the shoreline of Lake Huron.

⁴⁴ Henry Schoolcraft to C. A. Harris, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 18, 1837, National Archives Microfilm, M1, Records of the Michigan Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1814-1851, roll 37, 201 RG 75; C. A. Harris to Henry Schoolcraft, July 1, 1837, National Archives Microfilm, M21, Letters Sent by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, roll 22, 52, RG 75; Henry Schoolcraft to John Mullett, July 25, 1837, National Archives Microfilm, M1, roll 37, 265, RG 75, Federal Records Center, Chicago.

Peter Dougherty became personally involved in establishing the reservation on Grand Traverse Bay. In Article Fourth, the 1836 treaty provided three thousand dollars a year for missions and five thousand dollars for "education, teachers, school-houses, and books in their own language, to be continued twenty years, and as long thereafter as Congress may appropriate for the object." The prospect of government support provided added motivation for the missionary programs of religious organizations. The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions contacted Schoolcraft after the 1836 treaty was ratified inquiring about establishing a mission in the Mackinac area. With Schoolcraft's approval, the board sent out Peter Dougherty in the spring of 1838.⁴⁵

Schoolcraft, who had gone through a conversion experience in 1831 and again in 1835, was an active member of the Presbyterian Church and consequently was personally interested in promoting schools and missions. When Peter Dougherty arrived at Mackinac Island in the summer of 1838, Schoolcraft was absent. Invited to stay at the Schoolcraft home, Dougherty began learning about the Indian people of the region and received language instruction through conversations with Jane Schoolcraft and her brother John Johnston, an interpreter at the Mackinac Agency. In a report sent later to Presbyterian headquarters in Philadelphia, Dougherty wrote: "Mr. Johnston informed me that the Grand Traverse Bay, in point of numbers, of character, as well as freedom from Catholic influences, was the most promising place to commence operation. The Indians are beginning to gather on that reservation. The soil on the Bay is the best in that part of Michigan. . . . He advised [me] to visit the village of Aischquagonabe and, if I could, to go as far as the Manistee."⁴⁶

Dougherty set out on a reconnaissance of the Lake Michigan coast on July 28, 1838, in the company of a mechanic employed at the government reservation at Manistee, a man headed for the Grand River who agreed to act as an interpreter, and an Indian whose destination was Muskegon. En route, Dougherty was able to see the prospering Catholic community at Little Traverse Bay, where the priest was absent.

Dougherty's report of his investigation of the Grand Traverse area in the summer of 1838, beginning with a description of the principal village of Aischquagonabe, states:

⁴⁵ Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers: With Brief Notices of Passing Events, Facts, and Opinions, A.D. 1812-1842* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, 1851), 598.

⁴⁶ Peter Dougherty to Walter Lowrie, Report for 1838, 17, Dougherty Papers.

When I came to the principal village on the Grand Traverse, which is situated up the bay about twelve miles, on the north bank; I found the chief was absent, and could do nothing more than see the situation of the village and the country around it. His absence, however was not a thing that very much interfered with my object in visiting the place, which was to see, as Mr. Schoolcraft advised not to say much about the object of my visit further than to say that according to their treaty the President had promised them teachers, that it was one of their privileges to which they had a right and I had been sent to select a place and build a school house and wished him to point out to me the best location, and that Mr. S would explain the whole matter when he went to Mackinac. . . .

On the bay there are about four hundred living in three or four villages, at different points, but they are gathering Mr. Johnston says on the reservation which will bring them all within the sphere of a missionary stationed at the village of Esquagonabe [sic]. Mr. Johnston stated further that several of the Indians are laying by from their yearly receipts money to purchase lands there when they come in market.⁴⁷

After leaving Aischquagonabe's village, Dougherty's single-canoe expedition crossed to the tip of the Leelanau Peninsula and continued down the Lake Michigan shoreline, stopping to investigate another village, which from his description was most likely at the site of present-day Leland. He wrote:

About twenty five miles further up the Lake [i.e., going south] there is a village at the mouth of a fine stream of water. It is not quite as large as the one mentioned on the bay [i.e., Aischquagonabe's], but the situation, the appearance of the soil, the aspect of the village, made a very favourable impression. The chief felt favourable toward the establishment of a school

⁴⁷ Ibid., 19. Dougherty's description of the village location notes that it was on the "north bank" of the bay. Similarly, Schoolcraft's description of the proposed location of a reservation for the Grand Traverse Indians in the 1836 treaty specified the "north shore" of the bay. The terminology in both cases comes from the experience of canoeing southward toward the Grand River from Mackinac Island. On that route, the big open-water crossing is the broad mouth of Grand Traverse Bay, where the geographical perception is that the route south heads to the tip of the Leelanau Peninsula. Therefore, the Charlevoix side of the mouth of Grand Traverse Bay was identified as the *north* side.

and said they were at home all the time except when absent on their hunting excursions or in the sugar bush. This place is more easy of access to vessels going up and down the lake as they pass directly in sight and the water is deep so that almost any vessel could run close to the shore. . . . There is less probability of white men settling near this village. There are men, several, at Mackinack who are talking of going in to the Bay to take up lands, out of the limits of the reservation, however, most of them are men of good morals. One is a carpenter, and one a blacksmith.⁴⁸

In gathering information about potential mission sites and reservations, Dougherty continued south to Manistee, a twelve-day trip from Mackinac. Here he found Mr. and Mrs. Geary at the seventy-thousand-acre government reservation designated for the Grand River Valley Indians by the 1836 treaty. The chief was absent on an expedition to examine land southwest of the Missouri River in case any of the Michigan Indians ever considered removing. Mrs. Geary was expecting that a missionary would be sent to them. Dougherty commented: "This place was selected as a reservation on the advice of Mr. Geary but many of the Indians were not pleased with it and refuse to settle on it. The soil is not very good. The country is well timbered with Pine."⁴⁹

Plagued by mosquitoes, Dougherty and his remaining companions went on to the mouth of the Grand River where he boarded a larger vessel destined for Chicago and then returned to Mackinac Island. He had seen a selection of potential mission and reservation sites in the more remote parts of Michigan.

On the basis of his reconnaissance in 1838 and advice from Mackinac Islanders, Dougherty decided to establish a mission on Grand Traverse Bay. First he went back to New York, however, and when he returned in the fall to Mackinac Island, it was too late in the season to begin his new venture. Mackinac was still the hub of all activity in the north country, the halfway point between fledgling Chicago and century-old Detroit. As soon as the ice melted in the spring of 1839, Dougherty organized a small expedition to Grand Traverse Bay. He found the Indian residents of the east arm of the bay at a new site by the river entering Grand Traverse Bay at present-day

⁴⁸ Ibid. Local history accounts have mistakenly identified present-day Elk Rapids as the site of this village, based on the idea that Dougherty followed the bay shore rather than continuing along the lakeshore.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

Elk Rapids. Arriving with an assistant minister, an interpreter, a crew of four workmen, and a heavy boatload of supplies, Dougherty set up a house and a school building in a few weeks' time. In his correspondence he reported that "the chief" (Aischquagonabe) had "pitched his tent near the new house" and brought almost daily gifts of fish and meat, while Dougherty in turn gave samples of his cooking and invited the whole family to his home to eat. The heads of families were favorably inclined toward a school, and they wondered if Dougherty would keep their children and teach them while they were off hunting in the winter. It seemed like a good location, even if it was not one of the "old villages." The river mouth was an entrance to the routes to hunting grounds, a favorite fishing site, and near the Indians' sugar groves. The two local Ojibwe leaders, Aischquagonabe and Agosa, had talked of forming a single village at this new site.⁵⁰

A change of location for the entire community was precipitated by the unexpected arrival on June 13, 1839, of Indian Agent Henry R. Schoolcraft who brought along a blacksmith as the first member of the government staff for a reservation. He also announced plans to bring the government farmer and cattle from the unsuccessful Manistee operation to Grand Traverse Bay. At first, Schoolcraft wanted the mission enterprise to move to a little bay (present-day Bower's Harbor) on the west side of the small peninsula dividing the two arms of Grand Traverse Bay. But after Agosa issued a warm and sincere invitation to move the mission to his village located on the harbor at the tip of the peninsula, Dougherty persuaded Schoolcraft to select this site for the government staff provided by terms of the 1836 treaty. The well-protected harbor at Agosa's village was an important factor in the relocation, for the shallow beach near the mouth of the Elk River made a poor landing place for any boat or vessel bringing supplies or trade goods.⁵¹ Furthermore, Agosa did not really want to move from his existing base. American Fur Company traders at Mackinac also favored a reservation headquarters placed at the harbor on the peninsula.

As a consequence, around June 20, 1839, Dougherty found himself living in a fourteen-foot-square Indian cabin out on the peninsula near Agosa's village at a site Agosa selected. Here he had two boarders, the government blacksmith, Isaac George, and an assistant farmer, the Reverend Alvin Coe, who had been transferred from Manistee. They were awaiting the arrival of a boat with supplies to construct the

⁵⁰ Peter Dougherty to David Wells, June 1, 1839, Dougherty Papers.

⁵¹ Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, 650.

government buildings where they would work. Dougherty had established a school immediately upon his arrival, teaching the alphabet and reading to Indians of all ages. Peter Greensky, the interpreter, took over the teaching responsibilities while Dougherty supervised the collecting of logs to build another house.⁵² His Indian neighbors offered to help with this task at no charge and formally welcomed him as a brother. The community on the peninsula showed immediate signs of growth. As the logs were being collected, Aischquagonabe arrived with three or four families and announced he expected to move there permanently. Most of his people were already there. Two men from L'Arbre Croche (near present-day Goodhart) called on Dougherty to inform him that a group of their people was considering a move south to Grand Traverse. The school was the attraction, for they wanted their children to learn English.⁵³ The Catholic priests at Little Traverse Bay were all foreign, for the most part trained in Austria, and although they were teaching their students to be literate in the Ottawa language, they were not English speakers.

Indian settlements on the Grand Traverse Bay, and the two sites of the mission constructions, are shown on maps drawn by Dougherty in 1839 and 1840 (see figs. 6, 7). For his 1839 map he was able to use information from government surveyors who first appeared on the east shore of the bay in early June while workers were building the house and school at the river's mouth. A local story recounts the fear expressed at that time by the Indian who first saw the imprint of a horse's hoof bearing the marks of a horseshoe. Indian horses were all unshod. The hoofprint indicated the presence of white men. The newcomer proved to be a lost packman, who was guided back to his survey team. Dougherty had the opportunity to talk with the surveyors and get their views on the low market value of this country, where swamps and thickets made surveying a real hardship.⁵⁴ Dougherty was also told that Grand Traverse Bay was about thirty or thirty-one miles long, and "the point" or dividing peninsula was about twelve miles long.⁵⁵ For the information of the Presbyterian Board in New York, Dougherty sent his first map, drawn before the move to the peninsula, indicating the following locations: "Our House" located south of "a river which is the outlet of a chain of lakes" (Elk River), "Esquagonabe's village" on the northeast shore near the mouth of the bay (present-day Eastport),

⁵² Craker, *First Protestant Mission*, 29.

⁵³ Peter Dougherty to David Wells, July 9, 1839, Dougherty Papers.

⁵⁴ Craker, *First Protestant Mission*, 28.

⁵⁵ The peninsula is close to sixteen miles long.

"Agosa's village" on the harbor near the tip of the dividing peninsula (Old Mission Peninsula), and two small villages on the peninsula to the south of Agosa.⁵⁶ In his correspondence, Dougherty sometimes referred to the "middle village" on the peninsula, and on the subsequent map he noted the most southern community as a place where a few Catholic families lived. The later map indicated the sites: "1. Is our village," and "2. where the old chief had his," a recognition of the fact that by 1840 "Esquqgonqbe" [sic] no longer lived in the Eastport vicinity.⁵⁷ On the Leelanau Peninsula, no. 5 is north of present-day Northport Point; no. 6 is Shabwasson's village at present-day Omena Point; and no. 7 is probably meant to indicate the community at modern-day Leland. Aischquagonabe's village on the peninsula was about six miles from the mission. Dougherty's first report to Henry Schoolcraft ended with the plea: "In conclusion I would say it would be an act of great generosity and kindness on the part of the Government if it would give that little point to those people."⁵⁸

During the 1839 season surveys were completed for the tier of townships in the Grand Traverse Bay area, including the dividing peninsula called "the point."⁵⁹ In 1840 surveys were finished for all but twenty-three of the townships in the Lower Peninsula.⁶⁰ The completion of the land surveys achieved two milestones in Great Lakes cartography. The outline of the northwest border of the Lower Peninsula was at last accurately portrayed; and simultaneously, Lake Michigan was completely outlined thanks to the land survey of the northeast shoreline.

Noting the survey's progress, Schoolcraft considered it was an appropriate time to delineate the reservations in the Lower Peninsula established by Article Second of the 1836 treaty. After directing his brother James to learn the wishes of the Grand Traverse Ojibwe and Ottawa, Schoolcraft wrote Commissioner of Indian Affairs T. Hartley Crawford on May 18, 1840: "Sir: The Indians at Grand Traverse bay,

⁵⁶ Dougherty to Wells, June c. 18-20, 1839.

⁵⁷ See figure 7; Peter Dougherty to Walter Lowrie, January 8, 1841, Dougherty Papers.

⁵⁸ Peter Dougherty to Henry Schoolcraft, September 1839, National Archives Microfilm, M1, Records of the Michigan Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1814-1851, roll 47, 251-56, RG 75, Federal Records Center.

⁵⁹ Townships 21 through 30 in Ranges 8 through 12 were reported April 10, 1840, in E. J. Haines, Surveyor General, to James Whitcomb, Commissioner of the General Land Office, National Archives Microfilm, M478, Letters Received by the Secretary of the Treasury and the Commissioner of the General Land Office from the Surveyor General of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, 1797-1849, roll 9, 1656, RG 49, Federal Records Center.

⁶⁰ Jones, "Survey and Sale of the Public Land in Michigan," 20, 26-27.

have selected their reservation of 20,000 acres under the 2nd Article of the treaty, on the point of land extending North into that bay, being parts of fractional Townships No. 28, 29, 30 in Range 10 West of the principal meridian, which they request may be exempted from sale."⁶¹ The exterior boundaries of the reservation did not require surveying, since "the point" was a distinct geographical feature.

When Schoolcraft's report of the selection for the Grand Traverse reservation reached the General Land Office in Washington, D.C., the staff calculated that the parts of the three fractional townships on "the point" comprised only 16,206.93 acres.⁶² To make up the twenty-thousand acres specified for the reservation in Article Second of the 1836 treaty, the staff decided to add the rest of Township 28 North, Range 10 West to the reservation. The additional parcel was a disconnected triangle of land on the southeast shore across the bay from "the point" selected by the Indians.⁶³ A report of this modification, originating in the General Land Office, was sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs as part of a formal statement describing the land to be withheld from a sale that was to be held the following October. Writing on August 10, Commissioner Whitcomb of the General Land Office stated: "I have to inform you that by order of the President the whole of fractional Townships twenty eight, twenty nine and thirty North of Range ten West of the Michigan Mer. [i.e., meridian] in the Ionia district have been withdrawn from the public sale advertised to take place on the 26th of October next, as reserved for the reservation of 20,000 acres on the north side of Grand Traverse Bay, under the second article of the Ottawa and Chippewa Treaty of the 28th of March 1836 and that the Register and Receiver have this day been instructed accordingly."⁶⁴ The difference between Schoolcraft's request and this final decision was

⁶¹ Henry Schoolcraft to T. Hartley Crawford, May 18, 1840, National Archives Microfilm, M1, Records of the Michigan Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1814-1851, roll 38, 268, RG 75, Federal Records Center.

⁶² James Whitcomb to T. Hartley Crawford, June 9, 1840, National Archives Microfilm, M234, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, roll 427, 567-69, RG 75, Federal Records Center.

⁶³ See #206 on plate CXXXVI, "Michigan 1," in *Indian Land Cessions in the United States*, Charles C. Royce, comp., 18th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, part II (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1899).

⁶⁴ J. W. Whitcomb to T. Hartley Crawford, August 10, 1840, National Archives Microfilm, M234, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, roll 424, 571, RG 75, Federal Records Center. The three townships totaled 20,672.74 acres. Survey maps, RG 87-155, 16-3, 6, 11, State Archives of Michigan, Lansing.

simply replacing the term "parts" with "whole" in the land description referring to the three fractional townships.

The decision, made in Washington, D.C., by top-level administrators, concerning the additional land for the Grand Traverse reservation apparently was never conveyed back to Schoolcraft. Consequently, he did not learn that officially this reservation extended beyond the Grand Traverse Band's original request. No further discussion concerning the dimensions of the Grand Traverse Band reservation has been found in Schoolcraft's official correspondence, nor was any mention made of this in his "Personal Memoirs." In October 1840, he wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on the subject of the reservations for the Little Traverse and Cheboygan bands. In this case Schoolcraft did not think that they needed to be marked off and withheld from sale. His reasoning was based on information from the district surveyor that the public surveys could not be completed in time for the land to be brought into sale earlier than June 1841, and the 1836 treaty provision that the five-year reservation status expired for all reservations in May.⁶⁵

The surveyors' and Schoolcraft's view of the imminent end of the 1836 treaty reservations was not shared by Commissioner of Indian Affairs T. Hartley Crawford. The commissioner responded to Schoolcraft, specifically referring to the language of Article Second of the treaty, which stated that the reservations were limited to a five-year existence "unless the United States shall grant them permission to remain on said lands for a longer period." Crawford's response showed that although he had not abandoned the idea of ultimate removal, he had some sympathy for the situation faced by about five thousand Indians living in northern Michigan. He wrote on November 4, 1840:

No measures have yet been adopted to remove these Indians from the lands now occupied by them, and it is not probable that any arrangement can be effected by which they can be migrated within the period referred to by you, May 1841. As you indicate in your Annual Report that all the land south of the Straits of Michilimackinac has been surveyed and subdivided into sections, with a view to it being reported to the General land Office as ready for sale, and that the enterprise of our industrious agriculturalists is pressing up to that point, motives

⁶⁵ Henry R. Schoolcraft to T. Hartley Crawford, October 16, 1840, National Archives Microfilm, M1, Records of the Michigan Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1814-1851, roll 38, 400, RG 75, Federal Records Center.

of public policy and of humanity would seem to dictate that the Indians should be furnished with a place to which they can resort, and from which they may be enabled to procure the means of subsistence, until provision can be made for their final removal, without being considered and treated by the settlers as intruders in the public domain. As it may be the pleasure of the United States to permit them to remain for a longer period than five years from the date of the ratification of the treaty, it is the opinion of this office that the reservation should be made and marked, in accordance with the request of the Indians communicated to you, and be exempted from sale. The same course ought I think to be pursued in regard to the remaining unlocated reservations under the same treaty, and I suggest that the proper surveyor be requested to respect them in his surveys.⁶⁶

At the end of 1840, the only 1836 treaty reservations that had been surveyed were those at Manistee and Grand Traverse. All the others were included in the "List of Reserves still required to be made in Michigan for the Ottawas and Chippewas under the treaty of 28th of March 1836 with their location" sent to the surveyor general in Cincinnati, Ohio, on November 22.⁶⁷ The fifty-thousand-acre reserve intended for Little Traverse Bay, the thousand acres at Cheboygan and Thunder Bay, and all the islands (including the Beaver Islands) and other locations in the Upper Peninsula listed in the 1836 treaty never achieved cartographic expression beyond Schoolcraft's sketch map.

The records of field surveys are complete for the Manistee reservation but only fragmentary for Grand Traverse. In issuing a contract in 1839 to John Brink to survey the area around the Manistee River, the surveyor general included directions to also survey the seventy-thousand-acre reservation intended for the Grand River bands. Brink's small, handwritten volume describing the survey of that reservation, with a copy

⁶⁶ T. Hartley Crawford to Henry Schoolcraft, November 4, 1840, National Archives Microfilm, M1, Records of the Michigan Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1814-1851, roll 29, 359-60, RG 75, Federal Records Center.

⁶⁷ Henry R. Schoolcraft to Ezekiel S. Haines, November 22, 1840, National Archives Microfilm, M1, Records of the Michigan Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1814-1851, roll 38, 433-34, RG 75, Federal Records Center. Another copy can be found in National Archives Microfilm, M479, Letters Received by the Surveyor General of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River, 1797-1856, roll 27, 772-75, RG 49, Federal Records Center.

dated 1898, is in the State Archives of Michigan.⁶⁸ The Grand Traverse reservation had not yet been selected in 1839, and no special orders have been found for a survey in 1840. Usually contracts and instructions for surveys were issued early in the season, in January or February, but the selection of the townships for the Grand Traverse reservation on "the point" was not reported until May 1840.

The only reference to a survey of "the point," the area selected for the Grand Traverse reservation in 1840, comes from the correspondence of the missionary Peter Dougherty, who had been absent from the area during that summer. He returned to the mission on September 11, 1840, bringing with him his new wife, Maria. In his first letter sent back to Philadelphia on September 14, 1840, he referred to copying a map from a recent survey in two separate passages: "As soon as I get time I will send you a sectional map of this point so that you can see just where we are and the part of [the] section on which the mission house stands. We copied it from the corrected survey which has recently been made. . . . I have copied the survey of this point with the outlines of the Bay from a corrected map of Mr. Douglass." Since no record of a surveyor by that name has been found in the correspondence dealing with federal government survey activities in northwestern Michigan at that time, the identity of "Mr. Douglass" has not been established. In the same letter Dougherty noted that the Indians "were excited" about the sale of their land scheduled for the fall but knew that the reservation had been withheld from sale. They had also heard that it could be offered for sale the following May (1841), but only by a special order of the president.⁶⁹

Dougherty had a very busy fall and did not manage to send his second map, containing much pertinent information, to his regular correspondents at the Presbyterian Board, David Wells and Walter Lowrie, until early January 1841. He reported the mission's location in section 35 of Township 30 North, Range 10 West.⁷⁰ Dougherty believed that the peninsula where the mission was located covered twenty-five to thirty thousand acres, more than enough land for the twenty-thousand-acre reservation specified in Article Second of the 1836 treaty.⁷¹

A map displaying the official dimensions of the Grand Traverse Band's 1836 treaty reservation did not appear until 1899, with the

⁶⁸ John Brink, Indian Reserve of 70,000 Acres at the Mouth of the Manistee River, 1839, Conservation, 60-8-A, B53, F2, State Archives of Michigan.

⁶⁹ Peter Dougherty to David Wells, September 14, 1840, Dougherty Papers.

⁷⁰ Peter Dougherty to David Wells, January 7, 1841, in *ibid.* See also fig. 7.

⁷¹ Dougherty to Wells, January 7, 1841, in *ibid.*

publication of Charles C. Royce's comprehensive compilation of maps and Indian treaty boundaries titled *Indian Land Cessions in the United States*.⁷² Of the five locations designated by Henry Schoolcraft in the treaty ceding the land in northwestern Michigan, only the Manistee site had an official survey, but the Indians refused to move there and these seventy thousand acres were sold in 1848. Despite the lack of a separate survey, the Grand Traverse site became the only functioning reservation in the entire area of both the Lower and Upper Peninsulas ceded by the Ojibwes and Ottawas in 1836.

The Grand Traverse reservation was in full operation by the fall of 1840, with headquarters on the bay near Agosa's village. The government staff included two of Henry Schoolcraft's brothers-in-law, John Johnston as farmer and George Johnston as carpenter, although Schoolcraft soon had to end their assignments because of criticism of the number of relatives he had on the payroll. The blacksmith, Isaac George, had a new assistant, the eighteen-year-old future historian "Jackson" Blackbird, who began a five-year term as apprentice blacksmith.⁷³ Although the school was in operation, and religious services were being held, construction of a mission church was not completed until 1843.⁷⁴

The official determination of their reservation in 1840 under terms of the 1836 treaty brought little security to members of the Grand Traverse Band—and anxiety was not limited to the Grand Traverse Bay region. All the bands wanted firm title to land, where they could live with the confidence that their children would have the land as well. In the atmosphere of conflicting rumors, fears, and occasional encouraging news, Indian leaders found it difficult to face the future with confidence. The year 1840 was particularly traumatic for Michigan Indians, for that year General Hugh Brady used army troops to seek out and collect Potawatomi scheduled for removal from the southern section of the state, implementing the controversial 1833 Treaty of Chicago. Some Potawatomi fled to Canada; others who were able to evade the soldiers fled northward in both Wisconsin and Michigan, bringing with them accounts of the pursuit and capture of their neighbors.⁷⁵

⁷² Royce, comp., *Indian Land Cessions*, plate CXXXVI, "Michigan 1."

⁷³ Blackbird, *History*, 54-56; Craker, *First Protestant Mission*, 30-31.

⁷⁴ Craker, *First Protestant Mission*, 32; "School Report of Peter Dougherty," in *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, Michigan Superintendency no. 19 (Washington, D.C.: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1843), 327-28, in Ayer Collection.

⁷⁵ James A. Clifton, *The Prairie People: Continuity and Change in Potawatomi Indian Culture, 1665-1965* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1977), 299-300.

In this disquieting situation, the Ottawas and Ojibwes of northwestern Michigan sought advice and assistance from government officials, traders, and missionaries. Among the earliest appeals was a long and sincere "talk" dated July 2, 1839, sent by a committee at L'Arbre Croche (north of Little Traverse Bay) to the young governor of Michigan, Stephen T. Mason. Summarizing the concerns expressed at a general council, the speech was written out in the flourishing hand of European-educated Augustin Hamelin, Jr., who had escorted a delegation to the Treaty of Washington, March 28, 1836. It concluded: "In sending this talk to you, it is our desire and prayer that you will give us information respecting the following points—1st Whether these Indians will have the right to buy lands from the Government. 2nd Whether the same Indians at least those who wish to conform to the Laws will be allowed by the State to remain in it. 3rd Whether they will be acknowledged as citizens. 4th Supposing the answer to the foregoing queries be the affirmative, whether it will be possible for us to buy this very place the Little Traverse bay where we are at present, and where our missionary priest is stationed."⁷⁶

Governor Mason's response to the committee at L'Arbre Croche, directed to Augustin Hamelin, Jr., in Mackinac, was encouraging. His principal message stated: "In answer to their enquiries you will communicate to them, that the Indians have a right to purchase lands from the Government; that those who conform to the laws are allowed by the constitution to remain in the State; that they will have secured all the privileges of citizens, except the right of voting, and that that right can only be secured by an amendment of the constitution; and that they will also have the same right with any citizen to purchase the lands at Little Traverse Bay when those lands are brought into market. An application to Congress might secure those lands at its next session if a representation is made shewing their desire to become citizens. The state has no control over the public lands."⁷⁷ Although encouraging in tone, the letter's most important piece of information was the last sentence.

Anxiety had affected the Little Traverse community two years before similar unrest became widespread at Grand Traverse Bay. In 1840 surveyors in the northernmost sections of the Lower Peninsula

⁷⁶ Committee of Little Traverse Bay to Stephen T. Mason, July 2, 1839, RG 44, B157 F6, State Archives of Michigan.

⁷⁷ Draft reply of Stephen T. Mason to Augustin Hamelin, Jr., July 15, 1839, RG 44, B182, F3, in *ibid.*

brought back reports that all the Indians were moving to Canada, a great exaggeration, but there was a considerable exodus from that region.⁷⁸

By midwinter of 1841, Chief Agosa asked Peter Dougherty to write a letter to the Mackinac Island traders, John Drew and William Biddle, in an effort to "know the truth" about the best course of action for his people. Agosa and others had been greatly disturbed by a report that they might be removed from their land. This inaccurate report came from the reservation's former carpenter, George Johnston, whom Dougherty regarded as a troublemaker. Biddle wrote back assuring Agosa that Schoolcraft's latest report said nothing about a need to remove, adding that "the Indians had better not listen to what Mr. Johnston had to say, and that he thought that the best thing for them would be to buy land and come under the laws of the white man or of the State. And in order to [do] this they must have a petition drawn up and signed and forwarded to the State authorities next summer."⁷⁹

Dougherty remained concerned, but patient. The surveyors who talked to him in the spring of 1839, when he was temporarily camped at the mouth of the Elk River, convinced him that it would be a long time before settlers reached Grand Traverse Bay. Dougherty estimated the arrival of settlers would occur in about ten or fifteen years, which was a remarkably accurate forecast. He reasoned that there was better and more accessible land in Wisconsin and Iowa. Furthermore, the surveyors did not think that the land in the Grand Traverse region would ever pay for the cost of the surveys, since it was barren and swampy. The surveyors' descriptions were confirmed by one of the local Indian leaders who explained that he crossed desolate prairie land for a day and a half or more to get to his hunting grounds on the upper Manistee River.⁸⁰

Keeping close track of the land status of the 1836 treaty reservations, the Surveyor General in Cincinnati wrote the Commissioner of the Land Office in Washington, D.C., on April 1, 1841, recommending that reservation lines be ignored in any further surveying in Michigan. He pointed out that the Indian inhabitants would soon be "tenants at will," and he expected that "they will probably not

⁷⁸ E. S. Haines, Surveyor General, to J. W. Whitcomb, General Land Office, November 18, 1840, National Archives Microfilm, M477, Letters Sent by the Surveyor General of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River, 1797-1854, roll 8, 64, RG 49, Federal Records Center; Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, 648.

⁷⁹ Peter Dougherty to David Wells, March 19, 1841, Dougherty Papers. Dougherty gives an account of the correspondence with Biddle.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

remain long in the land."⁸¹ Although their status was precarious, the Ottawas and Ojibwes continued their efforts to remain in their Michigan homes, while the federal government gave no sign that it had removal plans. Indeed, there was no land less valuable to which the several thousand Michigan Indians could be removed. Schoolcraft had suggested removal to the Rum River country of Minnesota, but that area was ceded in 1837 by Minnesota and Wisconsin Ojibwe.⁸²

In 1841 settlers and developers had not yet arrived in northwestern Michigan. The big land boom of 1836 had been largely speculative, and it was followed by a severe depression in 1837. Furthermore, a high percentage of the land surveys made between 1837 and 1840 were rejected. The area of rejected surveys included the land on both sides of Grand Traverse Bay, Range 9 West and Range 11 West of the principal meridian in Michigan. The only land in that area where the original survey had been accepted was Range 10 West, Townships 28, 29, and 30, the three townships designated for the Grand Traverse reservation. No instructions for surveys in Michigan were issued in the spring of 1841, and the surveying and promoting of Michigan lands halted for five years, except in the Saginaw area.⁸³

On May 27, 1841, the day the five-year reservation status ended for the 1836 treaty lands, tribal representatives gathered at Mackinac Island to formulate a petition requesting an extension of the privilege of holding their reservations.⁸⁴ Dougherty was also at Mackinac. This spring council took place at the beginning of the term of a new Michigan Indian Superintendent, Robert Stuart, Schoolcraft's replacement. Schoolcraft had been accused of political activity and removed from office. As regional representative of the American Fur Company, Stuart had been in Washington, D.C., at the time of the 1836 treaty and had signed the Supplementary Article. In October 1841 Dougherty sent a personal appeal to Stuart at the request of the Grand Traverse chiefs, asking his support for their petition to Congress for an end to their uncertain land status.⁸⁵

⁸¹ E. S. Haines to J. W. Whitcomb, April 1, 1841, National Archives Microfilm, M477, Letters Sent by the Surveyor General of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River, 1797-1854, roll 8, 485-86, RG 49, Federal Records Center.

⁸² See Treaty of St. Peter's, July 19, 1837, (7 Stat. 536), in *Indian Treaties*, comp. and ed. Kappler, 491-93.

⁸³ Jones, "Survey and Sale of the Public Land in Michigan," 20, 27, 28; fig. II, "Surveys, Southern Peninsula," fig. III, "Map showing area . . . which was defective."

⁸⁴ Peter Dougherty to David Wells, May 26, 1841, Dougherty Papers.

⁸⁵ Peter Dougherty to Robert Stuart, October 2, 1841, National Archives Microfilm, M234, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, roll 425, 518-21, Federal Records Center.

Seeking alternatives, Aischquagonabe led a substantial group of Grand Traverse Indians to Canada in July 1842 to receive presents and look over the situation on Manitoulin Island. In preparation, they built a special large canoe on the east shore of the bay. Although they urged him to join the canoe brigade, Agosa refused to accompany the travelers.⁸⁶ The number of Grand Traverse Indians who moved permanently to Canada does not seem to have been large. Following a long-established custom, the Ottawas and Ojibwes (and many other midwestern Indians) went to Manitoulin Island and Fort Malden (near Windsor) to receive presents from the British government, an annual event recognizing their support of the British during the War of 1812. Although the British tried to restrict the gift distribution to Indians residing in Canada, gifts to Indians from the United States continued, though somewhat curtailed, until the 1850s.

With the future status of their reservation unresolved, buying land seemed the best solution to the individual problems of the Grand Traverse families. Dougherty was equally eager that the Presbyterian Church be able to purchase the land on "the point" (i.e., the reservation) where a church was built in 1842, along with other structures. But the Grand Traverse residents could not be sure that news of a prospective land sale would reach them before the land was actually put on the market. In 1844, at the time of the fall payment of annuities at Mackinac Island, a spurious rumor circulated that the land on the peninsula was "in market." The rumor was reinforced by a further report that "a canoe from a village at the head of the bay went to the land office at Ionia and . . . [the occupants] had purchased [the land] where they lived." Further investigation revealed that they had "deposited their money at the office with a promise from the land agent that he would write to Washington stating the application they have made and hereafter inform them if the purchase can now be made."⁸⁷ Such an incident increased the anxiety pervading Indian homes.

In a state of perpetual uncertainty, members of the Grand Traverse Indian community turned to buying land where they could as the best solution to their problem. Writing on Christmas Day in 1848, Dougherty reported on local land purchases: "One band of six or eight families have [sic] made a small purchase on the west side of the Bay and are making arrangements to move next year. Another band of six or eight, most of them members of our church, made a purchase this fall

⁸⁶ "The Diary of Peter Dougherty, vol. 2," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* 30 (December 1952): 248-52 (entries for June 18, July 13, 21, 25, 1842).

⁸⁷ Peter Dougherty to David Wells, November 4, 1844, Dougherty Papers.

on the east side of the Bay." The purchase on the east shore of the bay marked the establishment of the first Indian village on the east side of Grand Traverse Bay since Aischquagonabe left the Eastport area in 1839. In his long Christmas letter, Dougherty went on to explain that forty or fifty families or more would remain on their lands on the peninsula if their ownership would be secure. They had made considerable progress with farming and wanted to have lands to enclose for cattle pasture and fruit raising. Dougherty had already purchased fruit trees for the mission grounds.⁸⁸ Two months later, he reported that there was talk about "getting up a petition here praying the government to bring this point into market that the Indians may purchase if they wish. . . . Persons are beginning to look about here for locations. All is uncertainty at present with regard to this land whether it is regarded still by the government as a reservation to which the laws relating to Indian territory apply or not. If a reservation, preemption cannot hold here, hence all improvements are made at considerable hazard."⁸⁹

In the spring of 1849, the owner of the sawmill at the head of Grand Traverse Bay returned from the Ionia land office with the false rumor that the reservation might be on the market during the summer.⁹⁰ By fall, people living on "the point" were aware that stories were circulating about white persons who wanted the reservation status of the point terminated so that they could purchase land. Dougherty hoped that by whatever strategy it could the Presbyterian Board might be able to buy the developed land including the mission property and the Indian village on the harbor.⁹¹

The year 1850 marked a new era in the historical development and mapping of the Grand Traverse region. The bay area no longer was an isolated and relatively unknown region of Michigan. Visitors and prospective settlers were talking about locating at the attractive harbor, where a government post office named "Grand Traverse" was established that year. On May 16, 1850, former senator and land promoter Lucius Lyon disembarked at the harbor to begin the resurvey of the Grand Traverse region, starting on the east side of the bay.⁹² Survey teams worked in the area for the next seven years, from 1850 through 1856.

⁸⁸ Peter Dougherty to Walter Lowrie, December 25, 1848, in *ibid.*

⁸⁹ Peter Dougherty to David Wells, February 1849, in *ibid.*

⁹⁰ Peter Dougherty to Walter Lowrie, June 8, 1849, in *ibid.*

⁹¹ Peter Dougherty to Walter Lowrie, September 21, 1849; January 21, 1850, both in *ibid.*

⁹² "Diary of Peter Dougherty, vol. 1," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* 30 (September 1952): 191.

Lyon brought high standards to the surveying of northern Michigan. He had just completed a five-year term (1845-1850), as Surveyor General for the District Northwest of the Ohio River, which had its headquarters in Detroit. Earlier in his career, Lyon had surveyed the northern boundary of Illinois. Lyon remeasured the township lines for the tier of Townships Nos. 28, 29, and 30 North in Range 9 West during the summer and fall of 1850, but the subdivisions were not made until two years later. Lyon died in September 1851, and though the subdividing of Township 28 took place early in 1852, the map for the township was not approved by Charles Noble, Surveyor General in Detroit until April 11, 1853.⁹³ The subdivision of the two townships to the north took much longer. Township 29, including Elk Rapids and land on the east side of Elk Lake, presented a particular challenge since the original drawing was so erroneous, but it was finally approved in December 1856.⁹⁴ On the west side of Grand Traverse Bay, veteran surveyor Orange Risdon began the corrective township surveys and subdividing in the fall of 1851. Risdon had produced the very first survey map of southeastern Michigan in 1825. After completing work on the Leelanau Peninsula, Risdon moved to the east side of the bay to subdivide Township 30 in the fall of 1855. That survey was approved in November 1856.⁹⁵

The survey teams working in the Grand Traverse Bay area in the 1850s recorded illuminating information in their maps and survey notes about population, land use, and natural resources. This information has been assembled and reproduced, enhanced by color coding, in maps by J. William Trygg, which were published in 1964.⁹⁶ The Trygg maps provide a graphic display of the Grand Traverse area (fig. 8), making it possible to discern changes in the cultural landscape that had occurred between the area's earlier portrayal by Peter Dougherty

⁹³ "Township No. 28 N. Range No. 9 West," Map 16-12, RG 87-155, State Archives of Michigan.

⁹⁴ "Township No. 29 N. Range No. 9 West," RG 57-31, in *ibid.* The difference between the original black lines and red correction lines is conspicuous. The final correct version is Map 16-5, RG 87-155, in *ibid.*

⁹⁵ "Township No. 30 N. Range No. 11 West," Map 16-12, RG 87-155, in *ibid.*

⁹⁶ J. William Trygg, *Composite Map of the United States Land Surveyors' Original Plats and Field Notes* (Ely, Minn.: J. W. Trygg, 1964), 46 sheets. See sheet 9, Michigan Series. Trygg originally compiled these maps for use as evidence in land-claims cases, based on treaties presented before the Indian Claims Commission in Washington, D.C. See fig. 8, which shows the Grand Traverse section of sheet 9. Recent development of the land is shown by the resurvey of the bay area (except for the Old Mission Peninsula) beginning in 1850.



Fig. 8. Courtesy of the J. W. Trygg Historical Collections.

“Old Mission Peninsula, 1840,
surrounding Grand Traverse Bay area, 1850s”

in 1840 and the 1850s surveys. Comparing the maps is a cartographic exposition of local history.

The Trygg map reveals the concentration of Ottawa and Ojibwe population in the northern half of the Leelanau Peninsula, where five Indian villages are identified, the largest an "Old Indian village of 10 Lodges" at present-day Leland, with adjacent "Indian Fields" and a "clearing." Farther north, surveyors recorded Indian trails, a wood-chopping site, and an Indian village with "improvements" a mile or so from Cat Head Bay at the tip of the peninsula. To the east, on the bay side, the Indian village is marked at present-day Northport along with the mission station of George N. Smith, who had moved from the Holland region in 1849. A trail southward leads to the next small peninsula, long the home of Shabwasson, who lived near the well-known "Indian Apple Orchard," which probably dated from the pre-1760 French era. Part of the orchard was included in Peter Dougherty's land purchase for a new mission site, but the information for this section of the map, noting the sugar camp and field, was collected before the establishment of the "New Mission" in 1852. Farther south along the bay shore is the final Indian village with a note about "extensive cultivation."⁹⁷

Since the Old Mission Peninsula was not subject to resurvey, except for the west side of the lower part that fell into Range 11 West, the basic information here is from the original 1839 survey that noted the village on the harbor where Agosa lived. The 1851 survey at the base of the bay recorded a portion of the recently constructed wagon road from Traverse City to Old Mission. For this part of the bay area, local history already recounted fills in the picture, supplementing the cartographic record. On the east side of the bay, the Indian field with a path to the shore is of particular interest since the manuscript map records "Indian graves" where the path strikes the shore. This site, about three miles north of present-day Eastport, is in the vicinity of Aischquagonabe's old village. The mouth of Elk River is marked as a sawmill site; however, the manuscript map provides a place name, "Elk Rapids," and shows four triangles indicating a local community where Indians were reported to have moved by 1850. In the interior, around the southern end of Torch Lake and Elk Lake, ten locations are noted as sugar camps or sugar bush or grove. These are the places where Indians living on "the point" went in early spring to make sugar, fish, and secure materials for constructing canoes.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

At the base of Grand Traverse Bay, the map notes Boardman's mill on the west arm and the more recently established Scoville's mill on the east arm, each with a millpond. To the south, the legends "Boardman's Road" and "logging road" indicate the location of early lumbering operations. Three main trails show overland communication routes. From the west arm, the beginning of the trail southwest to Manistee is marked. To the east are two trails toward the upper Manistee River, one from the east arm of Traverse Bay and a second from "Round Lake" (Lake Skegemog).

The surveying and mapping of the early 1850s recorded recent changes in the population picture and forecast questionable future developments. In the larger political sphere, the year 1850 was significant for Michigan Indians because the new state constitution enfranchised Indian men who were considered civilized and not just members of a tribe.⁹⁸ This change facilitated Indians' ability to purchase land. At the national level, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was transferred from the War Department and incorporated into the new Department of the Interior, which was established in 1849. Thereafter, Indian matters became more influenced by party politics.

The year also saw the decrease and further dispersion of the Indian population living on the Grand Traverse reservation. Even at their peak, communities on "the point" probably comprised less than half the total Grand Traverse region's Ottawa and Ojibwe population. Indian families who decided to move away from the village near the harbor sold their homes to white men, who could not yet purchase the land on which the homes were built.⁹⁹ Further population decrease on "the point" was forecast when eight or ten Catholic families living there indicated that they were moving to the west shore where they could buy land. The Catholic community represented a substantial population. They had their own mission school, which reported twenty-eight students for the academic year 1850-1851. By comparison, the Presbyterian school counted forty-three enrolled students, but attendance averaged twenty. As part of their widespread interest in securing land, the Indians discussed a request to the government for land in exchange for the two hundred thousand dollars due to them by the terms of the 1836 treaty when they gave up their reservations. Much discouraged, Dougherty decided that the reservation on "the point" no longer was any use to the

⁹⁸ "Article 7, 1850 Constitution of the State of Michigan," in *Michigan Compiled Laws*, 1979, comp. Michigan Legislative Council (Lansing: the Council, 1981), lxxxi.

⁹⁹ Peter Dougherty to David Wells, May 23, 1850, Dougherty Papers.

Indians and should be sold as soon as possible.¹⁰⁰ All of these incidents and reports indicate that a movement to abandon the Grand Traverse reservation was well under way five years before the Ottawas and Ojibwes of northwestern Michigan officially ceded their reservation lands in a new treaty signed in July 1855.

At the foot of the west arm of the bay, signs of development were unmistakable by 1850. Horace Boardman had begun limited lumbering in 1847, and he built a wharf the following year. Boardman also hired local Indians to strip bark from hemlock trees, which was to be shipped to Chicago for use in tanning leather. In 1850, however, three Chicago businessmen organized the firm Hannah, Lay, and Co., whose operations really led to the settlement of the future Traverse City area. These men came in the spring of 1851, took over the Boardman property, and began expanded lumbering operations. By wintertime, the small community counted about a dozen families and an equal number of single residents, mostly men.¹⁰¹

With the local non-Indian population obviously increasing, leading residents of the reservation on "the point" made two major land purchases in 1851. In August, Peter Dougherty embarked on a weeklong trip to the land office in Ionia, going by water along the coast of Lake Michigan to the Grand River and then upriver to Grand Rapids, where he completed the journey by stagecoach. In the name of Walter Lowrie, secretary of the Presbyterian Board, Dougherty purchased 333 acres of land on the west side of Grand Traverse Bay, near present-day Omena, acreage that actually included some of the agricultural land of Shabwasson's village.¹⁰² Since the Indians were fearful of disease and the temptations offered by liquor-selling traders at Mackinac Island, seventy heads of families asked Dougherty to attend the fall payment and bring back their annuities.¹⁰³ This is very likely a principal source of the fund of twelve hundred dollars that Chief Agosa took with him when he went through the woods to the Ionia land office in November to purchase forty-acre plots for members of his band. Overland travel was facilitated in 1851 by a new trail cut through the

¹⁰⁰ Peter Dougherty to Walter Lowrie, September 4, 1850, in *ibid.* See also Reports to William Sprague, Mackinac Indian Agency, from Peter Dougherty, no. 3; from George N. Smith, no. 5; and from Bishop P. P. Lefevre, no. 6, in *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1851), 312-15, 320.

¹⁰¹ M. L. Leach, *A History of the Grand Traverse Region* (Traverse City, Mich.: Grand Traverse Herald, 1883), 45-47, 52-53.

¹⁰² Peter Dougherty to Walter Lowrie, August 19, 1851, Dougherty Papers.

¹⁰³ Peter Dougherty to Walter Lowrie, September 14, 1851, in *ibid.*

forests from Croton on the Muskegon River to Traverse City, a distance of about one hundred miles.¹⁰⁴ Construction of the new Presbyterian mission on the west shore of Grand Traverse Bay began in the early spring of 1852 using lumber brought across Lake Michigan from Green Bay, Wisconsin. The residential school opened in the fall with approximately twenty-five girls and twenty-five boys in attendance.¹⁰⁵ The church, "New Mission," was completed in 1858, and it continued in operation until 1870. Cherry trees that Dougherty planted are credited with starting the agricultural enterprise that eventually made Traverse City the "National Cherry Capital."

The New Mission under Presbyterian auspices was just one of the additions to the Ottawa and Ojibwe communities on the Leelanau Peninsula within the period 1849 to 1852. In 1849 George N. Smith, a Congregationalist, brought his "Ottawa Colony" under the leadership of Waukazoo from the Black River, near modern Holland, to establish Waukazooville at present-day Northport. At the new location Smith soon dealt with three other groups in the northern Leelanau Peninsula, the Shabwasson, Nagonabe, and Onomunese bands. According to some local accounts, Onomunese's band arrived on the northwest shore of the Leelanau Peninsula about this time fleeing intertribal strife in Wisconsin. The new Catholic community on the west shore of Grand Traverse Bay increased with the arrival of Ottawas from Cross Village with their priest, marking the beginning of Eagletown, later Peshawbestown.¹⁰⁶ In 1842, Peshawbe was still living at the base of "the point."¹⁰⁷ In another population shift, several families from the original mission community on "the point" on Grand Traverse Bay bought land and moved to Bear River on the south shore of Little Traverse Bay (present-day Petoskey). This location also attracted Catholic families from the north shore who were eager to have a school for their children with English-language instruction, which the foreign-trained priests at Harbor Springs would not provide.¹⁰⁸

In all the communities around Grand Traverse Bay, as well as among other Ottawa and Ojibwe living in the area ceded in the Treaty of March 28, 1836, people raised questions not only about their homes and lands,

¹⁰⁴ Peter Dougherty to Walter Lowrie, November 22, 1851, in *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Craker, *First Protestant Mission*, 37-38.

¹⁰⁶ George N. Smith to Wm. Sprague, in *Annual Report . . . Indian Affairs* (1851), 315; Elvin L. Sprague and Mrs. George N. Smith, *Sprague's History of Grand Traverse and Leelanau Counties, Michigan* (Chicago: B. F. Bowen, 1903), 337.

¹⁰⁷ "Diary of Peter Dougherty, vol. 2," 247 (entry for June 11, 1842).

¹⁰⁸ Peter Dougherty to Walter Lowrie, October 23, 1851, Dougherty Papers.

but also about payments due under various treaty provisions. Claiming to represent "Chiefs of the Ottawa and Chippewa Tribes of Indians, residing in Michigan," William Johnston wrote directly to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1850 asking for a new treaty to be made in Washington, D.C., to "adjust existing matters appertaining to the Two tribes; which are now unsettled and cannot be adjusted otherwise."¹⁰⁹ Matters continued to be "unsettled" for another five years.

In the meantime, Michigan political leaders exerted pressure in Washington through the Committee on Indian Affairs in the United States Senate. On April 6, 1852, the Senate "Resolved, That the Committee on Indian Affairs be instructed to inquire into the expediency of making provisions for the amicable arrangement with the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of all questions arising under the treaty with them of 1836, relative to the continued occupancy of the lands reserved to them and the consideration to be paid for such cession; and also, as to the expediency of making an appropriation to enable the proper Department to consummate such measures as may be necessary for their permanent settlement in the country where they now reside." The resolution, promptly forwarded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was introduced by Michigan Senator Alpheus Felch, who had previously been a justice of the Michigan Supreme Court and served a term as the state's governor.¹¹⁰ The matter did not move forward until August when George Manypenny, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, finally sent a long explanatory letter to the Secretary of the Interior requesting a twenty-thousand-dollar appropriation to hold a treaty council with the "Ottawa and Chippewa" with a view to arranging for them to continue living in their own ceded lands.¹¹¹

Progress toward a treaty was more rapid after Henry C. Gilbert became head of the Michigan Indian Agency in May 1853. Gilbert's interest was not entirely altruistic. He called attention to the fact that under the 1836 treaty, annual payments would end in 1855, with the

¹⁰⁹ W. Johnston to Orlando Brown, June 1, 1850, National Archives Microfilm, M234, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, roll 426, 660-62, RG 75, The Newberry Library.

¹¹⁰ D. R. Atchison, Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, to Luke Lee, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 7, 1852, enclosing Senate Resolution April 6, 1852, National Archives Microfilm, M234, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, roll 403, 702-3, RG 75, The Newberry Library. See also F. Clever Bald, *Michigan in Four Centuries* (New York: Harper, 1954), 252-53.

¹¹¹ George Manypenny to R. McClelland, August 30, 1852, National Archives Microfilm, M234, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, roll 403, 705-7, RG 75, The Newberry Library.

possibility that several thousand northwest Michigan Indians might need subsistence aid from the state rather than the federal government. Pointing out the pressure of incoming population, he made the erroneous statement that all lands were "on the market."¹¹² The Grand Traverse Band's 1836 reservation was not yet open for sale. Michigan Indians were becoming increasingly impatient to have their government-owed payments made and the status of their lands settled.

During the following winter, all the Ottawas and Ojibwes in northwestern Michigan organized a joint presentation to take place in Washington, D.C., on February 26, 1855. In preparation, leaders from all the bands north of Manistee first met at Grand Traverse to prepare a memorial, written in their own language with an English translation, expressing a "unanimous wish." This memorial asked the government to keep the money owed to the bands, explaining that "our request is to have the interest of that money distributed yearly amongst our children, to enable them to pay for lands and taxes." The document dated at Grand Traverse, January 16, 1855, carried forty-seven signatures, while the supplementary statement dated February 7, 1855, added thirty-four more signatures and the comment that the Grand River Ottawa "with one mind agree with our friends & connexions."¹¹³

A major factor in the impending crisis was the advent of Michigan's second land boom, created in large part by the passage of the Graduation Act of 1854, which reduced the price of land for ten years to one dollar an acre, with larger reductions for land that had been on the market for longer periods of time.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, transportation improvements such as the completion of a railroad across the southern part of the state and increased immigration and ship traffic brought a new wave of settlers, as well as lumbermen, into Michigan.

Manypenny favored the allotment of individual parcels of land to each Indian family, with special provisions for single households and orphans, as a basis for permanent settlements in a new treaty. This was the arrangement agreed upon at treaty councils that met in Detroit from July 25

¹¹² Henry C. Gilbert to George Manypenny, March 6, 1854, National Archives Microfilm, M234, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, roll 404, 369-71, 376-77, RG 75, The Newberry Library.

¹¹³ Memorial of the Chippewa and Ottawa of Michigan, January 16 and February 7, 1855, National Archives Microfilm, M234, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, roll 404, 561-65, RG 75, The Newberry Library. For a report of their communications in Washington, D.C., see Delegates to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 27, 28, 1855, in *ibid.*

¹¹⁴ "An Act to Graduate and Reduce the Price of the Public Lands to Actual Settlers and Cultivators," approved August 4, 1854, 33d cong., 1st sess., chapter 244, 574.

until August 31, 1855, when the new treaty was signed.¹¹⁵ For the Grand Traverse bands, the lands set aside in the Fifth Clause of Article 1 were located on the Leelanau Peninsula, with a half township on the east side of Elk Rapids.¹¹⁶ These were areas where the Indians had already settled, and where some had already purchased land. The treaty also enabled the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church to acquire the approximately sixty-three acres where the school, mission, and other buildings had been constructed. A separate paragraph of Article I of the treaty stated that the land "shall be vested in the said board on payment of \$1.25 per acre; and the President of the United States shall issue a patent for the same to such person as the said board shall appoint."¹¹⁷

The era of the 1836 treaty reservations effectively ended when arrangements were made for payment of the two hundred thousand dollars granted by the Senate because the reservations were limited to a five-year existence. The Grand Traverse bands gave their approval to the amended treaty at a council held at Northport on July 5, 1856, with the names of Aischquagonabe and Agosa leading the list of seven signers.¹¹⁸

After the new 1855 treaty went into effect, the old reservation on "the point" (becoming known as the Old Mission Peninsula) still retained a considerable Indian population, even though many families had resettled on the Leelanau Peninsula, along Elk River and the north end of Elk Lake, and at Bear River community on the south shore of Little Traverse Bay. An Indian village near the base of "the point" helped guide a settler safely to shore after he had become lost while crossing the ice from Traverse City to Bower's Harbor on a foggy evening in March 1858. A new Methodist Episcopal minister began preaching at the old mission church in 1857 to a varied congregation of settlers, occasional visiting sailors, and ornamented, traditionally clad Indians. Aischquagonabe, principal chief of the Grand Traverse bands, was a conspicuous member of the congregation from time to time. He had moved from the northeast shore of the bay to the peninsula in June 1839 and remained there.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Proceedings of a Council with the Chippeways & Ottawas of Michigan . . . July 25th, 1855, RG 123, file 27537, box 1537, National Archives; *United States v. Michigan*, Plaintiffs Exhibit 18, 471, F. Supp. 192 (Western District of Michigan, 1979).

¹¹⁶ Treaty of July 31, 1855 (22 stat. 621), in *Indian Treaties*, comp. and ed. Kappler, 725-731.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 728.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 731.

¹¹⁹ Leach, *Grand Traverse Region*, 59-61.

The land comprising the Grand Traverse Indians' 1836 treaty reservation was finally placed on the market in 1859 as a result of the combined efforts of settlers, developers, and local politicians who carried their appeals to Washington, D.C. By that time, prospective buyers no longer had to make the long trek to a distant land office, as one had opened in Traverse City on August 2, 1858.¹²⁰ In 1851 land purchases still had to be made in Ionia, but a new northern office began entries in 1852 at the town of Duncan, near present-day Cheboygan. That office was transferred to Mackinac Island from March 1 to July 1, 1858, and then relocated in Traverse City in August 1858.¹²¹

The Indian reservation on the peninsula in Grand Traverse Bay, first drawn by Peter Dougherty in 1839, surveyed later the same year, and comprising the only northwestern Michigan townships that were not resurveyed, apparently became the last tract of land in the Lower Peninsula to become part of the public domain. Although the original Indian residents never were able to buy the land on the peninsula where they had homes and cultivated fields, the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in Philadelphia purchased the mission and school sites when land on the peninsula at last went on sale in 1859.

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¹²⁰ H. R. Page & Co., *The Traverse Region: Historical and Descriptive* (1884; reprint, Evansville, Ind.: Unigraphic, 1974), 26, 46; Annual Report of Thomas A. Hendricks, Commissioner of the Land Office, to Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior for 1858, in Hendricks, *Report of the Commissioner of [the] General Land Office* (Washington, D.C.: Land Office, 1858), 40. Land offices in Michigan were located in Detroit, East Saginaw, Ionia, Kalamazoo, Mackinac, and Marquette. See Joseph A. Wilson, Commissioner of [the] General Land Office, to Jacob Thompson, Secretary of [the] Interior, November 29, 1860, in Wilson, *Report of the Commissioner of [the] General Land Office* (Washington, D.C.: Land Office, 1860), 54-55, for the report of sales in 1859-1860 at Michigan land offices in Detroit, East Saginaw, Ionia, Marquette, and Traverse City.

¹²¹ Page, *The Traverse Region*, 26.

