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The Missionary As Acculturation Agent: Peter Dougherty and the Indians of Grand Traverse

BY VIRGIL J. VOGEL

The French *voyageurs* who paddled southward in Lake Michigan from the Straits of Mackinac saw two indentations on the eastern shore. In crossing the bays from one headland to another, they called the smaller one La Petite Traverse and the larger La Grande Traverse.¹ The big bay is divided by Old Mission Peninsula, at the foot of which, today, lies Traverse City. In the spring, miles of blooming cherry orchards give the low hills in this vicinity the appearance of a sea of popcorn balls, while the sandy beaches, mixed forests of evergreen and hardwood, and clean lakes make it an attractive resort region.

In this picturesque setting, 130 years ago, were several villages inhabited by some hundreds of Ottawa and Ojibwa Indians, members of two closely related tribes, identical in language and customs, belonging to the ubiquitous Algonquian family. Many of their descendants, though lacking a reservation, still cling to their ancient soil. The former lords of the wilderness left a lasting mark on the land with such names as Waugoshance Point, Wequetonsing, Petoskey, Kewadin, Omena, and Peshawbestown. They did a little gardening, but were mainly a hunting and fishing people. Every winter they left for hunting excursions along the river courses in the southern part of the state, and each spring they made maple sugar and packed it in birch bark boxes called

1. Elvin L. Sprague and Mrs. George N. Smith, *Sprague's History of Grand Traverse and Leelanau Counties* (n.p.: B. F. Bowen, 1903), p. 219.

*Dr. Vogel is assistant professor of history, Chicago City College, Mayfair campus. He reviewed Robert Berkhofer's *Salvation and the Savage in Michigan History*, L (December, 1966), 363-65.*

mococks.² From white traders who had been in contact with them since the seventeenth century, they had learned to use guns, traps, knives, axes, cloth, glass beads, and liquor, yet they still clung largely to old customs and beliefs. Although Catholic missionaries had been active at L'Arbre Croche and Little Traverse, the Grand Traverse in 1838 was still untouched by the acculturative impact of mission work. With the intent to banish heathen customs and white man's liquor, and to introduce Christian religion and civilization, the Reverend Peter Dougherty came to Grand Traverse in the summer of 1838.

The immediate cause of his coming lay in certain provisions of a treaty negotiated with twenty-two chiefs and headmen of the Ottawa and Chippewa (Ojibwa) tribes in Washington on March 28, 1836, by United States Commissioner Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. There the Indians had been induced to sign away their aboriginal title to that part of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan lying east of the "Chocolate River" (Choccolay, near present Marquette), and their remaining territory in the western Lower Peninsula from the Straits of Mackinac southward to Grand River. They were allowed to retain possession of several tracts of land for five years, pending their removal to a yet unselected territory "southwest of the Missouri river." One of these temporary reserves consisted of twenty thousand acres on Grand Traverse Bay.³

In return for the surrender of this empire, the Indians were to receive for twenty years an annuity of \$30,000 (to be divided among 6500 Indians), ten times that amount to settle their alleged debts to traders, and another \$30,000 in thinly disguised bribes for the chiefs. There were provisions for the delivery of goods and medicines, tools, live-

2. Andrew J. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan* (Ypsilanti: Ypsilanti Job Printing House, 1887), p. 37.

3. In *ibid.*, p. 97, Blackbird maintained that the Indians were "unwilling parties" to the treaty, that they were "compelled to sign blindly," and that they were "ignorant of the true import of its conditions," believing that they were getting permanent reservations.

4. Charles J. Kappler (ed.), *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (2 vols.; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), II, 450-56.

5. Instructions to Dougherty, September 23, 1838, in *Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, VI (November, 1838), 348.

6. While preaching at Mackinac he complained that "the pulpit was very high. My head could scarcely be seen above it"; "Diaries of Peter Dougherty," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, XXX (June, 1952), 108. This issue carried the first portion of the diaries, on pages 96-114. Remaining portions were published in September (pp. 175-92) and December (pp. 236-53) of the same year.

7. Ruth Craker, *First Protestant Mission in the Grand Traverse Region* (2nd ed.; Leland, Michigan: Leelanau Enterprise, 1935), p. 46.

8. Most of the following information on his exploratory trip is from the diaries.

stock, implements, two blacksmith shops and a gunsmith, an interpreter, two farmers and assistants, and two mechanics. In addition, \$5,000 annually was to be spent for "the purpose of 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," and \$3000 for the maintenance of missions.⁴

The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions decided to take advantage of the financial grants provided by this treaty and to establish a mission in the wilderness.⁵ In the summer of 1838, they dispatched the Reverend Peter Dougherty, of Newburgh, New York, to the northern country to choose an appropriate site for the venture. Born in Plattekill, New York, November 15, 1805, Dougherty was graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1834, and from Princeton Theological Seminary three years later. When he was chosen to minister to the Indians, Dougherty was still unmarried and unordained. He was a short man,⁶ heavy set, with blue eyes and dark hair, and was described as a serious person with strong willpower and capacity for work.⁷

Dougherty set forth from New York by steamer up the Hudson on June 19, 1838,⁸ and from Albany he travelled by canal boat and rail to Buffalo. A steamer brought him to Mackinac Island on July 7, where he found "the whole shore was line[d] with Indian tents made of poles and mats." Mackinac was then the headquarters of Henry R. Schoolcraft, Indian agent. Schoolcraft was in Detroit when Dougherty arrived, but his half-breed wife, who had been told of the expected visitor, welcomed him to their home. When Schoolcraft returned on



*Peter Dougherty—
serious, dedicated,
and strong-willed.*

July 25, Dougherty sought his opinion as to the most likely place to establish a mission, and recorded the reply in his diary:

He think[s] the grand Travers[e] as favourable a point as any to which my attention can be directed. He recommends to go and establish under the patronage of the government which will give recommendation to the Indians, make the mission more independant of the influence from any source against it.⁹

Schoolcraft promised to prepare a letter of introduction for the chiefs, and his brother-in-law, John Johnston, would procure a boat, an interpreter, two men, and enough provisions for the trip to Grand Traverse. Dougherty left the island on the afternoon of July 28, accompanied by a Mr. Buck, an old Indian and his son, and an interpreter. That day he wrote in his diary:

It is most shameful to see how the traders at Mackinac do take advantage of those ignorant people. We were to give the old man \$20 to take us through—after persuading [sic] him to take it all in provisions we found on his bill he was charged \$3.50 for about one bushel of corn when it is selling for \$1 per bush[el].¹⁰

After some days of fighting the wind and rain, the party stopped at L'Arbre Croche (Middle Village, near Good Hart)¹¹ for provisions, and Dougherty declared the ancient settlement to have "the most appearance of civilization here of any place I have seen." On August 3 the party entered Grand Traverse Bay, finally landing at an Indian village on the east side (Elk Rapids) which was inhabited by about sixty men and their families. The chief was absent, and as nothing could be decided without seeing the chief, Dougherty "told his prime minister that Mr. Schoolcraft would explain the whole matter to the chief." Dougherty was then paddled across the east arm of the bay and landed near a small village (Old Mission) where he was "very much an[n]joyed by dogs and children," who appeared "poor and dirty."

Dougherty next went north around the point into Lake Michigan, and coasted south, landing next day by a small river emptying into the lake (Carp River?), where he found a village. When his purpose was explained, Dougherty reported, "the chief did not give a decided answer but said he would like to have a school and they would send a teach[er.] He would consult and give an answer at another time."

9. "Diaries," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, XXX (June, 1952), 112.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

11. Blackbird (*History of the Ottawa*, p. 10) is authority for the location of L'Arbre Croche, named for a crooked pine tree which stood on the shore. He adds that the

Fighting more inclement weather, Dougherty passed "the sand hills of Sleeping Bear" and on August 8 reached the mouth of the Manistee, where Mr. Buck resided. The local chief was on a mission to the West to examine sites for the relocation of the tribe, but was reported to be friendly and anxious to learn to live like the white man. Dougherty continued to coast southward, changing guides at the Muskegon, and reached Grand River, the southern limit of Ojibwa occupation, after sundown on August 14. There Dougherty met the Rev. William Montague Ferry, a former missionary at Mackinac, who advised him that Grand Traverse was the most promising place for mission work, but doubted that much could be done for the Indians.

On August 16 Dougherty boarded a passing sloop bound for Chicago, arriving there in time to board the steamer "General Wayne." He disembarked at Cleveland a week later and went by stage to Princeton, where he visited old friends before proceeding to New York. There he met the Reverend John Fleming, who with his wife and small daughter was destined to accompany Dougherty back to Michigan to assist in the mission venture.

On Sunday, September 23, at Dr. McElroy's church on Grand Street, the two missionaries received public instructions of the executive committee of the Foreign Mission Board, delivered by Mr. Lowrie.¹² "You are about to leave a land of bibles and sabbaths," the Rev. Lowrie announced, "a community regulated by the precepts of the gospel, and where civil and religious liberty have their home, for a land of moral darkness, and the company of the savage tribes." They were being sent, he declared, "as the messengers of the churches to a people perishing for lack of knowledge, degraded and wretched, suffering under an accumulation of the evils of this life, with no hope for the future."¹³

The two missionaries left two days later, arriving at Mackinac Island on October 8, but found that their goods were delayed, and met further difficulty in obtaining an interpreter. Winter would come early in the

name was also applied to the shore for some miles, north and south. Catholic missionaries had long been active in this region.

12. There are discrepancies in the dates for this period in Dougherty's diary. This date, and the instructions quoted, are from the *Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, VI (November, 1838), 345-49.
13. To this condescending view of the Indians, contrast the opinion of Andrew Blackbird, son of an Ottawa chief who, though he was a Christian and served as postmaster at Good Hart, maintained that all of the worst vices of the Indians were introduced or caused by white influence. Included among these were drunkenness and illegitimacy; Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa*, pp. 13-17.

north, and it was soon decided, much to Dougherty's regret, to wait until spring before proceeding to Grand Traverse. He moved into the government dormitory for three weeks, after which he accepted lodging with a Mr. Drew in return for instructing his children. His leisure time was spent in studying the Ojibwa language, with the assistance of Mr. Johnston. His observations of the treatment of the Indians during this period caused him to dispatch an indignant letter to the mission board in which he castigated the inhumanity of Christians in dealing with their red brethren:

It is enough to make the heart bleed to see the numberless wrongs they have suffered from men who bear the christian name. There must be a fearful judgement in store for those who, instead of giving the gospel in exchange for their fertile lands, have only bound upon them the curse of intemperance. Must not the Church be partaker in the guilt of these wrongs which the Indians has suffered at the hands of our people, when she knows these wrongs, & yet makes no stronger efforts to save the sufferers from being pursued to extermination, by those who are reckless of everything but their own selfish interests. . . . It is the gospel alone that can save them. . . . Why cannot christian families, traders, mechanics, and farmers enlist in this cause?¹⁴

Dougherty and Fleming set forth for Grand Traverse in May, 1839, travelling in a Mackinaw boat rowed by four Indians.¹⁵ They first touched on the peninsula, temporarily deserted, then landed at Elk Rapids on the east side of the bay. After consulting with Chief

14. *Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, VII (May, 1839), 148.

15. The date of the arrival of Dougherty and Fleming at Grand Traverse is indefinite, since there is a gap in Dougherty's diary from December 27, 1838, to June 29, 1839. Much of the following information about the establishment of the mission is based upon Ruth Craker's work, which is partly based on local sources and traditional accounts. She stated that Dougherty settled at Elk Rapids about May 20.

16. Chief at Elk Rapids, whose name was variously spelled Aishquagonabe, Aish-quay-gonay-be, Aish-quagwan-aba, and so forth.

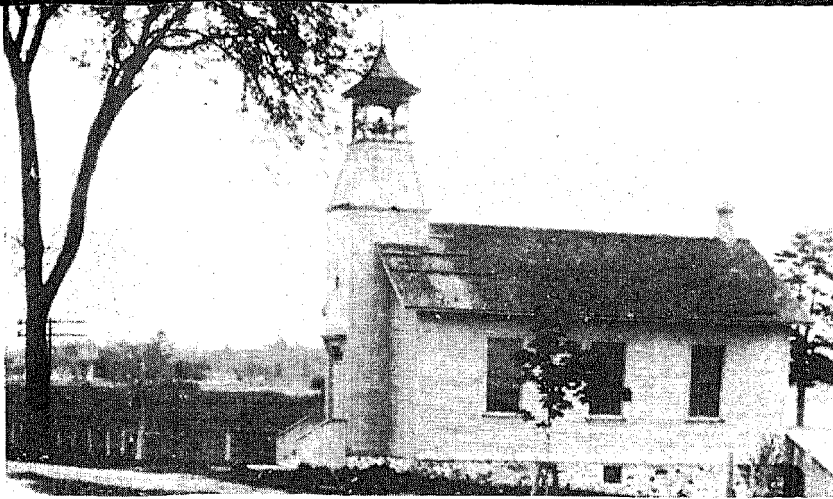
17. Harold S. Faust, "The Growth of Presbyterian Missions to the American Indians During the National Period," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, XXII (December, 1944), 159-61. Strangely, these events are not mentioned in Dougherty's diary, which also omits all mention of Fleming and his family during the winter at Mackinac.

18. In the 1840's, Graveraet headed the first party of settlers at the site of the city of Marquette; Federal Writers Project, *Michigan: A Guide to the Wolverine State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 345.

19. Chief at Old Mission, and a signer of the Treaty of 1836; see biographical details in Craker, *First Protestant Mission*, pp. 35-36.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 29. It seems more likely, however, that Schoolcraft's decision was the cause of Dougherty's move to the peninsula. The date of Dougherty's removal is uncertain; Craker assumes that it occurred prior to June 30, when the first service was held. Dougherty's diary entries for June 29-30 seem to suggest otherwise.

21. "Diaries," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, XXX (September, 1952), 190. All bracketed insertions, except the last, are mine. The published version has "one" for "me," which makes no sense, and was probably misread in the manuscript, which is in the Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.



Old Mission was the first Protestant church in the Grand Traverse region.

Esquagonabe,¹⁶ they chose a mission site near the mouth of Elk River. The two men at once began to cut logs for a house and school. While they were thus engaged, a messenger from Mackinac brought word of the death of Mrs. Fleming, who had remained at the island with her child pending the erection of a shelter. Fleming left at once, never to return.¹⁷

Dougherty finished his house with the aid of Peter Greensky, an Ottawa interpreter, and had Chief Esquagonabe and his wife as early house guests. On June 20, 1839, Schoolcraft came to Elk Rapids by boat, with interpreter Robert Graveraet,¹⁸ and Isaac George, an Indian blacksmith. He was looking for a site on which to locate the government employees, including a farmer and carpenter, who were to aid the Indians. After some indecision, the site of Old Mission, on the peninsula, was chosen, and George encamped there. Soon Dougherty was visited by Chief Ahgosa¹⁹ and several members of the peninsula band, who informed him that the Indians were unwilling to join those at Elk Rapids, and offered to transport him and his goods back to the peninsula and build him a "house," if he would establish his mission there. Dougherty accepted, and was ferried back to his earlier landing place.²⁰ Plans were made for opening a school, with Greensky as teacher, in Dougherty's bark wigwam. Apparently the strenuous activity of this period caused Dougherty to neglect his diary, but on June 29 he wrote that:

A merciful God has brought [me] through an other week of toil and labor. This day laid the foundation of a second house. Mr. George rendered [me] essential service. Agousa absent across the bay and not to return until tomorrow. Esquagonabe and some of his people came up today. I invited them to attend our meeting[.] Tomorrow is the Sabbath[;] O that the Lord would come down by the influence of his Spirit and convert these ignorant and dying peopl[e.]²¹

The next day Dougherty conducted the first **Protestant** religious service ever held in the Grand Traverse region. **Esquagonabe** attended with some of his men, Dougherty wrote, and all **listened** attentively to his sermon on the origin of man.

Sometime in August, Dougherty returned to the **East**, in order to receive his ordination in September from the **Presbytery** of New York. By this time, it was reported:

He has succeeded in building a log cabin in the **woods**, in forming a small school of Indian children, and in persuading some of the natives to receive instruction through a pious interpreter, whose services **he** has been able to obtain; and he considers the prospects of the mission **favorable**, though, as in nearly all the missions among the Indian tribes, there are still serious difficulties to be overcome. A Presbyterian minister is still **greatly** needed to be stationed at Mackinac, and a Teacher to assist Mr. Dougherty in his labors among the Indians on Grand Traverse Bay.²²

One of the seasonal annoyances which upset Dougherty's plans for the Indians was their annual departure, in late fall, for the traditional winter hunt, which was an economic necessity for **them**.²³ In the fall of 1839 Dougherty induced Ahgosa and two other **Indians** with their families to remain with him until sugar making time in the spring, by offering to build them comfortable winter houses. **Before** the work was finished, the weather became so cold that they had to use boiling water to thaw out the clay for plastering the chinks.²⁴ **That** same autumn, Schoolcraft sent John Johnston, equipped with a **yoke** of oxen, to serve as the government farmer. Because of the **scarcity** of food on the peninsula, the mission group had to comb the **woods** all winter in search of game.

In the spring of 1840 the log school at Elk Rapids was dismantled and the materials transported across the bay to be used in the construction of a new schoolhouse. The school reopened on May 10 with twenty-five pupils in attendance. Participation varied according to the activities and whims of the Indians, and ranged in those early years from a dozen to thirty-five pupils, including eventually a handful of white children, as the staff grew.²⁵ Not only the **winter** hunt, but the

22. *Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, VIII (January, 1840), 2.

23. Dougherty letter of January 31, 1842, in *Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, X (May, 1842), 149-50.

24. Craker, *First Protestant Mission*, p. 30.

25. "Diaries," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, XXX (September, 1952), 190; (December, 1952), 242-43.

resort in spring to maple syrup camps, and the trips to Mackinac for trading and to receive annuities were an impediment to regular attendance. Dougherty, however, looked to the school as the best ultimate means of combatting intemperance among the Indians.

During the summer of 1840 Dougherty journeyed eastward again for a private purpose: his marriage, in August, to Miss Maria Higgins of Pennington, New Jersey.²⁶ She was to share in his missionary labors for the next thirty-one years, and was to bear him one son and eight daughters, of whom four were to serve later as mission teachers.²⁷ Dougherty and his wife reached Grand Traverse by steamer at sundown on the last day of August, and next day landed their goods and commenced housekeeping.

That fall the youthful Andrew Blackbird was hired by John Johnston to serve at Old Mission as an apprentice blacksmith at a salary of \$240 a year. He remained five years, and in later life wrote that Dougherty "was indeed a true Christian, and good to the Indians."²⁸

Dougherty neglected his diary until January 13, 1841, when he wrote that pressing and laborious duties had kept him unceasingly occupied. By the fall of that year there were five mission buildings, all of logs except Dougherty's house. During the year the staff had been augmented by a mission teacher, Henry Bradley, and his wife; David McGulpin, a farm laborer; and George Johnston, government carpenter. In September a schooner brought Deacon Joseph Dame, who was to succeed John Johnston as government farmer,²⁹ and Lewis Miller, the first white settler to arrive independently of government or church auspices.³⁰

Reporting to the mission board early in 1842, Dougherty detailed both progress and difficulties. Mr. Bradley had taken charge of the

26. The first mention of Dougherty's marital status is in his diary entry for August 19, 1840, as they were leaving New York for the West; *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, XXX (December, 1952), 236-37.

27. J. B. Garritt, *Historical Sketch of the Missions Among the North American Indians* (Philadelphia: Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, 1881), p. 30. Those who served were Henrietta, 1860-62, Susan, 1862-66, Nettie, 1873-75, and S.A., 1873. Two of his daughters died in childhood; Sprague, *History of Grand Traverse*, p. 235.

28. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa*, pp. 55-56.

29. There had been bad feelings between John Johnston and Dougherty. The latter wrote that "Today Johnston the farmer made an attack upon me clinching me and threatening to strike me. He is a violent man whose influence is bad." Entry of May 10, Dougherty Diaries, Volume II, manuscripts in the Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

30. Craker, *First Protestant Mission*, p. 32.



*Dougherty often accompanied the Indians
to Mackinaw Island where the annual treaty payments were made.*

mission school,³¹ but attendance was small, owing to the departure of most of the Indians for the winter hunt. He wrote of an old man who was sick, but who refused to permit the Indians to hold a medicine dance for his recovery, insisting that if he did not improve in three days his family should bring him to the mission to die. A chief obstacle in the way of the gospel, Dougherty wrote, was intemperance.

We do not feel discouraged but on the contrary there is encouragement to persevere. Our hands have been strengthened not only by the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Bradley, but the government farmer [Dame] unites his efforts with ours, and the state of things is much better than last winter.³²

In 1842 Dougherty began to build the manse, or parsonage, and the mission church. He persuaded as many Indian families as he could to settle in the vicinity of the mission. By 1847 he was able to report:

Six years ago the site occupied by the village was a dense thicket. The village now extends nearly a mile in length, containing some twenty log houses and some good log stables belonging to the Indians. During that period they have cleared and cultivated some two hundred acres of new gardens, besides what additions were made to the old ones. They raise for sale several hundred bushels of corn and potatoes.³³

Dougherty's work was by no means confined to preaching. He was frequently called upon to write letters for illiterate Indians, half-breeds, and whites. There being no physician closer than Mackinac, he administered medicines and bled patients. He fed poultry, cultivated his own garden, and assisted Indians with carpentry. While his wife and child were in the East in 1842, he kept house, cooked, and baked. He also found time to correspond with numerous people, including Schoolcraft, to whom he sent Indian vocabularies and samples of Indian hair to aid the manifold researches of the famous ethnologist.³⁴

Sometime during his other labors he managed to make significant contributions to the study of the local Indian language. In the first years, the Upper Canadian Bible Society donated to his mission Ojibwa translations of the book of Genesis and the Gospel of John,³⁵ but Dougherty soon produced books on his own. In 1844 he published *A Chippewa*

31. Blackbird declared that Bradley "afterward proved himself unworthy of the position, which produced a bad effect on the Indians"; *History of the Ottawa*, p. 55.

32. Letter dated January 31, 1842, *Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, X (May, 1842), 149-50.

33. Quoted in Garritt, *Historical Sketch*, p. 6.

34. Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1853), II, 458; III, 376, 384, 391.

35. Garritt, *Historical Sketch*, p. 5.

Primer,³⁶ which Schoolcraft called "of much value to the philologist, as well as being adapted to promote the advance of the pupil."³⁷ The same year he published a translation in Ojibwa, with parallel English text, of James Gall's *Initiatory Catechism*, containing the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer.³⁸ New additions of these two works appeared in 1847.³⁹ In that year he also published *Short Reading Lessons in the Ojibwa Language*, containing parallel passages in English and Ojibwa, and with the assistance of Daniel Rodd, a teacher at the mission,⁴⁰ issued *Easy Lessons in Scripture History in the Ojibwa Language*.

Dougherty frequently accompanied his Indians on their annual trips to Mackinac to collect their annuity payments, with the object of strengthening their resistance to the liquor peddlers. It was there, on September 3, 1843, that he met the Reverend John H. Pitezel, a Methodist missionary from Lake Superior. Pitezel described Dougherty as "a pious and worthy man from Grand Traverse, who accompanied his Indians and had his tent among them. He was here to protect his sheep from the destroyer."⁴¹

The battle against liquor was never finished, and was particularly acute at annuity time. In a letter to the board in 1843, Dougherty reported:

We have just had a meeting on the subject of temperance. Through the influence exerted over them while they were receiving their annuities at Mackinac a number had broken their pledge. One of the chiefs stated, that when there a white man urged him to drink a little, telling him there was no harm to take a glass or two, for Christian people did so. After he had tasted it he wanted more, and drank to intoxication. He felt very bad afterward, and now publicly confessed his fault, and pledged himself to entire abstinence.⁴²

36. New York: Printed for the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church by John Westall, 1844. All of the works by Dougherty named herein were published under the same auspices.

37. Schoolcraft, *Information*, IV, 533.

38. *The First Initiatory Catechism, with the Ten Commandments and Lord's Prayer by Rev. Peter Dougherty*.

39. *A Chippewa Primer, compiled by the Rev. Peter Dougherty, and the First Initiatory Catechism, with the Ten Commandments and Lord's Prayer, by James Gall. Translated into the Ojibwa Language by Rev. Peter Dougherty and D. Rodd*. Of the second edition of the primer, Schoolcraft wrote: "This appears to be a judicious compilation in all respects, and evinces much familiarity with the modes of thought and expression used by the aborigines"; *Information*, IV, 533.

40. Rodd was a half-breed from the St. Clair River who served as Dougherty's interpreter; Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa*, p. 55.

41. John H. Pitezel, *Lights and Shades of Missionary Life* (Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe, 1883), p. 29.

42. *The Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York: published by the Board, 1843), p. 8.

In other respects also, events did not always run smoothly. Dougherty revealed himself at times to be impatient, suspicious, and cantankerous. He regretted his "severity of manner" towards his wife, and his "levity when Mrs. T was with us." At another time he recorded that his daughter May was "very unwilling to come home with me." He locked her in the house while he went to a prayer meeting. When an old chief objected that Dougherty was too young to teach the Indians, and remarked that "if they had an old man the Indians would listen," Dougherty confided to his diary: "He is an old Snake." He had a "slight misunderstanding with Kohgamaye about a small account which troubled me much." He admitted being "vexed and discouraged with regard to some of the children who will not try to learn." He quarreled with both of the Johnstons, and was convinced that George Johnston was conducting a gossip campaign against him, and refused to accept assurances to the contrary from Johnston's wife and from the Indians, insisting that "he has not shown his cloven hoof."⁴³

Dougherty's progress in winning sheep to the church was slower than the gains made through the school. In 1844 he reported that the membership of the mission church "consists of twenty-three members, fifteen of whom were native Indians."⁴⁴ By 1857 Dougherty claimed fifty-seven members, including both Indians and whites.⁴⁵ The mission staff reached its greatest strength in 1858 when it included, besides Dougherty, thirteen white assistants and two native helpers.⁴⁶ In view of this considerable investment in human effort, the results appear slim, and pose the question whether gains were impeded by Indian resentment at the treaty terms and other impositions of whites. Dougherty hinted as much on a few occasions.

Although the Indians by terms of the Treaty of 1836 were due to move west by 1841, they never did so. Even though their temporary reservations were surveyed and gradually opened to white settlement, they continued to cling tenaciously to their beloved homeland. As early as 1838 John Johnston had predicted to Dougherty that it was unlikely

43. "Diaries," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, XXX (December, 1952), 244, 245, 248, 250.

44. Clifford Drury, *Presbyterian Panorama—One Hundred and Fifty Years of National Missions History* (Philadelphia: Board of Christian Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 1952), pp. 140-41.

45. Craker, *First Protestant Mission*, p. 40.

46. "Diaries," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, XXX (June, 1952), 108, entry of July 12, 1838.

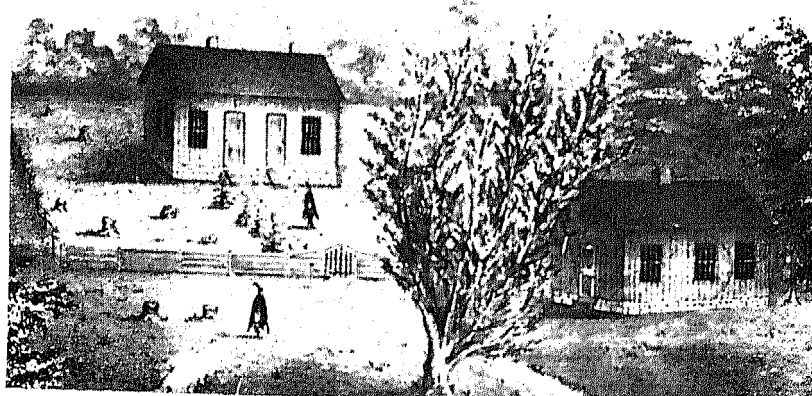
that the Indians of Grand Traverse would ever move away, since they "are near no commodious place for a harbor nor the mouth of any important river." He further told Dougherty that "the chiefs have money laid aside and design to purchase their lands as soon as they come in the market."⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the uncertainty about their future status hung like a pall over the Indians. Some of them were convinced by the "heathen" element that those who accepted Christianity would be compelled to emigrate.⁴⁸

Dougherty believed that removal was desirable in theory, but as a practical matter, he held that it would impede missionary efforts. He was convinced that the liquor merchants would trail the Indians wherever they went, and felt that agitation of the removal question was an upsetting influence.⁴⁹

While the Indians were not disposed to move to the Great Plains, many of them took refuge with their Canadian brethren. On July 21, 1842, Dougherty recorded in his diary that "several families started for Caniday this morning," and four days later he wrote: "To-day many of the Indians started for Canada[.] School very small[.]"⁵⁰ Andrew Blackbird maintained that half of his people fled to Canada when they learned the real meaning of the Treaty of 1836.⁵¹ The descendants of these migrants live today on Manitoulin Island and on the north shore of Georgian Bay.⁵²

The second constitution of Michigan, adopted in 1850, provided that detribalized Indians might become citizens, and they were encouraged to remain and purchase lands.⁵³ Since the lands at Old Mission were not offered for sale to them, the gradual dispersion of the mission colony commenced. In 1852 the mission was moved to the far side of the west arm of the bay, at Omena, and a new mission was opened forty miles to the north at Little Traverse Bay. The next year a school was opened twenty miles still farther north, at Middle Village. Also in 1853, a

Joseph Turner's school at Middle Village, north of Old Mission.



boarding school was begun at Omena, since the dispersal of the Indians made the day school impracticable. The new school offered primarily manual training, and accommodated fifty boys and girls.⁵⁴

In July of 1855, the leading men of the two tribes of northern Michigan were summoned to Detroit and pressured into accepting a new treaty to supplant that of 1836. This final coup, negotiated by George W. Manypenny and Henry C. Gilbert, with later amendments by the Senate, dissolved the "temporary" reservations of 1836, and set aside certain townships and sections to be divided into individual homesteads for Indians. The allotments were hardly economically viable units; heads of families might have eighty acres, while single adults would receive forty acres. After ten years the allottees, if deemed competent, would receive title to their lands, which would then become subject to sale and taxation. Lands still unallotted after five years could be purchased by Indians only during the following five years, and all land remaining after that would be opened to white buyers. Since it was assumed that Indians were a vanishing race, no provision was made for future generations.

The treaty exempted church and school lands in Indian areas from the general provisions, and specifically provided that "in consideration of the benefits derived to the Indians on Grand Traverse Bay by the school and mission established in 1838," three parcels of land on which the mission buildings stood, not exceeding 63 acres, 124 perches, were to be vested in the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church upon payment of \$1.25 an acre.

The treaty further provided for the liquidation of tribal debts up to \$40,000, and another \$80,000 for educational purposes, with the proviso that the Indians were to be consulted in its disposition. For the next five years, a \$15,000 annuity was to be spent on tools, furniture, building materials, cattle, and other articles necessary in resettling the Indians. Other funds were provided to support four blacksmith shops

47. *Ibid.*, (December, 1952), p. 245, entry of June 3, 1842.

48. Drury, *Presbyterian Panorama*, pp. 140-41.

49. Correspondence with D. Wells, 1841, cited in Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *Salvation and the Savage* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), p. 104.

50. "Diaries," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, XXX (December, 1952), 252.

51. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa*, p. 98.

52. Author's personal visit, Ottawa Indian Reserve, Wikwemikong, Ontario, 1966.

53. Garritt, *Historical Sketch*, p. 6; Craker, *First Protestant Mission*, p. 37.

54. Garritt, *Historical Sketch*, p. 6; Sprague, *Sprague's History*, p. 232.

for ten years, and a total of \$306,000 was to be paid in per capita annuities during the next ten years.

In return for these grants, the Indians were required to surrender all the benefits due them under the Treaty of 1836, and moreover they were directed to dissolve their tribal organization. They were even forbidden to hold general meetings to discuss any issues arising under the treaty.⁵⁵

Doubtless the treaty contributed to the further dispersal of the Indians, and to the eventual decline of the mission. The Indian allotments were in scattered locations, interspersed with white settlements, and too far from the mission for it to remain influential. The first casualty was the boarding school. Drury claims that the withdrawal of government funds after ten years forced its closing.⁵⁶ Garritt held that the school and mission both atrophied due to the conditions prevailing among the Indians, including "the indifference of many of the people to the education of their children; the distance of many families from the station, which made it impracticable to keep up the day-school at Grand Traverse; the influx of whites, many of whom were not reputable; the opposition of Romanists [Catholics]; and the unsettled feeling on the part of many of the tribe as to their remaining in the country." He further reported that the Indians in the vicinity of the mission were decreasing in number,⁵⁷ and many were absorbed in the surrounding population. Consequently the boarding school was abandoned in 1867, the mission farm was sold the next year,⁵⁸ and in 1871 "the churches were placed under the care of the Presbytery and the mission given up."⁵⁹

As his Indian ministry drew to a close, Dougherty summarized some of the results, clearly indicating that he considered his role in adapting the Indians to white ways of life as equal in importance to his conversion efforts:

Instead of heathen bands—ignorant, indolent, intemperate, clothed in a filthy blanket and living in smoky wigwams—we now see civilized families in comfortable houses, with farms and teams, industrious and exercising all the rights and duties of citizens, reading the Testament, family prayer, social

55. Treaty of Detroit, with the Ottawa and Chippewa Nations, July 31, 1855, in Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, II, 725-31.

56. Drury, *Presbyterian Panorama*, pp. 140-41. He states that the government provided 75 per cent of the cost of maintenance of the school.

57. Craker states that many of them died of smallpox; *First Protestant Mission*, p. 42.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

59. Garritt, *Historical Sketch*, pp. 6-7.

meetings for prayer, regular attendance in the house of God, and many giving pleasing evidence of heart piety. During these years there were gathered into the church here some 130.⁶⁰

Thus came to a close the thirty-three-year ministry of the Rev. Peter Dougherty among the Indians. He was then sixty-six years of age, and moved with his wife to Wisconsin, following which little is known of his activities. Two of his daughters continued to minister to the Ojibwas at other stations. Dougherty died at Somers, Kenosha County, Wisconsin, on February 15, 1894, at the age of eighty-eight.⁶¹ Although missionaries such as Marquette, Charlevoix, and Baraga are commemorated by monuments and place names in Michigan, it was Dougherty's fate to remain obscure. The contemporary compiler of the Presbyterian *Encyclopedia* did not mention his name;⁶² neither did he attract the notice of such historians of the lakes region as Harlan Hatcher and Milo M. Quaife. To those Indians who came under his influence, however, his memory survived for many years. They called him *Mickoos* ("Little Beaver"), because he did "a heap lot of work for his size."⁶³

60. Letter dated August 29, 1870, cited in Drury, *Presbyterian Panorama*, p. 141.

61. Craker, *First Protestant Mission*, p. 46.

62. Alfred Nevin (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publ. Co., 1884).

63. Craker, *First Protestant Mission*, p. 46.