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ASSIMILATION AND EDUCATION IN AN ETHNIC COMMUNITY

by

Ruth Mavis Ewer Ike

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

American Indians are among the most misunderstood of the ethnic groups in the nation today, even with all the attention given them in recent years. In order to be supportive of Indians assuming their rightful place in Bicentennial America, mainstream Americans need broader and deeper perspectives on the history and present circumstances of the life of Indians.

A background of historical and cultural perspectives is important to effect an understanding of the relationship between American Indian tribal dispersion and trends in Indian education today. Out of this background, a focus on the conditions of poverty and low educational achievement that exists among Indians will emerge through the study of cultural perspectives in education for one particular ethnic group, that of the Hannahville Indian Community in Menominee County, Michigan.

Five parts in this chapter serve as an introduction to the study. Part one provides historical perspectives and identifies the population studied. Part two presents the thesis of the study. Part three presents the significance of the study. Part four outlines the method of investigation, citing primary and secondary sources as well as the research questions. Part five discusses related studies and statements of findings in those studies.

Background of the Study

The Hannahville Indian Community is located in a rural area of Menominee County in Michigan's Upper Peninsula. The Community was organized as a Federal reservation in 1913 after intervention by Congress into the refugee status of remnants of the Potawatomi Nation

who had rejected the removal policies of the early 1800's in the Territory of Michigan and fled forced eviction. The Community became a Federal Corporation in 1936 and has struggled to exist on non-agricultural lands. It had no economic resources to develop and, until recently, was not considered party to treaty settlement claims between the Federal Government and the Potawatomi Nation.

The relationship of the Hannahville Indian Community to the State of Michigan and to the Federal government is complex. Educational issues cannot be separated from the body politic and the political status of the Community is a complex issue as is the issue of their special rights.

The ancestors of the Hannahville Indian Community were traditionally nomadic and Federal Indian policy relating to the transition from a nomadic and independent status of those ancestors to a reservation dependency status of their descendants parallels the development of educational institutions to serve that population as well as effects the relations of such descendants with the surrounding white community.

The study is delimited to the Hannahville Indian Community in an attempt to clarify an understanding of the conditions and problems existing on the reservation today and to suggest means of delivery of equal educational services to an ethnic community in a rural area.

Statement of the Problem

This is a descriptive historical essay developing a background of perspectives on the chronological events that led to the formation of the Hannahville Indian Community as a Federal reservation and describing the development of community services along with the results of such development on the current socio-economic and educational status of the Community.

Different societies adopt different means to socialize their children and adapt them to a cultural environment. An historical analysis is essential to the study of adaptation and to an understanding of the institutions utilized in the socialization process.

Educational institutions evolve out of adaptations. Without an understanding of the effect of prevailing educational institutions on students from an ethnic community, any alternatives or changes in the institutional structure of schools cannot be viewed within the proper perspective.

When innovation in education occurs in the dominant white society, it may be accepted by the community involved as a new method of approach. When innovation in education occurs in a small ethnic community, it may be rejected by the dominant external community as an action at variance with the wishes of the majority in the school district.

A school was opened in 1975 by the Hannahville Indian Community on their reservation and separate schools are not new for that Community. As early as the 1880's, Hannahville's children were schooled under contract between the Federal government and the Methodist Mission Society. After the Community was assigned reservation lands and federally recognized, the Federal government contracted with Menominee County to provide a one-room rural school on the reservation. The school was in District No. 11, Menominee County, and called "The Hannahville School," attended only by Indian students. The school functioned through the 1930's but was abandoned when schools in the County began consolidating. The Hannahville children were sent to various local consolidated schools and the most recent school district consolidation resulted in a Kindergarten through 12th grade institution called the Bark River-Harris School. This institution served the pupils from the reservation as well as the

external, white community. When the Indian students attended the one-room Hannahville School they were a cohesive ethnic unit. In the educational changes that brought about consolidation, the Hannahville children were geographically separated a little more from each other in school as a cultural group, going from a one-room school attended by Indian students into two separate district schools containing a majority of white students and finally into an even larger institution containing a greater majority of white students in relation to Indian student population.

This research addresses the following questions:

1. What events took place in recent history that culminated in the formation of the Hannahville Indian Community as a reservation?
2. What happens when a small reservation community becomes self-deterministic towards the goals of an available public school?
3. What are the problems and rewards when a small reservation community replaces an existing external public school system with a school system of its own?

Procedure Followed

Intensive library investigation revealed that little specific information was available about the Hannahville Indian Community without recourse to original documents, to bureau personnel, to agencies involved with the reservation, and to extensive field work.

Field work commenced in September of 1975 and continued through November, 1975, in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan as well as in upper Wisconsin. The field work consisted of interviews, site visits, and use of the participant-observor technique in the Hannahville Indian Community and in the surrounding communities.

Interviews were conducted with the personnel in the departments of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Office at Ashland, Wisconsin, with documents from that office providing background on the formation of the Hannahville Indian Community and describing the current role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in its relationship with those reservations under the Agency's jurisdiction.

Interviews were held at Rhinelander, Wisconsin, at the Regional Office for the Aberdeen Area and data provided pertinent to health services for the Hannahville Indian Community.

Interviews took place at the Hannahville Indian Community with Mrs. Gloria McCullough, Resource Developer and Secretary of the Indian Education Committee and a Tribal Council member, and with James St. Arnold, Economic Development Planner for Michigan's four federal reservations, from the Inter-Tribal Council of Michigan.

Interviews took place with various law enforcement agencies of the area, with the social services regional office, with the intermediate school offices, with the superintendent of the Bark-River Haeris school, with the counselor at the Bark-River Harris School, and with news media personnel in Escanaba.

On site visits included operational orientation at the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Ashland, and at the Health Services office at Rhinelander. On site visits at the Hannahville Indian Community were made with James St. Arnold and combined with interviews with the young people attending the school.

A total of eight weeks was spent in the area in the fall of 1975 and many hours utilizing the participant-observor technique in Escanaba, Gladstone, Harris, Wilson, Ashland, Hannahville, and in the Powers-Spaulding area.

Significance of the Study

In September of 1975, the Hannahville Indian

Community became the first federal reservation in the United States to receive a grant by law from a State to support innovation in education to fulfill the bilingual bicultural program designated in the Public Acts of 1975, Act No. 261, State of Michigan. The locus of control in education in a predominantly white community was altered when the Hannahville Indian Community opened a Kindergarten through 8th grade school on their reservation, utilizing funds from the grant as well as funds from other sources.

A majority of Indian children in grades Kindergarten through 8th withdrew from the Bark River-Harris School to attend school on the reservation. The act of withdrawal of a significant number of ethnic community students from a public school system under the stimulus of a grant by law is, in and of itself, worthy of research attention. The withdrawal also is relevant, however, to educational institutions in Michigan having ethnic communities in their districts.

The Hannahville Indian Community lacks a resource base on which to function completely independent of the external white community but it appears to be attempting to develop a method to reach a desired goal of solving the high drop-out rate of their children from school and the high absenteeism and low achievement levels of their children in school. Such goals and determination could benefit both the reservation community as well as the external community.

There can be no valid understanding of the need for innovation in education unless historical perspectives are provided on adaptation by a group involved. American educational institutions have provided acculturation through education for immigrants to this country. Education for immigrants has not been a threat to cultural extinction because immigrants can always turn back to a home country, to a cultural heritage outside the United

States. For the Hannahville Indian Community members, the United States is their home country and their Community, in order to perpetuate a cultural heritage, is involved in a process of safe-guarding against cultural extinction through innovation in education on their reservation. For a small ethnic community, acculturation and assimilation by a dominant society is a threat to the stability and identity of the individuals in the community.

Also at issue is the question of whether or not, in the United States, a specific community has the right to retain a unique cultural identity or if it must accept the dominant society's mechanisms of adaptation to the exclusions of uniqueness. Ethnic communities do not imply ethnic isolation nor do they imply segregation. They imply a freedom to remain an ethnic community by choice.

The Hannahville Potawatomi were losing the facility to speak their parent language and the public school was not committed to developing cultural programs that the Hannahville Indian Community and Tribal Council believed would give their children cultural identification and self-dignity.

Education is acculturation and this study is significant because it provides the historical background to an innovative educational alternative developed to slow down the acculturation process into the dominant society for the Hannahville Indian children.

Primary and Secondary Sources

The primary sources for contemporary data are the field interviews and documents provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Health Services at Rhinelander, by the Michigan Indian Affairs Commission in Lansing, Michigan. Other primary contemporary data sources are from Nishnawbe News, Akwesasna Notes, and The Escanaba Daily Press. Current journals such as The Journal of American Indian

Education, The Newsletter of the Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards (CICSB*), the newsletter of The Council on Anthropology and Education, The Federal Census for 1970, and a Report on the Socio-Economic Status of Michigan Indians are also used as primary data base.

Primary sources for historical data which forms the base for this study are The Commission Opinions and Findings of Fact of the Indian Claims Commission in matters pertaining to litigation of the Hannahville Indian Community claims. These two sources provide expert witness testimony on the relationship between the present Hannahville Indian Community and the historical Potawatomi Nation, including treaties involved in this relationship and including interaction between the Federal government, the Territorial government of Michigan, the State of Michigan, and the Potawatomi Nation.

Another primary source for historical data was the Bureau of Indian Affairs Indian Education Programs Office in Washington, D.C., as was the Civil Archives Division of the National Archives and Records Service in Washington, D.C. These sources provided copies of original documents relating to the Hannahville Indian Community. Another important primary source for historical data was the Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Department of the Interior, including Agency reports from the various locations in Michigan and the reports of the Indian School Superintendent as included in the Annual Reports.

Secondary sources include a general review of materials among which is Ianni and Storey's Cultural Relevance and Educational Issues; Francis Prucha's American Indian Policy in the Formative Years; Otto Winger's The Potawatomi Indians; Wax, Diamond and Gearing's Anthropological Perspectives on Education; Loring Benson Priest's Uncle Sam's Stepchildren: The Reformation of United States Indian Policy,1865-1887;

Richard Schroeder's "Preservation of Indian Culture"; Jennings C. Wise's The Red Man in the New World Drama; and Fuchs and Havighurst's To Live On This Earth: American Indian Education.

Related Studies

The best known contemporary report on Indian education is The National Study of American Indian Education funded by the United States Office of Education and completed in 1971. The research documented how Indians perceived education. Estelle Fuchs and Robert J. Havighurst, in their book To Live On This Earth: American Indian Education, report the understandings and conclusions of the study in depth. The authors stressed that educational policies for Indians have been undertaken under an assumption that one approach was suited for all Indians.[1] They suggest that any policy in education that does not recognize both the right to self-determination and the heterogeneity of the Indians will be unsuccessful and if schools are to assist in educating Indian children, they will need to recognize the basic differences among Indians and actively assist the Indians in retaining their cultural identity and tribal values.[2]

Fuchs and Havighurst also suggest that viewing American Indians as a single minority group requiring a uniform policy or program for development does not take into account specific problems of specific Indian communities. Schools should assist the Indian people to develop new social and political institutions necessary to help the Indian community adapt their community life to contemporary needs.[3] The study found a tendency for Indians to be considered one group and not too different from other disadvantaged minority groups.[4] But Indians are significantly different from other minorities in America and specifically in the area of not arriving in

the United States as an immigrant and intending to share values of European tradition. The Indians also differ in the area of holding special rights and status. The authors found that no one tribe's story was the exact duplicate of another's and that Indian education developed differently from the rest of American schooling.[5]

Education for the Indian children has had a unique history and the federal government has been directly involved in its development. While states and local communities developed and assumed full educational responsibilities for other peoples, the federal government commitment placed American Indians in a special position in regard to education.[6] The federal government continues to be obligated by treaty, custom, and moral persuasion to fulfill its responsibility to provide or support educational services and facilities for a large portion of American Indians still living on or near Indian-owned and restricted trust lands.[7] There are many sources of funds to meet the needs of Indian children but how funds are dispersed, used, and controlled are open to controversy in areas where the money is not earmarked specifically for service as intended to the Indian children.[8]

Fuchs and Havighurst suggest school achievement is related to a child's experience in his family, to his school experience, and to his inherited intellectual ability; that since the Indian children do not differ from other groups of children in their inherited intellectual ability, group differences in school achievement must be due to the family, school, or other social factors which affect the lives of Indian children.[9] The study found that school performance is probably negatively affected by environmental factors well before the age of puberty. A relationship was also found between low socioeconomic level of the family to school achievement and that school success was influenced by whether or not discrepancies existed between the demands of the schooling

Fuchs and Havighurst found the study suggests some of the differences between the Indian family and those families in the surrounding communities: a close Indian family solidarity, with cooperation and mutual support among the kinfolk; cooperation rather than competition among members of a given age group; belief in the values of a tribal tradition; and belief in a tribal religion and in a tribal language. The study found these qualities in conflict with the competitive and individualistic achievement demands of the school. Some groups adopt many of the economic practices and skills of the surrounding white culture but, in general, the majority of the children grow up in families where Indian cultural values predominate.[10]

The study revealed that Indian children are affected by their Indian culture and by the culture of the white society surrounding them and that they may be torn between the two cultures.[11] It was found that a large part of the school achievement of Indian children depended on factors other than school as the school is only one segment of the community.[12] Many Indian children live in homes and in communities where the cultural expectations are different and discontinuous from the expectations held by the school teachers and school authorities.[12] The study suggests that the average Indian family teaches its children valuable attitudes and skills but conditions of poverty, isolation, non-participation in the urban-industrial society, and language differences are conducive to lower performance on the usual measurements of academic achievement.[14]

In 1951, in a study funded jointly by the Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, an attempt was made to determine the reasons for the social and economic position of the Hannahville Indian Community.[15] The project was to provide recommendations

for actions necessary for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to bring about a better integration of the Hannahville Indian Community into the larger society; to stimulate interest on the part of the State, county and local civic organizations in aiding the Community at Hannahville; and to provide background information in order that the Bureau of Indian Affairs could determine whether or not the reservation status should be terminated. The study is reported as it furnishes some background to the socio-economic conditions and educational facilities existing in the 1950's on the reservation, thus serving an historical function.

Bryde's monograph "Indian Students and Guidance" is relevant to this study as it is concerned with Indian values, Indian personality, and conflicts with values of the dominant culture. Bryde presents positive Indian values that generate modern Indian behavior; identifies variables that negatively influence behavior of Indian students and identifies specific areas of cultural conflict while exploring the means of resolving the conflict. He outlines Indian personality and factors that motivate Indians and suggests methods for relating better to Indian students within the school system. According to Bryde, the Indian people, over many thousands of years, have adaptively worked out a response pattern to the total environment which they consider successful and which satisfies them, and that any person who works with Indian students must have a thorough and appreciative knowledge of the Indian response pattern.[16]

Summary

In order to respond to the issues affecting the delivery of educational services to the Hannahville Indian Community, it is necessary to understand the historical processes involved in the development of that Community and the effect of those processes on

the current socio-economic and educational status of the Community today.

The research addresses the following questions:

1. What events took place in recent history that culminated in the formation of the Hannahville Indian Community as a reservation?
2. What happens when a small reservation community becomes self-deterministic towards the goals of an available public school?
3. What are the problems and rewards when a small reservation community replaces an existing external public school system with a school system of its own?

The study of the Hannahville Indian Community is significant because it provides the historical background to an alternative to education developed in an attempt to implement public education for students in an ethnic community.

Continued research is important in providing the means to improve the aims of education to include the development of programs to supply quality education within the cultural context of students from small ethnic communities.

The sequence in developing this study is through the historical background of the Potawatomi; Potawatomi land cessions; the Hannahville Potawatomi; early education at Hannahville; socio-economic status of Hannahville; the Hannahville Community School; Hannahville as an ethnic community; and ends with summaries and conclusions.

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CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE POTAWATOMI

Introduction

The Potawatomi Nation consisted of groups of Indians residing in the Great Lakes area of the United States. There was extensive intermixture and intermarriage between the groups although separate geographical areas have both historically and contemporarily delineated them.[1]

In recent history, the Potawatomi have lived separately in groups in the following geographical areas: 1. Citizen Band in Oklahoma; 2. Prairie Band in Kansas; 3. Hannahville Indian Community in Michigan; 4. Forest County Potawatomi Community in Wisconsin; and 5. Scattered in communities in Michigan, Indiana, and elsewhere.[2]

Contemporarily, the Potawatomi are grouped as 1. Citizen Band (Oklahoma); 2. Prairie Band (Kansas); and 3. The Wisconsin Indians (Hannahville Indian Community, Forest County Community, and scattered communities in Michigan, Indiana, and elsewhere.)[3]

The Wisconsin Indian group contains two divisions: (a) those descendants of Potawatomi who migrated to the Iowa tract and later returned to Wisconsin; and (b) those whose ancestors remained in Wisconsin and Michigan and never migrated west of the Mississippi.[4] The Hannahville Indian Community is comprised of descendants of non-emigrating Potawatomi, descendants of those who remained in Wisconsin and Michigan and who did not move to Iowa, as provided by the 1833 Treaty, or to Kansas, as provided by an 1837 Treaty.[5]

The Hannahville Indian Community represents those descendants of Potawatomi on lands in Wisconsin ceded by the Treaty of September 26 and 27, 1833, and who thereafter

remained in Wisconsin or returned after going to Iowa pursuant to that treaty.[6]

This chapter will present, in a condensed form, the early contacts of Europeans with Great Lakes area Potawatomi and the historical political structure of the Potawatomi.

Early Contacts with Europeans

The Ohio valley and the region south of Lake Erie were largely unoccupied for approximately a half century after the start of the Iroquois wars in 1648.[7] The Iroquois warfare against the Huron, Erie, Ottawa, and other tribes in the region of the Great Lakes was a struggle of the Five Nations from northern New York who had dealt with Dutch and English fur traders, against the Hurons and their allies who traded with the French on the St. Lawrence and in the vicinity of the Great Lakes.[8]

Control of the fur trade in that area was a principal object of the long period of Iroquois warfare and as a result of the wars, many tribes of the region lived together in the vicinity of Green Bay, Wisconsin, and Michigan.[9] Green Bay was sometimes described as a refugee center for the Ottawa, Potawatomi, Miami, Kickapoo, the Hurons (later called Wyandot by the English), and some Shawnee.[10]

In 1660, the Chippewa near Sault Ste. Marie in Michigan's Upper Peninsula defeated the Iroquois in a significant battle with the result that the Indians who had fled from the Iroquois were encouraged to move into the Ohio River Valley.[11]

Iroquois warfare ended about 1690, permitting the expansion of the French fur trade and the reason for the founding of Detroit in 1701 by the French was its strategic location in relation to French fur trading centers in the Montreal-Mackinac area and other centers using the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes routes.[12]

The first definite written record of white men

exploring the western shore of Lake Michigan is in the journal of Father Jacques Marquette who traveled between Green Bay, Michilimackinac, Chicago, and Sturgeon Bay, Wisconsin, in 1673.[13]

In 1680, Tonty, the Lieutenant of French explorer La Salle, stayed with some Potawatomi near Green Bay, and in 1698, Father Marest, another Jesuit missionary, spent the winter at another Potawatomi village in Wisconsin, probably Manitowoc or Sheboygan.[14]

Reports of travelers, missionaries, and officials indicate that Potawatomi were living on both the eastern and western shores of Lake Michigan from the early 1700's through Greeneville Treaty time (1795) and in settlements east through southern Michigan to the Detroit area.[15]

The Potawatomi are generally believed to have lived in the lower peninsula of Michigan before the French met them near the Green Bay Islands in Lake Michigan about 1660.[16]

Before 1700, the French found Potawatomi, Hurons, and Ottawa living in the Green Bay area; they found Chippewa and Hurons living in the area of Madeline Island in Lake Superior near present-day Ashland, Wisconsin; and found Potawatomi, Chippewa, Hurons, and Ottawa living in the area of Michilimackinac, Michigan, in the late 1600's at about the time the French Jesuits established missions at those points near the Indian settlements.[17]

By the early 1700's, some Potawatomi had moved south from the Green Bay-Sheboygan area to the Milwaukee-Chicago areas on the western shores of Lake Michigan, and others to the eastern shore of the lake, in and near the area of the St. Joseph River in southwest Michigan.[18] They established themselves on the Milwaukee River, at Chicago, and on the St. Joseph River in southern Michigan and northern Indiana, and extended their settlements east over southern Michigan as far as Lake Erie, conquering the Illinois Indians about 1740 and taking possession of much

of northern Illinois.[19]

Correspondence of Jesuit missionaries in the St. Joseph River area in southern Michigan in 1712 indicates that a mission had been established near Potawatomi settlements there and also indicates that among the Indians in the Michilimackinac area were Potawatomi and Illinois Indians.[20]

Between 1680 and 1780, Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Chippewa lived in the region of the Great Lakes and associated with the French fur trade, allied to form a confederacy.[21] The location of Mackinac Island between the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River region made it a convenient place of meeting for Indians of the area who called it the "Gate."[22] A Detroit-Mackinac water route was founded early in connection with the fur trade and Detroit and Michilimackinac were headquarters for the trade between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi by both the French and the British.[23]

There were continuous waterways from the western shores of Lake Michigan, from settlements near Green Bay, Sheboygan and Milwaukee, to Detroit through the Straits of Mackinac or by use of riverways from Chicago by way of the St. Joseph and other rivers to Detroit.[24] Potawatomi settlements are reported from the early 1700's at the main avenues of communication and at most of the important points connecting these waterways, used alike by fur traders and missionaries to the Indians.[25]

Through the 18th century, contact between various Potawatomi settlements was kept up in part by the efforts of the missions and also through the requirements of the French, English, and American fur traders whose routes through the Great Lakes areas had long been known and used by Indian hunters and trappers including the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi Indians.[26]

Along these routes from Detroit through the St. Joseph, Kankakee, and Illinois rivers to the Mississippi, from

Chicago and the Illinois River to the Mississippi, from Michilimackinac to Green Bay or Milwaukee-Chicago and on to the Mississippi, the fur trade routes followed old Indian trails.[27]

Shortly after Cadillac founded Detroit (1701), he invited Chippewa, Ottawa, and Huron from the Michilimackinac area (Cadillac had been the French military commander at Michilimackinac) to settle in the vicinity of Detroit as well as invited Potawatomi and Miami from the St. Joseph River area near the eastern shore of Lake Michigan to settle in Detroit.[28] By 1703, members of those tribes formed several separate settlements in that area.[29]

The Miami left the Detroit region after a brief stay and the Chippewa moved to the region of Saginaw, Michigan, but permanent Potawatomi settlements (three villages in the area of Detroit) continued until the last of their lands in that vicinity were ceded by the Treaty of September 19, 1827.[30] The Potawatomi in the Detroit area kept in contact with members of their tribe in settlements near the St. Joseph, Wabash, and Illinois rivers and the settlements in the vicinity of Chicago and Milwaukee.[31]

The Potawatomi, who were hunters and trappers during these early historical years, built villages and settlements along the routes of the fur traders and used the land in the area of their settlements as a source of livlihood.[32] In many of the cession treaties, the Indians were granted the right to hunt and fish on the ceded lands as long as the United States owned the lands.[33]

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the Potawatomi was that they moved freely from one to another of their settlements between the western shores of Lake Michigan (Green Bay, Milwaukee, Chicago), and the shores of Lake Erie and Lake Huron in the area of Detroit.[34] Travel was a unifying influence among them.[35] The United States was aware of the mobility and the unity that existed

between the widely scattered Potawatomi settlements and this was cause for concern continually from 1783 through the period of the War of 1812 on the part of the War Department who was apprehensive of the vulnerability of American frontiers to combinations of hostile Indians and English military forces.[36]

Indian Agent Thomas Forsyth wrote to the Secretary of War on December 23, 1812, that the Potawatomi were numerous and were living in an extensive country; that one would find Potawatomi in Detroit, in villages near that place; and one might travel a straight course to the Sauk villages on the Mississippi and would find nothing but Potawatomi.[37] The Agent reported that many Potawatomi were settled among the Sauks on the Mississippi and that a few years earlier, the Wabash River area and the Milwaukee River area were also full of Potawatomi.[38]

The Governor of the Illinois Territory, in a letter of May, 1812, to the Secretary of War, described the Potawatomi living in the Illinois and Fox river regions and their relations with Potawatomi in villages on the south and east of Lake Michigan, near Calumet, the Wabash and the St. Joseph river regions.[39] He mentioned Potawatomi villages at Milwaukee, Chicago, St. Joseph's River, the Wabash, and the Kalamazoo rivers and remarked on the facility with which those near Lake Michigan and in the area of the St. Joseph could join those living near Peoria. The proximity of the Indians between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi to Peoria could enable them to unite their forces in a very few days.[40] Official correspondence indicates that Indians on the Mississippi had news conveyed to them from the Detroit area in the space of fifteen to sixteen days.[41]

Historical Political Structure

The Potawatomi are Central Algonquin Indians as distinguished from their allies the Chippewa and Ottawa,

who are usually regarded as Northern Algonquin.[42]

The Central Algonquin were more highly organized politically and had a more centrally organized tribal structure and a more integrated society than did the Northern Algonquin Indians who are described as having a more atomistic tribal structure.[43] The Potawatomi villages, or communities, were important political units, having primary loyalty to the tribe as a whole, not to separate bands.[44]

The concept of tribe, as understood by the Potawatomi, included a large number of communities, each tending to stay within its own geographic territory but having interchange and accepting as Potawatomi persons from outside the local area.[45] Each of the local communities had an hereditary chief and other functionaries whose duties to the chief were well defined.[46] The Potawatomi had a head chief, a speaker for the chief, and a council as part of the local village organization which was loyal to the tribe's principal chief.[47] There was no political or social structure on the "band" level; the word "band" indicated a purely geographical unit, the boundaries of which shifted greatly.[48] Thus, a group of villages was sometimes referred to as a band.[49]

There were different groups of Potawatomi, as would be expected in any tribe that had a large number of members, but the tribe was composed of village communities.[50] There was factionalism and disagreement in the tribe, accentuated by land cessions and pressures from settlers moving into the Northwest Territory, but despite this, the Potawatomi were all members of one tribe.[51] Throughout the entire Potawatomi tribe there was a homogeneity in marriage preference, names, and other characteristics and traits.[52]

The Potawatomi tribe of the Northwest Territory had members settled in villages and claimed hunting grounds in the region of the Great Lakes as an overall

interest.[53] Members living on and using various settlements had special interest in the particular lands which they used.[54] Politically, therefore, two kinds of interests prevailed, that of the overall interest and that of the special interest.

Two kinds of rights to the land prevailed prior to 1840. Local groups had use rights but not the general right such as disposal of property.[55] Disposal of property required approval of the Potawatomi tribe.[56]

Land cessions of Potawatomi territory frequently involved the formal or informal approval of the Potawatomi tribe for all Potawatomi groups. A kind of interlocking directorate between principal chiefs and local leaders involved consent to the land cessions by both overall and local interests and various local groups of Potawatomi chiefs from many areas and principal Potawatomi chiefs acted together and with deliberation in considering the cession proposals offered by the United States.[57]

The existence of a principal Potawatomi chief whose office was hereditary and who participated in the negotiations and signed many cession treaties during the years, and the discussions in councils of Potawatomi chiefs from many areas regarding land cessions are facts not consistent with any sub-group or band theory of ownership of lands.[58]

Historical and anthropological evidence relating to the political structure of the Potawatomi establishes that the Potawatomi constituted a single tribe as a political entity which was made up of a large number of communities.[59]

Political Status Change

The territory that comprises the present State of Michigan was ruled from the advent of white explorers until 1760-61 by the ministers of Louis XIV of France. One of the first intercourse regulations was a decision by the ministers in 1696 which forbade all Frenchmen, excepting missionaries, to go into the region of the

upper Great Lakes.[60]

With the defeat of the French by the English, French posts in what was to become Michigan passed into English hands. The basis of conflict during the Imperial Years was over land and Indian trade. The whole Indian trade was of inestimable importance to the English colonies.[61] The Indians were of commercial importance to the colonies as well as commercially important to the French. The importance arose out of the desire of the French fur traders to continue in that line of business.[62] There were still many French fur traders in the upper Great Lakes region who were powerful in the affairs of the Indians and who sometimes created chiefs who would be favorable to their interests.[63]

Peace and the existence of the colonies depended on Indian attachment to the English and the fundamental policy in Indian affairs was to make the Indians dependent on the English in their trade.[64] The colonists were instructed to encourage the Indians to trade with them so that they may apply themselves to the English trade and nation rather than to any other of Europe.[65] The Colonial Governments passed legislation to regulate the conditions of trade and to bond, license and appoint commissioners and agents to enforce trade regulations.[66] This attempt at decentralization failed as there was no uniformity among the colonies; no two sets of regulations were alike and colonial management failed.[67]

In 1753, the Board of Trade in England instructed the Governor of New York on a new policy regarding the purchase of Indian land in that no private land purchases were to be permitted from Indians; that if the Indians desired to sell land, the purchase was to be made in the name of the King of England and with public money. Pennsylvania returned to the Indians all the Trans-Allegheny lands it had purchased in 1754 and by 1761, all governors were forbidden to issue land grants and were to

recall all persons who had settled on Indian lands.[68]

The first Indian Agents, Imperial Agents, were appointed in 1761, one for the northern district, which included the unorganized territory of the west, and one for the southern district.[69]

The first official delineation and definition of Indian Country is found in the proclamation od George III of England on October 7, 1763, which established the boundaries for the new colonies while, at the same time, established a boundary line between Indian lands and white lands.[70]

The new Indian policy placed the Indians under political domination as it conceived of the Indian tribes as protected communities and political dependencies of the sovereign to whom their allegiance ran.[71] The new policy reserved to the Indian tribes exclusively the domains occupied by them.[72] But more and more the English came to realize the cause of Indian-white conflict was land.[73] The line of demarcation was to be a barrier to the westward expansion of the colonies, not to prevent injustice to the Indians, but to forestall the formation of western colonies, which would not fit in well with a mercantilistic scheme of empire.[74] The proclamation of 1763, however, was not a fully worked out western policy, at best a framework on which policy could be built.[75] Encroachment on Indian lands, fur trade frictions, and boundary line disputes continued. British colonies could not agree even among themselves on the general regulations and the British government made one last attempt to provide the necessary regulations by passing the Quebec Act of 1774 placing the western areas under the Quebec government.[76]

Gradually, during the British years, a body of restrictions developed, designed to prevent or regulate contact between the whites and Indians which foreshadowed in some degree the later action of the United States.[77]

Following the American Revolution, a new nation came on the scene, and its common people had different ideas about the hinterlands. The Americans were farmers, and freedom and expansion were important factors.[78]

The British experiment in the unified management of the Indians had impressed the delegates to the Continental Congress and there was fundamental agreement that Indian affairs was one area that belonged to the central government.[79] The Continental Congress formed a Committee on Indian Affairs and attempted to deal with the question of jurisdiction. The colonies confronted both the Congress and its Committee on Indian Affairs, as well as the Indian Department the committee had created, with claims that Congress "was treading upon their rights."[80] Hardly had the colonies declared their independence when each of them began to extend their own jurisdiction over Indians.[81]

The Articles of Confederation gave Congress the exclusive right and power of regulating trade and managing all affairs with the Indians. The Articles strengthened the concept of Indian country as being those lands under federal authority. Federal laws governing the Indians and Indian trade took effect only in Indian Country; outside they did not hold.[82] Federal authority was strengthened by two more Congressional resolutions in 1782 which gave the sole right of the creation of new states to Congress and the sole right of superintending, treatying with, and making purchases of the Indian nations living beyond the boundaries of the new states.[83]

The new states were landed states, having valid claims to western lands. When, in 1783, the western claims of those states were ceded to the United States, the Continental Congress "found there was little they could do about the Indians except treat them as enemies of the colonies in the struggle for freedom."[84]

On September 3, 1783, the colonies and Great Britain

signed the Peace of Paris but it did not mean the new states were at peace with the Indians. The United States was recognized as a Nation with international status and boundaries fixed with respect to the possessions claimed by the Kind of England.[85]

The Indian tribes within the old Northwest Territory, roughly bounded by the present states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, were faced with the necessity of recognizing that Great Britain's right to extinguish their land titles passed to the new United States when the peace treaty created a boundary line between the states and Canada.[86]

On October 15, 1783, the concept of the Indians as losers in the war with the revolutionists came in a report of a committee to Congress suggesting new boundary lines should be drawn that would restrict the Indians so lands could be given to soldiers to fulfill pledges made them by the new United States during the course of the war.[87] The committee determined that land for such pledges should be obtained from the Indians without any considerable cost in extinguishing the Indian claims to the land.[88] The committee argued that the Indians had been on the losing side of the Revolutionary War; that they could with justice be treated as a conquered nation and their lands taken from them by right of conquest; and even if the right of conquest were waived, the destruction wrought by the Indians and the outrages and atrocities they committed required atonement and a reasonable compensation for the expense the United States had incurred.[89]

Although the popular attitude in 1789 precluded justice to the Indians, there were those who thought that an effective administration of Indian affairs should be centralized as the only way to fulfill the guarantees contained in the Treaty of Paris regarding Indian rights. If those rights were disregarded, the British would have a reason to go to war against the United States.[90]

The Constitution of the United States was drawn up to contain provisions that enabled proponents of federal control over Indians to arrogate to the federal government powers which the framers of the Constitution did not expressly confer.[91] Section 10 of Article I expressly inhibited the states from entering into treaties. Section 2 of Article II conferred upon the President the exclusive power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties. These provisions were construed as conferring by implication upon the federal government exclusive authority over the Indian tribes including those within the boundaries of any state and commerce with the Indian tribes was interpreted to include all relations with them.[92]

When the Peace of Paris was signed, the boundary of the United States was fixed on the west at the Mississippi River and on the North by Lake Superior and Lake Huron. When the United States claimed the Northwest Territory, the Indians inhabiting the area objected on the grounds that the British had no right to their territory and therefore could not give it away.[93]

The Treaty of Fort Stanwix, October 22, 1784, was the first treaty between former Indian subjects of the English Crown and the United States. It fixed the policy of the sovereign state which succeeded to the sovereignty of Great Britain within the territory ceded by Great Britain.[94] The treaty was a reassertion of the Proclamation of 1763 in which the tribes were viewed as protected communities and political dependents of the sovereign to whom their allegiance ran.[95]

The Ordinance of May 20, 1785, fixed the 41° of north latitude as the boundary between Indian country and the expected public domain and provision was made in the Ordinance to survey the area. Commissioners were appointed to negotiate separate treaties with the western tribes as rapidly as possible in order to extinguish Indian tribal

rights up to the designated boundary line.[96]

The Ordinance of 1787 accepted the cession of lands in what became known as the Northwest Territory from claims of the new states. It stipulated in the Ordinance that Indian title should be extinguished before the lands would become public domain. On July 13, 1787, a constitution was adopted for the Northwest Territory providing a provisional government to administer affairs in the Territory until legislatures could be called and individual constitutions adopted by prospective states. These provisional, or territorial, governments had the power to adopt necessary laws, subject to Congressional approval. Land surveys commenced and public lands were distinguished from Indian lands.

The creation of a public domain by the partial extinguishment of land claims brought about a difficult situation in that there were large tribal domains next to tracts of public land between which there was a clear distinction in law but no visible extinction to preemptors.[97]

The federal government commenced disposing of the public lands, opening them in 1787 to white settlers who began to cross the Ohio River with little regard for any distinction between public and Indian lands.[98]

Summary

The Hannahville Indian Community is comprised of descendants of non-emigrating Potawatomi, descendants of those Potawatomi who remained in Wisconsin and Michigan and, specifically, represent those descendants of Potawatomi on lands in Wisconsin ceded by the Treaty of September 26 and 27, 1833, and who remained in Wisconsin or returned after going to Iowa pursuant to that treaty.

Early contacts by Europeans with the Great Lakes area Potawatomi indicate that through a system of continuous waterways between the western shores of Lake Michigan and

the Lake Huron-Lake Erie area, trade and communication, as social and economic functions, took place between Potawatomi communities.

The Potawatomi are Central Algonquin Indians. Their historical political structure was more organized politically and more centrally organized and integrated as a society than their allies the Chippewa and Ottawa. Historical and anthropological evidence establishes that the Potawatomi constituted a single tribe made up of a large number of communities. Land cessions were important in the political sense and relevant to such contemporary issues as the present legal status of the Hannahville Indian Community.

The Ordinance of 1787 accepted the cession of lands in what became known as the Northwest Territory from claims of the states but the creation of a public domain by this partial extinguishment of land claims resulted in a situation in the Territory where large tribal holdings were situated next to public lands between which there was no visible distinction. When the public lands were opened to white settlers, problems with preemption arose between the Indians and the settlers.

During this period of history, the political status of the Potawatomi changed from that of a crown vassal, a status they were assigned by the Proclamation of 1763, to one of restriction by arbitrary boundary.

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Note: In Connection with the Findings of Fact and Opinion of the Commission, 27 ICC 187, see also the expert witness testimony of Dr. Helen H. Tanner, ethno-historian, University of Michigan, who appeared before the commission as expert witness on the history of the period on Indians of the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes Region, June 22-23 and July 10-11, 1967, in Transcript of Hearing, Docket 315 consolidated with Dockets 29-B, 29-N, et al.

Also appearing as expert witness, 27 ICC 187, was Dr. Nancy Lurie, anthropologist, ethno-historian, and professor at the University of Michigan and the University of Wisconsin, who has done extensive research and teaching of American Indian studies including particular work on the tribes in the Great Lakes region and who has a special knowledge of the Potawatomi, at the hearing May 6-10, 1963, in Docket Nos. 254, 124-B, 128, 309, 310, 314-B, 15-N, Q, R, 29-L, M, O, and P.

Dr. James A. Clifton, anthropologist and assistant professor of anthropology at the University of Kansas in Lawrence, who has completed extensive professional work in Indian studies including special studies of the Potawatomi Indians relating to the structure of their communities, provided lengthy expert witness testimony at the hearings, 27 ICC 187, January 20-28, 1964, in consolidated Docket Nos. 254, 29-L, M, O, and P.

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CHAPTER III

POTAWATOMI LAND CESSIONS

Introduction

As lands were ceded to the United States, the means of livlihood of the Potawatomi Indians in the Northwest Territory and the organization of their communities fluctuated. Agricultural settlements advanced and the Indians lost their hunting grounds and were forced to live closer together and find other means of sustenance than trapping and hunting. The treaties affected the land-holding patterns of the Potawatomi by breaking up their holdings with intervening white settlements, isolating and separating the Indians in order to force them either to turn to agricultural pursuits and assimilation or to leave their lands to go to Kansas.

In 1835, President Jackson assured Congress that the plan of removing Indians who had remained in the east was approaching its consummation and that the plan should continue since all experiments for the improvement of their position had failed. "It was a proved fact that they could not live in contact with civilization and prosper"; the only Indians temaining east of the Mississippi from whom an engagement to remove had not been obtained were two small bands in Ohio and Indiana, not exceeding 1,500, and President Jackson congratulated the country on the large receipts for the past year, $11,000,000 derived from the sale of lands in which the Indian title had been extinguished.[1] It would have been fairer had Jackson given as the base for the removal of the Indians from the east the fact that the white man would not let them prosper there.[2]

This chapter presents a synopsis of the break-up, piece-meal, of the Northwest Territory and the Michigan Territory by means of the major treaties affecting lands

held by the Potawatomi Nation and will also explore the issues of removal that affected the ancestors of the Hannahville Indian Community as well as events surrounding regroupment of the refugee Potawatomi tribal members.

The Treaties

In the Treaty at Fort Harmar, January 9, 1789, the Potawatomi were recognized as having some right to all the lands of the Northwest.[3] Along with the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, and Sac, the Potawatomi acknowledged the rule of the United States and the phrase "to live and hunt upon, and otherwise occupy as they shall see fit" was used to indicate the extent of rights and lands reserved.[4] The treaty, however, was not ratified and the Indians objected to the government for not paying them for the lands. Acting as the United Indian Nation, they declared the sale of lands could not be held valid and asked that the Ohio River be held as a perpetual boundary to the Indian lands and the white settlers be kept out.[5] The United Indian Nation declared war on the United States on September 19, 1790. They were defeated by General Wayne on August 20, 1794, at the Battle of Fallen Timbers.

In 1790, bills were passed in Congress on matters of Indian affairs. One of the bills provided for the negotiation of treaties and the appointments of commissioners to manage Indian affairs; the second, known as the Indian Intercourse Act, provided in its terms that no sale of lands made by any Indians, or any nation or tribe of Indians, to any person or persons, or to any state, whether having the right of preemption to such lands or not, should be valid unless the same were made and duly executed at some public treaty, held under the authority of the United States.[6]

Following the Battle of Fallen Timbers, on August 3, 1795, a treaty was concluded at Greeneville, ceding to the United States a tract comprising the eastern and southern

portions of Ohio, embracing nearly two-thirds of that state, in addition to a large tract in Indiana.[7] This treaty was important to the United States and to the Indians of the Northwest Territory.[8] The primary purposes of the treaty were the restoration of peace and friendly relations between the United States and the Indian tribes.[9] The treaty was not only a treaty of peace after years of bloody warfare on the frontier, a cession to the United States by the Indians of land which had long been sought by the Federal government, but also a treaty in which the United States formally recognized the rights of the signatory tribes to the use and quiet enjoyment of the lands which the United States acknowledged belonged to such tribes.[10]

Under the treaty, the United States and the participating tribes agreed to end hostilities and to establish peace and free prisoners.[11] Periodic fighting of American troops and settlers with the Indians in the Ohio River Valley during the years 1774 through 1794 had caused economic hardship to the Indians living in the area.[12] Trade relations were interfered with, and food supplies destroyed.[13]

The treaty marked the defeat of the Indians' attempts to maintain the Ohio River as the boundary line between areas of European and Indian occupancy in the region east of the Mississippi River.[14] The Ohio River had been the southern boundary of France's claim in North America which England acquired from France in 1763.[15]

The United States and the participating tribes agreed upon a general dividing line running roughly east-west through the Northwest Territory, which line was to separate the lands of the United States from those of the signatory Indians.[16]

Lands ceded included the post of Detroit and several other tracts, among which were the post of Michilimackinac and lands adjacent, and the island of

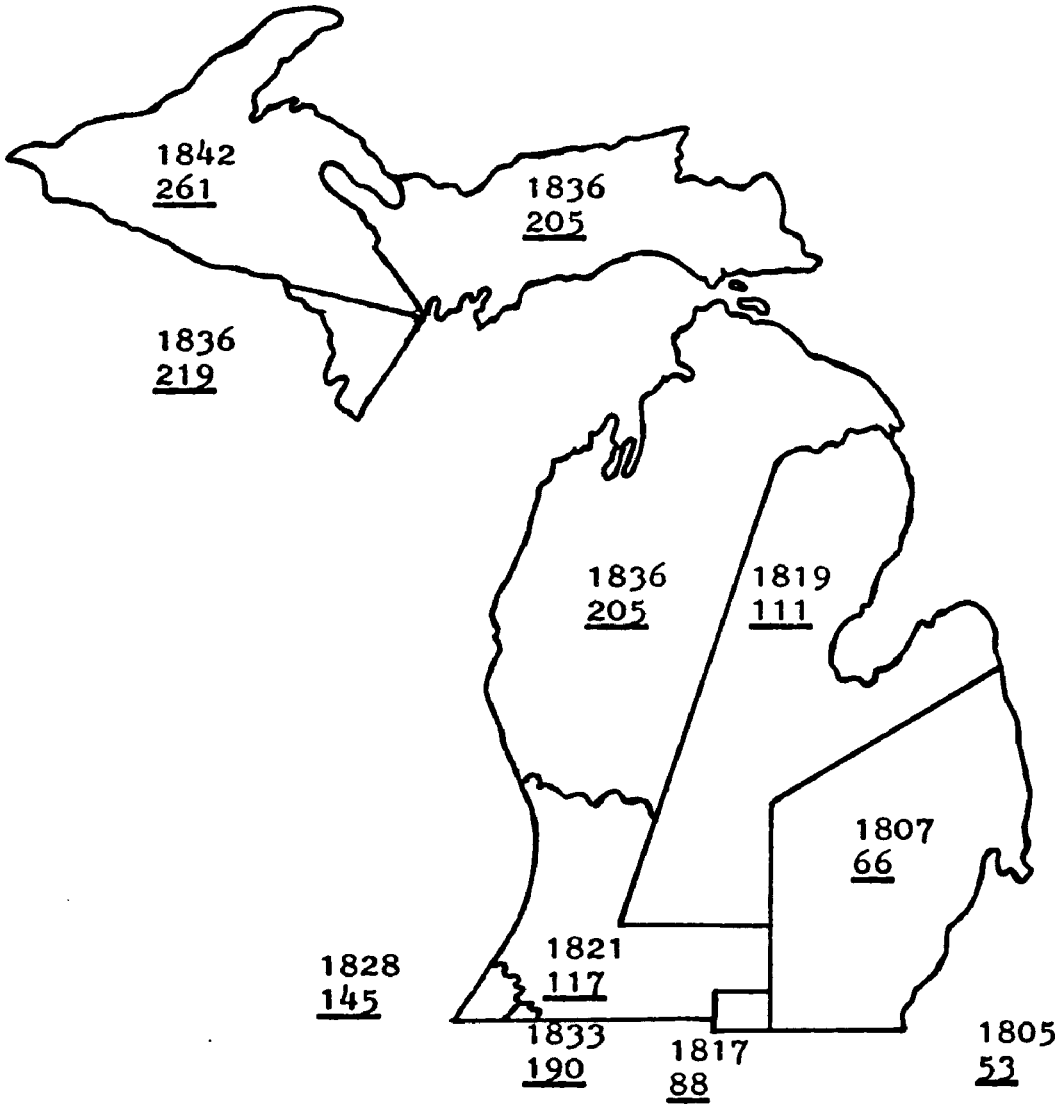
Bois Blanc, mentioned as being an extra voluntary gift of the Chippewa nation.[17] The treaty provided for the opening of trade with the Indians through traders "duly licensed to reside among them for the purpose of trade."[18] The Indian tribes participating in the treaty acknowledged themselves to be under the protection of the United States and under no other power.[19] The treaty left the Indians still in possession of all Michigan except the six-mile strip along the Detroit River, the island of Bois Blanc, Michilimackinac, and a few small tracts in actual possession of white occupants outside the six-mile strip.

As early as 1800, private land companies became involved in the lands of the Northwest Territory. An agreement in 1800 between Connecticut and the United States comprising Connecticut's claim to lands provided that Connecticut was to have the exclusive right of soil and the United States would have the right of political jurisdiction.[20] Royce Area 53 (Map 1, page 38) was part of the so-called Western Reserve and Connecticut held a claim in that Western Reserve. Approximately the western half of Royce Area 53, known as Sufferers' Land, had been granted in 1792 by Connecticut to its citizens who had suffered from British depredations during the Revolutionary War.[21]

Indian title to the portion of the Western Reserve lying in Royce Area 53 had not been extinguished.[22] The private Connecticut land companies claiming the interest of Connecticut in the land could not buy the Indians' interest without the participation of the United States because the 1802 Trade and Intercourse Act prohibited the sale or conveyance of Indian lands or interests therein without the consent of the Federal government.[23]

On April 2, 1805, the Secretary of War issued instructions to Charles Jouett, the Treaty Commissioner named to negotiate the treaty, explaining that the primary object of treaty was to permit the Connecticut land

MAP 1



POTAWATOMI INVOLVEMENT IN MAJOR LAND CESSIONS*

Underlined numbers in ceded areas refer to "Royce Acres" of government treaties and cessions.

*Adapted from the 18th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Part 2) Indian Land Cessions in the United States, PLCXXXVI

companies to purchase the interest of the Indians in the land to which the land companies already held preemptive rights through the State of Connecticut.[24]

The Treaty of Fort Industry ceded the Indian interest in Royce Area 53 to the United States, an interest paid for by private land companies.[25]

In 1807, President Jefferson decided the entire eastern half of what now constitutes Michigan's lower peninsula should be free of Indian title. William Hull was the United States Commissioner as well as Governor of the Territory of Michigan and he was instructed by the Secretary of War to negotiate with the chiefs of such Indian tribes or nations who appeared to have valid claims to Royce Area 66, located in southeastern Michigan and northwestern Ohio and not to have a greater number of Indians attending the negotiations than necessary.[26]

Since the Treaty of Greeneville, pressure had been exerted on the tribes to give up their lands. While the law clearly distinguished between Indian country, or country to which the Indian claim attached, and the public domain, it was useless for the Indians to protest against the demands that were being made upon them.[27] The trading posts became flourishing towns; more and more land was needed for them and for connecting rights of way through the tribal domains.[28]

The Treaty of Detroit was negotiated November 17, 1807. Under the terms of the treaty, all the southeastern part of Michigan was ceded to the United States. The line forming the western boundary of the ceded lands was known afterwards as the Indian Boundary Line and this, projected northward to the east end of Bois Blanc Island, in the Straits of Mackinac, was almost identical with the line afterwards adopted by the United States surveyors as the principal meridian of the lower peninsula of Michigan.[29]

During the War of 1812-1815, the tribes had sided with the British over the control of the Great Lakes.

Desirous of pleasing the Indians and of regaining control of the fur trade, the British planned to turn the region north of the Ohio River into an Indian reservation.[30] Following the Treaty of Ghent in which the boundaries previous to the war were reinstated on the lakes, the government, for purposes of reconciliation, executed a peace treaty with the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi. The treaty was necessary for another reason. In 1812, Congress passed an Act requiring that two million acres of land in each of the then Territories of Michigan, Illinois, and Louisiana, in all six million acres, should be surveyed and set apart as military tracts, out of which each soldier serving in the armies of the United States in the War of 1812 should be entitled to receive one hundred sixty acres of land fit for cultivation.[31]

An attitudinal change toward the tribes came into public view with President Madison's annual message for 1812 when he said

> "...Whilst the benevolent policy of the United States invariably recommended peace and promoted civilization among the wretched portion of the human race, and there was made exertions to dissuade them from taking either side in the war, the enemy has not scrupled, armed with the horrers of those instruments of torture which are known to spare neither age nor sex..."[32]

The Treaty of Springwells was concluded on September 8, 1815, executed by General William H. Harrison to restore to the tribes all their possessions, rights, and privileges which they enjoyed or were entitled to in the year 1811. The tribes agreed to place themselves under the protection of the United States and of no other power whatsoever.[33]

In the years immediately following 1815, there were those, notably Andrew Jackson, who saw little reason to defer to Indian desires and wanted an active policy to clear the established states and territories of Indians as rapidly as possible.[34]

Potawatomi Removal

The attention of west-bound emigrants from the eastern States began to be directed towards Michigan Territory and Lewis Cass, the Governor of the Territory, thought the domain acquired by treaties was too narrow to receive the settlers who had begun to spread westward and northward from Detroit.[35] The idea of removal had already fostered in the minds of executives in the Federal government in that Cass was directed not only to induce the Indians to cede lands but to also obtain from them an agreement to remove from the peninsula and locate on tracts to be selected for them west of Lake Michigan, or perhaps beyond the Mississippi.[36]

The Treaty of Saginaw, September 24, 1819, although a treaty between the Otchipwes (Chippewa) and the Federal government, was important to all the tribes in the Territory as precedents were set at the council, one of which was the presence of the military. A company of the Third United States Infantry under the command of Capt. C. L. Cass, a brother of the Governor, attended the council as the presence of troops was thought to be necessary in view of the possibility of an attempt at violence.[37]

The council opened with Cass speaking to the Indians through his interpreters. He told them the Great Father desired to preserve and perpetuate the peace which had been established between their tribes and the government; that he had the welfare of his red children at heart and wished to see them gradually change their mode of life by depending more on the pursuits of agriculture and less on hunting and fishing, which would grow more and more precarious year by year because the advance of white settlers was moving resistlessly towards them, and in a little time their streams would become less prolific and their game would be driven to more remote hunting-grounds; he explained to them that the government, wishing to purchase

their lands for the use of white settlers, would pay them a generous price; and that other lands, ample in extent and as fertile, would be set apart for the perpetual use of themselves and their children.[38]

The object of the treaty became apparent to the gathered tribes and aroused opposition and resentment to such an extent the chiefs threatened to suspend all negotiations.[39] Kishkawko, of the Saginaws, spoke against the cession of any lands and advised breaking up the council. Prospects for the conclusion of the treaty were not favorable.[40] The Indians retired from the first session and no other session was held for several days but during that time powerful influences in favor of the treaty were brought to bear on the Indians by traders who desired, for private reasons of their own, to see the sale consummated.[41] Traders were favorable to the cession because some expected to secure reservations of land and others were hopeful of receiving arrearages due them out of the silver coin which would be paid in consideration of the cession.[42] But a new council session did not take place until General Cass agreed to rescind his statement of removal.[43] Cass, having found the Indians hostile to the plan for removing them beyond Lake Michigan, ceased to press the issue rather than fail to make treaty. He substituted the plan of granting tribal and individual reservations within the tract to be ceded for the plan of removal.[44] The chiefs accepted the terms and, by the terms of the treaty, the Indians ceded an area of territory estimated at about six million acres, Royce Area 111.[45]

On August 29, 1821, the Treaty of Chicago fixed the boundaries of ceded lands from the Grand River on the north to the southern Territory of Michigan line, excepting a triangular area between the territorial line, Lake Michigan, and the St. Joseph River.[47] The proceedings at Chicago between the United States and the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi nations resulted in the cession

of Royce Area 117.[46]

At the treaty negotiations, Metea, a Potawatomi chief from the St. Joseph-Wabash River area, complained of having little land left after former cessions.[48] He stated that the Potawatomi had granted requests of the United States for lands in the past; that what few lands they had left they wanted for themselves and they would sell the United States no more land.[49] Metea continued:

> "...Father, we have now told you what we had to say. It is what was determined upon in a council among ourselves, and what I have spoken is the voice of our nation."[50]

In response to this complaint, Commissioner Lewis Cass described the extent of the Potawatomi territory as follows:

> "When I look around me, I see very few Pottowattomies, and their tents are thinly scattered over a very great extent of country, a great proportion of which, they cannot occupy, and do not want. Their country on the south embraces both banks of the Illinois, including all its rich tributaries---on the north it reaches along the western shore of Lake Michigan, to the lands of the Menomonies of Millwacky, and to those of the Winnebagoes of Green Bay---on the east they have all the country south of the Grand river to the head waters of the Maumee and the Wabash, and on the west, their territories extend to the banks of the Mississippi. You also still occupy the tracts of land sold by the treaties of St. Mary and St. Louis, and will long retain possession of the country now proposed to be purchased. I am surprised that with such ample territories, you should utter one word about the smallness of your country."[51]

At first the Potawatomi refused to sell but after another council session, they agreed to cede Area 117 in Michigan.[52]

At the Carey Mission, on September 20, 1828, a treaty was concluded in which the Potawatomi Indians ceded Royce Area 145 in southwestern Michigan and northeastern Indiana.

On August 25, 1828, an Articles of Agreement was

signed by the chiefs of the United Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi living south and west of Lake Michigan on the Illinois River, near Peoria, agreeing to allow mining on Royce areas 147 and 148, and the chiefs agreed to meet with the United States' Commissioners the next year to negotiate a cession.[54]

On July 29, 1829, the United States held treaty proceedings at Prairie du Chien, Territory of Michigan, at which the United Nations of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi Indians of the waters of the Illinois, Milwaukee, and Manitoouck rivers ceded to the United States Royce Area 147 in Wisconsin and Illinois and Area 148 in Illinois.[55]

The Treaties of Tippecanoe were negotiated in proceedings carried on over a three-week period under instructions to the treaty commissioners to extinguish completely the Indian title to lands in Indiana and to the lands of the Potawatomi in Illinois and the Territory of Michigan, and to arrange for the removal west of the Mississippi of the tribes occupying those lands.[56]

The Michigan Territory included the lands now within the states of Michigan and Wisconsin.[57] Of the lands referred to as Potawatomi country by Lewis Cass at the 1821 Chicago Treaty ceding Area 117, those remaining unceded were, excepting a tract in northern Illinois, located entirely within the State of Indiana or the Michigan Territory.[58]

By the Treaty of Tippecanoe of October 27,1832, the chiefs and warriors of the Potawatomi of the State of Indiana and the Michigan Territory ceded to the United States their title and interest to lands in the states of Indiana and Illinois and in the Territory of Michigan south of the Grand River.[59] The previous day, October 26, by Treaty, reservations were made for some of the chiefs within the ceded area.[60] In Article III, the United States agreed, among other things, that if the

Potawatomi should in the future want to change their residence, to provide an amount in goods, farming utensils, and such articles as might be required and necessary, to equal the amount furnished any other Indian tribe or tribes emigrating.[61]

As Potawatomi lands were ceded during the years, the means of livelihood of those Indians and the organization of their communities fluctuated.[62] In 1826, treaty commissioners had recommended that the possessions of the Potawatomi would have to be broken up by intervening white settlements and the Indians isolated and separated into bands in order to force them to turn to agricultural pursuits or to leave the lands.[63] This recommendation illustrates the forces which were affecting the landholding patterns of the Potawatomi.[64] But it was not until the Treaty of Chicago, 1833, that forced removal for the Potawatomi became a reality.

The Treaty of Chicago, September 26, 1833, confirmed previous cessions and traded about five million acres for an equal area in what would later become the state of Kansas.

During the period between 1795 and 1833, the Potawatomi settlements gradually moved west from the Detroit area to southwestern Michigan and northern Indiana, then to the Chicago-Milwaukee area, by reason of land cessions to the United States.[65] The Potawatomi from the ceded areas lived in close association with Potawatomi whose lands had not yet been acquired by the United States.[66] Certain bands had individual or band reservations "which had been set apart to them by former treaties as their exclusive property."[67] The government, wishing to secure the band reservations in the Territory of Michigan and to extinguish Indian right to the common reservation on the west bank of Lake Michigan, induced the Michigan bands to come into Chicago on the 27th of September, 1833, and agree to

cede all their right to their lands in Michigan south of the Grand River and to the lands on the west bank of Lake Michigan.[68]

In a report to the Secretary of War after completing the Treaty of October 16, 1826, with the Potawatomi tribe ceding land in northern Indiana, and the Treaty of October 23, 1826, by which the Miami tribe ceded their remaining land in northern Indiana, the treaty commissioners stated, in part:

> It was impossible to procure the assent of the Pattawatamies or Miamies to a removal west of the Mississippi. They are not yet prepared for this important change in their situation. Time, the destruction of the game, and the approximation of our settlements, are necessary before this measure can be successfully proposed to them. It was urged as far as prudence permitted, and, in fact, until it became apparent that further persuasion would defeat every object we had in view. It was then important that the Indians should be separated into bands, by the intervention of our settlements. As long as they can roam unmolested through the country, we may in vain expect either to reclaim them from the savage life they lead, or to induce them to seek a residence where their habits and pursuits will be less injurious to us. We could not purchase any particular district near the centre of the Pattawatamie country; but that tribe freely consented to give us land for the road described in the treaty, and for the settlement along it. Such a road may at times be useful to them in travelling, and it will readily furnish them with a market for their game, and the means of procuring their accustomed supplies; but, what is much more important to us, it will sever their possessions, and lead them at no distant day to place their dependance upon agricultural pursuits, or to abandon the country. The eventual importance of this communication to the United States, either in a pecuniary or political view, it is no part of our duty to explain.[69]

In a letter of March 6, 1833, discussing the proposed removal of the Potawatomi who ceded lands in October, 1832, to lands west of the Mississippi, Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, observed that the Potawatomi were a numerous tribe, that it was desirable that they should

all be eventually located together, and that a tract of western land should be selected to which additions could be made for the accommodation of all the Potawatomi and of the Ottawa and Chippewa, who were "kindred tribes" of the Potawatomi, and who were described as having always been associated with them.[70]

Elbert Herring, Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the War Department, discussing the selection of a western reservation for the Potawatomi, in a letter of March 8, 1833, remarked that the Potawatomi were a numerous tribe; that in selecting lands for them, care should be taken that the tract could be enlarged sufficiently to accommodate all the Potawatomi and also the Ottawa and the Chippewa "who are kindred bands."[71]

In a letter of April 8, 1833, directed to the Indian Agent from Detroit, G. B. Porter, and two Army Colonels, Secretary of War Lewis Cass stated that because of the intimate relation between the several bands of the Potawatomi tribe, all who were interested in the lands along the western shore of Lake Michigan to be acquired at the forthcoming Chicago negotiations in 1833 should be convened, including the Potawatomi bands in Michigan east of the lake, for the cessions of their reservations.[72]

By the Treaty of Chicago of September, 1833, the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi Indians ceded to the United States the Royce Area 187 in Illinois and Wisconsin containing about five million acres bordering the western shores of Lake Michigan.[73] On September 27, 1833, by Articles Supplementary thereto, the chiefs and head-men of the United Nations of Indians residing on their reservations in Michigan south of the Grand River, ceded all their lands situated in the Territory of Michigan, Royce Area 190.[74] The cession included reservations and village sited.

In part consideration of the cession, the United

States agreed to grant to the United Nations of Indians, to be held as other Indian lands were held that had been "lately assigned to emigrating Indians," a tract of country "west of the Mississippi River."[75]

> "...It is the wish of the Government of the United States that the said nation of Indians should remove to the country thus assigned to them as soon as conveniently can be done, and it is deemed advisible on the part of their chiefs and headmen that a deputation should visit the said country west of the Mississippi, and thus be assured that full justice has been done, it is hereby stipulated that the United States will defray the expenses of such deputation, to consist of not more than fifty persons, to be accompanied by not more than five individuals, to be nominated by themselves, and the whole to be under the general direction of such officer of the United States as has been or shall be designated for that purpose..."[76]

By the terms of the treaty, it was further agreed that

> "...as fast as the said Indians shall be prepared to emigrate, they shall be moved at the expense of the United States, and shall receive subsistence while upon the journey and for one year after their arrival at their new homes; it being understood that the said Indians are to remove from all that part of the land now ceded which is within the State of Illinois immediately on the ratification of this treaty, but to be permitted to retain possession of the country north of the boundary line of said State, for the term of three years, without molestation or interruption, and under the protection of the laws of the United States..."[77]

All Indians living on the Michigan reservations were to move within three years from the date of the treaty.[78] A provision agreed upon after the treaty was signed permitted some Potawatomi who asked to remain in Michigan because of their religious creed, to move to the northern part of the peninsula of Michigan.[79]

Education was mandated in this treaty with a provision that

> "Seventy thousand dollars for purposes of education and the encouragement of the domestic arts, to be applied in such manner as the President of the

> United States may direct...(The wish of the Indians being expressed to the Commissioners as follows: The United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa and Pottawatomie Indians being desirous to create a perpetual fund for the purpose of education and the encouragement of the domestic arts, wish to invest the sum of $70,000 in some safe stock, the interest of which only is to be applied as necessary for the above purpose. They, therefore, request the President of the United States to make such investment for the nation as he may think best. If, however, at any time after the said nation shall have made such advancement in civilization and have become so enlightened as in the opinion of the President and the Senate of the United States they shall be capable of managing so large a fund with safety, they may withdraw the whole or any part of it.)"[80]

Included in the cession were approximately one million acres claimed by the Potawatomi, including the hunting grounds of the tribe and the lowlands at the western turn of the lake, called She-gog-ong, the present site of Chicago.[81]

Treaties continued to be made with the remaining Chippewa and Ottawa tribes. The Treaty of Washington, 1836, found all Michigan lands not previously ceded were sold to the United States by the Ottawa and Chippewa, ceding all the rest of the lower peninsula and all the upper peninsula east of the Chocolate River and the Escanaba River, Royce Areas 219 and 205.

Chippewa rights to any portion of Michigan were ceded in a second Treaty of Saginaw at Detroit in January of 1837. The tribe ceded all the reservations, except those granted to individuals under the Saginaw Treaty of 1819, but retained the right to continue for five years in undisturbed occupation of their tracts on the AuGrais River, and on the Mushewusk River west of Saginaw.[82] Ceded lands were to be surveyed and placed on the market with other public lands and it was not until the Treaty of LaPointe in 1854 that the Indians received the right to own land in fee simple.

The Potawatomi were not included in the Treaty of Washington, of Saginaw at Detroit, or at LaPointe, but desired to live on the remaining reservations. They began to enter those lands illegally but were forcibly removed.[83]

The attitude of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners is reflected in their Annual Report for 1879 where they state

> "We may moralize over the natural rights of the Indians as much as we please, but after all they have their limits. It is evident that...the public domain...cannot be kept simply as a park. This Anglo-Saxon race will not allow the car of civilization to stop long at any line. If the Indian plants himself on the track, he must inevitably be crushed by it..."[84]

Cedar River Refugees

By 1836, the time limit for the Potawatomi removal was up. They were not removed from Michigan promptly but in 1838 a large number of them were collected on the St. Joseph River by individuals who had taken the contract from the federal government to remove Indians and the Indians were sent west, escorted by the United States Troops.

Events moved too slow for the War Department, and in 1836, the Indians were moved to Kansas at "the point of the bayonet."[85]

The Indians who witnessed this early phase of removal became panicky and fled with many leaving their villages and hiding themselves to avoid being taken.[86] Some of the refugees headed for Canada after escaping from the troops. In 1839, the removal process was repeated. Many Indians were collected through all Michigan from St. Joseph eastward to Lake Huron but even after this second attempt, a large number of Potawatomi evaded the vigilance of the contractors and remained behind.[87]

In 1840, a determined effort was made to collect

all the lingerers and remove them. The fugitives were equally determined to avoid capture, if possible, and a body of them numbering about two hundred men, women, and children, with their chief Muckemoot, fled for safety to the northern part of what is now Shiawassee County, Michigan.[88]

The Federal government ordered troops under the command of General Hugh Brady to capture the Potawatomi hiding out near the village of Owosso.[89] General Brady's troops were to be used to assist the contractors in collecting and guarding the Indians, and afterwards in escorting them on their way to the west. The fugitives were found a few miles north of Owosso picking cranberries and were taken to Owosso and placed under guard. Some of them were quartered in a wooden building which had been erected as a rendezvous for the supporters of Harrison and Tyler in the Presidential campaign of that year.[90] They were kept in these buildings for a considerable time until all who could be found had been brought in.[91]

> "Then a number of four-horse wagons were brought to the place, and into them were loaded the women and children, with their few utensils and other movable articles; some of the Indian men were allowed transportation in the wagons, some rode on ponies and many were obliged to travel on foot; formed in this manner, and closely guarded by troops in front and rear, the mournful procession of Pottawatomies moved out on the road, and sadly took their way to the place of their exile beyond the waters of the Mississippi."[92]

There were some who escaped to form a village in Cass County; other Potawatomi went to Walpole Island on the east side of Lake St. Clair, and another settlement was made at Athens in Calhoun County in 1844.[93] The government was persuaded to assign the land at Athens to those Indians and in this period, the Potawatomi that were in Wisconsin moved northward as the white settlers came in.[94]

In 1845 some Potawatomi who had gone west returned to Marshall County, Indiana, and others who had fled to Canada at the time of forced removal were returning yearly to the area under the Michigan Agency.[95]

Substantial numbers, however, of the 1833 Nation, so-called from the Treaty of Chicago of 1833, did not migrate west after that treaty, but remain in, or returned to, Wisconsin, Michigan, or Indiana.[96] By 1847, a large group of Potawatomi west of the Mississippi had returned to Milwaukee to live.[97]

In 1851, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported:

> "...A considerable number of Chippewa...having been removed during the present year. With exception of Anse and Vieux Desert bands...and a portion of Pellican Lake and Wisconsin River Bands, an entire removal has been effected... Number removed reported to be 3,000...only 700 remain on ceded lands. Apprehensions...are entertained that, by reason of the proximity of those who have been removed to their old hunting grounds, they will return in considerable numbers, and not only again molest our citizens, but be reduced to destitution and want; and they will forfeit their annuities, and have to depend alone on the wild products of the country, which are now so nearly exhausted as not to afford them the means of subsistence..."[98]

Removal remained a threat in the 1850's to Michigan and Wisconsin Indians and Commissioner of Indian Affairs Lea's philosophy in the issue of removal is verbalized in his Annual Report of 1852 to the Secretary of the Interior, by stating

> "When civilization and barbarism are brought in such relation that they cannot coexist together, it is right that the superiority of the former should be asserted and the latter compelled to give way. It is therefore, no matter of regret or reproach that so large a portion of our territory has been wrestled from its aboriginal inhabitants and made the happy abodes of an enlightened and Christian people..."[99]

George W. Manypenny became Commissioner of Indian

Affairs in 1853. He rejected the policy of removal in favor of fixed and permanent reservations, in favor of restricting the limits of all the Indian tribes, saying

> "...The wonderful growth of our distant possessions and the rapid expansion of our population in every direction, will render it necessary, at no distant day, to restrict the limits of all the Indian tribes upon our frontiers, and cause them to be settled in fixed and permanent localities, thereafter not to be disturbed. The policy of removing Indian tribes from time to time, as the settlements approach their habitations and hunting grounds, must be abandoned.
>
> The emigrants and settlers were formerly content to remain in the rear, and thrust the Indians before them into the wilderness, but now the white population overleaps the reservations and homes of the Indian, and is beginning to inhabit the valleys and the mountains beyond; hence removal must cease, and the policy abandoned. By the operation of the former system, some tribes have become extinct; and the reduced numbers and enfeebled and demoralized condition of many of those who now rest on the frontier, furnish unmistakeable evidence of the effect of the system upon them..."[100]

The annuity roll in 1854 numbered the Potawatomi on their reserves as 3,440, with about 250 "others living among the Kickapoos, some of whom have intermarried in that tribe, and there are a few scattering families in Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan...This once numerous tribe cannot number,in all quarters, over 4,000 souls."[101]

In early reports, those Indians, the "few scattering families in Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan," were referred to as "stray bands" and those who elected to remain lost lands also in Wisconsin and eked out a precarious existence.[102] The Federal government had interpreted, under Article 4 of the 1833 Treaty, that annuitied due the Indians were to be paid at their reservation location west of the Mississippi and the Indian Office forfeited all shares in tribal lands and funds to those who removed west.[103] In short, those who stayed east of the Mississippi did not share in the

annuities due them.[104]

With the continuing advance of white settlement, the Potawatomi continued in a northward retreat. In 1853, a group was on the Wisconsin side of the Menominee River near the town of Menominee, Michigan.[105] One of their settlements was at Cedar River, about twenty-five miles north of Menominee along the bay. Others of this group continued onward, some ending up in the Stonington and Garden Peninsulas of Upper Michigan and others staying at Manistique and Nahma. Some continued eastward into Canada.[106]

The refugees on the Big Cedar River prepared to live in a small clearing, later known as Joe DeGraves farm and sawmill, where they cleared the ground, built wigwams, farmed, and hunted. They remained near the Big Cedar River until the town of Cedar River brought in more white settlers and the Indians were compelled to move on.

Following a Treaty of November 15, 1861, the Potawatomi Nation was divided into the Prairie Band and the Citizen Band and the United States recognized those two bands as tribal entities which succeeded to the rights of the Potawatomi Nation. The United States distributed assets of the Nation between those two bands.[107] A census was made under the treaty showing that the Potawatomi Nation had 2,180 members, of whom 780 formed the Prairie Band and 1,400 formed the Citizen Band.[108]

Congress, by an Act of June 25, 1864 (13 Stat.161) authorized the Secretary of the Interior to take charge of those "stray bands" and to withhold a proportion of the annuities.[109] Nothing was accomplished under this Act because no census of the Wisconsin band had been taken annually and the Indian Affairs Office continued to ignore the directive.[110]

In the Annual Report of Commissioner Edward P. Smith

for 1874, he stated

> "...Roamers and vagrants...consisting of 600 Winnebagoes and Pottawatomies in Wisconsin... Of the roamers, numbering about 14,000 (United States) little can be said except that they are generally as harmless as vagrants and vagabonds can be in a civilized country. They are found in all states of degradation produced by licentiousness, intemperance, idleness and poverty. Without land, unwilling to leave their haunts for a homestead upon a reservation, and scarcely in any way related to or recognized by the government, they drag out a miserable life..."[111]

That same year, the Green Bay Indian Agency report for Wisconsin stated

> "...About 180 Pottawatomies are roaming over this State without any home. They have been visited, numbered, and invited to join their brethren in Kansas, and it is believed that, under suitable encouragement, their removal will yet be accomplished..."[112]

On December 6, 1869, General Grant, now President, gave his first annual message to Congress in which he recommended the establishment of an immense reservation and the removal of all Indian tribes thereto.[113] George I. Betts, United States Indian Agent in Michigan, reported in his 1874 Annual Report that he also was desirous of collecting the Indians on one reservation, saying

> "Being very much scattered and far removed from each other in their settlements, it is impossible for me to be with them; as much as I could if they were collected upon one reservation, and the clerical duties of my office requiring my personal attention, (not being allowed a clerk,) I am not able to devote that personal attention to their instruction that I could wish, and that I believe would aid them very much in improvement in the arts of civilization."[114]

The main body of Potawatomi refugees in Michigan remained near the Cedar River until about 1883.[115] In 1879, a Methodist Missionary named Peter Marksman was sent to minister to the group.[116] Peter Marksman was born in northern Minnesota and his grandfather and

great-grandfather had been chiefs at Mackinac.[117] In 1832, Peter was baptised a Methodist and in 1834 he began exhorting and preaching Methodism.[118] In 1844, he married Hannah Morien, a woman of French-Indian descent.[119] The Marksmans served various Methodist Missions and Peter was close to retirement in 1879 when he and his wife were sent to minister "to a band of Pottawatomie Indians who had come up from the south to settle in Menominee County."[120]

In 1883, Marksman found unoccupied land for the group near Harris, in Menominee County, where they settled.[121] In graditude for his efforts and his loan of money to get them started, they named their community "Hannahville" after Mrs. Marksman and made Peter agent for the tribe.[122]

The Hannahville Potawatomi remained at this location as squatters, living as much of their old life as they could, until 1913.[123]

Summary

Restorations of peace and friendly relations between the United States and the Potawatomi in the Northwest Territory was intended to reduce economic hardship and interference in trade relations between the Indians and the white settlers but, as each cession treaty was negotiated, attempts by the Potawatomi to establish and hold firm to a boundary line were negated. It was useless for the Indians to protest against demands made for cessions as settlers crossed over at will onto lands reserved for the Indians and towns grew around the trading posts. Connecting rights-of-way developed between the trading posts, resulting in roads through tribal domains.

The Federal government was primarily interested in establishing and peopling states within the Northwest Territory. It also had to fill the demand for homestead lands promised to the military. President Jefferson, and

later, President Jackson, could find no reason why the territory could not be cleared of Indian title. The Governor of the Territory of Michigan agreed that removal of the Indians would result in an influx of emigrants to provide population required for statehood.

Land cessions during the period of 1800 to 1840 paved the way for the removal of the Potawatomi from the area and those who did not leave peaceably were removed by force. Many of the Potawatomi evaded the military and numbers of them gradually moved up the western shore of Lake Michigan into Wisconsin and Michigan's Upper Peninsula. Those who remained in Wisconsin were forced to continually change their place of residence as the advance of white settlement pushed them northward in retreat.

By 1853, refugee Potawatomi were to be found at Cedar River, approximately twenty-five miles north of the present city of Menominee, Michigan. As late as 1874, removal still posed a threat to the refugees as, in that year, the Green Bay Agency reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that the Agency had "numbered" and "invited" refugee Potawatomi to "join their brethren in Kansas."

The main body of Potawatomi refugees in Michigan remained around the Cedar River area until 1883 when a Methodist missionary located unoccupied lands for them in Harris Township of Menominee County. Here the group remained, refusing removal,and retaining group identity. The community took the name of "Hannahville" from Hannah Marksman, the wife of the missionary.

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63) Ibid., p. 246 and pp. 301-02, Finding of Fact # 68
64) Ibid.
65) Ibid., p. 300, Finding of Fact # 65
66) Ibid.
67) Ibid., pp. 299-300, Finding of Fact # 64
68) Ibid., p. 242 and p. 300, Finding of Fact # 64
69) Ibid., p. 301-02, Finding of Fact # 68
70) Ibid., p. 304, Finding of Fact # 70
71) Ibid.
72) Ibid., pp. 303-04, Finding of Fact # 69
73) Ibid., p. 242 and p. 297, Finding of Fact # 62
74) Ibid., p. 242 and pp. 297-98, Finding of Fact # 62
75) History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties, p. 56
76) Ibid.
77) Ibid.
78) 27 ICC 187, p. 243 and pp. 298-99, Finding of Fact # 63
79) Ibid., p. 243 and p. 299, Finding of Fact # 63
80) History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties, p. 56
81) Hulst, Indian Sketches, p. 61
82) History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties, p. 23
83) Andrew M. Fitch to Alfred B. Greenwood, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 30, 1858, National Archives Roll 406
84) Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1879 (Washington;G.P.O.,1880), p. 12
85) Tiedke, "A Study of the Hannahville Indian Community," p. 11
86) History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties, p. 24
87) Ibid.
88) Ibid.
89) Ibid.
90) Ibid.
91) Ibid.
92) Ibid.
93) Greenman, The Indians of Michigan, p. 37

94) Ibid.

95) 27 ICC 187, p. 322, Finding of Fact # 91

96) Ibid., p. 321, Finding of Fact # 91. Also see BIA Memorandum of 3/75, p. 9

97) Ibid., p. 321, Finding of Fact # 91

98) Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1851 (Washington, D.C.), p. 4

99) Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1852 (Washington, D.C.), p. 3

100) Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1854 (Washington, D.C.), p. 17

101) Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1855 (Washington, D.C.), p. 101

102) BIA Memorandum of 3/75, p. 9

103) Ibid.

104) Ibid.

105) Tiedke, "A Study of the Hannahville Indian Community," p. 11

106) Ibid.

107) 27 ICC 187, p. 321, Finding of Fact # 91. Also see BIA Memorandum of 3/75, p. 8

108) BIA Memorandum of 3/75, p. 8

109) Ibid., p. 9

110) Ibid.

111) Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1874 (Washington, D.C.), pp. 4-6

112) Ibid., p. 29

113) Escanaba Tribune, Dec. 18, 1869, Vol. I, No. 1, Col. 1 p. 2

114) Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1874 (Washington, D.C.), p. 185

115) Tiedke, "A Study of the Hannahville Indian Community," p. 11

116) Ronald A. Brunger, "Peter Marksman--Chippewa Indian Missionary," Michigan Christian Advocate, Mar. 10, 1966, Vol. 93, No. 10, p. 18

117) Ibid., March 3, 1966, Vol. 93, No. 9, p. 3

118) Ibid., p. 20

119) Ibid., p. 21

120) Ibid., March 10, 1966, Vol. 93, No. 10, p. 18

121) Tiedke, "A Study of the Hannahville Indian Community," p. 11

122) Ibid., p. 12

123) Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

THE HANNAHVILLE POTAWATOMI

Introduction

In 1902, the Potawatomi, in a continuing effort to participate in the annuities and funds of the Potawatomi Nation, presented a memorial to Congress asserting rights under the various treaties made with the Potawatomi and requested relief.[1]

By an Act of Congress, approved June 21, 1906 (34 Stat. L 380), the Secretary of the Interior was directed to investigate the claims of the Potawatomi Indians of Wisconsin and to report on the number of Indians that continued to live in the State of Wisconsin after the treaty of 1833; their proportionate shares of the annuities, trust funds and other monies paid to or expended for the tribe to which they belong and in which they had not shared; the amounts of monies held or that should have been held to the credit of the claimant Indians; the disposition of all the monies of the tribe; the amounts remaining at credit, and to make an enrollment of the claimants.[2]

The investigation revealed that the number of Potawatomi Indians in the Wisconsin Band of 1840 were 1,137; in 1870 there were 928 and in 1906 there were 457; that the Court of Claims (27 CC 403, VIII Finding of Fact) placed annuities as part of the common annuities of the tribe for the entire period of 1838-1907; that no monies had been retained in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of the Wisconsin Indians as directed by the Act of June 25, 1864; that disposition of the funds revealed that after the Treaty of 1833 (7 Stat. L 431) the annuities were paid in Wisconsin, Indiana, and Michigan, and a portion west of the Mississippi, to the members of the several bands until 1838; that after 1838

the annuities were paid to the members of the several bands west of the Mississippi; that the members of the Wisconsin band had not shared in any amounts remaining at credit, and that no money had been retained in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of the claimant Potawatomi as directed by the provision of the Act of June, 1864, owing to the fact that a census of the Wisconsin band had not been taken annually and it was impossible to state the amount which should have been retained.[3]

The Act of 1864 had provided that "the proportion of annuities to which said stray bands of Pottawatomies and Winnebagoes would be entitled if they were settled upon their reservations with their respective tribes shall be retained in the Treasury to their credit, from year to year, to be paid to them when they shall unite with their said tribes, or to be used by the Secretary of the Interior in defraying the expenses of their removal, or in settling and subsisting them on any other reservation which may hereafter be provided for them."[4]

This chapter will present information on the events leading to a reservation status for the Hannahville Indian Community and to the status of a federal corporation, two events representing changes in the social and political status of the tribe.

The Wooster Roll

On June 30, 1907, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs instructed the Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, to complete the enrollment of Wisconsin Potawatomi and their descendants in Wisconsin, Michigan, and Canada.[5] W. M. Wooster, Clerk and Special Disbursing Agent, was in charge of the enrollment.[6]

Wooster proceeded to Carter, Wisconsin, and called on Rev. Erik O. Morstad, a Lutheran missionary among the

Potawatomi who had assisted previous roll preparations.[7] Wooster found that Morstad had inaugurated the movement to prosecute a claim against the United States in behalf of the Potawatomi Indians and that he was also personally acquainted with nearly all the Indian families.[8]

The method followed in making previous enrollments in Wisconsin had been to visit the town or village nearest the Indian group or settlement and send an Indian interpreter or guide for them so that their tribal status might be inquired into, and their right to enrollment determined; and the method brought about misrepresentations as to entitlement to enroll as well as omissions by reasons of absence and failure of Indians to remember the names of all their children.[9]

Wooster hired Charles Kisheck, a Potawatomi chief, as interpreter. He determined that it would be impossible to obtain definite information by correspondence with the Indians of the various groups in Wisconsin, for the reason that they were unable to read or write.[10] Wooster decided to visit their camps, or wherever they could be found, in order to properly check the roll.[11]

The method Wooster used was that on arriving at a camp, settlement, or reservation, the Indians were immediately gathered in council or a meeting was called for the next day. At the council, the Indians claiming Potawatomi Indian blood were then, separately, carefully examined with the aid of the interpreter, and Rev. Mr. Morstad, who spoke the Chippewa tongue.[12]

In order to be enrolled, a claimant was required to prove satisfactorily that (1) he or one of his ancestors was a member of the Wisconsin Potawatomi tribe or band at the time of the making of the Treaty of 1833, but did not move west of the Mississippi River, as required by that treaty, and consequently did not receive any of the benefits accruing thereunder; and (2) that neither he nor the ancestor through whom he claimed was,

or had been, enrolled with any other tribe or band in the United States.[13]

Wooster found the refugees, the roving Indians, widely scattered in northern Wisconsin, Michigan, and in the Province of Ontario, Canada. The points or towns in the United States nearest to which the principal groups were located were Carter, Star Lake, Phlox, Minocqua, and Wausaukee, Wisconsin, and Bark River, Michigan.[14]

At the Phlox site, Phlox being a small village two or three miles west of the northwest corner of the Menominee Indian Reservation, the Indians were found to be "residing as intruders" about ten miles by trail within the northern part of the reservation.[15]

The Minocqua group were considered "poverty-striken Indians reached by going to a station (Goodnow) about 14 miles from Minocqua, thence by hand-car 5 miles, and by Indian trail some 5 or 6 miles."[16]

Of the Star Lake group, some of the group were found "to be residing on private land at a place called 'Camp Two,'" about ten miles northeast of Star Lake and others were found four miles further on by trail at Partridge Lake.[17]

The Bark River Group

Bark River is a small village a few miles east of the Village of Harris and located in Delta County, Michigan. Wooster stated he found Indians situated "about 8 miles" by road and trail from Bark River, residing on private lands.[18] The Indians lived in log houses, had a church and a school. Wooster found the Indians cultivated the lands and "while they will eventually be evicted therefrom they are at present more progressive and prosperous than the group near Minocqua."[19]

Wooster appears to sustain the assumption that the

refugee Indians, including the Bark River Group known as the Hannahville Indians at that time, were existing as squatters on private lands. Wooster found the Indians, as a rule,

> "have no fixed homes, but roam from place to place, picking berries, digging ginseng and other roots, gathering evergreens, working in lumber camps, etc. A few of them have homesteaded and now hold from 40 to 80 acres of public land, and have made small clearings and erected rude log houses. In the main, though, they are squatters and have built shelters or shacks and made small clearings in the forest or wherever vacant land could be found. All the public land in Wisconsin has long since been taken, and lumber companies now own or control the lands on which these nomads temporarily reside. Consequently, when the cut-over lands are sold to setters the squatter Indians are forced to move on, and thus lose what few improvements they have made.
>
> The number of Indians at the various groups or settlements is at all times variable---individuals and often entire families moving from one group to another at the dictates of necessity or caprice.
>
> At some of the camps visited much patients and tact were required to get any information whatever from the Indians. They were sullen and suspicious, still considered themselves refugees, and repeatedly said they did not wish to be enrolled. For the most part they feared that their children would be sent to school, or that they would be collected and forcibly removed to Kansas by the Government."[20]

Apparently the threat of removal was still in the minds of the Potawatomi in 1907, seventy-four years after the Treaty of 1833.

Wooster enrolled 2,007 Potawatomi.[21] He determined the total amount due the 2,007 and the proportionate share of the 457 Potawatomi Indians in the United States,[22] 1,550 found to be residing in the Dominion of Canada as British subjects.[23]

The proportionate share due the 457 Potawatomi Indians residing in the United States was determined by the Congress, by the Act of June 30, 1913, (38 Stat. 102) to be $447,339.24.[24]

Reservation Status for Hannahville

At the First Session of the 63rd Congress, 1913, by an Act of June 30, provision was made for the purchase of allotments for the individual members of that portion of the Wisconsin Band of Potawatomi Indians residing in the States of Wisconsin and Michigan.[25]

The $447,339 was to be appropriated as the proportionate share of those Indians in annuities and monies of the Potawatomi Tribe in which they had not shared in the past and the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to expend $150,000 in the purchase of land within the States of Wisconsin and Michigan.[26]

The title of the land was to be taken in trust by the government for the use and benefit of the Indians and the land was to be situated in organized school districts and to be purchased in bodies of not more than one section, "which said bodies shall not adjoin each other."[27]

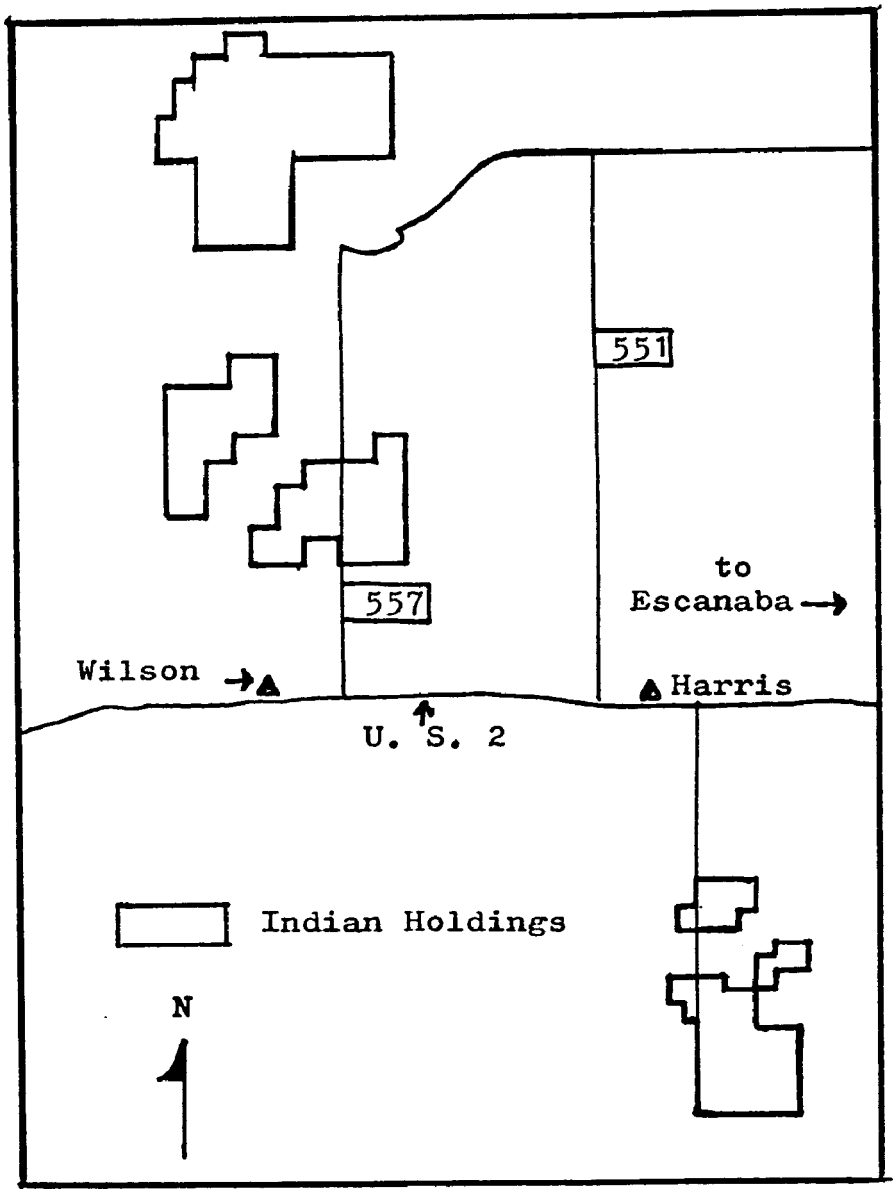
The lands purchased were to be divided equitably among the entitled Indians and patents issued in accordance with the general allotment laws of the United States.[28] However, various individual tracts of land were purchased, title to which was taken in the name of the United States.[29] The lands had been intended as allotments to the Indians but were actually held in assignments instead.[30]

A total of 3,368.93 acres of land was purchased in 1913 with 39 additional acres added in 1942, for a total of 3,407.93 acres of reservation lands in the townships of Harris and Gourley, Menominee County, Michigan, for the Hannahville Indian Community.[31]

The area is not a single block of land but consists of scattered holdings in the Harris-Wilson area of Harris and Gourley Townships. An over-all view of the major land holdings of the Community, as of February 20, 1970, is shown in Map 2, page 69.

MAP 2

MAJOR LAND HOLDINGS
OF THE
HANNAHVILLE INDIAN COMMUNITY



Scale

½" equals approximately one mile

A total of 999 acres of reservation land is located in the south part of Harris Township, south of the village of Harris, and in two adjacent sections of Gourley Township (See Map 3, page 71).[32] The administrative headquarters of the Hannahville Indian Community is located in this area of tribal holdings. The balance of acreage is located in the south-central part of Harris Township, north from the village of Wilson (See Map 4, page 72).

The assumption is made that purchasing the lands in staggered and scattered sections spread the Indians over a larger area of contact with white families in an effort to promote cultural assimilation at a faster pace. This assumption appears to be born out in a study of the Forest County Wisconsin Potawatomi.[33] Under the same Act of Congress, in 1913, the Wisconsin Potawatomi had lands purchased for them which were deliberately bought in staggered sections for faster assimilation.[34]

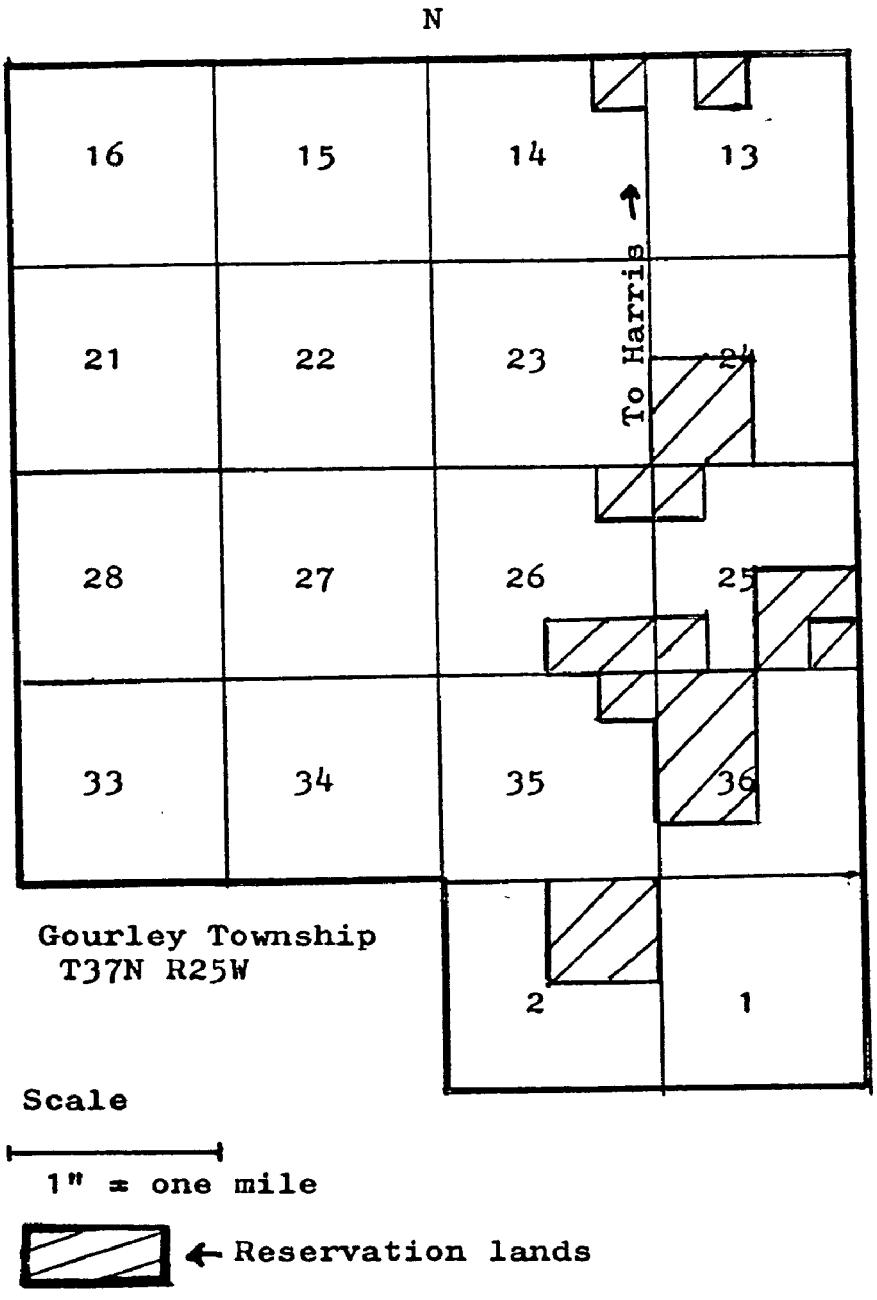
It is also noted that the Act specified that lands were to be situated in organized school districts and it is assumed this was intended as the means of placing Indian children in with white children wherever possible for educational purposes and within the local country school systems of Menominee County.

The acquisition of land, by itself, was not enough to provide a base for improving the living conditions of the Hannahville Potawatomi. They had lived in the area since the mid-1800's and their means of subsistence, a hunting, fishing, and trapping economy, had gradually declined with the advent of surrounding farm settlements. Old techniques for survival would not suffice and new ones would have to be developed. Monies that had not been expended from the 1913 appropriation were reappropriated in 1914 by the 63rd Congress, 2nd Session, to make funds available until expended.[35]

In 1916, to aid the Potawatomi of Wisconsin and

MAP 3

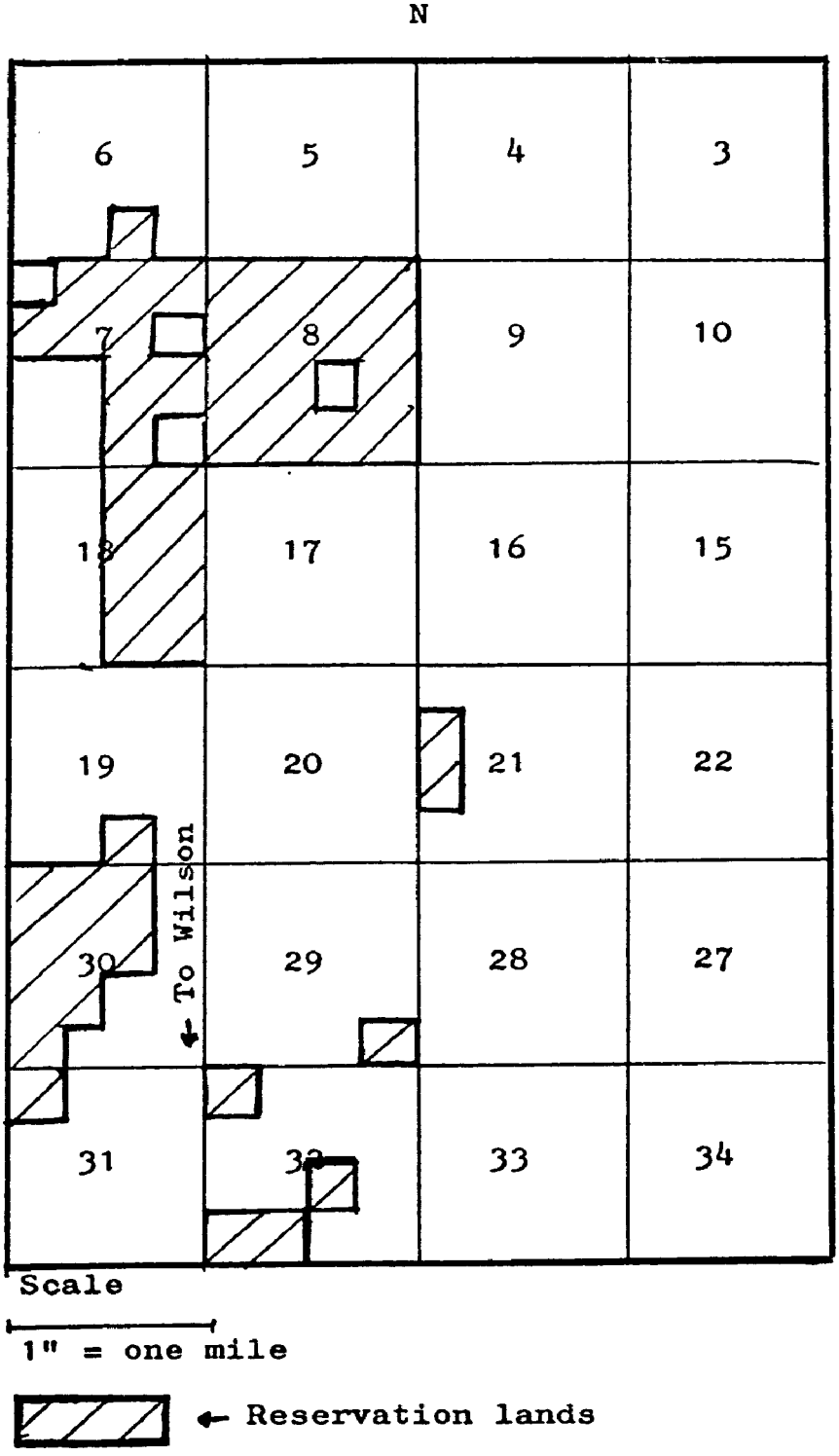
HANNAHVILLE INDIAN COMMUNITY
RESERVATION LANDS



MAP 4

HANNAHVILLE INDIAN COMMUNITY
RESERVATION LANDS

Harris Township T38N R25W



Michigan in establishing homes on the lands purchased for them, the 64th Congress, 1st Session (38 Stat. 102) approved the expenditure of $100,000 of the principal due as the proportionate share of the Indians.[36] This sum was authorized for use in the clearing of land and in the purchase of houses, building materials, seed, animals, machinery, tools, implements, and other equipment and supplies necessary to enable the Indians to become self-supporting.[37] In 1916, twenty frame houses with barns were built in the Hannahville Indian Community and each family received a farm unit consisting of a cow, team, wagon, sled, harrow, planter, six rolls of barbed wire, etc.[38]

A provision was also made to use up to $25,000 to train the Indians in the use and handling of money, paid to them per capita or deposited to their credit subject to rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior.[39]

The 64th Congress, 1917, continued the appropriation but the Hannahville reservation, as cut-over areas, had few acres suitable for farming. Most of the land was, and is, swampy, and there is considerable acreage in stone outcroppings. The giving of teams and farm units under supervision, rather than through practical demonstration, was not an adequate educational means for a change to a totally agricultural economy for the Indians.[40]

Appropriations continued to "support and civilize" the Indians. The 65th Congress, 2nd Session, 1918 (38 Stat. 102) appropriated

> "...for the support and civilization of those portions of the Wisconsin Band of Pottawatomie Indians residing in the States of Wisconsin and Michigan, and to aid said Indians in establishing homes for them under the provision of the Act of Congress approved June 30th, 1913, $75,000... in the clearing of land and the purchase of houses, building material, seed, animals, machinery, tools, implements, and other equipment and supplies...to enable...Indians to become self-supporting..."[41]

Authorization was made in this appropriation to pay the legal representatives of R. V. Belt (Mrs. Joanna Belt and William O. Belt) as compensation for their services to the Potawatomi Indians for recovering the annuities withheld from them up to a sum not to exceed $25,000.[42]

In 1919, the 66th Congress, 1st Session, continued the appropriations to aid in establishing homes in the amount of $15,500 and authorized a per capita payment of $40 be made to the Potawatomi.[43] No further expenditures[44] were to be authorized or made under appropriations for the purchase of land and the clearing of land for the Potawatomi. The Rev. Erik O. Morstad was authorized to be paid $2,000 in person and in full satisfaction for services rendered.[45]

There were unexpended balances of appropriations and in 1920, the 66th Congress, 2nd Session, reappropriated a balance amounting to $55,057.37 making it available until expended for the support and civilization of the Potawatomi Indians, limiting the use, however, to homes, building materials, seed, etc.[46] The government's original plan of trying to make farmers out of people with no farming experience on largely non-tillable land did not work.[47] It would have required at least a half section of land per family to yield an adequate living in Harris Township.[48]

Reports advised assimilation at Hannahville as late as 1951 when it was suggested that in the event more land was purchased it would be advisable to further scatter the holdings in order to increase the rate and intensity of white contact.[49] It was further suggested "a teacher could be utilized (who) could instruct them in the nature of our society, perhaps patterned after Americanization classes for immigrants..."[50]

In 1927, an agreement was made between the Federal government and the State of Michigan by which the State agreed to treat Indians who were bona fide residents of Michigan on the same terms as its white residents.[51] In

return for this promise, the State received the former Indian school at Mt. Pleasant, Michigan.

This was the beginning of a period of state control, a responsibility for providing any aid which the Indian received, as the Federal Bureal of Indian Affairs withdrew from responsibility for the Indians in Michigan with the exception of retaining authority over land use.

Internal Organization of the Community

The Hannahville Indian Community was formally organized under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (Wheeler-Howard Act) with a Constitution and By-Laws.

The Constitution and By-Laws preceded the Corporate Charter. The Preamble of the Constitution and By-Laws reads:

> "We, the Potowatomies residing near Wilson and Harris in Menominee County, Michigan, on lands reserved for the Wisconsin Potowatomies residing in Michigan, in order to form a representative organization, to promote the welfare of our people, to preserve the land for ourselves and our children, and to provide homes for all the Indians of this Community who need them, do establish this Constitution."[52]

The name "Hannahville Indian Community" was voted by the members of the Community and in Article II land within the control of the Community is stated as including all land now held by the United States for the Wisconsin Potawatomi residing in Michigan and purchased under the Act of June 30, 1913, and any other land which the United States might acquire for the benefit of the Hannahville Indians or lands which the Community itself might acquire.[53]

The base membership in the Hannahville Indian Community consists of all persons of Indian blood whose names appear on the census roll of April 1, 1934, of the Crandon Sub-Agency and who were at the time of that roll residing or entitled to reside on land bought in Michigan under the Act of June 30, 1913, and all their descendants

who are so residing or entitled to reside at the time of the adoption of the Constitution.[54]

In addition to the Crandon Sub-Agency census of 1934, every child born to any member of the Community, provided the member is a resident of the reservation at the time of the child's birth, shall be a member of the Hannahville Community.[55] Also, every child becomes a member if both parents are members of the Community and every child of one-half or more Indian blood born to any non-resident member of the Community is a member of the Community.[56]

As for adoptions, the Constitution provides that members of the Community may adopt as a member of the Community any person of Indian blood related by marriage or descent to the members of the Community who will assist the Community in fulfillment of its purposes and also any other person whose adoption is approved by the Secretary of the Interior.[57]

The governing body of the Hannahville Indian Community consists of a council composed of the three officers of the Community: The Chairman, The Secretary, and the Assistant Secretary-Treasurer and of nine council-members, with at least one member of the council being a resident of Wilson, Michigan.[58]

These officers and council members are elected annually by the members of the Community and vacancies on the council are filled by the remaining members designating a member of the Community to fill the position until the next annual election.[59]

The council has the power to make assignments of land in the Community to members of the Community.[60] Every member of the Community who had a land assignment at the time of the adoption of the Constitution or who was assigned and is assigned land by the council has the right to hold that land assignment for life.[61] Heirs

receive preference for land assignments, if they are in need of land, and the council has the power to reassign land not being used to another needy member when assignments have not been used or improvements not made on the assignments.[62] When a member of the Community applies for an assignment, the council has the power to decide how many acres the applicant needs in accordance with the purposes for which the applicant is going to use the land.[63] All assignments, however, are subject to review by the Secretary of the Interior.[64]

The powers of the council include managing the business affairs and enterprises of the Community in accordance to the Corporate Charter granted the Community and to issue a charter to any group of members of the Community for business purposes.[65]

The council has the power to create a community fund by levying assessments for the use of the Community facilities and property on their members but the members of the Community must approve this assessment by vote.[66]

Members seeking to use or do business on the lands of the Community are subject to a levy and this also must be approved by Community vote as well as non-member assessments subject to review by the Secretary of the Interior.[67]

The council is empowered to expend funds from the Community fund in order to conduct Community business and for the welfare of the Community and is empowered to protect the health and well-being of the members of the Community as well as develop the arts and crafts of the Community.[68]

The council makes rules governing the conduct of members of the Community and sets up a Community Court to enforce those rules, both powers, however, being subject to review by the Secretary of the Interior.[69] The council also prevents the sale, disposition,lease, or encumbrance of the Community land, interest in the land, or any other

Community assets without the consent of the Community.[70]

The council acts as negotiators between the federal, state, and local governments on behalf of the Community and consults with representatives of the Department of the Interior on all the activities of the Department in regards to the Hannahville Indian Community.[71]

The council also confers with the Secretary of the Interior on all appropriation estimates or federal projects for the benefit of the Community prior to the submission of such estimates to the Bureau of the Budget and Congress and has the right to employ legal counsel for the protection and advancement of the rights of the Hannahville Indian Community and its members.[72] However, the choice of a legal counsel and the fee paid is subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.[73]

The council makes rules for its own procedures and conduct of business and delegates to committees any of the stated powers of the council although the council reserves the right to review any of the action taken under delegated powers.[74]

It is noted that the council does not exercise any of their powers in such a way as to conflict with any Federal Law applying to the Hannahville Indian Community.[75] The council holds future powers, that is, the right to exercise such powers as might be delegated in a future time to the Council by the Secretary of the Interior, by any authorized official or agency of the federal government, or by any member of the Community.[76]

The Constitution and By-Laws reflect the descendency of the Hannahville Indian Community from the Wisconsin Potawatomi by reserving any rights and powers which the Wisconsin Potawatomi residing on government purchased land in Michigan had, but which were not expressly referred to in the Hannahville Indian Community Constitution, and exercising those rights and powers by the people of the Community through the adoption of appropriate by-laws

and constitutional amendments.[77]

The Constitution and By-Laws may be amended or revoked by a majority vote of the qualified voters of the Hannahville Indian Community and every member of the Community who has reached the age of 21 years is entitled to vote.[78] At least thirty percent of those entitled to vote must exercise this right in order to amend the Constitution and By-Laws.[79]

Any member of the Hannahville Indian Community 25 years old and over is eligible to be elected to the council.[80] The Council Chairman presides over the meetings and is the liason between the Council and Superintendent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Area Agency.[81]

On May 29, 1936, the Secretary of the Interior ordered the Constitution and By-Laws of the Community submitted for ratification to the adult Indians residing near Wilson and Harris and on June 27, 1936, the instrument was adopted by a vote of thirty-one for, and none against, in an election in which over thirty percent of those entitled to vote cast their ballots in accordance with section 16 of the Indian Reorganization Act.[82]

The Certification of Adoption of the Constitution was signed by Richard Meshigaud, Chairman of the Election Board, and Percy Thunder, Secretary of the Election Board, and J. C. Cavill, Superintendent of the Great Lakes Agency.[83] Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, attached the seal of his office to the Constitution and By-Laws at Washington, D.C., on July 23, 1936.[84]

On June 16, 1936, the adult members of the Hannahville Indian Community, petitioned the Secretary of the Interior to issue and submit a charter of incorporation for ratification by the adult members of the Community in accordance with Section 17 of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, as amended by the Act of June 15, 1935.[85] Thirty-seven adult members signed the

petition [86] and Frank Elie, Chairman of the Tribal Council, Percy Thunder, Secretary of the Tribal Council, and J. C. Cavill, Superintendent of the Great Lakes Agency, certified that the signatures on the petition represented more than one-third of the adult members of the Community.[87] The Petition was submitted to the Great Lakes Indian Agency on November 7, 1936.[88]

The Corporate Charter of the Hannahville Indian Community was ratified August 21, 1937, by a vote of forty-two for, and none against, in an election in which over thirty percent of those entitled to vote cast their ballots.[89] Oscar L. Chapman, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, issued and submitted the Charter of Incorporation.

Justification for the corporate existence was to further the economic development of the Community and to provide for the exercise by the Community of various functions and responsibilities that had previously been performed and assumed by the Department of the Interior.[90] The Charter provided for perpetual succession and its members consisted of all persons who were members of the Community.[91] The Tribal Council, as established by the Constitution and By-Laws, exercises all the corporate powers of the Charter.[92]

The Community, subject to any restrictions contained in the Constitution and By-Laws of the United States, or in the Constitution and By-Laws of the Community, had several powers in addition to all powers conferred or guaranteed by the Constitution and By-Laws of the Community, as:

(a) To adopt, use, and alter at its pleasure a corporate seal;

(b) To purchase, take by gift, bequest, or otherwise, own, hold, manage, operate, and dispose of property of every description, real and personal, subject, however, to several limitations;

(c) To borrow money from the Indian Credit Fund;

(d) To engage in any business that will further the economic well-being of the members of the Community;

(e) To make and perform contracts and agreements of every description (with limitations);

(f) To pledge or assign chattels or future income of the Community due or to become due (with limitations);

(g) To deposit monies;

(h) To sue and be sued in courts of competent jurisdiction within the United States (with limitations);

(i) And to exercise such further incidental powers not inconsistent with law, as may be necessary to the conduct of corporate business.[93]

Changes and modifications in the Constitution and By-Laws have occurred throughout the years with the latest change developing in 1975. Tribal Government Development Program funds are available to implement needed changes and revisions to update and strengthen functions of Tribal Government and to make those governments more viable and responsive to the needs of the Indian people they serve.[94]

Summary

The threat of removal existed for the Hannahville Potawatomi as late as 1907 when Agent Wooster, Clerk and Special Disbursing Agent for the Office of Indian Affairs found the group living around Bark-River Harris on lands from which they were subject to eviction.

Wooster placed 457 Potawatomi Indians on the census rolls. Through an Act of Congress in 1913, over three thousand acres of land was purchased for the Hannahville Potawatomi utilizing the proportionate share of annuities determined due them. The lands purchased were staggered and in scattered sections, spreading the Indians over a larger area of contact with white families and it was ordered that the lands were to be situated in organized school districts to place the Indian children

in contact with white children.

The simple act of acquiring land did not improve the conditions of poverty for the Hannahville Potawatomi. In 1916, more of the tribe's money was authorized by Congress to be used for clearing land, building homes, providing seed, animals, machinery, tools and other implements to farm. Twenty frame houses and barns were built on the reservation lands and each family received a farm unit. No assistance or training was offered in methods of farming and the provision of farm units was not adequate for the Indians to adapt to an agricultural subsistence pattern. The land was poor farming land to begin and not enough was available for each unit to provide a living for the most able farmer.

Under the Indian Reorganization Act, the political status changed for the Hannahville Potawatomi. The Community organized into an independent self-governing unit within the legal framework of a Constitution and By-Laws as well as under a Corporate Charter. They were officially recognized in 1936 as The Hannahville Indian Community, subject only to restrictions that might be in the Constitution and By-Laws of the United States. The Community, thereby, was not recognized as a part of any local, county, or state government, and was thus established as a community with special rights and legal status in a direct relationship to the Federal government.

The change was complete, from a refugee stray band to an organized community, from a dependant roll to the beginning of independence. These changes were to affect the social and political relationships of the Hannahville Indian Community with the surrounding white community.

Even after achieving legal status and self-government, the Hannahville Indian Community remained relatively isolated and in a poverty-stricken condition for the next several decades.

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2) H. D. 830, p. 1

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4) Ibid., p. 7

5) Ibid., p. 12

6) Ibid., p. 22

7) Ibid., p. 13

8) Ibid.

9) Ibid.

10) Ibid.

11) Ibid.

12) Ibid., p. 14

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14) Ibid. and see BIA Memorandum of 3/75,p. 9

15) H. D. 830, p. 15

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21) BIA Memorandum of 3/75, p. 9 and also see H.D.830 p.9

22) H. D. 830, p. 6

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53) Ibid., p. 1 Article II

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61) Ibid., p. 4 Article VI, Sec. 1

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63) Ibid., p. 4 Article VI, Sec. 4

64) Ibid., p. 4 Article VI, Sec. 5

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72) Ibid., pp. 2-3 Article V, Sec. 1 (10) (11)

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CHAPTER V

EARLY HANNAHVILLE EDUCATION

Introduction

In the 1880's, schools funded by the Federal government were classified as follows:

1. Day Schools
2. Boarding Schools
3. State and Tribal Schools

The Day Schools were of three catagories:

a) Established and supported by the Government
b) Supported by contract with religious societies
c) Mission schools established and supported by religious societies[1]

Day schools were established at points remote from the agencies, or on reservations where boarding schools were not provided.[2] In many cases, they were established through the benevolent efforts of missionaries or the wives of Army officers stationed at military reservations in the Indian country and have, in nearly every instance, preceded the boarding school.[3]

The day schools differed widely from the day schools in white communities as in many instances the teacher was the only white person in the neighborhood.[4]

In 1882, the Federal government operated nine day schools in the Mackinac Agency at a total cost of $3,617 to the government and at a cost of $2,000 to religious societies (Table 1, page 88).[5]

The 1882 Annual Report of the Mackinac Indian Agency, Ypsilanti, Michigan, October 12, 1882, Edward P. Allen, Agent, reveals that a school operated in a place called Cedar Creek, Hannahville, that year.

Allen reported:

"In the matter of health they have apparently kept

TABLE 1

DESCRIPTION OF MICHIGAN INDIAN DAY SCHOOLS

1882

Name of Agency and School	Number who can be accommodated in schools		Number attending one month or more during year		Average Attendance	Largest Average Monthly Attendance	# Months School Operated	Cost in $ of Maintaining Schools	
	Boarding	Day	Boarding	Day				To Government	To Religious Societies
MACKINAC AGENCY									
L'Anse Day		30		20	11	17	10	460	
Middle Village Day		40		30	14	17	11	460	
Sugar Island Day		50		30	16	18	6	158	
Longwood Day		40		46	25	32	12	460	
Nepissing Day		40		40	26	33	12	460	
Naubetung Day		40		35	25	28	11	460	
Garden Island Day		30		25	15	21	6	433	$2,000
Baraga Day		50		55	39	43	10	460	
Hannahville Day		40		42	*	*	7	266	

SOURCE: Adapted from "Statistics of Indian Schools", pp. 320-21, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1882

*Not reported. School broken up by Smallpox

> about the normal standard, with the one exception of a scourge of small-pox, which swept over the little village of Hannahville, or Cedar Creek, where out of some two hundred inhabitants as many as twenty died, the mortality being most among the children.
>
> The main source of civilization among the Indians is undoubtedly their education as derived through the schools...It has been found necessary to abandon for the present the school which was located at Hannahville, the occasion, as stated above, being the descent of small pox upon the place, which disease attacked with special fatality the scholars attending the school and decimated the ranks.
>
> At the same time, the teacher, a native, who had come highly recommended from Canada, succumbed to his passion for liquor, and was so constantly under its influence as to be utterly unfitted for his work. He was therefore immediately discharged. These two causes served to break up the school effectually and it has not been deemed best as yet to reopen it."[6]

The Hannahville Day School

The Hannahville Day School statistics were included in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the first time in 1882. The school was part of the Mackinac Agency and could accommodate forty students. It operated for seven months in 1882 at a cost of $266 to the Federal government. The balance of the cost, if any, appears to have been picked up by a religious society.

The religious society presumed to have been operating the Hannahville Day School was Methodist. The school was operating at a period of time when the Hannahville Potawatomi were squatters on private lands, lands located for them by Peter Marksman, the Methodist missionary who was sent by the Methodist church to minister to this group of refugees. Marksman had served many areas throughout Michigan in establishing missions and mission schools.

In the early years of Methodist mission schools, the school and church would be in one building. In 1848,

at Naomikong, some thirty-five miles west of Sault Ste. Marie, the Methodist mission purchased sixty acres of land from the government and "built a fine log building to serve as schoolhouse."[7] In 1860, Marksman was transferred to the Detroit Conference and stationed near Sault Ste. Marie, Iroquois Point and Sugar Island where he reported fifty-three members, forty probationers, two local preachers, one church valued at $400, one parsonage valued at $500, and two Sunday schools "with sixty-five scholars and one hundred fifty volumes in the libraries."[8]

In 1879, Marksman and his wife were sent to minister to a group that would become known as the Hannahville Potawatomi. It appears to be a practice of the Methodist missions to both preach and teach, and since all of the day schools in Table 1, page 88, are indicated as being subsidized by religious societies, it seems valid to assume that Marksman organized the day school at Hannahville. With his knowledge of the contractual services performed between the Mackinac Agency and the mission schools, he was apparently able to obtain funding to assist with the establishment of Hannahville's Day School. And, with those Indians living as squatters on private lands, the school was probably operating in a mission building, presumably a log church.

No average attendance records are available for 1882 as the Hannahville Day School broke up after only seven months operation due to a small pox epidemic.[9]

It appears that Marksman was assisted by a native teacher from Canada at that time. In many of the Methodist missions in Michigan, more than one missionary attended to parish needs. Marksman was 64 years old when he was sent to Menominee county and it is assumed that with the many needs attendant to the establishment of a church, school, and home at a new mission, the assistant was the native teacher.

The Hannahville Potawatomi were without a school in 1883 (Table 2, page 92)[10] but Edward P. Allen, Agent, reported on September 9, 1884, that

> "...I have repaired seven school-houses and established three new schools, viz: at Munising and Iroquois Point, on Lake Superior, and at Hannahville, in Menominee County..."[11]

Eleven schools were maintained in 1884 (Table 3, page 93). The Hannahville Day School, in this first year of operation following the smallpox epidemic, reflects the loss of school age children in their attendance figures. Out of a school that could accommodate thirty, twenty-one children attended school one months or more during that year with an average daily attendance of eighteen. In 1882, forty-two students attended school one month or more during the year. It appears the school population was cut in half by the epidemic. The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1884 reflected contractual services with the Methodist mission as the cost to the Federal government for the six months' operation of the Hannahville Day School amounted to $378. The religious societies did not report their cost of the mission school operations in Michigan for that year.

Agent Allen discussed the hiring of teachers in the 1884 report with

> "...In all the schools I have religious teachers who make the moral advancement of the children a special work by my directions. This instruction is general and not sectarian, and in most of the settlements the work of the teachers constitutes all the religious care these people have. They are isolated and too poor to pay anything either for schools or preaching..."[12]

This report appears to sustain the assumption that the Hannahville Potawatomi, in those early years as refugees, were furnished educational facilities through the efforts of the Marksmans. Establishing schools did not necessarily mean the building of schools in that the 1886 Annual

TABLE 2

DESCRIPTION OF MICHIGAN INDIAN DAY SCHOOLS
1883

Name of Agency and School	Number who can be accommodated in schools		Number attending one month or more during year		Average Attendance	Largest Average Monthly Attendance	# Months School Operated	Cost in $ of Maintaining Schools	
	Boarding	Day	Boarding	Day				To Government	To religious Societies
MACKINAC AGENCY									
L'Anse Day		35		16	12	14	10	500	
Middle Village Day		30		27	10	14	5	500	
Sugar Island Day		50		28	6	27	7	500	
Longwood Day		38		29	16	19	10	500	
Nepissing Day		40		46	28	32	9	500	$3,600
Naubetung Day		40		26	20	24	10	500	
High Island Day		50		26	10	14	9	500	
Otchippewa Day and Orphan Boarding	15	25	15	25	32	32	10	400	

SOURCE: Adapted from "Statistics of Indian Schools", pp. 250-251, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1883

TABLE 3

DESCRIPTION OF MICHIGAN INDIAN DAY SCHOOLS
1884

Name of Agency and School	Number who can be accommodated in schools		Number attending one month or more during year		Average Attendance	Largest Average Monthly Attendance	# Months School Operated	Cost in $ of Maintaining Schools	
	Boarding	Day	Boarding	Day				To Government	To Religious Societies
MACKINAC AGENCY									
Munissing Day		21		21	12	13	5	125	No Cost Reported
Neppessing Day		30		21	9	12	9	400	
High Island Day		50		30	20	27	9	426	
Long Wood Day		20		25	16	19	10	400	
Naubetung Day		45		33	16	18	9	400	
Baraga Day		40		40	30	32	10	473	
Middle Village Day		30		29	13	16	10	443	
Sugar Island Day		40		31	17	26	10	576	
Hannahville Day		30		21	18	20	6	378	
L'Anse Day		20		45	16	20	9	320	
Iroquois Point Day		20		28	18	18	½	16	

SOURCE: Adapted from "Statistics of Indian Schools", pp. 272-73, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1884

Report of Michigan Agent Mark W. Stevens inventories all agency buildings and there is no listing of any building belonging to the Federal government as the Hannahville Day School.[13] Agent Stevens comments that "other buildings owned by individuals or Indians are used for Government purposes."[14]

The isolation of Hannahville, their refugee status, and their poverty, along with the practice of the Mackinac Agency to hire religious teachers leads to the assumption that Peter and Hannah Marksman, when the Hannahville Day School reopened in 1884, served both as preachers and teachers.

Agent Allen's 1885 Annual Report stated

> "During the year eleven schools have been maintained with an average attendance but little below that of white schools in country neighborhoods. Because of the small salaries paid, it has been my plan to engage as teachers the wives and daughters of those who are sent by religious denominations as missionary preachers among the people, if competent, save one school, where, the Indians being Catholics, I have employed a Catholic lady as teacher. Of course but a limited number of the total have thus been reached, but the schools are, for the most part, where, but for them, there would be no educational facilities..."[15]

In the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1885, Indian School Superintendent John H. Oberly reported no expenditures for subsistence, fuel, school materials, etc., for Hannahville Day School (Table 4, page 95) but the salary of one employee is given as $400.[16] In the same Annual Report, Oberly shows the total cost of the operation by the Federal government of the Hannahville school for the fiscal year, including the salary of one employee, was $400 (Table 5, page 96).[17] It appears that the Hannahville Day School, a mission supported school, was subsidized by the Federal government during 1884-1885 in the amount of $400, all of which went for the teacher's salary. It

TABLE 4

REPORT OF MICHIGAN DAY SCHOOLS

1885

Name of Agency and School	How Supported *	Average Number of Pupils**	Number of Employees	Expenditures in Dollars for		
				Employees***	Subsistence, fuel, school materials etc.	Total
MACKINAC AGENCY						
Baraga School	G	36	1	400		400
Hannahville	G	20	1	400		400
High Island	G	12	1	400		400
Iroquois Point	G	12	1	326		326
L'Anse School	G	17	1	400		400
Longwood School	G	12	1	600		600
Middle Village	G	15	1	333		333
Munissing	G	16	1	400		400
Naubetung	G	10	1	400		400
Nepissing	G	7	1	376		376
Sugar Island	G	13	1	324		324

SOURCE: Adapted from "Report of Indian School Superintendent" pp. CCVIII and CCIX, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1885

* G - Government

** rounded to nearest whole number

*** rounded to nearest dollar

TABLE 5

COST OF MICHIGAN CONTRACT DAY SCHOOLS

1885

Government Supported Day Schools	Capacity of School	Number of Employees	Largest Number Attendance	Average Attendance	Number of Months in Session	Total Cost to Government in Dollars	Cost per capita per Month in Dollars
Baraga	40	1	57	36.20	10	400	1.10
Hannahville	40	1	28	19.60	10	400	2.04
High Island	50	1	24	12.33	6	400	5.41
Iroquois Point	75	1	30	12.21	10	326	2.67
L'Anse	45	1	37	16.78	9	400	2.65
Longwood	20	1	21	12.87	10	600	4.66
Middle Village	36	1	33	15.41	9	333	2.40
Munissing	40	1	18	16.20	10	400	2.47
Naubetung	45	1	22	10.00	10	400	4.00
Nepissing	30	1	19	6.50	10	376	5.79
Sugar Island	40	1	30	13.33	9	333	2.70

SOURCE: Adapted from Report of Indian School Superintendent, pp. CXCIV,CXCV, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1885

is assumed that Agent Allen engaged one of the Marksman's for this salary.

During the fiscal year 1885-1886, ten schools were in session for the Indians in Michigan and the following gives the average daily attendance of the children based on the first and second quarters of 1886:

School	Average Daily Attendance
Longwood	11
Neppising	6
Naubetung	8
L'Anse	17
Baraga	27
Munising	11
Iroquois Point	4
Sugar Island	11
Hannahville	12
Middle Village	13

[18]

The Longwood, Middle Village, Sugar Island, L'Anse, L'Anse-Baraga and Vieux de Sert school buildings were owned by the government. Neppising, Naubetung, Munising, Iroquois Point and Hannahville schools and the land on which they stood were not owned by the government.[19] These buildings were either owned by individuals or by the Indians and used by government school purposes.[20]

Iroquois Point, Sugar Island, Hannahville, and Middle Village schools were located on lands originally embraced in the treaty of 1855 with the Ottawa and Chippewa.[21]

The decision to close some of the all-Indian day schools in Michigan supported by the Federal government came in Agent Mark W. Stevens' report for 1886. Stevens decided the schools at Neppising and Naubetung were not profitable and did not warrant the expenditure necessary

to maintain them, for the reason that within a half mile of each school there were public schools in which all the children could be accommodated.[22] Stevens stated "The attendance having been so small in the Indian schools, not a sufficient interest was manifested by the Indians."[23]

The Michigan Agency report, however, conflicts with the 1886 Report of the Indian School Superintendent in the numbers of children attending, although within narrow margins (Table 6, page 99).

The Annual Report of the Indian School Superintendent erred in tabulating expenditures by the Federal government for Day Schools by placing the Hannahville Day School expenditures in with expenditures for Indian Reservation Day Schools,[24] (Table 7, page 100). The Hannahville Potawatomi were not a reservation group.

The 1886 report listed Peter Marksman, for the first time, as an employee of the Mackinac Agency as a day-school teacher. His term of service commenced July 1, 1885, and terminated June 30, 1886,[26] (Table 8, page 101). Inasmuch as the Marksman's were in residence as missionaries to the Hannahville Potawatomi, it is assumed his contract was for teaching at the Hannahville Day School.

Agent Stevens affected still more closing of the day schools. In his 1887 Annual Report, he stated

> "During the year 1886 there were 8 schools in session at the following places: Isabella, Middle Village, Sugar Island, Iroquois Point, Munising, L'Anse, Baraga, and Hannahville.
>
> The attendance at all of them except Baraga, L'Anse, Middle Village and Iroquois Point were small and not sufficient to warrant their continuance any longer.
>
> During the present fiscal year schools will be maintained at Baraga, L'Anse, Middle Village, and Iroquois Point."[27]

A trend is noted toward gathering the Indian children into boarding schools by Agent Stevens'

TABLE 6

COST OF MICHIGAN CONTRACT DAY SCHOOLS
1886

Government Supported Day Schools	Capacity of School	Number of Employees	Largest Number Attendance	Average Attendance	Number of Months in Session	Total Cost to Government in Dollars	Cost per capita per Month in Dollars
Baraga	40	1	42	29	10	400	1.38
Hannahville	40	1	25	14	10	400	2.86
Iroquois Point	50	1	5	2	6	266	22.19
L'Anse	40	1	37	15	12	385	2.14
Longwood	20	1	19	12	10	400	3.33
Middle Village	40	1	33	18	10	400	2.22
Munissing	40	1	18	13	10	400	3.08
Naubetung	40	1	16	8	10	400	5.00
Nepissing	30	1	11	6	10	400	6.67
Sugar Island	40	1	18	10	9	400	4.44

SOURCE: Adapted from "Report of Indian School Superintendent," pp. XCIV, XCV, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1886

TABLE 7

COST OF RESERVATION DAY SCHOOLS

1886

Agency and School	Expenditures for		
	Employees in Dollars	Subsistence, fuel, school materials, ets. in Dollars	Total Dollars
MACKINAC AGENCY			
Baraga	400.00	-0-	400.00
Hannahville	400.00	-0-	400.00
Iroquois Point	266.30	-0-	266.30
L'Anse	384.78	-0-	384.78
Longwood	400.00	-0-	400.00
Middle Village	400.00	-0-	400.00
Munissing	400.00	-0-	400.00
Naubetung	400.00	-0-	400.00
Nepissing	400.00	-0-	400.00
Sugar Island	400.00	-0-	400.00

SOURCE: Adapted from "Report of the Indian School Superintendent," p. CVI, Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1886

TABLE 8

MACKINAC AGENCY DAY SCHOOL TEACHERS
1886

Name	Commenced Service	Ended Service	Salary
Mary Sylvester	7/1/1885	6/30/1886	$ 400
Peter Marksman	7/1/1885	6/30/1886	400
Walter M. Hewitt	11/1/1885	6/30/1886	266
Joseph Allison	7/1/1885	6/30/1886	384
Helen F. Snider	7/1/1885	6/30/1886	400
Sarah A. Miller	7/1/1885	6/30/1886	400
Thomas Nahbenayash	7/1/1885	6/30/1886	400
Harriet Robinson	7/1/1885	6/30/1886	400
Herbert S. Taft	7/1/1885	6/30/1886	400
Thomas F. Williams	7/1/1885	6/30/1886	400

SOURCE: Adapted from "Report of the Indian School Superintendent," pp. CXXIV, Table E, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1886

statement

> "It is impossible to maintain day schools, for the reason that the Indians are so scattered, but few settlements containing a sufficient number of children to maintain a profitable school..."[28]

The cost per capita of operating the Day Schools for the fiscal year 1886-1887 is shown in Table 9, page 103. The schools that Agent Stevens kept open reflected a smaller cost per capita per month which perhaps had more bearing on the question of maintaining schools than did that of scattered settlements. According to Agent Stevens, he had conferred with many of the Indians in regard to an industrial and training school, and "with one accord they all think favorable of it. I believe if such a school were established in this agency from 300 to 500 Indian children would attend.[29]

About one thousand children of school age were in the Michigan Agency with less than one hundred fifty attending government schools.[30] A portion of them attended the public schools where there was the opportunity, but a large number of them did not attend public schools as few lived in areas where they could attend.[31]

Over six thousand Michigan Indians did not live on reservations in 1887 and, according to Agent Stevens

> "It is only upon reservations that day schools can be made profitable for the reason that the agent makes frequent visits among the Indians on the reservations and has an opportunity to assist in maintaining an interest in the schools."[32]

Agent Stevens complained that he could not visit the schools off the reservations

> "more than once or twice a year, and then for only a limited space of time and he does not become personally acquainted with the Indians and can do little in awakening them to the necessity of an education..."[33]

TABLE 9

DAY SCHOOL COST PER CAPITA
1887

Schools Open		Schools Closed	
School	Attendance	School	Attendance
Baraga	57%	Hannahville	47%
Iroquois Point	48%	Longwood	56%
L'Anse Day	40%	Munissing	41%
Middle Village	65%	Sugar Island	36%
Cost per Capita		**Cost per Capita**	
Baraga	$ 1.48	Hannahville	$ 4.44
Iroquois Point	3.08	Longwood	5.56
L'Anse Day	2.22	Munissing	4.44
Middle Village	2.67	Sugar Island	5.00

SOURCE: Adapted from the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1887

Peter Marksman was employed, at the age of 72, as the teacher at the Hannahville Day School for the term of July 1, 1886, to June 30, 1887, at which time the school closed.[34]

By 1890, only two day schools remained in operation by the Federal government in Michigan, one being situated at Baraga serving fifteen students, and the other at L'Anse serving twelve students.[35]

Two boarding schools were operating by 1890. The Chippewa Boarding school at Baraga operated under contract serving forty-two students and the Harbor Springs Boarding School operated under contract serving ninety-three students.[36]

Summary

Educational services were first offered to the Hannahville Potawatomi children in 1882 and it is assumed that the Methodist church in Michigan operated that first educational institution by sending Peter Marksman, a Methodist missionary, to minister to the group.

A day school was first mentioned operating at Hannahville in the 1882 Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Since the Hannahville Potawatomi were living as squatters on private lands, their day school is assumed to have operated in a mission building, probably the church. In the early years, Methodist missions had several schools operating for Indian students in Michigan and it was a common practice to teach and preach in the same building.

It was also common practice for Indian Agents to engage wives or daughters of missionaries as teachers. But changes in Indian Agents brought changes in methods and the Agent Reports appear to have carried considerable weight in decisions regarding Indian education. For some Agents, whether or not a school was profitable was

important and the cost per capita per month became a criterion in determining whether or not a school would remain open and subsidized by the federal government.

The Hannahville Day School appears to have been under the direct control of Peter Marksman as teacher during the years 1885-1887. In 1888, Marksman retired from mission work and returned to L'Anse. The Hannahville Day School closed on June 20, 1887, and there is probably a relationship between the decision to close the school and the retirement of the Marksman's as conditions of poverty and the lack of a land base would have prevented the Hannahville Potawatomi from providing educational facilities on their own initiative.

By 1889, the concept of the Indian boarding school replaced the day school concept for education of Michigan Indians and by 1890, only two day schools remained in operation.

The Hannahville Day School, however, was the first educational facility offered the Hannahville Potawatomi on a non-reservation basis and was a mission-contract-day school supported jointly by the Methodist Church and the Federal government. It is assumed that the school emerged solely through attention focused on the Hannahville Potawatomi by the Marksman ministry.

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16) Ibid., pp. CCVII and CCIX, Table D

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22) Ibid.

23) Ibid.

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25) Ibid., p. CXXIV, Table E

26) Ibid.

27) Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1887 (Washington, D.C.) p. 125

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36) Ibid.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF HANNAHVILLE

Introduction

The 1970 United States Census shows there are 16,012 Indians residing in Michigan but the census underestimated the size of the Indian population. A 1973 survey conducted by the Michigan Commission on Indian Affairs estimated the resident Indian population of Michigan at closer to 30,000.[1]

A little over one-third of Michigan Indians live in rural areas. The total population of the Hannahville Indian Community lives in a rural area.[2]

This chapter will focus on the socio-economic status of the Hannahville Indian Community and make comparisons between that Community and the over-all status of Indians in Michigan as reported in the 1970 census.

Population Statistics

The Hannahville Indian Community is located in Menominee County, Michigan, and the 1970 United States census shows the following population distribution for that County as [3]

White	24,400	Other:	Negro	4
Other	187		Indian	159
			Japanese	5
Total	24,587		Filipino	11
			Chinese	1
			All Other	7
				187

The Michigan Commission on Indian Affairs 1972-1973 Indian Population Survey, by actual head count, found the Indian population of Menominee County to be 364,[4] or .0148% of the county's total population as opposed to .0064% of the county's total population as

reported in the 1970 federal census.

Data on Hannahville Indian Community residents, as reported in this study, was prepared from the Bureau of Indian Affairs "Report of Labor Force, Employment, and Unemployment" and the accuracy of the data is evaluated and approved by the Superintendent of the Great Lakes Agency, Minneapolis Area, under which the Hannahville Indian Community is supervised through the regional agency at Ashland, Wisconsin. Accuracy ratings for the data are evaluated in each report and, in the case of the Hannahville Indian Community, the accuracy ratings are high. The data are the official data for the Community in the area of population statistics.

Table 10, page 110, illustrates the male/female population characteristics of the Hannahville Indian Community, 1965-1975, for enrolled members living within the reservation as well as for enrolled members living adjacent to the reservation.

According to the 1970 Federal census, 45% of all rural Michigan Indians were under the age of 18 at the time the census was taken.[5] In 1970, 51% of the youth at Hannahville were under 16 years of age, as shown in Table 11, page 111, "Percentage of Youth to Adult Population." In 1970, there were 13% of the youth at Hannahville in the age bracket 16-19 based on a total population of 158 (Table 12, page 112, "Working Age Population Distribution").

Combining the under 16 years of age population of 81 persons with the 16-19 population of 21 persons, for a total of 104, results in 66% of the Hannahville Indian Community residents being under age 20 in 1970.

The 1970 Federal census data indicated a large increase in Michigan's Indian population between the 1960-1970 census, an increase from 9,701 to 16,854, reflecting a 42% growth in Indian population during that decade.[6]

TABLE 10

HANNAHVILLE INDIAN COMMUNITY POPULATION

Date		Male	Female	Total	%Male	%Female	T%
9/65	WR*	103	70		58%	39%	
	AR*	4	2	179	.02%	.01%	100%
3/66	WR	89	60		57%	39%	
	AR	4	2	155	.03%	.01%	100%
9/66	WR	80	46		57%	33%	
	AR	5	9	140	.04%	.06%	100%
3/67	WR	82	46		58%	32%	
	AR	5	9	142	.04%	.06%	100%
9/67	WR	80	52		55%	36%	
	AR	6	8	146	.04%	.05%	100%
3/68	WR	70	42		52%	32%	
	AR	11	11	134	.08%	.08%	100%
9/68	WR	75	45		55%	32%	
	AR	9	10	139	.06%	.07%	100%
3/69	WR	72	53		53%	40%	
	AR	4	6	135	.03%	.04%	100%
3/70	WR	77	52		49%	33%	
	AR	14	15	158	.09%	.09%	100%
3/71	WR	74	72		43%	41%	
	AR	16	12	174	.09%	.07%	100%
3/72	WR	74	57		47%	36%	
	AR	16	12	159	10%	.07%	100%
3/73	WR	87	70		47%	38%	
	AR	16	12	185	.09%	.06%	100%
4/75	WR	109	86		48%	38%	
	AR	17	13	225	.08%	.06%	100%

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs "Report of Labor Force, Employment, and Unemployment"

*WR - Within Reservation AR - Adjacent to Reservation

TABLE 11

PERCENTAGE OF YOUTH TO ADULT POPULATION

Date	Youth	Adult	Total	%Youth	%Adult	%Total
9/65*	92	87	179	51%	49%	100%
3/66	69	86	155	45%	55%	100%
9/66**	68	72	140	49%	51%	100%
3/67	80	62	142	56%	44%	100%
9/67	83	63	146	57%	43%	100%
3/68	72	62	134	54%	46%	100%
9/68	74	65	139	53%	47%	100%
3/69#	69	66	135	51%	49%	100%
3/70	81	77	158	51%	49%	100%
3/71	80	94	174	46%	54%	100%
3/72	70	89	159	44%	56%	100%
3/73	87	98	185	47%	53%	100%
4/75	99	126	225	44%	56%	100%

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs "Report of Labor Force, Employment, and Unemployment"

* Under 14 years of age

** Under 16 years of age

\# Change from semi-annual reporting to yearly

TABLE 12

WORKING AGE POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

Age	14-17		18-24		25-34		35-44		45-64		65+		Total
M-F*	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Date													
3/66	16	6	12	6	4	2	5	5	12	10	4	4	86
9/66	No significant change reported												72
**	16-19		20-24										
3/67	9	5	3	2	5	3	5	6	9	9	4	2	62
9/67	10	7	2	1	4	4	7	6	8	7	4	3	63
3/68	13	4	1	2	4	3	4	6	11	6	4	4	62
9/68	13	3	5	2	5	4	2	6	11	6	3	5	65
3/69#	14	3	3	5	3	3	2	6	12	6	3	6	66
3/70	15	6	2	3	6	4	4	7	14	8	3	5	77
3/71	8	6	4	6	4	6	0	3	8	5	8	2	70
3/72	13	9	11	9	12	6	3	3	6	7	6	4	89
3/73	16	10	9	6	10	8	6	4	12	9	5	3	98
**	16-24												
	M		F										
4/75	30		21		14	11	13	7	14	9	4	3	126

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs "Report of Labor Force, Employment, and Unemployment"

*M-Male F-Female

**Indicates age change in reporting system

#Change from semi-annual reporting to yearly

From 1965 to 1975, the Hannahville Indian Community population increased from 179 to 225, or 20%. While Michigan's Indian population reflected twice the increase that Hannahville's did, 42% as opposed to 20%, it is assumed that the reservation status of the Community consists only of those members enrolled in the tribe or entitled to be enrolled in the tribe.

The Hannahville Indian Community population is a young population as shown in Table 11, page 111. For instance, since 1971, between 44% and 47% of the population has been under the age of 16 years.

The percentage of work force population increase, or decrease, by age group, is shown in Table 13, page 114. The percentage of population increase, or decrease, based on the total population is shown in Table 14, page 115.

The Labor Force

To be counted as a labor force participant by the Federal Census Bureau as well as by the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, an individual must either be employed or actively seeking work. Labor market hardship experienced by Michigan Indians is considerable and more severe than experienced by Michigan's blacks or Spanish language persons.[7] Male unemployment rate for Indians is more than 2½ times the white, 1.8 times the Latin rate, and almost 1½ times the black unemployment rate.[8] These figures do not reflect the recessionary conditions and it is assumed that the current (1975) unemployment rate among Michigan Indians is probably greater than the 13.9% 1970 unemployment rate when the overall Michigan unemployment rate was only 5.5%.[9]

There are geographic differences in unemployment and a state-wide average of 13.9% masks the fact that the unemployed are frequently concentrated in specific geographic locations. The Federal census data did not permit an examination of Indian unemployment by county

TABLE 13

WORK FORCE POPULATION INCREASE OR DECREASE

Age	14-17		18-24		25-34		35-44		45-64		65+		Total
M--F* in %	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	***
Date													
3/66	19	7	14	7	5	2	6	6	14	12	5	5	86
9/66	No significant change reported												72
**	16-19		20-24										
3/67	15	8	5	3	8	5	8	10	15	15	6	3	62
9/67	16	11	3	2	6	6	11	9	13	11	6	5	63
3/68	21	6	2	3	6	5	6	10	18	10	6	6	62
9/68	20	5	8	3	8	6	3	9	17	9	5	8	65
3/69#	21	5	5	8	5	5	3	10	18	9	5	9	66
3/70	19	8	3	4	8	5	5	10	18	10	4	6	77
3/71	11	9	6	9	6	9	0	4	11	7	11	3	70
3/72	15	10	12	10	13	7	3	3	7	8	7	5	89
3/73	16	10	9	6	10	8	6	4	12	9	5	3	98
**	16-24												
	M	F											
4/75	24	17			11	9	10	6	11	7	3	2	126

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs "Report of Labor Force, Employment, and Unemployment"

* M-Male F-Female

** Indicates age change in reporting system

*** M-F Work Force Population not stated in percentage

\# Change from semi-annual reporting to yearly

Note: Percentage total may exceed 100%

TABLE 14

POPULATION INCREASE OR DECREASE

Date	Total Population	Percent Increase	Percent Decrease
9/65	179		
3/66	155		-15%
9/66	140		-11%
3/67	142	+ 1%	
9/67	146	+ 3%	
3/68	134		- 9%
9/68	139	+ 4%	
3/69#	135		- 3%
3/70	158	+15%	
3/71	174	+ 9%	
3/72	159		- 9%
3/73	185	+14%	
4/75	225	+18%	

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs "Report of Labor Force, Employment, and Unemployment"

#Change from semi-annual reporting to yearly

but it did examine the differences between the urban-rural unemployment overall and found the rural Indians experienced unemployment rates of 17.2% in the 1970 period of 5.5% overall Michigan unemployment and the urban Indians experience unemployment rates of 12.5% in the 5.5% period of overall Michigan unemployment.[10]

Table 12, page 112, shows, in general, that up until 1971 the available labor force at Hannahville was concentrated in the 16-19 age group and in the 45-64 age group. The available labor force in 1972 extended over a 16-34 age group and for the 1973 period extended over the 16-34 and 45-64 age groups. In 1975, the available labor force was highest in the 16-24 group but remained rather evenly distributed in the other age population groups.

Labor force status of the employed, showing the percentage of those holding permanent or temporary jobs, is shown in Table 15, page 117. In the years from 1965 through 1973, more Hannahville Indian Community residents held temporary jobs than held permanent jobs. Out of a total employed of 159, 69 (43%) held permanent employment and 90 (57%) were temporarily temployed.

The resident Indian population of working age is shown in Table 16, page 118,with the data broken down into male and female labor force participation. Table 17, page 119, also shows resident Indian population of working age of the Hannahville Indian Community but the data is broken down into male/female employed/unemployed catagories.

Among rural Michigan Indians, females experienced lower rates of unemployment than males, 14% for the female versus 17.2% for the male.[11] The reverse of that trend, however, is found in the Hannahville labor force data. With the exception of 1970, unemployment rates of female Hannahville residents continued to be higher than the male. This suggests manpower planners could focus

TABLE 15
EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Date	Total Employed	Permanent Employed	% of Total	Temporary Employed	% of Total
9/65	5	0	0%	5	100%
3/66	8	0	0%	8	100%
9/66	14	0	0%	14	100%
3/67	13	8	62%	5	38%
9/67	18	10	56%	8	44%
3/68	15	9	60%	6	40%
9/68	13	8	62%	5	38%
3/69#	16	6	38%	10	62%
3/70	15	8	53%	7	47%
3/71	11	1	.09%	10	91%
3/72	10	2	20%	8	80%
3/73	21	17	81%	4	19%
4/75	Data not available				

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Report of Labor Force, Employment, and Unemployment"

#Change from semi-annual reporting to yearly

Notes and Comments:

9/66 Seven of the temporary under Title V Office of Economic Opportunity Work Experience Program

9/67 Ten of the temporary under Title V OEO

3/69 Ten of the temporary worked at cutting evergreen boughs

TABLE 16

LABOR FORCE DATA

Date	Resident Indian Population of Working Age								
	Not in Labor Force			In Labor Force			Total		Total
	M*	F	T**	M	F	T	M	F	
9/65	16	26	42	35	10	45	51	36	87
3/66	18	23	41	35	10	45	53	33	86
9/66	16	23	39	29	4	33	45	27	72
3/67	14	23	37	21	4	25	35	27	62
9/67	15	19	34	20	9	29	35	28	63
3/68	16	17	33	21	8	29	37	25	62
9/68	12	19	31	27	7	34	39	26	65
3/69#	12	22	34	25	7	32	37	29	66
3/70	17	26	43	27	7	34	44	33	77
3/71	6	14	20	38	36	74	44	50	94
3/72	12	24	36	39	14	53	51	38	89
3/73	16	26	42	42	14	56	58	40	98
4/75	18	23	41	57	28	85	75	51	126

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Report of Labor Force, Employment, and Unemployment"

#Change from semi-annual reporting to yearly

*M - Male F - Female

**Total

TABLE 17

LABOR FORCE DATA

Date	Resident Indian Population of Working Age										
	Employed			Unemployed			Percentage U***		Percentage E***		Total U%
	M*	F	T**	M	F	T	M	F	M	F	
9/65	5	0	5	30	10	40	14%	-	86%	100%	88%
3/66	8	0	8	27	10	37	23%	-	77%	100%	82%
9/66	13	1	14	16	3	19	45%	25%	55%	75%	58%
3/67	12	1	13	9	3	12	57%	25%	43%	75%	48%
9/67	16	2	18	4	7	11	80%	22%	20%	78%	38%
3/68	13	2	15	8	6	14	62%	25%	38%	75%	48%
9/68	13	0	13	14	7	21	48%	-	52%	100%	62%
3/69#	15	1	16	10	6	16	60%	14%	40%	86%	50%
3/70	11	4	15	16	3	19	41%	57%	59%	43%	56%
3/71	9	2	11	29	34	63	24%	6%	76%	94%	85%
3/72	8	2	10	31	12	43	21%	14%	79%	86%	81%
3/73	16	5	21	26	9	35	38%	36%	62%	64%	63%
4/75	24	9	33	33	19	52	42%	32%	58%	68%	61%

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Report of Labor Force, Employment, and Unemployment"

*M - Male F - Female

**Total

***U - Unemployed E - Employed

#Change from semi-annual reporting to yearly

on a specific segment of Indian society to determine whether or not there might be a need for programs designed to assist a specific group within a specific population. For example, re-entry programs might assist the women at the Hannahville Indian Community in lowering their rate of unemployment.

Indians do have what is considered "hidden unemployment." Those unemployed Indians who have given up looking for work are not counted as labor force participants, yet the need for assistance is as great and the measured unemployment badly underestimates true unemployment in those instances. The low participation rate among rural Indians suggests this may be the case.[12]

The 1970 Federal census revealed that no racial group in Michigan had as high a percentage of poor families as did the rural Indians.[13] The distribution of families below poverty level was

All Indians	17.7
Urban Indians	16.2
Rural Indians	21.1
Whites	6.0
Blacks	19.2
Spanish language	9.6

[14]

The poverty line in the 1970 Federal census was $3,743 for an urban family of four and $3,195 for a rural family of four.[15] Income figures for the year 1975 for the Hannahville Indian Community shows:

Employed Earning $5,000+	12 (9 Male (75%) 3 Female (25%))
Employed Under $5,000	21 (15 Male (71%) 6 Female (29%))
	33 (24 Male (73%) 9 Female (27%)) [16]

Women constituted 27% of the employed work force and 33% earned $5,000 or more while 66% earned under $5,000. Men constituted 73% of the employed work force and 38% earned $5,000 or more while 62% earned under $5,000. These figures indicate a low earning power of both

men and women in the Hannahville Indian Community.

Due to the high rate of unemployment during the past decade, it is probable that a high percentage of the Hannahville Indian Community families have received public assistance of some form and probably higher than the 13.7% shown in the 1970 census for all Michigan Indians and higher than the 15.0% of Michigan's rural Indians.[17]

Health

The Hannahville Indian Community health services are through the Indian Health Service, Aberdeen Area, with Rhinelander, Wisconsin, the Service Unit and Agency for Hannahville. Contractual health services are provided in liason with the Michigan Intertribal Council. Contractual services are necessary as the Indian Health Service, an agency under the direction of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Public Health Service, does not provide any facility for in-patient or out-patient service to cover the Hannahville Indian Community.

The Community uses the services of a contractual physician in Escanaba, Michigan, and contractual services with a hospital in Escanaba to provide in-patient facilities. As far as any other medical services, including eye and dental, the Indians may choose any doctor and the fee is handled through the Rhinelander office.[19]

There are two Community Health representatives on the reservation, tribal employees hired through the Michigan Intertribal Council who help carry out health programs. Their salaries are paid through the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Training is given the Health Representatives through a special program at Michigan State University at East Lansing, Michigan. The Representatives are responsible

for reporting to the Rhinelander office on matters of health at Hannahville as well as follow-up on all medical, mental, and physical services for the community members.[20]

Since 1964, Otitis media has ranked as the number one reportable disease among Indians. The disease, inflammation of the middle ear, decreased in case load for the Aberdeen Area, but remained in first place for reportable diseases of the Hannahville Indian Community. The disease is recognized as one of the most serious health problems and, as with many infectious diseases, there is a strong relationship between Otitis media and impoverished living conditions. Crowded housing aids to the rapid spread of upper respiratory tract infections. Inadequate sanitary facilities and sub-standard diets are apparent in the increase of the susceptibility of people to infectious diseases.[21]

There were 182 cases of the most grequently reported notifiable diseases for the 1973 population of 185 at the Hannahville Indian Community as follows:

Otitis Media	88 cases	48% of population
Strep Throat	59 cases	32% of population
Gastroenteritis	27 cases	15% of population
Mumps	2 cases	1% of population
Influenza	2 cases	1% of population
Pneumonia	2 cases	1% of population
Rubella	1 case	1% of population

[22]

The Hannahville Indian Community had 1.3 times more disease incidence than population in 1973.[23]

Summary

The Hannahville Indian Community is a young population with between 44% and 47%, since 1971, being under the age of 16 years. Population does not fluctuate to any great extent on the reservation due to the enrolled status of the Community members.

Labor force data suggests that more residents in the Hannahville Indian Community hold temporary jobs than hold permanent jobs. The percentage of unemployment in the Community has remained high for the last decade, ranging from a high of 86% unemployed males in 1965 to 43% in 1975 and ranging from a high of 100% for females in 1965 to 68% in 1975. Combined unemployment figures, male and female, show unemployment ranged from 88% in 1965 to a low of 38% in 1967 and to 61% in 1975.

No racial group in Michigan has a higher percent of poverty level families than do the rural Indians. Income data for 1975 reveals that out of 33 employed from the Hannahville Indian Community, only 12 earned $5,000 or more.

It is assumed that due to the high rate of unemployment and the low earnings of the employed, many Community members have received public assistance in some form.

There is a relationship between health and poverty and a strong relationship between Otitis media, middle ear infection, and impoverished living conditions. Crowded housing aids in the rapid spread of upper respiratory tract infections. Inadequate sanitary facilities and sub-standard diets are apparent in the increase of the susceptibility of people to infectious diseases.

In the Hannahville Community, 48% of the population was affected by Otitis media in 1973, 32% with strep throat, and 15% with gastroenteritis (diarrhea-type infections). Poverty is more than a condition of an isolated individual or isolated group. Many peoples throughout the world and throughout history have existed in conditions of great hardship and misery but poverty is a relationship among groups within a society. The majority of those people who are defined as Indians are also defined as poor.[24]

The poor are no longer targets of charity; they are targets of programs.[25] While self-determination is

a necessary prerequisite for progress or betterment of present conditions, the endless years of dependency make the transition painful and difficult.[26] The concept of self-determination is complex, for to some it may mean the strengthening or rebirth of original cultures and for others, Westernization, or a combination of the two. However,

> "the present conditions of reservation Indians are generally so desperate that this issue is almost secondary to immediate aid in health and education as well as employment..."[27]

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NOTE ON LABOR FORCE DATA:

Years 1965 through March 1967	No form number
April 1967 form revised	"Form 5-1521, April 1967"
September 1970 form number crossed out to read	"Form 2119 April 1967"
1972 through September 1973 form number returned to read	"Form 5-1521, April 1967
Form "Rev." on 1975 report	

CHAPTER VII

HANNAHVILLE SELF-DETERMINATION MOVEMENT

Introduction

The current federal policy of self-determination for tribes and Indian citizens has been in full force since 1974.[1] President Nixon's special Message to Congress on July 8, 1970, regarding Indian affairs, established future Federal Indian policy.[2]

In the past, the Bureau of Indian Affairs had directed the affairs of the tribes. Starting with the 1970's, the official policy of the Bureau was to be that of advising and assisting tribes as they assume the administration of their own affairs, if, when, and as soon as they wished to do so.[3] According to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Morris Thompson

> "Most of all, we seek the involvement of Indian people themselves every step of the way. Self-determination can be many things to many groups. It is complicated, but it is not mysterious." [4]

The key word in self-determination is "involvement" and this chapter presents information on the involvement of the Hannahville Indian Community in the self-determination thrust.

Philosophy of Self-Determination

Almost one-third of the total Bureau of Indian Affairs budget and one-third of its employees are involved in education programs. According to the Bureau,

> "The most important resource we have is our Indian youth; understandably, education is among the top BIA priorities."[5]

Bureau Commissioner Thompson, in a recent statement, advocated parental involvement with

> "We are convinced of what Indian educators have learned over the years: the vital ingredient in

> a child's school progress is the continued interest of his parents. Without parental involvement, the most carefully conceived and executed educational program is mostly wasted effort. With this in mind, we insist that every project, particularly in the primary and intermediate grades, be structured to get parents involved and keep them involved." [6]

In 1774, the Commissioners of the government of Virginia offered to educate six sons of the chiefs of the Six Nations. The chiefs replied to the offer with

> "Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the colleges of the Northern Provinces; they were instructed in all your science; but when they came back to us, they were bad runners; ignorant of the every means of living in the woods; unable to bear either cold or hunger; knew neither how to buid a cabin, take a deer, or kill an enemy; spoke our language imperfectly; were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors, or counselors; they were totally good for nothing. We are, however, not the less obliged by your kind offer, though we decline accepting it; and to show our grateful sense of it, if the gentlemen of Virginia will send us a dozen of their sons, we will take great care of their education, instruct them in all we know, and make men of them."[7]

In recent history, however, the dominant culture of the United States did not allow Native Americans such privileges attendant to educating their young as the Indian was forcibly instructed in the ways of an alien culture by the agents of the alien culture.[8]

After Indians were removed west of the Mississippi, the Federal government was faced with three courses they could follow in their subsequent relations with the tribes. They could exterminate the Indians; they could allow them self-determination, or they could attempt to assimilate them. Extermination was too drastic; self-determination would admit the inherent worth of the Indian cultures[9] and, therefore, with minor exceptions, Indian education took on the primary task of transmitting white American education, little altered, to the Indian child, as a one-way process.[10]

The schools, as American institutions, were imposed by and controlled by the non-Indian society; its pedagogy and curriculum little changed for the Indian children; its goals primarily aimed at removing the child from his aboriginal culture and assimilating him into the dominant white culture; and whether coercive or persuasive, this assimilationist goal of schooling was minimally effective with Indian children.[11]

The schools were "agents of a superior civilization to an inferior one" and viewed the tribal cultures with which they came in contact as being savage and, therefore, deserving of extinction; and most viewed all Indians as being the same, failing to see both the subtle and not so subtle differences in tribal traditions.[12] The ultimate goal was "to make Indians into white men with white values."[13]

> "When forced to speak a foreign language (English) and punished when he didn't, compelled to study history books that down-graded Indian culture and often depicted his ancestors as bloody savages, the average Indian student, with full parental cooperation, declined to join America's melting-pot."[14]

It is against this background that the movement for self-determination in education has emerged as a dominant force in the Indian tribes.

Adams, in "Self-Determination and Indian Education," sets forth three main concepts within the self-determination movement. The first concept involves curriculum. Self-determinists argue that the curriculum in the Indian schools should reflect traditional Indian cultural values and be concerned with instilling a sense of pride in cultural heritage.[15]

The second concept involves the community participation in the schools. Indian schools should be responsive to the needs of the surrounding community; and where possible, the community should take an active part in the school program; and Indian parents must

feel that the school is their school and not that of an alien culture unwilling to listen to their concerns.[16]

The third concept advocates that Indian schools should be run by Indians. White the ultimate goal is to penetrate the administrative levels of the schools with Indians, the immediate objective is to staff the schools with qualified Indian teachers.[17] The focus of power must clearly be in Indian hands, otherwise to talk of self-determination is a sham.[18]

The goals today are to enlarge the area of choice and self-determination of Indian people and to respect the value of cultural diversity.[19] At the American Indian Chicago Conference in 1961, the aims of Indian education were stated by:

> "We conceive education not only in terms of classroom teaching, but a process which begins at birth and continues through a life span. Of all the studies, surveys, and research made of Indians, the inevitable conclusions and recommendations are that education is the key to salvation or whatever ills may be, wherever Indians reside."[20]

The Declaration of Indian Purpose of that Conference read:

> "In order to give recognition to certain basic philosophies by which the Indian people live, we, the Indian People, must be governed by principles in a democratic manner with the right to choose our way of life. Since our Indian culture is threatened by presumption of being absorbed by the American society, we believe we have the responsibility of preserving our previous heritage. We believe that the Indians must provide the adjustment and thus freely advance with dignity to a better life."[21]

The Indian tribes are providing the adjustments by re-evaluation of the aims and goals of education in terms of the Indian value structure in order to improve the quality of education to their children.

Self-Determination in Education

In a meeting called by Hannahville Indian Community Tribal Council Chairman Joseph Sagata[illegible], in November, 1964, steps were taken to obtain a Federal grant to combat poverty on the reservation. The Community had no electric power, telephones, running water, indoor toilets, decent roads, and most of the adult population had little education.[22]

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 established a broad program of federal aid to economically depressed communities in forms of work-training programs, programs in education, and grants for combinations of action programs.

Community Action Committees were formed at Hannahville at the November, 1964 meeting, and by December of 1967, changes had been made in the Community which included new roads, improved housing, and "a brighter outlook on the part of the community in general."[23] A home improvement program was underway as a work-experience program and a Head Start Program was initiated with homemakers from the Community employed as teacher aides.[24]

> "The electrification project sparked many improvements in Hannahville...but more than that it has brought the people together...for the first time they were promised something and it became a reality...gave the people hope and determination."[25]

The first development in the Hannahville Indian Community towards self-determination in education occurred in 1973. The parents expressed concern about the increasing loss of Indian tradition on their reservation; traditional language and Indian handicrafts had become almost non-existent and they saw the loss of these traditional attributes as damaging to their own self image, as parents, as well as that of their children.[26]

A program was developed to meet those special

educational needs by utilizing funds available through the Johnson O'Malley Act of 1934 which provided for reimbursement to states for the education of Indian children in public schools. A tutorial and bicultural program began March 1, 1973, and continued on throughout that summer.[27] The Tribal Education Committee contacted the Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards (CICSB) seeking assistance in developing the special educational needs program. Members of CICSB's staff and members of the staff from the Ramah Navajo High School met with the Tribal Education Committee of Hannahville, the Bark-River Harris School Superintendent, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, State of Michigan officials and the Bark River-Harris School Board to discuss program development and it was agreed that the Hannahville Tribal Education Committee was most likely to develop the program to meet the needs of their students.[28]

Several sources of federal monies can be infused directly to the Indian communities for education. One source is the Johnson O'Malley Act. The Act is broad enough to permit use of federal funds for educational needs of Indian students in any place where a case can be made for such needs but they have been generally applied where Indians live on or near reservations.[29] Impact Aid is another source of funds which provides money to school districts to reduce the impact on the district from pupils who live on tax exempt lands. Impact Aid monies, from the United States Office of Education, are in lieu of taxes for pupils whose parents live on tax-exempt land or work for agencies which do not pay taxes. The federal payment is supposed to equal the current school expenditure per child in comparable school districts.[30]

Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, administered by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is another source of funds available

specifically to improve the education of children of low-income families, wherever they live and whatever their race. Since large numbers of Indian families are poor as defined by law, the school districts with Indian children receive special payment but the money is not earmarked solely for service to the Indian children.[31]

Since funding can be infused directly to the Indian communities for community schools, the Hannahville Indian Community, through the Tribal Education Committee, began working toward controlling these sources. Their first success along those educational lines was in utilizing their Johnson O'Malley funds for the tutorial and bicultural program.

A second development in self-determination at the Hannahville Indian Community was in the establishment of civil and probate courts on the reservation. In 1974, the Community won a landmark decision, establishing their right of jurisdiction over their enrolled children. They had filed suit against the Michigan Department of Social Services because of the removal from tribal jurisdiction of three Potawatomi children sent by that Department to Florida for adoption by distant non-Indian relatives.[32] The children involved were enrolled members of the tribe. Both parents died and the children were placed in foster homes with custody taken by the State of Michigan. Social workers sent the children to Florida because they believed the reservation was an unfit place to raise children.[33]

The U. S. District Court in Marquette, Michigan, determined that the Potawatomi had exclusive jurisdiction over matters involving a native tribe and individual native children, and that only a U. S. District Court action could remove the children.[34] The suit noted that Michigan had never assumed jurisdiction over civil cases involving reservation Indians and the Judge ruled

that the Potawatomi had a clear, legal jurisdiction of its enrolled children and upheld their right to set up their own court system and juvenile adoption procedures.[35]

In August, 1974, a third development occurred in the self-determination movement in education at Hannahville. A teacher-aid training program at Northern Michigan University, Marquette, was designed and staffed by Indian educators. With a grant of $448,000 made by the United States Office of Education to support the program sponsored by the Michigan Intertribal Education Association in cooperation with the Office of American Indian Programs at Northern Michigan University, fifty Indian men and women enrolled in the four-week course.[36] Workshops and field activities continued through June of 1975. Project coordinators were Robert Bailey, an Ottawa, director of American Indian Studies at NMU and Bonnie Meshigaud, from the Hannahville Indian Community.[37]

The program objectives were to train qualified American Indians in the areas of science, culture, history, math, language, arts, and counseling, as paraprofessionals, so they could assist public schools attended by Indian students from reservation areas. All who completed the training program were certified as paraprofessional teachers.[38] The goal was to teach cultural/language/arts and counsel Indian students within the context of the Indian value system orientation and the program received support from the Michigan Tribal Councils and from the National Indian Education Association.[39]

A fourth development in self-determination in education came in the grant to develop an adult education program at Hannahville through House Bill No. 4117, Michigan, an amendment to a Public Act of 1955, which concerned itself with the classification, organization, regulation, and maintenance of schools and districts in part. The amendment, effective April 4, 1975, states that

the Department of Education may develop guidelines for expanding the existing school curriculum to include materials on the culture of ethnic, religious, racial minority peoples and contributions of women as defined by the Department of Education and guidelines for grades Kindergarten through twelve in every public or non-public school are to include the following:

> History and heritage of these ethnic, religious, racial minorities, and contributions of women; living conditions, beliefs, and customs; problems and prejudices encountered by these ethnic, religious, racial minorities, and contributions of women; word meanings employed; culturally related attitudes and behavior of these ethnic, religious, racial minorities, and contributions of women.[40]

Michigan was awarded federal grants totaling $1,160,416.22 under the Indian Education Act for the school year 1974-75. Under Part A, eighty-five out of one hundred forty-four eligible Michigan school districts divided $839,544.22 for the development of elementary and secondary school programs to meet special needs of Indian children. Under Part B, three Michigan Indian groups, the Keweenaw Bay Indian Community, Original Band of Sault Ste. Marie Chippewas, and Watersmeet Indian Education Committee were awarded a total of $191,152 to create and develop special programs and projects to improve educational opportunities for Indian children. Three Indian groups in Michigan were awarded $129,720 under Part C of the Act to create "special programs relating to adult education for Indians" and the Hannahville Indian Education Committee was included in the award. Any school district that has ten or more Indian children attending is eligible to receive Part A funding.[41] This meant that the Indian Education Act provided funds to be channeled through the public schools for cultural enhancement of the Hannahville Indian Community students.

Another development in self-determination in education for Indian students in Michigan is found in Enrolled House Bill No. 4750, the Bilingual Education Act No. 294, amended Public Acts of 1955, Section 390, stating:

> "(a) 'Bilingual instruction' means the use of 2 languages, 1 of which is English, as media of instruction for speaking, reading, writing, or comprehension. 'Bilingual instruction' may include instruction in the history and culture of the country, territory, or geographic area associated with the language spoken by children of limited English-speaking ability who are enrolled in the program and in the history and culture of the United States."[42]

Bilingual instruction is thus defined not only as language instruction but cultural instruction.

On September 10, 1975, the Governor of Michigan signed Enrolled House Bill No. 4814, Act No. 261, amending section 49 to read:

> "(1) From the amount appropriated in Section 11, there is allocated in the sum of $200,000.00 for 1975-1976 for funding experimental projects or feasibility studies to improve instructional methods, practices, and techniques. Not more than $75,000.00 shall be for a demonstration pilot program for native American pupils living on federal Indian reservations. The state per pupil membership allowance received by a district under section 21 for each pupil enrolled in the demonstration pilot program shall be used solely for the operational costs directly attributable to the education of that pupil. The demonstration pilot program shall be a cooperative effort conducted by the local district and Indian tribe under the supervision of the department, which shall establish the criteria for conducting the project and awarding the funds allocated by this section.
>
> (2) Beginning in the 1975-76 fiscal year, no district may receive funds under this section for more than 3 additional fiscal years."[43]

Because of the cultural differences between the white society and the Indians, the Hannahville Tribal Council decided to set up an alternative school where cultural curriculum would be the major emphasis.[44]

The Tribal Education Committee on the reservation believes that one of the basic cultural differences between Indians and whites is that Indians are not competitive. They believe that competition is stressed in the public school system and, as a result, Indian children are not achieving their full potential and have been, for the most part, underachievers.[45]

In July, 1975, the Tribal Education Committee at the Hannahville Indian Community, supported by the Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards, requested the Bureau of Indian Affairs to operate a school for the Hannahville Indian Community beginning in the fall of 1975.

Examples of Self-Determination in Education

Throughout the United States emphasis on Indian education is toward the resurgence of Indianism as a tribalistic concept. The concentration is on culturalism with the goal of increasing self-awareness. The aim of the resurgence as a tribalistic concept is self-development within the context of Indianism in order to enrich the Indian student psychologically, sociologically, and economically.

At the University of Alaska's Anchorage Community College an Adult Literacy Laboratory (ALL) has produced "necessary, useful, and culturally relevant" math and reading materials since 1972.[46] The ALL program was intended to prepare texts for the Adult Basic Education program the University carries out in nearly fifty Alaskan villages. Adult Basic Education (ABE), which began in Alaska in 1966, used education materials that were based on American urban life-styles that had little meaning to the villagers.[47] From 1972 to 1975, by means of a grant from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to Anchorage Community College's Division of Community Services to develop an Adult Literacy Lab,

books, tapes, and visual aid materials were developed and field tested that were useful to Native Alaskans.

Books were written for ABE teachers to use to help rural Alaskans read English and understand basic math concepts. But, in addition, other books are being prepared, such as lessons on the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act; written collections of village folk tales; histories of Alaska's Native cultures and arts; instructions on how to file income tax returns and opening checking accounts; and a series of books with necessary information for those eligible for land and money under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act.[48]

ABE people are not the only ones using this material. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, regional Native Corporations, the Anchorage Borough Indian Educational Program, the Seward Skill Center, VISTA, and others have used Adult Literacy Lab produced materials.[49]

In 1974, ALL contracted with the Tanana Chiefs Conference, Inc., to write a series of survival-skill books for use at the Tanana Survival School and the lab has just finished work on a training manual for use by the Alaska Native Foundation in teaching village Corporation management.[50]

The western Eskimo villagers were the last to be invaded by the white man and the slowest to take to his ways. Mostly it was a matter of neglect for there were few natural resources to attract whites to the flat, treeless tundra and it was 1967 before it was discovered western Alaska had the highest poverty level in the United States.[51]

Most of the natives do not think that being poor is an irreversible situation; having nothing, they think they have a good chance to build something of their own through the availability of helping programs and through the programs they believe they have the chance to preserve the culture and the Native languages.[52]

Native Alaskans are not culturally assimilating. As one native stated: "We're poor, all right, but we've got more than most people. Our most important asset is our land and our culture and we want to protect it come hell or high water!"[53]

In the village of Chevak, the young people are raised traditional. But when the time comes to send them to school, they are sent to an Outside school, leaving most of the Chevak youth "disoriented."[54]

Yupiktak Bista is the nonprofit arm of the region's traditional Association of Village Council Presidents and they have developed a Cultural Heritage Program designed along the concepts Chevak developed for themselves. Chevak youth picked up on their cultural background by interviewing the older people, making tapes, and returning to traditional village activities.[55]

> "Outside, the qaygiq (community house) looked like a giant mound of snow but...inside the youngsters of Chevak were dancing or tapping their boots to the rhythmic beat of Eskimo drums...and adolescent spectators swayed in their places, watching intently. For this they'd deserted the Chevak Pool Hall, boycotted bingo and left their hard-rock tape cassettes unattended. This was where their Eskimo grandfathers had been, and their grandfathers before them. This was their past, rich decades ago; the song of the hunters, the mimes of ancient jesters, perpetuated in the sure motions...perhaps the past would also be the future."[56]

The practice of Eskimo dancing was banished at the introduction of Christianity in communities all over the yukon Delta.[57]

In Bethel, a new "transitional" school is coming of age and expects the eventual transfer of the thirty-two Bureau of Indian Affairs schools in the area to local control.[58] Also at Bethel, 594 high school students, from the dormitory and boarding home program of the regional High School, will spend two weeks in forty-seven other villages where they will be boarded with

local families to learn the traditions of their host villages and subsistence skills.[59]

A Bethel eligibility worker who pioneered the food stamp program in that area, speaking on the new programs available, said

> "Now they find out they're eligible for other programs...We're raising expectations...Saying you don't have to live in a hovel...It's snowballing...I jokingly tell our staff, 'We're the new missionaries, the new religion, the new values'"...[60]

In Canada, an Alberta Indian Language Conference was sponsored in February, 1974, by the Alberta Indian Education Center (AIEC) with the help of the Provincial Department of Education in Alberta. The Center was formed in 1972 at a time when no other Indian group in Canada controlled their own education. AIEC was organized by the All-Chiefs Conference and its aims were to focus educational programs on culture, based on an Indian philosophy of education, but flexible enough for all eight tribes of Alberta.[61]

The keynote speaker at the Conference was Dr. Joe Couture, the executive director of the Alberta Indian Education Center. He suggested the immediate issue in education was in the area of language development and that the main source of direction should be from the elders.[62] The elders, together with educators, have agreed to the need for bilingual/bicultural education based on the values of the culture and language along with an understanding of the English language needed to survive and succeed in the white society.[63]

Under the direction of the elders, the AIEC established training programs, cultural awareness programs in and out of schools, and the Conference of 1974 was called to provide guidelines and recommendations for cultural education for Canada's Native People in Alberta.

The Stoney Cultural Language Program on the Morley Reserve is an example of the need bringing about the formation of AIEC. The Stoney Band Council realized their language and culture were dying out and/or changing because it was not spoken the same as before and the Council wondered what their language would be in the future.[64] The Stoney Language Program developed, joined with the Oral History Program to research aboriginal land claims, Stoney culture, and Indian history and these programs were joined to create the Stoney Cultural Education Program, a program that researches customs, legends, heritage, and emphasizes languages.[65]

It was at this point the Stoney Band Council decided their culture should be taught at the Morley Reserve as they believed their children were being neglected by failing to be provided perspectives on the traditional cultural values in the classroom.

The Indian Languages Conference developed guidelines for the education of Alberta's Indian children. These guidlines are:

1) Immediate steps in the direction of Native language instruction;
2) Involvement of parents in teaching Native language;
3) Inclusion of Indian culture, languages, and history into programs as part of University curriculum and as credit courses for teaching certificates;
4) Standardization of writing systems for Native languages as a priority;
5) Follow-up workshops on the local level to create community awareness of the need to retain the Indian languages; and
6) Funding be made available to obtain more resource personnel to teach culture in schools without first having to obtain a certificate or diploma.[66]

These guidelines stress culture, parental involvement in education, the initiation of college

preparation courses for those involved in teaching the Indians, stresses community involvement, and stresses the use of para-professionals in education. These guidelines are within the values orientation of the Native People.

In the United States, the Rough Rock Demonstration School at Chinle, Arizona, was one of the first schools to break from the past and develop along the lines of the self-determinist doctrine. Rough Rock was the first to break away from the Bureau of Indian Affairs structure; became the first Indian operated elementary school in the United States when, in 1966, operational control was turned over to a Navajo Board of Education elected by the Rough Rock community.

The school had two-fold goals, the first being devoted to instilling in the Indian student a sense of pride in being Indian and, secondly, showing the students they can be Indian and American at the same time and take the best of each way of life and combine them into something viable.[67] The school was committed to developing a bicultural/bilingual program, a parent dormitory program, an open door policy, and a center for recording and developing Navajo cultural materials.[68]

Rough Rock is referred to by the Navajo as "Diné bio'lta," or the people's school, and the name is reflected in the curriculum. Emphasis is placed on the teaching of Navajo cultural traditions; lessons are taught by medicine men in Navajo in which the traditional ways have been explained by those who understand them best; and Navajo music, Navajo song, arts, and crafts programs have been developed.[69]

Language and culture are inseparable entities and to the extent that one loses the former, he is well on his way to losing the latter, a tragedy that Rough Rock is devoted to preventing.[70]

Changes at Rough Rock are more than curricular as

there is the concept of power of decision-making involved, a power that is one of the basic tenets of self-determination in education. This tenet was actualized at Rough Rock. Because Rough Rock does not necessarily represent the sine qua non of Indian Education does not mean that its existence is not important, nor very significant, nor that it does not influence the course of Indian education.[71]

> "Rough Rock does matter; it will not be shrugged off...is probably one of our most important accomplishments...infuses into Indian education in general, and Navajo education in particular, a refreshing spirit that has so long been missing. Rough Rock's very existence fosters the hope of inspiring other tribal groups to attempt to realize greater control of their own destinies..."[72]

The Menominee County Community School, at Keshena, Wisconsin, commonly refered to as "The Community School", was founded in the summer of 1972 by a Community Education Committee elected during an open community meeting.[73] At the time of the school's founding, the chances it would survive were minimal, and there was almost no chance it would help provide a pattern for revolutionizing Indian education.[74] There were only three certified Menominee teachers in the country and one of those was in the Army. The Secretary of Defense, on petition, released the teacher, and the Community School opened with the one teacher and several ACTION volunteers from the University of Wisconsin-Green Bay campus.[75] This school became the first fully Indian controlled public school district in the nation.[76]

The school had minimal problems, but a change had been achieved. Indian students were no longer dropping out of school but dropping in and, as the local parole director said

> "I don't know what caused it, but since the Community School started, the number of Indian kids ending up in jail has dropped..."[77]

Atlee Dodge, a Menominee leader and director of the school in 1974, said

> "The most significant thing of all in connection with the Community School is that Indian people have seized the initiative and leadership position. If every school in America could achieve the local control and community participation that we have, there would be no educational problems in the United States. For the first time in recent history, Indians are holding the steering wheel instead of being taken for a ride."[78]

In the Minneapolis-St. Paul area, the Anishinabe founded the Red School House in June of 1970. The concept was initiated because the Anishinable were aware of the cultural gap in the white educational system with which Indian students are confronted.[79] The school began educational offerings the summer of 1970. A program of secondary education was established in the 1971-72 school year. The Red School House became a non-profit corporation under the laws of the State of Minnesota on July 28, 1972. The purposes of the corporation as contained within the Articles of Incorporation reflect

> "the desire to provide an alternative educational system to those of Indian ancestry and those interested in Indian culture and tradition..."[80]

To this end, the school has among its purposes the creation and maintenance of school facilities, the development of course offerings, and the implementation and evaluation of programs in fields related to Indian education. During 1973-74, adult education programs were offered the community in cooperation with Antioch College and participants receive college credits.

The Board of Directors of the Red School House consist entirely of Indian individuals residing within the general community served by the school and the majority of them are parents whose children have enrolled in courses. Indian participation and control is stressed along with Indian culture studies. Offerings are developed and planned to meet the needs of Indian students and the

communities they live in. Parents, volunteers, and traditional people join the teachers as school staff.[81] The Red School House alternative also stresses attitudinal change toward increased self-confidence and self-pride as Indian people.[82]

The Heart of the Earth Survival School in Minneapolis is another example of the growing trend in Indian education. The school educates approximately 135 students a year from kindergarten to senior-high and, in addition to routine academic subjects, students are taught Indian history, literature, art, music, and language.

Summary

From the historical perspective of schools as agents of a superior civilization, the self-determination in education movement has emerged as a dominant force in education for Indian children. The movement for self-determination in education is recognized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and in all areas of its implementation the key word is "involvement."

Curriculum, community participation, and administration and staffing of the school are the ultimate goals of self-determination in Indian education, with the locus of control in Indian hands. Re-evaluation by Indians of the aims and goals of education in terms of their value structure continues and the Hannahville Indian Community initiated the development of such a program in 1973 utilizing Johnson O'Malley funds to develop a tutorial and bicultural program for their children. With Impact Aid and Title I also available, the Hannahville Community worked towards conrolling educational funds. In the meantime, civil and probate courts were established on the reservation following a legal decision allowing the Hannahville Indian Community autonomy over their enrolled children.

A teacher-aide training program was undertaken through cooperation with Northern Michigan University staff with the objective of training qualified American Indians to assist in public schools attended by Indian students. The goal was to teach and counsel Indian students within the context of the Indian values system. The program was supported by the Michigan Intertribal Council and the National Indian Education Association.

Under the Indian Education Act, the Hannahville Indian Education Committee received monies, to be channeled through the public school, for cultural enhancement of the Community's Indian students. In the Bilingual Education Acts of 1955 and 1975, the State of Michigan, additional funding was made available for pilot bilingual/bicultural programs and the Hannahville Indian Community was among three communities chosen for a pilot project.

Several alternative schools for Indian students operate throughout the United States and Canada. A Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards was formed in Denver, Colorado, in 1972. Commonly called CICSB, the coalition has developed an educational philosophy tailored to Indian problems rather than to white conceptions of Indian problems in education.[84]

The Hannahville Indian Community worked with CICSB to develop a curriculum that stressed Indian culture and, with the support of CICSB, the Tribal Education Committee requested the Bureau of Indian Affairs to operate a school for the Community within the guidelines of the proposed curriculum.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE HANNAHVILLE COMMUNITY SCHOOL

Introduction

The meaning of self-determination in Indian education is made clear in the maxims developed by the Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards, a coalition formed in 1972 and headquartered in Denver, Colorado.

The Coalition, hereinafter referred to as CICSB, developed an educational philosophy tailored to the Indian view of problems in Indian education rather than to the white conceptions of Indian problems in education.[1]

The Coalition maxim's are 1) Schools should be controlled by the communities they serve; 2) Education is most effective if it uses cultural and regional differences to further its academic ends; 3) Education is most effective when it involves the community it is serving in the educational process and 4) Schools in a community should be designed to help the community develop itself economically and culturally.[2]

In addition to the maxim's, CICSB borrowed four educational principles from modern educational theorists: 1) Students learn at their own rate of progress; 2) Each student needs dignity before he can learn; 3) Students need to be exposed to a large variety of experiences and individuals to broaden their conceptions of the world; and 4) East student has to understand the relation of his learning to his present life and/or future before he will make a serious attempt to become educated.[3]

Throughout the United States emphasis on Indian education is towards the resurgence of Indianism as a tribalistic concept. The concentration is on culturalism with the goal of increasing self-awareness. The aim of the resurgence as a tribalistic concept is self-development within the context of Indianism in order to enrich the

Indian student's life.

As early as 1973, the Hannahville Indian Community contacted CICSB for assistance in establishing a community school for their children. The Coalition responded with assistance in curriculum development of individualized instruction and gave support to the Tribal Education Committee in negotiating funding for a proposed school.

This chapter will focus on the development of an alternative to public education for Hannahville children.

The Hannahville Community School

In May, 1975, the decision was made by the Hannahville Tribal Council to provide an alternative education for the Indian students in the Hannahville Indian Community.

The approach to the solution of gaining a better education for the Community's children was formalized by the Tribal Council with the following resolution:

> "WHEREAS, the Council of the Hannahville Indian Community is extremely distressed by the failure of the Bark River-Harris Schools to educate Indian children in such a way as to meet their special educational needs, and
>
> WHEREAS, the scores of Indian children on the Advanced Stanford Achievement Test reflect that Indian children are often a full year behind their non-Indian peers in grades 4 through 8, and
>
> WHEREAS, the low level of achievement and the failure of the Bark River-Harris Schools to respond with an innovative program has led to a pattern of under-achievement, truancy, and eventual dropping out of Indian children, and
>
> WHEREAS, fewer than 30 Indians have graduated from the Bark River-Harris Schools since 1950 while more than 125 have been enrolled, and
>
> WHEREAS, an Indian Awareness Conference was held in the Bark River-Harris Schools in 1971 in which representatives of the Hannahville Indian Community, the State Department of Education, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and Michigan Education Association participated, and
>
> WHEREAS, most recently the Hannahville Indian

Community has met with the Bark River-Harris School Board in informal session, at which a program of individualized instruction and a proposed curriculum for a special Indian Education program on the basis of ability grouping was presented with the aid of the Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards, and

WHEREAS, the response of the Bark River-Harris School Board was merely to request a meeting with State officials to see whether legal authority and entirely independent funding existed with which to fund such a program, and

WHEREAS, the Board made no positive response or counter-offer to the proposal of the Hannahville Indian Community, but, in fact, flatly rejected the proposal at its meeting of May 13, 1975, and

WHEREAS, the Superintendent and the Board indicated a decided preference for keeping such non-essential program and personnel as extra coaches, girls physical education teachers, and guidance counselors to the provision of a special program to raise the level of academic achievement of Indian children through Indian supervised individualized instruction, and

WHEREAS, Michigan compulsory attendance laws cannot be enforced on the Hannahville Indian Reservation because the Hannahville Indian Community has not consented to such application under 25 U.S.C.231,and

WHEREAS, the Bark River-Harris Schools receive approximately $1200.00 per Indian student from Michigan state school aid distributions and from federal payments in lieu of taxes, under P.O.874 the federal impact aid law, and

WHEREAS, the Hannahville Indian Community does not believe that the Bark River-Harris School Board takes seriously its grave concern over the consistent failure of the public schools to mention the special educational needs of Indian children,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, the Hannahville Indian Community hereby requests the Bureau of Indian Affairs to operate a school for its children on the Hannahville Indian Community and contract the responsibility for the same to the Hannahville Indian Education Committee, beginning in the fall of 1975."[4]

The children of the Hannahville Indian Community had been attending the local public school at Bark River-Harris. The attendance policy of the Bark River-Harris School is

somewhat unclear for grade school students, but by high school, students are denied credit for any course in which they have missed more than nine days without justifiable excuses.[5] The attendance policy is administered by shifting panels of teachers and students and the local school board admitted the attendance policy was designed merely to insure attendance, and that it had no relationship to education.[6] The Hannahville Indian Community contended that the attendance policy denied Indian students the right to a free public education, and asserted that the policy denied due process in that it bears no rational relationship to the educational purposes which the school was designed to fulfill.[7] The Community believed that their children's truancy and the parent's non-enforcement of attendance was due to motivational-educational deficiencies.[8]

The School Board and school administrators explained poor performance by the Indian students on standardized tests by the admittedly poor attendance record of the Indian students.[9] Since 1950, approximately 135 Indian children have been enrolled in the Bark River-Harris school system, with only 25 graduating, or 19% graduating.[10]

Poor attendance by the Indian students has been a continuing problem. Labor Force Reports of the United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, break down resident information on the Hannahville Indian Community into several catagories. Among those catagories are those of students and of resident Indian population of student age in the labor force. Table 18, page 154, is a compilation of the difference between the numbers of students not in the labor force and the resident Indian population at Hannahville of student age available in the labor force.

On an overall basis, from 1966 to 1975, an average of 61% of the male potential students attended school and an average of 39% of the female potential students attended school. These averages could be misleading as the system

TABLE 18

STUDENT POPULATION

Date	Student Population							
	Male				Female			
	#	A	%A*	%NA**	#	A	%A	%NA
3/66#	16	13	81%	19%	6	5	83%	17%
3/67##	9	9	100%	0%	5	2	40%	60%
9/67	10	10	100%	0%	7	2	19%	71%
3/68	13	11	85%	15%	4	3	75%	25%
9/68	13	7	54%	46%	3	1	33%	67%
3/69***	14	7	50%	50%	3	2	67%	33%
3/70	15	10	67%	33%	6	4	67%	33%
3/71	8	5	63%	37%	6	1	17%	83%
3/72	13	5	38%	62%	9	0	0%	100%
3/73	16	9	56%	44%	10	5	50%	50%
4/75###	30	11	37%	63%	21	6	29%	71%

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Report of Labor Force, Employment, and Unemployment"

*A - Attending

**NA- Not attending

***Changed from semi-annual reporting to yearly

#Reporting age for school attendance 14+ and residence population 14-17

##Reporting age for school attendance 16+ and residence population 16-19

###Reporting age for school attendance 16+ and residence population 16-24

of reporting age changed from 14+ to 16* for students and the residence population figure rose proportionately from 14-17 to 16-19. These figures, however, may have value in their overall pattern of poor attendance in specified age groups. A further comparison of the percentage of total student population of the Hannahville Indian Community is shown in Table 19, page 156.

It is a fact that school officials at Bark River-Harris are not in any legal position to enfore school attendance by the Hannahville children. The exact legal status of the reservation is not clear to anyone and this situation has existed for some time.[11] Attempts are being made to clarify the legality issue but, to date, no policy other than all reservation lands being off-limits to anyone but an Indian or federal authority has emerged.[12] The Hannahville Indian Community has full authority through their Tribal Council in any and all matters on the reservation and the only white person or persons entitled to enter onto those lands would be federal officials entering within the legal authority of their position. As far as local law enforcement officials are concerned, the reservation is treated with the same status as any foreign country, including extradition rights for crimes on and off the reservation.[13]

The attendance figures for the years 1972, 1973 and 1975 appear to reflect the assertion of tribal sovereignty on reservation lands and the lack of any legal authority by school officials of the Bark River-Harris District to enforce a policy of school attendance for the Indian children. The Hannahville Indian Community is aware of past poor attendance records of their children but maintain that the Bark River-Harris School system ignored important cultural differences between Indians and non-Indians.[14]

TABLE 19

SCHOOL AGE POPULATION

Date	% of Total Student Population		Student Population			
			Male		Female	
	A*	NA**	A	NA	A	NA
3/66#	82%	18%	81%	19%	83%	17%
3/67##	79%	21%	100%	0%	40%	60%
9/67	71%	19%	100%	0%	29%	71%
3/68	76%	24%	85%	15%	75%	25%
9/68	50%	50%	54%	46%	33%	67%
3/69***	53%	47%	50%	50%	67%	33%
3/70	67%	33%	67%	33%	67%	33%
3/71	43%	57%	63%	37%	83%	17%
3/72	23%	77%	38%	62%	0%	100%
3/73	54%	46%	56%	44%	50%	50%
4/75###	33%	67%	63%	37%	29%	71%

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Report of Labor Force, Employment, and Unemployment"

* A-Attending

** NA-Not attending

*** Changed from semi-annual reporting to yearly

\# 14 Years of age and 14-17 Years of Age

\## Student age for reporting changed to 16+ and resident population to a catagory of 16-19

\### Student age for reporting changed to 16+ and resident population to a catagory of 16-24

One change in the operation of the school system in the area, that of consolidating the schools into one building, may have had an effect on Indian students in the past. For the school year 1948-1949, the Indian children were distributed as follows in the schools around the district:

Wilson School	K-5	69% white	31% Indian
Perronville	K-6	80% white	20% Indian
Bark River	7-8	97% white	3% Indian
Harris High	9-12	95% white	5% Indian

[15]

Based on the total student population for all the schools, the Indians comprised only 10% of the student population (Table 20, page 158).[16] However, the Wilson and Perronville schools were located closer to Indian concentrations. An average of 26% of the student population was Indian, concentrated in the Wilson and Perronville schools.

There was consensus, both white and Indian, in 1951, that no prejudice seemed to exist in the schools through the 5th grade.[17] After the 5th grade, a change took place and it was not something the children developed wholly by themselves as there apparently begins to develop a recognition of differing adult status and widely divergent future opportunities at that life stage.[18]

The assumption is made, however, that in consolidating the schools into one institution, a primary source of group cohesion was destroyed for those Indian students who had attended the schools with larger concentrations of Indian students, namely, the Wilson and Perronville schools. The Indian children, being reservation children, constituted a segregated minority [19] within the new consolidated system if only viewed from the total percentage of population in the school. Table 20, page 158, shows that prior to consolidation there was a drop in attendance by Indian students in the 7-12 grades and it is

TABLE 20

STUDENT ENROLLMENT
1948-1949

School		# Students	NI*	NI%	I**	I%
Menominee County						
Wilson School	K-5	131	91	69%	40	31%
Perronville	K-6	100	80	80%	20	20%
Harris High	9-12	142	135	95%	7	5%
Delta County						
Sunnyside	K-3	66	66	100%	0	0%
Schaeffer	K-6	126	126	100%	0	0%
Bark River	7-8	128	124	97%	4	3%
Totals		693	622	90%	71	10%

SOURCE: Adapted from Michigan State College Special Bulletin 369, April 1951

*NI - Non-Indian

**I - Indian

assumed that when the Indian student left the larger Indian student group to enter the 7-12 grades where there was a small concentration of Indian students, they tended to drop-out.

> "Children under high-cohesive conditions would learn better than children under low cohesive conditions because the former, working in the presence of liked others, would be more highly motivated, or have greater drive...Individuals with highly positive attitudes towards other group members should...have a higher general drive level...than individuals with more neutral or slightly negative attitudes toward their fellow group members."[20]

It recent history, it appears that the movement toward K-12 institutions in the area shattered the cohesion among the Indian students and affected their drive level. This assumption is sustained by a personal interview with an eighth grade Indian girl. When asked what she thought about re-entering the Bark River-Harris School the coming September (1976), after experiencing student life in the Hannahville Community School, she replied she did not want to go to high school because the white students do not like the Indians. She preferred to stay with Indian students and would go to an all Indian high school anywhere if she could.[21]

Discrimination against students is subtle and difficult to document but Indian students and Indian parents know it exists in the school systems.[22] In 1951, discrimination against Indian students from the Hannahville Indian Community took the form of a teacher punishing white children by having them sit next to a particular Indian whose odor was deemed offensive and inevitably, all parties to such a situation were aware of the undertones.[23]

> "It is difficult to determine the source of personal odors, some, at least, come from wet wood, smoke and food. Apparently the whites have forgotten the days when they, too, lived in houses heated only by smoky wood stoves,

> and subsisted on cheaper and more odoriferous foods. Most of the Indians of Hannahville live in poverty but not in filth."[24]

In the 1970's, the Hannahville Indian Community saw discrimination taking the form of teachers and administrators accepting the non-Indian account of fights and disputes which broke out in the school and they believed the atmosphere among school administrators and faculty resulted in a climate in which non-Indian students occasionally felt free to deface Indian posters and to call Indian children names.[25]

The Community did not think the Bark River-Harris School operated to close doors to Indian opportunities but they thought subtler forms of discrimination had a serious effect on the Indian children's self-confidence, identity, and ability to learn.[26]

Any area surrounding a reservation is an area of conflict. Northern Wisconsin and Northern Michigan have a higher poor-white population than Indian population and poor-whites are highly prejudiced.[27] Many problems evolve in the local bars and many misconceptions arise in the bars. Adverse local feelings towards Indians are the trend in the white population around reservations.[28] In the case of the Indian, the local whites are in possession of many facts but do not, or perhaps are not, concerned with the correct interpretation of the facts.[29] One of the fundamental problems is that the Indian is not enough of a problem to cause the kind of concern necessary to the solution.[30]

The Hannahville Indian Community thought the local school board was unwilling to base remedial education programs for the Indian students on the assumption that a cultural difference existed and the school maintained it had a responsibility to do nothing more for Indian students than provide access to the same educational programs that were provided and available to non-Indian students.[31]

The Bark River-Harris School had no full-time probationary or tenured Native American teachers but had received federal funds in excess of $50,000 per year for an affirmative action plan for minority hiring. Several Indian aides were hired and an Indian culture teacher hired, both with Johnson O'Malley funds. The aides, while permitted to work with students on an individual basis to attempt to remedy their educational deficiencies, were not integrated into the faculty of the school and, on a typical day, could be found "isolated in an Indian room with no real or apparent contact with faculty members on an on-going basis."[33]

The Indian students were consistently passed from grade to grade at the Bark River-Harris School, with or without credit, regardless of their achievement and regardless of the adequacy of their preparation to enter the next grade.[34] The Hannahville Indian Community considered that passing Indian students from grade to grade under those conditions constituted an unfair policy of social promotion and objected to the procedure because it left the student totally unprepared to enter high school.[35] The school officials, however,believed their social promotion policy was in the best interest of the Indian children; that as long as the student moved from grade to grade, he remained in school and learned something.[36]

In the spring of 1975, a comparison was made of Indian and non-Indian students on the basis of standardized test scores to determine Indian relative performance. Table 21, page 162, compares performalce levels, grades three through eight, between the Indian students at Bark River-Harris School, the norm, and the Bark River-Harris non-Indian scores. The testing revealed that Indian students in grades three through eight at the Bark River-Harris School were a minimum of six months below the national norm in achievement and by grades

TABLE 21

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE LEVELS

Grades	3	4	5	6	7	8
Indian Average Score	3.2	3.5	4.1	3.9	5.0	6.0
Test Norm	3.8	4.8	5.8	5.8	7.8	8.8
Non-Indian Average Score	4.4	5.0	5.7	6.2	7.1	NA*

SOURCE: Bark-River Harris School

* NA - Not available

seven and eight they had fallen nearly three years below the national norm. Comparable figures for non-Indian students indicate they remained at or only slightly below national norms through the sixth grade when they also began to drop. However, non-Indian scores appear to be consistently above Indian scores by almost two years.

On the basis of the above testing, the Hannahville Indian Community expected the Bark River-Harris school would hold the Indian students back in an effort to remedy their substandard achievement and when the Community realized that social promotion would continue to be the policy, the Tribal Council at Hannahville was convinced that a new approach to Indian education for their children was necessary.[38]

The Hannahville Indian Community considered the argument between non-attendance causing poor performance and adverse environment causing poor performance as immaterial. What was material was the desire the Community had for their children to receive an adequate education.[39] They believed the Bark River-Harris School administration was unwilling to view the special needs of Indian children as a discrete educational problem. The Community was no longer content with an educational system that left their children as drop-outs, inadequately prepared for life or vocational school, and certainly unprepared for advanced studies.[40]

In seeking an alternative educational program for their children, the Hannahville Indian Community decided to look back to traditional Indian education for a step forward in the modern world.[41] The non-Indian view is materialistic and the Hannahville Community School, by offering Indian culture classes, is attempting to expose their students to the traditional values and the traditional Indian way of life. These traditional educational methods include Career Education, which prepares the child for his or her role in tribal society; Community Involvement

where each member of the family unit contributes to the education of the child according to each learning situation; a Non-Graded System, where grades were not used to monitor a child's progress; and Individualized Instruction, where each child is treated as an individual and learns at his or her own rate of speed.[42]

Based on the above methods, the Hannahville Community School teaching staff and the Cirriculum Specialist for CICSB developed an Individually Guided Education (IGE), a non-graded continuous progress concept based on three assumptions: 1) that educational growth is a continuous and sequential process; 2) that the rate of growth varies with each individual child; and 3) that a child's progress must be measured against his rate of learning and his capacity to learn.

The IGE organizational pattern and grouping plan used in the Hannahville Community School is designed to adapt to the variations in a child's learning rate. The child generally remains with the peer group but the children vary widely in the time it takes to master the basic skills in arithmetic and reading. The initial grouping, in a unit-teaching situation, is not as critical as a re-grouping that takes place by unit members for a specific educational purpose, according to the staff.

One purpose for grouping or re-grouping children is to restrict the range for a specific learning situation. Ability grouping, interest grouping, achievement grouping, random grouping, are all used in various degrees and sizes to help meet the educational needs of the children. When the children are grouped in any manner, they are only alike in the manner grouped and quite unalike in other aspects and within-group differences are recognized as well as between-group differences in the Hannahville Community School.

The school opened September 15, 1975, with an initial student body of fifty-three children in grades

kindergarten through eight. Four certified teachers work with four aides that have had para-professional aide training. There is strong parental involvement with volunteer workers and elders of the tribe called in to speak to the classes. There are two large classrooms in the Community Center that presently house the school as well as several additional mobile units clustered around the Community Center.

The Hannahville Community School administrators and faculty continue to work in a coordinated effort with the Bark River-Harris School. Bus services are provided and, in the afternoon, the Indian students are bused to Bark River-Harris where they make use of such ancillary services as home economics, shop, music, art, and gym.

The Hannahville Community School is the first of its kind to receive special funding from a state and operates with a prime function of bringing the Indian way of life into the classroom and to improve deficiencies in Indian education for the children of the Hannahville Indian Community.[43]

Mrs. Sally Halfaday, Tribal Chairperson and Chairperson of the Indian Education Committee at Hannahville, stated that "We did not open the school to segregate and it was definitely not because of prejudice. We were thinking of the kids."[44]

Summary

The Hannahville Indian Community opened a school on their reservation on September 15, 1975, to provide educational services for fifty-three Indian children in grades kindergarten through eighth. The school, known as the Hannahville Community School, operates with the prime function of bringing the Indian way of life into the classroom and to improve the deficiencies in education of Indian children of that Community.

The children had been attending the Bark River-Harris

School but poor performance and high absenteeism was believed by the Hannahville Indian Community to be due to the public school system ignoring the basic cultural differences between the Indian and non-Indian student. Comparison testing found that Indian children were below the national norm in school achievement, having fallen to nearly three years below the national norm by the time they reached grades seven and eight whereas the non-Indian students remained at, or only slightly below, the national norm.

The Hannahville Indian Community expected the Bark River-Harris School to hold the Indian children back and offer remedial facilities but found that social promotion would continue to be the policy. The Tribal Council was convinced that a new approach was needed to educate their children and they were no longer content with a system that left their children as drop-outs and unprepared for advanced studies.

Traditional Indian educational methods are utilized at the Hannahville Community School involving Career Education, Community Involvement, and the Individualized Instruction method, along with a non-Graded system. Based on these traditional Indian educational methods, and with the assistance of the Curriculum Specialist from the Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards, the Individually Guided Education (IGE) concept was utilized to adapt to the variations in a child's learning rate.

The Hannahville Indian Community School continues to work as much as possible with the administration at the Bark River-Harris School in the provision of ancillary services such as busing, hot-lunch program, shop, art, gym, and home economics.

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1) Fitzgerald and Davis, "An Alternative to Failure" p. 1

2) Ibid., p. 2

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5) Ibid., p. 4

6) Ibid.

7) Ibid.

8) Ibid.

9) Ibid.

10) Ibid., p. 1

11) Tiedke, "A Study of the Hannahville Indian Community", p. 24; field interview Michigan State Police Post, Gladstone, Michigan, October 27, 1975; also see the CICSB* Newsletter, p. 5

12) field interview Michigan State Police Post 10/27/75

13) Ibid.

14) CICSB* Newsletter, p. 4

15) Tiedke, "A Study of the Hannahville Indian Community," p. 20

16) Ibid., p. 20

17) Ibid., p. 21

18) Ibid.

19) Ibid.

20) Lott and Lott, "Group Cohesiveness and Individual Learning," Journal of Educational Psychology, American Psychological Association, Vol. 57, No. 2 April, 1966. pp. 61-73

21) Field Interview November 5, 1975

22) CICSB* Newsletter, p. 4

23) Tiedke, "A Study of the Hannahville Indian Community," p. 22

24) Ibid.

25) CICSB* Newsletter, p. 4

26) Ibid.

27) Field Interview,Indian Health Services, Rhinelander, Wisconsin, November 3, 1975

28) Ibid.

29) Tiedke, "A Study of the Hannahville Indian Community," p. 23

30) Ibid. p. 30

31) CICSB* Newsletter, p. 4

32) Ibid.

33) Ibid.

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37) Ibid., p. 1

38) Ibid., p. 4

39) Ibid.

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SEE "NOTE ON LABOR FORCE DATA" Page 126 for Form Numbers

CHAPTER IX

HANNAHVILLE AS AN ETHNIC COMMUNITY

Introduction

The Hannahville Indian Community is a reservation community and Americans not in direct contact with Indians as a distinct ethnic group in Michigan may not be aware of their existence. According to Lesser, the voluntary decision of tribes to maintain traditional group life speaks for the vitality of the Indian way and the value of Indian group life.[1] It appears the Hannahville Indian Community demonstrates this vitality by seeking to maintain the traditional group life.

No Indian today will deny that the Indian people need knowledge and skills from the non-Indian world in order to survive. In recent history, the Indian has been required to attain these skills through a system that rejected cultural motivational values of the Indian.[2] What Indians want their children to get from school as Indians must come from the various Indian groups as these groups have different desires, that is, some practice the traditional culture and some do not.[3] There are problems between tribes and there are intra-tribal problems that cannot be settled by white people but Indians will work those problems out and the schools, especially those on or near reservations, should follow the Indian voice.[4]

Each society has its own way to prepare the young for adult participation in that society.[5] A large part of achievement for Indian students depends on factors other than the school as formal schooling is only a part of the education that teaches children to read and use numbers. The school is just one segment of the community.[6]

While there is diversity among various tribal cultures, certain characteristics remain the same among

all Indians and these include close family solidarity and cooperation with mutual support among the kinfolk, cooperation rather than competition among members of a given group, belief in the values of a tribal tradition, belief in tribal religion, and a tribal language.[7] These characteristics suggest that levels of school success should be judged and measured in other ways as well as in the children's performance on tests of reading and arithmetic.[8]

This chapter will focus on the role of education in an ethnic community and specifically on the Hannahville Indian Community.

Historical Educational Tribalism

The world of the Indian was and is essentially a world of the spirit; it is "not a matter of feathers or the way you cut your hair, but a feeling."[9]

> "Their myths and rituals are a living experience for them. Theirs is not a Sunday religion; in fact, most Indians do not have a word for religion. For them, all aspects of life are sacred. It is difficult to break that unity into categories that the rational mind can grasp."[10]

The aims of education within the tribe were structured to preserve and maintain the tribal way of life. Sustinence was tied to the natural environment and acculturation and socialization oriented to those activities. Socialization took the form of patterning the life of the child after the manner in which the elders lived. There was little discontinuity in the culture and the method of education was through virtually everything that made up childhood activities, making the transition into adult life natural and accomplished early because the contributions youthful persons made were valued, wanted, and rewarded.[11] The content of education had a direct relationship with the aims of education within the tribe. Content consisted of adult tasks miniaturized and simplified for the child to accomplish.[12] Basic

fundamental cultural roles were attained in this manner. Even in the spiritual attainment, the child emulated the elders by seeking his own individualized relationship with the supernatural.

The tribe worked as a unit, played as a unit and grew together. Thus, the culture remained intact partially because of the limitation of cultural alternatives for behavior and partly because the ways and customes of the culture were enacted in harmony by all members including the youngest.[13] Since work and play were one and the same, the child lived his way into his culture without burdening himself with any partitions of role expectation.[14]

Thus, in historical educational tribalism, the content of education comprised essential cultural tasks and knowledge adapted to the age level of the educand. Education was conducted in an informal manner and constituted the day-to-day procedure of the culture and the educational enterprise was successful until interrupted by influences from outside the culture.[15] Today there are Indian educators who are seriously questioning that the result of the interruption by outside influences was a beneficial development.[16]

Contemporary Educational Tribalism

Despite the many differences among the Indian people in language, custom, and even physical appearance, there is a similarity in certain basic attitudes and values.[17]

The sense of community is an important Indian value and is perhaps the most resistant strain of survival seed known in the history of nations, growing from the long tradition of communal ownership of land and of other objects in nature.[18] A powerful sense of relations, as in the American Indian sense of community, may actually create a different world in which one moves.[19]

All things are related and traceable to a common ancestor and the circle is a common symbol of unity for tribes. Seasons move in a circle, everything from the earth returns to the earth in a cyclic manner, people dance in a circle, sit in a circle and, to smoke the pipe together, the individuals, represented by the grains of tobacco, become one in the smoke as it rises to become one again with the universe.[20] The Indian strives to live with awareness of all these harmonious relationships, animate and inanimate, and considers each thing as holy, having its power or its holiness in it intrinsically. Thus the aim of Indian education is to get inside things and see them as they are and not to be deterred by external appearances of the invisible real world.[21]

The Indian also has a mystical sense of time as a "duration" rather than "movement."[22] The Indian model of success is to develop the understanding of the essence of each thing and to search for the inner contact. Contemporary educational tribalism is thus a world view, seeing everything as one. The Indian is other-worldly in that he responds to levels of reality large hidden from the non-Indian eyes and this makes a difference in the manner in which the Indian perceives and reacts to other people as well as in his models of human success.[23]

Contemporary Indian Values System

Thousands of young Indians are the recipients of the Indian value system by verbal and non-verbal cues, consciously and unconsciously. The values are there influencing thought and behavior and the young people are not living a cultural system that existed only in the past as the system is actively influencing their thinking today.[24]

The Indian does not consider it is necessary to go to school to become a model of success. One

becomes a model of success not through school but simply in living rightly, by observing, thinking, and praying and the schools offer only those skills needed to keep alive while searching for true Indian-like success.[25]

One of the basic attitudes towards others is that the Indian sees all people as related, not only through blood lines, but in the most abstract metaphysical sense. There is a similarity among Indian people in their ability to get along with others; and gentleness, quietness, and unobstusiveness which often gets labeled as shyness as it contrasts with the competitiveness of the majority culture. The world view, the basic attitude of harmony, is the responsibility of the individual and rather than adjust things, including people, to him, the Indian is aware that he, as the one responsible for keeping the balance among all things, must adjust himself to them.[26]

Kinship ties are important to the Indian value system. Traditional people today call each other by their relationship name. It is in the kinship system that the Indian learns how to be peculiarly an Indian; where he receives all the verbal, non-verbal, consciously, and unconsciously given cues to revere and adjust to nature in the total environment and it is also within this kinship system that the Indian learns to value and respect older, wiser people and to follow their advice.[27]

Generosity and sharing are values that arose from the world view. They also were essential to survival as a common collective attitude of the Indian community and this attitude was the strength and security of the group. This same sense of security still exists to a large degree among many of the Indian people and even though individually and collectively there is very little to share, the common attitude and mental set is there for sharing.[28]

Contemporary Values System Conflict

Behavioral deviation can be expected even in homogeneous cultures where only one set of values is in operation and such deviation can be expected to occur in a greater variety and numbers in situations where peoole are living under the stress of two sets of cultural values. Different cultural values can cause problems and under-achievement in the classroom. The lasting contact of two cultures causes friction and maladjustment and as ethnic group children pass through the school their achievement falls farther and farther behind. School curriculum becomes dysfunctional for the Indian student and this approaches a "requirement of failure" and what teachers regard as proper school objectives, rewards, and punishment are thus decreasingly shared by the Indian children as they progress from grade to grade.[29]

There may be communities where schools reflect a relatively homogeneous culture but in today's contemporary community the social structures are complex and it should not be assumed that standards which are used for deriving guidance for the schools are standards shared by everyone in the community.[30] Significant minorities exist in the social structure than may have little impact on the functioning of the schools and the cry that schools in America reflect only the cognitive and affective expectations of the white, middle class is common enough today and probably oversimplifies reality, but the cry does at least attest to the existence of different, competing, social groups all of which expect something from the school.[31]

Modern critics are convinced that the fit between school and community is a problem because so often they observe schools that do not belong to the communities they serve. The problem is not in the fit of the people

to their schools but it is the expectation that they ought to fit that is damaging.[32] Today's schools certify, sort, and select people, assuming the task of determining who will enter what kinds of positions in the work force as well as who will receive what forms of higher education.[33]

By viewing the schools as having a fundamental function to meet the manpower needs of society, dropping out became a problem. The growing authority of the schools to perform the function of certifying and sorting has transformed a school drop-out into a drop-out from society and failure in school has become one way in which society has learned to say to many young people that they are simply no good. The role of the public schools has expanded to a virtual monopoly in determining access to adult roles in American society and it is an open question whether the schools can really turn from a concern with certification to a more explicit and forthright concern for citizenship.[34]

The schools reflect and teach a selective set of American cultural attitudes and beliefs rather than a cross-section of them and provide a setting for culture conflict and of domination and submission of various sub-cultures. The schools select and transmit a limited and idealized set of cultural norms and where the school operates with ethnic groups who are not oriented toward the pervasive and dominant middle-class values, the school will become involved in the problems and consequences of cultural conflict.[35]

Without regard for the well-being of the community in which a student is rooted, schools are directed to preparing students for employment situations where each must pass the inspection of a middle-class "gate-keeper" and it is possible that what these communities are learning from this enforced manner of dealing with the system-as-environment is a lesson in their lack of power.[36]

The Locus of Control

Much of what is happening in American public education does victimize children, particularly those who differ from the American model child generalized throughout the public schools.[37] The problem of education is not particularly the fault of either Indian or white, but arises whenever educators of one cultural tradition confront pupils of another.[38] The key variable in this transaction is the locus of power, the de facto control of the educational process, which may lie with the educators, the pupils, or elsewhere entirely.[39]

There is a tripartite educational configuration in which ultimate control rests with a school board derived from the higher reaches of community status and power; day-to-day regulation rests with administrators and teachers of a middle level of status and power, and the parents of the pupils have little or no voice as to what is taught their children or how it is done. In the cross-cultural situation, it is neither natural nor inevitable that the recipients of the education lack control over the school system.[40]

The Hannahville Indian Community has lived intimately with the white society for generations, possessing little autonomy and preserving a great many native practices and customs even while selectively adopting many of the advances of the larger society. This selectivity, however, is not nearly correlated with accompanying changes in basic Indian attitudes, mind, and personality. Feelings and attitudes change more slowly than utilitarian features of comfort and convenience and Indians choose selectively material culture and technology but little of the white sentiments, values, or philosophies.[41]

To study schools is to examine the body politic, and the analysis of school systems affords a critical perspective, not only on American society, but on societies

everywhere. The school is a social form creating a peer society among students and where the school is bureaucratic and authoritarian, the subculture of the pupils may crystallize about an ethnic nationalism and, to the extent that the school is "successful", it introduces ideas that are alien and disquieting.[42]

If some degree of control over the educational process lies with the parent group, the conflict may be lessened but if the locus of control is elsewhere, the school may become the focal point of all kinds of tensions. On the one hand are the adults who represent a particular, superordinate, civilized tradition; on the other hand sit pupils who are to be inculcated with customs, values, and thoughtways different from and antagonistic toward those of their elders.[43]

Goals of the educational process affect the locus of control. With the advance of the public education movement, and with the consolidation of schools, the school has been assigned, or inherited, the task of socializing children and the assimilation of children of varying ethnic backgrounds into the common American world. Where socialization and assimilation are the educational goals rather than vocational training, the school becomes, in effect, a challenge to the authority and wisdom of the parent generation.[44]

Many educators attach to the idea that these pupils come to them with empty minds that must be filled before they can compete with youngsters from the "usual middle-class home" and some of the most important general educational goals constitute ruthless attacks on the solidarity and self-respect of the ethnic and lower-class communities, and, indeed, on their very existence.[45]

In February, 1973, the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse developed the Bluewing Tutorial Project in western Wisconsin. The program brought to front a

number of unpleasant truths about the education of Indian children in predominantly white schools in that area. Foremost was the influence of racism. Most teachers are fundamentally authoritarian-oriented and victims of their own anxieties and fears and react to white parental pressures and white school boards. In any case, the teachers share the parents' cultural biases and were usually attuned to one another on their racial stereotypes.[46]

The Bluewing Tutorial Project brought to light the teachers' levels of expectations predetermining the childrens' performances in the classroom and the fact that teachers mirror community attitudes which can be racist. Teachers who claim being liberal become condescending, thus assuming the child will perform more poorly than the whites. This level of expectation determines the child's future because the child frequently performs only up to the expectations despite the fact he may well be able to surpass that level and essentially the teacher is informally tracking the child into a second-rate education and maybe a second-class life.[47]

The teachers' acquiescence in this kind of education for the Indian child frequently creates quiet little victims unable to cope with the imposing white educational structure and it seems that the fundamental problem of the Indian child in the white community is one of racial antagonism. After all account is made of the child's low-income status, his racial and cultural background further exacerbates the situation.[48] The average white teachers cannot be relied upon to solve the problem as their racial prejudices are products of the community environment.[49]

The special status of Indians and their "special rights" are not only themselves annoying but seem related to that other needling fact about Indians: the

aloof pride with which many have persisted in remaining Indian.[50] Their status and rights set Indians apart as a unique group of American citizens, and thus aids them in maintaining a separate identity. Their rights and status, however, help those remain Indian who want to be Indian, who express their wish as the Hannahville Indian Community does by remaining together in a community while those who want to be assimilated can and do leave the community.

The persistence of Indian communities is related to their federal status but the charge that the economic development programs were intended to halt Indian progress and keep Indians, like museum specimens, in their ancient un-changing ways, stems from a misunderstanding of its motivation as the program is actually committed to more change and progress toward improved standards of Indian life than has ever been contemplated in the preceding century of Indian affairs.[51]

The program of economic developed was dedicated to constructive accommodation and adjustment of Indians to modern American life as well as to the idea that a decision to become completely assimilated and give up Indian identity and community life was not for the government to make but for the Indians to make for themselves.[52] Some Americans still see assimilation, and ending Indian communities and special Indian status, as in the best interests of Indians but these factors are usually mentioned as setting Indians apart from others, increasing social distance and the difficulties of intergroup relations. The question is one of freedom. The legal forms which now safeguard the status of Indian communities can be seen as restrictions or limitations of Indian activity and opportunity and not as marks of Indian freedom.[53] It depends on what kind of freedom is at issue. The freedom of Indians to become as non-Indian and assimilated as they wish cannot be the issue

as the Indian citizens have full rights of citizenship and many have exercised their freedom to become completely Americanized.[54] But there are many who want and need the freedom to be Indian within the framework of America and for them, the existence of the community to which they belong is essential to that freedom and some defined legal status of the community is essential to the continued existence of the community.[55]

The disappearance of Indian communities by assimilation has a crucial finality that assimilation can never have for other American minorities who can still look toward a homeland from which they came and a viable tradition and culture. For the Indian, the tribal community is the only carrier of his tradition and if the community disintegrates and disappears, his tradition becomes a matter of history and he loses part of his identity.[56]

> "Meanwhile, the best we can do is to stop hampering their efforts to work out the own destiny, and especially to stop trying to make them give up their Indian identity...Our attitude toward the Indians, the stubbornest non-conformists among us, may be the touchstone of our tolerance of diversity anywhere..."[57]

Indian non-assimilation in a country that has assimilated many peoples is an anachronism if Indians are seen as merely one among many American minorities and if the same process of cultural change and adjustment is expected from them. The immigrant minorites, with a voluntary choice of America, for the most part, implied some commitment toward assimilation but the Indian relations with the dominant culture in America are different.[58] The process of assimilation of migrants over the generations and that of adaptive change in accommodation going on in the Indian home communities resulted in confident predictions that this or that Indian community would become fully assimilated in some

definite period of time, the time usually stated as approximating a generation.[59] At the end of the stated time, contrary to predictions, the Indian community was still there, as strong in numbers and as viable and unassimilated as ever and it is increasingly probable that many of the communities that have endured are likely to continue to endure.[60]

Classification of the Hannahville School

A separate school system, at any level, whether local, state, regional, or federal, will be seen as competitive with the public schools rather than as a parallel structure.[61] The tendency within the Bark River-Harris School District to view the Hannahville Community School as competitive is found in local reaction to the question of duplication of services within a district having a full compliment of educational services.

The question arises as to whether the Hannahville Indian Community School is the result of a separatist movement. In any separatist movement, a group commences with establishing a "we" identity. The second stage is nationalistic, where allegiance to a higher order bond is based on a religio-cultural community of beliefs centered upon the group's history and, in the third stage, the community focuses on the development of economic blocs and work niches, with the goal an ethnic base for business and jobs resulting in economic strength. Finally, the community develops politically by increasing participation through economic and political strength at the federal level.[62]

The Hannahville Indian Community today appears to parallel separatist strategy with a personal group identity within the community, with a religio-cultural identity, and with economic strength being developed in tribal business enterprises. However, they have a small

land base, a little over three thousand acres in scattered tracts, and they are dependant upon external services in the areas of health and welfare as well as job-holding and their community economic base does not appear at this time to be self-sustaining. The goal of jobs within the Community has not been reached. The Tribal Community does not appear to have political clout in the external white community where needed services are still sought and used by the Community. The Hannahville Community School depends on the Bark River-Harris School for ancillary services and is not in any developmental stage to provide education for their childing beyond the eighth grade within the Hannahville Community. For these reasons, the Hannahville Community School does not appear to manifest all of the tenets of a separatist school system.

There is also the question as to whether the Hannahville Community School is a utopian concept, a revitalization movement. The value orientation of the society will determine not only the content of what a man is expected to learn, but whether he is expected to learn it in a school or under some other circumstances.[63] The utopian movement, the revitalization movement, and the revolutionary movement are all related and are characterized by deliberate, organized and conscious efforts by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture.[64] Cultural transformation is the goal and a simple dissatisfaction with an existing state of affairs does not launch such revitalization or utopian movement.[65]

The Hannahville Indian Community is not in the midst of transforming their culture. Their goal is to maintain the traditional culture and its manifestations. They have shown dissatisfaction with the educational approaches towards their children but they are not projecting a change in their culture, values, traditions or attitudes.

There are divisions within reservation cultures but these are not racial differences, they are ideological differences.[66] There are the conservatices and the progressives and both are dissatisfied with their present conditions of poverty, social disorganization, lack of autonomy, and general cultural depression.[67] The conservatives turn toward the past and cherish menories of ancient glories and are skeptical of anything issuing from the whites or modeled on them and the result is negativism in which the energies of the conservative population are devoted to preserving a style of life that represents a sorry amalgam of impoverished white and deteriorated Indian cultures and with which they themselves are impatient.[68] Their syndrome of economic impoverishment, isolation from other cultures, and blind conservatism is self-reinforcing and the more administrators criticize and pressure for reform, the more they identify their true "Indianness" with the refusal to budge, even to improve their condition.[69]

The progressive orientation on the reservations tends towards the white society and the acquisition of white customs, values, and manners; and their aim is assimilation. Their view of the nature of the larger American society is based not on direct vision, but on refraction through the dicta and preachments of a highly mixed group of administrative officers, school teachers, and missionaries.[70]

The sole corrective available to the progressive is actual experience with neighboring white society and this experience, in the case of the reservation societies, takes place in the form of small rural, white towns, usually provencial and often contemptuous of all things "Indian."[71]

The Hannahville Indian Community appears to reject the progressive assimilation by the provincial neighboring white society in favor of a reactionary approach, a

reaction to conservatism outside of their community. The Hannahville Indian Community hopes to maintain its culture and traditions and improve the self-identity of their youth. A progressive would depend on external institutions to provide assimilation goals. Maintaining their cultural identity and providing internal institutions to further the goals of the Indian community suggests change that is neither conservative, or traditional or progressive. It implies post-conservative reactionism.

Reactionary societies are post-conservative societies.[72] The conservative order now adjusts its posture to minimize the effectiveness of its competitors' propaganda and to mobilize counterattacks and in the interest of preserving the values the society cherishes, it combats alien heresies by revealing the inadequacy of alien values and the poverty of their practice and recaptures, in the process, the moral enthusiasm of its own society's earlier growth.[73]

The Hannahville Indian Community School appears to fall in the orientation pattern of the post-conservative reactionists rather than a separatist or progressive orientation. Although this configuration may be argued within the local white rural community, arguments encompassing such subjects as a separate school within an existing system, separate tax-dollar funding, and desegregation, do not hold under investigation. The main thrust of such counter-argument is evident by the ancillary services furnished by the local white community not only to the Indian school children but to the residents of the Community as well. The recognition of the State of Michigan of educational problems on reservations in Michigan is another counter-argument. The aims and goals of the Hannahville Indian Community also speak to the issue of building satisfying social and economic inter-relationships with the external

world within the context of retaining their cultural self-identity.

Education as a Cultural Confrontation

Pre-school children may be learning ways of dealing with life that are radically opposed to the expectations on which the school system is built.[74] This assumption is applicable to pre-school reservation children who are destined to attend a public off-reservation school, a situation which existed at the Hannahville Indian Community prior to September of 1975.

The process of formal schooling is a struggle to substitute one kind of tradition (knowledge) for another within the mind of the child.[75] Education is a cultural process, the instrument by which cultures survive and develop and although the learning situations vary, in all societies education is crucial to the cultural mode of life.[76]

Though human social behavior is learned from contact with other human beings whose cultural practices are relatively uniform, society brings into contact groups of individuals with respective sub-cultural similarities that differ considerable from each other. An integrated and regional school system brings together different kinds of children and such groups cause a gap between what is presented and what is learned.[77]

In American society, major prescriptives are presented outside the family unit. The school system presents a high percentage of the prescriptives that are sanctioned by dominant group members, institutionalized and transmitted as part of the cultural tradition and this deeply rooted system resists change even when change is imperative.[78]

Outside the formal school system, the family, church, and peer group members may present prescriptives

in conflict with those presented by the school and continual re-examination of prescriptives is necessary to assist individuals to adapt to their physical and cultural surroundings.[79]

The system of formal education that physically separates the child from the parents for most of the hours of the day and most of the days of the year is taken for granted by most Americans but its introduction into Indian society is thoroughly disruptive of traditional patterns of socialization, social control, and famial labor.[80]

The modern school system is premised on the notion that its population is an aggregate of social atoms, among whom there are no significant or permanent linkages.[81] In the ideology of the educators, these social atoms begin at the same starting line and then move onward in haphazard clumps, each atom achieving independently of the others and according to its own inner strength. What an individual does in school and in his vocation is an individual achievement derived from his own initiative and benefiting only himself and his immediate family.[82] Contrary to this ideology is the normative system of the folk community where the individual excels only to enhance the community.[83]

Educators appear to be unaware that individualism might be considered immoral in some societies and by some of the children in the schools.[84] The idea of individual achievement, with rewards of personal advancement and benefit, hampers the adjustment of some people to the Western system of formal education.[85] But American schools are organized around that idea, the individualistic concept.

Performance at school is not always indicative of the ability of the student and can be the end result of interference between the system the student brings with him and the system in the school; or "a setting

largely irrelevant to the direction their abilities and competence other-wise took with the problem in part being one of a conflict of values and of perceived interests.[86]

Cultural behavior is symbolic. Words, body motions, artifacts, marriage, religion, and all human social interaction depends on understanding the symbols involved. Children from different classes of sub-cultural groups attach different meanings to concepts and, in addition, language defines the experiences that an individual may have.[87] What is learned directly is not necessarily identical with what is presented to be learned.[88] Accuracy of transmission is influenced by such factors as the learner's previous experience or training, awareness of the various elements of the learning situation, symbolic orientation, and so on.[89]

Many educators are attached to the idea that the poor pupils come to them with empty minds to be filled before the student can compete with those from the "usual middle-class home" and Wax and Wax labeled this concept "the vacuum ideology." The reference is to the experiential background of the Sioux child, for the educators, especially administrators, did not regard the child as participating in a distinctive culture and society but as lacking in those pre-school experiences that distinguished the desirable kind of pupil.[90]

Wax and Wax found that the ideal pupil would have been of urban middle-class, Protestant (and White) background, and, insofar as the pupil lacked these experiences, it was not that he had had others, but that he was deficient since his parents had not read Peter Rabbit to him and they had not sung Anglo-Saxon lullabies to him.[91]

In any classroom, a teacher may present selected course content and the material will be modified by

each pupil with the amount of modification determined by the degree to which the learner's background resembles that of the teacher's.[92] Sub-cultural experiences and linguistic symbolism in common would tend to increase "faithful transmission of content" and the wider the divergence between the two backgrounds, the less possibility that an accurate message is learned.[93]

As individuals learn only what is presented them, the school is responsible, as the major transmitter of sanctioned social behavior, for selecting and presenting the kind of behavior needed for adaptation to a changing cultural milieu and what is presented depends not only on the elements in the cultural base, but on who is available to present these elements.[94] The "who" is a crucial figure responsible for selecting, modifying, and interpreting cultural content and also establishes the affective quality of the learning situation and may serve as a model with whom the learner identifies, or an image whom he rejects.[95]

A "donor" is any person who presents patterns of behavior to another. The activities of the institutionalized donor (the teacher) are reinforced by those who create and maintain the conditions under which a teacher functions. The teacher is supported by a large netword of interacting individuals, administrators, political, economic, maintenance functionaries who control the context, and as much as possible, the content of what is presented in the classroom.[96] The teacher, by fulfilling age and other social requirements. occupies the status of donor. The donor role is reinforced and controlled by the school system and Americans generally accept the teachers' right to teach specified cultural materials.[97] Symbols of one kind or another designate those individuals who have the right to play a donor role. Role expectations and identifying symbols are

transmitted culturally and people accept behavior from individuals whom these sanction.[98]

Right To a Donor Role

By establishing the Hannahville Indian Community School, the Tribal Council has openly questioned the right of the external white community to play the donor role in selecting, modifying, and interpreting cultural content in the education of their children. An understanding of this credentialing process is essential in establishing what donor, by various age, occupation, religion, and ethnic group,has the right to present cultural prescriptives and alternatives to the Indian children.

One of the important tasks in the study of culture is to seek an understanding of the means by which social systems shape the minds of their members in order to assure the perpetuation of their cultures and it is the population, rather than the individual, that is the adaptive unit.[99] The idea that the modes of shaping the mind must be understood within the total socio-cultural context in which they develop is expressed in the following statement by substitution the phrase "any social system" for "the kibbutz" and thereby giving the statement universal or cross-cultural applicability:

> "Education of the children cannot be for educational purposes as such...Rather it must be intrinsically tied to the major objectives of the kibbutz and to prepare the children for the kibbutz was of life.. The kibbutz is a complicated economic, social and political organism and all educational efforts must be directed to prepare the children to accept the institution and to serve its aims..."[100]

Cultural patterns of behavior are sets of adaptive mechanism intended to assure group self-perpetuation. Adaptation is the relationship maintained by a group to its environment. Adaptive mechanisms that develop in a population to facilitate its survival

are not only found in its technology and its economic, political, and legal organizations, but also found in patterns of cognition, motivation, and impulse control.[101]

Modes of upbringing in a society are mechanisms designed to create the kind of person who can meet the imperatives of the culture in which he will participate as an adult.[102] It is a common social heritage that makes cohesion and solidarity and insures perpetuation of the community. People do modify and change their social patterns but when whole peoples are ruthlessly separated from their past, the result is almost always disorganization and deterioration.[103]

Any item of behavior, any tradition or pattern, can be evaluated correctly only in the light of its meaning to the people who practice it, its relation to other elements of the culture, and the part it plays in the adaptation of the people to their environment or to one another.[104]

Indigenous Indian styles of learning and cultural values will be seen as impediments to achievement in schools as they are now or seen as guidelines to the establishment of schools better adapted to the cultural values of Indian children.[105] While it is a significant source of ideas for educational innovation, research designed and carried out by those raised in the culture will be essential to gathering the kind of information on which meaningful recommendations for change can be based.[106]

Attempts should be made to seek a kind of education that will provide a dual preparation for every Indian child and to equipt the Indian child with skills necessary for urban society, if he chooses to participate in it. This must be done without neglecting his growth within his traditional society, thus freeing him for the other choice of developing Indian life among Indians.[107]

By establishing their right to the donor role, the Hannahville Indian Community seeks to prepare their children for a dual role while presenting cultural perscriptives to perpetuate the Indian culture.

Summary

In the educational situation in the Bark River-Harris School district there appears to be a question as to whether or not Americans can be tolerant of diversity. The Hannahville Indian Community School is a direct challenge to the traditional concepts in education in that school district. The Community School setting enhances independence from the local public school district control. The Tribal Council at Hannahville appears to have placed emphasis on creating an alternative to an available public education and therefore is committed to innovation in education.

The Hannahville Indian Community can be considered an ethnic community and, in the development of their Community School, they are resisting attempts at forced acculturation or assimilation. The Tribal Council is attempting to maximize their community resources and have chosen to by-pass the local school district facilities in favor of a school setting based on their community's internal resources as well as on external professional resources.

The Community does not deny it needs knowledge and skills from the dominant society to survive but they do assert the freedom to perpetuate their community. The community has persisted for more than a century in its present geographical location and it has also persisted in safe-guarding its traditions and tribal identity. The dominant society should not assume that because immigrant societies chose assimilation that the indigenous societies would desire the same.

The Community has remained selective in adapting

the material culture and technology of the dominant society while rejecting most of the white sentiments, values and philosophies. The selectivity, however, is not correlated with any basic change in Indian attitudes.

Socialization and assimilation as educational goals challenge the authority and wisdom of the parent generations of ethnic communities and the decision as to whether the Hannahville Indian Community retains Indian identity is not up to the nation, the state, or the local government, including the local public school district, to make but for the members of the Community to make for themselves.

Special rights and special legal status have set Indians apart from external white communities but those same rights have helped them retain a separate identity in a country that seeks to reject diversity by a uniform application of public educational institutions of the mores of the dominant society.

The Hannahville Indian Community School appears to fall into the orientation pattern of the post-conservative reactionists rather than a separatist or progressive orientation due to ancillary services provided by the external community; to the recognition of the State of Michigan of existing educational problems in Indian education; and by the aims and goals of the Community to equipt their children with a self-identity to sustain them in coping with the external white community.

Education is a cultural confrontation and educational institutions in the United States play a major role in prescriptives for the society as well as provide and support the donor role in presenting prescriptives.

The Hannahville Indian Community has asserted the right of an ethnic society to the role of the donor in seeking to perpetuate their community as well as prepare their children for dual citizenship.

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CHAPTER X

SUMMARIES AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

As a descriptive historical essay, this study developed a background of perspectives on the chronological events that led to the formation of the Hannahville Indian Community as a Federal reservation. The study also describes the development of community services to the Community and the results of such developments on the current socio-economic and educational status of the Community.

Part one, reservation background, summarizes events that took place in recent history that culminated in the formation of the Hannahville Indian Community as a federal reservation. Part two, self-determination, summarizes socio-economic issues that have affected the Community and the philosophy of self-determination. Part three summarizes the focus on Hannahville as an ethnic community and Part four is related to the implications for present day education in an ethnic community.

Reservation Background

Events that took place in recent history that culminated in the formation of the Hannahville Indian Community began with the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787 and ended with the organization of the Community as a federal corporation.

The Ordinance of 1787 created a public domain in the territory occupied by the Potawatomi Indians of the Northwest Territory and a situation developed where Potawatomi lands were situated adjacent to public land. Problems arose as to boundary lines when the public lands were opened to the settlers and settlers moved back and forth across boundary lines at will.

The federal government was interested in statehood for the Northwest Territory and populating

the area with white settlers was necessary to achieve statehood. To clear the territory of Indian title, a series of land cessions began in the late 1700's and continued through 1840 ending with removal of the Potawatomi Indians from their lands in the Territory. The thrust of the land cessions was removal and those Indians who resisted removal moved into areas in Canada, Upper Michigan, and Wisconsin.

One group of Potawatomi moved up the western shores of Lake Michigan into Wisconsin and by 1853 were found in Michigan at Cedar River. Indian Agents reported the presence of the group as a stray band and proceeded to number the members and invite them to join other Potawatomi who had been removed to Kansas.

The Methodist church in Michigan sent a missionary to the Cedar River Potawatomi in 1883. Finding them squatters on private lands, the missionary located unoccupied lands in Harris Township and the group assembled in that section of Menominee County. The Indian community was named Hannahville after the wife of missionary Peter Marksman.

In 1907, the federal government took an interest in the stray bands in Wisconsin and Michigan. An agent was assigned to take a census of the members. The census was triggered by an investigation into the claim that those Indians had not shared in annuities due them. An Act of 1864 had provided the non-emigrating Indians a share in the annuities but the terms of the Act had not been carried out. The Agent placed a total of 457 Potawatomi Indians on a census roll that became known as the "Wooster Roll" and monies were proportionately allocated the Indians from unpaid and undistributed annuities to which they held rightful claim.

The Hannahville Indian Community members are descendants from the Wooster Roll.

In 1913, Congress authorized the purchase of over three thousand acres of land for the Hannahville Potawatomi, utilizing the Indians' annuity share. The acreage was purchased in Harris and Gourley Townships of Menominee County. The lands were staggered in the sections presumably to put the Indian families in contact with white families for assimilation by association.

In 1916, Congress, again using more of the tribe's money, authorized the clearing of land and the provision of farm units to Indian families at Hannahville. Houses and barns were built and families moved into designated units. The land was not suitable for farming and no assistance was offered to train the Indians to care for the property or utilize the equipment furnished for farming purposes. As a result, the project failed from its impracticality.

Under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the political status changed for the Hannahville Indians. The Community was organized in 1936 into an independent and self-governing unit and officially recognized as The Hannahville Indian Community. The Community is not recognized as a part of any local, county, or state government and is a community having special rights and legal status in a direct relationship to the federal government. Thus the transition was complete, from a fully-functioning Potawatomi Nation in recent history to a contemporary reservation community.

Self-determinism

As a federal policy, self-determinism is a commitment by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to involve the Indian people in decisions affecting them. Self-determination in education is recognized by the Bureau and the movement has emerged as a dominant force. Curriculum, community participation, administration,

and staffing of schools by Indians are goals in educational self-determination, with the locus of control held by the Indians.

Re-evaluation of the aims and goals in education is a continuing process and the Hannahville Indian Community initiated such process in 1973 by utilizing Johnson O'Malley funds to develop a tutorial and bicultural program for the reservation students. Out of this first step emerged a plan to utilize not only Johnson O'Malley funds but also Impact Aid and Title I funds in an effort to improve the quality of education for the reservation children. The Bilingual Education Act of 1975 of the State of Michigan provided further funds for an innovation in reservation education.

The Hannahville Indian children were found to be below the national norm in achievement, having fallen to nearly three years below the norm by grades seven and eight. The Hannahville Indian Community asked the Bark River-Harris School to hold their children back and provide remedial facilities rather than continue with a policy of social promotion. The school administration continued the policy of social promotion and in September, 1975, the Hannahville Indian Tribal Council opened a Kindergarten through eighth grade school for fifty-three Indian children on the reservation.

Several alternative schools for Indian students operate throughout the United States and Canada. It is also not a unique concept to the Hannahville Indians as in the 1880's contract mission education was the only education provided the group. School systems under the auspices of religious communities are common today and separate from the public schools.

The Hannahville Indian Community contacted the Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards for

assistance in developing a curriculum for their children that stressed Indian culture. The school at Hannahville operates with the prime function of bringing the Indian way of life into the classroom and improve deficiencies in the education of the children.

Traditional Indian educational methods are utilized at the Hannahville Indian Community School. These methods involve career education to prepare the child for a role in tribal society; community involvement in the learning situations; a non-graded approach; and an individual instruction method which permits the child to learn at his or her own rate of speed. The school cooperates with the Bark River-Harris School in the provision of ancillary services at the public school.

The Ethnic Community

When a small reservation community replaces an existing external public school with a school system of its own, it is a direct reponse to assimilation and to the role of education in assimilation and association. It also asks the question of whether or not Americans can be tolerant of diversity and it implies ambivalence on the part of the dominant society between stated aims and goals in a democratic country.

The Hannahville Indian Community is an ethnic community. In the development of its Community School it is resisting attempts at forced acculturation and assimilation. This is a direct challenge to the traditional concepts in public education as presented in the Bark River-Harris school. The existence of an ethnic community reflects the voluntary decision of the members to keep their traditional way of life. This speaks strongly for the vitality of the traditional way of life, a vitality that has survived.

The Hannahville Indian Community is aware it needs the knowledge and skills of the outside community to improve socio-economic levels and educational levels but it denies the need to acquire all the educational needs from a system that rejects motivational factors of Indian life.

Assimilation in education carries the connotation of expecting the Indian child to fit into the white school system. The conflict between sets of cultural values causes friction for children of an group and the friction increases when Indian children are socially promoted from grade to grade.

Schools function to prepare the individual to enter the manpower structure, thus act in the position of deciding who will enter what kinds of professions and who will receive what form of higher education. To the Hannahville Indian Community, such functions result in a system in which the donor role, the role of the major transmitter of sanctioned social behavior, was taken from the Indian parent and the Indian community by the local external white community.

In establishing the Hannahville Community School, the Tribal Council questioned the right of anyone outside the culture to play a donor role to their children. An important task in perpetuating the community is provided by the donor role. The indigenous Indian style of learning and cultural values may have been impediments to learning in the external dominant society but they have been structured in the Community School as guidelines to the aims and goals of the school.

Recommendations for viable alternatives for the reservation rightfully come from inside the community. The Hannahville Tribal Council appears to have placed emphasis on creating an alternative to an available public school and is therefor committed

to innovation in education. They appear to have maximized community resources that have not been taken into account by the external system and, in so doing, assert their right to perpetuate their community.

The decision as to whether or not the Hannahville Indian Community retains Indian identity is not up to anyone but the members of the Community. The federal government set the pattern decades ago by placing Indians apart from white society with special rights and legal status while planning, at the same time, educational aims and goals that reject diversity by a uniform application of the mores of the dominant society. The Hannahville Indian Community appears to have attempted to resolve this cultural vacillation on the part of mainstream America by choosing to retain their special rights and identity by making use of the same institutional framework that attempted to assimilate then, the school system. But the difference is that the Hannahville School seeks to assimilate and acculturate their children into the ethnic community in order to perpetuate tribal society rather than perpetuate the dominance of mainstream America over tribal reservation communities.

In their efforts to perpetuate their society, the Hannahville Indian Community is attempting to prepare its children for a dual role, the role of coping with the external community to build satisfying social and economic interrelationships and the role of establishing adequate self-identity as Indians.

There are problems in innovation and it takes time for new concepts to develop and grow and it is assumed that in the ensuing months such growth will take place at the Hannahville Indian Community School.

Conclusions

The three research questions to be answered by this study were:

1. What events took place in recent history that culminated in the formation of the Hannahville Indian Community as a reservation?
2. What happens when a small reservation becomes self-deterministic towards the goals of an available public school?
3. What are the problems and rewards when a small reservation community replaces an existing external public system with a system of their own?

The findings of this study result in the following conclusions:

1. The loss of Potawatomi lands by a series of cessions resulting in a forced removal initiated a refugee-migratory movement away from the former tribal subsistence environment into a poverty-level squatter status. Reservation status was achieved after Congressional intervention into the obligations by treaty to the Potawatomi Nation enrolled members.
2. Viable alternatives to public education can be made available to members of ethnic communities such as reservation communities if cultural perspectives in education are not met within an existing public school system. Current reforms in Indian education and the commitment by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to self-deterministic involvement of Indian peoples in the perpetuation of their cultural heritage identifies and lends support to ethnic communities developing such alternatives.
3. Reassertion of strong tribal leadership with stated aims and goals to perpetuate an ethnic community which remained constant during efforts to disperse, assimilate, and acculturate has rewarded the Hannahville Indian Community with renewed self-identity.

> A lack of communication will remain a problem between the reservation community and certain sectors of the external community until broader perspectives are adopted to facilitate a better understanding of the effect of the donor role in the education of Indian children.

In terms of education for the Hannahville Potawatomi, the major historical developments affecting the delivery of educational services to the Hannahville Indian Community are, in chronological sequence, 1) the Ordinance of 1787 creating a public domain in territory occupied by the Potawatomi; 2) land cessions and the thrust towards removal of all Indians to the west of the Mississippi, which, for the ancestors of the Hannahville Community, was put into force following the Treaty of Chicago; 3) the 1907 census, called the Wooster Roll, which funded the 1913 Congressional action to purchase lands for a federal reservation on which the Hannahville Potawatomi settled and 4) the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 which provided for organization of the Hannahville Indian Community into a self-governing unit and a federal corporation.

The major socio-economic developments affecting the delivery of educational services to the Hannahville Indian Community began with 1) the refusal of the groups of Potawatomi to be removed west of the Mississippi and the resultant withdrawal of annuity payments to the stray bands until 1907; 2) the refugee status of the Hannahville ancestors on the Cedar River in Menominee County, Michigan, which prompted the Methodist Church to assign a Chippewa Indian Missionary to the group; 3) the settlement of the group on lands near Harris, Michigan, which became known as Hannahville; 4) the citizenship status accorded all Indians in 1924; 5) an agreement in 1927 between the federal government and the State of Michigan to provide and extend all state services to reservation Indians; 6) the Johnson O'Malley Act of 1934 providing Federal

educational funds to assist local districts in education of Indian children in local public schools; 7) consolidation of local district schools, a practice that removed the Indian children from the small cohesive ethnic group and into the large desegregated classroom; 8) the lack of cultural orientation towards ethnic students in the school system on the part of both administration and faculty; 9) the locus of control in the school system held by the dominant white majority, thus affecting the donor role in acculturation of the ethnic student; 10) the lack of a resource base within the reservation community prior to 1975 which negatively affected their clout in terms of educational needs for their community's children, and 11) the passage of the 1975 bilingual bicultural act by the State of Michigan providing funds for a pilot project at the Hannahville Indian Community for an alternative school on the reservation.

There are no natural barriers between the Hannahville Indian Community and the external community. One small sign announces the approach to the reservation headquarters at Hannahville. The reservation lands are not marked as such to separate them from adjacent lands. To the local white community, however, the separation is distinct, having existed since 1913, if not before, and the young people, both Indian and white, grow up in the area aware of this pattern of physical separation. It is assumed that the pattern of physical separation continues when the Indian child attends school off the reservation or attends any event in the external community. The protected reservation status appears to have perpetuated this physical separation.

By retaining reservation status, the Hannahville Indian Community retains the right to remain an ethnic community and retains autonomy over its enrolled children. The Community thus rejects the external community's definition of what it means to be Indian, of what it

means to be a member of an ethnic community.

The special status of the Hannahville Indian Community probably affects negatively any attempt they make to enter into the locus of control of the external community. The idea that Indians are a special problem is probably a reaction to the idea that the Community is a favored group having some advantages the rest of the community does not have. Special advantages noted by the external community were that Indian lands are off-limits to white people and that the Indian community has the right to self-government. Another advantage noted by the external community in relation to their status was that Indian lands are protected and exempt from state and local taxation but the Indians are entitled to all the services provided by the State of Michigan to Michigan citizens.

The Hannahville Indians have not demonstrated a pattern of success in job-holding in the external community. The lack of a white-oriented work ethic, combined with what the external community considers to be free services to the Indians, tends to maintain a high level of resentment towards the reservation community. This resentment was heard more often in local bars than in area business firms or among area professional people. Business and professional people tended to wish Hannahville success in the development of their resources as well as in the alternative school concept. At the same time, however, they withheld opinions as to a projected success for either the school or the economic development projects.

It appears that the resistance to acculturation was manifested in the Indian through the poor attendance records and low school achievement levels. The Hannahville Indian Community, by establishing the Hannahville Community School, demonstrates a resistence to the donor role played by the external community in

the public school system. By establishing a system of education on the reservation to further the Community&s aims and objectives in education of the reservation children, the Hannahville Indian Community demonstrates its right to the donor role in perpetuating identity as an ethnic community.

Whether or not an ethnic community such as this can remain responsive to the educational needs of its young people appears to depend on the intensity and determination within the reservation community. The Hannahville Indian Community has asserted a non-separatist post-conservative reactionary stance and does not accept curtailment of educational opportunity for their children. Attempts to broaden the perspectives of the external community to the needs of the reservation community to perpetuate its culture through holding the locus of control over a donor role in the acculturation of their children should be a priority.

If efforts in the past to communicate this need have not been met successfully, perhaps the efforts should be actively resumed with specific emphasis placed on contacts with the business and professional groups within a broader geographical area than before. Individuals who live and participate in two cultures can present a contradictory image to the external society if communication is blocked or gaps left open for speculation rather than facts.

This study points to a growing trend among the small Indian communities to participate in educational decisions affecting the perpetuation of their distinct ethnic community. To generalize this trend into the non-Indian ethnic communities, into communities that do not hold special rights and legal status with the federal and state government, would be misleading. However, a broad generalization is not without merit. Perhaps this study speaks to drop-out and absentee

problems among those ethnic groups which have not become involved in curriculum design that reflects the cultural heritage of the ethnic student.

At issue at Hannahville is the question as to whether or not the movement of ethnic children to schools outside the reservation community did, in fact, provide quality education or provided acculturation and assimilation. At issue is also the question as to why the dominant society appears uncomfortable with viable alternatives to public education. Also at issue is whether generalized state-wide or country-wide educational programs can fill the needs-dispositions of children from ethnic communities and whether such education programs are providing an equal educational opportunity for all. Perhaps equal educational opportunity needs redefining if ethnic groups are to be accorded their birthright in the United States.

It appears, from this study, that it is not too late to combat alienation, acculturation, and assimilation of ethnic minority children by providing an alternative to public education. However, at this point in time, for the Hannahville Indian Community to continue in the movement towards self-determination in education, a concerned and active effort must continue with dialogue between the Hannahville Indian Community, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, The Michigan Inter-Tribal Council, the various departments of education of the Federal and State governments, the Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards, and with the offices of education in Menominee County which includes the Bark River-Harris District.

The program as initiated in the elementary grades at the Hannahville Community School showed promise in the first few weeks. The Indian children appeared to cope adequately in their interaction with off-reservation children through the ancillary services provided at

The Bark River-Harris School. If such interaction through ancillary services between the two schools continues, the Indian children will be the beneficiaries of an adequate self-concept that should enable them to fulfill their needs-dispositions within the context of two worlds, the reservation world and the off-reservation world.

The Hannahville Indian Community is committed to involvement both in community development and in education and it is trying to identify the needs of the Community as well as prevent acculturation of their young people by the dominant society. It is probable that the economic development programs and the reservation school will succeed if the external community can overcome ethnic misconceptions and sterotyped views and accept the relatedness of such issues as success and failure as inherent in any community attempting to improve a way of life.

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