

Besser Museum

Anishinaabe Exhibit Revitalization

Quarter 3 Report

Introduction

This report includes many items and analyses across the board, with hopes to bring together many pieces for the Anishinaabe Exhibit Revitalization (AER) project.

The first element is an overview of what genealogical information has been reviewed and attempts at some connections that could be fruitful for the AER exhibit.

The next two components are reviews of the current exhibit installations at the Besser Museum of Northeast Michigan and the Ziiibiwing Cultural Center in Mount Pleasant, Michigan. These analyses include images taken on visits this year to the centers.

Lastly, I have included a simple draft of a possible new configuration for the exhibit layout.

Section 1: Analysis of Data Provided by New Line Genealogy

In working through the Besser Museum data, my current process is to read through the content or examine images, and pull out names, dates, and stories that seem relevant to the AER. Through this method, I can make connections that may be missed by someone unfamiliar with Native history, culture, or language. For example, the name Rewayhewaygezhiic has some elements of either sky or cedar in the title. This may tell us more information about the person or family. In this case, Elizabeth married William Smith, who both are Northeastern Michigan residents. Additionally, I have found that some people included in the data set have attended boarding school. Though it may not contain much information beyond that, we can infer that the teachings from boarding school informed the student's life from there forward, which can have generational implications.

One downside to this review method is that I am only one tribal member reviewing this information and pulling the elements that I consider valuable. There could be many pieces of information being overlooked or not regarded as essential to include. This will be imperative to remember when developing the narrative. One way to remedy this will be to allow many other tribal members from various backgrounds to review the exhibit narrative before installation.

Current List of names that I would like to review further for connections:

- Squanda (connected via John Rhodes)
- Jim & Isaac Pashagoba
- David Joseph (Edna Joseph's son)
- Edna Bessie Pashagoba – married Joseph Joseph
- Bondie
- Nahgahwon
- James Pashagoba (b. 1826 in wigwam in Alpena, Mich. D. 1934)
- Rewayhewaygezhiic
- Dennis Joseph
- Chief Shoppenagon – passed on January 4, 1912 at 103 years old
- Edith Bondie was born in Mikado, Michigan under the name Kewajanokwa "Little Brook" Pashegoba on February 14, 1918. She was a world renown basket maker, travelled all over for her baskets. Passed away in 2007 at 87 years old.

Marriages & additional names of interest:

- Ed White Eagle m. Mary Little Bear, mostly unknown information
- Charlott Squanda m. Simon Green Sky on July 14, 1919
- John Squanda m. Jane Beaver, dates unknown

Ancestors of John Rhodes:

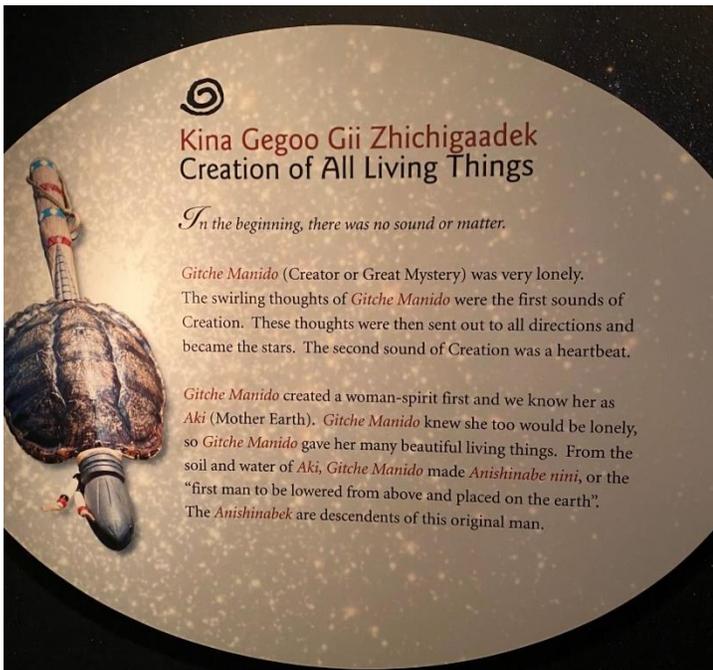
- Estelle Marina Squanda, attended Mount Pleasant Industrial Boarding School
- Estelle, aka. Stella, aka. Noon Day Lady
- She married John Benjamin Silas, who was known as Hole In the Sky
- She was from the “Red Sky” family, or Meeskawonquot
- While she was at school in Mt. Pleasant kids were punished for speaking Anishinaabemowin. Stella was fluent. They would whisper after the lights went out at night. She became a skilled seamstress and helped make the school uniforms for students. She also learned to play multiple instruments in the school band. After she graduated, she went on to get a teacher’s certificate. She taught for two years when she moved back to Oscoda.
- She married John B. Silas in 1907, whom she met at an “Indian Camp” meeting. They shared the spiritual leadership of the Chippewa Indian missions. John Silas built much of log cabin as part of the congregation that they were a part of and helped lead.

Section 2: Review of Current Besser Materials

Please see Appendix I.

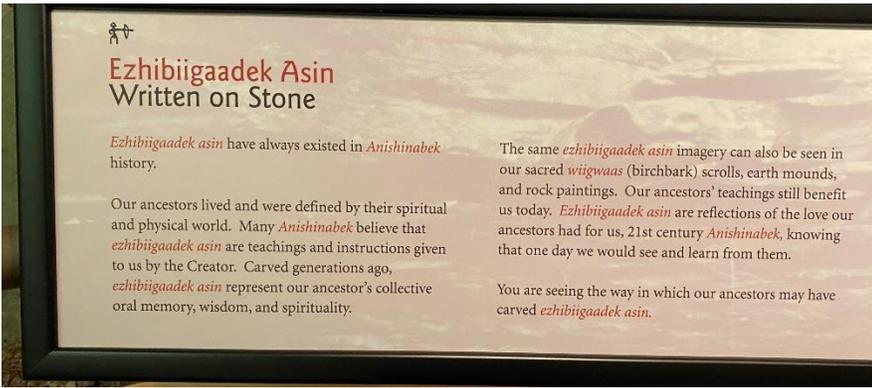
Section 3: Review of Ziibiwing

The following compilation of pictures was taken on my first visit to the Ziibiwing Cultural Center in Mount Pleasant, Michigan. Along with these images, I provide a brief review and recommendations on using elements similarly in the AER. We do not want to copy what the Ziibiwing offers to the public. Still, there are many elements of the Anishinaabe story and culture that we can also represent to address the general audience’s educational needs. You may notice that there are not many images. I was focused on hearing the invaluable information that Willie Johnson shared with me as we were walking through the many exhibits. It was challenging to take pictures of every element, but I also do not think it was vital to take photos of everything in the center.



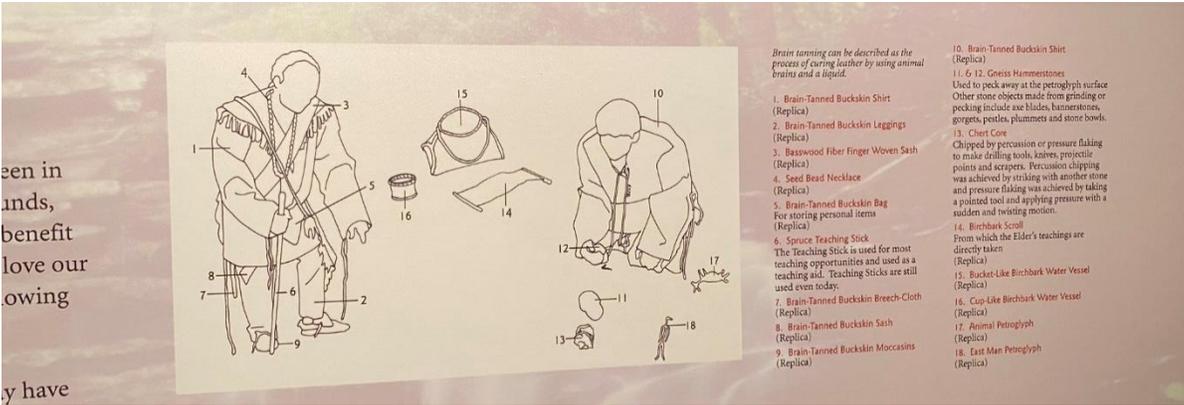
IMG_2071: Image used at the beginning of the exhibit.

Notice with this picture that Anishinaabemowin is used and used first. It will be simple and essential for us to highlight the language throughout the AER as well. We can also consider creating a small area to help visitors with the pronunciation of the language.



IMG_2069: Placard showing how the Anishinaabe people recorded their hi(stories).

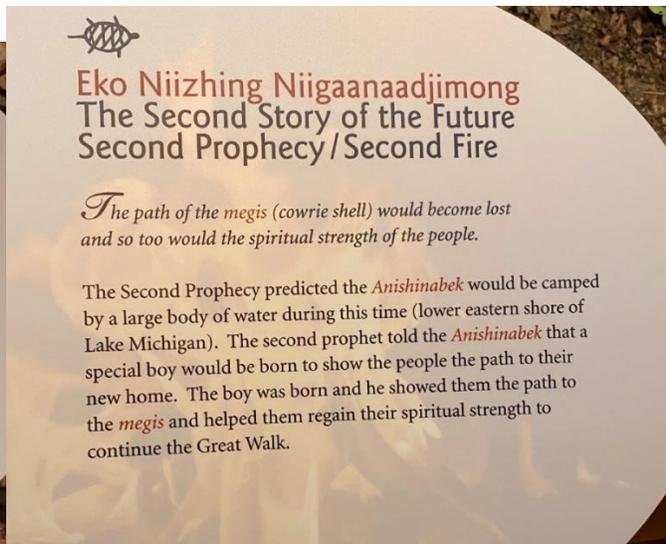
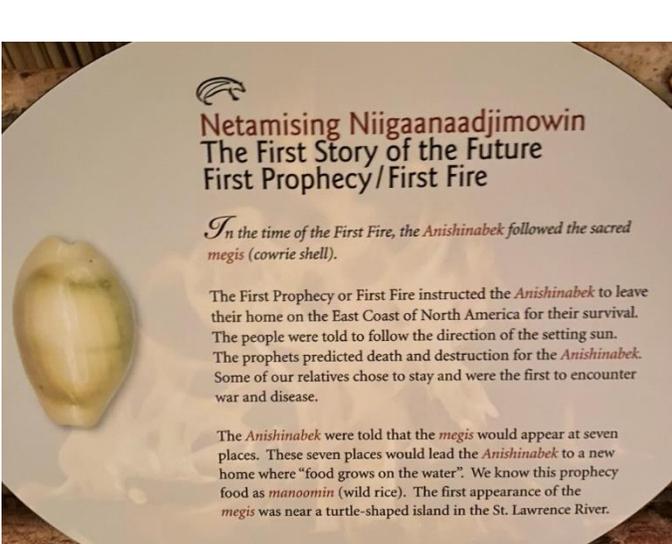
In the descriptions used for each exhibit, the narrator uses the language in line with all the text. By doing this, it encourages the audience to learn the language.



IMG_2068: This image is a placard used to describe all the display elements, which is a brain tanning display.

Willie mentioned that all of the elements are created by local Native artists that donate them to the Cultural Center. These donors are individuals that live by and use these items that they make.

I am still undecided about including the Seven Prophecies in the AER. Knowing that they are shared elsewhere shows that the Anishinaabe people are willing to share those stories with the general public. If we were to include it, I would feel most comfortable including it by passing tobacco to an Elder that knows the story, who would be willing to share and give the museum permission to use it. I've included the images from the Ziibiwing here, so that we know the story and we know not to plagiarize. Perhaps next time I visit the Ziibiwing or speak with Willie and Shannon, I can ask how they obtained the stories.





Eko Niswing Niigaanaadjimong The Third Story of the Future Third Prophecy / Third Fire

The Third Fire promised a time of hope and anticipation for the Anishinabek.

The third prophet told the *Anishinabek* that during the time of the Third Fire the *megis* (cowrie shell) would appear and lead the people to their new home. The path would lead the *Anishinabek* to the place where "food grows on the water". This food is known as *manoomin* (wild rice). The new land with many lakes would provide many things for the *Anishinabek*. The Third Fire gave the people strength during the Great Walk.



Eko Naaning Niigaanaadjimong The Fifth Story of the Future The Fifth Prophecy / Fifth Fire

The Fifth Prophecy foretold that the Anishinabek would encounter separation and struggle for many generations.

During the time of the Fifth Fire, people would visit the *Anishinabek* bringing a promise of joy and salvation. For the *Anishinabek* who accepted the promise, a new way of life would emerge and they would abandon the old ways. Near the end of the Fifth Fire, this promise would signal unbalance in our communities and the abandonment of our ways.

Eko Ngodwaaching Niigaanaadjimong The Sixth Story of the Future Sixth Prophecy / Sixth Fire

The Sixth Fire prophet brought words of grief and struggle to the Anishinabek.

As foretold in the Fifth Prophecy, many *Anishinabek* would accept the promise of joy and salvation. Those who accepted the promise would discourage their children from learning the old ways in the time of the Sixth Fire. The elders would be forgotten and lose their purpose in life. The abandonment of the elders would result in the loss of culture and language. The Sixth Fire slowly burned for many generations.



Eko Niizhwaaching Niigaanaadjimong The Seventh Story of the Future The Seventh Prophecy / Seventh Fire

In the time of the Seventh Fire, a New People will awaken.

The seventh prophet that visited the people long ago was said to be different than the others and gave two very important messages. The first part of the Seventh Prophecy spoke of New People that would emerge. The New People would seek knowledge from the elders and rekindle the old ways. The *Anishinabek* nation would be reborn and become strong and proud during the time of the Seventh Fire.

The second part of the Seventh Prophecy was a warning...



The image above shows stone tools and elements that were important to tribal life in the early days. I know that Besser has similar pieces. I took this picture to show how this display was done. It is simple and there are not many elements to distract the viewer. I know the current displays at Besser feature many, many tools and stoneware.

Appendix I.

Historical & Geological Information

The following pieces of the current installation at Besser Museum I would consider moving to a separate display or exhibit space. The language used for these displays and the content description is outdated and places Indigenous peoples in the realm of “prehistoric” or “ancient”. Many artifacts in the current exhibit are informational and important to preserve, but we must be hyper-conscious of attaching these artifacts to the contemporary Anishinaabe culture and lifestyle. Some information included in this exhibit is not relevant to the Northeastern region of Michigan. Much of it is geological, which can be considered an outdated “natural history approach” of cultural representation and can be considered offensive. The Alpena, Thunder Bay, and Hubbard Lake region are rich in natural resources and history, so having a separate space devoted to those elements could be valuable. This space could be where many of the stone tools, arrowheads, necklaces, and other artifacts could be held and would protect the museum from coming off as offensive.

PALEO-INDIAN PERIOD
12,000 – 8,000 BP (Before Present)

Immediately after the glaciers retreated, the Upper Great Lakes terrain resembled the floor of a modern gravel pit. But very quickly grasses, sedges, mosses and lichens covered the land surfaces. As vegetation grew, animals moved in. Large herbivores moved across the land. These included the giant mammoth, bison, and others. Soon after the animals arrived, humans came to hunt them.

The first era of human habitation in North America is the Paleo-Indian Period, the time of the hunters. Across the continent large mammals, often in herds, grazed on abundant plains of grasses. Hunters used the animals as a source of food, shelter, and clothing. By the end of the era evidence of the hunters was throughout all of North America then free of ice as the last great glacial episode ended.

Evidence of human occupation of these lands is recognized in large finely crafted spear points. These are the definitive artifacts of the Paleo-Hunters, the first human occupants of the Western Hemisphere. The large lanceolate points are evidence of a pattern of adaptation to an environment dominated by large plant-eating animals.

Currently there is debate regarding who the first Americans were and when they arrived in the New World. It is widely accepted that humans first arrived from the Eastern Hemisphere (the Old World). They crossed the Bering Strait into North America 20,000 years ago. These Asiatic peoples came in small waves of migration, perhaps three different waves over 8,000 to 10,000 years. They moved south into the Great Plains of Canada and the United States before moving east and further south into Mexico and South America. The people who moved into Michigan were part of the eastern migration through Illinois and Indiana.

There is also evidence that people from northern Europe came to the eastern shores of North America 12,000 years ago. These Scandinavian fishermen (and perhaps farmers) established colonies in Newfoundland after migrating from Iceland. There seem to have been frequent movements of these immigrants back and forth between the Old World and the New. Eventually, the small settlements were abandoned and the settlers either died off or returned to the lands of their origins.

WOODLAND PERIOD
3,000 BE to European Contact

Archaeologists recognized major changes in human adaptation in North America starting 3,000 years ago. The environments across all of North America were much as they are today. But in the southern United States there is evidence of farming. Food production changed the way of life for all the Native peoples of the American continent.

Corn, also called maize (*Zea mays*), is a wild grass native to the Central Valley of Mexico. As a wild plant it has been found in cave archaeological sites in Mexico dating as early as 5,000 years ago. Cultivated corn became the principal food source of the people of Mexico and Central America. Beans and squash are also found in archaeological sites along the Gulf of Mexico. Soon, these foods were grown by the Native peoples of the southern United States.

The appearance of cultivated foods signals the beginning of the Woodland Cultural Period in North America. The Early Woodland Period was a time of transition, with traditional gathered and hunted foods supplemented with horticulture foods such as squash, beans and corn. Tools to process and store gathered food and cultivated food are found in archaeological sites in increasing numbers through time. The appearance of ceramics associated with food storage and food preparation is the defining artifact of the Woodland Period.

The Middle Woodland Period was a time of increasing dependence on cultivated food sources. In Southern Michigan, agriculture increased human population and enabled development of complex social systems. The Norton Mound Group in Grand Rapids is an example of cooperation among people who built a large earthwork. In Northern Michigan, during this time, earthworks were built at Devil's Lake near Oshtemo and a circular earthwork was built near Barton City. Densely populated villages were established along the banks of the Thunder Bay River, Devils River, AuSable River, Ocqueogue River and even little Long Lake Creek north of Alpena. But agriculture did not have the strong impact on the cultures of the people of Northern Michigan, as in Southern Michigan. A short summer growing season and poor sandy soils may explain the limited impact of agriculture in the North.

GLACIAL RETREAT IN NORTHERN MICHIGAN

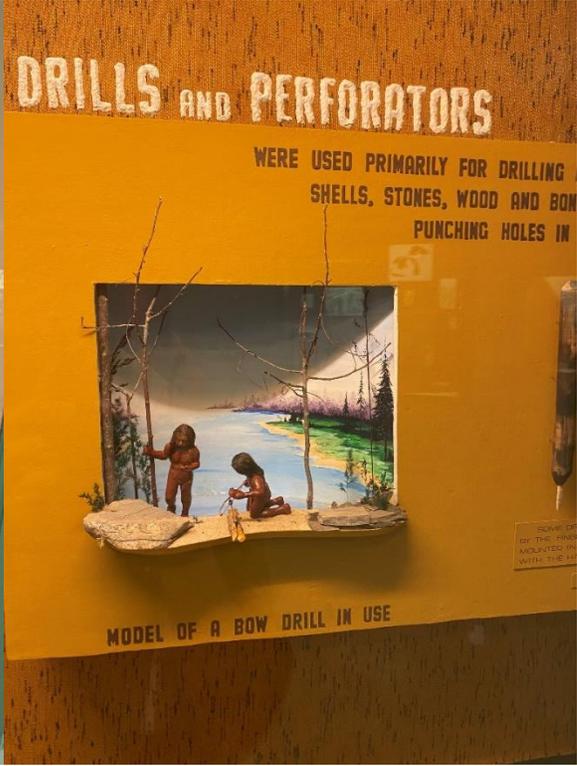
The last glacial retreat of the Pleistocene Era occurred between 10,000 and 12,000 years ago in Northern Michigan. Glacial ice was 10,000 feet thick over the Upper Great Lakes. As the glaciers advanced and retreated valleys were gouged from bedrock. Debris in the melting ice was deposited as sand, gravel and heavy clay. The surface features left by the retreating glaciers include glacial kames, drumlins, and moraines. Manning Hill near Lachine west of Alpena is a conical glacial kame, an isolated hill composed of outwash gravel and sand. When Manning Hill formed it was surrounded by ice. When the ice melted the isolated hill remained.

EARLY MAN IN AMERICA

PALEO POINTS FOUND WITH EXTINCT ANIMALS ON EARLY MAN SITES

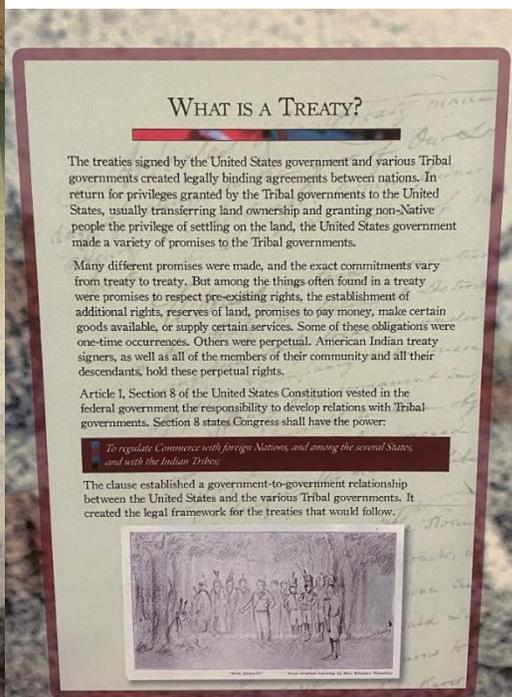
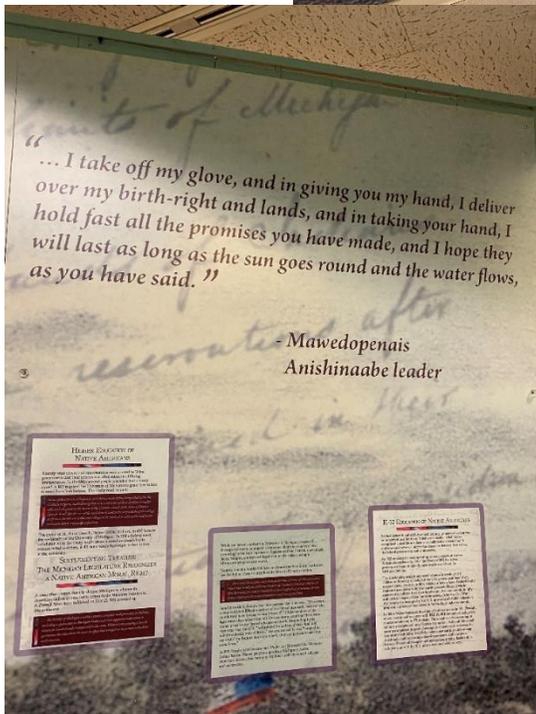


OTHER EARLY POINTS



Treaties

This section will remain a part of the AER, however it would be nice if we could reconsider the design so that it would transition well into the new exhibit. Currently it takes up a lot of space, and I do not think we'll have the space to include all of these elements. We might also consider condensing some of the text, depending on how the rest of the themes and narrative fit with the larger exhibit. Some information on these displays are redundant. The point can be made with clearer language and less words. We also need to remember the relevance of each piece.



NATIVE TREATIES: SHARED RIGHTS

This exhibit, "Native Treaties Shared Rights," was created by the Clarke Historical Library, Central Michigan University with the assistance of project partners the Ziiibwing Center of Anishinabe Culture & Lifeways and Central Michigan University's Office of Native American Programs.

In creating this exhibit, extensive use was made of the historical material regarding the Anishinabeg found within the Clarke Historical Library. The Clarke Library's collection of material regarding the Anishinabeg is among the most comprehensive in the state.

This exhibit was made possible, in part, by a grant from the Michigan Humanities Council.



CMU Clarke Historical Library Michigan Humanities Council

Funding for the installation of this exhibit was provided by the George and Edith Cook Family Besser Museum Fund.

View digital reproductions of these documents online at the Clarke Historical Library web page: www.clarke.umich.edu

K-12 EDUCATION OF NATIVE AMERICANS

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, primary education was an important goal for many Tribal governments. Tribal leaders recognized a need for members who could read and write English and who could serve as informed ambassadors between their tribes, the federal government, and white society.

By 1855 missionaries were operating primary schools at various Anishinabe settlements. After the Treaty of 1855 the federal government began to directly operate primary schools for Michigan Indians.

The Anishinabeg usually supported voluntarily sending their children to these day schools, but the U.S. government found them unsatisfactory. As early as 1866, Michigan Indian Agent Richard Smith requested permission to build a boarding school. His goal was to separate the children from their families and their community to fully and quickly integrate them into white society. After the Civil War, this became the basic goal of the U.S. government's Indian education program; a goal never acquiesced to by the Anishinabe community.

In 1893 a Native American boarding school was opened in Mt. Pleasant, where it continued to operate until 1933. By 1911 the campus had grown to accommodate up to 375 students. The school was run according to military principles and only English was spoken. Although the school never accomplished its goal of erasing Anishinabe culture among the community's children, it did help create a new spirit of unity among Anishinabe children through shared experiences and a common history. The school also gave new generations of tribal leaders skills to better cope with the U.S. government and white society.

HIGHER EDUCATION OF NATIVE AMERICANS

Exactly what educational opportunities were granted to Tribal governments and their citizens was often subject to differing interpretation. In the 1960s several people concluded that a treaty signed in 1817 required the University of Michigan to grant free tuition to some American Indians. The treaty read, in part:

Some of the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatomi tribes, being attached to the Catholic religion, and believing they may wish some of their children hereafter educated, do grant to the rector of the Catholic church of St. Anne of Detroit [specific land], for the use of the said church, and to the corporation of the college at Detroit, for the use of the said college, to be retained or sold, as the said rector and corporation may judge expedient.

The rector of St. Anne Church, Father Gabriel Richard, in 1817 became the co-founder of the University of Michigan. In 1974 a federal court ruled that while the treaty might create a moral responsibility to educate tribal members, it did not create a legal right to free tuition at the university.

SUPPLEMENTING TREATIES: THE MICHIGAN LEGISLATURE RECOGNIZES A NATIVE AMERICAN MORAL RIGHT

A sense that treaties morally obliged Michigan to educate its American Indian citizens led to action in the Michigan legislature. A *Detroit News* story published on May 21, 1976 summed up this sentiment:

... the history of Michigan and the country is replete with promises to Indians, including a guarantee to Michigan Indians of state supported education in return for land already transferred to the state. Without ever passing a law to guarantee the education the state in effect has reneged on its promises made in early treaties.

While the lawsuit against the University of Michigan proceeded through the courts on appeal, discussions about the issue were also occurring in the state legislature. Legislators from Detroit, particularly Jackie Vaughn, put forward legislation on the subject, using a Minnesota program as a model.

Vaughn, one of a handful of African-Americans then in the legislature, saw the bill as a way to introduce the idea of affirmative action.

... there were those [whom] we been toward this in terms of other minorities. I don't have to tell you, if I'd have tried to say "I want to introduce a bill for all Afro-American free tuition" I would have been laughed out of existence. But for Native Americans they were sympathetic, and I recognized that.

Vaughn recalled, though, that not everyone saw it his way. "There were a couple of them [Black members of the House] against it, because 'why should they have it when we don't have it?'" Other members of the legislature also opposed the bill. One senator argued that there were higher priorities for limited educational funds. Responding to the statement that the U.S. "had robbed the Indians of their land and failed to educate their children," the senator said he was "tempted to say that if the Indians don't like it here, they can go back where they came from."

In 1976 Vaughn's bill became law. Public Act 124 created the Michigan Indian Tuition Waiver program, granting Michigan's Native American citizens free tuition at the state's publicly-funded colleges and universities.

EDUCATION IN TREATIES

Most treaties included provisions for the education of tribal members. Many tribal leaders realized the need for European education to sustain their culture in a future that would include living with a large number of non-Native people.

In 1832, Shingwaukonce, who lived at times on both the American and Canadian sides of the St. Marys River and signed treaties with both the United States and British Canada, brought missionaries and teachers into his tribe. Shingwaukonce sought Western knowledge but saw the educational process as Native controlled, with Western education supplementing, rather than replacing, his tribe's existing way of life.

Forty years later, Augustine (Ogista) Shingwauk, a son of Shingwaukonce, re-affirmed the educational goals established for the tribe by his father.

As Shingwauk put it, his hope was that:

... before I died I should see a big teaching wigwam built at the Gunter River where children from the Great Saginaw Lake would be received and clothed, and fed, and taught how to read and how to write, and also how to farm and build houses, and make clothing; so that by and by they might go back and teach their own people.

In contrast, most nineteenth-century Christian missionaries and government officials saw education as a means to "civilize" American Indians and integrate them into American culture. Education, as well as Christianity, were tools to eliminate tribal values and traditions by teaching children different subjects and a different set of values. Shingwaukonce and Shingwauk both emphasized that education should be tribally controlled and integrate Western knowledge into tribal learning to serve tribal objectives.



HUNTING AND FISHING RIGHTS IN TREATIES

Treaties signed in 1820, 1836, and 1855 preserved for five Michigan-based Tribal governments pre-existing fishing rights in the Great Lakes. In 1973 the state of Michigan enacted laws limiting commercial fishing and applied these laws to Tribal members.

Several Tribal governments sued the state. The Tribes argued that they had historically fished the Great Lakes before treaties had been signed; through the treaties they had retained the right to fish; and that the Tribes had actively and continually fished commercially since the treaty signing. In 1979 a federal judge found in favor of the Tribes. The treaties preserved their pre-existing right to fish. The state of Michigan could not regulate fishing conducted by Tribal members.



MICHIGAN LAW CANNOT CHANGE A TREATY

After the founding of the United States, many states sought tribal land for white settlement. Georgia was particularly aggressive in doing so. In the 1820s Georgia passed a series of laws which asserted that the state owned the Cherokee nation's land and could apply state law on it. In every way possible Georgia's government attempted to drive the Cherokee westward.

In *Worcester v Georgia* (1832) the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that Georgia had acted illegally. Chief Justice John Marshall ridiculed the "extravagant and absurd idea, that the feeble settlements made on the sea coast" by Europeans gave them the right to govern Native Americans or take their land. European settlers had only the right to purchase "such lands as the natives were willing to sell." Marshall would ultimately conclude, "the Cherokee nation, then, is a distinct community occupying its own territory, with boundaries accurately described, in which the laws of Georgia can have no force."

However, previous decisions by Marshall had emphasized the authority of the federal government over Tribal governments. A year earlier he found that Tribal governments were "domestic dependent nations," and "their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian." In 1823 he had ruled that first possession of the land gave neither Tribal governments nor individual Native Americans land ownership as it was defined by U.S. law. Native Americans had a "right of occupancy" that should be recognized and legally obtained from them prior to white settlement, but the land was legally owned by the U.S. government.

HONORING TREATY AGREEMENTS ABOUT LAND

Despite treaty obligations entered into when Tribal governments surrendered land to the United States, the U.S. government usually looked away when tribal land was taken either illegally or unethically. Examples of this occurred in Michigan's Isabella County.

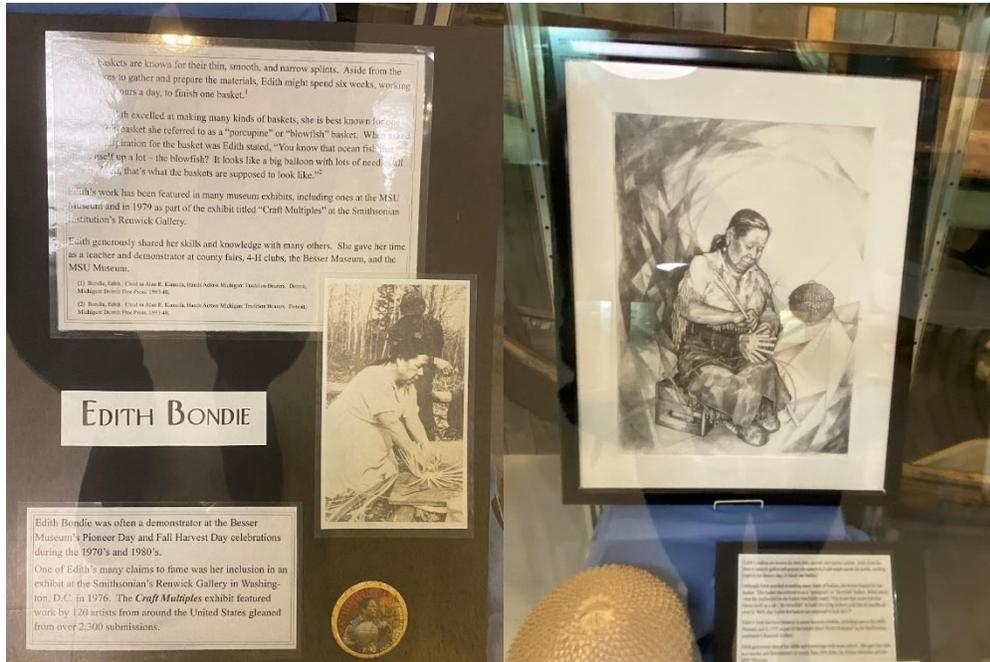
The 1918 *History of Saginaw County* told how a lawyer, aware of where and when federal Indian Commissioners would meet, Anishinaabe tribal members to transfer land titles to reservation property, secretly rifled through the Commissioners' papers, copied the titles, and identified the best timber areas. He then met with the Indians who owned the land. "He knew many of the Indians personally, and it was not a difficult matter to get them 'feeling good,' and then ... induce them to sign away their timber rights."

In 1953, the United States Indian Claims Commission found, "The evidence shows that whites, in devious ways, obtained timber from Indian lands in the Isabella Reservation." Indians also unfairly lost the land itself on the Isabella County Reservation.

Michigan Indian Agent George Betts, who served between 1871 and 1876, became notorious for making land allotments to tribal members that he quickly sold to speculators for a pittance. In one case, Betts sold over nine thousand of nearly eleven thousand acres on allotment lists before the lists were approved in Washington. Eventually a government investigation forced Betts to resign, but not before five-sixths of the land Betts had allocated to Saginaw-Chippewa Tribal members had been sold. In all, about 75,000 acres were sold, of which the federal government eventually returned 6,500 acres to reserve land status.

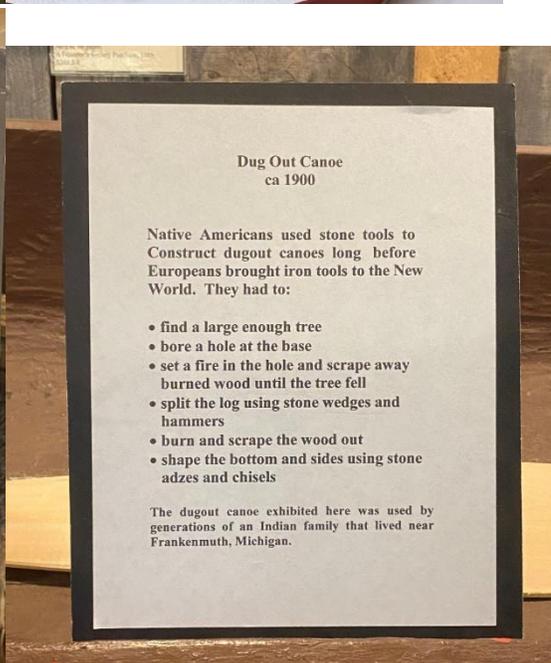
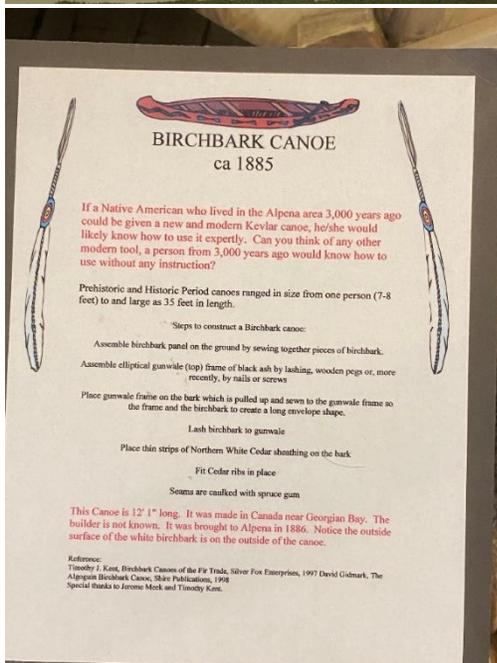
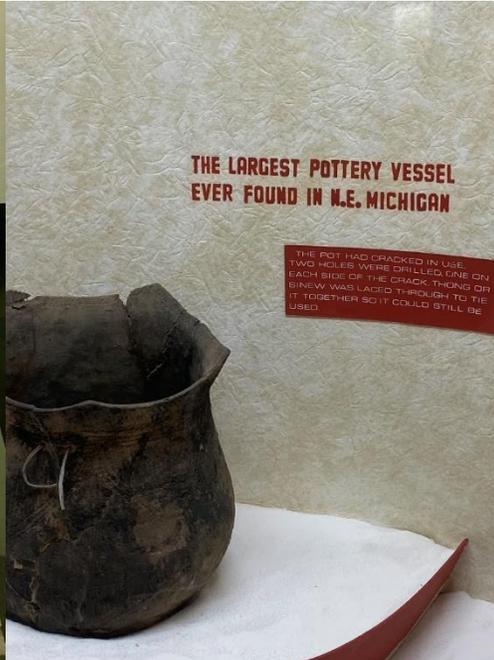
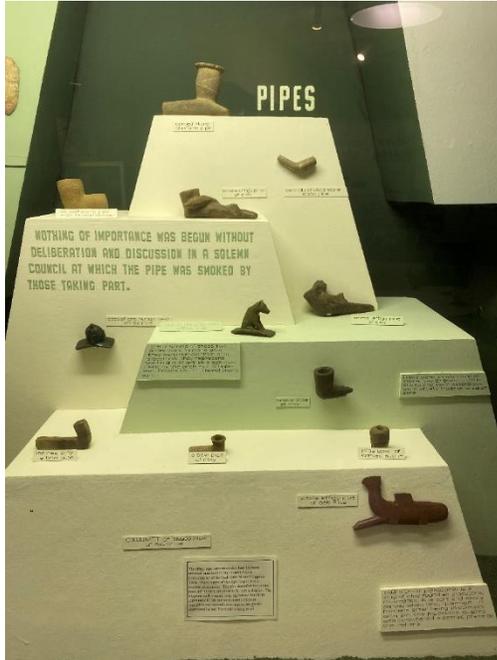
Edith Bondie

This will be an important part of the AER project. I would propose holding these pieces near the entrance to the exhibit and include a brief description why her role in this exhibit is so special. Or having a dedicated space for her elements, with her baskets displayed in reverence.



Additional Pieces

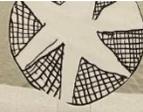
These additional pieces will be great to keep in the new exhibit. They are very informational and integral parts of Anishinaabe culture. The displays and descriptions will just need to be updated to stay relevant, and to bring all of the styles elements of the AER together for a cohesive display.





Prayer Sticks

Native Americans observed the Winter Solstice (December 21) by carving and placing prayer sticks. Everyone in a family worked the four days before Solstice crafting the sticks. Family members set a stick in a place determined by the head of the household. Each one represented an ancestor or deity. Traditional Prayer Sticks were made of a forked cedar stick and measured from the maker's finger-tip to elbow. Choosing the stick was important as the person needed to feel connected to the tree from which the stick was chosen, an offering was left out of respect at the largest cedar tree in the area. The bark could be stripped or not and carved with symbols meaningful to the maker. Either an animal fur or bone is tied to the stick. While making the stick a person would pray silently in gratitude for things past or need of things to come.



Meaning of the Naub-cow-zo-win Discs

The Naub-cow-zo-win discs are unique to Alpena. Before these artifacts were verified as prehistoric none were recorded in archaeological literature. Since verification as prehistoric artifacts, a single disc has been recovered at an archaeological site on Georgian Bay across Lake Huron from Alpena. The purpose or use of the discs is not known. The images that are inscribed on some of the discs powerful spiritual images. They are important in the cosmology of Algonquian peoples to the present time. Most of the discs are without incised images. Some of the discs have holes. Most of the discs are without incised images. Some of the discs have holes. Most of the discs are without incised images. Some of the discs have holes. Most of the discs are without incised images. Some of the discs have holes.

Naub-cow-zo-win Discs

Found in four locations in Alpena, most of the discs came from one location on an ancient Great Lake sand beach. Collected by Mr. Gerald Haltiner in the late 1940s and 1950s, Mr. Haltiner recognized these artifacts as prehistoric. He requested the University of Michigan Museum of Natural History authenticate the artifacts. The University anthropologists determined them to be recent manufacture and not prehistoric artifacts. Mr. Haltiner was not deterred and the artifacts were passed into the collections of the Besser Museum. In 1982 the artifacts came to the attention of Richard Clute. Clute visited the locations from which the items were reported found. One location had not been changed in the years from 1950 to 1982 so it was determined that archaeology students from Alpena Community College, under Clute's direction, would do a controlled excavation at the site. The effort proved the authentic provenance of the artifacts when they were found in undisturbed association with prehistoric ceramics of very well known provenance.

The Besser Museum curates about 200 of these discs. Clute and Alpena Community College students recovered another 150 discs. The items and associated artifacts recovered in the 1983-84 excavations are now curated at the University of Michigan Museums.

Besser Museum of Northeast Michigan
Anishinaabe Exhibit Revitalization

