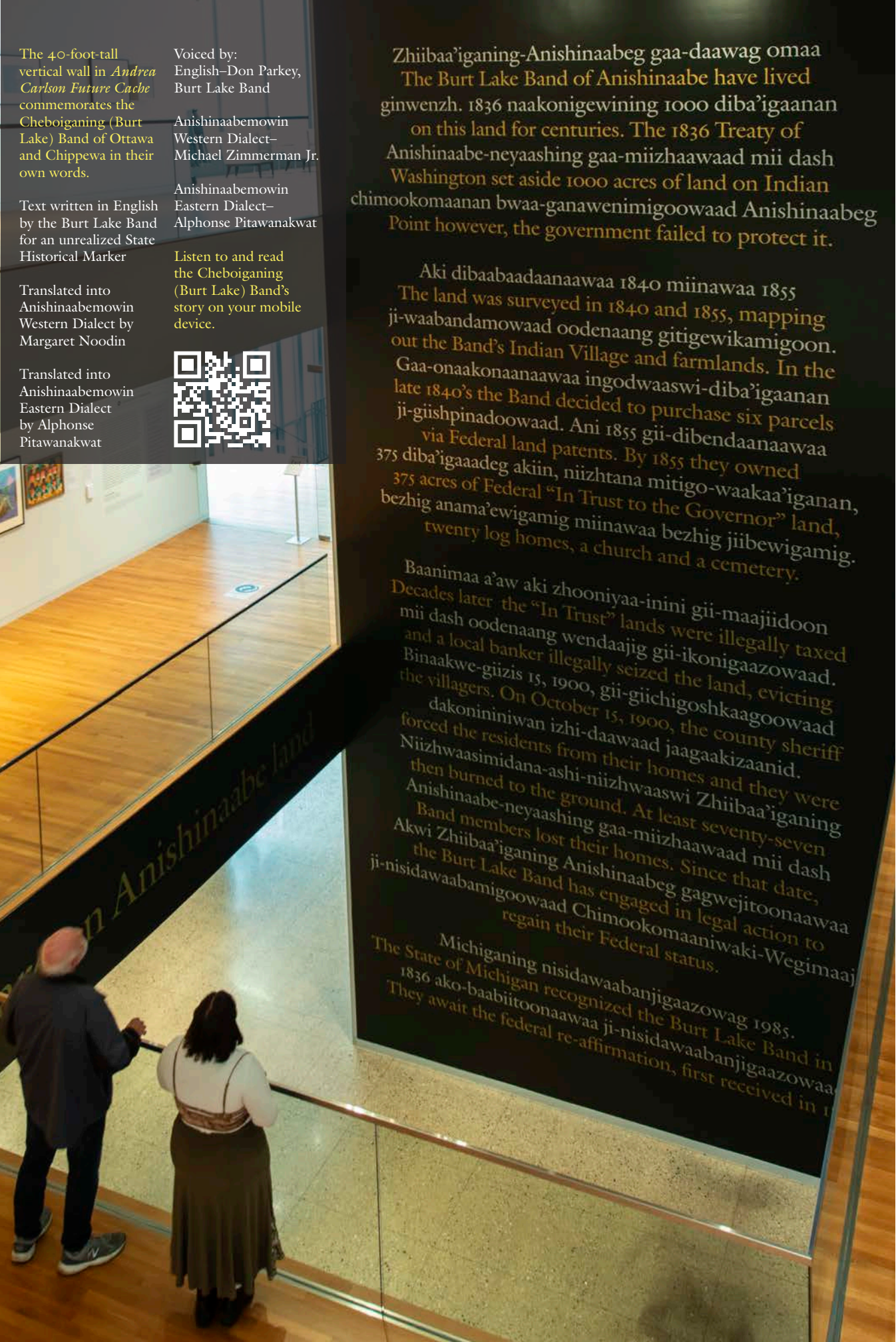
Andrea Carlson

Future Cache



The 40-foot-tall vertical wall in *Andrea Carlson Future Cache* commemorates the Cheboiganing (Burt Lake) Band of Ottawa and Chippewa in their own words.

Text written in English by the Burt Lake Band for an unrealized State Historical Marker

Translated into Anishinaabemowin Western Dialect by Margaret Noodin

Translated into Anishinaabemowin Eastern Dialect by Alphonse Pitawanakwat

Voiced by:
English–Don Parkey, Burt Lake Band

Anishinaabemowin Western Dialect–Michael Zimmerman Jr.

Anishinaabemowin Eastern Dialect–Alphonse Pitawanakwat

Listen to and read the Cheboiganing (Burt Lake) Band's story on your mobile device.

Zhiibaa'iganing-Anishinaabeg gaa-daawag omaa
The Burt Lake Band of Anishinaabe have lived
ginwenzh. 1836 naakonigewining 1000 diba'igaanan
on this land for centuries. The 1836 Treaty of
Anishinaabe-neyaashing gaa-miizhaawaad mii dash
Washington set aside 1000 acres of land on Indian
chimookomaanan bwaa-ganawenimigoowaad Anishinaabeg
Point however, the government failed to protect it.

Aki dibaabaadaanaawaa 1840 miinawaa 1855
The land was surveyed in 1840 and 1855, mapping
ji-waabandamowaad oodenaang gitigewikamigoon.
out the Band's Indian Village and farmlands. In the
Gaa-onaakonaanaawaa ingodwaaswi-diba'igaanan
late 1840's the Band decided to purchase six parcels
ji-giishpinadoowaad. Ani 1855 gii-dibendaanaawaa
via Federal land patents. By 1855 they owned
375 diba'igaaadeg akiin, niizhtana mitigo-waakaa'iganan,
375 acres of Federal "In Trust to the Governor" land,
bezhig anama'ewigamig miinawaa bezhig jiibewigamig.
twenty log homes, a church and a cemetery.

Baanimaa a'aw aki zhooniyaa-inini gii-maajiidoon
Decades later the "In Trust" lands were illegally taxed
mii dash oodenaang wendaajig gii-ikonigaazowaad.
and a local banker illegally seized the land, evicting
Binaakwe-giizis 15, 1900, gii-giichigoshkaagoowaad
the villagers. On October 15, 1900, the county sheriff
dakonininiwan izhi-daawaad jaagaakizaanid.
forced the residents from their homes and they were
Niizhwaasimidana-ashi-niizhwaaswi Zhiibaa'iganing
then burned to the ground. At least seventy-seven
Anishinaabe-neyaashing gaa-miizhaawaad mii dash
Band members lost their homes. Since that date,
Akwi Zhiibaa'iganing Anishinaabeg gagwejitoonaawaa
the Burt Lake Band has engaged in legal action to
ji-nisidawaabamigoowaad Chimookomaaniwaki-Wegimaajin.
regain their Federal status.

Michiganing nisidawaabanjigaazowag 1985.
The State of Michigan recognized the Burt Lake Band in 1985.
1836 ako-baabiitoonaawaa ji-nisidawaabanjigaazowaad.
They await the federal re-affirmation, first received in 1836.

Imagining a Future Cache for the Cheboiganing (Burt Lake) Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians

Jennifer Friess

Artist Andrea Carlson visits with students and staff from the Native American Student Association and UMMA staff in the gallery. Photograph courtesy of Mahalina Dimacali.

The text running above this gallery reminds Native and non-Native visitors alike: "Gidayaa Anishinaabewakiing. You are on Anishinaabe land."

Indeed, the majority of the Great Lakes region—including all of the University of Michigan's campuses (and this Museum)—comprises Anishinaabe land. This assertion of sovereignty challenges the (white) institutional practice of stating that one occupies contested territories while refusing to return the land to their ancestral caretakers. Carlson's entire installation—which combines potent texts, painted portals onto an imagined future, and a cache of symbolic provisions—creates a powerful acknowledgement of Native sovereignty.

Centering Native peoples' experiences of displacement and belonging, Carlson's multivalent practice surfaces and disrupts established settler colonial narratives. She employs a breadth of visual and linguistic strategies in work that has most recently been featured in the Whitney Museum of American Art's public art billboard display in New York City, on banners along the Chicago riverfront, in the 2022 Toronto Biennial of Art, and FRONT International 2022: Cleveland Triennial for Contemporary Art. *Future Cache*, her installation at the University of Michigan Museum of Art, is no different in its efforts to take on settler colonial histories, yet it is specific to the university and its expansive land holdings. Through *Future Cache*, Andrea Carlson (Ojibwe) implicitly asks those who have benefited from the legacies of colonization to consider where they stand and where to go from here.

Future Cache focuses on the plight of the Cheboiganing (Burt Lake) Band of Ottawa and Chippewa, who were violently forced from their home on the northern tip of Michigan's Lower Peninsula on October 15, 1900, when the county sheriff and a local landowner, claiming a right to the site, set fire to the Band's village on Burt Lake—the geographical heart of their ancestral lands. And, as University of Michigan Professor Andrew Herscher examines in this guide, the university benefits from the tragic displacement of the Cheboiganing Band: part of the U–M Biological Station sits on their land. In fact, the university's earliest land acquisitions were made in 1817—eighty-three years before the Burnout—on the basis of an Anishinaabe land grant to an educational institution that would serve the Native community's children.

The installation centers on a three-story vertical wall that features an account of the Band's dispossession. Originally written by the Band for a still-unrealized historical marker, the text is alternately presented in Anishinaabemowin (the language of the Band) and English.

'Passage Through'

In Anishinaabemowin, the Band's name, "cheboiganing," means portage or passage through. Carlson draws upon this notion in *I'll Cut a Hole* and *Future Cache*, in which overlapping and intentionally jarring black-and-white patterns frame apertures onto imaginary views of Burt Lake. Carlson employs paper as the support for her paintings—a choice with historical resonance, given paper's long history as the medium for treaties and contracts in which colonial settlers employed confusing and coercive language to steal Native lands.

These paintings on paper feature two large-scale views onto Burt Lake—imaginary decolonized landscapes that nevertheless contain remnants of the violent realities of displacement. *I'll Cut a Hole* [p.10] looks out onto the lake from the perspective of the Cheboiganing Band's St. Mary's Cemetery, one of the few extant locations from the Band's ancestral village. The cemetery holds the remains of Band members who died between 1885 and 1909. The painting's title refers to words from the spiritual "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," composed by Wallace Willis (1828–1880), a formerly enslaved man granted citizenship in the Choctaw Nation after the Civil War (1861–65). Referring to heaven, the lyrics poignantly read: "If I get there before you do, I'll cut a hole and pull you through." Hovering over the scene of memorial crosses is a Native proverb—"Give me knowledge so I may have kindness for all"—which is also found, hand painted, on the back of the sign over the entry to the cemetery.

In the painted scene titled *Future Cache* [p.11], Carlson portrays a sandy beach along the blue waters of Burt Lake. The view is modeled on mid-twentieth-century postcards depicting Burt Lake as a site of leisure for white beachgoers. In a reversal of the dispossession of the Cheboiganing Band, the colonizers—indicated only by their crumpled towels—have been erased from the land. *Future Cache* thus reclaims the lake from its current use as a commodified site for tourism.

Provisioning the Cache

Adjacent in the gallery [p.7, 12–13] is a powerful assemblage of paintings and poems that evokes the Anishinaabe practice of using underground caches to store supplies and equipment through the seasons: remnants of thousand-year-old caches still exist in the forests around Burt Lake. Here, Carlson creates a symbolic cache, gathering together references to the Cheboiganing Band's experience and Anishinaabe cultural traditions.

Throughout the cache of paintings, Carlson memorializes the Cheboiganing Band's history: among them a representation of the constellations in the sky on the day the village was burned; the name Ka Ji Go We, or Day Maker, the Band's chief at the time of the Burt Lake Burnout; and the date of the Burnout itself. In *Not Forever,* [p.15] white, hand-painted text reading "Oct. 15, 1900 is not the end" hovers over a green background. Carlson's color choices in this work are reminiscent of a history lesson written on a schoolroom chalkboard and reminds us that the Burnout at Burt Lake is not the closing chapter of the Cheboiganing Band's story.

Carlson's cache also includes two objects she selected from the collection of the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropological Archaeology: a wooden spoon and yoke [p.12]. The makers and the original owners and circumstances of these well-worn objects are unrecorded. All we know is the approximate location in which they were reportedly found (Cheboygan County, on the west side of Burt Lake) and the year they were donated to the UMMAA collection (1926). Inspired by these objects, Carlson represents them in her paintings *A Selfish Man* and *Nibi* [p.12]. *A Selfish Man* refers to the Anishinaabe cultural prohibition of men scraping the remaining food from the bottom of a kettle, as women are viewed as being more equitable in the distribution of resources. The word *nibi* means water in Anishinaabemowin, given the practical use of resting a wooden yoke across the shoulders to carry vessels of water from the lake or sap from the maple sugarbush. In Carlson's paintings, these objects appear to float in front of portal views onto the crystalline waters of Burt Lake—as if they are from this place, but decidedly displaced from their timeline.

Other paintings gather references, symbols, and meanings relevant to the Anishinaabe peoples' experience. In *L'Assomption Sash for Carrying Things that No Longer Exist #5,* [p.14] Carlson references colorful Native *l'assomption*, or arrow, sashes historically used to tie and carry items on the body. The poetic titles of these works are a reminder of how the original stewards of this land and their now-erased cultural practices once thrived in the region. The arrangement of the arrow designs recalls unfolded templates for birch bark boxes—another Anishinaabe method of holding or carrying things of value. The flattened patterns form variations of X-shapes, which also refer to the silhouette of a woman's form in Anishinaabe lexicon.

Carlson also gathers contemporary poems—reproduced here as letterpress broadsides accompanied by her own printed drawings—by poets Heid E. Erdrich, Margaret Noodin, and Mark Turcotte. The Cheboiganing Band shared another poem, by the late Laura Parkey, and the text of a marker in what remains of the Band's St. Mary's Cemetery. Parkey's poem, *Wild are the Winds,* is reproduced here [p.5]. Andrea Carlson's *Future Cache* poignantly centers Native viewers by providing a physical and visual moment of acknowledgement within the settler institution of the University of Michigan.

A Moment of Acknowledgement

An exhibition like this can only be brought into existence by a gathering of partners. Thank you especially to Andrea Carlson, Nola and Don Parkey, Bruce Hamlin, Margaret Noodin, Michael Zimmerman Jr., Stacie Sheldon, Alphonse Pitawanktwat, Ethriam Brammer, Andrea Wilkerson, Andrew Herscher, Karie Slavik, Eva Roos, Andrea Blaser, and Franc Nunoo-Quarcoo. Carlson's symbolic cache (re)provisions Native viewers; embodies gratitude; spans past, present, and future; and suggests how we can all carry the Cheboiganing Band's story forward.

Jennifer Friess is Associate Curator of Photography and Associate Director of Curatorial Affairs at the University of Michigan Museum of Art. She joined UMMA in 2016 as the Museum's inaugural curator of photography and since has curated numerous exhibitions on themes of memory and place. Jennifer and Andrea Carlson first worked together on a commission for the group exhibition *Watershed* (UMMA, 2020), which explored how contemporary artists surface histories of water usage in the Great Lakes region.

Wild are the Winds

Laura Parkey

Wild are the winds, and pressed my soul
By thots urgent, and wild as they.
Deeds to be done, crying their need,
And my hands bound, helpless at bay.

While my heart beats in frustration,
And the angry tear falls and falls
As my spirit cries in its anguish
O'er life's insurmountable walls;

Push on me winds; Beat on me rain,
Fill my ears, Oh waves, with your roar,
'Til the need for violence is past,
And I rest like a spent wave
Lapping the shore.

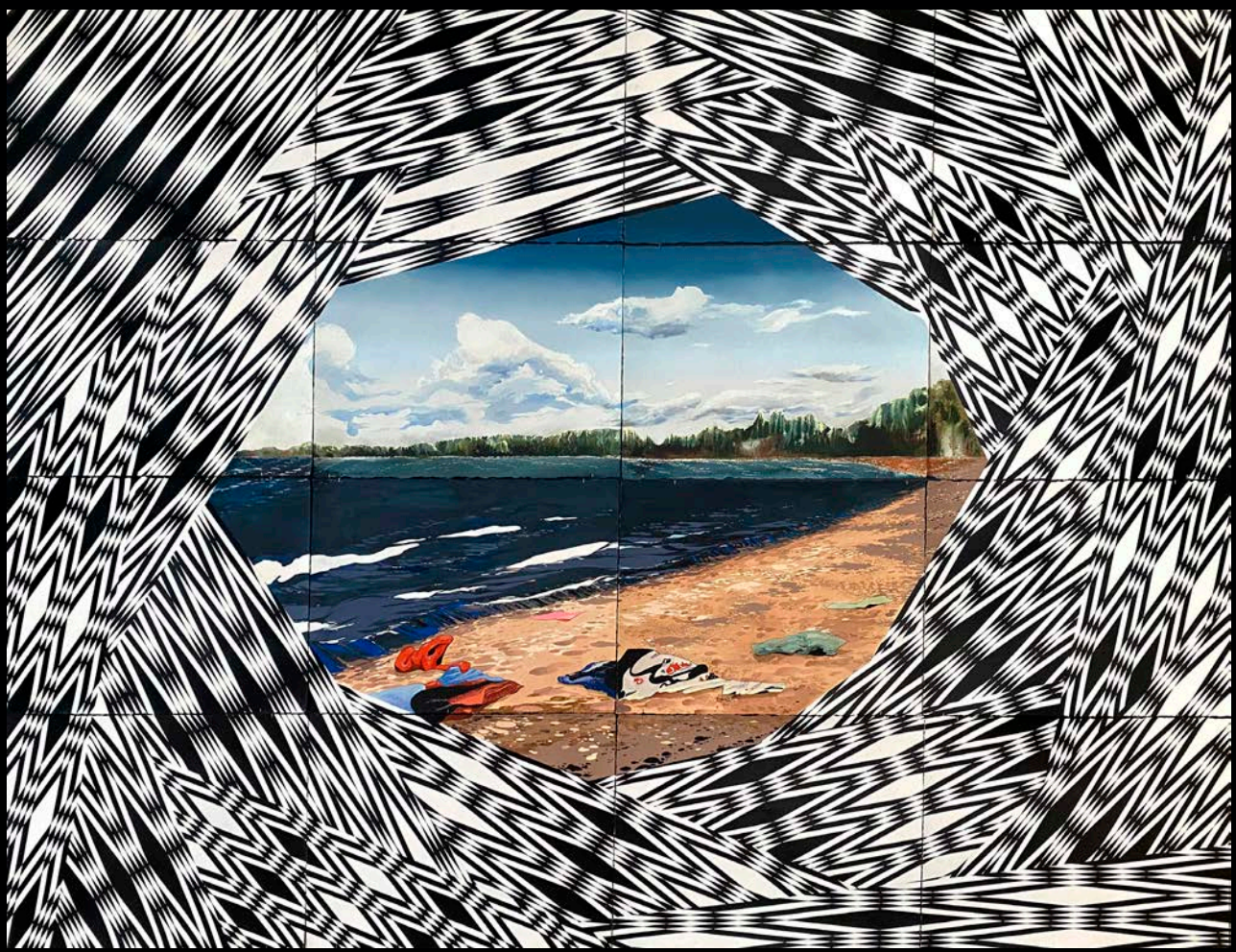

Gidayaa Anishinaabewakiing
HAVE
KINDNESS
FOR ALL

Installation view of
Andrea Carlson *Future Cache*
at UMMA.


Anishinaabe land
Gidayaa A
CANNUPA
HANSKA
LUGER:
MEAT
OR THE
BEAST
GIVE ME
KNOWLEDGE
SO I MAY
HAVE
KINDNESS
FOR ALL

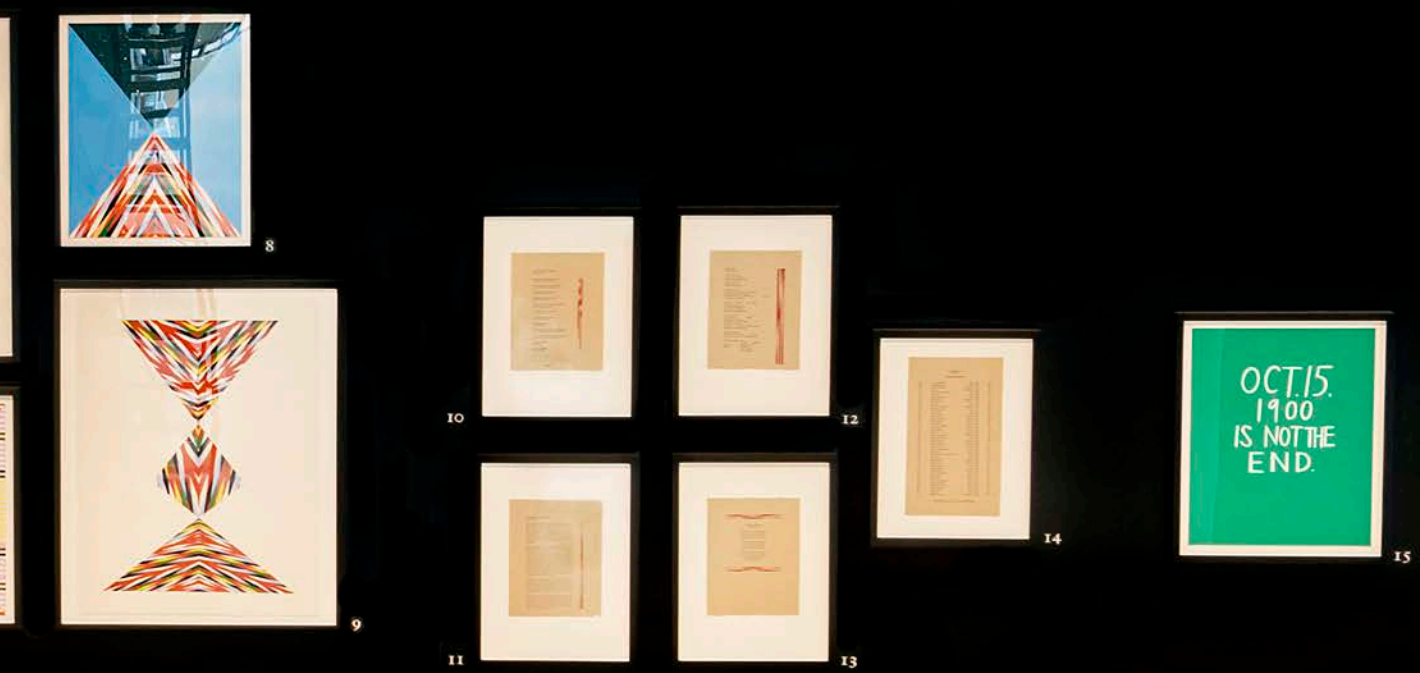
Installation view of
Andrea Carlson *Future Cache*
at UMMA.


GIVE ME
KNOWLEDGE
SO I MAY
HAVE
KINDNESS
FOR ALL



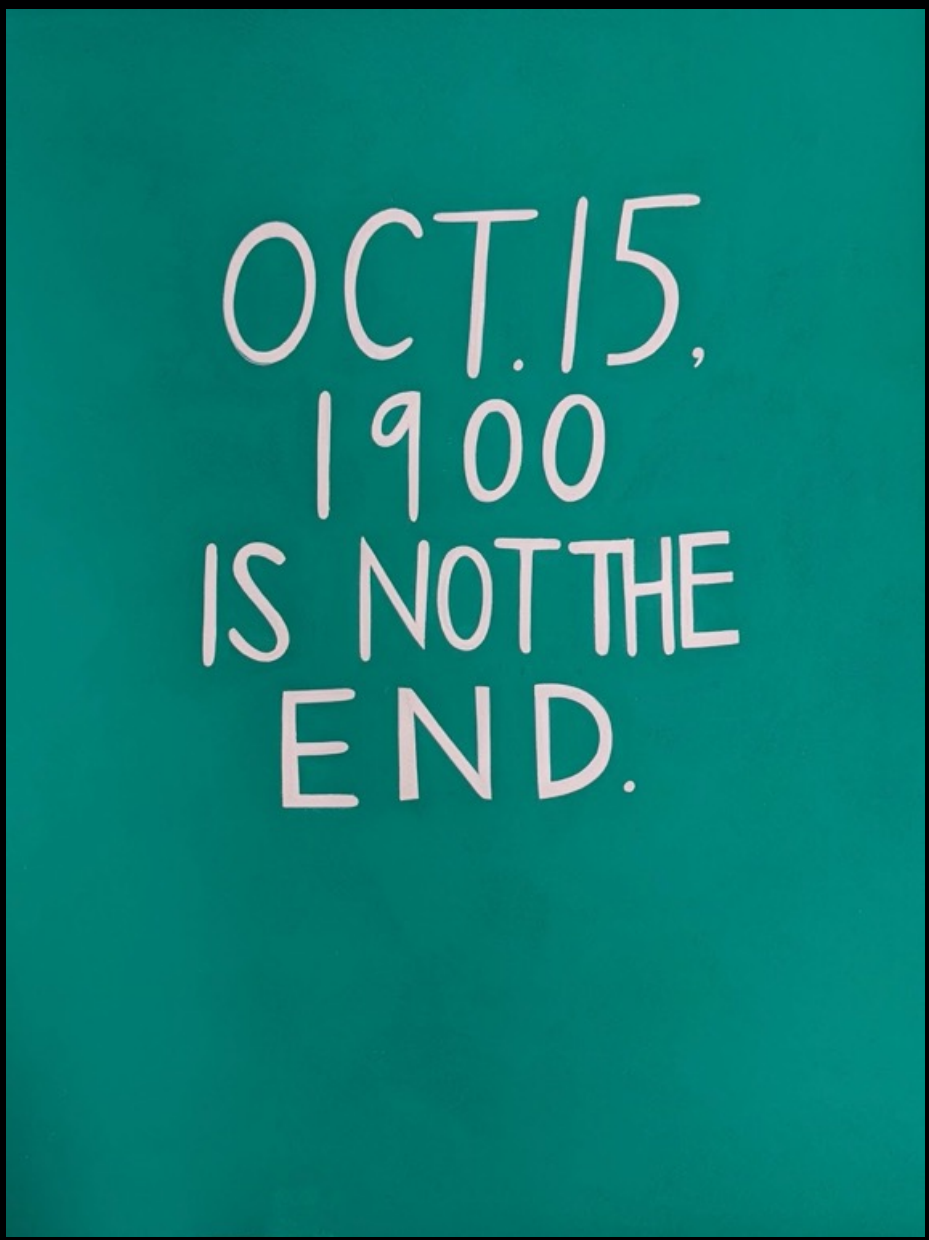
Installation view of Andrea Carlson *Future Cache* at UMMA featuring Carlson's *I'll Cut a Hole* [left] and *Future Cache* [right], 2022, oil, acrylic, gouache, ink, marker, and graphite on paper. Courtesy of the artist.


THE KETTLE
KAJI GÖWE
DAY MAKER
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

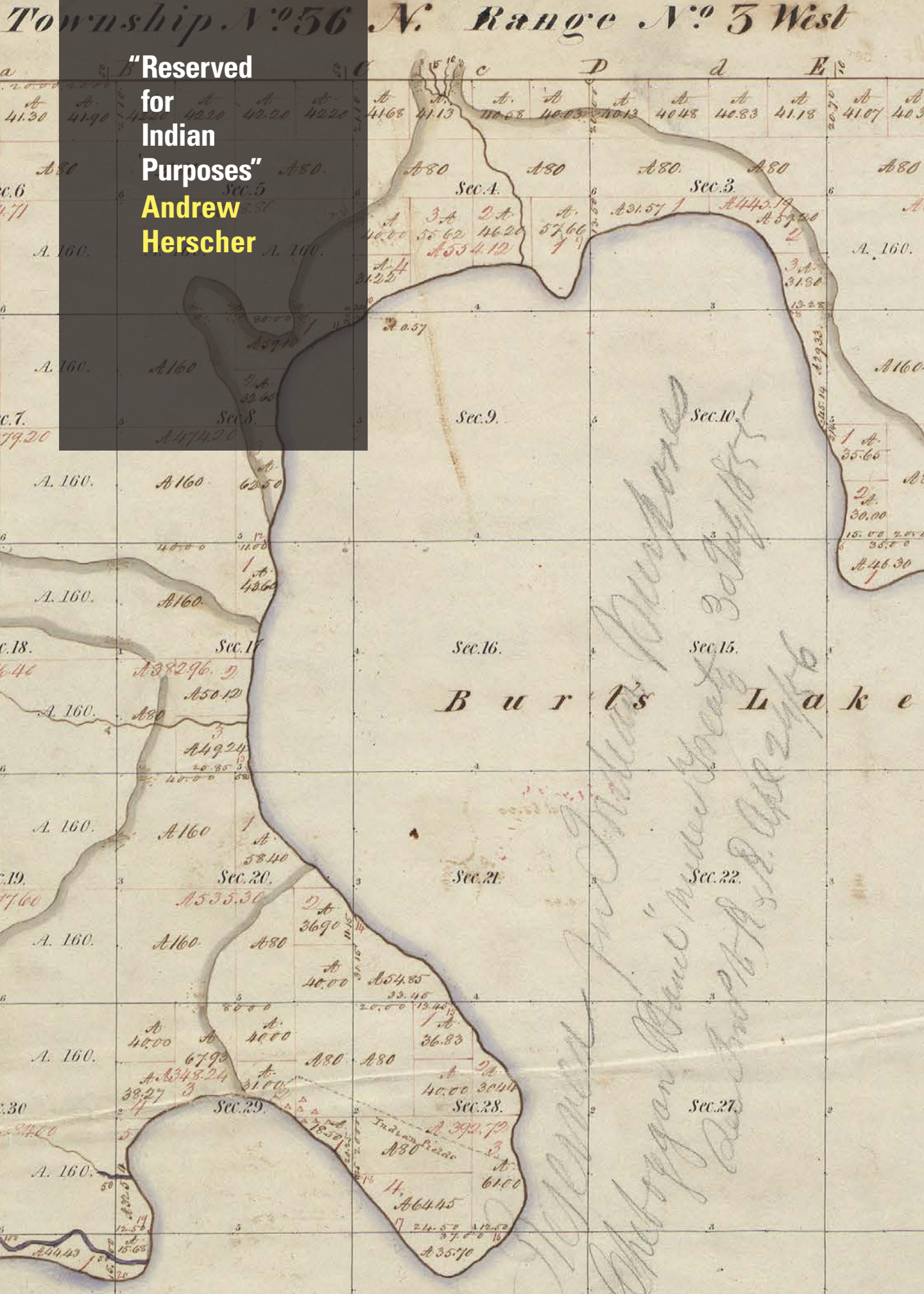


Installation view of Andrea Carlson *Future Cache* at UMMA, showcasing a cache wall of paintings from the artist, letterpress broadsides and objects from the collection of the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropological Archeology.

Andrea Carlson,
L'Assomption
Sash for Carrying Things that
No Longer Exist #5, 2022,
Gouache on paper
Courtesy the artist



Andrea Carlson,
Not Forever, 2022,
Gouache on paper
Courtesy the artist



"Reserved for Indian Purposes"

Andrew Herscher

In 1900, the village of the Cheboiganing (Burt Lake) Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians, the center of life in the Band's homeland, was burned by a gang under the direction of a local land speculator, supported by the Cheboygan County sheriff and his deputies. The burning allowed the speculator to take possession of land that the village occupied. The village lay within two townships of land surrounding Cheboiganing Lake (renamed by settlers to honor William Austin Burt, a surveyor of this land). The townships were reserved for the Cheboiganing Band by an 1855 treaty.[1] "Reserved for Indian Purposes"—these words were penciled across the 1841 surveys of these townships after this treaty was signed.[2]

In 1908 the University of Michigan received 1,440 acres of land on Douglas Lake, just north of Burt Lake; a year later, the U-M Biological Station would be established on this property. The property was located on land that the federal government had "reserved for Indians" in 1864 and then withdrawn from Native people in 1874.[3] Between 1985 and 1989, the University's landholdings around Douglas Lake were augmented by land purchases and gifts that included the land on which the Burt Lake Burnout took place.[4] Returning to the violent dispossession of the Cheboiganing Band from their land at Burt Lake, Andrea Carlson's *Future Cache* raises a number of questions about the university's relationship to the land it has historically acquired, the land it currently possesses, and the Native people for whom those lands were and are homelands. One of these questions is whether the Burt Lake land acquisition, directly facilitated by violence against Native people, was an exceptional event or typical of the way in which the university has assembled its collection of properties.

"You are on Anishinaabe land": Think about that statement, which Carlson has placed on the walls of the University of Michigan Museum of Art Vertical Gallery as part of her installation. How did this land become university property? How did other properties become part of the university's real estate portfolio? Was the university merely a passive beneficiary of settler colonial dispossession and violence or did it actively participate in that dispossession and violence? And what are the university'sresponsibilities—legal, political, and ethical—to Native communities, like the Cheboiganing Band, whose homelands it occupies? As a settler faculty member of the university, I have been haunted by these questions for some time. These questions also haunt the University of Michigan, even as it has attempted to ignore them or ward them off, throughout its history, until the very recent past.

The history of the first lands that the university acquired is a threshold to a response to these questions.[5] It is part of U–M history—at least in some versions—that, in the 1817 Treaty of the Maumee Rapids, Ojibwe, Odawa, and Potawatomi people granted sections of their land to "the college at Detroit" where their children could be educated; that this college would be subsumed into the University of Michigan; and that these sections would become the University's first land acquisitions. The sections of land that the Anishinaabe granted were defined by size instead of location; it was ultimately left to the educational institution to choose those locations. What land did U–M acquire on the basis of the Anishinaabe land grant? That this question even needs to be asked itself speaks to a distribution of historical memory and historical obliviousness that exemplifies what I call colonial non-memory, a distorted form of historical recall structured by colonial assumptions, logics, and ways of world making and unmaking that characterizes the University of Michigan's institutional histories.

After the Treaty of the Maumee Rapids was signed, the US representatives at the treaty council, Lewis Cass and Duncan McArthur, described the reaction of Native people at the council to the federal government's proposal to remove them west of the Mississippi: "The proposition (was) ... received by them with such strong symptoms of disapprobation that we did not think it proper to urge them too far upon the subject."[6] For Cass and McArthur, however, removal was just a matter of place and time: the place was land where Native people would be increasingly replaced by settlers and the time was the duration it would take Native people to realize that they had no place on that land. "As our settlements gradually surround them," Cass and McArthur forecasted, "their minds will be better prepared to receive this proposition, and we do not doubt but that a few years will accomplish what could not now be accomplished."[7]

When these words were written, Lewis Cass was governor of the Michigan Territory and the US Department of War's superintendent of Indian affairs in the Michigan Territory; he was soon to become the chairman of the board of trustees of the University of Michigan as well. At the time, the university existed in the form of a recently chartered primary school and classical academy in Detroit; the 1817 Anishinaabe land grant allowed the university to also become a land acquisition enterprise. When Cass became chairman of the board of trustees in 1821, he was perfectly positioned to use U–M's land acquisitions to fulfill his ambition of surrounding Native people with colonial settlements in order to "prepare" them to accept removal west of the Mississippi. He then used the land that was granted by the Anishinaabe in order to support an institution where their children could be educated for precisely the opposite ambition: to further the dispossession and displacement of the Anishinaabe from their land.

In January 1824, two members of the U–M Board of Trustees, Austin Wing and Philip Lecuyer, presented a report to the board that recommended a series of tracts of lands as suitable to acquire on the basis of the Anishinaabe land grant. Gesturing to the colonial settlement that Cass and other settler officials were working hard to facilitate, Wing and Lecuyer reported that the tracts of land they recommended were places where "all classes of emigrants may be easily and well accommodated."[8] What Wing and Lecuyer chose not to mention was that this land was also where the Anishinaabe were easily and well accommodated: two of the four tracts of land that Wing and Lecuyer recommended to the university were directly adjacent to land that had been reserved for Anishinaabe people by treaty, and the other three tracts of land Wing and Lecuyer recommended were also defined by Native presence. Much of what rendered land valuable to the Anishinaabe—waterways, salt springs, sugar orchards, trail access, and the presence of game animals—also rendered land valuable to settlers. For Wing, Lecuyer, and the other members of the board, however, land was property and Native presence on the land was only relevant, or even apparent, as an obstacle to colonial settlement.

One of the properties that Wing and Lecuyer recommended was a section of land on the north branch of the River Rouge. According to the trustees, this section was "in the heart of an extensive tract of first rate timbered Land, and finely watered"; the land, they wrote, "cannot fail to secure at an early period an extensive and dense population, and consequently will be valuable." Wing and Lecuyer noted that the tract was "in the neighborhood of the Quaker Settlement, so called." The settlement they referred to was a group of homesteads in the neighboring township initiated by a Quaker settler, Arthur Power; by 1824, there were seven settler families living on sections in the township.[9]

Wing and Lecuyer did not note that the section they recommended was also directly adjacent to a Potawatomi village named for Tonquish, a Potawatomi *ogimaa*, or leader, who had resided there.[10] Tonquish's village was reserved from the land cession brokered by the 1807 Treaty of Detroit. The village neighbored another Potawatomi village, named for Potawatomi ogimaa Seginsiwin, also reserved from the 1807 land cession. The Shiawassee Trail, which connected Detroit to villages along the Shiawassee River, the Huron River, and Kechewondaugoning and Shigemasking, villages near contemporary Shiawasseetown, ran by Tonquish's village; early settlers of the area also described patches of maize and orchards of apple trees around the village, along with a maple tree sugar orchard at Seginsiwin's village.[11]

Wing and Lecuyer's recommendation that the University of Michigan acquire the section of land adjacent to Tonquish's village was made five years after Tonquish and his son were killed by settlers.[12] Reflecting the way in which settler violence against Native people worked in concert with state-sponsored displacements of Native people, when the university received patents for land on the basis of the Anishinaabe land grant in May 1824, one of the properties it received was adjacent to Tonquish's village, two sections west of the section that Wing and Lecuyer had recommended.

The university's acquisition of this property directly initiated Cass's project of surrounding Native land with colonial settlements to advance Native displacement. The project proceeded quickly. In the 1827 Treaty of St. Joseph's, the federal government forced the Potawatomi to cede all their reserves in southeastern Michigan

Territory, including those around Tonquish's village and Seginsiwin's village, and resettle "at a point removed from the road leading from Detroit to Chicago, and as far as practicable from the settlements of the Whites."[13] The road referred to here was surveyed in 1825; it closely followed the Sauk Trail, created by Native people but then used in the second half of the 1820s by white settlers moving across Michigan's Lower Peninsula.[14]

In 1826, the University of Michigan received a congressional grant of two townships of land to support its development. The board of trustees produced a list of properties to acquire in fulfillment of its grant of two townships in June 1830.[15] One set of properties on the board's acquisition list was described as "sections 8, 9, 30, and 31 in Town One North, in Range 10 east." These were precisely the sections that comprised the former reserves around Tonquish's village and Seginsiwin's village. The university was granted these sections, along with former reserves around a series of other Native settlements, in October 1834.[16]

The government of the United States intended Native people be removed "as far as practicable from the settlements of the Whites"; the early land acquisitions of the University of Michigan both advanced and took advantage of this removal. The first three of these acquisitions were made on the basis of the 1817 Anishinaabe land grant. The University of Michigan's relationship to Native land and people can only be fully grasped in relation to its betrayal of the Native ambitions that motivated this grant. This betrayal has echoed through the university's history; Andrea Carlson's *Future Cache* marks the echoing of this betrayal all the way to Burt Lake. In the context of U–M's history of land acquisition, what was exceptional at Burt Lake was not the settler violence against Native people that made the university's land acquisition possible; rather, what was exceptional was simply that this violence was remembered.

Native students at U–M have repeatedly provided prompts to the university about ways to restore right relations with Native people.[17] *Future Cache* provides yet another prompt. But what will it take for the University of Michigan to respond to the historical wrongs in which it became implicated when it acquired land "reserved for Indian purposes"—at Burt Lake and at so many other sites besides?

Andrew Herscher is a co-founding member of a series of militant research collaboratives, including the We the People of Detroit Community Research Collective, Detroit Resists, and the Settler Colonial City Project. He works at the University of Michigan's Taubman College of Architecture and Urban Planning. One trajectory of his current scholarship is focused on the colonial history and present of the University of Michigan; his book, *Under the Campus, the Land: Native Futuring, Colonial Non-memory, and the Origin of the University of Michigan* will be published by the University of Michigan Press in 2024. He met Andrea Carlson at the 2016 Chicago Architecture Biennial and they have since collaborated on *The Settler Colonial Present*, a series of essays published on *e-flux*.

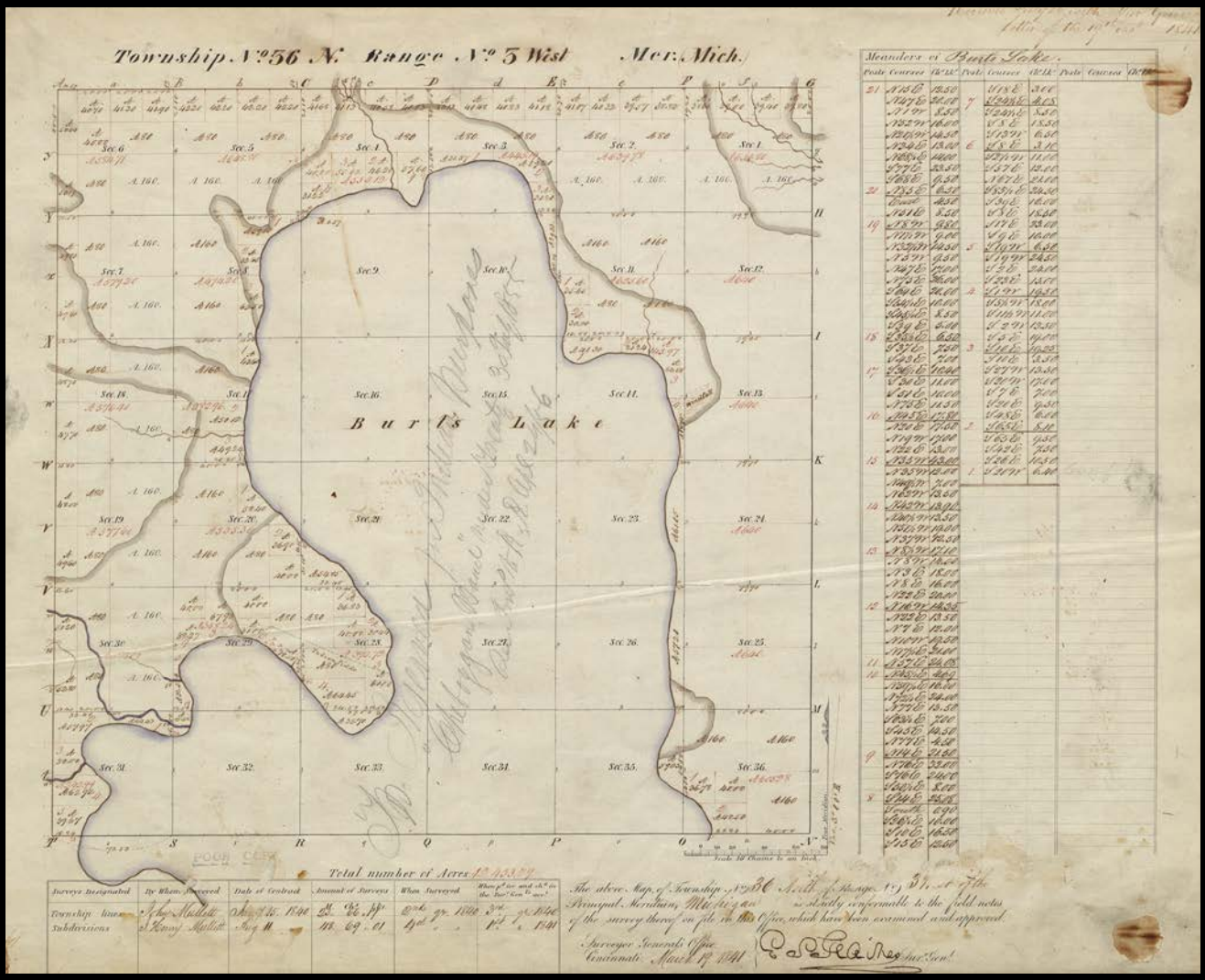


Fig. 1
"Tp. Reserved for Indian Purposes, 'Cheboygon Band' under Treaty of 30 July 1855," penciled over 1841 Public Land Survey of Township 36N, Range 3W, Michigan Meridian, from Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records, DM ID 31431.

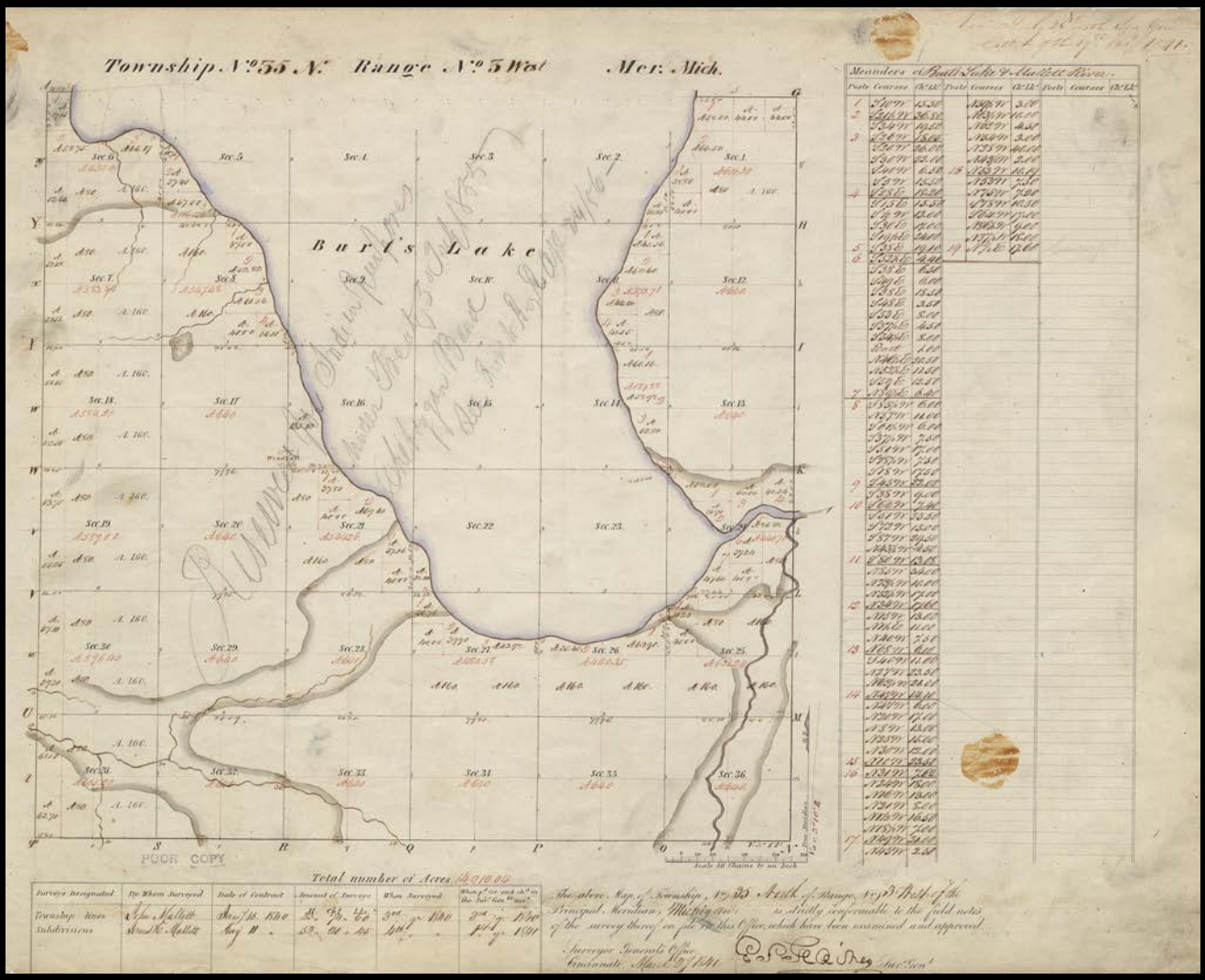


Fig. 2
"Reserved for Indian Purposes, under Treaty of 30 July 1855, Cheboygon Band," penciled over 1844 Public Land Survey of Township 35N, Range 3W, Michigan Meridian, from Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records, DM ID 31353.

1 See "Treaty with the Ottawa and Chippewa, 1855" in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties,* vol. 2, ed. Charles Kappler (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1904), 725–731.

2 The Cheboiganing Band's landholdings around Burt Lake eventually took form as trust land on which their village was located, purchased between 1846 and 1849 under the auspices of the band's ogimaa, Kie-she-go-way, and land allotments surrounding the village acquired by individual members of the band in the 1870s. This history is told by Richard White in "The Burt Lake Band: An Ethnohistorical Report on the Trust Lands of Indian Village," an unpublished manuscript from 1978. The Burt Lake Band's history is also the subject of Richard A. Wiles, *A Cloud Over the Land: The Tragic Story of the Burt Lake Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians* (forthcoming).

3 The university received its first land on Douglas Lake, known as the Bogardus Tract, partly by purchase and partly as a gift. The Bogardus Tract was included in Munro Township, which was "reserved for Indians" by an 1864 presidential decree that was rescinded in 1874. Between 1908 and the present, the university expanded its landholdings around Douglas Lake to around ten thousand acres. On the Bogardus Tract, see *The University of Michigan, An Encyclopedic Survey*, ed. Wilfred B. Shaw (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2000), 1592. On the Native reserve on Douglas Lake, see "Note," 1856 Public Land Survey of Township 37N, Range 3W, Michigan Meridian, from Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records, DM ID 31503. On the history of property ownership around Douglas Lake, see Gordon L. Dalton, "A Lake Named Douglas," an unpublished manuscript from 2014.

4 On the university's landholdings on Burt Lake, see President's Advisory Committee on University History, "Report and Recommendations on Possible Relationship between the Burt Lake 'Burnout' and the University of Michigan Biological Station," an unpublished manuscript from 2018.

5 The account that follows is drawn from my book, *Under the Campus, the Land: Native Futuring, Colonial Non-memory, and the Origin of the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, forthcoming).

6 Lewis Cass and Duncan McArthur to John C. Calhoun, in *American State Papers: Indian Affairs,* , vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Gale and Seaton, 1834), 177.

7 Cass and McArthur to Calhoun, 177.

8 Austin Wing and Philip Lecuyer, "To the Trustees of the University of Michigan," Meeting of Board of Trustees, January 17, 1824, in *Records of the University of Michigan, 1817–1837* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1935), 89.

9 Writing about "Quakertown," a local historian located the Power family on Section 22, the Collins family on Section 28, Solomon Walker on Section 30, Samuel Mansfield on Section 27, George Tibbets in Section 13, the Utley family on Section 12, and Robert Wixom on Section 15: see Samuel W. Durant, *History of Oakland County, Michigan* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts, 1877), 168. Orange Risdon's 1825 map of the Michigan Territory shows the Powers Settlement on Sections 9, 10, 15, 16, and 22.

10 Wing and Lecuyer recommended Section 36, Township 1 North, Range 9 East. Tonquish's village was located in Section 31, Township 1 North, Range 10 East and the reserve around Tonquish's village also included the adjacent Section 30.

11 Durant, *History of Oakland County*, 267.

12 Tonquish's brother, Waogan, witnessed those killings; Waogan's translated account was published in the *Detroit Gazette*, June 4, 1819, 3. A week later, a report on the discovery of Waogan's dead body "a few miles up the River Rouge" was published: see *Detroit Gazette*, June 11, 1819, 3.

13 "Treaty with the Potawatomi," 1827, in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, vol. 2, ed. Charles J. Kappler (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1904), 283.

14 On the survey of the Detroit to Chicago Road along the Sauk Trail, see Crisfield Johnson, *History of Branch County, Michigan* (Philadelphia: Everts and Abbot, 1879), 34.

15 Minutes of the Board of Trustees meeting, June 13, 1830, in *Records of the University of Michigan, 1817–1837*, 143.

16 Minutes of the Board of Trustees meeting, October 11, 1834, in *Records of the University of Michigan, 1817–1837*, 162–163; for the property acquisition list, see 168–169.

17 See, most recently, Native American Student Task Committee, "Strategies, Policies, and Practices to Support Native American Students' Success at the University of Michigan," October 15, 2018.

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You are on Anishinaabe land