



MINUTES OF EQUAL RIGHTS COMMISSION

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10, 2024, 5:30 PM

City Hall, Room 604 - The Harry Maier Room.

Virtual attendance is also available via Zoom.

A. ZOOM MEETING INFORMATION.

- I. Join Zoom Meeting Online:

<https://us06web.zoom.us/j/87139363656?pwd=MHRIUUVyb3dmd2x6eHhsN0x3Ry9yZz09>

Or call in by phone: +1 312 626 6799

Meeting ID: 871 3936 3656

Passcode: 182212

If you wish to speak at this public meeting or leave a comment, please fill out the online [Comment Form](#) prior to the meeting. More detailed [Zoom Instructions](#) can be found online.

B. ROLL CALL.

Present: Tara Yang, Michael Vinson, Marcus Grignon, Stephanie Guzman, Joey Prestley, Natalie Hoffman. Workplace Culture Specialist Andrea Fox, and others.

C. APPROVAL OF THE AGENDA.

- I. Approval of the Thursday, October 10, 2024 Equal Rights Commission meeting agenda.

Moved by Ald. Joey Prestley, seconded by Stephanie Guzman to approve.

Motion Passed.

Yes- Tara Yang, Michael Vinson, Stephanie Guzman, Joey Prestley, Natalie Hoffman, No- None, Abstain- None.

D. APPROVAL OF MINUTES.

Moved by Ald. Joey Prestley, seconded by Stephanie Guzman to approve.

Motion Passed.

Yes- Tara Yang, Michael Vinson, Stephanie Guzman, Joey Prestley, Natalie Hoffman, No- None, Abstain- None.

1. Approval of the September 12th, 2024, Equal Rights Commission meeting minutes.

E. REGULAR BUSINESS.

1. Discussion and possible action on the current housing situation in Green Bay.

Moved by Marcus Grignon, seconded by Michael Vinson to hold until next ERC meeting.

Motion Passed.

Yes- Tara Yang, Michael Vinson, Marcus Grignon, Stephanie Guzman, Joey Prestley, Natalie Hoffman, No- None, Abstain- None.

2. Discussion and possible action on initiating an Indigenous Peoples' Day proclamation from the Mayor's office.

Moved by Tara Yang, seconded by Ald. Joey Prestley to refer to staff.

Motion Passed.

Yes- Tara Yang, Michael Vinson, Marcus Grignon, Stephanie Guzman, Joey Prestley, Natalie Hoffman, No- None, Abstain- None.

F. INFORMATIONAL.

1. Chair update.

G. ADJOURNMENT.

Moved by Stephanie Guzman, seconded by Michael Vinson to adjourn.

Motion Passed.

Yes- Tara Yang, Michael Vinson, Marcus Grignon, Stephanie Guzman, Joey Prestley, Natalie Hoffman, No- None, Abstain- None.

The Menominee Tribe in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

David F. Overstreet and David J. Grignon

Introduction and Prelude to the Eighteenth Century

Who were the Menominee on history's cusp, and what do we know about their eighteenth- and nineteenth-century archaeology and ethno-geography? Iterations of pre- and post-Columbian era tribes are often tangled and confused from the names bestowed upon them by identifiers of differing linguistic backgrounds, and the Menominee Tribe is no exception. Hoffman (1896:12-14), for example, lists more than 80 variations of names attributed to the Menominee. Most readers, however, are familiar with the association of the Menominee tribe and the harvesting of wild rice (Jenks 1901). This is the manner in which they were first described to seventeenth-century administrators in New France by the Indigenous people like the Ottawa, with whom the Tribe traded during the early decades of the seventeenth century. Jenks (1901:1033) notes, for example:

Before the middle of the seventeenth century wild rice was reported as the staple food of the Menominee Indians and being very plentiful on what is now the Menominee River, the boundary between Wisconsin and the Upper Peninsula of Michigan.

Perhaps the Algonquian term *Omaeqnomenewak* (People of the Wild Rice) is one of the most common appellations applied to the people known today as the Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin (MITW). The early French explorers and traders referred to them as the "*folles avoines*," loosely translated as the "wild oats people." Menominee speakers, however, identified themselves as "*Kiash Matchitiwuk*," the Ancient Ones.

The concept of ancient heritage in Menominee tradition derives from the Tribe's oral histories that place their creation at the confluence of the Menominee River and the bay of Green Bay. It was at that location where the ancestral bear rose from the underworld and was transformed by the Creator into the first Menominee. Bear was then joined by Eagle and later by Wolf,

Crane, and Moose, who are perceived as originators of the five primary clans still in existence today. This narrative was provided to Walter Hoffman in the 1890s by several respected elders and chiefs (Hoffman 1890, 1896; Grignon n.d.; c.f., Trowbridge 1823). Hoffman (1896:39) noted, "The myth was obtained from a number of the older and influential chiefs, subchiefs, and *mita'wok*, prominent among whom were Neo'pet, Nia'qtowa'pomi, and Ma'tuahi Kine'u." This ancient status was accepted by Samuel Barrett and Alanson Skinner (1932), who reported the first formal archaeological investigations that took place on the Menominee Reservation in the summers of 1919 and 1921. Focus was placed on mound excavation, a primary archaeological research activity at the beginning of the twentieth century, while habitation areas were discussed only in passing. Barrett and Skinner concluded that the late precontact manifestations on the reservation represented the prehistory of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Menominee residents in northeastern Wisconsin and the adjoining Upper Peninsula of Michigan. Supported by such notable archaeologists as Will C. McKern, Gordon Willey, and John Bennett, time-space systematics of the era incorporated such terms as "Keshena Focus," "Wolf River Aspect," and "Keshena Culture," all of which were said to represent the precontact ancestry of the Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin.

One of the hallmarks of "Keshena Culture" was the intermingling of Mero complex shell-tempered pottery with Late Woodland grit-tempered pottery, including styles known today as Heins Creek and Point Sauble Collared wares, a phenomenon first noted by Barrett and Skinner (1932), and later by Mason (1966) from Wisconsin's Door Peninsula. Decades later, this led some researchers to speculate that the Menominee's ancestors may have had a material culture similar in some regard to the precontact culture identified as Oneota, an identification generally based almost exclusively on the occurrence of shell-tempered pottery that almost always was said to reflect either Chiwere or Dhegiha Siouan cultural affiliation

David F. Overstreet, Menominee Cultural and Logging Museum; David J. Grignon, Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin

(see Brose 1968, 1970a, 1970b; Gibbon 1986; Hall 1993, 1995; Hurley 1975). Bruhy (1990, 2002) took a less equivocal approach, stating that the shell-tempered ceramic assemblage at Zarling Lake (47FR186) in Forest County, and at several other sites he investigated during his many years of fieldwork in the Nicolet National Forest, linked the Mero complex as a cultural tradition to the precontact Menominee Tribe. Shortly thereafter Dirst (1993) revealed a large and complex Mero-like settlement, Whitefish Bay View (47DR167), at Whitefish Dunes State Park on the Door Peninsula, with indisputable evidence of maize as a significant subsistence resource. In that same year, Moffat et al. (1993), and later Moffat (1999), conducted test excavations at several sites in the Wisconsin River headwaters area, including the Fisher's Island (47ON51) and Dry Point (47ON245) sites, both of which produced shell-tempered ceramics along with grit-tempered Late Woodland forms, maize, and wild rice. These sites also provided radiocarbon dates demonstrating occupation prior to AD 1100. Maize remains and a metate were also recovered from the mixed late Late Woodland/Mero component at the Boss Tavern locality within the Fabry Farm site (47DR107) on the Door Peninsula (Overstreet et al. 2005), buttressing Dirst's (1993) contention regarding the presence of maize. Figure 1 shows these site locations in Wisconsin.

Taking an alternative view to the concept of "ancient" Menominee, Mason (1993, 1997) questioned the idea that the Tribe could be linked to regional precontact populations as suggested by Brose, Hurley, Gibbon, Hall, Overstreet, Bruhy, and others. Rather, he inferred that the Menominee homeland, based on a single utterance by the early seventeenth-century Jesuit missionary Claude Dablon, was situated in the area of Michilimackinac and that they arrived in the region indicated by the Tribe's oral traditions only a short time before the French. He stated (1997:84):

Perhaps the Menomini were not long-tenured in the homeland they claimed; they may instead have been in the vanguard of post-prehistory invaders, anticipating by only a generation or two the course that would be followed by others.

And he concluded (1997:84):

Notwithstanding the still prevailing consensus that the Menominis emerged into history where generations of the ancestors had lived and died in prehistory, corroborating evidence, as just reviewed, remains sufficiently unimpressive and ambiguous enough to invite questioning.

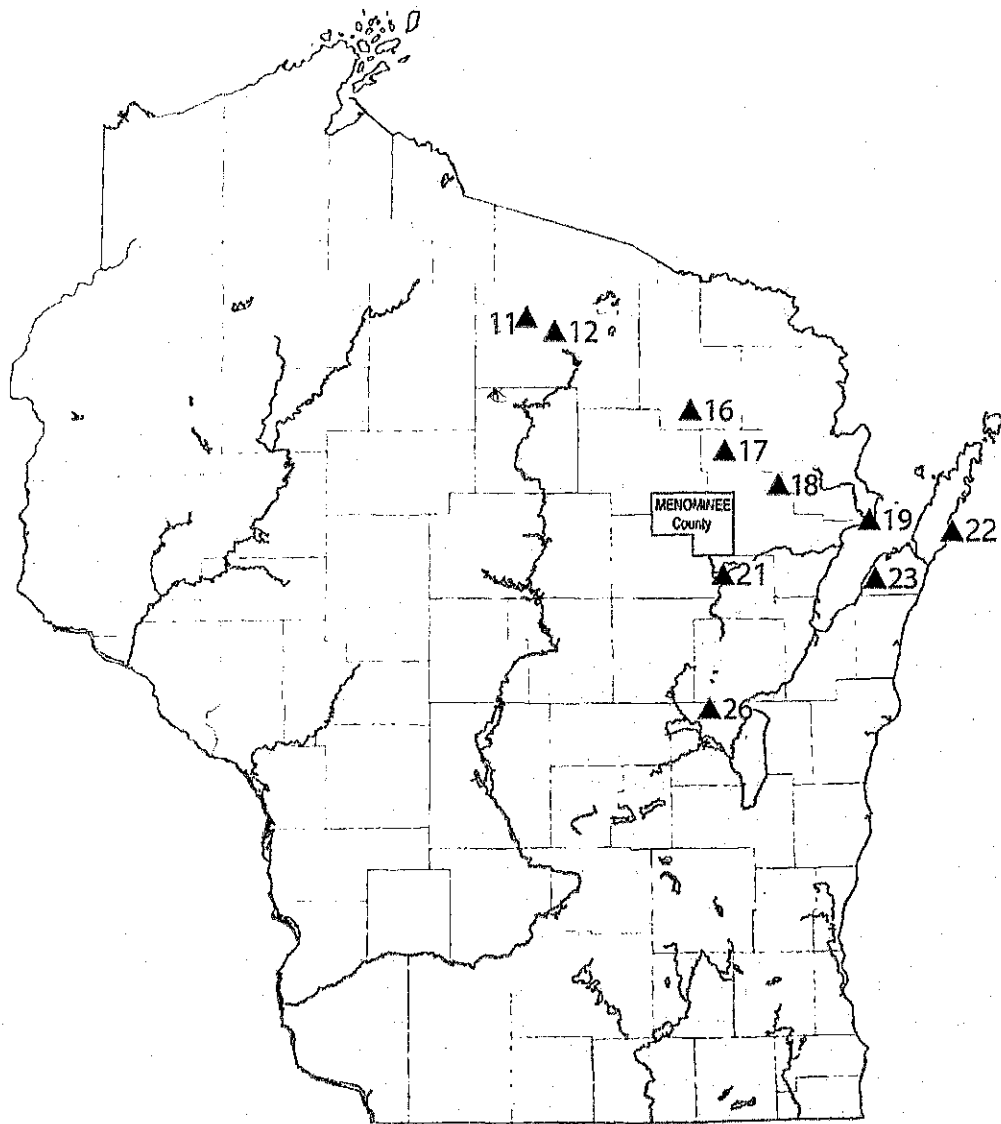
Menominee oral traditions, in contrast, hark back to their origin narrative wherein the Tribe's creation

took place in the distant past, as noted above, at the mouth of the Menominee River, and since the transformation of the ancestral bear they have always lived in this region. The controversy, fueled by litigation over usufruct rights claimed in the Treaty of the Cedars in 1836, generated much renewed interest in documenting the status of Menominee prehistory at the turn of the twenty-first century.

At about the same time, the Menominee Historic Preservation Office initiated and supported a concerted effort to revisit several of the sites on the reservation where Barrett and Skinner (1932) had carried out excavations, but also to conduct more detailed survey work at historically documented Menominee sites, both on and off the reservation. A joint undertaking was later launched with College of Menominee Nation and continued through 2019. During that time the Five Islands (47ME11/33), Joe Dick Road (47ME107), Sepaxticum (47ME12), Wayka Creek (47ME64), Big Eddy (47ME14), Big Eddy West (47ME167), La Belle Lake (47ME2/45), Nakuti's Berry Patch (47ME5), and Kakwatch (47ME35) sites were surveyed and mapped in greater detail, and controlled test excavations were judiciously deployed (Gartner and Overstreet 2016; Grignon et al. 2013; Overstreet 2000, 2009, 2014, 2015; Overstreet and Mier 2001). A project of broader scope and greater detail was co-funded by the National Park Service and Menominee Tribal Enterprises, Inc., to survey and map Kineway's Village (47ME141), a mid-nineteenth-century agricultural settlement (Grignon et al. 2013). This work combined archaeological survey, oral history interviews, and mapping utilizing geographic information system (GIS) technology. Off-reservation investigations then commenced at Peshtigo Point (47MT165), White Potato Lake (47OC8, 47OC347, 47OC356 and 47OC357), Archibald Lake (47OC309), and across the present state border in Menominee County, Michigan, at the Backlund Village and Mounds-White Rapids Village and Mounds site complex at 60 Islands on the Menominee River (20ME2, 20ME3, 20ME10, and 20ME61). The collective results of these investigations have provided the basis for the initial formulation of a new taxon dubbed the "Provisional Wolf River Tradition" (Bruhy 2008; Overstreet 2009, 2014).

The Provisional Wolf River Tradition

The "Provisional Wolf River Tradition" is derived from a combination of W. C. McKern's use of the taxon "Wolf River Aspect" (National Research Council 1935; see also Mason 1997:73-74) and Mason's definition of the concept of "territorial ethnicity" (1976, 1997).



Sites numbered on the map:

- 11. Fisher's Island—Oneida County, 47ON51
- 12. Dry Point site—Oneida County, 47ON245
- 16. Zarling Lake—Forest County, 47FR186
- 17. Archibald Lake Mound Group—Oconto County, 47OC309
- 18. White Potato Lake sites—Oconto County, 47OC8, 47OC347, 47OC356, 47OC357
- 19. Peshtigo Point—Marinette County, 47MT165
- 21. Magee-Milton—Shawano County, 47SW150
- 22. Whitefish Bay View—Door County, 47DR167
- 23. Boss Tavern locality, Fabry Farm—Door County, 47DR107
- 26. Selle site—Winnebago County, 47WN638

List of sites within the Menominee Reservation mentioned in this article. (Specific site locations are privileged information of the Menominee Nation.)

- Big Eddy—47ME14
- Big Eddy West—47ME167
- Chief Oshkosh Settlement—47ME132
- Five Islands—47ME11/33
- Joe Dick Road—47ME107
- Kakwatch—47ME35
- Kinepoway's Village—47ME141
- La Belle Lake—47ME2/45
- Makimitas—47ME8/104
- Nakuti's Berry Patch—47ME5
- Sepaxticum—47ME12
- Sugar Camp—47ME456
- Wayka Creek—47ME64

Figure 1. Locations of many of the Menominee sites mentioned in this article. Others are located within the Menominee Reservation, which is generally coterminous with Menominee County.

Admittedly, the Wolf River tradition is a work in progress, hence its characterization as "provisional." The intent here is to provide the reader with a summary of the late precontact adaptive strategies that were regionally employed, and show how these patterns are viewed as key to gaining a sound grasp of the historically documented eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Menominee bands. It is also clear that the contact era no doubt stressed traditional lifeways in the face of rapidly changing social, economic, and political interactions. These processes are addressed elsewhere in this issue, and it would be redundant to revisit them. It is, however, important to keep in mind that patterns of long standing during the late precontact era were still recognizable in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Late precontact times are arbitrarily defined here as ranging from approximately AD 750 to 1634; the latter date, by convention in Wisconsin, corresponds with Nicolet's visit to the Menominee and Winnebago tribes in the Upper Great Lakes.

Formulating the provisional Wolf River tradition was an exercise with multiple objectives that sought to evaluate Robert L. Hall's (1995, 2004) suggested presence of "band-level, minimally horticultural society with an admixture of Woodland and Oneota-like (in this case Mero Complex) pottery." The constellation of sites noted previously have almost invariably been classified as Oneota, but they do not meet any definition that considers attributes outside of ceramic temper. Nor may the inhabitants of these provisional Wolf River tradition sites be accurately characterized as "minimally horticultural." The Backlund site complex, Archibald Lake, Big Eddy West, Joe Dick Road, and Kakwatch sites are sizeable villages with raised agricultural fields of a magnitude that bespeaks community projects rather than pantry gardens. All occur within the confines of hardwood forests rather than in the Prairie Peninsula with its oak openings, or in the western grasslands that are the characteristic habitat of Oneota residential settings. It is also significant to note that the duration, as Mason (1990, 1992) has demonstrated, spans the tenth through the seventeenth centuries and hence takes on the characteristics of a tradition.

Maize, Mounds, Raised Fields and Surface Depressions – Attributes of Wolf River Tradition Summer Agricultural Villages

Menominee agricultural pursuits and capabilities have been disparaged and mischaracterized in the historical record (Gartner 2015; Gartner and Overstreet

2016). Typically, the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Menominee people were described as inept and reluctant gardeners preferring, according to government officials, to indulge only in the "chase" rather than to take up the plow and become civilized farmers. The archaeological record only recently has brought to light how distorted is this historical assumption. Buckmaster (2004), Overstreet (2000, 2009) and Bruhy and Egan-Bruhy (2014) have collectively revealed extensive raised agricultural fields as a major attribute of provisional Wolf River tradition warm-season settlements. Raised agricultural fields in eastern Wisconsin have, by and large, been obliterated by mechanized agriculture and methods of reforestation. Further, those fields that are extant are most always said to be linked to Oneota populations (c.f., Sasso 2003). Surviving plots of these so-called garden beds are common on the Menominee Reservation, less so within the boundaries of the Chequamegon-Nicolet National Forest. One notable exception is the Archibald Lake site, at isolated instances like the tract owned and managed by the Archaeological Conservancy at White Potato Lake in Oconto County, and at site 20ME61 at White Rapids on the Menominee River terraces in Menominee County, Michigan. Those extensive, minimally disturbed tracts at Joe Dick Road, Big Eddy West, Sepaxticum and other locations on the Menominee Reservation are the result of the Tribe's sustainable forestry practices and general prohibition against mechanized reforestation. In the Chequamegon-Nicolet National Forest, the more than 28 hectares of raised fields, mounds, and surface depressions at Archibald Lake are protected by both the National Register of Historic Places designation and a U.S. Forest Service designation as a protected scientific and environmental zone of mature beech-hemlock forest. Finally, the remaining tract of raised fields at White Potato Lake in Oconto County is also protected by the National Register designation. The Backlund/White Rapids raised fields that occur on both the upper and lower terraces of the Menominee River are strung out along the northeast shore of the river for a distance of about three miles, interspersed with settlements and mound groups like the Backlund and White Rapids site complex (Buckmaster 2004).

We interpret the Menominee River sites to represent a cultural landscape with strong association to MITW. While there is limited protection for portions of sites or individual sites by the establishment of so-called "buffer zones," development of a proposed open-pit mine will compartmentalize and therefore destroy the cultural landscape. Cornfields specifically associated with the Menominee are also found in the General Land Office records on the Menominee

Reservation, on the east shore of Lake Winnebago, and on the south shore of Lake Poygan. Without question, these remaining tracts are but a minuscule fraction of the raised fields that must have littered the forest floor in precontact times, with the vast remainder having been obliterated by postcontact land use practices.

Investigations sponsored by the USDA, National Institute of Food and Agriculture (NIFA), have focused on the chronology, attributes, and functions of raised fields (Gartner 2015; Gartner and Overstreet 2016; Overstreet 2009). Phytolith, starch grain, and pollen analyses, supplemented by flotation recovery of carbonized plant macrofossils, have identified maize, squash, sunflower, and possibly *Chenopodium*, although the latter may be a harvested "friendly weed" rather than a domesticant (Piperno and Holst 2011; Scullin 2015). Test excavations at the Joe Dick Road, Sepaxticum, and Big Eddy sites have expanded the range of ceramics encountered in these northeastern Wisconsin and northwestern Upper Peninsula late precontact summer agricultural villages.

Brose's (1968) analyses of the ceramics recovered by Spaulding (1956), and Buckmaster's (1999) investigations at the Backlund Village site, have identified Mero Complex shell-tempered ceramics along with Heins Creek and Point Sauble Collared wares in both mound fill and village midden and surface depression deposits. This is true also for the ceramic assemblage from the Riverside site (20ME1), near the mouth of the Menominee River (McIlraith 2015; Pleger 1998). These same ceramic wares were encountered in both the raised fields and in storage pits at Joe Dick Road, while Sepaxticum and Five Islands have produced no shell-tempered ceramics. Ostensibly earlier occupations than Joe Dick Road and Big Eddy West, both Sepaxticum and Five Islands so far have yielded only Heins Creek and Point Sauble Collared late (terminal?) Late Woodland pottery.

The stratigraphic contexts of the ceramics at all of these sites, unfortunately, are open to varying interpretations. That is to say, the cultivating and reworking of the gardens have served to mix the depositional contexts, and the storage features must also be considered to perhaps be contaminated by potential mixing and reuse. This limitation notwithstanding, investigations to date indicate a complex system of sustainable organic agriculture that persisted from approximately AD 800 to 1600 and was still practiced by traditional Menominee farming communities into the twentieth century (Gartner 2015; Gartner and Overstreet 2016; Overstreet 2009, 2015; Grignon et al. 2013). Finally, a very small excavation at the Archibald Lake site (Bruhy and Egan-Bruhy 2014) suggests, to no one's surprise, that the Heins Creek and Point Sauble wares predate

the shell-tempered Mero Complex pottery. This is consistent with the radiocarbon assays compiled by Mason from charred food encrustations on Mero Complex ceramics from Door Peninsula sites (1990, 1992).

At multiple locations on the Menominee Reservation, the forest floor is dimpled by surface depressions. The majority of these were undoubtedly used for storage of perishable commodities, but some also functioned as earth ovens, while others may have been used to cache a wide variety of implements, and still others may have been associated with ceremonial activities (Arzigian and Theler 2019). At the Joe Dick Road site more than 300 surface depressions or pits have their origins visible at the surface, and these were mapped on the site plan in 2000, along with two garden bed plots and two mounds (Figure 2). More recent surface survey, however, indicates a much more expansive reach of raised agricultural fields, and as many as 500 or more additional surface depressions that have yet to be mapped. Reconnaissance survey at the Kakwatch site was undertaken to assess the description of surface depressions reported there by Barrett and Skinner, who described this large site complex in the following manner:

Figure 12 gives a plat of this site, showing the locations of the various mounds and of the numerous refuse pits. The village site occupies the higher ground covering the whole eastern portion of the site. The refuse pits are on the slope leading from the edge of the village site down to the stream. North of the South Branch Road the site crosses the brook, and a few pits and mounds occur for the next hundred and fifty yards, running slightly west along the ridge [Barrett and Skinner 1932:438].

Figure 3 reproduces Barrett and Skinner's 1932 site map. Similar clusters of surface depressions were reported from the Makimitas site (47ME8/104) and Five Islands sites. At Makimitas, Barrett and Skinner (1932:424-425) described the pits and some of the contents found therein:

Except where destroyed by cultivation north of the road, the pits on this site are still quite plainly visible, as indicated in Figure 33. Examination showed them to be remarkably uniform, not only in appearance, but in structure. They were oval in shape, averaging four feet long, three feet broad and four feet deep. Upon testing with a spade the earth within the pits usually showed a jet black surface layer of charcoal, four to six inches thick. This sometimes contained a few potsherds. In one or two instances the rest of the pit was filled with light gray or red ashes, and

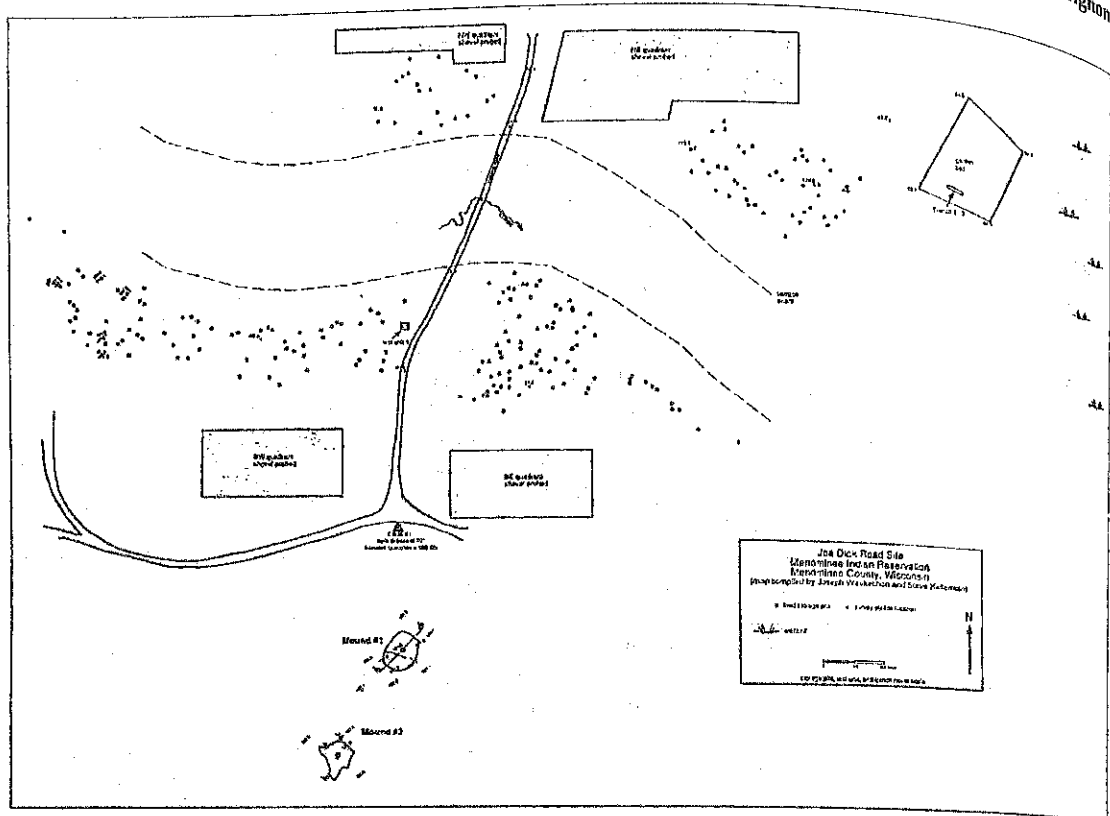


Figure 2. Joe Dick Road site (47ME107) as it was mapped in 2000.

occasionally fire-cracked stones. In half a dozen cases the entire filling of the pit was darkly stained with charcoal but in all the rest the earth was either slightly darkened or mottled sand, streaked with charcoal, or was light colored, resembling the yellow virgin sand round about. In all cases, however, at three or four inches from the bottom of the pit, a heavy layer of charcoal was found. Mingled with this were burnt stones, and nearly always, countless minute fragments of calcined bone, too small for positive identification, but closely resembling the larger fragments found in the cremated mound burial deposits. With these were found, on certain occasions, an unburned finger or human toe bone. Associated with the calcined bones were generally a few potsherds, and sometimes one or more small triangular flint arrowpoints. Often both sherds and points showed signs of having been subjected to extreme heat.

Figure 4 is a facsimile of the Barrett and Skinner Figure 33 referenced in the above quote. Whether or not the pit structure and function at Makinitas described by Barrett and Skinner is typical of the many habitation sites with large pit clusters on the Menominee

Reservation cannot be currently ascertained. Until such time as a significant sample of pits, for example, a 10-20% sample of the approximate 1,000 pits visible on the surface at Joe Dick Road, are appropriately excavated and documented, comparable data will be lacking. The small sample of pits excavated at Joe Dick Road suggests they functioned as storage features or earth ovens, many of which were backfilled with village debris (Overstreet 2000).

While Hurley (1975) placed the mounds reported by Barrett and Skinner on the Menominee Reservation as part of the Effigy Mound tradition, significantly, there are few examples that can reasonably be described as effigies. Barrett and Skinner reported two primary mound forms, conical and tapering linear. For unknown reasons they described the tapering linear forms as "catfish mounds." Dirst (1998), in commenting on these mounds, suggested they may represent sturgeon effigies, and this is a more logical conclusion than a portrayal of catfish, given the importance paid to sturgeon in Menominee lore and tradition as well as the ancient fish's role in subsistence. It is important to note that while both Heins Creek and Mero-like vessels, as well as Aztalan Collared and Point Sauble

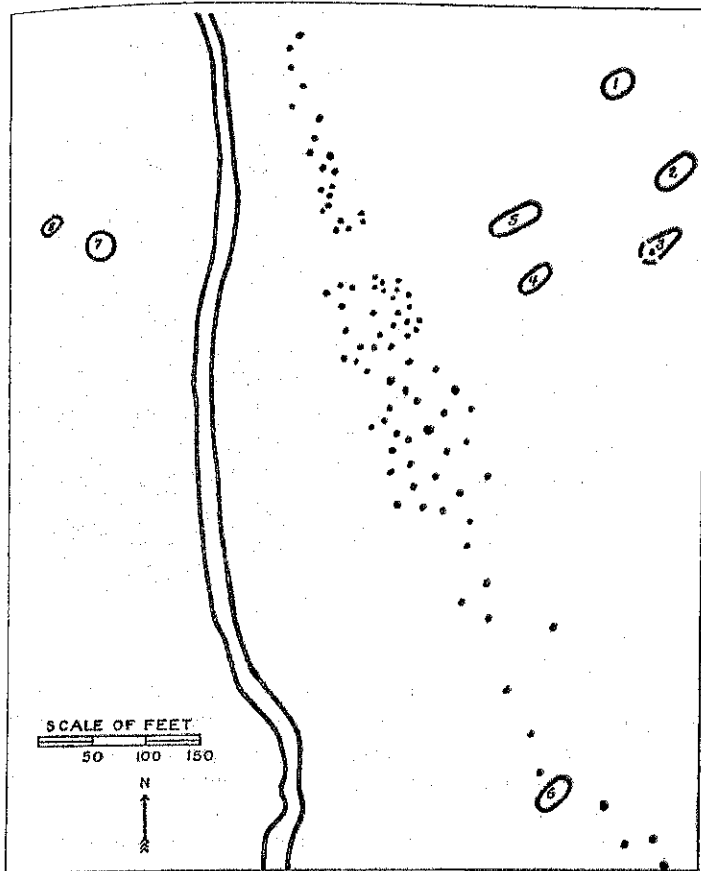


Figure 3. Sketch map of the Kakwatch site (47ME35) (after Barrett and Skinner 1932).

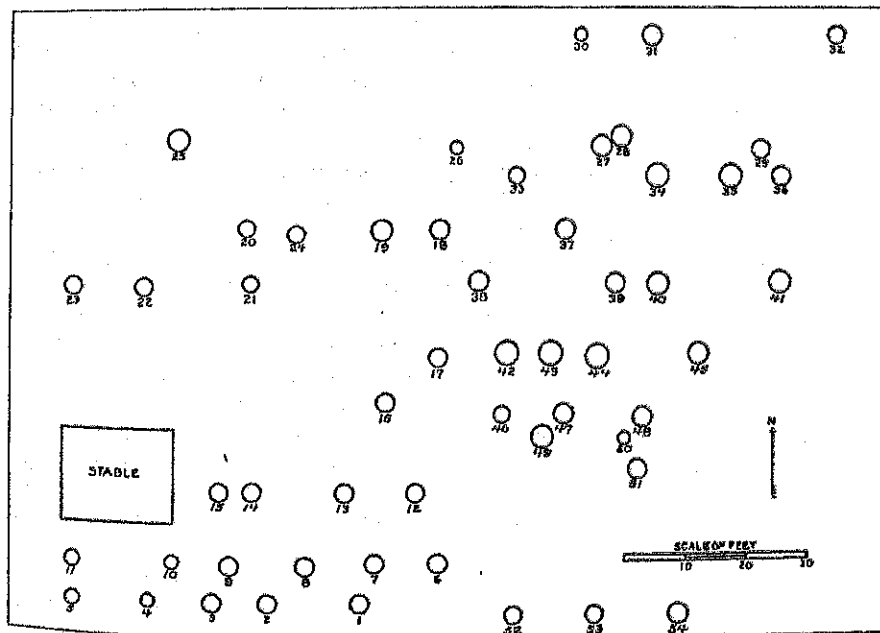


Figure 4. Sketch map of the Makinitas site (47ME8/104) (after Barrett and Skinner 1932).

and apparently individual "holes" were excavated at what were described as focal points—usually the head or the center of mounds. Those mounds that were mapped are clearly stylized, as are many of the plat, while other mounds simply have their locations and standard number of these locations have been revised and confirmed, and it is clear that the Barrett and Skinner excavations were never backfilled. In the 1932 publication, most reported mounds included human remains, but others were devoid of any mortuary evidence, while still others were said to contain only dense concentrations of village debris. Burials excavated by Barrett, Skinner, and also Satterlee occurred in sub-mound chambers or within the mounds proper. Others were apparently bundle burials; some were fully articulated, flexed, and in-the-flesh interments. Cremations occurred both within the mounds, and as intrusive into the mounds. There are also interments made prior to mound construction. Finally, Barrett and Skinner also mention cemetery sites, but those that are described appear be nineteenth to twentieth century in age.

In spite of the data limitations it is clear that there are a large number of village sites, ostensibly summer agricultural villages, that also functioned as ceremonial centers for mortuary purposes and undoubtedly for other ceremonial activities, and that large numbers of storage features are typical at these late pre-contact villages. The current radiocarbon chronology indicates that agriculture utilizing a system of forest clearing, raised field construction, soil amendment, and varying means of organic enrichment were carried out by the Menominees' ancestors from about AD 800 to 1600. As viewed by my colleague Dr. William G. Gartner at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, the most significant difference between ancient Menominee agricultural practices and those of contemporary farmers is that when the Menominee abandoned their fields the soil was more fertile than when cultivators first began. This is in diametric opposition to the results of contemporary agricultural practices. We do not know, for example, how long the sites were occupied before abandonment. The reorientation and stacking of raised fields at Sepaxicum and Joe Dick Road are indicative of some type of cycle, but this cycle has yet to be determined. Were the residents, as some have suggested, forced to move after just a few years, owing to diminishing crop yields? Were these forest farmers practicing a fallow system? Are these settlements a reflection of the territory of a particular band over the course

The context of association between these vessels and the mounds from which they were taken in the 1920s is imprecise. This is also the case for mounds on the reservation. It staggers the imagination to contemplate that Barrett and Skinner, who, according to their 1932 report, spent a total of 12.5 weeks in the field, from May 30 to June 26 in 1919, and two months in the summer of 1921, excavated some 58 mounds during that time! At least two additional mounds were "opened" by John Valentine Satterlee and were later "checked," according to Barrett and Skinner. Careful reading of the text demonstrates that mounds were trenched,

Collared forms, are known to co-occur, it is not always possible to determine the association of various ceramic forms and their inclusion in a mortuary program. For example, a Lake Winnebago Trialed vessel was collected by Dr. Willard H. Titus from a conical mound at Cecil village on the east shore of Shawano Lake (Fox and Younger 1917; Hall 1962:139). Another Lake Winnebago Trialed pot was taken from a mound in Calumet County. Finally, the vessel depicted in Figure 5 is a shell-tempered pot currently housed at the Oshkosh Public Museum as part of the "Karnenberg Collection." Provenience provided by the Oshkosh Public Museum indicates that the vessel was excavated by Karnenberg from a mound near Blacksmit Lake on the Menominee Reservation. These vessels may have been intrusive, but they may also signal relationships between the Menominee and Ho-Chunk and that mounds were still being constructed more recently than is often assumed.

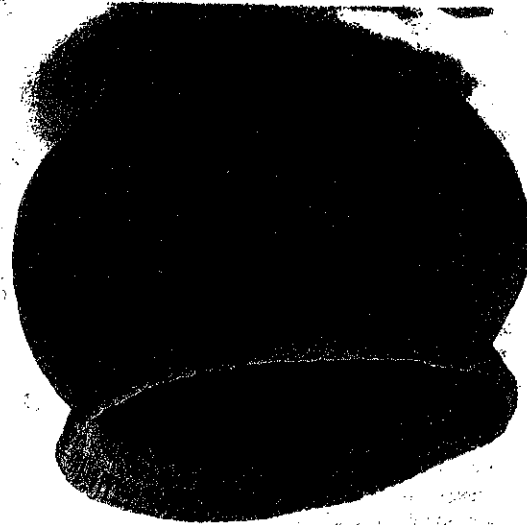


Figure 5. Shell-tempered pot excavated by Arthur Karnenberg from a mound near Blacksmit Lake on the Menominee Reservation, currently housed at the Oshkosh Public Museum.

of many hundreds of years? And further, what is the origin of shell-tempered pottery that is introduced into the region beginning around AD 1000 or shortly before? Is it the harbinger of an abandonment of the ceramic technology that begins with the North Bay population about 500 BC and terminates with grit-tempered Mero ware? Was the typical Late Woodland ceramic tradition ultimately replaced exclusively by shell-tempered varieties assumed by many to be of Oneota origin? If the answer to this question is yes, it means not only that the description of Menominee pottery provided by 84-year-old Philip Nakuti to Alanson Skinner in 1911 (Skinner 1921:82) deserves further consideration, but also that the brief description of shell-tempered pottery at the Duck Creek Métis settlement by Lester and Jean Rentmeester (1984, 1989) can be considered as corroborating evidence. Nakuti related to Skinner:

that vessels were made of selected clay, which was pounded and mixed with pulverized shells of the freshwater clam (*Unio* sp.) for tempering. When the clay had been properly prepared, more water was added, and it was kneaded into a stiff paste. This was plastered by hand over a large ball of basswood-bark twine, an opening being left out of which protruded an end of the string. The clay was then smoothed off with a stick, and the incipient vessel was set in the sun to dry. In fact, sunshine was considered such a necessary factor in the drying process that no one ever attempted to make pottery on a dull day.

When the clay coating was dry, the potter took hold of the end of the ball of twine, which had been left protruding from the opening made for the purpose and, pulling it, unwound the ball within, leaving an earthen shell. Fresh clay was daubed over the rough inside and the outside was scraped smooth with a stick. The vessel was then sized with a coating or wash of finer clay, and ornamented with designs marked with a sharpened stick [Skinner 1921:282-283].

At a minimum, a positive answer to that question also lends credence to the suggestion by both Gibbon (1986) and Hall (1993, 1995) that some of the shell-tempered pottery in the Green Bay area and the Door Peninsula may actually have been fabricated by the Menominee's ancestors. That is the position taken here, but that assumption addresses only the summer population aggregates at these agricultural villages. Seasonality and scheduling during periods of resource availability also account for many of the smaller interior sites, particularly as they have been revealed, described, and interpreted by Bruhy and Egan-Bruhy (2014).

Provisional Wolf River Tradition Seasonal Special-Purpose Extraction Camps

The annual round of late precontact Menominee bands and those of the postcontact era likely differed significantly only after the intensification of the fur trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. After the crops were harvested, processed, and stored for the next raised-field preparation and planting season, kin groups began moving to traditional ricing stations. Wild rice was abundant at such locations as the Middle Fox River Passageway; the west shore of Green Bay, particularly in the shoals of the Big and Little Suamico Rivers; the mouth of the Oconto, Peshtigo, Kinnikinnic (Milwaukee River tributary), and Menominee Rivers; and at such lacustrine settings as Shawano Lake, Post Lake, and others. According to Jenks (1901) and Hoffman (1896), there was much attendant ceremonial and regulatory behavior that accompanied the staging for the wild rice harvest. Undoubtedly, the crop failed or was poor in some years, while in others it was quite abundant. How the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Menominee would have adjusted their subsistence activities in years of poor yield is better addressed from the ethnographic and ethnohistorical records than from the current archaeological record. Processing stations were spread out on the shores of the harvest areas, jig-pits were dug or renovated, and rice was harvested, parched, danced, winnowed, stored, and no doubt consumed (Figures 6 and 7). Duration of occupation at these sites was certainly short, no more than a few weeks at most.

Mast crops also might have been harvested, but aside from Dunham's (2009) and Skibo et al.'s (2009) studies, there is little information about the use of these resources in northern Wisconsin and Michigan's Upper Peninsula, except to say that carbonized nut fragments are almost ubiquitous in late precontact floral assemblages. They are seldom numerous, but as Skibo et al. (2009) infer, boiling to extract nut oil may have been a common fall-season task. In addition to mast crop harvesting as a fall subsistence activity, fall spawning fish, primarily lake trout and whitefish from September to December, would also have been taken during the spawning runs in the shallows.

At the onset of winter, most agricultural villages were temporarily abandoned, although some small contingents may have been in permanent residence. Kin units broke down into small, extended families and proceeded to traditional winter hunting grounds. These small camps were situated in a variety of protected locations such as cedar swamps where white tailed



Figure 6. Rice harvesting on Shawano Lake (ca. 1925); (courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum, #31325).

deer were prone to yard up, or small rock shelters such as those found scattered along the Niagara Escarpment flanking the east shore of Lake Winnebago. Figure 8 depicts a Menominee winter camp in Langlade County and likely represents a typical eighteenth- to nineteenth-century domestic unit. Aside from Bruhy's work in the Chequamegon-Nicolet National Forest at locations like the Isthmus site (47FR43), and at Zarling Lake, few short-term logistical sites ostensibly associated with the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Menominee Tribe have been investigated. Among the most enlightening summaries of short-term extraction camps is that by Bruhy and Egan-Bruhy (2018) from the locus of the Butternut-Franklin Lakes Archaeological District in Forest County. However, I would note that while Bruhy and Egan-Bruhy (2018:172) appropriately construct a Menominee-Wolf River tradition analog from the Skinner (1921:371-372) oral histories to logistical camps and their relationship to summer agricultural villages, they conflate the Wolf River tradition as part of the broader Oneota tradition. Simply put, Wolf River tradition sites do share post-AD 900 ceramic temper with the ceramics classified



Figure 7. Rice processing on Shawano Lake (ca. 1925); (courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum, #31229).



Figure 8. Menominee winter camp in Langlade County (ca. 1925) (courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum, #655b).

as Oneota but they do not share adaptive strategies, environmental-ecological setting, social organization, domestic structure design, or any other characteristics noted for their Siouan neighbors. As Mason (1966) has stated, Oneota ethnicity, where the issue is addressed, is overwhelmingly linked to either the Chiwere or Dhegiha Siouan speakers.

Regarding cold-weather seasonal settlements, one such winter camp, the Selle site (47WN638), is situated on the shores of the Rat River marsh. It was occupied by a small Menominee group who were likely associated with the Poygan band, whose summer agricultural village, trading post, and Bonduel's mission were no more than a day-long canoe trip from the south shore of Lake Poygan (Overstreet et al. 2003). The Rat River is a tributary of the Wolf, the confluence of which is just a short distance north of the north shore of Lake Poygan. Faunal assemblages with high frequencies of muskrat and turtle may not be typical of Menominee camps prior to the eighteenth century and the accompanying growth of the trade in furs, but they were commonplace at the Selle site. Turtle would have been available simply by probing the shallows in the marsh and extracting them from the muck where they had burrowed in to spend the winter in a lethargic state.

We assume that muskrats were taken with spears and traps for their pelts.

Between the years 1820 and 1855, a small group of Menominee occupied the Selle site, based on the historical artifact assemblage recovered there (Overstreet et al. 2003:171-195). Kaolin pipe bowls and stems, Dover (British) gunflints, gun parts, shot, lead sprues, beads, buckles, brooches, kettle brass, and tin ware fragments are typical of the era and not likely diagnostic of any particular ethnic group. The same may be said of the whiteware and brown transfer print ceramic sherds also found there. It must also be noted that by this time, mixed ethnic populations were the rule rather than the exception. According to Wyatt (1986:8-5), by 1836, most of the interior Menominee bands moved to the big village area at Lake Poygan, although many remained at mixed villages along Lake Michigan shores, and some bands stayed along the lake. However, Wyatt (1986:8-5) also notes that an observer in 1849 found that the Menominee were for the most part forest dwellers who lived apart from white settlement in the nine bands, and were governed by some 26 chiefs.

Hunting, trapping, and snaring of large and small mammals, both for food and for furs, was carried

out by solitary males and perhaps small task groups. Menominee women would have been occupied with dressing furs for the trade, fabrication of their own kin group's clothing, and other domestic needs (Skinner 1921).

As temperatures began to rise, generally by late March to mid-April, the warming waters promoted spawning behavior of such spring-spawning species as lake sturgeon, walleye pike, northern pike, and various species of suckers. Just prior to the availability of spring-spawning fish, however, was the collection and processing of maple sap. The sap collection season is variable, and dependent on fluctuations in temperature—daytime temperatures above 32° Fahrenheit, and nights with below-freezing temperatures are the optimal times for sap collection. Avoiding the question of whether or not maple sugar was produced during the precontact era, it is certain that production was pursued by the great majority of Menominee tribal members during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and continues to this day. Prior to the introduction of metal containers fashioned from copper and brass, and later cast iron and tin, that became readily available in postcontact times, sap was collected in birch bark containers known as *Makuks*. *Makuks* had a long history, and regardless of the ongoing discussion of the origins of maple sugar production, these widespread items among Great Lakes precontact populations were employed in cooking, hauling and storing water and other commodities, and for gathering berries and other plant products. A typical eighteenth- to nineteenth-century sugar camp had an archaeological surface expression dominated by container caches for sap collection, fire-cracked rock, and a boiling arch (Figure 9).

Following, or perhaps even overlapping with, maple syrup and sugar production, attention shifted to the spring fish harvest. Again, certain favored spots appear to have been utilized over the course of centuries, particularly for the harvesting and processing of lake sturgeon. Excavations at the Magee-Mitton site (47SW150) in Shawano County, for example, generated evidence of millennia of procurement and processing of sturgeon along the Wolf River, about 10 miles south of the southern border of the Menominee Reservation (Overstreet 2004). Cultural debris, ranging from Late Paleoindian in age to the postcontact era, was found scattered across the site on a prominent terrace overlooking the Wolf River. Multiple large rock features in shallow pits employed for processing sturgeon, by smoking and/or drying, were associated with sturgeon scutes. Scutes are the five rows of boney external plates arranged along the sturgeon's back that serve as body armor. These ancient fish, like sharks, are cartilaginous and lack bones, and the scutes often

are the only remaining evidence of their occurrence in archaeological sites.

One of the most noted locations for sturgeon harvest by nineteenth-century Menominee, and without question for centuries before this time, was at Keshena Falls, a natural barrier in the Wolf River and the northernmost spawning location for sturgeon from the Lake Winnebago chain (Lakes Winnebago, Butte des Morts, Winneconne, and Poygan). Keesing describes mid-nineteenth-century sturgeon spearing at Keshena Falls, noting that the Bear Moiety headed by Oshkosh, Souigny, Chickeny, and Shawano lined the west shore of the Wolf River, while the Thunder people under the direction of Wayka, Poegonah, and Keso were deployed along the east bank (Keesing n.d., 1987:151-152). On the north side of creeks confluent with the eastern shores of Lake Winnebago, Late Woodland settlements as well as those from more recent times were located to take advantage of the sunrise warmth, and the movement of spawning fish up the creeks to these short-term extraction camps.

This seasonal round of which we see hints in an incomplete archaeological record is fully consistent with the description of early nineteenth-century Menominee subsistence and settlement described by Jedidiah Morse in his report to Secretary of War John Calhoun in 1822. Morse's (1822) report was gathered from local informants at Green Bay, including John Lawe, James Porlier, Laurent Feeley, and the Grignon brothers, who, as members of the old Green Bay trading families with Menominee relations, provided an accurate account of the tribe during the period of 1820-1825. This account was a prelude to the Treaty of Butte des Morts in 1827 that served to demarcate the Menominee and Chippewa territorial boundary. Morse estimated the tribe at about 4,000 individuals distributed in some 10 summer villages. Regarding subsistence, Morse noted that in the spring the Tribe subsisted on (maple) sugar and fish, in the summer on fish and game, in the fall on wild rice and corn, and in the winter on fish and game, with the fish being dominated by sturgeon and lake trout.

The number and locations of Menominee villages reported in historical documents are seldom compatible. Keesing (n.d., 1987) suggested that all of the Menominee in the seventeenth century lived in the environs of a single village at Menominee, Michigan. This erroneous statement has been repeated on many occasions but hopefully was put to rest by Beck (2002). The 1819 census lists five Menominee "towns" west of Lake Michigan, in and around Green Bay, while an additional four "towns" are identified on the Illinois River (Indian Office 1819-1820) in northeastern Illinois. Col. Boyers compiled the Green Bay area census,

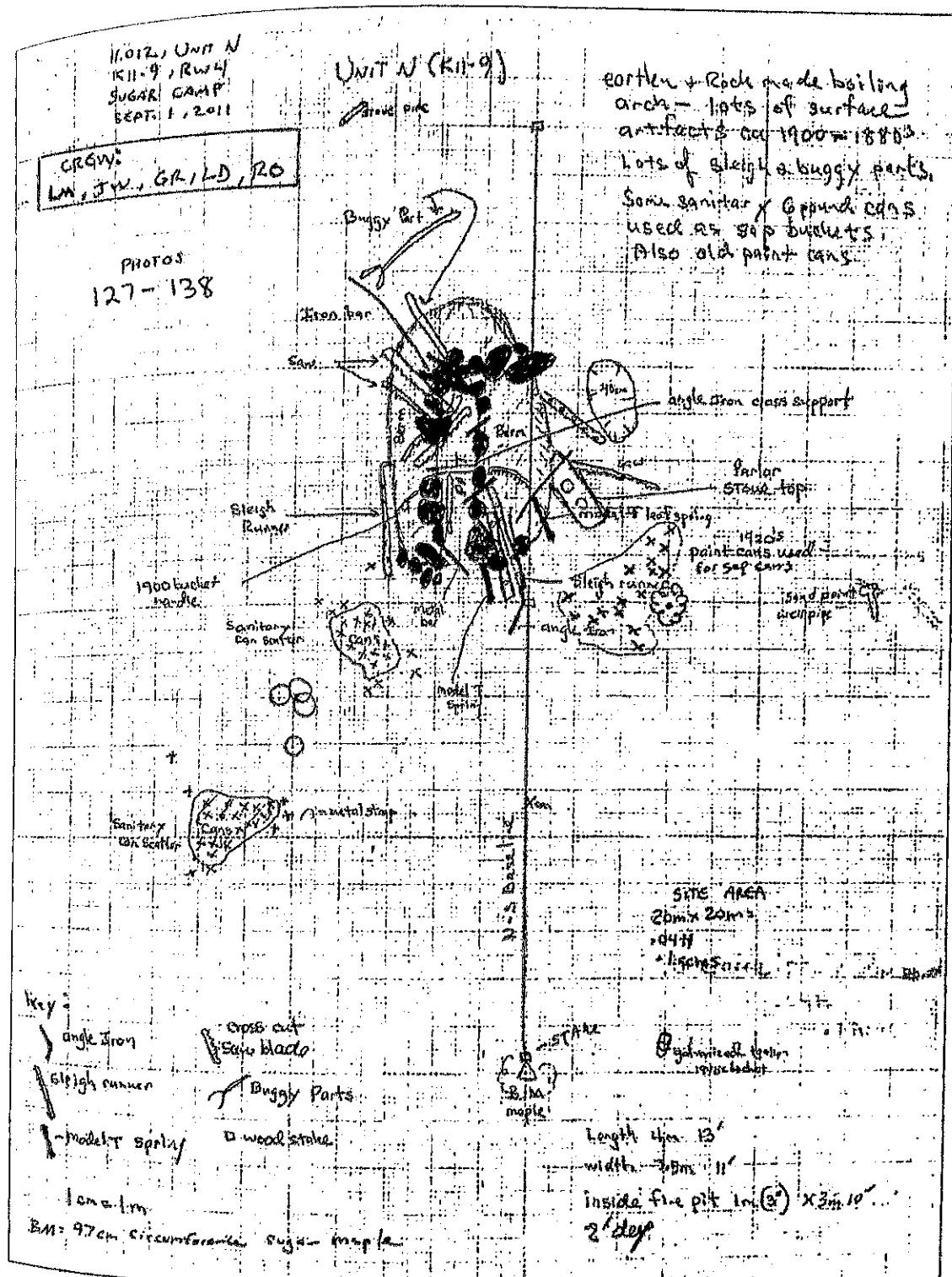


Figure 9. Sketch map of nineteenth-century sugar camp on the Menominee Reservation (47ME456).

while Mr. Jouett authored the Chicago agency census. According to these censuses, the Wisconsin group numbered 830 men, women, and children, while the Illinois River towns totaled 207, with a total estimate in 1819 of 1,100 Menominee tribal members. Cleland (1996) points out that Morse's population estimates and village locations and those offered in an 1824 report submitted by Major Henry B. Brevoort, the Indian Agent at Green Bay (Brevoort 1824), are contradictory. Moreover, as just demonstrated, the 1819 census is less than half of that offered by Morse. Morse estimated the Menominee population as 4,000 residing in 10 villages or "towns," while Brevoort's estimate was 2,000. Curiously, Brevoort's document provides the locations of 14 villages but does not include the known settlements at Bay de Noc and Milwaukee, both of which were occupied in 1824. Figure 10 depicts the locations of documented Menominee villages or towns in 1824, some with accompanying population estimates. These are adapted from the Morse and Brevoort documents and Cleland's (1996) interpretation of them. Collectively the 17 towns or villages represent the range of Menominee territory in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but clearly do not incorporate all of the Menominee settlements.

Chronology and Segue into History—A Rapidly Changing Eighteenth-Century Landscape

Fifty years prior to the onset of the eighteenth century, the habitual Menominee territory had already become a refuge for those displaced by the Iroquois or so-called Beaver Wars. Abbé Claude Bernou's map of 1681 notes the general locations of Fox, Potawatomi, Miami, Mascouten, and Huron in eastern Wisconsin (Figure 11). Not long after, they were followed by the Sauk, Kickapoo, growing numbers of so-called woods-runners (*coureurs de bois*), and Jesuit missionaries. *Coureurs de bois* was the name applied to French fur traders of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, many of whom were uncensored by the officials of New France and traded furs on the black market. They were also perceived as unprincipled, plied indigenous groups with adulterated high wine and whisky, and created difficulties for the tribes with whom they traded. Greater contact with the French also served to increase the transmission of European diseases. The formerly dominant Winnebago (Ho-Chunk) were vastly reduced in numbers following their defeat by the Illinois, and their removal from the Middle Fox River Passageway created opportunities for both the Menominee and the new immigrants from the east to

settle in. Nonetheless, the influx of eastern populations disrupted both habitation and subsistence activities, and increasing competition for resources, especially furs and European trade goods, likely gave rise to intertribal stress and periodic hostilities. Early on, the Menominee seem to have been able to adapt to the eastern immigrants. But as time went on, particularly with the deteriorating conditions in the Fox and Wisconsin River valleys just prior to the onset of the Fox Wars (Edmunds and Peyser 1993), populations in the Green Bay area swelled.

The construction of the French fort at La Baye in 1716 (see Cullen 2021, this issue) attracted new concentrations of Indigenous populations to the locale to take advantage of new economic opportunities with French trading interests, and whatever benefits might accrue from newly established missions. A growing creole or Métis community, strongly linked to the Menominee and the trading interests, grew up at the site of Saquetock's village at the confluence of Duck Creek and Green Bay, now the Village of Howard. The Menominee became staunch allies of New France and fought in several battles against the British-Iroquois alliance. They remained loyal until the fall of Quebec in 1759. In spite of this, the Menominee and French communities continued to live in harmony at Green Bay. A British garrison arrived at Green Bay, rebuilt the French fort, and gave it the name Fort Edward Augustus. Two years later, the British abandoned Fort Edward Augustus, and the trade at Green Bay remained in the hands of the Menominee-creole community. The Menominee, as they did earlier with the French, ultimately accepted British sovereignty and remained loyal, refusing to take up arms against the British in the 1763 Pontiac uprising. The tribe ultimately sided with the British during the American Revolutionary War, joining expeditions against the American interests in the Illinois country.

The Nineteenth Century—Loss of the Tribal Estate and Reservation Life

Trauma continued for the Menominee People with the onset of the War of 1812. The Menominee swore fealty to the British crown following the demise of French hegemony in 1759, with the Treaty of Ghent in 1814 officially ending the War of 1812. The British withdrew from American territory, abandoning Fort Mackinac in 1815 following the Treaty of Ghent, but established Fort Drummond at Drummond Island on American soil. Here they hoped to continue to influence the Great Lakes tribes, including the Menominee, to continue to benefit from the fur trade and to control

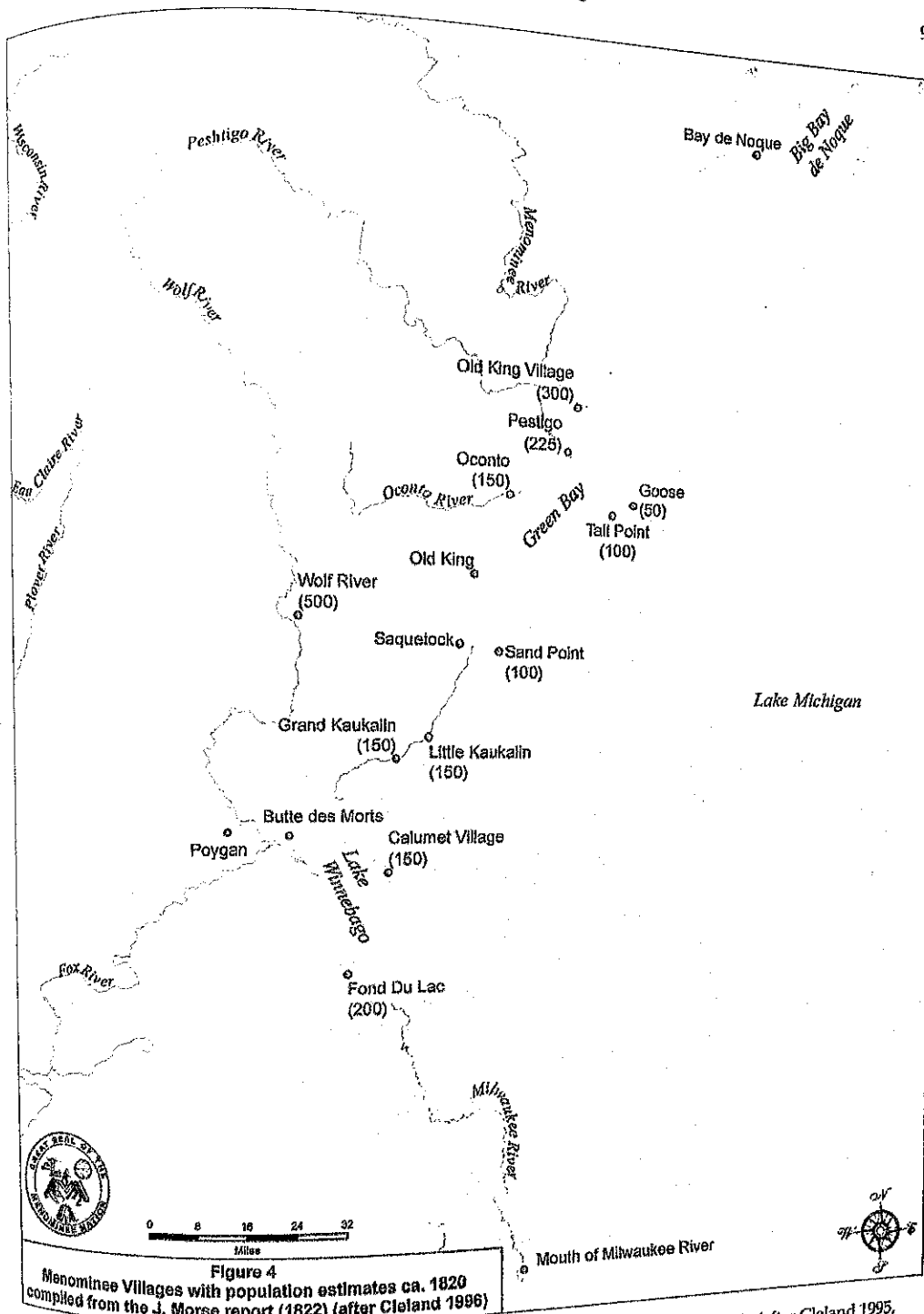


Figure 10. Location of Menominee villages in 1824, with population estimates where available (after Cleland 1995, Morse 1822, and Brevoort 1824).

In their home country the Menominee continued to expand their tribal domain as Menominee bands ranged farther and farther from the shores of Green Bay and Lake Winnebago. By the beginning of the American period they occupied the Lake Michigan shore from the Milwaukee River to Bay de Noc and west to the Black River. Winter hunting expeditions took them even farther west to the valleys of the Chippewa and Mississippi and even beyond.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, little had changed for the Menominee since their first adaptation to the presence of Euro-Americans and the fur trade enterprise. In fact, the Menominee had adopted an economic, social and political strategy which allowed them to take advantage of new opportunities without requiring radical cultural change. By establishing kin ties with the Green Bay traders and by developing new ways to harvest and market natural resources, they were able to maintain their social, political and ideological system essentially as it had been since time immemorial [Cleland 2011:142-143].

Nevertheless, this situation was soon to change. The first step was the so-called Treaty of Peace and Friendship conducted at St. Louis in 1817. The treaty had no official weight among Tribal leaders but did have the effect of establishing perpetual peace between the United States and the Menominee Tribe. No land was lost, and the Menominee acknowledged themselves to be under the protection of the U.S. government and no other sovereign, while the U.S. claimed exclusive stewardship over the Menominee and responsibility for their welfare (Kappler 1817).

Land acquisition became an issue less than a decade hence. The Treaty of Prairie du Chien (1825) included most of the tribes of the Old Northwest. The government's objectives were to reconfirm its role in Indian affairs, to reduce intertribal friction and ease hostilities that threatened American settlement, and to reaffirm American sovereignty over the British along the northern border. Commissioners William Cass and Lewis Clark also sought to have each tribe declare its own exclusive territory and the land that would be shared for hunting and collecting. The boundaries for the Menominee claim reads: "bounded on the north by Chippewa country, on the east by Green Bay and Lake Michigan extending as far south as the Milwaukee [sic] river, and on the west they claim to Black River" (Kappler 1825). Shortly thereafter, and unique to the Menominee, the first threat to their homeland came not from the U.S. government but from, in Cleland's (1996:23) words: "a group of Christianized and educated New York Indians and their American

supporters." The proposed land swindle called for the Menominee to cede 40 square miles of the best lands on either side of the Fox River to the New York Indians. In 1820, Menominee Agent Col. John Bowyer crafted an informal treaty agreement between the New York delegation and Menominee representatives.

The land cession, known as the 1821-1822 agreement, was not signed by legitimate Menominee leadership, all of whom were vehemently opposed to it, nor was it approved by the U.S. government.

This controversial proposed land grab was not settled but was at least addressed by the Treaty of Butte des Morts in 1827. The primary objective of the treaty was to resolve the boundary of lands claimed by the Menominee, Winnebago, and Chippewa. The Winnebago boundary was not resolved, but the Chippewa/Menominee boundary between Bay de Noc and the Wisconsin River was defined. The treaty also defined the boundary between Menominee lands and those claimed by French and British citizens. The treaty also set forth the provision that the President could change the boundaries of the 1821-1822 purchase by the New York Indians as he saw fit. Menominee leaders Oshkosh and Josette Caron vigorously debated with U.S. Commissioners Lewis Cass and Thomas McKenney about the agreement and denied having agreed to it at all. The problem was then left to the President to resolve, having simply been deferred by the Treaty of Butte des Morts. Owing to various political maneuvers, the treaty was not ratified until 1829.

Following a series of failed discussions, negotiations, and a Senate Amendment, a Menominee delegation traveled to Washington, DC, in the fall of 1830, led by the distinguished speaker "Grizzly Bear." The intent was to negotiate a land cession and to resolve the "New York Indian Problem." The negotiated treaty was signed on February 8, 1831. It described the country that was claimed exclusively by the Menominee and agreed to set aside a tract of 500,000 acres, excluding private claims, west of the Fox River for the New York Indians. The Menominee then ceded to the U.S. Government all lands between the Milwaukee River and the tip of the Door Peninsula, and between Lake Michigan and Lake Winnebago, including the islands in Green Bay and the Fox River. While the Menominee Tribe maintained usufruct rights throughout its claimed territory, including the ceded land, resolved the New York Indian issue to its satisfaction, and gained the benefit of annuities, two additional considerations were more important. First, the Menominee affirmed their paternal relationship with the Great Father, and second, the U.S. government recognized the tribe's exclusive territorial claim to some 10 million acres in Wisconsin. In assessing the condition of

the Menominee following the first significant land cession, Cleland noted:

The treaty of 1831 did little to change the Menominee way of life. Despite the land cessions, they continued to follow their traditional seasonal subsistence rounds and to use the resources and territories as they had since before the arrival of Euro-Americans [1996:79].

The Indian Removal Act of 1830 signaled the end of traditional lifeways for many of the Indigenous peoples in the eastern United States. The purported philosophy of the Act was to protect Indian people by removing them to a region beyond any corrupting influence of non-Indians, where they could either maintain their own cultures or, more preferably, be transformed into educated agriculturalists. In practice, the Act "resulted in mass removal of thousands of eastern Indians into conditions of hopelessness, poverty and despair" (Cleland 1996:81).

The efforts to remove the Menominee, however, continued over the next decade, and by the time of the negotiations for the Treaty of Lake Poygan in 1848, two factors were apparent. First, the press of white settlement began to have a significant impact on traditional subsistence practices. Staples like maple sugar and syrup as well as the Green Bay fisheries were now processed for use beyond Menominee consumption, and represented two commodities that could be turned into hard cash or bartered for other necessities. Production beyond consumption needs is verified by the output of the Christian bands at Lake Poygan, which numbered about 500 individuals. In 1849, the bands produced 4,000 bushels of corn, 1,000 of potatoes, 20 of wheat, and 20 of barley. They also harvested 200 bushels of wild rice and 1,000 bushels of cranberries and made 35,000 pounds of maple sugar (Medill 1850:220). Second, removal of the Tribe from Wisconsin was still an important political agenda. Territorial Governor Henry Dodge, for example, in his 1846 report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, recommended a treaty to purchase the remainder of the Menominee land as soon as possible (Medill 1846:39). The following year, he described the removal of the Menominee west of the Mississippi as "humane policy" (Medill 1848:90). With substantial plotting and chicanery, Governor Dodge and Green Bay Agent Albert Ellis orchestrated an arrangement to have Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Medill show up at Lake Poygan to personally negotiate the cession of the remaining Menominee lands in Wisconsin, and move the tribe to the Crow Wing area of Minnesota. The Menominee were already faced with American squatters settling on the remaining unceded land, and with Medill's threats that if they

did not sign the treaty and sell the lands in question, the United States would take possession and drive off the Menominee from the country. Under this duress, the Treaty of Lake Poygan was signed. Oshkosh told Medill that "the hearts of the chiefs and their people were bloated with grief," and to his fellow leaders he stated, "my friends we cannot do otherwise, we are forced into it" (Sawyer 1849).

Article 6 of the treaty provided an opportunity for a Menominee delegation to travel to the proposed new home, which consisted of 600,000 acres in the Crow Wing region in Minnesota. In 1850, an exploratory party of young Menominee men was dispatched to reconnoiter the Crow Wing tract. Accompanied by William Powell, who served as interpreter, the party judged the area unacceptable as it did not have much wild rice or game, a conclusion verified by Powell.

Chief Oshkosh, supported by many other interests, petitioned the government, citing the many flaws in the 1848 treaty, and asked that the Menominee be allowed to remain in their Wisconsin homeland. In the fall of 1852, the President requested the Chiefs to remove to the Wolf River country for payment of annuities at Keshena Falls. Tribal leadership was satisfied with this arrangement, and efforts were directed to formulating the Treaty of the Wolf River in 1854. This treaty amended the inequities in the 1848 Treaty of Lake Poygan and established the Menominee Reservation, consisting of 12 townships. The two southwestern townships were later ceded to the Stockbridge and Munsee Indians. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, the Menominee saw the extent of their tribal estate dwindle from more than 10,000,000 acres to a little more than 275,000 in 1854. Two years later an additional 46,000 acres were lost for a home for the Stockbridge-Munsee.

Post-Reservation Life and the Archaeology of the Late Nineteenth Century

The Poygan bands began moving onto the reservation in the late fall of 1854. Keesing (1987) provides an overview of modifications to traditional Menominee lifeways, in part as a function of reservation life, and in part owing to new political, social, and economic conditions. The Oconto River, Menominee River, Peshtigo River, and other bands subsequently moved onto the reservation and established new communities. Keesing noted that while significant change was already underway by the mid-nineteenth century, reservation life also called forth new adaptations. Traditional groups settled in certain areas like Zoar,

Oshkosh Creek, Wayka Creek, and Chickeney Creek on the Menominee Reservation. Settlements at Lamotte Lake, Keshena, South Branch, and West Branch were primarily Christian. More than 2,500 Tribal members moved onto the reservation, but many simply stayed put on the Menominee, Oconto, and Peshtigo Rivers, at Calumet Village on the east shore of Lake Winnebago, at Menomonee Falls and Indian Prairie in southeastern Wisconsin, and at the Métis community at Duck Creek. Cleland succinctly characterized the changes occurring in Menominee demography:

While it was the hope of the federal government and the citizens of Wisconsin that the Menominee would move to and eventually remain on the new reservation, this was not required, nor in fact, expected. The 2,000 or so Menominee who depended on the chase at the time of the Wolf River treaty could not possibly make a living within the boundary of the reservation. They, of necessity and choice, continued to hunt fish and gather over much of the territory they had ceded in former treaties. Even in the strictest application of the Manypenny's allotment policy, it was recognized that northern reservations simply could not support the people who were assigned to them. This was particularly true for the Menominee reservation which was selected for its natural resources, not its agricultural potential. For this reason, a treaty negotiated under Manypenny's supervision in Wisconsin and Minnesota in 1854 reserved usufruct over the ceded territory while at the same time creating reservations. In the decades following the Wolf River treaty most of the Menominee people did move onto their reservation. They also continued to leave the reservation to hunt, fish, and gather as they had been assured they could in the treaty of 1831 [Cleland 1996:134-135].

The archaeological expressions of late nineteenth-century off-reservation Menominee sites likely differ little from those of the Ojibwe, Sioux, Potawatomi, Ottawa, and others in northern Wisconsin. Shared material culture, adaptation to logging, fishing, quarrying, and other growing industries, and dwindling access to off-reservation ricing sites, hunting grounds, sugar camps, and other seasonal and special-purpose extraction camps all worked in consort to make ethnic identification more diffuse in the archaeological record. In view of this phenomenon, Salzer (1969, 1974) coined the term "John Badger phase," owing to his inability to discern any specific ethnic affiliation for a number of post-Civil War sites in the North Lakes District in northern Wisconsin. Nonetheless, late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century multi-ethnic communities like those discussed by Broihahn (2019) were

commonplace outside of the reservation boundaries. Some of these communities, like Indian Farms and Dogtown, were ethnic enclaves, respectively, for the Potawatomi and Ojibwe, and were dominated by one tribal group or another. Others, like Skunk Hill (Birmingham 2015) functioned as multi-ethnic communities and ceremonial centers.

Within the boundaries of the Menominee Reservation, nineteenth-century sites are, for the most part, individual homesteads or homestead clusters. The Chief Oshkosh settlement (47ME132), for example, harbors the berms and cellar depressions of numerous cabins. Further, the wagon road from Keshena to the settlement is still visible while the forest is in leaf-off condition in the early spring, before the understory grows up. Nearby is the cemetery from that mid-nineteenth-century settlement overlooking the Wolf River. Logging camps, farmsteads, individual homesteads, and sugar camps from this era are numerous and well preserved. The early settlements at South Branch and Zoar have been identified but await detailed mapping and description. Only West Branch—also known as Kinepoway's Village—has been studied in detail. In turn, Kinepoway's Village serves as an untested model for comparison with late precontact agricultural communities that are known to occur throughout the Menominee Reservation and at fewer locations in northeastern Wisconsin (Grignon et al. 2013; Overstreet 2009, 2015) and in Michigan's Upper Peninsula (Buckmaster 1979).

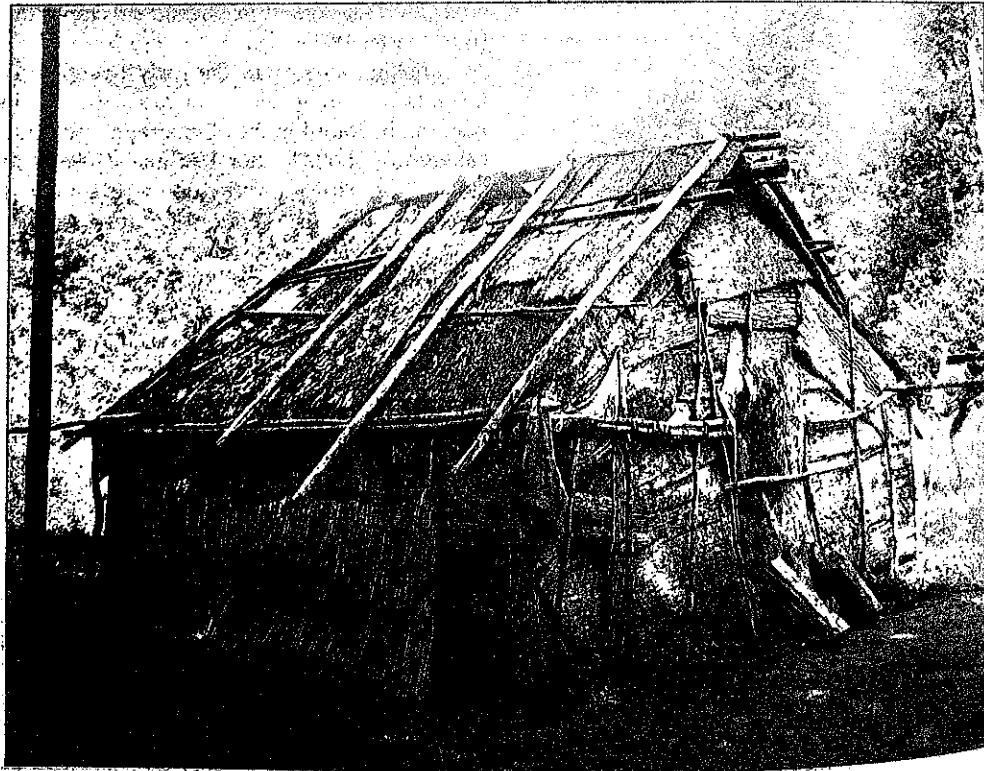
Looking back from the early twentieth century, insights regarding what lifeways were like in times past can be found in the ethnographic and ethnological records. Both Walter Hoffman (1896) and Alan Skinner (1921) portray domestic settings in their published works. Although Hoffman confuses winter and summer domestic structures, the images are of late-nineteenth-century lodgings but likely have a much longer history. More compelling perhaps are the images provided by Skinner that depict Soman Jim's camp, bark lodge, arbor, and sacred pole, along with his bean crop growing in the traditional raised fields that have great antiquity but were still employed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and were still in use by some in the early decades of the twentieth (Figures 12 and 13).

Summary, Conclusions, and Future Research Opportunities

The archaeology of the Menominee Tribe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is inextricably linked to its antecedents, but there are two positions

regarding the antiquity of the Menominee in Wisconsin and Michigan's Upper Peninsula. The first of these is the thesis presented by Ronald J. Mason (1997). He suggested that the Menominee homeland, based primarily on a single utterance by Father Claude Dablon in the mid-seventeenth century, was situated in the area of Michilimackinac, and that perhaps they arrived in Wisconsin only a short time before the French. The second viewpoint, and the one espoused here, is more consistent with Menominee oral traditions. It takes a deep time perspective and harks back to their origin narrative wherein the Tribe's creation took place, as noted earlier, at the mouth of the Menominee River, and since the transformation of the ancestral bear, they have always lived in this region. Most troublesome, however, is how to interpret the shift in the lengthy continuum of the regional Woodland ceramic traditions to pottery generally assigned to Oneota or Upper Mississippian rather than Woodland cultures. Mason's (1966) seminal work on the Door Peninsula viewed the sequence of Woodland (North Bay-Heins Creek-Point Sauble) pottery as an evolutionary continuum. By about AD 950-1050, shell-tempered

Figure 12. Soman Jim photos: (a, below) Soman Jim's bark lodge (ca. 1925) (courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum, #6813); (b, right) Soman Jim (ca. 1920) (courtesy of the Menominee Historic Preservation Department).



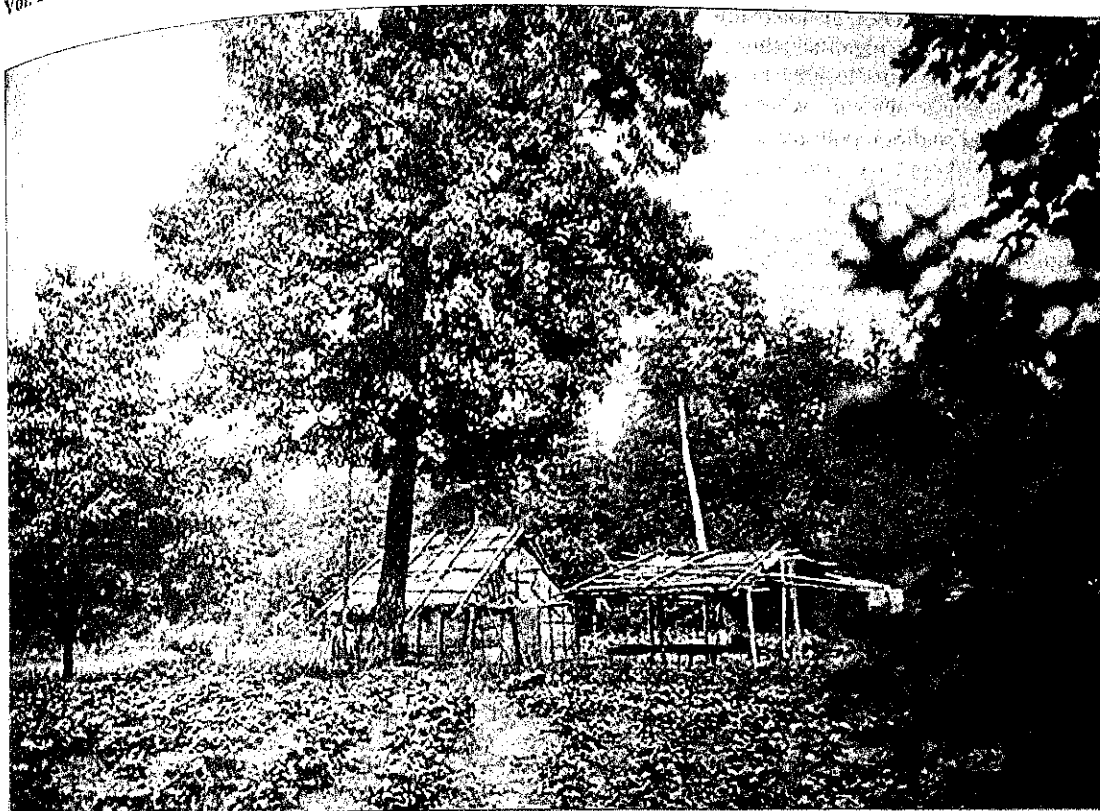


Figure 13. Soman Jim's camp with bark lodge, arbor, sacred pole, and raised fields (ca. 1925) (courtesy of the Menominee Historic Preservation Department).

pottery, known as Mero complex ware, made a sudden appearance in the archaeological record in eastern Wisconsin and the Upper Peninsula (Brose 1968; Buckmaster 1979; Mason 1966, 1990, 1992). The long-standing Woodland ceramic tradition of grit-tempered pottery embellished by textile impressions was joined with, or replaced by, distinctly different and unmistakably recognizable, generally unadorned, plain-surfaced shell-tempered pottery.

The combined contributions of Bruhy (1990, 2002, 2007, 2008), Dirst (1993, 1998), Moffat (1999), Moffat et al. (1993), and Overstreet (2000, 2009) served to confirm Mason's proposed revision of the Mero Complex, first defined in 1966, but it was expanded both geographically and chronologically by Mason's own work at Rock Island (1986, 1990, 1992). In a 1990 summary, he mused:

Whatever else the Mero Complex may be made out to be, it apparently also incorporates the attributes of a cultural tradition. As just reviewed, it is present as early as the Tenth century, was going strong in the Fourteenth, and left an imprint in the early historic period [Mason 1990:134].

In retrospect, Mason (1966:194) wondered:

What happened to the resident Woodland population and its culture? Was it actually displaced or annihilated by the newcomers? Or, did Oneota culture diffuse through the resident population and replace their native pottery and other craft traditions without actual displacement of population?

He favors the former interpretation, based on his assumption that all historically known Oneota peoples were Siouan speakers. Dirst (1998) also favors the displacement notion, suggesting that Oneota people drove the ancestral Menominee residents across the bay from the Door Peninsula to the Menominee River locales where they were first encountered by the French expedition led by Jean Nicolet in 1634. Neither of these notions appear to fit well with the archaeological record. At several sites on the Menominee reservation, at locations in Door, Oconto, and Brown Counties, and at the Backlund and Riverside sites on the Menominee River in the Upper Peninsula, Mero Complex pottery was found cheek by jowl with Late

Woodland forms. Halsey (1999:275) noted this same puzzling phenomenon in Michigan at other sites on the Menominee River as well: "Exactly how Upper Mississippian pots came to the sites where they lay right next to Woodland tradition pots is uncertain."

Mason's (1966:194) favored explanation was made clear: "There is as yet little archaeological evidence of an acculturation situation—only replacement." His argument, though, was based on linguistic data rather than archaeological evidence: "Indeed, the Siouan-speaking Winnebago constituted a remarkable linguistic corridor virtually surrounded by Algonquian-speaking peoples of Woodland cultural characteristics." With the current information, it now seems ever more likely that Mero complex ware was introduced by migrants from the south. Initially, they may have been few in number, and some were likely absorbed into the Algonquian-speaking, long-resident population. Philip Nakuti's description of Menominee pottery manufacture as given to Alanson Skinner in 1911 deserves serious consideration. This idea about the ancestral Menominee material culture is supported by stratigraphic contexts of shell-tempered pottery supported by radiocarbon dates at the Big Eddy West and Joe Dick Road sites on the Menominee reservation (Gartner and Overstreet 2016). Mason's work at the Rock Island II site (47DR128) at the tip of the Door Peninsula (Mason 1986, 1990, 1992) also does no damage to the suggestions of archaeologists that some shell-tempered ceramics from northeastern Wisconsin were made by Menominee potters. Hall provided key insights when addressing the long-standing and vigorously debated chronology for the appearance of shell-tempered pottery in eastern Wisconsin.

I do believe it would be a mistake, however, not to continue to give serious consideration to occurrences of plain-surfaced, shell-tempered, and modified lip ware in Wisconsin that appear to predate Aztalan and that fall within the broad generic definition of Oneota ceramics. Whether in all or any cases they may properly be called Oneota is another matter. What is needed, perhaps, is a terminology for Oneota-like ceramics co-occurring with Woodland ceramics and made by band-level minimally horticultural societies. I am one of those who believe that the Menominee were responsible for some of the Oneota-like pottery found on the Door Peninsula and west of Green Bay, but I don't believe that would make the Menominee Oneota in the sense that most people think of Oneota. The same considerations should apply to the remoter past [Hall 2004:33–34].

We assert that the provisional Wolf River tradition meets the need Hall stated. It satisfies the required co-occurrence of Oneota-like and Woodland ceramics made by band-level, minimally horticultural societies. At the same time, we believe two important features of Hall's construct deserve scrutiny. First, we have paid little attention to the level of sociocultural, political, and economic integration for obvious reasons, and have not addressed community size and organization. Bruhy (2008) and Overstreet (2000, 2009) have begun to treat short-term extraction camps and summer agricultural villages, respectively, but are mute on whether the settlement-subsistence framework is "band-level." Second, "minimally horticultural" may not be terminologically apropos. Ongoing research on raised agricultural fields suggests long-term, sophisticated, agroforestry that is significantly more than the term "minimally horticultural" implies (Gartner 2003, 2015; Gartner and Overstreet 2016; Scullin 2015). Finally, and most importantly, the provisional Wolf River tradition serves to carry the Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin across history's threshold and provides context for this brief report on Menominee archaeology of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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Reinterpreting Historical Evidence: The Existence of Numerous Menominee Villages at the Time of Earliest European Contact¹

DAVID R. M. BECK

In the field of American Indian history, we scholars too often uncritically rely on previous scholarly analysis of documents to help form the basis of our assumptions. This is especially true when the data does not appear to be central to our argument. We therefore perpetuate and strengthen mistaken interpretations, albeit unintentionally. So it happened in the case of the Menominee Indian nation of Wisconsin that one otherwise thorough scholar misread French documentation of Menominee demography. His incorrect reporting influenced scholars' and the reading public's understanding of the tribe's demographic history which continued to be repeated erroneously for several decades. Menominee people knew the more accurate version, however, and that is reflected in the historical record as well.

Inaccurate scholarship gains a life of its own. Simply because it is written, many readers accept it. The modern ramifications for this are far-reaching and even can become part of the legal system. Although Menominee territorial claims have been clearly established and long-accepted—an 1853 Senate report showed the tribe originally to have American legal claims to more than

¹ I would like to thank those who helped me formulate these ideas, and to review the work, especially Carol Dodge, David J. Gagnon (Nahwahquaw), and Cawatakwaski (The late Honorable Louis Hawpencross), Iko'tsimiskimaki Beck and Rosalyn Laffier. This argument developed from research conducted for my dissertation and my first book on Menominee history, *Siege and Survival: History of the Menominee Indians, 1634-1856* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002).

eight million acres of land, in itself probably an underestimate—arguments like the one discussed here can undermine a tribe's proper claims. This has impacted Menominee treaty claims and, more recently, the tribe's attempts to establish a casino in Kenosha, Wisconsin, a portion of the tribe's territorial usage area. The constantly evolving federal policy in relation to Indian land and resources provides another reason to constantly reassess the state of scholarship.⁵

Much of our understanding of the boundaries of traditional tribal territories is based on what are referred to as the "Royce maps." Charles Royce created the Royce maps for his *Indian Land Cessions in the United States* published in 1899.⁶ These were based on treaty documentation and have been extensively used in claims cases including those before the Indian Claims Commission. They are viewed as the authoritative source on the extent of tribal lands at the time of treaty negotiations, and this often becomes a definition of the extent of traditional tribal territory. Despite their reputation, the maps present two problems related to understanding the historical extent of tribal territories.

First, the treaties were made at a moment frozen in time in relative terms. They did not recognize the historic changes that occurred in centuries previous to their negotiation (which was not their intent anyway). Thus when tribal land bases and usage occurred prior to the nineteenth century, they were not accounted for. As the historian Christian McMillen observed in his groundbreaking work on the development of the Indian claims process, the legal system adopted a methodology that oversimplified and distorted the history of tribal land usage. The law developed this way in part because in the 1940s and 1950s with the establishment of the Indian Claims Commission, it was very unusual for the government even to recognize that Indians used the land unless they were sedentary farmers. The extent of Indian use

- 2 "Report of Senate Committee on Indian Affairs," 14 February 1853, Report of the President regarding "information relative to the appropriation in the civil and diplomatic bill of March 3, 1855, for Richard W. Thompson, on account of alleged services to the Menominee Indians," 34th Congress, vol. 41 of *The United States and the Indians, a Collection of Congressional Documents Relating to the Indians*, 34th Congress, Ex. Doc. No. 72, Senate.
- 3 Natural resource and water rights and claims are separate issues and are not under consideration in this essay.
- 4 Charles W. Royce, *Indian Land Cessions in the United States*, reprinted in: *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1896–97, by J. W. Powell, pt. 2 (Washington DC: 1889).

of lands they did not live on after treaty-making largely was ignored in this legal context.⁷

The second problem of the Royce maps is related to the first. The maps generally define each piece of land as belonging to a single tribe or a group of tribes involved in the treaty that defined the land base since it was the policy of the United States' policy not to purchase land more than once. If land ownership was disputed, this meant that whoever ceded the land first was compensated and, therefore, the land also was defined exclusively as theirs. This system did not recognize multiple use of land if all parties did not participate fully in the treaty process.

In fact, the legal system adopted a fiction of "exclusive occupancy" of the land that fails to comport with reality. As a result of this, McMillen observes, "In the early years of land claims this meant that the fluidity of the native past had to be denied, modified, glossed over, or simply never found by scholars searching for stability. The complexity of the past conflicted with the simplifications required by property law.... Because boundary lines did not exist in the fashion required by western notions of property, conflicting claims to common territory, for example, have caused the courts and native people significant problems."⁸

Menominee country extends far beyond the current reservation land and even beyond the lands that the tribe ceded during its nineteenth century treaties. This is true to the north, to the west, and to the south of the Royce-defined Menominee territory and includes lands that even historians of the tribe have at times failed to recognize. The shrinkage of Menominee territory has two basic foundations, one in the treaty-making era that informed the creation of the Royce maps, and the other in the misinterpretation of historical sources by the tribe's best known ethnographer of the early twentieth century, Felix Keesing (1902–1961).

The conventional scholarly version of Menominee demography following Keesing claims the Menominee was a nation in ruins by the time of permanent French arrival in their country in the latter half of the seventeenth century. In this view, the Menominee consisted of a tiny population settled in one village at the mouth of what we now call the Menominee River on the border of Wisconsin and Michigan's upper peninsula. Menominee people knowledgeable about the tribe's history, however, long maintained that the

- 5 Christian W. McMillen, *Making Indian Law: The Hawaiian Land Case and the Birth of Ethnology* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 154–61.
- 6 McMillen, *Making Indian Law*, 173.

tribe lived in several villages at the time. A careful reading of the same French documentation used by Keesing supports the Menominee view.

Keesing, an anthropologist who studied the Menominee in the 1930s and in 1939 published what was long considered the best overall history of the tribe,⁷ argued that by 1667 when French trader and diplomat Nicolas Perrot (c.1644-1717) visited the Menominee, the tribe was "a mere remnant, decimated by war and probably occupying only one village this at the mouth of the Menominee River." He held that by 1760, the tribe split into two and after 1780, divided into numerous other bands, each living in separate villages.⁸

Population decline indeed must have been serious for the Menominee in the wake of the European diseases which swept through their country. Unfortunately, written records do not indicate specific epidemics affecting Menominee country until 1757, when more than 300 Menominee warriors died of smallpox contracted while fighting in the French and Indian War against the British.⁹ This is only three years before Keesing suggests the tribe had grown enough to begin expanding. Nonetheless, Menominees travelled to Montreal to trade and came into regular contact with tribes and Frenchmen from the Great Lakes region beginning as early as the 1630s. Despite this, the tribe maintained several villages in its traditional homeland. Menominee territory extended from the Wisconsin-Michigan border in the north, southward

7 Felix M. Keesing, *The Menominee Indians: A Study of Three Centuries of Culture Contact and Change* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987 orig. 1939). Keesing

incorporate them into mainstream society. See Felix M. Keesing, "Applied Anthropology in Colonial Administration," in Ralph Linton, ed., *The Science of Man in the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands* (Washington: Navy Department, 1949). Regarding his views on Menominee culture, see Felix M. Keesing and Marie Keesing, "The Changing American Indian, A Study of the Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin." Unpublished, bound typed manuscript, vol. 1, 3-6, Menominee Tribal Library. For a discussion of scholars' views of the Menominee, see David R. M. Beck, "Collecting Among the Menominee: Cultural Assault in Twentieth Century Wisconsin," *American Indian Quarterly* 34:2 (Spring 2010): 157-93.

8 Felix Keesing, "Leaders of the Menominee Tribe, A Sketch from the Contemporary Records and from the Menominee of Old Indians of Today," typewritten paper with hand-corrected notes, n. d., ca. 1930, p. 6, US, MSS, 7E, Folder 1, State Historical Society of Wisconsin Archives. Also discussed in Keesing, *The Menominee Indians*, 15. Helen Hornbeck Tanner, ed., *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 172-173.

through Milwaukee to what is now the Illinois-Iowa border and westward into present-day Minnesota. The core of this territory spread north, west and south of the current location of the city of Green Bay.

According to the Menominee Historic Preservation Department, "For untold centuries the Menominee people occupied a vast territory of what is now Wisconsin, the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, Minnesota, and the northern portion of Illinois, including Chicago." Menominee oral tradition claims that the tribe originated in two sites: at the mouth of the Menominee River and at Lake Winnebago. The Bear, Eagle, Moose, Crane and Wolf clans originated there "and from these clans came sub-groupings." Two thunderbirds formed the Big Thunder Clan on the shores of Lake Winnebago. The thunder people later visited the Bear village to exchange foods, and the tribe was founded.¹⁰

Alanson Skinner (1885-1925), an ethnologist working among the Menominee in the early twentieth century, used oral history to list 17 bands based on their original location. Keesing agreed that the tribe had several original locations, implying that all villages but one were destroyed or abandoned before the arrival of the Europeans. Besides the oldest band and starting from the mouth of the Menominee river, Skinner counted three bands as "original" or "ancient," one as probably original, three as old but not original and the rest as recent. He assumed that *after* the arrival of the whites, these groups fragmented and were replaced by bands identified by the leaders with whom they were associated. The "original" bands all lived on rivers which fed into Green Bay. These included the Pike Place people at the Oconto River's mouth, the Reshtigo River people and the Great Sand Bar people who lived at the Big Suamico River. The Shurgeon Bay band Skinner lists as "likely an original group." Offshoots or more recent groups included those that lived south of the present city of Green Bay, those that lived on inland lakes and rivers and some attracted to white trading centers.¹¹

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"Comments" by David J. Gignou (Nahwahquaw), Historic Preservation Director, Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin, 30 September 1993. Menominee Historic Preservation Department. Early ethnologists using oral history also place the tribe's origins at these two sites. See for example Walter James Hoffman, M.D., *The Menominee Indians, in Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1892-93* Vol. 14, Part 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), 39-44; Alanson Skinner, *Social Life and Ceremonial Bundles of the Menominee Indians* Volume XIII, Part I of *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (New York: Published by Order of the Trustees, 1913), 8; and Leon and Bloomfield, *Menominee Tales* (New York: G. B. Sturchev & Co., 1928), 70-73. Alanson Skinner, "Material Culture of the Menominee," in F. W. Hodges, ed., *Indian Notes and Monographs*, vol. 20 (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1921), 379-382.

- Interestingly, Skinner's work was largely confined to the northern reaches of Menominee country probably because he worked primarily with the Menominee cultural broker John Satterlee (c.1852-1940) as a consultant. Satterlee, in fact, served as consultant, or "informant" in the language of the times, to numerous scholars who visited the Menominee in the early twentieth century. Satterlee was born in the North "on an island in the river between the two cities, Menominee, Michigan and Marinette, Wisconsin."¹² As a result, Skinner was well-versed in the lore and tradition of the northern bands of the Menominee including those tribal members who stayed in the Menominee-Marquette region rather than moving to the reservation in the 1850s.¹³ He was not as familiar with those in similar conditions in southern Menominee country.
- The tribe's story of origin also suggests the existence of several Menominee bands which predated the fur trade and were located in several villages along Green Bay and south of the present-day city of Green Bay. Each band had its own fishing, hunting and maple sugar grounds, moving seasonally from one to another. Early nineteenth century oral history, recorded in both Menominee and English, also shows that the Menominee tribe did not consist of a single band on the Menominee River. Biographer Edwin James (1797-1861) wrote that the Menominee referred to themselves saying "long ago/(had) many/towns/the men (Menominee):" "Long ago" implies a reference far in the past, long predating the beginning of the 1800s. In this telling, Menominee country included the Little Kakalin falls at the Fox River, south of Green Bay, for example.¹⁴
- Petrot himself failed to mention the Menominee in his work which is still available to us, but Claude Charles Le Roy, Sieur de Bacqueville de la Potheerie, writing in the early eighteenth century, is widely accepted as basing his work on Petrot's lost writings, so his views are accepted as a mouthpiece for Petrot's.¹⁵
- 12 Alanson Skinner, "Some Menominee Indian Place Names in Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Archeologist* old series 18:1 (1919): 100.
 - 13 See, for example, John V. Satterlee, "Menominee Legend very true on the Menominee River..." in the John V. Satterlee, ca. 1852-1935, "Writings, 1933, by John V. Satterlee ... originally written for Earle S. Holman," Green Bay/SC/77, Green Bay Area Research Center, Coffin Library—Special Collections, University of Wisconsin-Green Bay.
 - 14 Sylvia S. Kasprzycki, "A Lover of All Knowledge," Edwin James and Menominee Ethnography," *European Review of Native American Studies* 4:1 (1990): 2.
 - 15 Emma Helen Blair, *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes...* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1912), vol. 1, 16.

Based on Petrot, La Potheerie claimed that the Menominee numbered less than 40 and subsisted on theurgeon "in their river." He referred to the village on the Menominee River; the number may have included only men. But he also described a village at the entrance to Green Bay composed of Menominee, Potawatomi, Sauk and others. According to La Potheerie, "When first known to the whites," the Menominee lived on the Menominee River and the Bay de Noque.¹⁶ The latter lies along the shoreline north of the Menominee River and the opening from Green Bay into Lake Michigan as a sort of northern extension of the bay. Even La Potheerie presents evidence contrary to the historians' assertions, including his own, that upon Petrot's arrival, the Menominee lived in only one village.

The only European documentation that Keesing seems to recognize is the account of the main Menominee village at the mouth of the Menominee River. But Europeans came into contact with at least some of the other bands as several examples show. It is possible, for instance, that an "ancient" and "witty" Menominee man visited by French fur trader Pierre-Esprit Radisson (1636-1710) in the winter of 1661-2 was not a loner living along the shore but belonged to a local band of Menominee.¹⁷ Other French documentation is more convincing.

The Jesuit Relations, annual reports from Jesuit missionaries in North America from the early seventeenth to the early nineteenth century, presents unmistakable evidence that the Menominee bands lived in more than one village. A careful reading of the measurements of distances the priests traveled along the shores of Lake Michigan and Green Bay demonstrates that village sites were located in different places that coincide with the mouths of various rivers where they fed into the lake.¹⁸ These village sites are the same as

- 16 Claude Charles Le Roy, Sieur de Bacqueville de la Potheerie, *History of the Savage Peoples Who Are Allies of New France*, in Blair, vol. 1, 304, 291, 294.
- 17 See Excerpts from the Journal of Pierre d'Espirit, Sieur Radisson, the Fourth Voyage, *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, vol. XI (Madison: Democrat Printing Company, State Printers, 1888), 78.
- 18 Father Allouez 1669-70 relation, in Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1896-1901), vol. 54, 235; Letter from Father Louis Andre, *The Jesuit Relations*, vol. 58, 273-275; Extract from a letter of Father Louis Andre, written from the Bay de Puants on the 20th of April, 1676, in *The Jesuit Relations* were written to increase support back home in France for the Jesuit missions in New France, the priests described only the contacts they made among the Christian members, and reported mainly their successes. They cannot be taken to report on all that happened in the area where the missionaries lived and certainly not beyond the missionaries' territories of influence.

some identified both in oral history and in the works of ethnologist Alanson Skinner of the American Museum in New York and in the Milwaukee Public Museum that he conducted prior to Keesing's visit to Menominee country.¹⁹ Rather Claude Jean Allouez, a Jesuit missionary, visited the Menominee on May 6, 1670. They lived eight leagues distant from his cabin near the mouth of the Fox River about half way between the Fox and the Menominee Rivers. He said he "found them at their river in small numbers, the young people being still in the woods," adding, "This nation has been almost exterminated by the wars."²⁰ Renben Thwaites, editor of *The Jesuit Relations*, places this visit on the Oconto River. This means Father Allouez visited the original band and remembered as such by tribal members also.²¹ There is no reason to believe this is the same band which lived on the Menominee River. That Allouez found the young people of the band "still in the woods" indicates that the fishing season had only begun. The youth were probably finishing the move from the band's hunting and maple sugar grounds, that is, winter and early spring grounds, to the summer fishing camp.²² The Oconto River, followed upstream, crosses the present Menominee Reservation. Missionaries and explorers mention or describe the Menominee village on the Menominee river numerous times in the Jesuit Relations and other documents.²³ Father Louis André, the Jesuit missionary to the area following Father Allouez, stated in 1676 that his mission "comprises 6 tribes scattered about the foot and along the two sides of the bay." He mentions the Folles Avouines (French meaning "false oars," their term for wild rice, and hence also for the Menominee, people of the wild rice) as one of these groups, but he does not identify all the others.²⁴ In April 1673, Father André attended the

19 Alanson Skinner, *Material Culture*, 379-382.

20 Father Allouez 1669-70 relation, in *The Jesuit Relations*, vol. 54, 235.

21 Skinner, *Material Culture*, 379. Interviews made by the author with Menominee people, 1991-1993, on the Menominee Reservation and in Chicago during dissertation research. The author retains notes from all these interviews, but offers anonymity to the interviewees in his written studies.

22 It seems curious that the young people were mentioned as being still in the woods. The tasks of survival were the responsibility of the whole band. Comments by David J. Gingham.

23 The Jesuit Relations, vol. 55, 103, 183, vol. 58, 289, 93; Except from Pierre François Xavier Charlevoix's "Journal historique" in: *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, vol. XVI (Madison: Published by the Society, 1902), 411.

24 Extract from a letter of Father Louis André, written from the Bay de Puants on the 20th of April, 1676, in: *The Jesuit Relations*, vol. 60, 201-207.

sturgeon run probably on the Menominee River. He noted that the Menominee were worried because the sturgeon had not begun to run on their river but had already on the Peshigo (Peshigo) and Oukatoom (Oconto).²⁵ Probably the villagers on the Menominee River know of the sturgeon runs on the other rivers through their Menominee relatives or friends living on those rivers who already were catching fish.²⁶ "Each Menominee band had its [own] river or stream to harvest when the Sturgeon migrated there in the spring," according to David J. Gingham, the tribe's Historic Preservation Officer.²⁷ Since the *Jesuit Relations* was written to increase support back home in France for the Jesuit missions in New France, Father André described only the contacts he made among the Christian members and reported mainly his successes. They cannot be taken to report on all that happened in the area where the missionary lived, and we can only wonder how many Menominee people or villages in the area remained undocumented. Menominee oral tradition holds that the Jesuits, or "black robes," deliberately omitted recording those bands most strongly opposed to conversion.²⁸

Father Jacques Marquette (1637-1675), on a map made on his journey in 1673, located the Folles Avouines west of Green Bay. He did not mark their villages, but the tribe's name is written next to the Oconto River. The whole area along the shore of the bay and inland appears to be Menominee country.²⁹ As the fur trade developed west of Lake Michigan and as the French became increasingly involved in economic, political and social aspects of tribal life, the French became increasingly aware of the Menominee. As traders and missionaries followed French explorers into Menominee country, many of

25 Letter from Father Louis André, *ibid.*, vol. 58, 273-275. In footnote 28 the editor, Renben Thwaites, speculates that these are the Peshigo and Oconto Rivers. This seems reasonable, in relation to Menominee tradition as well as to the geography of the area.

26 Because the southern rivers have warmer water, the sturgeon spawn in them first. Some years there is a week or more difference in the start of the sturgeon runs in the rivers feeding Green Bay since water temperature between 53 and 59 degrees Fahrenheit triggers spawning. Information regarding spawning habits of sturgeon from George Howler, Jr., telephone conversations, 7 January 1993, and George C. Becker, *Fishes of Wisconsin* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 221. For further discussion of this and Father André's famous visit to the Menominee sturgeon run, see David R. M. Beck, "Return to *Namk'o Ushkumit*, The Importance of Sturgeon in Menominee Indian History," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 79:1 (Autumn, 1995): 32-48.

27 "Comments" by David J. Gingham.

28 Interviews made by the author with Menominee people.

29 See copy of map in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, vol. XVI.

whom married Menominee women, they undoubtedly gained greater familiarity with the tribe which would lead to more accurate reporting.

A 1718 "Memoir on Indians between Lake Erie and the Mississippi" states the Menominee numbered between 80 and 100 men. If men means warriors, we can conservatively consider this as one sixth of the tribe. A 1736 enumeration lists the Menominee with 160 warriors.³⁰ If we accept these numbers as accurate, the Menominee would have numbered perhaps 500 or 600 in 1718 and nearly 1,000 in 1736, well before the date (1760) when Keesing asserts they grew too large for a single village. These figures may or may not include all of the bands. However, Menominee country, though abundant in rice, fish and game, supported large groups of people only rarely during harvest or perhaps fish runs. The land would not have sustained this many people together throughout the winter or even the spring or summer in the manner in which the Menominee lived. Even those Menominee who farmed moved inland during the winter. The bands *had* to live in different places—the various river mouths feeding Green Bay in the summer, at favored hunting grounds in winter and near favored maple sugar camps in the spring time. Despite occasional devastating epidemics, the Menominee were too populous to do otherwise.

Even further south, there is linguistic and archaeological evidence connecting the Menominee to the landscape for centuries. The Menominee name for the creek that flows into Lake Michigan at what is now Kenosha is *Ki-nu-siw Sipihsasab*, which translates as Pike Creek.³¹ Virgil J. Vogel's *Indian Names on Wisconsin's Map* cites Kenosha as a Potawatomi term meaning Pike; its first post office was known as "Pike." He said "Pike River ... empties into Lake Michigan at the city of Kenosha."³² Vogel, who was based out of Chicago's Truman College, interviewed several American Indian people for his book, but none were Menominee.³³ He simply relied on Keesing's *The*

- 30 "Memoir on the Indians of Canada as far as the River Mississippi ... 1718," in E. B. O'Callaghan, M.D., ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York* (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1855), vol. IX, 889; "Enumeration of the Indian tribes connected with the Government of Canada, ... 1736," in O'Callaghan, vol. IX, 1052-1058. The 1718 source says the women are four times more numerous than the men and makes no estimate for children, nor does it say if elders are included.
- 31 "Menominee Territorial Range, 1720-present," map, Menominee Historic Preservation Department.
- 32 Virgil J. Vogel, *Indian Names on Wisconsin's Map* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 154. Emphasis in Vogel's original.
- 33 Vogel, *ibid.* ix-xi, 307.

Menominee Indians and Patricia K. Ourada's *The Menominee Indians* for his understanding of Menominee history. Both emphasize the Green Bay area as the heart of Menominee country, and neither focuses on the outer reaches of tribal territory. The actual naming of the city may have been based on either the Potawatomi or the Menominee version of the term. What is clear is that it was a significant place for the Menominee. They named the creek at the current city site for the fish that they caught there. This is but one example from a plenitude of sources defining the southern reaches of Menominee territory.³⁴ Other historians also have accepted the same narrow interpretation of Menominee demography as Keesing. James A. Clifton, citing Pettor, claims that the Menominee had been "less than cautious in their relations with surrounding tribes," thus becoming nearly extinct.³⁵ Ourada, whose history of the Menominee appeared in the 1970s, accepted the view expressed by Father Allouez in 1670 that the Menominee were "almost exterminated by war," yet she also described the traditional home of numerous Menominee bands.³⁶ Robert E. Bieder, who published a broader study of American Indians in Wisconsin in the 1980s, also used Keesing as the basis of his truncated

- 34 Archaeological sources include David H. Overstreet, "Overview of Theoretical Frameworks Addressing Models and Probable Correlates of Menominee Prehistory and Prehistory," United States District Court for the Western District of Wisconsin, File No. 95-C-0030-C, *Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin v. Tommy G. Thomson et al.*, Document 103; Charles E. Brown, "Archaeological History of Milwaukee County," *The Wisconsin Archaeologist* 15:2 (July, 1916), 23-105; and Charles E. Brown, "Waukesha County, Northern Townships," *The Wisconsin Archaeologist* new series 2:1 (1923): 7-59.
- 35 James A. Clifton, *The Private People, Continuity and Change in Potawatomi Indian Culture 1665-1965* (Lawrence: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1977), 62-63.
- 36 Patricia K. Ourada, *The Menominee Indians, A History* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), 11, 6. The war she describes as a war between Chippewa and Menominee is the civil dispute over sturgeon fishing between two Menominee bands. All other sources agree that this is a civil conflict. See excerpts from "C. C. Trowbridge's Account of the Menominee Taken at Green Bay, summer of 1823," transcribed from Leonard Bloomfield Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, pp. 4-5; Hoffman, 217-218; Alanson Skinner and John V. Satterlee, *Folklore of the Menominee Indians*, Volume XIII, Part III of *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (New York: Published by Order of the Trustees, 1915), 445-446; "Battle of the Pierced Forehead," in Works Progress Administration, Charles E. Brown, *Wisconsin Place Name Legends or Wisconsin Indian Place Legends* (Madison: 1936), 34-38; interviews with Menominee people.

descriptions of the Menominee land base.³⁷ This misconception was unfortunately rarely challenged until the early twenty-first century.

Not even Keesing or Ourada doubted there were several original Menominee villages, although both of their works emphasize the single village thesis at the time of French arrival. The question we need to consider is whether all those villages except the one at Menominee River disappeared to be reestablished later. It is an important question because it defines how the scholarly world, and to a lesser extent members of the general public, perceives the tribe, and it can become the foundational basis for tribal claims to lands beyond their current holdings. Clearly, the Menominee do not think those villages and bands disappeared and just as clearly, the documentation, read carefully, backs them up.

Menominee country extends far beyond the current reservation land and even beyond the lands that the tribe ceded during its nineteenth century treaties. This is true to the north, to the west and to the south of the Royce-defined Menominee territory and includes lands that even historians of the tribe have at times failed to recognize. The shrinkage of Menominee territory because of the Royce maps and the misinterpretation of historical sources by the tribe's most famous ethnographer of the early twentieth century, Felix Keesing, is a historical problem that is only now being corrected by a reinterpretation of the sources. Unfortunately, this problem was both reinforced and extended by scholars after Keesing who relied on Keesing's interpretation as a foundation for their works. Interestingly, the documents themselves provide a more accurate view of the history than do the scholarly works that interpreted them, and the documentary evidence is more strongly aligned with Menominee tribal oral tradition. This should serve as a powerful reminder for scholars to critically read the evidence.

³⁷ Ourada even used Keesing's land cession map. *The Menominee Indians*, xi. Robert H. Bieder, *Native American Communities in Wisconsin, 1600-1960: A Study of Tradition and Change* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 25. See also Clifton, *The Private People*, 62-63.

Finding a New Home: Hungarian Emigrés in Scotland

EVA BECSEI-KILBORN

Introductory Remarks

This paper considers the experiences of Hungarians who came to settle in Scotland in the period between the end of the Second World War and the collapse of communism in 1989.¹ It is based on the preliminary findings of a larger project that will attempt to compare and contrast the experiences of the pre-1989 emigrés with those of more recent migrants, especially those who arrived in Scotland in the period following Hungary's accession to the European Union (EU) in 2004. In the ten years that have elapsed since the enlargement of EU, a significant number of migrant workers have been practicing their rights of free movement from the former East-Central European countries like Hungary and have come to live, work and study in Scotland.² The findings of this article are largely based on face-to-face interviews, but the research additionally has been informed by ethnographic fieldwork and by the analysis of press and media reports that describe how the incomers have been received by the host society. The interviews, which were conducted in the period 2009-2011, mostly took place in the interviewees' homes.

¹ A shorter version of this paper was read at the European Social Science History Conference held in Glasgow in 2012.
² According to the 2011 census the number of Hungarians in Scotland is 2,685. The census figures need to be interpreted with some caution. They represent the number of people at a given time and do not, for instance, include those who only stay in the country for a comparatively short period. Census for Scotland, General Register Office for Scotland.