WISCONSIN'S INDIANS SINCE 1634

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(When this brief summary was written in 1975, the new interpretations of the fur trade suggested by Bruce Trigger, W. J. Eccles, and Conrad Heidenreich were not yet generally available, and Calvin Martin was just making known his ideas about animal biology and cultural anthropology. Their approaches reflected to a large extent the then new work of Anthony F. C. Wallace about the Black Hawk War: all parties' points of view considered, along with as much background as needed to understand them. These and other scholars have painstakingly re-examined the European-created literature and the oral traditions from the proto-historic and historic periods, and have generally concluded that Indians along the Upper Creat Lakes considered themselves firmly in charge of the area and superior in most ways to the newcomers. The Indians attitude was not lost on the few non-Indians who then lived in Canada and along the Upper Great Lakes. W. J. Eccles suggests, in fact, that maintaining harmonious relations with the tribes and outmaneuvering rival European nations--diplomacy--were more important goals for the visitors than the fur trade. Likewise, Indian tribes used the fur trade as a diplomatic tool among themselves and with the Europeans. Putting the long-dominant economic and exploration motive lower on the list of European motivation than diplomacy seems more logical in 1985 than it did in 1975. Seen in terms of diplomacy, the ebb and flow of people across Wisconsin from about 1600 to 1854 becomes quite a different story than one presented below.)

Historians often begin the tale of Wisconsin's Indians with Christopher Columbus, move forward to the exploratory and colonial policies of various western European nations, and then specifically discuss France's activity along the St. Lawrence River. It is a useful introduction, for it explains why the French had several interrelated goals in mind by the time they reached Wisconsin: finding a water route to the Orient, locating a good supply of superior furs, "redeeming" the Indian from his non-Christian state, securing control over as much as possible of the North American continent, satisfying the human impulse to explore the unknown and expand the universe of knowledge, and imposing European government and institutions upon newly discovered areas.

But even before the French extended their activity to the Upper Great Lakes, their impact had had its effects there. The Winnebago had traded furs to the Ottawa for the European market by 1623, well before the Winnebago actually saw white fur traders. And at least one, isolated, youthful trader almost certainly had made his way to the state's lake Superior boundary before the European influx began in earnest. He was Etienne Brule, a Canadian of French birth, who reached the Chequamegon region of Lake Superior no later than 1622. It is almost equally certain that he, together with his Indian companions, encountered other Indians there, thus raising the curtain on the so-called historic period of Indian history in Wisconsin.

Generally, however, the year designated as the beginning of the historic period is 1634, when Jean Nicolet is believed to have visited the Green Bay region and also to have encountered numerous Winnebago, some Menominee, and perhaps some Potawatomi Indians. Evidence of Nicolet's journey has been challenged, although more is known about his visit than Brule's, and consequently he usually is given the palm for having reached Wisconsin first. The first uncontested recorded visit by a European-American apppears to have been made by Medard Chouart Des Groseilliers, who in 1654 reached the Chequamegon region of Lake Superior, though to have been mapped more than thirty years earlier by Brule. Groseilliers spent the winter among Indians in Wisconsin, the first European-American known to have done so within the boundaries of the modern state.

Well before 1654, however, furs from animals killed in the region west and south of the Upper Great Lakes had been traded among Indians and had eventually reached Europe. For example, by 1623, the Ottawa, who acted as fur wholesalers to the French, had visited the Winnebago (then called the Puants) and had exchanged goods for "furs, pigments, wampum and other rubbish." Isolated but unknown, unrecorded, and no doubt illiterate Europeans may also have traded as individuals within the state's boundaries before 1654. At any event, by that time European trade goods had to some degree appeared in Wisconsin.

During the next 200 years, more than twenty tribes of Indians passed through the Wisconsin areas; but only three--Winnebago, Menominee, and, to a lesser extent, the eastern Sioux--have been associated with it from earliest historic days to the present as permanent residents. The other tribes are the Huron and Ottawa; Miami and associated groups, the Menhengakonkia, Pepicokea, Piankashaw, and Wea; Kickapoo, Mascouten, and Kitchigami; Illinois; Fox and Sauk; Chippewa, Potawatomi; Brothertown; Stockbridge-Munsee; and Oneida. This extraordinary proliferation of Indians within a relatively small area can be accounted for by using tools employed by historians, natural scientists, ethnohistorians, and anthropologists. All these disciplines, of course, are interrelated, just as the histories of the white and Indian communities are. A fresh examination of the record, however, has some advantages. First, within the last twenty or thirty years, the study of past environments (paleoclimatology) and of surviving remains (historic archeology) have begun to contribute to an understanding of the events of only 200 or 300 years ago. These new findings have not often been applied to Indian history generally. Second, Indian accomplishments and the white community's impact on Indian development need to be looked at objectively, and afresh, without reference to the "noble savage" or "mea culpa" schools that have spawned so many studies by guilt-ridden writers. Elements of both are valid enough, but their validity need tempering by other considerations.

Archeologists of the Upper Great Lakes region have found it convenient to divide the years before 1820 into three periods: the early historic period, from 1670 to 1760; and the late historic period, from 1760 to 1820. Wisconsin archeologists have so far excavated few sites for any of these periods. However, more and more anthropological studies have been made of Wisconsin's Indian cultures, based upon the oral traditions of Indians and upon anthropologists' observations and testing. As for history and ethnohistory, the record is fairly dismal. Studies about early Indian history abound; they emphasize developments before and up to the times when Indians were moved to reservations. But little thoroughgoing history exists for the period after 1860, despite a plethora of official documents. This embarrassment of riches may well account for the death of scholarly history about Wisconsin's recent tribes.

The most significant archeology to date has taken place on Rock Island at the mouth of Green Bay, where evidence of long-term white and mixed Indian occupation has been dicovered. The archeologist of Rock Island has published only the ethnohistorical portions of his findings, but he makes a convincing case, based upon documents, for occupation from the 1650s through the 1730s. He concludes that Potawatomi were the principal occupants, that trader-adventurer Rene-Robert Cavelier de La Salle visited there, and that La Salle's ill-fated ship Griffin sailed from Rock Island's sheltered harbor into oblivion in 1679. Artifact analysis has not been completed, but preliminary reports indicate that it will confirm the ethno-historical conclusions and very likely extend them. Artifacts recovered on Rock Island date from all three of the historic periods, and there is evidence of prehistoric occupation as well, including occupation just before the onset of the historic period.

An earlier spectacular find was the Bell Site on the south shore of Lake Butte des Morts near Oshkosh (now a quarry), which yielded artifacts from the middle historic period.

Because French grenade fragments were recovered there, and because documentary evidence points to the Bell Site as a Fox village, the site almost certainly is that of a Fox fort attacked by French forces in 1716 in hopes of bringing the tribe to heel and to reinstitute trade.

On Madeline Island, one of the Apostle Islands in Lake Superior, Indian-and European-made goods have been recovered from a single site, very likely he remains of a Huron village dating between 1660 and 1670, when the Huron lived with Ottawa in the region.

Two sites associated with the Winnebago have been excavated on the northwestern shore of Lake Koshkonong in Jefferson County. The first, Carcajou Point, contained artifacts from prehistoric occupation along with evidence of much later use, dated to the 1830s by the archeologist. The archeologist of the second site, Crabapple Point, a bit further southwest along the Koshkonong shore, found artifacts including trade silver and goods dating from 1760 into the early 1800s, perhaps as late as 1820s. Probably both Koshkonong settlements were occupied more or less contemporaneously. According to documentary evidence, one faction of Winnebago Indians (the tribe had split in two about 1730) lived during the late historic period on Lake Koshkonong and along the Rock River, of which the lake is a part.

In all of these instances of historic Indian archeology, documents and artifacts together enabled scholars to reach conclusions that they could not have reached had they used only one body of evidence. Both the archeological and historical disciplines have been enriched as a consequence, and the discoveries suggest that knowledge of the historic Indian periods will be advanced more and more by interdisciplinary research. To date, archeologists have barely begun to locate the hundreds of Indian sites described in early accounts of activity in the Wisconsin region. Some along important waterways have been irredeemably altered, covered by cities and highways and water; others have been disturbed to a lesser extent; still others, like Rock Island, may be nearly pristine.

Geography and the environment were fundamental to Indian settlement in Wisconsin and to early interest of the French in the region. Fur-bearing animals, especially beaver, gave the French a financial reason to push west. Wisconsin's commanding position as an axis of great watersheds enabled them to reach the area with some ease. At several places within the state's modern borders, the Mississippi and St. Lawrence River watersheds approach one another, and until the development of roads and railroads in the nineteenth century, travel and transportation depended upon these water routes. Thus, Huron and Ottawa Indians fleeing the Iroquois logically sought refuge in the Wisconsin country. And it was an equally logical warehousing point for fur and trade goods that were important to Europeans. Environmentally, much of the state was a hunting and fishing paradise. It had northern and southern forests, large and small lakes and streams, and prairies. Abundant food for desirable game made game itself abundant. Both Indians and whites required two types of game. Most important were the food animals--deer (a staple), elk, buffalo--which preferred prairie areas or the edges of forests. Without these species, survival became difficult. On the other hand, the furbearing animals--beaver, otter, muskrat, marten, and others--provided an economic impetus for site exploration, and they provided Indians with warm winter robes to cover their year-around deerskin clothing. Wisconsin's bitter winters and mixed natural habitat encouragd the growth of thick, dark, valuable pelts of these animals, which tended to prefer denser woods than the basic food animals. As a result, where northern or southern forests met and merged with one another and with prairies, game was especially abundant, and survival was made easier. Indians recognized the natural "edges" and drew attention to them. For example, the boundry established in 1825 between Chippewa and Sioux territories in the western part of Wisconsin followed the line dividing northern and southern forests, and it included some prairie areas. Thus the environment of the region determined Indian control, especially in the area between the Red Cedar the Chippewa rivers.

Anthrolopogists have recently begun speculating about the character of tribal structure just before the arrival of Europeans and immediately following it. Some now believe that, in addition to causing dramatic shifts in geographical control, the fur trade revolutionized Indian political life. Such seems to have been the case with the Chippewa, very likely with the Potawatomi, and perhaps for other tribes. Politically and socially, village autonomy appears to have been a casualty of changing times. It is possible that changes were taking place before Europeans reached America, in which case change was merely accelerated. These geographical and sociopolitical shifts began in Wisconsin in the immediate prehistoric period and in the so-called protohistoric period -- the period during which the historic record began to take form. During this transition, the concepts of tribe or group or band probably formed or were altered. Since europeans had an imperfect concept of Indian political and social life, they described it inaccurately, misleadingly, or not at all. Some reports attributed tribal status to smaller villages and groups, engraving into the literature about Indians some names of groups that have become legendary and the subject of scholarly speculation. Thus, historians long have ruminated about the fate of tribes such as the Mascouten and Moquet, entertaining mystical notions about Indian warfare, politics, and tribal structures. Prominent among the tribes about whom reports vary are the Missouri, Oto, and Iowa, all Siouan-language speakers. Predecessors of the Iowa may have lived on the Wisconsin bank of the Mississippi, but no historic report places them within the state's present boundaries. It is likely, however, that before 1800 the Iowa and perhaps the Oto and the Fox of Wisconsin had trading or hunting agreements of some sort, since they all participated in the 1756 French-Indian council at Montrael. Hence, the Iowa and Oto definitely are tied to the state.

By the time Europeans began appearing regularly west of Lake Michigan, difficulties with the Iroquois along the St. Lawrence had begun displacing into the Wisconsin region some tribes that lived east and southeast of Lake Michigan. The Iroquois, who sold furs to the Dutch and later to the English in what is now New York State, had far fewer fur-bearing animals available to them than the tribes to the west and north. But trade with those tribes was handled by the Huron, who dealt directly with the French, and by the Ottawa, Petun, and Neutral, who dealt among themselves, with the Huron, and occasionally with the French. The Iroquois constantly preyed upon these Indian middlemen as they canoed along the St. Lawrence and Ottawa rivers to Montreal and Quebec, and they greatly disturbed the trade. Because of the Iroquois, tribes to the west, especially in Michigan, found it prudent to move even farther west beginning in the 1630s. When the Iroquois fur supply diminished sharply about 1640, the Dutch cut off their supply of goods, and they began large-scale warfare throughout the Huron-controlled area. These attacks culminated in 1648-1649 with the devastation of what was known as Huronia.

By the middle seventeenth century, the Winnebago, who had lived from prehistoric times along the Fox River from Green Bay perhaps as far south as Lake Winnebago, and the Menominee, who had lived along the bay's western shore in Wisconsin and Upper Michigan, had many new neighbors who had fled from the Iroquois. The Huron and Ottawa migrated from the St. Lawrence region about 1650 and departed about 1670. Various Miami groups left the southwestern shore of Lake Michigan about 1650, went west of the Mississippi and then about 1665 settled along the Fox River with Kickapoo, Mascouten, and Illinois Indians who were already there. the Kickapoo, Mascouten and the Kitchigami segment of the Kickapoo moved from southern Michigan in the 1640s or 1650s to southern Wisconsin, then in the middle 1660s shifted to the Green Bay region. The Fox and or Sauk came to the Fox and Wolf river areas about 1640, probably from lands east or southeast of Lake Michigan. And the Potawatomi moved to the Door County Peninsula and the islands at its tip from the Lake Huron shore of Michigan about 1630.

The Eastern Sioux, who lead a woodland life like their neighbors, occupied lands along the St. Croix and Upper Mississippi rivers, and about 1660 they dislodged Huron and Ottawa newcomers, who had come from the Green Bay area in the 1650s. The later groups then

from 1660 to 1670 lived farther north at Chequamegon Bay, the headwaters of the Black River, and at Keweenaw Bay on Lake Superior. After the Huron and Ottawa migrated from Lake Superior to Lake Huron, Chippewa Indians filtered westward from Sault Ste. Marie into the region, probably not as an organized tribe but as a loosely confederated series of tribes who soon became known as the Chippewa or Ojibway. Their leading village was on Madeline Island, where the Midewewin religious practice of the Chippewa may have originated. Thus the dislocations begun by the Iroquois in New York during the 1630s and 1640s reached a climax thirty years later on the Lake Superior shore. During that time the newcomers to Wisconsin were not stationary. They moved about seasonally, searching for game, planting crops, gathering wild rice, fruits, and nuts, making many of the objects they needed, and intermingling and trading with other tribes.

The impetus for the next major shift in Wisconsin's Indian population came in May, 1678, when La Salle got permission from Louis XIV to explore from New France (Canada) south to Texas and Florida. He was forbidden to trade with the Indians who took their furs to Montreal, including most of the Indians of the Wisconsin region. But with the blessing of Governor Frontenac of New France, La Salle interpreted the order to mean that he could monopolize the trade south of the Great Lakes. Despite the ban on this trading along the Upper Great Lakes, La Salle acquired a cargo of furs from Indians near Green Bay and sent them in his ship the Griffin from Rock Island in 1679. The Griffin vanished, but La Salle already was on his way south to the Illinois River to open a series of posts, beginning in 1680. The explorer did not trade there long, although he returned to the Illinois sporadically over the next three or four years. The protection and trade opportunities which the Illinois forts offered various Wisconsin refugees from the Iroquois and the French gifts to the Indians helped encourage groups to migrate south and east. Most of the Miami moved to the Illinois River by way of the Kankakee River. For the next twenty years the Miami were reported from time to time in Wisconsin, probably as seasonal residents. But after 1702 they left the state altogether. The Kickapoo meanwhile moved to the headwaters of the Rock River (then called the Kickapoo) in Wisconsin, from which it was easy to reach the Illinois River.

All of this French activity and French-induced tribal movement aroused Iroqois resentment, because they previously had controlled the fur trade south of the Great Lakes. The Iroquois, who were allied with the English after 1664, continued to trade with the western Indians as much as they could, and they undertook military forces against the French in hopes of regaining supremacy. On at least three occasions (in 1684, 1687, and 1696), the French took the offensive against them, aided by various tribes from the Green Bay region.

Throughout the seventeenth century, the French had been unable to control the Iroquois, who presisted with intermittent success in trying to trade with the western Indians. Finally, a resolution was reached as the result of a British diplomatic error, which in turn triggered another realignment of Wisconsin's Indian groups. Britian's misstep took place in the truce made with France at the end of their war -- King William's War -- of 1689 to 1697. It provided that the British could declare sovereignty over the Iroquois nation. The Iroquois considered the maneuver an outrage, turned to the French, their old enemies, and within three years forged a new trade and territorial agreement. Since the Iroquois still counted many western tribes among their enemies, France called them to a Montreal conference in 1702 and succeeded in getting them to accept Iroquois friendship. At the same time, the French issued an invitation to the Indians west of Lake Michigan to move to Detroit, which had been founded the year before as part of a solution to yet another difficulty -- the danger that the British could insinuate themselves into the west, where the French desired continuing power despite their decision to reduce the fur trade. The French therefore built forts at Detroit and New Orleans, reinforced those that still stood on the Illinois River, and invited Indians to move near them to hunt and trade.

Several tribes from the Wisconsin country accepted. The last groups of Miami departed

for Indians, well within the orbit of Detroit. The Potawatomi, although they retained some Wisconsin settlements, established others at Detroit, the St. Joseph River of Michigan, and by 1712, at Michilimackinac. Some Sauk also joined the Potawatomi at Detroit. The Fox, Kickapoo, and Mascouten declined to move, and the Fox instead maneuvered against the French, cutting off their trade routes and threatening to join Indian allies of the British.

Despite their obvious disinclination towards the French, the Fox in 1712 moved to Detroit, not knowing that the French had decided to prohibit more Indians -- especially themselves -- from entering the region. Strife erupted at Detroit in 1712, one of the first episodes in what became known as the Fox Wars. The Fox, Kickapoo, and Mascouten were defeated by French, Potawatomi, and Menominee forces, the Menominee coming from Green Bay to aid their friends. In the wake of defeat, the Fox and their allies embarked upon a rampage throughout the Wisconsin area, disrupting trade and altering tribal patterns once again, especially that of the Winnebago. The Kickapoo and Mascouten soon wearied of war. They surrendered in 1717 and retired to their Rock River settlements. But other tribes -- Winnebago, Sioux, Iowa, and Oto -- in the early 1720s joined with the Fox, leading to the final stages of the Fox Wars.

Although the reasons for the continuing conflict are not fully understood, several factors are obvious. The Fox certainly coveted the role of middleman in the fur market, and they were known to desire an Indian movement that would replace the whites' trading structure. This pan-Indianism appealed to other tribes, who also may have felt an affinity for the underdog Fox tribe (defeated tribes often attracted sympathy from former enemies). The French, too, must bear part of the lame because of their inconsistent policies and their failure to deal with the Indians on Indian terms. Eventually, however, they isolated the Fox, separating them bit by bit from their allies. The first separation involved the Winnebago. In 1728, the French wiped out a Winnebago fort on Lake Winnebago because they and the Fox were seeking an alliance with the Iroquois, whose ties to the French still were not iron-clad. Afterwards the Winnebago could not agree on a future course. One group remained loyal to the Fox and followed them to Lake Pepin on the Mississippi, then settled along the Rock River until the 1830s. The other group joined the French and maintained villages along the Fox River and near Lake Winnebago. Institutional descendants of the two opposing factions can be traced within the Winnebago tribal structure even today.

Then, in 1729, the French continued dividing the Fox alliance by wooing its non-Fox members with promises and presents. By 1731, the French and the Fox's former allies combined and nearly destroyed the tribe in a siege south of Lake Michigan, where the Fox had fled after a series of incidents. Only a few Fox survived. They were befriended by Sauk at Green Bay, a gesture that marks the beginning of the now traditional Fox-Sauk companionship. Soon the Sauk and Fox together won a battle begun by the French at Green Bay, but, remembering the 1731 diaster, they prudently left the area before the loser's additional troops arrived. The tribes migrated to Illinois, then to Iowa, and then about 1736 settled east of the Mississippi around the mouth of the Rock River. By 1739, some had moved to the Wisconsin River, others stayed in Illinois.

The end of the Fox Wars also affected the Eastern Sioux and the Kickapoo, and Mascouten. The latter tribes again attracted French attention, which had been diverted by the wars, and in 1734 they acceded to a French request to move to Indians from the Rock River settlements. Some remained behind, however, staying on the Fox River towards Green Bay until the outbreak of the French and Indian War, when they joined their comrades in the Wabash River region.

As for the Eastern Sioux, the end of the Fox Wars, in 1731 enabled the French to re-establish their on-again, off-again fort on Lake Pepin to trade with them. The earlier enterprises had been constantly menaced by the jealous Fox, who wanted to control the

Sioux fur trade themselves.

Throughout the years from 1690 to about 1736, the Chippewa acquired strength and influence as a developing tribe, and they probably began hunting seasonally south and west of Lake Superior. But in 1736, an inadvertent Sioux massacre of twenty-one Frenchmen (probably mistaken for Cree) along the Canadian border angered the Chippewa who had traded with French associated with the massacred men. A year later they retaliated by attacking the Lake Pepin fort, manned by Frenchmen with Sioux living nearby. Soon, Chippewa attacks on the Sioux became commonplace, but tapered off during the 1740s and 1750s when French and English conflicts retarded fur commerce.

Wisconsin's Indians consistently supported the French in their disputes with the British, even in King George's War of 1744-1748. Both the Menominee and the Potawatomi, for example, provided the French with some auxiliaries who fought in battles in the New York regions. The same was true for the French and Indian War of 1756-1763. All of the tribes then in Wisconsin (Menominee, Winnebago, Fox and Sauk, Chippewa, Eastern Sioux, Potawatomi) assisted the French by providing warriors who fought in the East. As with earlier wars, the French and Indian conflict led to changes in the Wisconsin region's Indian settlement pattern. Eastern Sioux from the Mississippi River area began to appear in Green Bay, because the war forced the closing of posts nearer them. Some Ottawa Indians, who were uncomfortable in Michigan where the British had taken over in 1760-1761, moved to sites around modern Milwaukee, where the French retained their influence and where there were suitable and largely untapped hunting fishing, and agricultural resources. Potawatomi also began moving into these relatively unused areas from their villages farther north along Lake Michigan. Mixed villages dominated numerically by the Potawatomi began forming at this time, with Ottawa and Chippewa Indians composing minority elements in them. These united tribes also began altering their trading patterns because of the war. As British traders moved into the Ohio valley and the Illinois country, the united tribes turned their attention to the new trading center of St. Louis, founded in the early 1760s in nominally Spanish territory largely so the French would retain their grip on the Mississippi trade.

The Fox and Sauk took advantage of their new status as French allies during the war with the English, and they moved in more significant numbers from Illinois to the Wisconsin River, where by the middle 1760s the Sauk had a large village at Prairie du Sac and the Fox had one on the Wisconsin River near Muscoda, where they evidently processed lead. The Winnebago, too, began expanding, taking over regions left unoccupied by the removal of the Kickapoo and Mascouten to Indiana. By 1766 they had a significant settlement on Lake Winnebago and another forty miles upstream from it along the Fox River.

Although the British won Canada and the territory east of the Mississippi at the end of the French and Indian War, business in the Wisconsin field was handled by the same French-Indian personnel who had always handled it; only the name of the nation in charge had changed. But as time passed and Indians became accustomed to British goods and to British gifts, they became accustomed, too, to thinking of the British as friends. And those who lived in the southern part of the state even began to become acquainted with the American colonial element that was moving into the Ohio Valley and the Mississippi region.

It was no surprise, therefore, that the Revolutionary War found the Indians between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi divided into three groups: pro-British, pro-American, and indifferent or undecided. The latter was probably the largest group. Charles de Langlade, a man of mixed French and Indian ancestry and the British representative in Green Bay, managed to muster support for the crown among the Indians of central and northern Wisconsin; Americans found some support in southern Wisconsin and northern Illinois, especially after George Rogers Clark, by a series, of victories (1778-1779) secured the

Illinois region for the new nation. Specifically, a few Potawatomi from Milwaukee joined the British, as did the Winnebago of Green Bay and the Fox River. But the Winnebago on the Rock River in 1778 signed a pact with the Americans through Clark. Menominee fought for the British, but found themselves increasingly involved in Chippewa-Sioux affairs and did not participate as avidly as the British wanted.

Fox and Sauk activity during the Revolution led to yet another alteration in Indian settlement patterns. Partly because the war focusd attention elsewhere, the two tribes shunted some of their commercial activity west of the Mississippi into Spanish territory. In reality, the Spanish themselves were not very active north of St. Louis, and even in St. Louis they permitted the French to run things much as they ran them for the British throughout the northwest. The Sauk and Fox therefore found it comfortable to trade at St. Louis with the French, but they also dealt with British traders who came south from Canada and Minnesota into Iowa. The two tribes also leased their lead mines west of the Mississippi to Europeans, and they did some crude mining themselves. Their increased activity to the west and south, combined with territorial pressures put on them by the Chippewa from the north, resulted in their leaving their Wisconsin River settlements about 1780. The vacated regions enticed the Winnebago, and by 1793 they had a permanent village on the Wisconsin River two miles south of the Fox-Wisconsin portage, an area formerly controlled by the Fox. By 1800, they had a half dozen villages scattered from Lake Winnebago to the portage, while the Rock River group lived at Lake Koshkonong, on tributaries of the Rock such as the Sugar River and the Yahara River, and at various places where smaller streams converged with the Rock.

The areas previously held by the Winnebago on the lower Fox River from Lake Winnebago northward were soon filled by the Menominee. They kept their village on the Menominee River, but by 1850 had expanded to the village of Green Bay, and to Kaukauna, Appleton, Lake Winnebago, Lake Butte des Morts, and perhaps Little Lake Butte des Morts.

Trade was not much affected during the Revolution. It even improved in the Lake Superior area, despite continued Sioux and Fox warfare with the Chippewa. The British tried vainly to bring the factions to terms over their territorial disputes. Instead, the Fox-Sioux forces fought the Chippewa at St. Croix Falls in 1783, lost, and ceased their seasonal hunting in the St. Croix region. The Chippewa's victory enabled them to move south of Lake Superior into former Sioux territory and to establish permanent villages at Lac du Flambeau and Lac Court Oreilles, with smaller settlements along the St. Croix above its junction with the Yellow River.

This territorial warfare had kept some game-rich regions from being hunted over a span of years, and traders and neighboring Indians cast longing eyes upon them. Some French-Canadian traders and the Menominee convinced the Sioux to permit seasonal activity in the Red Cedar River region of Wisconsin and in the Crow River region of Minnesota. In some instances, traders made the arrangements and escorted groups of Menominee to hunt for a winter at specific sites, almost as if the Menominee were employees.

American victory in the Revolution and acquisition of the lands east of the Mississippi meant little to Wisconsin's Native Americans, for the Indians still considered the British as the principals in charge, with the French-Canadian element still serving as fur-trade representatives. In May, 1783, representatives of the Menominee, Fox, Sauk, Eastern Sioux, and Winnbago pledged at Prairie du Chien their continued loyalty to the British crown. Even after 1796, when their fort on Mackinac Island was turned over to Americans, the British controlled trade.

American influence soon began to be felt, however, because of the westward movement of settlers and of the need for military outposts to protect American territory, citizens, and

investments. To accommodate expansion, the United States had to acquire title from Indian tribes to the lands it had nominally won in the war with Britian. The first sale involving Wisconsin took place at St. Louis on November 3, 1804, when a group of Fox and Sauk sold as part of a large parcel much of what was to become the lead region of southwestern Wisconsin. The treaty was complex, involving Indian relations as much as expansionism, and its immediate effect on Wisconsin was slight. The United States did not retain title to the Wisconsin cession for long. Although it kept the Illinois lands, in 1816 and 1825 it ceded the Wisconsin portions to the mixed Potawatomi-Ottawa-Chippewa and to the Winnbago.

A second treaty involving Wisconsin was made with the Eastern Sioux in September, 1805. They sold sites for military bases at the confluences of the Minnesota and Mississippi river (where Fort Snelling now stands) and of the St. Croix and Mississippi rivers, including a substantial part of what is now Pierce County, Wisconsin. Although valid otherwise, the treaty was not properly ratified by the Senate nor signed by the President, and it therefore was unenforceable.

Increasing American visibility did not persuade the region's Indians to forsake the British, however. Quite the opposite. Anti-American feeling ran high among the Winnebago, and they were among the earliest recruits to the Shawnee prophet Tenskwatawa, usually known as the Prophet, and to his militarily inclined brother, Tecumseh. The Prophet preached inter-tribal unity as a remedy to the rapid white settlement of the Ohio Valley. By the spring of 1809, fifty Winnebago had joined him at Tippecanoe in Indiana, and by 1812 three of seven villages along the Fox and Wisconsin rivers were abandoned, their residents believed to be with Tecumseh. Sauk and Fox (whose settlements were in Illinois by this time, but who hunted seasonally along the Mississippi in Wisconsin) also joined the Indian federation; but the Potawatomi and most Menominee resisted, although a few of the latter became followers about 1812. The Sioux and Chippewa were not much tempted, for they lived at a distance and were embroiled in their own disputes.

Tecumseh's mixed group joined with British forces against the Americans October 5, 1813, Tecumseh was killed. The Prophet and some followers survived and would have continued fighting had the war not ended in 1814. They retired to Illinois and established a village on the Rock River, near the Sauk and Fox, and not far from Wisconsin's Winnebago.

Generally speaking, the British won the War of 1812 in the Midwest and Wisconsin, but lost it elsewhere, and Wisconsin's Indians were to a large extent responsible for the British victories in the vicinity. They were rallied by Robert Dickson, a pro-British trader of Scottish ancestry who handled trade at Prairie du Chien. The Menominee were particularly avid allies. Thirty-nine of them helped the British take Mackinac Island on July 17, 1812; and they participated in defeating the Americans at Detroit, in the Ohio campaign, and in taking the American fort at Prairie du Chien in 1814. The Sioux and Chippewa, while still at war with each other, fought side by side on behalf of the British, except for those Eastern Sioux led by Red Wing, who at time leaned towards the Americans. Other Sioux, however, built villages near Prairie du Chien while they waited word to attack St. Louis; and the war encouraged them to hunt as far south as La Crosse, far beyond their usual zone. The Potawatomi's allegiance, too, was divided. At first they favored the British, but by the end of the war Dickson feared they would join the Americans. And he discovered, too, that the Winnebago were not wholeheartedly pro-British. The fur trade probably caused the indecision. Americans from Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois with access to the Milwaukee area had great success among the Potawatomi and the Rock River Winnebago, and the Potawatomi had begun expanding their trading and hunting settlements west into Waukesha and Jefferson counties. It was natural, therefore, for them to look benignly on American war efforts.

A year or two after the war ended, the Americans persuaded representatives of

Wisconsin's tribes to sign peace treaties, with one exception. They unaccountably overlooked the Rock River Winnebago. Such oversights became fairly frequent as time went on, evidently because Americans were not aware of the complexities of Indian political structures. Despite swearing fealty, the Indians continued to accept presents from the British, traveling to the Canadian shore of Lake Huron or the Red Rivre of the North until the 1840s to receive them.

Between 1817 and 1825, contradictory American goals focused in Wisconsin. On the one hand the federal government sought permanent settlement of the Indian question by moving all eastern Indians to undeveloped Wisconsin lands. On the other, Americans felt compelled to cultivate and develop the region's wilderness resources. The goals were incompatible because settlers wanted to use the best land for their purpose, but the Indians could not survive on marginal or submarginal land. The first policy was enunciated in 1817, when New York developers suggested moving to the Green Bay area the confederated Iroquois tribes of New York and three other tribes, the Stockbridge, Munsee, and Brothertown, to whom the Iroquois had granted refuge. Pressures were brought on the Menominee and Winnebago to sell or give land specifically to the Oneida, and in 1821 they grudgingly did so. A larger cession was made in 1822, totaling altogether 6,720,000 acres. Second thoughts arose, numerous conferences resulted, and finally in 1831 and 1832 treaties were made with the Menominee alone. The Oneida were given 500,000 acres southwest of the Fox River near Green Bay; the Stockbridge-Munsee and the Brothertown got two smaller reserves on the eastern shore of Lake Winnebago.

Throughout the negotiations, it had become increasingly clear that Wisconsin had more to offer than forests, lakes and streams suitable for Indians. The region's lead deposits, essential water routes, and stretches of obvious agricultural land beckoned many Americans. But before acquisition of the resources could begin, the Indians who owned them had to agree on their tribal boundaries. Accordingly, the Americans called a council Prairie du Chien in August, 1825, ostensibly so the Indians would cease fighting about hunting zones. It seems obvious, however, that whites were more interested in their own potential profits than in Indian peace, especially in view of events thereafter. The treaty also imposed a foreign concept of landholding upon Indians. Generally, Indians felt that each tribe owned its dwellings, fields, and villages, but that all other land belonged in common to all Indians. Nonetheless, boundaries were set. The Eastern Sioux and Chippewa divided as best they could the environmental edge zone they both desired. The others simply recognized the land-use situation of 1825, not the so-called historic lands each tribe had used. For in 1825, with the exception of those Menominee who still lived at the mouth of the Menominee River and of the eastern Sioux who still hunted on some of their ancient Wisconsin lands, no Wisconsin tribe lived where it had when Europeans first visited. In the main, these changes over time appear not to have troubled the Indians, whose food and transportation requirements could be met at various spots throughout the region.

The Winnebago took to heart the American imposition of tribal boundaries, and when white miners appeard on their lands in southern Wisconsin, they reacted in 1827 by killing several. Military forces quickly squelched the Winnebago. Another military incident occurred in 1832, when Black Hawk, a Sauk leader, and his followers were pursued from Illinois into Wisconsin with the loss of hundreds of Indian lives at encounters along the Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers. The Black Hawk episode had roots reaching back to the 1804 sale of Sauk and Fox lands, and it involved the attempt to move his village on the Rock River in Illinois west of the Mississippi. Wisconsin became involved as a battleground, while the political events took place in Illinois.

The Americans soon realized they needed title to the lead district, and an 1828 treaty council to acquire it was held with the Winnebago and united tribes of Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa. The Indians deliberated, and on August 1, 1829, at Prairie du Chien they sold most of the southwestern corner of the state. During the next nineteen

years, and especially after Wisconsin became a territory in 1836, the American government acquired title to all the rest of Wisconsin's lands, except for the small areas owned by the Oneida, Stockbridge-Munsee, and Brothertown. The first to go were the lands south and east of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway with a Menominee treaty in 1831. It was followed by a Winnebago treaty of 1832, and a treaty with the united tribes in 1833. In 1836 the Menominee sold all but a section of central Wisconsin. In 1837, the Winnebago sold their remaining land, the Sioux and Chippewa sold their claims except for the Chippewa lands along Lake Superior, which the U.S. acquired in 1842. The last cession was made by the Menominee in 1848. No provision had been made for Indian reservations in Wisconsin, and all the tribes were to have been moved west of the Mississippi.

Indians and some Americans raised numerous objections to the treaties: Indians did not understand they would have to leave the Wisconsin country; proper representatives of various groups had not participted; women had not been heard in behalf of those tribes who required their vote on real-estate matters; Americans defaulted on agreements; settlers violated boundaries; Indians violated other Indians' boundaries.

Two tribes, the Chippewa and Menominee, played a stalling game and managed to make treaties giving them reservation lands in Wisconsin. First were the Menominee in May, 1854, who got their present reservation on the upper Wolf and Oconto rivers. The land fell within their traditional holdings although it is unlikely that they had had permanment villages on it before it was made a reservation. Then came the Chippewa in September of the same year. They were granted the Red Cliff, Bad River, Lac du Flambeau, and Lac Court Oreilles reserves. Two Chippewa groups -- one at Mole Lake and the other along the St. Croix -- were overlooked. In 1855 a separate treaty was made with the Mole Lake group, but the promised reservations did not become reality. Finally in 1934 the Mole Lake Chippewa got 750 acres. The St. Croix group also got some token lands in 1934 under the so-called Collier Act.

The Stockbridge in 1856 exchanged their Lake Winnebago reservation for two townships adjacent to the southern edge of the Menominee reservation. They had suffered years of inter-tribal struggle over citizenship and religious affiliation, some eventually becoming citizens and others not. The Brothertown in 1839 had successfully petitioned Congress for citizenship and division of their reservation among enrolled members.

Officially, as of 1856, the Chippewa, Menominee, and New York (Oneida, Stockbridge-Munsee) Indians were the only ones in Wisconsin. Realistically, they were not. Both the Winnebago and united tribes steadfastly resisted removal. At least four different attempts were made to take the Winnebago west of the Mississippi, and each time some returned. The displacements and marches cost them dearly. For example, during an 1862 removal from Minnesota because of Indian massacres there, 800 out of 2,000 Indians died en route. The episodes were grim enough to merit a chapter in Helen Hunt Jackson's Century of Dishonor. Those who persisted in Wisconsin were granted homesteads of forty acres a family in the 1870s and 1880s under federal allotment acts. Most of the land, however, was sold within a generation or two.

Some Potawatomi and Ottawa and Chippewa of the united tribes also refused to move west of the Mississippi. Many (about 2,000) went to Canada; others subsisted in Wisconsin, living in scattered settlements in the eastern Wisconsin counties. Some managed to move north into Oconto and Forest counties, and in 1933 congressional funding enabled them to buy 14,000 acres in Forest County where most Potawatomi of Wisconsin now live.

The Sioux, too, continued to visit the state, although records about them make only infrequent mentions of Wisconsin. Small groups resisted removal from eastern and southern Minnesota, and those who lived on the border between the two states finally

were recognized by the government and in the 1930s organized as official groups of Eastern Sioux. Not all Indians have lived on reservations or in unofficial or official settlements since the nineteenth century. Many from early dates have moved to towns and cities, often returning home for holidays and retirements. Indian population estimates are notoriously unreliable, but tribal rolls provide some numerical information, although no residential statistics.

Anthropologists point out that Wisconsin's Indians have demonstrated remarkable adaptability and persistence in the face of social change over the last three centuries. It might be added that such changes were relatively minor before the American administrations made their presence felt within the area. Under the French and English and until early in the nineteenth century, Indians' traditional ways of life were supplemented but not wholly revolutionized. The widespread belief that European material goods somehow corrupted Indian life is not substantiated. But Indian spheres of influence did shift in response to Indian and white threats and to the economic requirements of the fur trade. Indian hunters added fur-bearing animals to their normal prey, and they received both practical and decorative goods in exchange. They also added elements of European religion to their own religions. But for the first 200 years of European-American influence in Wisconsin, Indians dominated, the whites depending more upon them than they upon the whites. Then, quite suddenly, between 1820 and 1850, all was changed. Settlers and the government evicted the Indian. White agriculture, mining, manufacturing, commerce, and real estate swamped the fur trade and the Indian upon whom it had depended. Since then his abilities to adapt have been put severely to the test.

PROTECTION

Threats to Resources

The majority of pre-1900 cultural resources associated with historic Indian groups are archeological sites that face the same threats as prehistoric archeological sites. Intensive agriculture and urban development are probably the two greatest threats in the southern part of the state. In the northern part of the state, archeological sites are being destroyed by land disturbing activities associated with logging and recreational development. Throughout the state, continual threats are lake and river shoreline erosion; house, sewer, and road construction; and looting by artifact collectors.

Existing structures associated with Wisconsin Indian history are threatened by demolition for new construction, particularly associated with tribal housing.

Survey Priorities

Although hundreds of historic Indian archeological sites have been recorded, only a few of these has thus far been linked to specific tribal groups. Therefore, there is a need to locate and identify such sites. Most important are those Early and Middle Historic Period sites that were specifically identified by early Missionaries, explorers, fur traders, and others. Such sites are likely to yield pottery and other diagnostic artifacts that may allow eventual tribal identification of other historic Indian sites that lack historical documentation.

Also needed are archeological surveys of those parts of the state that are being disturbed by urban expansion and intensive agriculture. It is in fact these same parts of the state that supported the densest concentration of Indian camps and villages until well into the nineteenth century. Although many historic Indian sites have been recorded in these areas, these sites do not reflect the full range of Indian activities throughout the various

periods and thus form a biased sample of Wisconsin Indian cultural resources.

Surveys should also be directed at identifying Late Historic II and III sites associated with those Chippewa, Potawatomi, and Winnebago bands and families who, for various reasons, were not provided reservations in Wisconsin but continued to reside in the state on lands unused by settlers. Such groups and the associated cultural resources are poorly documented. These surveys should incorporate literature searches, oral histories taken from living descendents, and on-ground examinations of the sites.

Surveys should be conducted both on and off reservations and include standing structures associated with the earlier history of Wisconsin Indians. These would include mission schools, churches, homesteads/cabins, tribal centers, and other tribal buildings.

Registration Priorities

All archeological sites for which there exists tribal identification in documentary form and which have undisturbed archeological deposits.

Any building that has distinct Indian affiliation that is evaluated as significant according to the criteria of the National Register of Historic Places.

EXPLANATION OF STUDY UNITS

These study units contain summary accounts of the Indian groups present in Wisconsin after 1634. They concern those groups that actually occupied parts of Wisconsin. Those groups that visited Wisconsin briefly for trade, warfare, or ceremony have been omitted. Thus, such people as the Cree, Illinois, Iowa, and others are not discussed. However, future research may justify their inclusion. Also omitted are the urban Indians of the larger cities of the state, who often maintained close ties to their reservation communities.

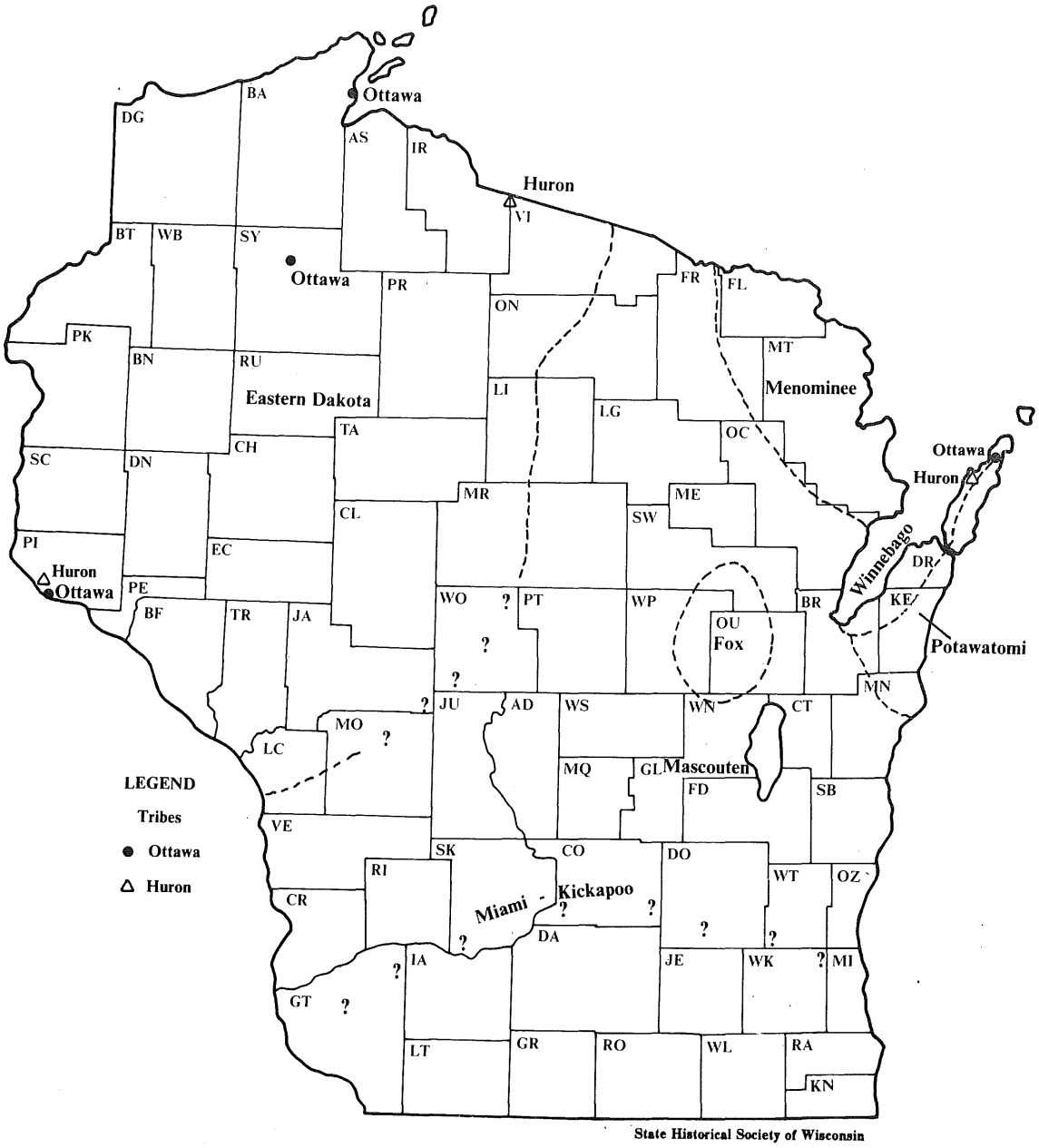
This study uses a chronology that follows the conventional subdivision of the Great Lakes Historic Period into Early, Middle, and Late following Quimby's classic volume on changing Indian culture as influenced by French, British, and Americans (Quimby 1966). Quimby's Late Historic Period (1760-1820) has been expanded here to accommodate more recent Wisconsin Indian history and is further subdivided into Late Historic I (1760-1848), Late Historic II (1849-1899), and Late Historic III (1900-present). The year 1848 is used as the terminal date for Late Historic I because by that year virtually all Wisconsin lands were ceded by the various treaties (Lurie 1980), eventually forcing remaining Indians to live on reservations or as landless refugees during Late Historic II. Late Historic III simply represents developments of the 20th century.

Some sources of information were largely ignored in the preparation of these study units due to time constraints. Most notable of these were tribal historians and tribal historic preservation officers of various groups. The units were primarily prepared from secondary sources. In most cases original manuscripts, interviews, and iconographic collections were not used, but future investigators are urged to take advantage of these resources. These units do, however, contain a current assessment of our knowledge of Wisconsin Indian groups. Future study will certainly answer many of the questions raised by these study units, and undoubtedly raise many more.

SOURCES:

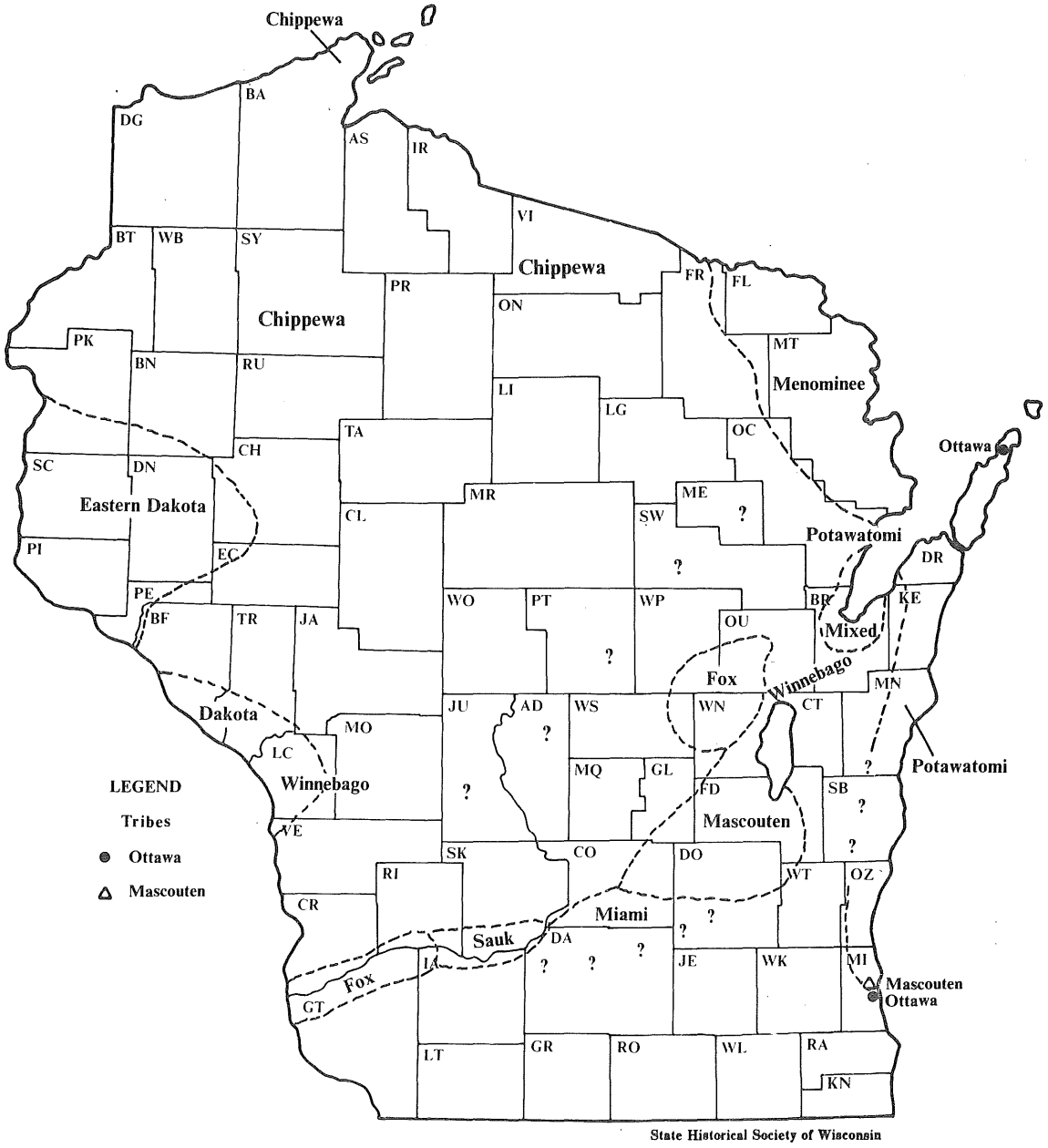
Lurie, Nancy
1980 Wisconsin Indians. State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

Quimby, George
1966 Indian Culture and European Trade Goods. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.



Native American Habitation, Early Historic Period

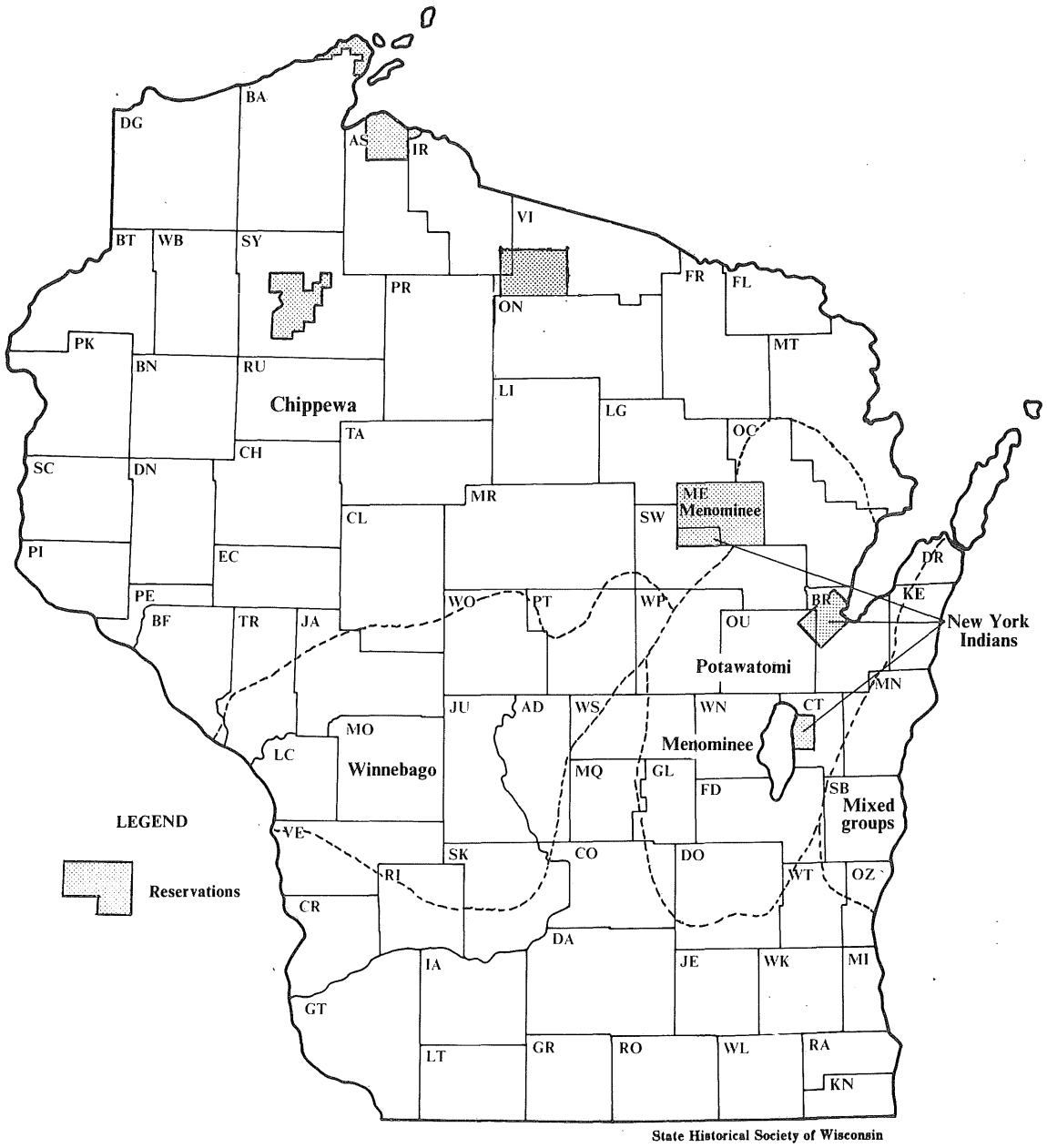
Source: Compiled by Speth.



State Historical Society of Wisconsin

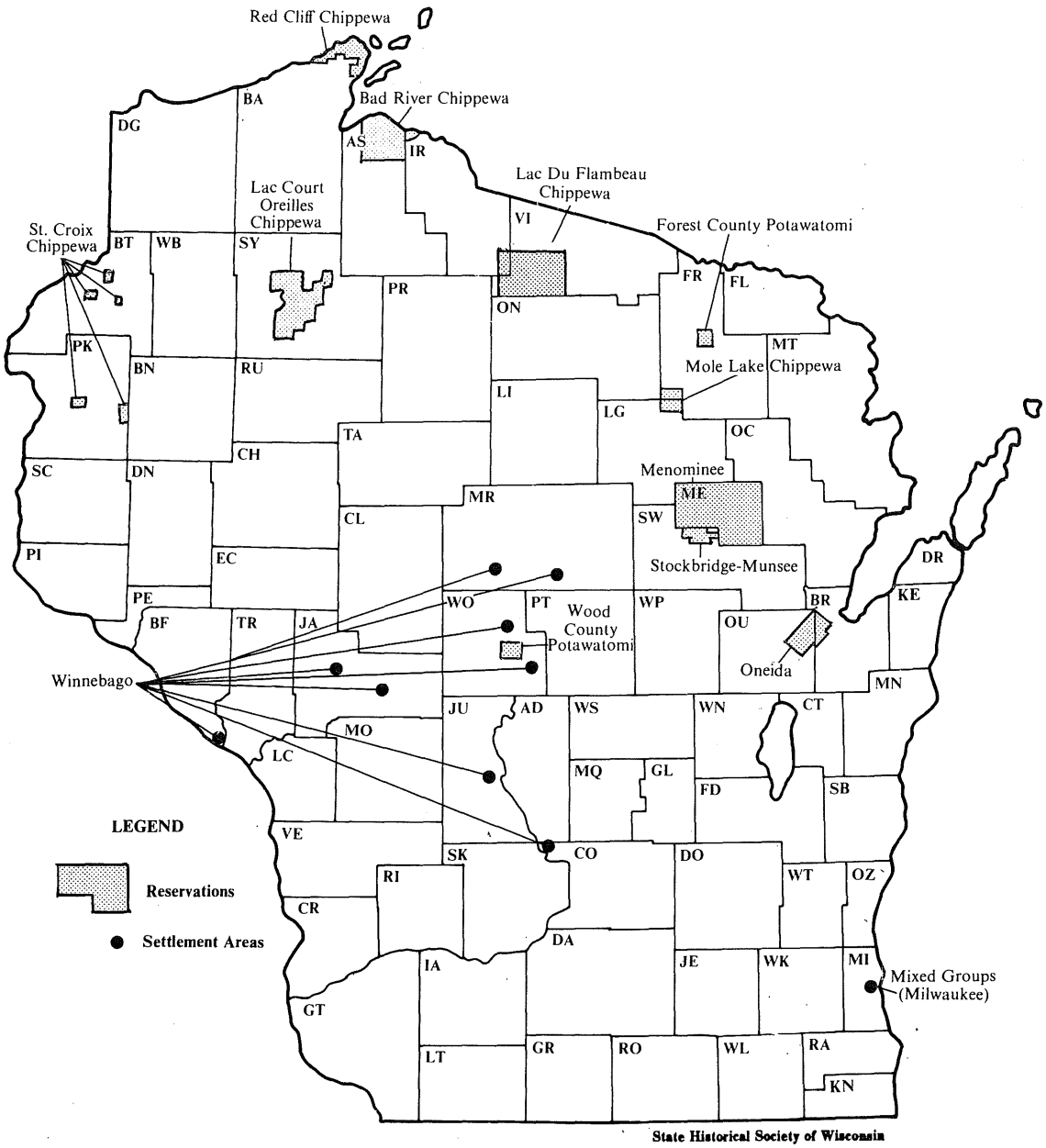
Native American Habitation, Middle Historic Period

Source: Compiled by Speth.



Native American Habitation, Late Historic II Period

Source: Compiled by Speth.



Native American Habitation, Late Historic III Period

Source: Nancy Oestreich Lurie, *Wisconsin Indians* (Madison, 1980), p. 10, (Map by Judy Patenaude).

Temporal Boundaries: Early and Middle Historic Chippewa (Ojibwa) (1660?-1760), Late Historic I Chippewa (Ojibwa) (1761-1848), Late Historic II Chippewa (Ojibwa) (1849-1899), Late Historic III Chippewa (Ojibwa) (1900-present).

Spatial Boundaries: Early and Middle Historic Chippewa (Ojibwa): Northern Wisconsin, especially Chequamegon Peninsula and Madeline Island; Late Historic I Chippewa (Ojibwa): Northern Wisconsin; Late Historic II Chippewa (Ojibwa): Northern Wisconsin; Late Historic III Chippewa (Ojibwa): Northern Wisconsin.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

EARLY AND MIDDLE HISTORIC CHIPPEWA (OJIBWA)

At the time of first contact with Europeans, the Algonquian-speaking Chippewa lived in a territory centered on Sault Ste. Marie and were referred to by contemporary French officers as Saulteurs or People of the Sault (Hickerson 1970:12,37; Keesing 1971:11). According to Hickerson's reconstruction, the ancestral Chippewa lived in a number of small, totemically-named patrilineal descent groups that were the predecessors of the modern clans. These groups were also referred to by their specific totemic name in the early chronicles, and the elusive Noquet of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan (and possibly northeastern Wisconsin) may have been one of these groups (Hickerson 1962, 1970; Callender 1978:620).

Some People of the Sault (the appellation also may refer to some Ottawa) attended a Feast of the Dead held in northern Wisconsin around 1660, which Radisson witnessed. This may mark some of the first incursions into Wisconsin by groups. (Hickerson 1960:89).

About 1670 the different totemic groups began to merge. The villages broke down and populations moved under the pressures of increased European contact and an increasing role for the Chippewa in the fur trade. More specifically, in the second half of the seventeenth century, the early Chippewa began to gather in large settlements containing members of the earlier totemic villages. One of these large settlements was at Chequamegon (Hickerson 1962, 1970; Callender 1978:620). The Chippewa settlement at Chequamegon seems to have started between 1679 and 1695 (Hickerson 1970:561; Quimby 1966:114). The impetus for this large multi-clan settlement appears to have been the maintenance of the Chippewa role as fur trade middlemen between the French and the tribes of the interior. As part of this process, the Chippewa language became the lingua franca of the western Great Lakes (Vennum 1982:22).

According to one interpretation, the Midewiwin developed at about this time (Hickerson 1962a). This ceremonial complex was a response to the changes in sociopolitical organization among the People of the Sault. Earlier leadership would have been concerned primarily with the totemic villages, and "tribal" leadership was unknown. The Midewiwin fostered a sense of "tribal", or "national" spirit among the various Chippewa groups at Chequamegon (Hickerson 1962a:405,418; 1970). Some legends, however, relate that the Chippewa brought the Midewiwin with them from the East at some early date.

The location at Chequamegon (La Pointe) took advantage of the fisheries of Lake Superior, and of the establishment of French forts on Madeline Island (Birmingham and Salzer 1984). The earliest fort was established on the southwest end of Madeline Island in 1693 and lasted until 1698. As early as 1695, 300 men of four (totemic?) Saulteur groups were

reported as living at Chequamegon. Another fort was built north of this at La Pointe in 1718 and was maintained until 1762 (Hickerson 1962b:7,67).

Excavations at the Marina site near La Pointe have provided a look at a major Chippewa occupation (Birmingham and Salzer 1984). The artifacts from the Marina site indicate that the site was occupied during the period 1715 to 1775 A.D., roughly when the French fort at La Pointe was occupied. Some pottery was discovered at the site, but brass and copper kettles were probably more commonly used. Porcupine quillwork was used for decoration, but glass beads for the same purpose were also available. Both native and European pipe styles were present. The Chippewa at the Marina site used small triangular arrowheads (some made from cut-up brass kettles), but also used flintlock muskets for hunting. Beaver, moose, and bear were among the mammals taken; waterfowl were caught, but were not as important as mammals in the diet. Fish was the most important animal food recovered from the site. Many sturgeon were speared, and whitefish, northern pike, yellow perch, walleyed pike, and suckers were probably netted. Corn and squash were grown, and pin- and choke-cherries, blackberries, raspberries, thimbleberries, strawberries, and hazelnuts were collected.

Wool blanket cloth and brass buttons indicate that some use was made of European clothing. Bone and iron awls and bone matting needles were found. What appears to be a formal cemetery for this village was also uncovered during excavations.

The archeological evidence confirms the historic accounts of a large village at Chequamegon (La Pointe) during the eighteenth century, with sometimes as many as 2,000 Chippewa of the various bands and clans living there. Archeological evidence indicates that the village represented by the Marina site was occupied year round, though not everyone lived at the village all the time. During the spring the sturgeon spearing in spawning places would have taken some individuals out of the village. From the evidence of growth rings on fish scales, most of the other fishing was done in the late fall when whitefish spawn. (Many fish spawn in large groups in shallow waters, making it easier and more economical to catch them then.) Small hunting parties probably left the village in winter to hunt moose and trap beaver.

In the 1720s and 1730s, the French began to establish forts in the interior of Minnesota and Wisconsin to trade with those tribes directly instead of through the Chippewa. This, of course, led to a decline in the Chippewa role as middlemen, which in turn led to the fragmentation of the great centers of the Chippewa. Hickerson (1962b) discusses the implications of this for the Chippewa. To remain part of the fur trade network and receive trade goods, the Chippewa now had to trap furs for the trade instead of gathering them from other groups. The large centers began to split into smaller groups during the 1730s, and smaller settlements were established on lakes in the forested interior. Hickerson (1970) points out that upon fragmentation of the large villages, the local bands that were created did not reconstitute the earlier pattern of a single totemically-related group, but rather included members of several of these groups (which by now may be called clans) (Ritzenthaler 1978:620).

The break-up of the large Chequamegon village also may have been prompted by defensive considerations--the Chippewa at Chequamegon were attacked by the Eastern Dakota in May of 1737 (Thwaites, ed. 1906, vol. 17:264). The Chequamegon settlement had been based, since its founding, on the Chippewa alliance with the Dakota and attendant permission to hunt and trap in the interior. But with the loss of middleman status, and probable game depletion near Chequamegon, the Chippewa began to move into Dakota territory, and eventually, around 1736, to war with the Dakota (Hickerson 1962b:65).

Among the earliest of the interior settlements were Lac Court Oreilles and Lac du Flambeau, which were established in the former winter hunting grounds of the

Chequamegon village (Warren 1974:190-191).

According to William Warren (1974), before permanent villages were established in the interior, winter hunting parties had returned every spring to Chequamegon for the Midewiwin and trade. The heyday of the Midewiwin passed with the break-up of the Chequamegon village, but the ceremony continued to be important well past the Middle Historic Period (Hickerson 1962b:68; 1970:57).

LATE HISTORIC I CHIPPEWA(OJIBWA)

The spread of small Chippewa groups through the interior of Wisconsin and Minnesota continued in the Late Historic I period. In the northern coniferous and hardwood forests south of Lake Superior, game was quickly depleted, and the Chippewa there were forced to hunt farther to the south and southwest. The Chippewa bands then established villages in these hunting areas.

The great village at Chequamegon contained 50 lodges in the fall of 1765 (Hickerson 1962b:67). Based on archeological evidence from the Marina site, the large village was abandoned about 1770 to 1780. Several bands continued to live in the Apostle Islands/Chequamegan Bay area (Birmingham and Salzer 1984).

In 1766, three Chippewa villages were reported in northwestern Wisconsin. Of these, one, at Lac Court Oreilles, was a base village in the sense of being a regular place for gathering the members of a band in the spring and summer. The other two were probably a ricing station and a temporary hunting camp for the village at Lac Court Oreilles (Hickerson 1974:50).

In addition to the movement to the southeast, the Chippewa also began moving into northeastern Wisconsin. The Chippewa were on friendly terms with the Menominee and shared many villages with them (Kay 1979:416; Ritzenthaler 1978:719). Chippewa were at Lake Shawano in 1795. About 1800, a band of Chippewa wintering on the Peshtigo River came to Green Bay frequently. The 1824 census of Wisconsin Indians lists Chippewa living with Menominee on the Menominee, Peshtigo, and Pensaukee rivers, on Tail Point, and between Green Bay and Lake Shawano (Kay 1977:391,401; Draper, ed. 1857, vol. 3:251; Thwaites 1911, vol. 20:349-350).

Expansion to the southwest also may be traced in the contemporary accounts. In 1802-1803, there were 50 families of Chippewa (including 60 to 65 warriors) at Yellow Lake. In 1805, 50 lodges (104 warriors, 165 women and 420 children) were noted on the St. Croix and Chippewa rivers (Kay 1977:400). In 1824, Schoolcraft, an agent for the northern Wisconsin and Minnesota Chippewa, compiled a list of places where trading posts could be established for the Chippewa. The places were selected to serve as stations for two, three, or more bands in the surrounding area. Places chosen for posts in Wisconsin included La Pointe, Lac du Flambeau, Lac Chetac, Lac Court Oreilles, on the Chippewa River, and on the Yellow River (Thwaites 1911, vol. 20:343-344).

In 1831 and 1832, Schoolcraft visited the interior villages and compiled census information. The large population centers in Wisconsin included Lac Court Oreilles, Lac du Flambeau, and the lower Yellow River near its confluence with the St. Croix. Smaller villages or camps in Wisconsin were found at Lac Vieux Desert on the Wisconsin-Michigan border, Trout Lake in Vilas County, Rice Lake in Barron County, Tomahawk Lake in Oneida County, the foot of Red Cedar Lake in Barron County, on Upper St. Croix Lake in Douglas County, the upper St. Croix River, two camps on the upper reaches of the Yellow River, the Namekagon River between Namekagon Lake and Trego Lake, and northeastern Sawyer County (Hickerson 1962b:12,13, Map 2; 1974:221). A village at Lake Chetac that in 1824 had over 200 people was almost totally abandoned in 1831, and its trading post had been burned. Some of the people at Rice Lake may have come from this village (see

Hickerson 1962b:94,n.18).

These villages ranged in size from 26 people (including six adult men) on the Namekagon River to villages that were really population centers rather than single settlements (Lac Court Oreilles and Lac du Flambeau) (Hickerson 1962b:33).

Throughout this period, people remained at Chequamegan Bay and Madeline Island (or La Pointe). In 1832, 180 Chippewas (with 30 to 40 men) were listed at La Pointe. In the 1830s Protestant and Catholic missions were established on Madeline Island. Artifacts from this period found at the Marina site indicate that by this time the Chippewa were wearing European-derived clothing of calico and broadcloth. Trade beads were used as decoration. European and American ceramics were used, along with brass kettles for food preparation. Glasses and ceramic cups were used for drinking, and cooking was done either over an open fire or in a cast iron stove. Alcohol and patent medicines were used, and blackboard slates indicate that children attended mission schools. The people lived in frame houses, cabins, and wigwams. Hunting was done with bows and brass or iron arrows, or flintlock muskets. Iron fish hooks were used. (See Birmingham and Salzer 1984).

The Indian subsistence pattern at La Point was much like it was in the eighteenth century although hunting and trapping diminished in importance due to localized depletion of game. Fishing continued to be very important and by the 1830s some La Pointe Chippewa were engaged in the American Fur Company commercial fishing enterprise.

At least some Chippewa lived at the Marina site all year. Most of the hunting was done in the winter, and this would have taken people away from the village. Birmingham and Salzer (1984) reconstruct the yearly subsistence cycle of the Marina site people as follows: In the spring people moved to spots where sturgeon could be speared. In June they planted corn. In July they gathered wild berries. In September they harvested corn and gathered wild rice from the nearby Kakagon sloughs on Chequamegon Bay. From November to January they were at the fisheries (some hunting also was done during the winter), and from March to early May maple sap was collected and made into sugar (See Birmingham and Salzer 1984).

Some of the Chippewa at the Marina site became Christians, and of these most were Catholic. The Presbyterian missionary was not as successful at converting the Chippewa (See Birmingham and Salzer 1984).

The larger villages of the interior also maintained some population throughout the year. Maple sugaring, wild rice harvesting, lake fishing, and in some places horticulture, were carried out near the villages. During the winter hunts, some women, the older people, and many of the children remained behind at the base village (Hickerson 1962b:33; 1970:867).

Later in the Late Historic I period, Chippewas were found in the mixed villages along the Lake Michigan shore. The report of 50 Chippewa wigwams on Rock Island may or may not refer to a mixed group (Anderson 1912:162; Gerend 1920:129; Holand 1916:148).

The spread to the south and west was partly prompted by the rapidity with which the game in the forests of northern Wisconsin was depleted. Hunting parties from the established villages entered the mixed prairie-deciduous forests to exploit these richer areas. The spread of the villages was eased by the Chippewa social organization, in which the village was the largest formally organized unit, and the hunting band was the largest economic unit. The hunting band was most important during the winter, when hunting territories were allotted, and as a communal hunting group. Several bands lived at or near a summer village where they would cooperate. Under these circumstances, splintering was easily done when one band had grown too large for the resources of an area (Birmingham 1984; Lurie 1980:17).

Sporadic but bitter warfare with the Eastern Dakota continued throughout the Late Historic I period. Fragmentation of the large village at La Pointe may have been partly a defensive mechanism to avoid a crushing blow by the Dakota. Warfare did not interfere with subsistence activities near the Chippewa villages, but it placed a limit on the areas of hunting and trapping that could be used (Hickerson 1970:86). The effect of warfare seems to have been the prevention of overhunting of deer in the "tension zone," the buffer area between the Dakota and the Chippewa (Hickerson 1962b:62). This warfare generally involved few casualties, but occasionally large losses occurred (Armstrong 1972; Palmer 1978; Hickerson 1970:90).

One of the possible social changes due to the fur trade was the strengthening of the role of the Chippewa band headman. With the hunting band being the chief economic unit, traders dealt more with the band headman, which probably strengthened a role traditionally weak among the Chippewa. Ritzenthaler (1978:244) believes that this strengthened role, coupled with the patrilineal tendencies among the Chippewa, may have given rise to patrilineally inherited chieftainships.

The fur trade is often seen as less disruptive to the Chippewa than to other tribes, both because they were able to settle new areas while other tribes were being displaced and because their earlier lifestyle was easily adapted to the needs of the fur trade (Vennum 1982:23).

In 1837 and 1842 the Chippewa entered into treaties ceding their lands to the United State Government (Lurie 1980:18). Through the 1837 treaty, the government gained access to rich pine lands and because of this it was referred to as the "Lumberman's Treaty." The 1842 treaty was referred to as the "Miner's Treaty," since the government acquired rich mineral districts.

LATE HISTORIC II CHIPPEWA/OJIBWA

In anticipation of white settlement, there was an ill-fated and unsuccessful attempt to remove Wisconsin Chippewa to Minnesota in 1850-1851 (Clifton n.d.). Many Chippewa resisted this move but several hundred died during the relocation attempt.

The establishment of reservations beginning 1854 limited the area available to the Chippewa for ricing, fishing, and hunting and ushered in a bleak period for the Wisconsin Chippewa (Vennum 1982).

Before the Chippewa were moved to reservations, they were described around 1854 as divided into 16 bands, totalling 4,000 people. Each band was governed by a chief or headman and each also had a war-captain, a chief orator, and a chief medicine man. Each band was said to have a separate hunting territory. The Wisconsin Kiva band, of about 200 people, occupied the area from Grand Rapids (Wisconsin Rapids) to "Sammy-Hawk Lake" (Calkins 1855:123-124).

A village in Sheboygan County near the Sheboygan River was occupied around 1854 by 100 people in 20 "wigwams." Fifteen of the wigwams and 70 to 80 of the people were Chippewa and the remainder Menominee. Dr. Alphonse Gerend (1920:168-171) gave a detailed account of this village and its yearly cycle: The wigwams were made of poles covered with elm and basswood bark or rush mats. The wigwam of one family was eight to 12 feet in diameter and six to eight feet high, with an opening at the top to release the smoke. Some of the larger wigwams had an upper platform where children or goods could be kept off the floor. A meeting and dancing ground was located near the center of the village. A 15 acre cornfield, surrounded by a brush fence, was west of the village. The corn was planted in hills. The women planted, hoed, and harvested the corn. Beans and melons were also grown. Muskrats were the major source of meat for the villagers. They

were trapped and speared. Deer, muskrat, and otter furs trapped by the villagers brought in up to $800 a season. Beaver and badger were not taken.

This village was the summer village. In the winter the villagers moved four to five miles northeast where there was better feeding for the villagers' 50 to 60 ponies. In spring, on the way back to the summer village, the people would stop about halfway to the village and make maple sugar. This sugar was mostly for village use, not for selling or trading. Individuals who died in the winter or spring were brought back to the village and buried (or less commonly, placed on a scaffold) in the extensive cemetery northeast of the village. Most of these villagers left the area in 1869 and 1870 to live on the Menominee Reservation, though some returned to visit.

Several hundred people, mostly Chippewa, lived in another camp in Sheboygan County, around 1850 to 1860. These people set up camp about one mile west of Lake Michigan and stayed until later in August when they moved to the Mississippi River. This group used bows and arrows, not guns, even shooting whitefish with the arrows tethered to the body of the marksman (Gerend 1920:163).

Most Chippewa were given reservations by the treaty of 1854. However, the St. Croix Chippewa were for some reason left out of the treaty negotiations and were assigned no land (Birmingham 1984). In 1855, the Mole Lake Chippewa or Sokaogon, were promised a reservation of 12 square miles, which never materialized. Both groups were forced to fend for themselves as best they could in what had once been their territory.

Birmingham (1984) has studied the history of the St. Croix band during the Late Historic II period, and his report should be consulted for details on this group. The Mole Lake band probably operated under the same pressures as the St. Croix band and had a similar way of life. Life on the four reservations--Bad River, Red Cliff, Lac du Flambeau, and Lac Court Oreilles--was in some respects similar to that of the two landless bands, with the added difficulties of dealing with the United States Government and Indian agents.

For one group of reservation Chippewa (the Bad River), Shifferd (1976) noted that they followed a subsistence pattern that spread risks out among the population, a pattern of trapping, hunting, berrying, sugaring, and ricing similar to that of the St. Croix band. Unfortunately, the areas in which traditional resources could be taken were restricted to the reservations, and as the reservation populations grew, the traditional sources of food shrank. This forced the Chippewa to rely on "store-brought" food, and the resulting change in diet caused poor health. The Chippewa could not be converted into farmers (the usual goal of federal Indian policy at that date) due to the climate and the heavy forests. Allotment of the land usually resulted in the loss of land to non-Indians (Vennum 1982:24-27).

Archeological work on Northern Wisconsin Chippewa sites dated from about 1870 to about 1910 confirms that wild rice collecting was still important and that closthes and other artifacts were of European style and manufacture (Salzer 1974:50-51; Birmingham 1984).

Native institutions such as the Midewiwin were still important to the Wisconsin Chippewa despite missionary activity (Ritzenthaler 1978:754). The Late Historic II period saw the Chippewa adopt the nativistic Dream Dance (circa 1878) from their former enemies, the Dakota. Indeed, the Dream Dance fostered peace between the two groups. Vennum sums up the condition of the Wisconsin Chippewa during the Late Historic II period and the reasons why nativistic movements such as the Dream Dance succeeded:

> By the end of the century, having lost most of their land, living in crowded one-room log cabins (or traditional wigwams), subjected to an unhealthy diet, and plagued with tuberculosis and hereditary syphilis, with its attendant high infant mortality rate, the Ojibwa were both culturally and materially

impoverished . . . (Vennum 1982:28).

LATE HISTORIC III CHIPPEWA (OJIBWA)

The beginning of the Late Historic III period found the Chippewa living on reservations in northern Wisconsin, or, in the case of the St. Croix and Mole Lake bands, living where they could within their former territories. Archeological material from sites dating to the beginning of the Late Historic III Period shows that the basic economic pattern was the use of available natural resources along with the incorporation of a cash economy (Birmingham 1984).

White pressure on Chippewa lands continued. In 192l, the Northern States Power Company built a dam near Winter in Sawyer County, just off the Lac Court Oreilles Reservation. By 1924 the dam had flooded 6,000 acres of reservation land. Chippewa graves and homes were flooded, and the fluctuating water level destroyed wild rice beds which before 1920 had been a source of both food and income for some Lac Court Oreilles Chippewa. The deeper water was not suitable for panfish and waterfowl, which had also been dependable resources for the Chippewa diet (Lurie 1980:54-56).

The Chippewas in the 1940s were living in disheartening poverty, and many of their traditions were disappearing (Caudill 1949, Ritzenthaler 1953). This was despite the fact that the Indian "New Deal" under the Indian Reorganization Act finally allowed both the Mole Lake and St. Croix bands in 1936 to receive about 1,700 acres each (Lurie 1980:10,41). Straitened economic conditions during the Depression contributed to the decline of both the Midewiwin and the Drum Dance, as the price required for an individual to hold a Drum Dance or a Mide became prohibitive. Pressure from white society also contributed to the decline, and the attendance of Chippewa youth at reservation schools removed them from exposure to more traditional values and led to secularization of their world view. Peyotism also made inroads on the Drum Dance, despite original opposition from older people and especially from Mide priests who feared that peyote use would interfere with the Midewiwin (Vennum 1982:127-138,142,144-145; Ritzenthaler 1953:189).

Ritzenthaler, who did most of his fieldwork in the Lac Court Oreilles Reservation, found that in the 1940s the traditional economy had survived to a "considerable" extent. Hunting, fishing, wild ricing, berrying, and maple sugaring continued, but "store-bought" food was also used. The meager cash income came mainly from seasonal occupations such as guiding, lumbering, and farm labor at harvest time. Houses were usually small log cabins or frame houses. The traditional elm or birchbark wigwams were used as storage huts or sometimes as dwellings at wild rice camps (Ritzenthaler 1953:177).

During the 1940s the Midewiwin ceremonies were still held, and traditional medical and religious specialists were still seen, but many Chippewas were Catholic. The clan system did not function in most instances (Ritzenthaler 1953:177; 1978:756). Children were sent to schools. For instance, those from the Lac du Flambeau Reservation attended the Federal Day School there. As a result, traditional crafts were declining because there was less time and opportunity for parents to teach them (see Vennum 1982). Fasting and the vision quest were rare during the early 1940s when Ritzenthaler did his fieldwork, and the children had little knowledge of traditional Chippewa culture. Some spoke only English. Their parents were frequently bilingual and followed some Chippewa customs, although they adopted many elements of Euro-American culture. The older people often spoke only Chippewa and used the old ways (Ritzenthaler 1953:177,200).

The Chippewa were very concerned with their health, and as Ritzenthaler points out, with good reason. Tuberculosis was severe due to the poor economic conditions. The average life expectancy was 30.8 years, and infant mortality was high, even though 85 percent of births were in hospitals (Ritzenthaler 1953:200,222).

The Chippewa attempted to partly allieviate their poverty by holding ceremonials during the summers for tourists, with participants earning $12 to $15 a night. But the Chippewa have remained poor, and set apart by the attitudes of their neighbors (Ritzenthaler 1953:135-136, Barnett 1956:67,69).

Each Chippewa reservation in Wisconsin is administered separately by a locally-elected tribal governing body. Recent years have seen more attempts by the Chippewa to exercise self-government and improve their economic conditions. Treaty rights to fish on Lake Superior are important for Chippewa commercial fishers, and the application of hunting and fishing treaty rights to off-reservation lands and inland lakes will be settled in court because of legal disputes with the state of Wisconsin.

The Chippewa are still economically deprived compared to the white society around them. Some Chippewa have migrated to large cities to find work (in 1972, 1,500 Chippewa lived in Milwaukee), though close ties to the reservation are maintained by frequent visits (Ritzenthaler 1978:758-759).

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types

Early and Middle Historic Chippewa (Ojibwa). Villages, winter hunting camps, spring sturgeon spearing camps, gardens, cemeteries, trading posts.

Late Historic I Chippewa (Ojibwa). Villages, hunting camps, ricing stations, maple sugar camps, fishing camps, cemeteries, mission churches, mission schools, trading posts.

Late Historic II Chippewa (Ojibwa). Villages, hunting camps, ricing stations, maple sugaring stations, cemeteries, mission churches and schools, Indian agencies.

Late Historic III Chippewa (Ojibwa). Towns, villages, homesteads, ricing stations, sugar camps, mission schools, Indian agencies.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types

Early and Middle Historic Chippewa (Ojibwa). Northern Wisconsin, especially Chequamegon Bay, Madeline Island, and Lac Court Oreilles.

Late Historic I Chippewa (Ojibwa). Northern Wisconsin.

Late Historic II Chippewa (Ojibwa). Archeological resources in northern Wisconsin, and along Lake Michigan.

Late Historic III Chippewa (Ojibwa). Northern Wisconsin.

Previous Surveys. Early and Middle Historic Chippewa (Ojibwa): Birmingham and Salzer 1984. Late Historic I Chippewa (Ojibwa): Beloit College Northern Lakes Project; Burnett County Historical Society work. Late Historic II Chippewa (Ojibwa): Beloit College Northern Lakes Project, Burnett County Historical Society Survey, Beloit College work on Madeline Island. Late Historic III Chippewa (Ojibwa): Burnett County Historical Society.

Survey Needs

Early and Middle Historic Chippewa (Ojibwa). Inventory of manuscript references and museum collections pertaining to Early and Middle Historic Period Chippewa. Identification and excavation of winter hunting camps and villages in interior.

Late Historic I Chippewa (Ojibwa). The survey, location, and excavation of inland village or villages, occupied at various times in the Late Historic I period in order to compare and contrast it or them to the Marina Site is needed. The documentation of changes in Chippewa social and material culture through this period and the preparation of a bibliography of Chippewa material in collections is necessary.

Late Historic II Chippewa (Ojibwa). A bibliography of Chippewa material in collections is needed. Oral histories from old people should be collected, as was done in Burnett County and St. Croix band. Archeological study should include excavation of sites from different parts of the period, to enable investigators to observe any changes in material culture. Identification of buildings or sites associated with significant Chippewa people is also needed.

Late Historic III Chippewa (Ojibwa). The compilation of bibliography of Chippewa

material from all collections is needed as is the collection of oral histories from older Chippewa (such as St. Croix Band did). A historical and architectural survey for significant properties and community study and history.

Research Needs

Early and Middle Historic Chippewa (Ojibwa): The Middle Historic occupation at the Marina site was dealt with as a unit; further investigations at the site might attempt to define any microstratigraphy and hence changes in time through the Middle Historic occupation. Chippewa tradition that certain inland lakes were used as hunting grounds should be tested archeologically, and the extent of Chippewa use of northern Wisconsin prior to the conflict with the Dakota should be determined. Also, an interior village should be excavated to compare to the Marina site in terms of subsistance, range of activities, season of occupation, etc.

Late Historic I Chippewa (Ojibwa): Changes hypothesized in the social organization and subsistance of the Late Historic I period Chippewa need to be confirmed archeologically. Also, differences among the different Chippewa villages should be examined, both archeologically and in collections and manuscripts so that the origin of differences apparent among the later Chippewa groups can be traced. A survey of the effects of warfare with the Dakota on the Chippewa should be undertaken. Hickerson suggests that certain areas in northern Wisconsin were not used by the Chippewa for ecological reasons. These include parts of southwestern Douglas County, southern Ashland and eastern Sawyer counties, parts of Marathon County north of Eau Pleine River and west of the Wisconsin River, and eastern Taylor County (Hickerson 1974b:234). This supposition should be tested archeologically.

Late Historic II Chippewa (Ojibwa): There are geographic and historic differences among the six Chippewa reservations during the Late Historic II period, that are little documented. The effects of these differences have not been examined in depth either. Also needing further study are the changes forced upon Chippewa socio-political organization and subsistance after confinement to reservations and the loss of resources and self-determination.

Late Historic III Chippewa (Ojibwa): Community study should follow up on the studies done in the 1940s to record the development of the Chippewa's economic and political power. Differences between the Bad River and the Lac du Flambeau reservations were apparent in the 1950s, and studies of each of the reservation groups should be conducted to enable comparison among the groups (Barnett and Baerreis 1956:69). It was reported that in 1972 most people on Wisconsin Chippewa reservations knew their clan affiliations and that ideally one married outside one's own clan (Ritzenthaler 1972:753). Also, institutions such as the Dream Dance were in decline (Vennum 1982:132). Which Chippewa institutions still persist, and the question of whether these are in decline or affected by the new spirit of Native American revitalization can be answered by anthropological fieldwork. The effect of the hunting and fishing rights controversy on the economics of the various Chippewa groups (and on Chippewa-white relations) should be examined.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Marina Site, Town of La Pointe, Ashland County (NRHP 1978)
La Pointe Indian Cemetery, Town of La Pointe, Ashland County (NRHP 1977)
Marina Site, Town of La Pointe, Ashland County (NRHP 1978)
Northwest and XY Company Trading Post Sites (1802), Town of Union, Burnett County (NRHP 1974)

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See "Indian Nomenclature and the Chippewas" by Hiram Calkins.

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Temporal Boundaries: Early Historic Eastern Dakota: (1634-1670), Middle Historic Eastern Dakota: (1670-1760), Late Historic Eastern Dakota: (1760-circa 1850).

Spatial Boundaries: Early Historic Eastern Dakota: Northwestern and western Wisconsin; Middle Historic Eastern Dakota: Northwestern and western Wisconsin; Late Historic Eastern Dakota: Western Wisconsin.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

EARLY HISTORIC EASTERN DAKOTA

The Eastern Dakota, a Siouan-speaking group, were probably the principal inhabitants of the Upper Mississippi River when Europeans first visited the area (Mason 1983:71). Kay believes that the Eastern Dakota occupied Wisconsin as far east as the upper Wisconsin River, and also occupied the St. Croix country. She adds "early records on the Sioux [Eastern Dakota] are not very specific" (Kay 1977:389).

Attempts to match the Eastern Dakota to one of the archeological cultures in northern and western Wisconsin have been unsuccessful. Ritzenthaler (1949:37) links the Santee Sioux [Eastern Dakota] to a Woodland type of culture (i.e., cord-marked ceramics tempered with grit) (Ritzenthaler 1949:37). McKern's (1963:54) claim that the Spencer Lake Mounds (Bt-2) date to the early historic period is based on McKern's identification of an axe cut mark on a charred piece of wood from the floor of one of the mounds. However, radiocarbon dates from this site indicate that it was occupied several hundred years before the Early Historic Period (Boszhardt 1977:129-131).

The Eastern Dakota ca. 1656 were described by Nicholas Perrot as living in swampy territory; "nothing but lakes marshes, full of wild oats . . . in a tract 50 leagues square with the Mississippi River flowing through the middle of the tract." The Dakota were further described as living in small villages of five or six families. They used canoes to travel through their marshy territory (Blair 1911, vol. 1:166-167). The Dakota collected wild rice heavily and ate acorns, roots, and tree bark in wartime when they were forced into hiding (Blair 1912, vol. 2:33).

Radisson visited the Eastern Dakota on two of his voyages, both probably in the early 1660s. On his Superior Voyage (ca. 1663-1665?), Radisson wintered inland south of Lake Superior in Dakota territory "with their leave" (Adams 1961:vi,xi). The Eastern Dakota participated in a Feast of the Dead held in northern Wisconsin in the 1660s which was witnessed by Radisson (Hickerson 1960:89; Scull 1943:207). As part of the ritual at the Feast of the Dead, the Dakota held a Calumet Ceremony (Scull 1943:207-208). Apparently no ossuary was constructed at the Feast, but the bones of the dead were exchanged among the participants to strengthen friendships and renew alliances (Hickerson 1960:92).

It is not always possible to determine to which Indian group Radisson was referring. Radisson wrote of the Nadouaceronon, apparently the Eastern Dakota, whom he also refers to as the Nation of the Beef (Adams 1961:134). In other places the Nadouaceronon and the Nation of the Beef appear to be different tribes (e.g., Adams 1961:148). One of Radisson's descriptions of the Nation of the Beef, which may or may not refer to the Eastern Dakota, describes the Nation as living in a town with large cabins covered with skins and mats, and having 7,000 male residents (Scull 1943:220). Some corn was planted, but it apparently was not a staple. The country that the Nation of the Beef lived

in was cold, and no wood was available. Men were permitted to have as many wives as they could support. It is possible that the distinction later drawn between the "Sioux des Lacs" and the "Sioux des Prairies" may have also been made during the Early Historic Period. Wozniak believes that in the seventeenth century the Dakota were divided into two groups due to the geographic separation caused by the Mississippi River (Wozniak 1978:3). Such a division may explain some of the confusion about Radisson's "Nation of the Beef."

Mason describes the Eastern Dakota "tribe" as a series of autonomous villages of 200 to 300 people, each having a headman (Mason 1983:71-75). There was no tribal council or any form of tribal organization. Pan-tribal groups such as sodalities that often foster group solidarity were absent among the Eastern Dakota. The larger, permanent villages broke up into smaller and usually related groups for hunting or other specific activities. It may have been this dispersed part of the yearly cycle that Perrot described (see above). Subsistence was based on bison hunting and wild rice harvesting; riverine environments also were heavily exploited.

MIDDLE HISTORIC EASTERN DAKOTA

In the beginning of the Middle Historic Period, the Dakota were still living in western and northwestern Wisconsin. Warfare between the Eastern Dakota and the Huron-Petun-Ottawa at Chequamegon drove the latter from northern Wisconsin, but hostilities between the Dakota and the Algonkian-speaking tribes to the south and east may have forced the Dakota further west (Hickerson 1974:59-60,74-75).

In about 1680, some Eastern Dakota were reported in a village of about 1,000 people on the Mississippi near the mouth of the Buffalo River. They possessed large quantities of buffalo meat and had been hunting up the Buffalo River (Mason 1983:73). The east bank of the Mississippi River, at least south of the Buffalo River, was considered dangerous due to "enemy" presence. Maple sugar was mentioned as a food resource of the Eastern Dakota in 1701 (Hickerson 1974:58,67). Raudot (Kinietz 1940:366) describes the "Sioux" of ca. 1709 as being sedentary in the summer, living along lakes and rivers, but not gardening. A slightly more detailed description from Raudot in 1710 (possibly referring to the Dakota in Minnesota) states that the Dakota lived in marshy country, subsisting on game and wild rice, and building huts roofed with deerskin instead of bark. The Dakota described by Raudot had no contact with missionaries, and little to do with the fur trade (Kinietz 1940:378-379). By 1721, however, some Dakota went to Green Bay, possibly to trade, and in September of 1727 the French established Fort Beauharnois on the bank of Lake Pepin, specifically to trade with the Dakota (Thwaites, ed. vol. 16:417). Father Grignon, who accompanied the expedition, wrote the following:

> As soon as we had arrived among them they assembled in a very few days around the French fort to the number of 95 cabins, which would amount in all to 150 men, for there are at the most two men in each of their portable cabins of dressed skins, and in many there is only one . . . [here a distinction is made between the "Sioux" along the Mississippi River, and the "Sioux" of the prairies.] At the end of November the savages departed for their winter quarters. It is true that they did not go far away and that there were always some to be seen during the winter. But since the second of last April, when several cabins of them repassed here to go to their spring hunting, none of them have been seen." (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:27).

Fort Beauharnois was later abandoned. In 1732 the French made another attempt to establish a trading post for the Eastern Dakota. Sixty-two cabins of Dakota gathered at Trempealeau where Sieur Linctot spent the winter (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:168-169).

In late April 1740, some Dakota were reported on the Wisconsin River, possibly on their way home from winter hunting (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:323,336). In 1750, "Sioux des

Lacs" and "Sioux des Prairies" occasionally came to Green Bay to trade, though the Eastern Dakota usually traded at Chequamegon and later at the Mississippi River posts (Thwaites 1908, vol. 18:184; Kay 1977:389).

It is thought that during the Middle Historic Period the Dakota settlements were led by small "patrilineally-descended" headmen, each assisted by a village council (Wozniak 1978:23). Later in the period, when the French built forts in Dakota territory, the Dakota may have been drawn more under the European influence than they were when Raudot reported on them. However, it is unknown to what extent, or if, participation in the fur trade, or European influences affected the Middle Historic Period Dakota.

The most far-reaching event of the Middle Historic Period for the Eastern Dakota was the beginning of warfare with the Ojibwa, circa 1736 (Hickerson 1962:12). Before that, the Ojibwa had been friends and allies of the Eastern Dakota, and entered the interior of Wisconsin and Minnesota to hunt and trade with the permission of the Dakota. The warfare was sporadic, but the game-rich transition zone between forest and prairie, which Hickerson (1962:12) suggests was the bone of contention, became dangerous for either group to occupy or exploit. The Ojibwa forced the Dakota farther south and west, and by the mid-eighteenth century the Dakota had abandoned northwestern Wisconsin (Kay 1977:167).

LATE HISTORIC EASTERN DAKOTA

The warfare between the Eastern Dakota and the Ojibwa over the "debatable zone" continued well into the nineteenth century (See, e.g., Armstrong 1972; Palmer 1978). From the British garrison at Milwaukee, Lt. Gorrell wrote in 1762 that the Dakota were at war with the Ojibwa (Draper, ed. vol. 1:32,36). Dakota territory in Wisconsin was bounded on the south at Lake Pepin and continued north along the Mississippi. But by 1766, the Ojibwa were raiding as far south as Lake Pepin (Mason 1983:74). Later in the period the Dakota moved farther south along the Mississippi, eventually abandoning the Chippewa River Valley (Kay 1977).

During this period, it is possible to connect the Eastern Dakota in Wisconsin to one of the recorded bands forming the historic Dakota, the Mdewakanton (Wozniak 1978:4). Mdewakanton were at La Crosse in 1805. They claimed the land in Wisconsin between Prairie du Chien and the St. Croix River (Kay 1977:412). By the 1820s and 1830s, the Mdewakanton occupied two villages on the west bank of the Mississippi between Prairie du Chien and Lake Pepin, and from these bases hunted in Western Wisconsin (Hickerson 1962:93; Kay 1977:275,412). Grignon mentions "Sioux" (probably Mdewakanton) trading at Prairie du Chien during this period (Pierce 1914:924; see also Hickerson 1934:142).

During the War of 1812, the Eastern Dakota supported the British, and in the service of the British camped in large groups in places such as Green Bay and the Wisconsin River (Hickerson 1974:139).

Grignon met a large camp of Dakota at Fountain City (Buffalo County) in the winter of 1847, and in the spring of 1850 met another group of Dakota camped at Marshland (in Buffalo County on the west bank of the Trempealeau River), from whom Grignon bought a canoe. The Dakota at Marshland had been trapping in the Trempealeau River area and had caught beaver, otter, marten, mink and muskrat pelts. Grignon mentions using a Dakota "hut" of buffalo hides, which he found "as comfortable as one could wish" (Pierce

1914:118).

There are few references to the Late Historic Period Dakota in Wisconsin. At the beginning of the period, the eastern tributaries of the Mississippi and St. Croix were probably used when the area was safe. Hickerson (1974) believes that by the end of the period only a thin strip along the Mississippi in Wisconsin was exploited as hunting territory by Dakota who were then based in Minnesota. By 1857 they had been moved to a narrow strip of land along the southern bank of the Minnesota River (Wozniak 1978:10).

Based on historical accounts and ethnographies, Wozniak suggests that the Eastern Dakota of this period had a patrilineal social organization, with no clans (Wozniak 1978:15,17). Some matrilocal tendencies were also noted. The Dakota at that time were famed for their leather working--the wigwams, blankets and carpets were all made of buffalo skins--and were also known as pipe-makers (Pierce 1914:128-129,134).

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types

Early Historic Eastern Dakota. Large villages, hunting and fishing camps, ricing stations, kill sites (?), cemeteries/mounds, trading posts.

Middle Historic Eastern Dakota. Villages, hunting camps, trading posts, cemeteries, ricing stations.

Late Historic Eastern Dakota. Villages?, winter hunting and trapping camps, trading posts, cemeteries?.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types

Early Historic Eastern Dakota. Along lakes and rivers in northern and western Wisconsin.

Middle Historic Eastern Dakota. Villages, hunting camps, ricing stations, cemeteries along rivers and lakes in northern and western Wisconsin, trading posts at Trempealeau and Lake Pepin.

Late Historic Eastern Dakota. Camps along streams and rivers in western Wisconsin, cemeteries? near camps, trading posts--Prairie du Chien and western Wisconsin.

Previous Surveys. None.

Survey Needs

Early Historic Eastern Dakota. First and most important is the survey, location, and identification of Eastern Dakota sites from the Early Historic Period. Attempts should be made to locate and excavate sites representative of each part of the yearly round of activities.

Middle Historic Eastern Dakota. Survey, identification, and excavation of villages, camps and ricing stations to identify artifact types associated with Middle Historic Period Dakota, and determination of the extent of Eastern Dakota occupation in Wisconsin during the Middle Historic Period.

Late Historic Eastern Dakota. The identification, location, and excavation of camps (and possibly villages occupied early in the period) is needed. Examination of historical documents and accounts to gather further information on the Wisconsin Dakota is also necessary.

Research Needs

Early Historic Eastern Dakota. Identification of the archeological culture(s) representing the Eastern Dakota is critical, as is determination of the extent of Eastern Dakota occupation in Wisconsin at this time. It is unclear if the Dakota were permanent occupants at Northern Wisconsin or only exploited it for hunting. Archeological confirmation of the subsistence patterns and yearly cycle mentioned in the early reports. Mason (1983:72) suggests that future work on the Eastern Dakota should study problems in ecological adaptation and the effects on site patterning that come with the introduction of a new hunting technology and the horse. To these I would add, in addition to research concerning the hunting technology, that questions need to address the fur trade and

connections to mercantile capitalism.

Middle Historic Eastern Dakota. The identification of the archeological culture which represents Middle Historic Eastern Dakota in Wisconsin has not been resolved. Neither has the extent of their occupation. The suggestion that the Dakota used Wisconsin during this period for fall and winter hunting only should be tested archeologically.

Kay (1977:167) suggests that the Eastern Dakota occupied prairie and swamp lands in western Wisconsin at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Kay 1977:167). This preference should be tested archeologically.

Likewise, the effects of warfare with the Dakota and of increasing European influence should be explored by comparing archeological sites from the Early and early Middle Historic Periods to those of a later date.

Late Historic Eastern Dakota. The area in Wisconsin which was thought to be controlled by the Dakota during this period should be validated. Also, archeological sites should be studied with special attention paid to those sites which may yield information on the effects of the sporadic warfare with the Ojibwa on the socio-political organization and subsistence system of the Dakota. Also, determination of the degree of acculturation at various times during this period may allow inter-tribal comparisons of the patterns of acculturation and the development of Pan-Indianism during this period (after Quimby 1966).

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Rice Lake Mounds, Rice Lake, Barron County (NRHP 1979)

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Temporal Boundaries: Early Historic Fox: (1650-1670), Middle Historic Fox: (1670-1760), Late Historic I Fox: (1760-1816).

Spatial Boundaries: Early Historic Fox: Green Bay and Upper Wolf River; Middle Historic Fox: Green Bay, Fox River Valley, Lake Winnebago, lower Wisconsin River; Late Historic Fox: Lower Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers in southwest Wisconsin.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

EARLY HISTORIC FOX

The Fox (or Mesquawkie, Outagami, or Renards) are a Central Algonquian group originally located in the lower peninsula of Michigan.(Callender 1962:2; 1978b:636; Wittry 1963:41). They were probably pushed out of Michigan by Iroquoian (possibly Neutral) pressure (Callender 1962:2; 1978b:636; Wittry 1963:41; Thwaites, ed. 1902, vol. 16:70; see Trigger 1976). It is unknown when they arrived in Wisconsin.

Around 1665-1666, the Fox moved to an area 30 leagues from Green Bay to get trade goods. Here they formed a large village of more than 600 cabins. At this point, the Fox used stone and shell tools and had only a few European hatchets. They also had few beavers to trade for European goods, which suggests that they were not yet involved in the fur trade (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:38-39).

A Jesuit account of the Fox about 1665-1668 speaks of them as a populous tribe of about 1,000 warriors that was given to hunting and warfare (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:56). The Fox had fields of maize, and lived in territory where they had "excellent facilities" for hunting raccoon, deer, buffalo, and beaver. They did not use canoes, preferring to travel by land.

Some Fox were resident in a mixed village of 600 people on Green Bay which was visited in December 1669, when most of the Indians on Green Bay had already left on their winter hunt (Kay 1977:160). Some or all of the four villages around Green Bay which were mentioned by Allouez around 1670 may have had Fox inhabitants (Kinietz 1940:309).

In April of 1670, Allouez went to visit the Fox. Arriving at their inland village on April 24th, he found the warriors there numbered more than 400. There was a greater number of women and children. The village, or "fort," was surrounded by cleared land on which maize was grown. Allouez noted that the black soil in the area was excellent for growing corn. The "cabins" of the fortified village were made of heavy bark. On journeys, the Fox used cabins of mats. Apparently, these journeys were on foot, as canoes were still not used by the Fox. During the winter, the Fox lived by hunting. Toward the end of the winter, the Fox returned to their cabins (in the village) and lived there on maize seasoned with fish which had been stored the previous autumn.

The Fox village may have broken up into smaller groups for the winter hunt. For example, in March before Allouez's arrival, six "large cabins" of Fox were attacked by a party of Seneca, who attacked the six warriors left in the cabins with over 100 women and children. All were killed except 30 women who were taken captive. The rest of the men were away hunting. The six cabins were camped two days journey from the Jesuit winter quarters at the foot of Lake Michigan (Green Bay?) (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:69-70).

Ouestatinong, the village visited by Allouez in 1670, was identified by George R. Fox as the Leeman Site (Ou-46) on the Wolf River in Outagamie County (Fox 1916:18). Testing there in 1956 revealed post molds in the pentagonal embankment at the site, and the cache pits and garden beds reported by Fox were noted. Although some historic artifacts were found, no conclusive evidence was recovered to prove that the site was Ouestatinong (Wittry 1963:42).

MIDDLE HISTORIC FOX

During the Middle Historic Period, the Fox tried to set themselves up as middlemen in the fur trade, by controlling the Fox-Wisconsin Portage and restricting French access to the interior (Mason 1983:81). This resulted in the Fox-French wars which decimated the Fox.

A French map of 1670-1671 showing the "Outagami" east of the Wolf River and west of Green Bay and the Fox River, and Marquette's 1674 map, apparently indicated that the Fox were at Ouestatinong (Clifton 1977:7). In February 1671, the Mission of St. Mark was founded among the Outagami at Ouestatinong, and because of this more information is available on their culture (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:82). In 1672, Fr. Allouez mentioned four groups in a harangue of the Fox, which Goddard suggests were exogamous patrilineal clans living in separate villages, or areas. Goddard also suggests that the Fox may have originally had a moiety system with religious, reciprocal functions involving the clans (Goddard 1975:135-137). One moiety may have furnished a civil chief, the other a war chief.

The four groups mentioned by Allouez, the Ouagoussak, the Makoua, the Makoucoue, Mikissioua, were probably separate residential groups, and probably the antecedents of four of the five principal clans of the later Fox (Goddard 1975:135).

By February of 1673 the Fox reportedly had lost many warriors to the Dakota, and an epidemic at Green Bay around 1681-1683 may have taken a number of Fox lives (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:88,101).

During the 1670s, the Fox hunted beaver during the winters, and left the village on winter hunts (Kay 1977:119). Allouez spent two months at Ouestatinong during the winter of 1675-1676, indicating that all of the Fox were not on the winter hunt. The hunt for beaver probably indicates the growing importance of the fur trade to the Fox around this time.

The Mission of St. Mark to the Outagami was abandoned in 1678. Sometime around 1678-1680, the Fox moved their principal village from Ouestatinong to west of Lake Winnebago, probably at Butte des Morts (Kay 1977:382; Wittry 1963:42). In 1679, Fox were reported near Green Bay, at Chicago (120 men), and at Milwaukee (Kay 1977:382). In 1683, only 200 Fox warriors were reported; the epidemics and warfare had taken their toll on a tribe once considered to be populous (Kay 1977:382). By 1698, the Fox controlled the Fox River, and some were at Milwaukee in the fall of 1698, and in Racine with the Mascouten and Potawatomi (Kay 1977:382; Stout et al 1974:291).

By 1709, Raudot grouped the Fox with the people of the prairies, and in 1710 he reported that the Fox could muster about 400 men, and lived several leagues from the Sauk (Kinietz 1940:366,382).

In 1710, a portion of the Fox moved from the Green Bay area to Detroit, lured by a new French trading policy (Stout et al 1974:294). Here the Fox and their Mascouten allies, in 1712, were attacked by other French-incited tribes while they were supposedly besieging the French fort at Detroit. After a siege of the Fox at Detroit, they surrendered to the French and their Indian allies. All of the Fox and Mascouten were killed except for the women and children and 100 men who managed to escape. Total Fox and Mascouten

losses are estimated at 1,000 men, women, and children killed. Another French source reported 800 Fox and Mascouten killed at Detroit, and about 200 Mascouten killed near the Grand River (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:270-271,284,288-289). Some of the Fox who survived the warfare near Detroit took refuge with the Seneca. However, the Fox near Green Bay were still able to assemble 200 warriors (Hunter 1956:11).

After this defeat, the Fox killed some Frenchmen in revenge, and the French, not understanding the Fox rationale for revenge, wrote that the Fox "persist in their insolence" (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:312; See Wallace 1982).

The year 1712 marked the beginning of what have been called the Fox wars, typified by hostility between the French and the Fox and by French-incited attacks by other tribes against the Fox (Callender 1978b:644). The French-Fox wars ended in 1737 when the Fox and Sauk sued for peace and other tribes asked the French to spare the Fox and Sauk (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:274-275). In addition to the Fox need for revenge after the defeat at Detroit, the Fox also opposed the French trading arms, etc. to the Dakota, who were at that time enemies of the Fox (Callender 1978b:643-644).

Fox attempts to control the Fox-Wisconsin passage inspired a 1716 French expedition led by deLouvigny in order to "humble" the Fox. This expedition attacked the principal village of the Fox, a village fortified by three rows of palisades, with a ditch behind the palisades. Faced by grenades and French firepower, the Fox surrendered. Defenders of the village included 500 warriors and 3,000 women "who on these occasions fight desperately" (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:343).

The village attacked by deLouvigny has been identified as the Bell Site (Wn9), on the edge of a high bank on the south side of Lake Butte des Morts in Winnebago County. Part of the site has been destroyed by gravel pit operations. Archeological work revealed a portion of a palisade, rectangular, wall-trench houses (20 x 16 feet), and a small circular area about 12 feet in diameter that was probably a wigwam. Charred cattail matting and birchbark found there support this identification. Pottery was found at the site, as well as arrowpoints of native and European material. Trade goods dating to 1680-1730 were also present. Grenade fragments make it very likely that this was the village deLouvigny attacked in 1716. Wittry also presents arguments for the identification of this site as the principal village occupied by the Fox after their move south from Ouestatinong (Wittry 1963:42-43).

Also present at the Bell Site were bell or basin-shaped storage pits, pits for the disposition of bear skulls, and dog burials (see Wittry 1963; R.P. Mason 1983; Quimby 1966:118-125). Analysis of remains indicates that fish were heavily used, and deer, bear, and beaver were intensively hunted. Bird bones were not plentiful at the site (Parmalee 1963). Corn, squash, and wild plum were found in food pits at the site (Wittry 1963).

The French victory at the Bell Site did not gain the submission of the Fox. In 1718, the Fox along the Fox River were described as "a wily and mischievous nation," and "growing powerful" (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:360-361). The Fox at that time lived on the Fox River 18 leagues from the Sauk, with 500 men and great numbers of women and children. The Fox raised "extraordinary" crops of corn, hunted a great deal in their region and had an "abundance" of meat and fish (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:371-372). Some of the Fox fishing was done in the summer as indicated by reports of a party of Fox fishing in July (1723) at a lake (Winnebago?) between the Fox village and the post at Green Bay. By 1723, also, the Fox and the Sauk had intermarried (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:430,434).

Relations between the Fox and the French continued to be antagonistic. A summary of the French attitude may be found on pages one through seven in volume 17 of the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The Fox obviously did not see themselves as subjects of the French monarchy.

In August 1728, the French expedition to open a trading post for the Eastern Dakota passed a Fox village, on a "little eminence" on the banks of a "small" river, apparently the Fox River. Thick stands of wild rice were mentioned. This Fox village had simple bark cabins and was not fortified. There were at most 200 men in the village. The French were given some rather "fine sides" of dried meat by the Fox (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:23-24). There seemed to be two parties among the Fox at this time, one favoring an accomodation with the French and stating that they had never killed any French, and the other anti-French. The two parties were said to be separated into two "forts" a league apart (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:28).

Despite the hospitality offered by the Fox to the French expedition to the Dakota in the summer of 1728, de Lignery led a new French attack against the Fox. The number of Fox villages are variously given as two, three, or four. The French found the villages abandoned, and ordered the villages and "all the scattered cabins" to be burned, and the corn "of which there was so great a quantity that one could not believe it without seeing" cut. The Fox had escaped de Lignery by putting the old men, women, and children into more than 100 canoes and having the warriors follow on foot along the river bank to protect them (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:31-33).

After the 1728 expedition against them, the Fox hoped for shelter in Iowa territory, and tried to sue for peace. Some of the refugee Fox camped by the French fort at Lake Pepin, among whom were at least 30 men bearing arms (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:60,65-67,69-70).

By 1729, three Fox villages in eastern Wisconsin are again reported; one housed at least 100 people. In 1730, the Fox camped in two forts near a small island below Doty Island in Little Lake Butte des Morts near a Winnebago village, and attacked it (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:81,90). The Fox were then attacked by the French, but managed to slip away secretly (see also Radin 1915).

In 1730 the Fox retired to Illinois where they suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the French and their Indian allies. Many Fox were killed (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:110-113,129). After a move to southwestern Wisconsin, the Fox suffered another blow during the winter of 1732, when some Iroquois and Huron attacked 46 cabins in a village on the bank of the Wisconsin River. About 90 men attempted to defend the village, and most were killed. Approximately 80 women and children were also killed and 140 captured (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:150). This village was said to be five miles upriver from the mouth of the Wisconsin River (Kay 1977:391; Stout et al 1974:102). There was also at this time a small "fort" of nine Fox cabins on the Mississippi bank, and three cabins detached from it. It was reported that the Fox were at a disadvantage during this winter fight in the deep snow because they were not accustomed to wearing snowshoes. About 30 "True Renards" were said to live in the small fort of nine cabins, which was not attacked. The French explained the presence of so many Fox warriors still at large after the 1730 defeat in Illinois by the return of Fox that had been held captive by other tribes (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:150-151,153-154). French estimates of the Fox population may also have underestimated their numbers. A French report of 1732 (after the Iroquois and Huron attack) lists 50 to 60 men among the Fox, of whom 20 men and 30 or 40 women and children (10 cabins) had gone to Green Bay to the French. Four Fox cabins took refuge with the Kickapoo and Mascouten, two other cabins were on the St. Joseph River, and six cabins were wandering from place to place (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:168).

By 1733, some Fox had fortified themselves somewhere in northern Illinois, where they were attacked by Hurons, Ottawa, and Potawatomis (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:173). After still more deaths, they abandoned this fort and went to Green Bay to ask for mercy--population estimates for these Fox list 40 warriors and 10 boys between 10 to 12 years old (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:182). The Fox took refuge in the Sauk village near the

French fort at Green Bay. In September of 1783, the French demanded that the Sauk surrender the Fox, and tried to force their way into the Sauk fort. This led to a fight in which the French commander was killed. Three days after this, the Fox and Sauk slipped away from Green Bay (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:188-190). This marked the beginning of a close relationship between the Sauk and Fox, leading some to consider it a formal political alliance and the United States government later to consider the tribes as one political entity in land cessions and treaties (Sturtevant and Trigger 1978:636,649). However, the Fox and Sauk continued to maintain separate villages (Stout et al 1974:107; Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:206).

The Sauk and Fox took refuge in Iowa after fleeing Green Bay (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:206). In 1736, the Fox are listed as a migratory group, able to muster, when all together, some 100 warriors (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:249). Though the Fox had successfully sued for peace in 1737, by 1739 they dared not return to the Green Bay area (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:274-275). Reasons given by contemporary writers list Fox apprehension over French intentions and concern that the Green Bay area was not as "fertile" as it had been. In 1738, some Fox were still west of the Mississippi (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:315-318). By 1742, Fox were living on the Rock River of Illinois, and at Chicago and Milwaukee (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:404).

After about 1746, the surviving Fox established a village on the north bank of the Wisconsin River, about 21 miles above its mouth and a small distance below the creek below the mouth of the Kickapoo River (Draper, ed. 1857, vol. 3:208). Fox tradition says that around 1750-1753, the Fox village was treacherously destroyed by a French trader, though there is no evidence of this in official correspondence (Kellogg 1908:182-183).

LATE HISTORIC FOX

Beginning in the early eighteenth century, the Fox suffered severe population losses at the hands of the French and their Indian allies. Callender suggests that the Fox tried to maintain their populations through the repatriation of Fox captives from other tribes and through adoption of people from other tribes (Callender 1975:132; 1978b:636). Callender (1975:138) suggests further that the adoption of new people led to creation of new clans that did not fit into the traditional moiety-linked clans of religious and reciprocal functions. The moieties lost some functions that warrior societies took over. Despite these changes, Callender (1978b:636) feels that the evidence does not support the idea that this adoption introduced new customs that supplanted Fox customs.

During the Late Historic period, the Fox began to withdraw from Wisconsin. Several extensive accounts of Fox culture were written after the Fox moved from Wisconsin, but their applicability to the situation in Wisconsin is minimal.

It seems likely that the Fox village on the Wisconsin River was occupied at the beginning of this period. In 1762 Lt. Gorrell enumerated 350 Fox Indian warriors on the Fox River, though the Fox River location is not confirmed by other sources (Draper, ed. 1855, vol. 1:32). In October of 1766 Jonathan Carver visited the Fox village on the Wisconsin River, near Muscoda, and found it nearly deserted after an epidemic. The survivors had fled into the woods to avoid the disease (or to start their winter hunt). At that time, the village had about 50 houses (Stout et al 1974:166-167). Carver found a (Fox?) village about five miles above the mouth of the Wisconsin River in ruins, and learned that it had been deserted for 30 years. It is tempting to identify this site with the Fox village attacked by the Iroquois and Huron. According to Carver, the village he found at Prairie du Chien was built after the desertion of that village. Prairie du Chien was a neutral trading center with about 300 families living in it (Thwaites 1908, vol. 18:282-283). Carver noted that the Fox had been "much reduced" by wars (C.I. Mason 1983:81).

In 1774, Peter Pond visited the Fox village near Muscoda, and again found that the

village had recently suffered an epidemic. Pond noted that the Fox houses were like those in the Sauk village (see Late Historic I Sauk Study Unit) (Thwaites 1908, vol. 18:337). (In 1795, only a few remains of this village were seen by Augustin Grignon [Draper 1857, vol. 3:208].) The Fox may have been hunting in Iowa by this time (Kay 1977:153-154). By 1777, 300 to 350 Fox warriors were reported on the Mississippi River (Thwaites 1908, vol. 18:365). Around 1780, a party of 200 Fox on horseback, armed with spears and bows and arrows, was met at the junction of the Wisconsin and Mississippi Rivers (Stout et al 1974:191).

About 1780 the Fox moved from the lower Wisconsin to the Mississippi River between Prairie du Chien and the Rock River, and continued to hunt in Iowa (Kay 1977:164). Many of the Fox settlements seem to have been on the west side of the Mississippi in Iowa, or in western Illinois, though the Fox retained nominal control over part of southwest Wisconsin (Callender 1978b:644; Kay 1977:404). Part of the reason for the Fox move to the south may have been the wooing by the Spanish at St. Louis, who were eager for the Fox trade (Stout et al 1974:183-185). Attempts to establish hunting grounds to the north along the Mississippi River at the expense of the Dakota failed, and the Illinois tribes were an easier mark. Adoption of the horse may have made the exploitation of the prairies more profitable (Mason 1983:81; Kay 1977:404).

The Fox continued to exploit parts of Wisconsin, and in 1787 "many" Fox summered along the Mississippi near Prairie du Chien (Stout et al 1974:203). Some Fox lived at the Potawatomi village at Milwaukee at least in the 1790s (Kay 1977:392). Though the Fox ceded their Wisconsin land in 1804, a large Fox village called Penah (Turkey) was located in 1816 where Cassville is now (Lurie 1969:11). These Fox traded at Prairie du Chien (Draper 1856, vol. 2:131).

The first detailed accounts of Fox culture were written around 1820-1830, after the Fox had moved south and west of Wisconsin to a prairie environment. By this time, the subsistence cycle centered on deer, whose hides and tallow could be traded, though bison were also hunted. Hunting and trapping for the fur trade were also done, but fishing was "negligible" unless game animals were scarce. The Fox continued to be productive farmers, growing corn, beans, squash, pumpkins, and melons. They also mined surface deposits of lead. In the fall, the Fox left their villages and travelled west to their hunting grounds, where they broke into small scattered groups for hunting. When winter began the scattered groups gathered in larger camps in sheltered river valleys. In the early spring small parties of men went hunting while their families remained in camp. When the hunters returned about April, the band returned as a group to the village. Crops were planted in May and June, and the men went hunting. The rest of the Fox tended the crops or mined lead. In August the men returned for the harvest (Callender 1978b:637,640).

Little is known about eighteenth century Fox culture, but in the nineteenth century the Fox bands were fluid groups that hunted together in winter, and came together to form villages during the summer (Callender 1978b:636). Fox summer lodges housed extended families. They were usually about 20 feet wide and 40 to 60 feet long. They were built of bark on a pole frame. In winter camps, the dwellings were pole-frameworks covered with cattail mats (Callender 1978b:637).

The Bear and Fox clans provided, respectively, the peace and war leaders. The Fox council was composed of men known for wisdom, military skill, or bravery. The civil chief was chairman of the council, at which decisions were made by consensus after discussion (Wallace 1982:249-250). There was some evidence of matrilocality among the Fox (Callender 1978:639). For more information on Fox kinship see Callender (1978a, 1978b).

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types

Early Historic Fox: Fortified villages, smaller hunting camps, agricultural fields, cemeteries, missions.

Middle Historic Fox: Villages (some fortified), hunting camps, small settlements, French posts, fishing camps, agricultural fields, cemeteries, missions.

Late Historic Fox: Villages, hunting camps, small settlements, trading posts, agricultural fields, cemeteries, lead mining sites.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types

Early Historic Fox: On Green Bay and Upper Wolf River in northeastern Wisconsin.

Middle Historic Fox: Along Green Bay-Fox River-Lake Winnebago axis and lower Wisconsin and Mississippi Rivers.

Late Historic Fox: Along lower Wisconsin and Mississippi Rivers.

Previous Surveys

None.

Survey Needs

Early Historic Fox: Archeological survey to identify Fox village and camp sites is needed. This should be followed by excavation and analysis of material from Fox habitation sites. The compilation of a bibliography of material in archeological collections from Fox sites is also necessary.

Middle Historic Fox: Survey, identification, excavation, and analysis of Fox village and camp sites from the beginning, middle, and end of the Middle Historic Period.

Late Historic Fox: Survey, identification, excavation, and analysis of Fox habitation sites is needed as is the compilation of a bibliography of Fox material in collections.

Research Needs

Early Historic Fox: Confirmation of the location of Fox sites and artifact types is a necessary first step in any further research. Information from the study of archeological sites should give us a clearer picture of the Fox yearly subsistence cycle to evaluate the brief account by Allouez. Evidence of the importance of corn and of the various animal and wild plant foods should be obtained. Indications of the importance of the fur trade to the Early Historic Fox should be obtained from the study of archeological sites. The Early Historic Fox sites in Wisconsin should provide a baseline against which prehistoric Fox sites in Michigan and Middle and Late Historic I Period Fox sites in Wisconsin can be measured.

Middle Historic Fox: Confirmation of the location of the other Fox villages reported in the historic records is an important step in further research. During this period, the Fox were almost constantly on the defensive, attacked by the French and enemies among the other tribes. There is some evidence (see above) that population loss during this period led to changes in Fox culture, but, although French accounts dwell on what was considered the intransigence of the Fox, these accounts contain little information on Fox culture

(Callender 1978b:637). An attempt should be made to look for indications of members of other tribes settling among the Fox; archeological sites would be a prime source of evidence for this study.

The archeological record should also indicate changes in subsistence that might have accompanied the changes in habitat due to the movement from the lowlands of eastern Wisconsin to the valleys and ridges of western Wisconsin. Kay (1977:170)suggests that the Fox had adapted a subsistence cycle based on a prairie habitat even before their moves farther south and west in the Late Historic Period, and that the horse had been introduced to the Fox around 1720. Archeological evidence may confirm or contradict this suggestion. The French accounts and the archeological evidence from the Bell site indicate that agriculture, fishing, and hunting animals which were locally available were important to the Fox for at least part of their yearly cycle. Changes in house style and settlement pattern may indicate social changes among the Fox and/or a response to the pressure from the French and allied tribes.

Late Historic Fox: Confirmation of the location of the Fox villages reported in the historic accounts is an important first step in further research. Another area needing study is the extent of Fox occupation and exploitation of Wisconsin at the end of the Late Historic I Period. During this period, the historical accounts seem to indicate that the Fox were hunting west of the Mississippi. This should be tested archeologically by looking at Fox site types in Wisconsin and the faunal remains at Wisconsin Fox sites. Also, many of the reports on the Fox culture and subsistence cycle were written after the tribe had left Wisconsin. Besides the change in the subsistence-hunting cycle, there is also some evidence of social change since the Middle Historic Period. Fox houses reported from the Late Historic I Period are described as somewhat larger than those excavated at the Bell site, which may indicate an increase in family size, more extended families, or faulty reporting by observers. How far back into the Late Historic Period these traits persist is unknown, and archeological investigation may answer this question.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Rock Island Historic District, Town of Washington, Door County (NRHP 1972)

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Temporal Boundaries: Early Historic Huron-Tionnontate (Petun) (1650-1670).

Spatial Boundaries: Early Historic Huron-Tionnontate (Petun): Rock Island, Madeline Island and Chequamecon area, headwaters of Black River, Bald Island? on Mississippi?

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

EARLY HISTORIC HURON-TIONNONTATE

The Huron and Tionnontate (or Petun) were sedentary farming groups, speakers of Iroquoian languages, who lived at the south end of Georgian Bay in Ontario at the time of first European contact (Quimby 1966:114; Trigger 1976:27-29,32). The Tionnontate lived to the west of the Huron territory, and were differentiated politically, rather than culturally, from the Huron confederacy (Trigger 1976:92-93,941).

At the time of contact, the Huron lived in 18 to 25 stockaded villages; about six of the villages each had populations of 1,500 to 2,000 people (Trigger 1976:32). Agriculture (corn, beans, and squash) provided most of the Huron diet. Fishing was more important to the diet than hunting, although hunting was important in providing material for tools and clothing (Kinietz 1940:20,24; Quimby 1960:111; Trigger 1976).

Villages were moved about every 10 to 20 years, or when the fertility of the fields surrounding the villages had been depleted (Kinietz 1940:151). (It is estimated that a village of 1,000 people required at least 360 acres of land to support itself [Trigger 1976:40]). Fishing was an important fall activity for Huron men, and nets were set out a mile or more into Georgian Bay. At the fishing camps, the Huron lived in Algonkian-style round cabins instead of the Iroquoian longhouse, the structure used for housing at the villages (Trigger 1976:41).

Clans were present among the Huron and clan segments served on the council of each village. In Ontario, each of the Huron groups or tribes had a tribal council, and there was finally a confederacy-wide council (see Trigger 1976:56-58).

The Huron traded surplus corn to the northern Algonkian-speaking tribes for furs and later to trade to the French (Trigger 1976:351,353). During the Early Historic Period, the Huron became the middlemen for trading between the French along the St. Lawrence River and the northern Algonkian tribes (C.I. Mason n.d.). This was due to their skill in trading and their location with respect to the tribes of the northern interior.

Warfare with the Iroquois led to the decimation of the Huron in Ontario by 1649 (Trigger 1976). Some Huron (both those who had been converted by French missionaries and those who retained their traditional religion) fled to the Tionnontate for refuge, but the Tionnontate were attacked in turn by the Iroquois. Trigger (1976:776-777, 789) estimates that only about 500 Tionnontate-Huron refugees survived the decade, and the Tionnontate along with the Huron who took refuge with them abandoned their tribal lands in 1650.

The Huron may have received furs from Wisconsin as early as 1620 as a result of their role as middlemen (Kay 1979:403). After the destruction of the confederacy by the Iroquois, the Huron no longer played a role in the fur trade, and with the Tionnontate, they fled to the west (Stone and Chaput 1978:603). Sometime between 1650 and 1653,

probably 1650-165l, a group of Tionnontate, Huron, and Ottawa built a fortified village with a pentagonal palisade on Rock Island at the mouth of Green Bay (Blair 1911, vol. 1:148-149; R.J. Mason 1981:398,401; Trigger 1970:820). The Tionnontate probably made up more of the refugee population than did the Huron (Tooker 1978:398).

Archeological excavations at the site (Rock Island II Site) verified the existence of the stockade trench dug by the Huron-Tionnontate and Ottawa. Huron-Tionnontate ceramics and tools made from black bear jaws which are common on Huron and Tionnontate sites in Ontario were also recovered. Few European trade goods were found in the middens from this settlement at Rock Island (R.J. Mason 1981:397,403-404).

About 1653, Rock Island was abandoned due to reports of an imminent Iroquois attack (Trigger 1976:820). The Huron-Tionnontate and the Ottawa took temporary refuge with the Potawatomi, either along Green Bay or along the Lake Michigan shore (Trigger 1976:820; see Clifton 1977). Evidence from Radisson's accounts suggests that a handful of the Huron-Tionnontate returned to the site after this absence, and stayed until about 1658 or 1660 (Mason 1985). One hundred Huron men were listed as living on the Green Bay islands (Kay 1977:386). The Tionnontate lived along the Mississippi, possibly at "Bald Island" and also among the Huron. They eventually fortified themselves at the headwaters of the Black River (Blair 1911, vol. 1:164-165). Conflict with the Dakota seems to have driven the refugees from the Mississippi.

(There are four Black Rivers entirely or partially in the State of Wisconsin. Of these, the one most often taken as the "Black River" of the Huron-Tionnontate is that which rises in Taylor County and flows south into the Mississippi. Tooker (1978:398) indicates the Huron settled up this river. Deale maps the Black River as the river of that name rising in a lake along the Wisconsin-Michigan border and flowing north into Lake Superior east of the Montreal River (Deale 1958:306). In Trigger's map (1976:822), the source of the Black River is depicted about 50 miles south of Chequamegon, which may be an attempt to portray the Black River that flows into the St. Louis River near Superior, Wisconsin. So far, no one appears to have suggested the Black River in Sheboygan County flowing into Lake Michigan. Huron accompanying Radisson and Grosseilliers on their voyage to the Ottawa journeyed down the Montreal River as the shortest way to their homes, implying that the Black River flowing into Lake Superior may be the correct identification [Adams 1961:124; Scull 1943:193]).

After 1656, most of the Huron-Tionnontate refugees who fled to Wisconsin seem to have settled near the Ottawa at Chequamegon (Blair 1911, vol. 1:170). According to Trigger (1976:821), during the 1650s the Tionnontate-Huron lived mainly by hunting and fishing; frequent moves had disrupted the once-important agriculture. They were often on the edge of starvation. They became more similar to the the Algonkian-speaking tribes of the Upper Great Lakes both in their subsistence and in their political structure.

By 1665, though, the Huron-Tionnontate village at Chequamegon was large, and apparently prosperous (Quimby 1966:114). Jesuit accounts mention that the "Etionnontatehronnon" Hurons lived on fish and corn, but rarely upon game (Thwaites, ed. 1902, vol. 16:77). This was a return to the subsistence strategies practiced in Ontario. Chequamegon fisheries were very productive. Five hundred baptized persons are found among the Huron-Tionnontate at Chequamegon, which may indicate some population growth since the dispersion, possibly due in part to other refugees joining the group. Warfare between the Huron-Tionnontate and the Eastern Dakota is again mentioned (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:77). By 1670, the Huron-Tionnontate population in the village at Chequamegon was about 1,500 total, with 400 to 500 men (Kay 1977:387).

Some Huron-Tionnontate-type pottery has been found at the Cadutte Site on Madeline Island near La Pointe, along with artifacts such as pipes, triangular flint arrowheads, brass kettles, iron arrowheads, iron knife blades, and trade beads (Quimby 1966:115-116).

Trigger suggests that the Huron-Tionnontate encroachment on Eastern Dakota hunting grounds resulted in warfare that drove the Huron-Tionnontate eventually to Chequamegon. The conflict continued even after the move to Chequamegon, and in 1670 the Dakota succeeded in driving the Huron-Tionnontate from Chequamegon to Michilimackinac (Trigger 1976:820; Quimby 1966:114). Peace with the Iroquois also may have made the move to the east more attractive (Hickerson 1962:410).

The group of Huron and Tionnontate that began its association in 1649 eventually became the Wyandot tribe (R.J. Mason 1981:401; Trigger 1976:825).

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Palisaded villages, fishing camps, corn hills, agricultural fields, missions, cemeteries.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types. Madeline Island and Chequamegon Bay area, Rock Island, Lake Hewitt (?) in Iron County (headwaters of Black River?), Bald Island (?) in Mississippi River.

Previous Surveys. R.J. Mason (excavations at Rock Island), Leland Cooper (excavations at Madeline Island).

Survey Needs. Identification and scientific excavation of Huron-Tionnontate sites in northern Wisconsin (Chequamegon and the headwaters of the Black River) to provide a comparison to material from Rock Island and other Huron-Tionnontate sites. Also, more extensive study of material from Madeline Island.

Research Needs. One question is the degree of "Algonkianization" among the refugee Huron-Tionnontate. Trigger suggests that this increased during the 1650s, but the archeological evidence shows that earlier patterns of tools, pottery, and possibly long-houses were retained. The apparent rapid population growth also should be examined (from the 500 in 1650 estimated by Trigger to the 1,500 reported in 1670 by the Jesuits). Did more refugees join the Chequamegon group? What was the degree of natural population growth brought on by the stability and the fisheries at Chequamegon? Did members of other tribes marry into the refugees and attach themselves to the Huron-Tionnontate? An attempt should be made to trace the effects of warfare with the Eastern Dakota on the group at Chequamegon, and to identify the location of the settlement at the headwaters of the Black River.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Rock Island Historic District, Town of Washington, Door County (NRHP 1972)

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Temporal Boundaries: Early Historic Kickapoo (1634-1670), Middle Historic Kickapoo (1670-1760).

Spatial Boundaries: Early Historic Kickapoo: Southern Wisconsin, especially Green Lake County; Middle Historic Kickapoo: Southern Wisconsin, especially Green Lake County.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

EARLY HISTORIC KICKAPOO

The Kickapoo are an Algonquian-speaking group closely related to the Sauk, Fox, and Mascouten. They were first encountered by Europeans in southeastern Michigan or northwestern Ohio in 1640. By 1665, the Kickapoo were in Wisconsin, apparently as refugees from the Wars of the Iroquois (Callender et at 1978:656,662; Kay 1979:404).

In about 1665-66, the Kickapoos, along with the Miami, Mascouten and 15 cabins of the Illinois, moved toward Green Bay, settling about 30 miles south of Green Bay. After planting crops at the new settlement, the villagers left the settlement to hunt "cattle" (elk ?) (Kay 1977:384; Thwaites, ed. 1902, vol. 16:41). Both the planting of crops and the large communal hunt indicate that this move was completed by the summer. This (summer) communal hunt suggests that the Kickapoo living in the mixed settlements relied on large game and agriculture, a pattern thought to be characteristic of groups oriented toward a more open, prairie-oak biome.

The Kickapoo, along with the other groups in the village, may have been drawn to the Green Bay area by the availability of trade goods (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:41).

MIDDLE HISTORIC KICKAPOO

There are few references to the Kickapoo of the Middle Historic Period in Wisconsin. In 1669-70, Allouez said that the Kickapoo lived in a village four leagues from the Village of Mascouten, and described the Kickapoo as "mountaineers" (Silverberg 1957:72; Wood 1907:170). This village of the Kickapoo has been placed near Corning in Columbia County, near Ste. Marie in Green Lake County, in the Town of Rushford in Winnebago County, or at Alloa (Silverberg 1957:72). A site near Mt. Thom is often suggested because of the appellation "mountaineers" (Wood 1907:170-171).

Some Kickapoo lived in the village of the Mascouten in 1672 when Allouez visited the village, reporting 30 large cabins of the Kickapoo along with over 90 Miami cabins, 50 Mascouten cabins, 20 Illinois cabins and three Wea (Miami) cabins. This suggests a possible population of 120-300 Kickapoo families in the village (Silverberg 1957:73; Rusch l985; Kay 1977:384). In 1674, Marquette found that some Kickapoo still lived at the village of the Mascouten (Silverberg 1957:75). Father Hennepin met Fox, Mascouten, and Kickapoo along the Fox River between the Fox-Wisconsin Portage and Kaukauna in September of 1680 (Silverberg 1957:78). It is possible that this settlement is the village of the Mascouten again.

After about 1679, one group of Mascouten became associated with the Kickapoo, and most references to the Kickapoo in Wisconsin associated them with another group, especially the Mascouten (Callender et al 1978:668).

In about 1687, Lahontan found some Kickapoo on a small lake somewhere up the Fox River from Kaukauna. He mentions that there were only 30 to 40 adult males in the village, as the rest had gone beaver-hunting (this was in October) (Silverberg 1957:83). This fall separation may indicate that an autumn break-up into smaller groups for fall and winter hunting was part of the traditional Kickapoo pattern. It may also indicate that trapping of fur-bearers was already important to the Kickapoo as they were drawn into the fur trade.

In 1709 and 1710, the Kickapoo were referred to as a sedentary people of the prairies, living near the Fox Indians and joined to the Mascouten. These tribes were able to muster about 150 warriors between them (Kay 1977:393; Kinietz 1940:366,383).

About 1718, the Kickapoo and the Mascouten were reported as living together on a riverbank about 50 leagues from the Fox tribe in the direction of Chicago, and about 50 leagues from Chicago. The two tribes could assemble about 200 warriors between them. At that date the Kickapoo and the Mascouten used bows and arrows instead of guns and hunted the "stag afoot" (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:372). This preference for the bow and arrow is consistent with the Kickapoo's reputation as the most conservative tribe in the Illinois region (Bauxer 1978:599).

The Kickapoo were reported on the Wisconsin River in 1720 (Kay 1977:393). In 1721, the Kickapoo and the Mascouten were said to be living between the Fox River and the Illinois River. The tribes were noted as having "very few people" (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:409; Jones 1913:325). In 1736 the Kickapoo, having 80 warriors, were reported on the Fox River, and finally in 1757 the Kickapoo were recorded as trading at Green Bay (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:249; Jones 1913:329; Kay 1977:393). After this time, there are no references to Kickapoos in the territory of Wisconsin.

It is clear that references to the Wisconsin Kickapoo are not plentiful, especially when compared to the information recorded on the part of the tribe living in Illinois or Michigan. The references that do exist are uninformative. Few Europeans visited Kickapoo villages, and information on the traditional political system is sparse. The lack of Wisconsin Kickapoo references also suggests that their stay in Wisconsin as a tribe was brief (Bauxer 1978:599, Callender et al 1978:656,661).

Kickapoo of later periods relied on a subsistence base of agriculture with summer communal big game hunting and winter hunting and trapping in small dispersed groups (Callender et at 1978:656). The preference for prairie or ecotone areas in Wisconsin and the summer communal hunt reported for the Early Historic Period suggest that the Kickapoo of the Early and Middle Historic Periods followed a yearly cycle similar to that reported for later Kickapoo in other places (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:41; Kay 1977:384). Kickapoo did not use canoes and probably did not use wild rice extensively (Blair 1912, vol. 2:20).

There is little evidence on the Kickapoo social structure during this period. Some form of clan organization, with dual divisions approaching a true moiety system, existed (Callender 1978:613-616). Acculturation led to some changes in kinship terms and possibly in the relations the terms described (Callender 1962:26). Some cultural "leveling" may have taken place when the Kickapoo moved to the Fox River Valley-Green Bay area and met other tribes such as the Ottawa and possibly the Menominee and Potawatomi. The demands of the fur trade and the influence of the French were also important agents of social change during this period (Silverberg 1957:163). French missionary activity affected more than just the religious beliefs of the societies (see Silverberg 1957 for a discussion of this point). The Kickapoo, while drawn into the fur trade, are reported as resisting conversion (Callender et al 1978:662).

Kay (1978:124) believes that the Kickapoo began moving out of eastern Wisconsin partly

as the result of overhunting of large game animals during the latter half of the seventeenth century. Silverberg (1957) discusses the competition of the various French trading syndicates and their attempts to induce the tribes to settle within their sphere of influence.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types

Early Historic Kickapoo. Agricultural fields, trading posts, summer villages, communal hunting camps (summer), cemeteries, winter hunting camps.

Middle Historic Kickapoo. Agricultural fields, trading posts, summer villages, cemeteries, summer hunting camps, winter hunting camps.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types

Early Historic Kickapoo. Open, prairie-type areas of southern Wisconsin for village(s), Green Bay area trading post (Callender et al 1978:565).

Middle Historic Kickapoo. Prairie and ecotone areas in eastern and southern Wisconsin, especially along upper Fox River.

Previous Surveys None.

Survey Needs

Early Historic Kickapoo. Nothing has been done archeologically to investigate the Kickapoo in Wisconsin. Likewise, little is known of Kickapoo ethnohistory due to a lack of sources (Callender 1978:656). Identification and excavation of early Kickapoo sites, and determination of early Kickapoo artifact types is essential to further research.

Middle Historic Kickapoo: Identification of Kickapoo camps and villages; excavation of sites to define area occupied in Wisconsin by Kickapoo and dates of occupation; identification of artifact types associated with Kickapoo during this period also necessary for further research.

Research Needs

Early Historic Kickapoo. Basic questions still need to be answered, such as where was the village occupied by the Kickapoo and other tribes? How can the Kickapoo be identified archeologically? Is it possible to distinguish them from the other Central Algonquian tribes in Wisconsin at this date? The extent of Kickapoo occupation in Wisconsin should be determined, to see if the scarcity of references reflects accurately the numbers of and area occupied by the Kickapoo tribe in Wisconsin, or is more closely a reflection of the location of the French reporters. It is possible that only part of the Kickapoo had moved to Wisconsin during the Early Historic Period.

Middle Historic Kickapoo. Identification of artifacts associated with Kickapoo and determination of area occupied and dates of occupation are fundamental to any research questions. The changes in Kickapoo culture during this period as a result of contact with other tribes, missionary activity, or the fur trade should be investigated. The yearly cycle should be determined to see if the postulated subsistence base is correct and to find to what extent the fur trade had influenced their settlement systems and subsistence strategy. The reference to fall beaver trapping suggests that the fur trade may have been of some importance during this period. Changes in subsistence may reflect the overhunting of large game as suggested by Kay (1978), and examination of the faunal remains at sites may show stress and prey populations. Separation of Kickapoo from other Central Algonquian tribes may be possible - note the special mention of "large" cabins of the Kickapoo in the mixed villages (Silverberg 1957:73).

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

None.

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Temporal Boundaries: Early Historic Mascouten (1634-1670), Middle Historic Mascouten (1670-1769).

Spatial Boundaries: Early Historic Mascouten. Southeastern Wisconsin, especially Green Lake County; Middle Historic Mascouten. Southern Wisconsin, especially Green Lake and Milwaukee counties.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

EARLY HISTORIC MASCOUTEN

The Mascouten were an Algonquian-speaking group first encountered by Europeans in the Lower Peninsula of Michigan (Goddard 1972:123-4; 1978:668). Just prior to contact they may have lived in northwestern Ohio (Stothers and Graves 1983). They spoke a dialect of Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo (Baerreis et al 1974:252).

By 1657-58 600 men (but only 1,000 people) of the Mascouten were reported six to seven days' journey southwest of Green Bay (Kay 1977:383). The ratio of men to women and children in this group is much higher than the usual male-female ratio of one man to every four or five women and children in the general population. This party may well have been a hunting party or an advance guard for the rest of the Mascouten. Radisson and Grosseilliers apparently met Mascoutens (Escotecke) and Potawatomi on Manitoulin Island and later visited them in Wisconsin on their "Mississippi Voyage," ca. 1660 (Scull 1943:1460; Adams 1961:xi,89). By 1666 the Mascouten were reported 30 miles from Green Bay in a village with Miami and Kickapoo. It appears that the Mascouten were drawn to the vicinity of Green Bay by the trade goods obtainable from the French. The Mascouten planted their fields at the new settlement and then moved west for elk or buffalo hunting (Thwaites, ed. 1902, vol. 16:41).

Many believe that the Mascouten were driven into Wisconsin as refugees by the wars of the Iroquois, but evidence suggests that their settling in eastern Wisconsin may have been partly due to the availability of trade goods in this region [see above] (Kay 1977:403-404; Goddard 1978:668).

The Mascouten village was said to have refugees from many tribes, at times reaching a population of around 20,000 (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:99). Its exact location is unknown, though it was on a prairie on the upper Fox River somewhere southeast of Berlin, Wisconsin (See Jones 1907, Wood 1907). This "meadow" of the Mascouten appears to have been a well known landmark into the eighteenth century (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:382). It has been suggested, based on the presence of a stockade wall, that the Hamilton Brooks Site (47-Gl-122) is the village of the Mascouten, but the artifacts recovered so far from the site are all prehistoric (SHSW 1978). A more likely location is the Springview site (47-Gl-132) (Rusch 1985).

What little is known of Mascouten culture suggests that it was very similar to that of the Kickapoo and Fox (Goddard 1978:671). This would imply a settlement pattern of large summer villages where crops were planted, a summer buffalo hunt, and fragmentation into small camps for winter (and fall?) hunting of deer and bear (Goddard 1978:670; Kay 1977:118). The large summer villages and communal summer hunt were documented in the Early Historic Period Mascouten, but the small fall hunting camps were not recorded until the Middle Historic Period (Goddard 1978:668).

The dearth of information on the Mascouten and their early merger with other tribes has led to a surprising number of theories as to their "true" identity. Skinner believed that the Mascouten were the Prairie Potawatomi (Skinner 1924-27). Michelson disagreed and stated that Mascouten was a Fox word for a member of one of the Illinois tribes, most likely the Peoria (Michelson 1934:226,228). Brose suggested that "Mascouten" was a term used by the French to refer to any member of a Central Algonquian group which was not recognized (Brose 1971:58). Goddard and Baerreis et al have brought to light an impressive array of linguistic and historical evidence to show that "Mascouten" was a term referring to a specific, recognizable Central Algonquian group found in Wisconsin in early historic times (Goddard 1972, 1978:671; Baerreis et al).

MIDDLE HISTORIC MASCOUTEN

The village of the Mascouten near Berlin was occupied until at least 1679 and possibly 1689 (Goddard 1978:668). In the 1670s the Mission of St. Jacques was established in the Mascouten village. Fathers Dablon and Allouez estimated that there were 3,000 people in the village in 1670. The villagers hunted "wild cows" which were differentiated from bison by the priests, and perhaps were elk. The "wild cows" supposedly lived in large herds of 400-500 animals and supplied enough food that the village could hunt as a group and not have to split up into smaller units. Buffalo also were found in the area. Most observers indicate that the Mascouten relied on corn and large game for most of their food. Fish were not an important component of the diet (Baerreis et al 1974:254,257-258,270). The Mascouten did not use canoes (Blair 1912, vol. 2:20).

Winter hunting camps were reported during this period, one on the lower Milwaukee River in 1674, and others on the Milwaukee River again in 1680 and 1698 (Goddard 1978:668). Goddard believes that these camps were scattered over a fairly wide area of southern Wisconsin.

About 1679 a rift between the Mascouten and the Miami split the Mascouten into two groups--an eastern group associated with the Miami and a western group, along the Fox and Wisconsin rivers and the nearby Upper Mississippi, associated with the Fox and the Kickapoo (Goddard 1972:127). This split may have caused some of the Mascouten to leave Wisconsin. Kay also suggests that overhunting of the large game in eastern Wisconsin in the second half of the seventeenth century led to the departure of many of the prairie-ecotone groups which took refuge there, including the Mascouten (Kay 1977:124).

Whatever the reason, the village of the Mascouten was not reported by the end of the seventeenth century, nor was any other large concentration of Mascouten in Wisconsin noted after this time.

The Mascouten were included in the list of tribes along the Green Bay-Fox River-Wisconsin River in 1709, and again in 1736, when the male population was estimated at 60 (Kay 1977:394; Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:249). In 1720 the Mascouten and Kickapoo were reported on the Wisconsin River, and in 1721 the Mascouten and Kickapoo were reported between the Fox River and the Illinois River (Kay 1977:394; Baerreis et al 1974:276). Jones lists Mascoutens as among the inhabitants of Milwaukee from 1700 to 1750 (Jones 1974:360). In 1757, Mascouten traded at Green Bay (Jones 1974:25, Kay 1977:394). The Mascouten and Kickapoo, who were constantly associated with one another in the early accounts, appear to have merged, possibly in the eighteenth century. There are no Late Historic Period records for the Mascouten in Wisconsin (Baerreis et al 1974:276; Goddard 1978:670).

IDENTIFICAITON

Resource Types

Early Historic Mascouten. Palisaded summer villages, summer (and winter) hunting camps, cemeteries, agricultural fields, mission at Green Bay.

Middle Historic Mascouten. Trading posts, summer villages, summer hunting camps, missions, winter hunting camps, cemeteries, agricultural fields.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types

Early Historic Mascouten. Southeastern Wisconsin, especially village near Berlin and mission at Green Bay. Villages likely to be found in prairie areas, also summer hunting camps, cemeteries nearby.

Middle Historic Mascouten. Palisaded summer villages and hunting camps in prairies of southern Wisconsin, especially Green Lake County, winter hunting camps along rivers in wooded areas, trading post at Green Bay, cemeteries, fields, mission near village.

Previous Surveys.

Jones 1907, Wood 1907, Rusch 1985.

Survey Needs

Early Historic Mascouten. The discovery of the actual location of the village of Mascouten (and other sites), and the recovery and identification of Mascouten artifacts, especially ceramics are important research needs. Nothing has been done in terms of excavation to meet these needs.

Middle Historic Mascouten. The identification and excavation of Mascouten habitation sites of this period are needed. The excavation of sites which represent different parts of yearly cycle should be attempted.

Research Needs

Early Historic Mascouten. First and foremost is the determination of the archeological complex that can be identified as Early Historic Mascouten. The discovery and excavation of the Mascouten village, and comparison to better documented Mascouten sites in Ohio or Michigan, would produce such data. Confirmation of the yearly cycle given above, including the dependence on large game and corn is also needed. The extent of occupation in southeastern Wisconsin must also be determined: was the Mascouten village an outpost in Wisconsin territory for the rest of the tribe, or was it merely one of a number of such settlements in Wisconsin? Another question to be studied in connection with other Historic Indian groups concerns the differences which are archaeologically detectable among the Central Algonquian groups in Wisconsin.

Middle Historic Mascouten. The area of Wisconsin occupied and used by the Mascouten during the Middle Historic Period should be defined and compared to that of the Early Historic Mascouten occupation. An attempt to explain the changes between the two periods should be made. The subsistence base should be examined for signs of overhunting and stress among the game populations. The degrees of reliance on large game, and fish, and the identity of the "wild cows" should be determined. Changes in artifact types or styles should be studied to see if the Mascouten identity was lost as it

was incorporated into the Kickapoo identity. The changes in material and social culture of the Mascouten, especially those caused by the introduction of European good and the fur trade, should be investigated.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

None.

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Temporal Boundaries: Early Historic Menominee (1634 - 1670), Middle Historic Menominee (1670 - 1760), Late Historic I Menominee (1760 - 1848), Late Historic II Menominee (1848 - 1899), Lake Historic III Menominee (1900 - present).

Spatial Boundaries: Early Historic Menominee: Menominee River, west side of Green Bay; Middle Historic Menominee: Northeastern Wisconsin; Late Historic I Menominee: Northeastern Wisconsin; Late Historic II Menominee: Lake Poygan, Menominee County, Lake Shawano, northeastern Wisconsin; Late Historic III Menominee: Menominee County.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

EARLY HISTORIC MENOMINEE

At the time of first European arrival in Wisconsin, the Algonkian-speaking Menominee lived along the Menominee River on the west shore of Green Bay (Clifton 1977:7-8; Neville 1906:151). Their principal village was at the mouth of the Menominee River (Quimby 1960:142). One of the earliest European meetings with the Menominee occurred on the Superior Voyage of Radisson, when Radisson met a large family of Menominee at a Feast of the Dead somewhere in northern Wisconsin (Hickerson 1960:89; Scull 1943:201).

Archeological sites excavated on the present Menominee Reservation by the Milwaukee Public Museum were thought to be occupation sites of the prehistoric Menominee tribe, but this identification is questioned today (Barrett and Skinner 1932:416).

The Menominee were not often mentioned in early historic accounts, partly because of their isolated position on the Bay (Keesing 1939:17). At the very end of the Early Historic Period, though, traders and missionaries visited the Menominee more frequently and provided more detailed descriptions. The Menominee began to participate in the French fur trade around 1667 (L. Spindler 1962:10). In 1668, 40 men were reported in the Menominee village at the mouth of the Menominee River (Kay 1977:385). Allouez visited the village at the mouth of the Menominee River in spring of 1669 or 1670. He noted that there were few people in the village, and that the young people were still in the woods. Allouez also states that the Menominee tribe had been decimated by wars (Kay 1977:385; Keesing 1939:58; Neville 1906:152). Earlier hostilities (ca. 1667) between the Potawatomi and the Menominee were recorded (Keesing 1939:54). It is also possible that the Menominee fought with the Algonquian tribes intrusive into Wisconsin, as their relations with the neighboring Siouan-speaking Winnebago were good (Quimby 1960:145). Other glimpses of Menominee life during the Early Historic Period hint at the importance of sturgeon fishing, and that acorns were an important winter resource when hunting and fishing did not supply enough food (Keesing 1939:60).

The Menominee later made a remarkable population recovery as compared to the few people mentioned in accounts of the 1660s, but it appears that under the influence of the fur trade (and perhaps because of the heavy loss of life among the young members of the tribe) the original social organization broke down very early in the contact period (Bruhy and Goldstein 1983:249; Callender 1978:615; Kay 1984; L. Spindler 1962:19; 1978:712). Attempts to reconstruct the original pattern from contemporaneous records and later informants reveal a system similar in some respects to that of the Winnebago. The Menominee were divided into two moieties, the Bears and the Thunderers, and a number of clans, divided among about seven phratries. Clans were patrilineal, totemic descent groups, whose heads or chiefs comprised the village council and concerned themselves with

civil affairs. The leader of the Bear group was the tribal chief. Menominee who attained high status through dreams or special prowess also were said to be chiefs (Callender 1978:615, L. Spindler 1978:713).

Reconstructions of subsistence and the yearly cycle indicate the importance of fishing (Cleland 1982:761; Keesing 1939:20). Hunting does not seem to have been as important as fishing or gathering wild rice. The Menominee lived in sedentary villages, and Kay suggests that they did not need to break into smaller residential groups for the winter because they had enough secure winter food resources including fish, speared through the ice (Quimby 1960:144; Kay 1977:120). In March and April, the Menominee fished heavily, usually at river mouths. Fish were stored for the summer, and some hunting was done near the village. Some corn was planted, and the summer was spent fishing, hunting, and gathering wild plant foods. In August and September wild rice was harvested, and migratory waterfowl were taken. The corn was also harvested although it was not an important food item. In the fall, fishing, hunting, and gathering plant foods continued. November again brought migratory fish runs, and fish were stored for winter use. During the winter fishing was the main subsistence occupation. According to Kay, the Menominee did not have the large winter hunt that took people away from the village for long periods of time, though the young men did have a communal bear hunt that took them away from the village for eight to 10 days. Keesing, however, mentions organized hunts for deer and bison, though they may have taken place during a later period (reconstruction of the yearly round taken from Kay 1977; 1979; Keesing 1939; Quimby 1960). The Menominee used dugout and birchbark canoes in their fishing (L. Spindler 1978:709).

MIDDLE HISTORIC MENOMINEE

During the Middle Historic Period, the demands of the fur trade led to the development of the "band" social organization that characterized the historic Menominee before they were confined to the reservation (L. Spindler 1978:713). Their role in the fur trade also caused changes in the earlier subsistence patterns. Both changes were due in part to the Menominee moving far inland to hunt for the fur trade instead of remaining along Green Bay for winter fishing (L. Spindler 1978:713). The early dependence on migratory fish runs in the fall and spring ended due to trapping and hunting inland during the colder months when the pelts were in prime condition (Kay 1979:402). During the eighteenth century, spring maple sugaring also usurped the importance of the migratory fish runs (Kay 1977:140).

La Potherie's account (from Perrot) referable to around 1670 described the Menominee as raising some corn but living mainly on game and sturgeon. These fish were speared in the Menominee River with an iron-pointed pole (Blair 1911, vol. 1). Throughout the late seventeenth century, the Menominee were recorded as living on the Menominee River or on Green Bay (Kay 1977:385). A village at the entrance to Green Bay was also mentioned; some of the people living there were Menominee (Blair 1911, vol. 1:291).

In 1709, Raudot listed the Menominee (Folles Avoines) as living on lake and river banks, being sedentary during the summer, and not cultivating any land. In 1710 Raudot added that the Menominee had at the most 50 warriors, lived on the Menominee River, and subsisted by hunting and fishing (Kinietz 1972:366,381). In 1721, the Menominee were still considered a small group; the entire tribe lived in the village at the mouth of the Menominee River (Thwaites, ed. 1902, vol. 16:411).

In the 1720s, eastern Wisconsin became the site of conflict between the French and the Fox. The Fox, Sauk, and to some extent the Winnebago fled the Fox River area, leaving the Menominee, who then moved into lands formerly occupied by the Sauk and Fox while maintaining their Menominee River territory (Keesing 1939:68; Kay 1977:165). The expansion into new territory, population growth that began about this time, and

development of winter hunting band organization led to the splintering of Menominee villages during the Middle Historic Period (Kay 1977:140). A village on the Fox River near Green Bay was established some time during the Middle Historic Period. Menominee tradition mentions a quarrel over sturgeon fishing that led to the Bear people moving south from their village on the Menominee River. During this period, the villages became summer headquarters for the Menominee, and were abandoned in fall for the winter hunt (Keesing 1939:118).

The Menominee participating in the fur trade became debtors because they were encouraged to charge their supplies in the summer at French trading posts against the furs they would take in the winter. The Menominee and the French fur traders seem to have established good relations--many Menominee today have French names (L. Spindler 1962:20). Despite their position as "debtors," the Menominee seem to have grown stronger and more populous during the Middle Historic Period. It is recorded that a smallpox epidemic around 1757-1758 killed 300 warriors and other individuals (Keesing 1939:74).

LATE HISTORIC I MENOMINEE

During the Late Historic I Period more accounts of the Menominee were written by European observers. In 1762, Lt. James Gorrell (Draper, ed. 1855, vol. 1:32) listed 150 Menominee warriors at Green Bay in two towns. The lower Menominee town was about 15 leagues from the Green Bay fort at the mouth of a river, probably the Menominee River (Draper 1855, vol. 1:42). Gorrell also implies that the Menominee had a long winter hunt and returned to their villages in the spring (see Keesing 1939:84-85). This new, second village at Green Bay is probably "Menomony Castle" on the Fox River, reported in 1780 (Keesing 1939:97-98), and also called Old King's Village. It was a short distance above Fort Howard, within the present city of Green Bay (Draper 1857, vol. 3:227). Burials accompanied by trade goods have been uncovered from Old King's village in Green Bay (Quimby 1966:152). In 1762, at least 300 Menominee reportedly died of smallpox, leaving only 50 alive in the village at Green Bay. Other reports of the Menominee about this time also mention two villages having 150 to 200 warriors between them (Kay 1977:395).

By the 1780s, Menominee were seen far from their summer villages on Green Bay. In 1786, Menominee were met on the Mississippi River near the mouth of the Chippewa River, exploiting the area disputed by the Chippewa and Eastern Dakota. The Menominee wintered up the Chippewa River (C.I. Mason 1983:78-79; Kay 1977; Hickerson 1974).

These long winter trips indicate a change in the basic subsistence of the Menominee. Formerly they had stayed in their villages for the winter, spending the winter congregated mainly in one spot due to the abundant fish and wild rice resources of Green Bay. During the early years of the Menominees' involvement in the fur trade, the demand for furs could be satisfied by trapping near Green Bay. The long trips may indicate that the lands around Green Bay were becoming depleted (Kay 1979:415; Keesing 1939:20). Hickerson (1974) also indicates that the Menominee were recruited by traders because they were eager to take advantage of the rich supply of fur-bearers in the disputed zone. The Menominee were able to trap there because they remained on good terms with both the Dakota and the Chippewa.

The long journeys meant that the Menominee had to leave their lands before the autumn fish runs, and therefore fish became less important to the tribe, especially to those now settling farther along the Fox River. White-tailed deer probably increased in importance in the Menominee diet as a consequence (Kay 1979:415-416).

The long winter hunts and involvement with the fur trade affected the social structure of the Menominee. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the Menominee

broke into smaller family camps in the winter to hunt and trap. The young men left these camps in the late winter or early spring to trap or to get beaver and muskrat pelts, while the rest of the people gathered in maple groves to make maple sugar (Kay 1979:415-416). The old village system reportedly had broken up by 1800 and was replaced by a group of nine or 10 bands, each exploiting its own territory (Callender 1962:33). Instead of the whole tribe assembling at one village in the summer, each band had its own summer village (Callender 1962:617). By 1830, there were nine bands, which tended to be split along clan lines, though there were no rules governing marriage between band members. In the loosely-knit bands, the importance of the nuclear family increased at the expense of the extended family and the clan system. Monogamy became more common. Politically, the responses to the new conditions included the development of a tribal council and modificatins in tribal leadership (Keesing 1939:119-120; L. Spindler 1978:713).

By 1820, the Menominee had intermarried extensively with Europeans (mostly French) and other tribes (L. Spindler 1978:708). Menominee bands north of the Fox River associated closely with Chippewa, and those bands to the southwest with the Winnebago (Keesing 1939:102-103).

As the two villages began to split up into bands, the Menominee continued to extend their range (Callender 1962:33). They were able to expand to the south and west because the tribes who had lived along the Fox River in the Middle Historic Period, the Sauk and the Fox, had abandoned eastern Wisconsin. The band system may have been a more efficient way to exploit the new, larger territory for the fur trade. There also seems to have been a steady population increase among the Menominee during the Late Historic I Period (see Kay 1977:162,406-407; 1984). By 1822 there were 500 to 600 men, 900 women and 2400 children in the Menominee territory (along the west bank of the Fox River, on Lake Winnebago, at Bay de Noc in Michigan, on the Menominee River, and on the Mississippi River) (Kay 1977:406). The core of Menominee territory in eastern Wisconsin may not have been able to supply the needs of the greater population, as shown by the continuing reports of Menominee hunting in northwestern Wisconsin (e.g., Hickerson 1974:171,214,215; Draper 1856, vol. 2:137).

The Menominee spread farther up the Fox River and established villages at Calumet, Lake Shawano, and Butte des Morts in the early nineteenth century (Powell 1913:160; Kay 1977:292; 1979:415-416). The Menominee village at Calumet has been identified in Fond du Lac County (Fd-220), and a midden associated with the site has been excavated (Van Dyke and Overstreet 1981:66,70).

According to the 1824 census, locations of the Menominee were: on the Menominee River (with Chippewa), on the Pestigo River (with Chippewa), on the Oconto River, on the Pensaukee River (with Chippewa), at (Long?) Tail Point (with Chippewa), on Sandy Point (Point Sable?) in Green Bay, at Little Kakalin (Little Rapids), at Big Kakalin (Kaukauna), at Fond du Lac (with Winnebago), at Calumet, on the Wolf River (with Chippewa), on Lake Shawano (with Chippewa) and from Portage to the Upper Wisconsin (with Winnebago) (Thwaites 1911, vol. 20:349-350). By 1829, the Menominee population of the Green Bay watershed was estimated at 4200 (Kay 1977:406).

Morse described the yearly dietary cycle of the Menominee around 1820 as consisting of sugar and fish in spring, fish and game in summer, wild rice and corn in fall, and fish and game in winter; those who were provident had some rice during the winter (Keesing 1939:110). By the end of November, part of the tribe established hunting camps inland from Green Bay to trap fur-bearers, but returned to their village about January 1 to spear sturgeon from ice shelves built out from the shore over Green Bay (Kay 1977:232, Keesing 1939:110). The Peshtigo and Menominee River bands may relied on fish for a major portion of their subsistence, which may be a persistence or a recurrence of the original Menominee pattern (Kay 1977:290). The main summer game seems to have been

deer. This pattern listed by Morse is less stable than that used by the Early Historic Menominee (Kay 1979:416-417). Ice fishing from ice shelves over Green Bay was less predictable and riskier than exploiting the fall fish runs--in mild winters, the ice may form shelves late and break up early. According to Kay's (1979) research, the fall deer hunt was crucial to the Menominee, and if it failed, there was not enough winter food. Apparently wild rice, maple sugar, corn and smaller animals could not provide enough food to compensate for the reduction in large game and a less efficient hunting (and fishing) strategy. Records of winter starvation are common during the 1820s and 1830s, and traders and Indian agents had to assist the Menominee with rations of corn and flour (Kay 1979:416-417).

The demise of the fur trade in the 1820s disrupted the Menominee economy. Another source of trouble at this time was the lack of experienced tribal leadership--the struggle between Josette Carson and Oshkosh over leadership split the Menominee. This conflict eventually had to be settled by the United States government (Keesing 1939:97-98). In 1834, about one-quarter of the tribe died in a smallpox epidemic (Keesing 1939:102, L. Spindler 1978:708). Drinking became common during the 1830s and 1840s (Keesing 1939; de Neveu 19ll). Various population estimates for the Menominee in 1834 are 2,143, 3,170, and 4,200 (Kay 1977:407; 1984:256). During the 1830s they occupied a core territory from Lake Shawano south to Lake Winneconne; Oshkosh and Butte des Morts; northeast from Lake Shawano to Peshtigo and then southward to Green Bay and Calumet; and on the Fox, Wolf, and Menominee River drainages (see de Neveu 19ll).

By 1836 Menominee ceded their eastern lands, the latest cession being the result of the Cedar Point Treaty (Lurie 1980:18). Most interior bands were moved to a village at Lake Poygan, though some remained in mixed villages along Lake Michigan, and some bands stayed along the lake (see Anderson 1912; Gerend 1920). In 1847 the village at Lake Poygan was described as having 62 log houses, with well-fenced small fields for growing corn and potatoes. Of the 2,500 men reported, 300 had cattle and farmed, and 2,200 lived by hunting and fishing on Green Bay and its tributary streams. Trout and sturgeon were important resources (see Keesing 1939:139). The affects of the United States government's attempts to turn the Menominee into white farmers may be discerned in this description, especially when compared to de Neveu's report of a tribal village of 1838. In that village, the Menominee lived in wigwams made of a pole framework with rush mats tied onto it by basswood bark cordage. Cornfields were nearby. The Menominee had two main types of houses during much of the Late Historic I Period: a winter lodge made of mats and bark for easy travel, and a rectangular bark cabin at the summer village.

At the end of the Late Historic I Period, the Menominee had suffered disease, the disruption of their economy, forced land cessions and moves, and increased drunkenness (probably a response to the other conditions). Due to these troubles a population decline began in the 1830s (Keesing 1939:102,146).

LATE HISTORIC II MENOMINEE

At the beginning of the Late Historic II Period most Menominee were living around Lake Poygan. They ceded their remaining lands in an 1848 treaty, and were to be removed to Crow Wing, Minnesota. The Menominee balked at this move to high prairie, and successfully stalled their removal (Lurie 1980:1, Cope 1967:123).

By 1849, the nine bands of the Menominee still existed (the Menominee River band, the Peshtigo band, and the Oconto band are mentioned, as is the group at Lake Poygan) (Cope 1966:21,22). The Indian agent Ellis reported that 104 Menominee families derived most of their support from agriculture, and that 57 of these families lived in log houses. However, only 200 acres were cultivated (Cope 1967:218-219). An observer in 1849 found the Menominee were for the most part forest dwellers who lived away from white settlements in the nine bands, and were governed by 26 chiefs. Relations among the

Menominee were harmonious (Keesing 1939:145).

In an attempt to forestall removal from Wisconsin, the Menominee moved in the fall of 1852 from Lake Poygan to an area between the Upper Wolf and Oconto Rivers. The Menominee from Lake Poygan (2,002) made the first trip. These inland bands were soon joined by most of the coastal bands from the Menominee, Peshtigo, and Oconto Rivers (Keesing 1939:141,149). A small number stayed behind in the mixed villages of Sheboygan County (Gerend 1920:168), and some Menominee appeared in large numbers to trade in Manitowoc until the late 1850s (Gerend 1920:168; Anderson 1912).

The area settled by the Menominee in 1852 had plentiful sturgeon, wild rice beds, and abundant game, and numerous small lakes and streams. However, the natural resources were not sufficient to feed the large numbers of Menominee within the limited area (L. Spindler 1962:20). Because the move to this new area occurred in the fall, the Menominee could not prepare for winter, which made the situation worse. In 1856, after two winters of suffering and starvation on the Upper Wolf, the land was confirmed as the permanent (and present-day) reservation of the Menominee (Keesing 1939:142). The Menominee had benefited from a change in federal policy. There was a growing hostility among the western tribes, and the United States government did not want to give the eastern Indians a base of operations to assist the Indian resistance (Lurie 1982:244).

The nine bands broke up within a few years of the end of the fur trade and the move to the reservation (Keesing 1939:150). The period between 1848, when a treaty ceded all Menominee lands, and 1854, when the reservation was confirmed, marked a rift between the "Christian" and "traditional" groups (Herzberg 1977:274-275). These groups tended to live in separate areas of the reservation, and within the traditional group the older dichotomy of Bears vs. Thunderers also determined residence. The new groups were also called bands, but tended to lose their distinct identities without more geographic isolation. (Keesing 1939:150; L. Spindler 1978:714).

In 1855 government Indian Agency buildings were built on the reservation at Keshena. Almost immediately after the reservation was established, the white-owned lumber companies began trying to take advantage of its rich forests (Keesing 1939:152-153). The government's aim and early effort were to turn the Menominee into farmers, and since the reservation area could not feed them all with game, nor furnish enough furs to be profitable, many Menominee tried to adopt farming (Keesing 1939:154-155; L. Spindler 1962:20).

A short growing season and crop disease led to the failure of some of the first crops. The areas first of settlement also were on poor sandy soil which, though easy to work, was quickly depleted. This meant that farmers had to move from these areas to land with richer soil, which required intensive and back-breaking clearing. Because of these agricultural difficulties, the federal government's attempt to turn the Menominee into farmers failed. Most Menominee in the 1860s still fished, hunted, gathered rice, and made maple sugar for their subsistence although some farming was done (Keesing 1939:121,155,159,173).

By 1862, 112 frame houses, 75 log houses, and 150 wigwams were reported on the reservation. By 1868, 200 log houses (similar in plan to the earlier summer rectangular bark house) were reported. These houses often became the new home base for the yearly cycle. During the 1860s, compulsory education for Menominee children began to break down traditional customs and values, though it did not result in passing on much formal education to the children. The 1860s also were marked by the first interests of the tribe in the lumber on the reservation.

A total of 125 Menominee men enlisted in Wisconsin regiments during the Civil War, and about one-third of these were killed (Keesing 1939).

In 1871, the Menominee totally rejected the sale of a portion of tribal land to white lumber companies (Keesing 1939:167), though in 1856 they had been forced to sell part of the reservation to make a reservation for the Stockbridge-Munsee (Keesing 1939:167; Lurie 1980). The 1870s saw the continuation of Menominee attempts to farm, even among traditional people. Lumbering was the winter activity that replaced fur trade activity (Keesing 1939:171,174). In 1875 a boarding school was established for Menominee children. Keesing's Menominee informants felt that by removing the children from their families, this institution really provided a death blow to many traditional religious beliefs and customs (Keesing 1939:175). The difficulties faced by the Menominee in the early years on the reservation are obvious when the population count of 2,002 Menominee from the interior bands (excluding the coastal bands), is compared to 1,350, the total 1877 Menominee population (Powell 1913:164).

Hardship made the Menominee receptive to the Dream, or Drum Dance, adopted around 1880 from the Chippewa (Keesing 1939:18l; Slotkin 1957; Vennum 1982:92). The Drum Dance strained relations between the Christian (Roman Catholic) and traditional (Mitawin) parties, and there was also a split within the traditional group between those who saw the Dream Dance as complementary to the Mitawin and those who saw it superceding the Mitawin. Catholic Menominee were forbidden to drum or dance in the old style. The introduction of the Drum Dance marked a nativistic revival among the traditional party, including resistance to acculturation and maintenance of the old ways of hunting, sugaring, etc. (Keesing 1939.:180-182, 217,n.35).

Attempts at assimilation during the 1880s included the formation of an Indian police force (including Menominee) for the tribes "served" by the Keshena agency, and by the opening of a hospital for the Menominee in 1886 (Keesing 1939:190-191). By the 1880s there were Catholic churches in Keshena, South Branch, and West Branch. A church-sponsored temperance society was formed, and a Catholic organization for women and young girls was very successful. A Catholic boarding school at Keshena also was established in the 1880s. The traditional group, centered at Zoar by this time, opposed compulsory schooling, but the other Menominee parents sent their children to either the federal or the parochial school.

Lumbering became more important as farming declined (Keesing 1939:184,187-189). The importance of lumbering led to the Menominee reservation remaining as tribal land, since lumbering on allotted parcels was not feasible (Lurie 1982:244-245). Residence was determined to some extent by whether farming or logging was the family's occupation (L. Spindler 1978:714).

In the 1890s, the Menominee became the subject of anthropological fieldwork (see Hoffman 1896). By this time the breakdown of traditional social organization was so complete that there was little agreement on the names, numbers, or organization of the clans (Callender 1962:33,35). Sturgeon fishing on the Wolf, once an important occupation, had by this time been disrupted by the building of dams lower on the river (Keesing 1939:196). Menominee lived on vegetables that they raised, pork and lard from government supplies and purchase at stores, and meat, fish, and wild plant foods taken from the reservation. Deer drives had ended around 1870. By 190l, the wild rice crop was less abundant, which led to its decline in importance as a resource. The whites who owned land around Lake Shawano were prohibiting the Menominee from camping there to gather rice (Keesing 1939:196; L. Spindler 1978:708).

In the 1890s, the Menominee frequently built a summer residence (a bark or mat lodge) next to their more permanent home (Keesing 1939:200). This seems a fitting symbol of Menominee culture during the Late Historic II Period. The imposition of white material and social culture led to the passing of most elements of the traditional Menominee material culture and the breakdown of traditional social controls. The Mitawin, though

still powerful, was declining in the 1890s, and had declined still more by the early twentieth century. The sale of medicine bundles to whites indicates that they had lost their sacred function to many Menominee (Keesing 1939:202,205,210,212-214).

LATE HISTORIC III MENOMINEE

One of the bright spots for the Menominee was the development of the logging industry. In 1908, at the request of the Menominee, United States Senator Robert M. La Follette was responsible for legislation that set up a Menominee tribal sawmill and a system of selective logging. The forests could thus be maintained as a continuing resource by replanting of trees. The Menominee's main goal for the logging industry was to provide jobs and income for the tribe. The lumber mill and logging industry did well enough financially so that money could be put back into the community (Lurie 1982:245). The community of Neopit was founded after the construction of the mill (Keesing 1939). People began leaving the old band locations and settling in Neopit or Keshena. Zoar remained the center for traditional Menominee (Lurie 1982; L. Spindler 1978:714).

By 1915 the Menominee population began increasing, reversing the trend in population loss which began in the 1830s and 1840s. The Menominee death rate was declining, and new members (including many "mixed bloods" and persons married to Menominee) had been admitted to the rolls by a vote of the tribal council (L. Spindler 1978:708). Better health care, including the hospital at Keshena, helped the Menominee tribe grow larger, though they still had an exceptionally high death rate from tuberculosis (Keesing 1939:239 n.11, 240).

The Menominee mill was now well established, but even in 1914, whites still held the positions of responsibility at the mill. Menominee attitudes toward the United States may be indicated by the 16 Menominee (all "mixed bloods") who enlisted during World War I, as compared to the larger numbers who volunteered for the Civil War (Keesing 1939:232,243).

The influenza epidemic of 1919-1920 killed many of the Menominee elders and this, together with the compulsory schooling and two main highways built across the reservation, meant that Menominees (especially children) were being exposed to more Euro-American customs. During the 1920s, most Menominee children went to the schools at Tomah, Flambeau, and Wittenberg (Keesing 1939:221-222,241).

In 1925 the lumber mill at Neopit burned down, and a larger, modern replacement was built. In 1928 the Menominee adopted a new tribal constitution. In 1929 a large, modern hospital was opened at Keshena (Keesing 1939:231,239; Lurie 1982:245-246). Superficially, all of this presented a picture of progress in adaptation and economic stability. However, the Bureau of Indian Affairs still denied Menominee access to the management of the mill. The Menominee sued the BIA in 1934 due to dissatisfaction with BIA logging policies on the reservation which benefitted surrounding white lumber interests more than the Menominee. Also at this time, the Menominee did not choose to reorganize under the Indian Reorganization Act (Lurie 1982:243,245-247).

(Felix Keesing conducted his research among the Menominee from 1928 to 1930. Anyone wishing more detailed information on this period is advised to consult his work [Keesing 1939:2]).

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the Menominee were again the subject of anthropological fieldwork (see Slotkin 1957; L. Spindler 1962; Spindler and Spindler 1971). At this time the Menominee on the reservation ranged from "elite," highly acculturated (and usually Catholic) Menominee whose values approached those of white middle-class Americans, to a group who still followed the traditional Menominee beliefs and values. Around 1949 only 700 people out of a total reservation population of 2,917

were one-half or more Menominee (L. Spindler 1962:21-27). Keshena continued to be the administrative center, Neopit the mill town, and Zoar the traditional settlement.

By about 1950, no man under 45 on the reservation had gone on a vision quest (Slotkin 1957:35). Some older, traditional Menominee still retained their totem or clan affiliation, though the traditional Menominee at Zoar used kin relations to create a cohesive force to replace that lost with the breakdown of the traditional sociopolitical institutions (Callender 1978:214). Fear of witchcraft also became a force for social control (see L. Spindler 1962). By the 1950's the Drum Dance had declined among the Menominee (see Slotkin 1957; Vennum 1982:132). The elders of the Drum Dance, members of the traditional group, asked Slotkin to write down the ritual of the Drum Dance because it was not being passed on to the younger Menominee (Slotkin 1957:9).

Rather extensive detail is available for the reservation for the 1950's (see L. Spindler 1962, 1978:720-722). Around 1949 the economy of the Menominee was based on lumbering. The average income from lumbering in each household was $2,200. Only 45 of the 550 Menominee households derived any income from agriculture, and traditional activities of hunting, fishing, and gathering wild plant foods were carried on by many Menominee (L. Spindler 1962:21-27). By 1960, no wild rice was harvested in the reservation area, but some Menominee went yearly to Minnesota to gather it. Menominee from the traditional group worked on logging crews in addition to hunting and fishing, and until about 1960, most families picked crops for farmers in Wisconsin and Michigan (L. Spindler 1978:708-709).

Traditional Menominee, many of whom were descendents of Potawatomi who had married into the tribe, numbered about 70 adults during the 1950s (L. Spindler 1978:709). The Dream Dance and the Mitawin, or Medicine Lodge, were still important to the traditional Menominee in this period (L. Spindler 1978:715-716). As indicated before, the elite and most acculturated group were mostly Catholics. These two groups represent the extremes of acculturation: the traditional Menominee during this time using wood stoves, outdoor privies, shacks; and the elite having frame houses, indoor plumbing, over-stuffed furniture, and a set of symbols shared with white middle-class Americans. Many of the elite men married women who were "white" or who had "mixed" ancestors (L. Spindler 1962:21-27,29). Menominee women tended to retain more traditional aspects and values of Menominee culture than the men (L. Spindler 1962:99), perhaps because the men's jobs took them out into white society more regularly.

By 1951 population growth had begun to strain the capacity of the mill and the forests to provide income for all the Menominee and pay for services on the reservation (Lurie 1980:46). Also in 1951 the Menominee won the suit against the BIA and were awarded $8,500,000 damages for the mismanagement of their forests (Lurie 1969:18). The per capita settlement requested by the Menominee was tied to their acceptance of termination, by which they would lose tribal trust status and rights as a tribe. The Menominee were forced into accepting termination, for which they were manifestly unready even by the criteria used by its instigators. There is some feeling that the Menominee tribe's successful lawsuit against the government may have put them on the list for termination as retaliation (Lurie 1982:246-247).

In 1954 Public Law 399 authorizing termination for the Menominee was passed, and in 1961 the reservation became Menominee County, voted for by the Menominee so that the former reservation land would not be divided among the neighboring counties (Lurie 1982:246-247). Menominee Enterprises, Incorporated (MEI) was set up as the management corporation for the new county. The Bureau of Indian Affairs did not try to assist the Menominee by turning over tribal affairs to them, nor made any attempts at teaching them business management (Lurie 1969:18). The BIA had let the mill deteriorate since 1954 when termination became the policy. MEI and Menominee County continued to be controlled by MEI's white directors and financial interests, since the

shares of minors and incompetents were voted as a block by the First Wisconsin Trust Company (Lurie 1982:248). MEI faced an out dated, deteriorating mill, a poorly funded treasury, and a large state tax levy (Lurie 1980:46-47). The Menominee had no training in specialized skills or professions and though they may have seemed advantaged in comparison to other Native American groups, they were not so in comparison to the surrounding white society (Herzberg 1977:295-297). Menominee County was almost bankrupt at the end of its first year (Lurie 1982:248). Detailed discussions of termination may be found in Hart (1960) and Herzberg (1977).

To keep Menominee County solvent, MEI began to sell land to whites in an effort to make Menominee County a resort area. Several thousand acres were sold (Lurie 1969:5; Lurie 1980:11). This decision precipitated dissident Menominee to found DRUMS (Determination of Rights and Unity of Menominee Stockholders). DRUMS began to take an active role in Menominee affairs, and then to lobby for repeal of termination (Lurie 1980:51-54; Lurie 1982:248-25l;). After the failure of termination, the Menominee Restoration Bill restored tribal trust status in 1973 (Lurie 1980:11).

Restoration of tribal status inspired a tradition-oriented revival (L. Spindler 1978:709) among the Menominee. There was a revival of the Drum Dance, and even some former Catholics returned to the these ceremonies (Vennum 1982:154-155). Dissension and violence on the reservation also increased (Lurie 1982:251). On New Year's Eve, 1974, the Menominee Warrior Society, a hitherto unknown group, occupied the Alexian Brothers Novitiate near Gresham, an event that produced much publicity but little constructive action. There have been several violent deaths on the reservation (Lurie 1980:53-54; Lurie 1982:251).

Through these upheavals the Menominee have retained a sense of pride in their tribe. The mill is making a profit and a new health facility has opened. The Menominee now have their own license plates. The reservation is still heavily wooded, a sign of resources for the Menominee future (Lurie 1982:251).

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types.

Early Historic Menominee: Missions, villages, fishing camps, temporary hunting camps, ricing stations, cemeteries.

Middle Historic Menominee: Villages, mission church, hunting camps, ricing stations, trading posts, cemeteries.

Late Historic I Menominee: Villages, missions(log chapel built by Menominee in 1834 at Kaukauna [Keesing 1939:135]), hunting camps, fishing camps, maple sugar camps, agricultural fields, trading posts, cemeteries.

Late Historic II Menominee: Towns, boarding schools, lumber mill, mission churches, scattered settlements, hunting camps, fishing camps, maple sugar camps, farmsteads, federal Indian agency buildings, cemeteries.

Late Historic III Menominee: Lumber mill, hospitals, schools, buildings of historic significance, cemeteries, churches.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types.

Early Historic Menominee: Along west shore of Green Bay and Menominee River in northeast Wisconsin.

Middle Historic Menominee: Along Green Bay, Menominee River, and other rivers in northeastern Wisconsin.

Late Historic I Menominee: Villages, cemeteries, fields in eastern Wisconsin on Green Bay and the drainages of Fox, Wolf and Menominee Rivers. Hunting camps and posts almost anywhere in state.

Late Historic II Menominee: Around Lake Poygan and Lake Shawano, in Menominee County, and along west side of Green Bay and Lake Michigan.

Late Historic III Menominee: Menominee County.

Previous Surveys

None.

Survey Needs

Early Historic Menominee: Archeological survey, identification and excavation of Early Historic Period Menominee sites to identify the archeological culture of the Menominee and confirm reconstruction of Menominee lifestyles.

Middle Historic Menominee: Survey, identification, excavation, and analysis of Menominee habitation sites to identify changes occurring in the social organization and subsistence base during this period, and to permit comparison of sites among historic periods.

Late Historic I Menominee: The identification, survey, excavation, and analysis of Menominee Late Historic I villages and hunting camps and the compilation of bibliography of Menominee material in collections are important research needs.

Late Historic II Menominee: Compilation of bibliography of Menominee material in collections, collection of oral histories from older members of Menominee community; photographic survey of historic and significant buildings on Menominee Reservation; archeological survey to locate and in conjunction with oral and written histories, identify significant sites are fundamental research needs.

Late Historic III Menominee: Compilation of bibliography of Menominee material in collections, collection of oral histories from older members of Menominee community; survey to determine buildings and sites of significance to the Menominee.

Research Needs

Early Historic Menominee: The identification of the archeological culture of the late prehistoric and early historic Menominee is a necessary first step. Determination of the area of Wisconsin occupied by Menominee during the Early Historic Period is also necessary, to confirm or deny the old reports that the tribe was concentrated at the mouth of the Menominee River. Excavation and analysis of Menominee habitation sites from this period are needed before the reconstructions suggested in this report can be confirmed, or corrected. The archeological record should also be examined for the traces and effects of the warfare reported for the Early Historic Menominee.

Middle Historic Menominee: The suggested changes in subsistence and social organization should be confirmed archeologically. Also, the question of Menominee population growth--whether there was substantial population growth during this period, or that the population and territory occupied by the Menominee were underestimated--should be tested archeologically. The effects of the fur trade should be investigated archeologically, and a bibliography of Menominee museum and manuscript material should be compiled.

Late Historic I Menominee: Location of Late Historic I period Menominee habitation sites is the first step in further research. Definition of the yearly subsistence cycle, based on faunal analysis of material from archeological sites both for the beginning and the end of the period, can confirm or deny what has been suggested above. A comparison between sites from the beginning and end of the period may point out changes in subsistence strategy, and confirm or contradict historical accounts. Changes in artifacts and house types, if present, may hint at social changes. Chippewa, Potawotomi, and Winnebago influence in the areas where they lived with or near the Menominee should be studied. Evidence of stress at the end of the period, in the resources exploited, or amount thereof should also be sought, as should evidence for the degree of acculturation at points in this period, as shown by the trade goods present and their uses.

Late Historic II Menominee: Keesing (1939) presents a wealth of information on the Late Historic II Period. Also, an unpublished manuscript file based on information collected by Keesing is on file at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. A review of the literature in conjunction with oral histories may identify buildings with historical or architectural significance. Archeological investigation of habitation sites and comparisons of architecture and settlement patterns between the Christian and traditional groups may show differences in the process of acculturation and in subsistence and social status between these groups. An interesting and fruitful topic may be the examination of the relationship of Menominee diet (as shown by store accounts and archeological analysis) with the higher death rate among Menominee during this period. (Another interesting comparison could be made between the diet of the Indian agent and the diet of the Menominee as a tribe.)

Late Historic III Menominee: The extent to which the tradition-oriented revival continues among the Menominee should be investigated, as should its effects on Menominee at different levels of acculturation. The relationships among the Menominee groups in the

light of the nativistic revival should also be examined.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Charles A. Grignon House (c.1836), Augustine St., Kaukauna, Outagamie County (NRHP 1972)
Carpenter Site, Town of Rushford, Winnebago County (NRHP 1982) (component at site represents Indian Waukau occupied ca. 1836 [Dirst 1981:12,55])
Tomah Indian School Historic District, Tomah, Monroe County (DOE 1981)
Lutheran Indian Mission, Town of Red Springs, Shawano County (NRHP 1980)

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See "Lt. James Gorrell's Journal" by Lt. James Gorrell, pp. 24-48.

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Temporal Boundries: (1634 - ca. 1680)

Spatial Boundaries: Southern Wisconsin

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Miami are an Algonquian-speaking group comprised in early times of six related divisions, the Atchatchakangoun, Kilatika, Mengakonkia, Pepikokia, Piankashaw, and Wea (Callender 1978b:681; Bauxar 1978:597). The Wea and the Piankashaw, and to a lesser extent the Papikoknia, can be traced independently in historic accounts, and were recognized as independent tribes (Temple 1958:57, Callender 1978b:681).

The Miami spoke a dialect of Illinois, and closely resembled the Illinois culturally (Callender 1978b:681). In Wisconsin, the Miami had close ties to the Mascouten and Kickapoo; these three tries shared a village (the village of the Mascouten) on the upper Fox River (Callender et al 1978:656).

Just prior to European contact, the Miami probably lied at the south end of Lake Michigan, hunting as far west as the Mississippi River. The Miami are often thought to be the historic group corresponding to the archeological Huber culture near Lake Michigan in Illinois (Callender 1978b:686, Fitting 1970:191). Quimby places the Miami in southeastern Wisconsin prior to European contact, ca. 1600, but there is no proof of this yet (Quimby 1960:109).

During the Early Historic Period, the Miami moved north into Wisconsin, perhaps as part of the population movements triggered by the wars of the Iroquois (Kay 1979:403, Callender 1978b:682). Callender, referring to the Miami in the village of the Mascouten, states, "Although this settlement is occasionally described as containing all the Miami, it was almost certainly only an outpost, probably established for closer access to the source of trade goods" (1978b:686). Kinietz also assumes that the Wisconsin location is an "extension" of the main body of Miami (Kinietz 1972:162).

In 1665-66, the Miami, Mascouten, and Kickapoo (and 15 cabins of the Illinois) moved to a spot 30 miles south of Green Bay in order to get trade goods more easily. After the fields at the new settlement were planted, the inhabitants of the villages went to hunt "cattle" (probably elk) (Thwaites, ed. 1902, vol. 16:41). The planting of the fields indicates that the move was made during the warmer months. A reference to the Miami in 1657-8, as being 60 leagues from Green Bay with 8000 men (24,000 people) may refer to the early location of the Miami in Illinois (Kay 1977:385).

In 1670, the Miami are reported in the village of the Mascouten, at which time there were 3000 Miami (800 men) in the village (Callender 1978b:686; Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:66; Jones 1907:178-179; Baerreis et al 1974:270). By mid-August, 1672, Father Allouez found about 90 Miami cabins (and three Wea cabins) at the village of the Mascouten (Silverberg 1957:73). During the early 1670s, the Miami are reported on the lower Wisconsin River, though these may have been hunting parties (Kay 1977:385). Callender (1978b:681) believes that in 1670 the Miami occupied Wisconsin south of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers.

In September of 1680, Father Louis Hennepin, traveling along the Fox River between the Fox-Wisconsin Portage and Green Bay, passed four lakes, on whose banks the Miami "formerly" resided (Silverberg 1957:78). By 1680 the Miami are considered to have

abandoned the Fox River (Kay 1977:385). Callender (1978b:681) indicates on his map that by 1680 the Miami had moved out of Wisconsin except for the extreme southeastern corner.

However, Perrot met Miami, Mascouten, and Kickapoo west of Green Bay in 1685, and apparently some Miami still lingered near Green Bay and along the upper Mississippi around 1683-85 (Silverberg 1957:81, Baerreis et al 1974:101). Kinietz (1972:163) quotes Deliette as saying that some Miami had moved from northern Illinois into southern Wisconsin shortly after 1689; Temple (1958:59-60) states that in 1702 there were still nearly 100 Miami along the Wisconsin River. Whether or not the entire tribe left Wisconsin about 1680, it is clear that a large portion did leave. Kay (1977:124) relates the emigration to the overhunting of big game in eastern Wisconsin in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Also, trade goods were available in other places besides Green Bay, and the French trading groups competed in luring Indians into their spheres of influence to settle and trade. (See Silverberg 1957 for a discussion of this point.)

The Miami culture disappeared before any ethnographer studied it, and though there are accounts of the nineteenth century Miami culture, the accounts of the seventeenth century and eighteenth century Miami are "not adequate" (Callender 1978:682), Kinietz discusses Miami material and social culture of the early periods, but much of the material he uses to describe them comes from the closely-related Illinois (Trowbridge 1938; Kinietz 1972).

What is known of the early Miami in Wisconsin is that many of them (especially of the Crane band) lived in a fortified village (of the Mascouten) in lodges of poles covered with rush mats (Kinietz 1972:170-171; Callender 1978b:682; Goddard 1975:668). They were a "prairie" group living mostly in a tall-grass prairie-deciduous forest habitat, relying heavily on agriculture and a commercial hunt (Silverberg 1957, Quimby 1960:109). They did not use birchbark canoes or snowshoes, even during their stay in Wisconsin (Kinietz 1972:171,176).

Many indicate that the large summer villages were permanent, and that the commercial hunt for large game took place in the winter (Fitting 1970:199; Quimby 1960:133; Fitting and Cleland 1969:289-290; Kinietz 1972:171) . However, based on the reference to the village south of Green Bay, it seems that in the early periods the Miami communal hunt occurred in the summer, as among the Illinois (see Kinietz 1972:178). The confusion may have arisen because by later historic times, the Miami had abandoned the summer hunt in favor of fishing, and also to meet the demands of the fur trade for animals killed only when their pelts were in prime condition (i.e., fall and winter) (Callender 1978b:682). It is unclear when this change took place. It may have been as early as the 1680s, when the Kickapoo, a tribe with a yearly round similar to the Miami, were found on the lakeshores where they could take abundant fish (see Middle Historic Kickapoo study unit). Fitting (1970:199) also mentions that the Miami had a custom of sweeping out the villages and dumping the debris away from the village.

Little is known of the early Miami political and social structure. Information on clans and moieties, beyond knowledge of their existence, is scanty (Callender 1978a:615-616,684). There was a sharp division between civil and military authority (Callender 1978b:684-685). Some women held positions of prestige, if not authority, among the Miami (Callender 1978a:617). The Calumet ceremony and the Midewiwin were present among the Miami (Quimby 1960:138, Kinietz 1972:186).

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types.

Early Historic and Middle Historic Miami. Summer (permanent) villages (fortified), large summer hunting camps, large dumps, cemeteries, dispersed winter hunting camps, trading posts, agricultural fields.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types.

Early Historic and Middle Historic Miami. Southern Wisconsin, especially areas of tall-grass prairie/decideous forest ecotone.

Previous Surveys. None.

Survey Needs.

Early Historic and Middle Historic Miami. Survey, identification and excavation of sites in southern Wisconsin to identify Miami artifact types and sites, and duration and extent of Miami occupation of Wisconsin.

Research Needs

Early Historic and Middle Historic Miami: The possibility that the Miami (as bearers of the Huber culture) occupied southeastern Wisconsin during prehistoric times should be investigated and the extent and dates of such occupation be determined. The subsistence base of the Miami should be confirmed through excavation and faunal analysis, and the yearly cycle determined. The presence or absence of the summer communal hunt, and the identification of the "cattle" that were hunted should be attempted, as well as the presence of signs of stress among the prey populations. Changes in the subsistence base are probable and should be identified. If they (i.e., summer fish procurement replacing summer large game hunting) are present, changes in the settlement system (i.e., in types and locations of sites), should also be examined.

Attempts should be made to distinguish the Miami from the Kickapoo and the Mascouten in Wisconsin, and also to discover if within the Miami, different groups were recognized. One research question that may never be fully answered is the original relationship among the six groups generally called the Miami.

Another study area, which concerns all of the tribes, is the manner in which European trade goods were incorporated into the earlier material culture. Were adult men the primary agents, as they participated in the fur trade? Did women's tools remain more conservative?

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

None

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Temporal Boundaries: Late Historic I Oneida (1822-1848), Late Historic II Oneida (1849-1899), Late Historic III Oneida (1900-present).

Spatial Boundaries: Late Historic I Oneida: Brown and Outagamie counties; Late Historic II Oneida: Brown and Outagamie counties; Late Historic III Oneida: Brown and Outagamie counties.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

LATE HISTORIC I ONEIDA

The Oneida, one of the original Five Nations of the Iroquois, moved to Wisconsin influenced by Eleazar Williams, the "Lost Dauphin." Other factors accounting for the move were the desire of the Ogden Land Company for clear title to land in New York, and the hopes of some white Americans that the Oneida might be protected from the harmful effects of acculturation.

Among the Oneida, Christians were willing to move, but what was called the "Orchard Party" opposed the move. In 1822, Williams and some Oneida left for Green Bay (Schafer 1937:46). By 1823 they had purchased some four million acres from the Menominee for "joint and undivided occupation," for about $3,000. President Monroe reduced this purchase to 500,000 acres, and the area was reduced still further in 1838 to 65,426 acres (Draper, ed. 1856, vol. 2:444).

By 1838, 634 Oneida had relocated in Wisconsin. The Oneida settled along Duck Creek, west of Green Bay, near the town of Oneida. They occupied two areas, with Anglicans in the north and Methodists in the south. An Anglican church, a substantial frame structure, was present in 1839, and in 1840 only two frame houses were in the settlement near the church. The men farmed, but relied heavily on wild game; winter hunts lasted several days. The Oneida also traveled in Wisconsin; around 1846, a group of "civilized" Oneida were reported at Watertown. They were making baskets for sale (Colman 1912:157,193).

At this time, the nuclear family was the primary economic unit, as contrasted to the earlier patterns of extended matrilineage in the longhouse. Descent was determined bilaterally, and clan exogamy was still considered in arranging marriages. Due to the Orthodox Protestant beliefs, no Longhouse or Handsome Lake Religion was established among the Wisconsin Oneida, though there was some syncretism of Christianity and traditional religion. Belief in magic and witchcraft persisted (Campisi 1978:485-486).

Little of the original political structure remained during the Late Historic I period. Some hereditary rights for chieftainships remained, and the senior women of lineages still influenced the appointment of council members who allotted the land and promulgated and enforced rules on the reservation. The council also represented the Oneida in dealing with the federal government (Sturtevant and Trigger 1978:186)

LATE HISTORIC II ONEIDA

In 1849, the 700 to 800 Oneida near Duck Creek lived in frame houses, had the reputation of good farmers with fine teams of horses, and celebrated the Fourth of July. The last shows their degree of accommodation to new conditions. Land was still owned collectively by the tribe (Cope 1967:135-137,144).

As the white population around Green Bay increased, so did the pressures on the Oneida to sell their land and on Congress to relocate them. The brunt of these pressures fell upon the hereditary tribal council, and some Oneida and the federal officials pressed for elected officials. An elective system was introduced in 1871, but received little support from most Oneida (Campisi 1978:487).

Land allotment following the General Allotment Act began in 1892, and by 1908 almost all tribal land had been distributed. Land assignments to family members were often physically separated, making effective farming difficult. The land became subject to taxes in 1908, and tax sales and foreclosures became common because many Oneida did not understand these provisions or were misled. After the General Allotment Act, the formal tribal government was disbanded and replaced by the town and county governments of the surrounding white communities. Religious, kin, and voluntary groups became important in maintaining the Oneida social fabric (Campisi 1978:487).

Another cause of culture change among the Oneida was the establishment of a government boarding school at Oneida in 1892 (later abandoned in 1919). Up until 1918, young Oneida were sent also to Carlisle or Hampton Institute. Ideas promoted by the boarding schools often clashed with traditional cultural values (Ritzenthaler 1950:13,40).

LATE HISTORIC III ONEIDA

By the mid-1920s, only a few hundred of the original 65,000 acres in Wisconsin were still owned by Oneida. With the loss of their land, some Oneidas took jobs in factories and on farms of their white neighbors. Others moved to Green Bay, Milwaukee, and Chicago, still retaining strong ties to the reservation (Campisi 1978:487).

Better roads and more white settlements, plus the attendance of children at schools which forbade the use of the Oneida language, led to increased contact with the white American community. Oneida-white intermarriage occurred, but not frequently. Some intermarriage with the Chippewa and Stockbridge also occurred (Ritzenthaler 1950:14). Still, except for on-the-job-situations, there was little interaction between the white and Oneida communities (Campisi 1978:487).

In 1934 the Indian Reorganization Act prohibited further allotment, established a means for the Oneida to recover land which had been lost to the tribe earlier, and provided funds for construction of new homes. The Oneida adopted a tribal constitution and a town style of government (Campisi 1978:487; Ritzenthaler 1950).

Despite the attempts of the Indian Reorganization Act, fieldwork done in 1939 by Ritzenthaler (1950) depicts a community hit hard by the Depression of the 1930s and earlier economic misfortunes. In 1939, the average Oneida family owned about 10 acres in an area where at least 80 acres of land was necessary to sustain a farm. Also, Oneida farms lacked many of the features found on European farms of the same period, such as barns, silos, outbuildings, and machinery. Many Oneida who had obtained jobs away from the reservation lost their jobs in the Depression and returned to the reservation (Ritzenthaler 1950:14,23).

About 1,500 Oneida lived on the reservation in the 1930s, forming, at least to an outsider, a "community . . . almost indistinguishable from any surrounding white rural community of comparably low economic status" (Ritzenthaler 1950:44-45). The main social unit appeared to be the nuclear family--the average Oneida family size of 4-1/2 corresponds to the surrounding white pattern of nuclear families and not to the old Oneida pattern of extended lineages. By 1939 the clan system was non-functional. There was still a trace of older Oneida traditions in the persistence of a practicing medicine man and a False Face kit for curing still in use. The last False Face ceremony on record in Wisconsin was

held in the 1920s (Ritzenthaler 1950:36,39).

The Christian churches, the most important agents of acculturation for the Oneida, were still the strongest social and ethical force among the Oneida. Oneidas viewed their religious life as a successful blend of Christianity and traditional religious beliefs (McLester 1985). Peyotism and the Dream Dance were not found among the Oneida in 1939 (Ritzenthaler 1950:46).

Many other features of life among the Oneida were shared with the surrounding white communities--ownership of the fields was held by men, instead of the old Iroquois system of ownership by women. Houses and clothing were not of native style; cloth garments of the old type were heirlooms. The Oneida children attended district public and parochial schools. There was no high school in Oneida, and transportation to the nearest high schools was a problem for Oneida students who wanted to continue with their secondary schooling (Ritzenthaler 1950:19-20,22,46).

Some of the traditional social and religious features of Oneida life disappeared by the 1970s--the medicine societies had vanished and the burial associations declined. A few hundred elderly people used the Oneida language, though, and an attempt was underway to teach it to the young. Methodism and Anglicanism (Episcopalianism) were still strong community forces (Campisi 1978:487).

By 1972, the Oneida owned 2,200 acres in a checkerboard pattern. In purchasing new land under funds provided by the Indian Reorganization Act, the Oneida faced the problems of any minority group . . . "fear of property devaluation because of minority group neighbors; a desire to segregate and quarantine; and ambivalently, a fear or distrust of heavy population concentration" (Barnett and Baerreis 1956:57). About 2,000 of the 6,684 Oneida enrolled in 1972 lived on or near the tribal lands. Two large housing projects using tribal funds were underway at Oneida (Campisi 1978:487). Several community buildings have been built, including a museum opened in 1979 (Lurie 1980:62). The Sacred Heart Center, long used by the Oneida community, was recently (1983) sold to the Oneida by the Diocese of Green Bay.

Much of the land around Oneida has gone from farmland to residential use as the city of Green Bay has expanded to the west (Campisi 1978:487). A dispute over the ownership of the former reservation area has developed between the Oneida and the surrounding civil and local governments.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types

Late Historic I Oneida: Farmsteads, churches, cemeteries, tribal buildings, winter hunting camps.

Late Historic II Oneida: Boarding schools, churches, farmsteads, communities, cemeteries.

Late Historic III Oneida: Buildings associated with tribe.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types

Late Historic I Oneida: Brown and Outagamie counties.

Late Historic II Oneida: Brown and Outagamie counties.

Late Historic III Oneida: Brown and Outagamie counties.

Previous Surveys. None.

Survey Needs

Late Historic I Oneida: Identification and recording of existing structures associated with Oneida tribal history. Archeological identification of Oneida hunting camps.

Late Historic II Oneida: Identification and recording of existing structures with significance for Oneida tribal history.

Late Historic III Oneida: Identification and compilation of historic structures; the community history should be collected and written down.

Research Needs

Late Historic I Oneida. There seems to have been a different degrees of acculturation between Oneida men and women; the women were perhaps more conservative (at least in dress). Whether this female conservatism is also apparent in other aspects of Oneida culture, and if it is, how long is persisted, are areas that could be studied archeologically or by examination of existing records. A comparison between the Oneida and their European neighbors would also be interesting to see how different their adaptations were.

Late Historic II Oneida. The Late Historic II Period in Wisconsin saw a concerted attack on the Oneida tribe and its traditions, yet information on how the Oneida faced these challenges is incomplete. Little knowledge of day to day life among the Oneida of this period is available. Research should address these topics.

Late Historic III Oneida. The Oneida have remained a distinct population despite attempts to assimilate them and the acceptance by the Oneida of many of the trappings of European culture. Part of this is due to the suspicion with which they have been, and still are, viewed by their white neighbors. Other forces that enabled the Oneida to survive as Oneida, and the structure of the community are poorly understood.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

None.

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Temporal Boundaries: Early Historic Ottawa (1634-1670), Middle and Late Historic I Ottawa (1670-1848), Late Historic II and III Ottawa (1849-Present).

Spatial Boundaries: Early Historic Ottawa. Rock Island, Door County; Mechingan, Kewaunee County; Bald Island (in Mississippi River); Lac Court Oreilles, Sawyer County; Middle and Late Historic I Ottawa. Lake Michigan shoreline from Milwaukee to Rock Island, Green Lake County; Late Historic II and III Ottawa. Central and eastern Wisconsin, Forest County, Lac du Flambeau Reservation.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

EARLY HISTORIC OTTAWA

At the time of contact with the Europeans, the Ottawa (or Odawa) lived on Manitoulin Island and the Bruce Peninsula (Ontario), and probably the north and east shores of Georgian Bay (Clifton 1977:12; Feest and Feest 1978:772). "Ottawa" was used in the seventeenth century to refer to four groups, the Sable, the Sinago, the Kiskakon, and the Nassauakueton, which comprised the Ottawa tribe, or to the Sable group in particular. "Ottawa" was also sometimes used to name any upper Algonquians trading at Montreal (Feest and Feest 1978:772; Fitting 1970:195).

The Ottawa came as traders to the Winnebago as early as 1623, and by 1650-1651 some Ottawa lived on "Huron" (probably Rock) Island at the entrance to Green Bay, reportedly fleeing the depredations of the Iroquois to the east (Lurie 1960:791; Mason 1974:1981). In 1653, the Ottawa left the island for the fortified Potawatomi village of Mechingan, somewhere along the Lake Michigan shoreline, to prepare for an expected Iroquois attack. Two hundred Ottawa warriors are listed among those assembled to meet the attack (Blair 1911, vol. 1:148-149; 151-152; Clifton 1977:39; Kinietz 1972:329). About 1656 the Ottawa were reported along the Mississippi River, settling on Pelee (Bald) Island at the upper end of Lake Pepin for several years (Blair 1911, vol. 1:159). Adams (1961:96) identifies this island as Prairie Island in Minnesota, but this has not been proven.

Around 1660, the Ottawa moved to Chequamegon Bay on the south shore of Lake Superior, perhaps to escape trouble with the Eastern Dakota, in whose territory the Ottawa had settled (Blair 1911, vol. 1:164-165). By 1666, the Ottawa were living in a large village at Chequamegon, possibly at La Pointe (Thwaites 1902:59,64). A settlement of about 100 cabins at Lac Court Oreilles about 1658-1665 which was described by Radisson is probably Ottawa (Scull 1943:199). This assumption is supported by the observation that the Ojibwa referred to Lac Court Oreilles as "Ottawa Lake," and Vennum (1982:22) notes that the Ottawa fished in the lake for years before the Chippewa settled there around 1745 (Swanton 1952:261, Vennum 1982:22). The settlement had about 100 cabins, was not palisaded, and had both canoes and dugouts along the lake bank (Scull 1943:199). Apparently some Ottawa (Sinagos) remained at Green Bay into the 1660s (Feest and Feest 1978:774). In 1670 the French priests described the Ottawa and Hurons at Chequamegon as living on fish, corn, and squash, "rarely" hunting, and numbering more than 1500 people. One of the three groups of Ottawa at Chequamegon had accepted Christianity (Blair 1911, vol. 1:173; Thwaites 1902:77).

In 1670, the Ottawa and the Hurons began leaving Chequamegon for Manitoulin Island and Michilimackinac because of war with the Eastern Dakota (Feest and Feest 1978:772). Most Ottawa left Wisconsin in the 1670s (Kay 1977:165).

The Ottawa are assumed by many to have fled to Wisconsin to escape the Iroquois again (Feest and Feest 1978:772). Protecting their role as middlemen in the fur trade also may have influenced the relocation at Chequamegon, because at that time the Ottawa were the key middlemen between the French and the interior tribes (Clifton 1977:40). The good fishing at Chequamegon was also important to the Ottawa, since fishing was an important part of the Ottawa economy (Cleland 1982:761,776).

The Ottawa spoke a southeastern dialect of Ojibwa (Feest and Feest 1978:772). In the legendary past, the Ottawa, the Ojibwa, and the Potawatomi were said to have been one people (Clifton 1977:30-31; Lurie 1969:5). The Ottawa defined descent patrilineally (Quimby 1960:119). They were semi-sedentary, living in large villages during the summer and separating into family groups during the autumn and winter for hunting. Summer hunting also occurred but it was less far-ranging and important than winter hunting. Trading parties seem to have been far-reaching (Adams 1961; Scull 1943). In the spring, people assembled in a large village again (Kinietz 1972:237; Quimby 1960:128). Each subgroup and each Ottawa village had its own chief, who ruled less by authority than by example (Feest and Feest 1978:777). Clans were present (Quimby 1960:130). The Ottawa may have helped introduce the Feast of the Dead to the tribes of the western Great Lakes (Hickerson 1960). For more detailed and extensive discussions of Ottawa ethnography see Kinietz (1972) and Feest and Feest (1978).

MIDDLE AND LATE HISTORIC I OTTAWA

The Ottawa are seldom mentioned by those describing Wisconsin during the Middle Historic Period (1670-1760). Very early in this period, three cabins of Ottawa lived at the village of the Mascoutens, possibly in Green Lake County (Kay 1977:387). Some members of the "Nation of the Fork" (Nassauakueton) were at Green Bay in 1671, in 1683, a party of Kiskakon hunters was met along Green Bay (Kinietz 1972:309, Clifton 1977:77). Some Ottawa were seen along the Wisconsin River later in the period, but they may have been only traveling through the area (Thwaites 1906:323). It is not known whether the Ottawa were actually resident in Wisconsin during this time, but Kay thinks that a few Ottawa remained throughout the Middle Historic Period, and went unnoticed and unmentioned due to the lack of European travelers in the area (Kay 1977:125).

By 1762, the Ottawa are again mentioned in lists of Native American groups living in Wisconsin. They were reported on islands (Rock and Washington) at the mouth of Green Bay, at Milwaukee, and possibly at points in between along the lakeshore (Sturtevant and Trigger 1978:773; Kay 1977:163,166). In 1762, Lt. James Gorrell listed 100 Ottawa warriors living at Little Detroit (Washington Island) and Milwaukee (Draper 1855, vol. 1:32-33). Jonathan Carver visited an Ottawa town of about 25 lodges on Washington Island in 1766 (Mason 1974:153). The Milwaukee village in 1762 had a reputation among British reporters as a nest of troublemakers, which at that time may have meant that they were anti-British (Kay 1977:169, Wheeler-Voegelin et al 1974:30). Holzhueter suggests that the Ottawa who moved out of Wisconsin during the 1670s moved back into the state during the 1760s to avoid the British, the new European masters of the Great Lakes (Holzhueter 1976:8). The Ottawa had sided with the French, though once the British had taken over the territory some segments of the Ottawa switched allegiances (Sturtevant and Trigger 1978:774). The resentment the Great Lakes tribes felt against the British resulted in the 1763 conflict led by Pontiac, an Ottawa (Stone and Chaput 1978:606).

By 1795, the Ottawa lived in mixed villages (mostly with Ojibwa and Potawatomi) along the Lake Michigan shore. This group later became the "United Tribes." The Ottawa way of life at this time was apparently similar to those of the more thoroughly documented Ojibwa and Potawatomi. The lakeshore Ottawa hunted and trapped in the forest within about 20 miles of their villages (Kay 1977:174, Kay 1979:412). Crops were supplemented by wild plant foods. By this time, maple sugaring was an important

activity for Great Lakes Indians, including the Ottawa. Fall fishing may have been dropped to allow more time for fall trapping and hunting for the fur trade; not until the end of the Late Historic I (1760-1848) period, when there was a scarcity of large game, did fishing become important again (Kay 1977:172, 290-291). Fragmentation of villages in this period may have been based on the necessities of the fur trade (Kay 1977:206). Some of the Ottawa still traveled widely to trade, as shown by Grignon's account of Ottawa and Sauk capturing Missouri River Indians and selling them as slaves to the Menominee and other tribes (Draper 1876, vol. 7:256).

In an 1824 census of Wisconsin tribes, the Ottawa are listed among the tribes south from Green Bay to the Manitowoc River, and from Green Bay to the north side of the Milwaukee River (Thwaites, ed. 1911, vol. 20:350). Not all Ottawa were then living in Wisconsin (Thwaites, ed. 1911, vol. 20:50). In the 1830s and 1840s, Ottawa were living in mixed villages in Sheboygan and Manitowoc counties, with Ojibwa, Menominee, Potawatomi, and Sauk (Anderson 1912:162, Gerend 1920:129).

The Sheboygan County mixed villages were described as containing about 100 bark wigwams which housed 400 to 500 people (Gerend 1920:129-130). Corn and potatoes were raised in fields near the village. The villages were occupied only part of the year, apparently during the summer months as crops were grown while the villages were occupied. These mixed groups were part of the United Tribes, which refused to leave Wisconsin at the time of removals.

LATE HISTORIC II AND III OTTAWA

During the Late Historic II Period (1849-1913) some Ottawa were removed to Kansas, and others, in the face of growing white settlement, voluntarily emigrated to Ontario (Manitoulin Island) (Feest and Feest 1978:780). In the early part of the Late Historic II Period some Wisconsin Ottawa tried to maintain their way of life under increasing pressure for removal. Early settler James B. Anderson described a mixed village in Manitowoc County around 1853, and outlined its yearly round (Anderson 1912:161-165). The village occupied one location each year as a sort of "headquarters", and other camps at spots such as river rapids (for fishing?). Cemeteries were near the village and camps. In the fall and winter, only the old people stayed in the village. Before the snow fell, the other villagers packed food, clothing and other goods on ponies and went north, returning in the spring to make maple sugar. In the village described by Anderson, the maple sugar grove was just across the river from the village, so the people returned to the village. In summer, the bark houses ("tepees") were moved to the bottomlands near the planting grounds, where corn, pumpkins, squash, beans, and some potatoes were grown. "Each family seemed to have its own tract." The women tended the gardens, and traded buckskins, beadwork, and baskets for seed potatoes. Most Indians left the Manitowoc County area around 1853-1854, though small groups stayed longer; Anderson reports a "corn dance" near Hayton in Calumet County around 1860 (Anderson 1912:161-165).

Some 50 Ottawa lived among the Ojibwa around 1910 at the Lac du Flambeau Reservation, and there were probably Ottawa living among the Potawatomi in Wisconsin at this time (Feest and Feest 1978:785). In the 1950s, six Ottawa lived among the Forest County Potawatomi, but whether they were from Wisconsin is not known (Ritzenthaler 1953:112). Probably many people among the Forest County Potawatomi had some Ottawa ancestors, since by the 1920s this group had replaced some Potawatomi language elements with Ottawa elements (Callender 1962:xiii). Ottawa communities are found today in Michigan and Canada.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types

Early Historic Ottawa. Summer hunting camps, summer villages, winter hunting camps, fishing camps, cemeteries. Though the Feast of the Dead was held in northern Wisconsin, no ossuaries were built (Adams 1961; Scull 1943).

Middle and Late Historic I Ottawa. Museum collections, manuscript and iconographic collections, summer villages, sugaring camps, winter (hunting and trapping) camps, fish dams and fishing stations, agricultural field, trading posts, dancing grounds.

Late Historic II and III Ottawa. Villages, winter hunting camps, maple sugaring camps, cemeteries, agricultural fields, dancing grounds.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types

Early Historic Ottawa. Huron (Rock) Island, the Chequamegon Bay area, the Lake Michigan shoreline in northeastern Wisconsin, the Lake Pepin area and Lac Court Oreilles. Fishing camps and summer villages should be found along lakes or river, and usually among the Great Lakes tribes the winter hunting camps were inland.

Middle and Late Historic I Ottawa. Archaeological sites within about 20 miles of the Lake Michigan shoreline. Collections at SHSW, museums, and colleges in Wisconsin.

Late Historic II and III Ottawa. Archaeological sites in eastern Wisconsin, collections at SHSW, museums, and colleges in Wisconsin.

Survey Needs

Early Historic Ottawa. Very little has been done archeologically concerning the Ottawa in Wisconsin. The only known Ottawa remains in Wisconsin from the Early Historic Period are from the Rock Island II site, a mixed settlement of Huron, Petun, and Ottawa (Mason 1981:397). Early Historic Period material collected from Madeline Island is probably not Ottawa (Quimby 1966:115). The Bald (Prairie?) Island location has not been confirmed archeologically, and the Lac Court Oreilles location is tentative and needs testing.

Middle and Late Historic I Ottawa. Again, the Rock Island II site is the only excavated site with identified Ottawa material from this period (R.J. Mason 1981:397ff). Other archeological sites from Middle and Late Historic Periods should be identified, tested and excavated to provide a data base. Collections (museum, etc.) should be examined so that Ottawa-related material can be inventoried.

Late Historic II and III Ottawa. Identification, testing and excavation of sites representative of the yearly round of the Ottawa before removal and emigration from eastern Wisconsin. Community studies to determine whether Ottawa are part of Native American communities in Wisconsin today. Inventory of collections to establish bibliography of available Ottawa material.

Research Needs

Early Historic Ottawa. Little is known of the yearly round of the Ottawa in Wisconsin during the Early Historic Period. It is not known whether the Wisconsin Ottawa villages broke up into smaller groups during the cold season. It is also not known if the Wisconsin Ottawa had access to inland territory for hunting, or were limited to the vicinity of their large villages. If the villages were occupied year-round, the Ottawa may have been barred from access to the interior for hunting and trapping. If the villages had been

abandoned for part of the year some dispersal into smaller groups (perhaps not even in Wisconsin) would be likely.

The Ottawa have been described by Fitting and Cleland as adapted to the Carolinian-Canadian biotic zone but based on the group's earliest known location and the zones shown in Fitting and Cleland's map, the Ottawa were living in the Canadian biome before their dispersal (Fitting and Cleland 1969:290-291). Archeological investigation of Ottawa subsistence may indicate whether the Ottawa "adaptive strategy" was based on one biotic zone or on resources such as fish which are not necessarily tied to one zone (Cleland 1982).

Middle and Late Historic I Ottawa. Research should begin with the problem of whether all Ottawa left Wisconsin during the Middle Historic Period, or if some remained in the state unnoticed by passing European travelers. Also unresolved is the importance of fishing in the Late Historic I Period. Was there a shift away from fall fishing to hunting and trapping early in the Late Historic I Period, and then a return to fall fishing at the end of the period, or did the older pattern of heavy reliance on fishing persist throughout the period?

The mixed villages present an interesting archeological problem. Whether there are any archeologically observable differences among the various groups in the villages is unknown, and any differences may reflect the degree of assimilation or "homogeneity" in the villages. A series of sites should be excavated to confirm the hypothetical yearly round of the Ottawa.

Late Historic II and III Ottawa. The degree to which the Ottawa retain a distinctive Ottawa culture, or have been assimilated into other Native American groups, is not known.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Rock Island Historic District, Town of Washington, Door County (NRHP 1972)

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Temporal Boundaries: Early Historic Potawatomi (c. 1640 - 1670), Middle Historic Potawatomi (1670-1760), Late Historic I Potawatomi (1760-1848), Late Historic II Potawatomi (1848-1899), Late Historic III Potawatomi (1900 - present).

Spatial Boundaries: Early Historic Potawatomi: northeastern Wisconsin, along Green Bay and Lake Michigan; Middle Historic Potawatomi: along Green Bay and the Lake Michigan shoreline; Late Historic I Potawatomi: Lake Michigan coast and southeastern Wisconsin, especially Waukesha and Milwaukee counties; Late Historic II Potawatomi: eastern, central, and northeastern Wisconsin; Late Historic III Potawatomi: Wood, Forest, and Menominee counties.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

EARLY HISTORIC POTAWATOMI

The Potawatomi are an Algonquian-speaking group who originally lived in the western part of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan (Clifton 1975:48; Clifton 1978:725; Quimby 1960:109). They were driven from this area by Iroquoian, probably Neutral, attacks (Clifton 1977:16; Kinietz 1972:309; also see Trigger 1976). It is likely that the Dumaw Creek site in Michigan represents the remains of ancestors of the historic Potawatomi, though Fitting groups the Potawatomi, Sauk, Kickapoo, Mascouten, and Fox together as "People of the Fire" (Quimby 1966:33; Fitting 1970:191). It may be difficult to distinguish these groups archeologically.

The refugee Potawatomi moved to the Sault Ste. Marie area around 1642 and came into Wisconsin from the north via the islands at the mouth of Green Bay and via Green Bay itself, a route substantiated by Potawatomi tradition (Clifton 1975:48; Kay 1977:387; C.I. Mason 1983:83; Lawson 1920:42). During this time of migration from the Lower Peninsula, and prior to about 1650 when the Huron-Tionnontate arrived, the Potawatomi briefly occupied Rock Island and left behind traces of their settlement at the Rock Island II site. Pottery such as that found at the Dumaw Creek site and like Type II pottery from the Bell site (near Oshkosh), along with a few French trade goods, was found in this occupation (R.J. Mason 1981:400).

In 1653, Potawatomi lived in a large, fortified village (Mechyngan), probably along the Lake Michigan shore near Kewaunee. This village was inhabited by people from several tribes, and it was here in 1653 that a force assembled to meet an Iroquois invasion. Four hundred Potawatomi men were enumerated by the French (Clifton 1975:48; 1977:38-39).

By 1658, the Potawatomi were numbered at 700 warriors and a total of 3,000 people near Green Bay. About this time, the Potawatomi were referred to as "arbiters" for the tribes around the Bay, as well as for their immediate neighbors (Kay 1977:387; Thwaites, ed. 1902, vol. 16:8).

On Radisson's "Superior voyage" (circa 1663?), he met Potawatomi at Manitoulin Island and later visited them at Green Bay (Adams 1961:vi; Scull 1943). Young Potawatomi men from Green Bay were traveling to Montreal to trade at around 1665-1666. The Potawatomi were already attempting to set themselves up as middlemen in the French-Indian fur trade at this time (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:35,38; see also Clifton 1977). At least some of the Potawatomi were living in a fortified village. The French listed at least 300 men bearing arms (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:37-39,55). The Potawatomi were said to live on the south part of Green Bay, or along Lake Michigan. They hunted,

fished (sturgeon was especially important), and grew abundant maize. It was about this time that disease seems to have struck the tribe (Kay 1977:387).

Around 1667, a group of Potawatomi also lived at Chequamegon on Lake Superior--here some 34 children were baptized (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:60). There were 300 warriors at Chequamegon, and Clifton deduces the presence of women and children since the group planted and raised corn, work traditionally done by women. It may have been during this time that the Potawatomi adopted the Calumet Ceremony from more western tribes (Clifton 1977:34,124).

Some Potawatomi lived in the mixed village of 600 people on Green Bay in 1669, and they probably lived in the four villages mentioned along Green Bay in 1670 (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:67; Kinietz 1972:309). Clifton suggests that these were predominantly Potawatomi summer villages (Clifton 1977:54).

In their effort to establish a middleman role, the Potawatomi were developing a strong alliance with the French, and their fruitful cultivation of the French is shown by the flattering French references to them (Clifton 1977:40-41; see Thwaites 1902, vol. 16).

Clifton describes the pre-contact Potawatomi not as a chiefdom, but as a segmentary tribe with multiple leadership, the primary political units being the individual Potawatomi villages. Some of these villages may have been identified with a single clan, but sometimes contained several clans (Clifton 1975:94; 1977:34). The Potawatomi villages shared a "single," "cohesive" tribal culture and society with a stronger tribal identity and solidarity than the Chippewa or the Ottawa, two other nearby groups that were not organized politically into chiefdoms (Clifton 1977:16; 1978:730). Much of the original Potawatomi political organization was probably retained during the Early Historic period.

MIDDLE HISTORIC POTAWATOMI

At the beginning of the Middle Historic Period, the Potawatomi were still along Green Bay, establishing their place in the fur trade and as firm allies of the French. In February of 1672 or 1673, the Potawatomi founded a village at Suamico, where sturgeon were an important resource (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:86-87). Hunters left this village for several days on communal bear hunts (Kay 1977:118-119). There was also a Potawatomi village on the east shore of Green Bay at this time. This second village at least was abandoned in September because of a lack of acorns and ducks (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:88). This may be the village or "fort" visited by Allouez in February of 1670 on the east shore and south end of Green Bay, shown in the 1674 map (Thwaites, vol. 16) between Point Sable and Red Banks (Kinietz 1972:314, Neville 1906:146-147).

Clifton maps eight villages around Green Bay circa 1680 that are either Potawatomi or mixed groups including Potawatomi: at Suamico, at Bay Settlement, at Red Banks (probably the Potawatomi "fort"), north of Sturgeon Bay, at Algoma, at Kewaunee, at Two Rivers, and on Rock Island (Clifton 1977:54).

The village at Rock Island (Island of the Poues) was visited by La Salle in 1678 and 1679 (see R.J. Mason 1974). This village was a "large and bustling" settlement that served as a trading station where French traders could be intercepted before they reached the tribes farther west. This may be seen as another attempt by the Potawatomi to take on and maintain the role of middleman in the French fur trade, a role previously held by the Ottawa (C.I. Mason n.d.:17; 1983:83).

Archeological investigations at the Rock Island site showed that this occupation dates from 1670 through 1730. Ceramics attributed to the Potawatomi were again present among the remains, and in contrast to the first Potawatomi occupation of the site, there were numerous French trade goods (R.J. Mason 1981, 1985). These trade goods are typical of

the Middle Historic Period. Other archeological remains included house floors, refuse pits, and part of a stockade. Also found in the village were the remains of the small trading house and fur warehouse built by La Salle in 1678. The rectangular outlines of the cedar plank structures, limestone chimneys, and masonry fireplaces differ from the Native American house types and indicate European construction (R.J. Mason 1985).

The Potawatomi in the end could not establish a monopoly on trade in the Green Bay area, but were not willing to admit that they were on an equal footing with the other tribes of the area (Clifton 1977:63).

In 1698, the break-up of a Potawatomi village near Kewaunee was recorded by a French traveler; its people were apparently moving to Green Bay. A second Potawatomi village at Manitowoc was seen at this time, and it was also noted that the Potawatomi shared villages at Milwaukee and Racine with the Mascouten and Fox (Kay 1977:388; Wheeler-Voegelin 1974:318). There was perhaps a village at the Sturgeon Bay portage, but the notation could also refer to one farther north possibly on the Green Bay islands. It has been suggested that the break-up of the village at Kewaunee was just the normal abandonment during the winter (Clifton 1977:85; Wheeler-Voegelin 1974:319).

Also at this time, some Potawatomi were moving back into Michigan. By 1695, some 200 Potawatomi warriors had moved to the area around the St. Joseph River. In 1701, many Potawatomi settled at Detroit, drawn by the opening of hunting in Ohio and the possibility of obtaining superior English trade goods (Kellogg 1908:159; Clifton 1977:72; Kinietz 1972:309-310).

Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, there are numerous references to the Potawatomi at Detroit and on the St. Joseph River. It appears that most of the Potawatomi were in Michigan at this time. In 1720-1721, the principal settlement seemed to be on the St. Joseph River (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:275,286,308,372,397-398,409; Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:149,216,249,25l,393,507).

Raudot writes in 1710 that the Potawatomi had a village on islands in Green Bay that included 80 to 100 warriors (Kinietz 1972:381). The Potawatomi here raised much corn. Clifton suggests that the large Potawatomi cornfields for the Rock Island village were on the larger Washington Island (Clifton 1977:38). In 1718, the Potawatomi still lived on Rock Island and were described as a very warlike tribe, hostile to the Iroquois and having "no regard" for other groups, though they were now less numerous than other groups. The island was said to abound in grain (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:359). In 1721, the Potawatomi were described as living on one of the smallest of the Green Bay islands (Rock Island) in a village small in comparison to those at Detroit and on the St. Joseph River (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:309-310). In 1728, the Rock Island village was described as having 20 warriors and was apparently not occupied by the Potawatomi after this date (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:249; Kinietz 1972:309-310). Some Potawatomi also lived among the Winnebago at this time (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:32).

Clifton believes that the Potawatomi along the Door Peninsula remained in Wisconsin, unnoticed and unchronicled. About 1750, Potawatomi from the St. Joseph River area began moving into southern Wisconsin and northern Illinois to take advantage of the weakened Illinois tribes' territories (Clifton 1977:72). The Potawatomi established their settlement at Milwaukee at this time. They may have acquired horses in large numbers about this time too, enabling them to exploit the prairies (Wheeler-Voeglin 1974:128,304).

In 1757, some Potawatomi lived at Detroit and St. Joseph River in addition to their settlement at Milwaukee (and probably farther north). A smallpox epidemic in that year severely hurt them (Wheeler-Voeglin 1974:329).

Baerreis states that before 1700 the Potawatomi based their subsistence on agriculture

and hunting, especially of deer and bear (Baerreis 1974:258,267). In winter, fish were heavily exploited, and Potawatomi villages on or near lakeshores and the lower reaches of rivers were located to take advantage of this resource. The use of the canoe by the Potawatomi since their earliest encounters with Europeans also indicates an orientation to a more riverine, woodland way of life than that followed by some Potawatomi in later periods. In 1709, Raudot describes the Potawatomi as "people of the lakes" who are sedentary and grow "wheat" (Kinietz 1972:366). Already by 1720, though, the Potawatomi were hunting bison along the Mississippi River like the "people of the prairies" (C.I. Mason 1983:84).

Little has been written about Potawatomi political organization during this period, but Clifton suggests that the pattern of powerful chiefs shown by later Potawatomi groups developed during this period as a response to relationships with the French and to the changing adaptation of the tribe as it engaged in the fur trade (Kinietz 1972:314; Clifton 1977:55,62). The importance of good relations with the French was that they could protect the Potawatomi from the Iroquois and avoid competition with the already established traders such as the Ottawa. As seen above, the Potawatomi were not able to monopolize the trade, but the French alliance encouraged the development of chieftainship among them. This view contrasts with Baerreis' (1973), who saw the originally strong Potawatomi chiefs undermined by outside influences during the fur trade. The Potawatomi did adopt the Midewiwin from the Chippewa sometime during this period (Clifton 1977:l24).

The clans and clan segments continued to be the most important features of Potawatomi social structure, with one clan constituting the core membership of a small village, and several clan segments forming the larger composite villages. During the later Middle Historic Period, some of one larger Potawatomi clans dispersed, with segments found in widely separated villages. Clifton suggests that the Potawatomi of this period still shared a tribal identity and culture (Clifton 1977:xiv,116).

LATE HISTORIC I POTAWATOMI

The Late Historic I Period saw intensive Potawatomi settlement in southeastern Wisconsin. Lt. James Gorrell did not list Potawatomi as dependents of the Green Bay post in 1761 and 1762 (Draper, ed. 1855, vol. 1:24-28). In 1763, however, Potawatomi lived in the mixed village about one mile upstream from the mouth of the Milwaukee River, and they were reported as living on the Green Bay islands (Wheeler-Voegelin 1974:72; Kay 1977:395-396). The Milwaukee village is seen by many as the northernmost of a series of Potawatomi villages around the south end of Lake Michigan, indicating that the important Potawatomi occupation of Wisconsin had shifted south from Green Bay (Clifton 1977:160; Quimby 1966:142).

In 1779, Potawatomi were again recorded as living in a village at the mouth of the Milwaukee River. This village continued to have a large number of Potawatomi throughout the rest of the eighteenth century (Wheeler-Voegelin 1974:337,343). The Milwaukee village was described by one who saw it around 1800 as consisting in summer of about 30 bark lodges. Some of these houses were "quite long," had divisions, and housed several families. About 75 families lived in the village, with two or three "gun-men" per family--fathers, sons, and sons-in-law. Each family cultivated at most five to six acres, growing corn, pumpkins, beans, melons, and a few potatoes. The fields were fenced for protection against horses. Cows and pigs were not kept by the villagers who relied on game for their meat. Deer was plentiful, bear were not, and it was a "great place for muskrat." Wild plums, berries, and grapes were also eaten, and in the spring the Potawatomi made large quantities of maple sugar for their own use and for sale (Wheeler-Voegelin 1974:345).

Kay states that in 1805 the Potawatomi abandoned the Green Bay islands. However,

some Potawatomi probably stayed along the Lake Michigan shore in the mixed villages of Manitowoc and Sheboygan counties, where they were reported in mixed villages at the end of the Late Historic I Period (Kay 1977:281; Anderson 1912:162; Gerend 1920:129). During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the Milwaukee River was generally taken by the United States as the northern limit of Potawatomi territory and the dividing line between the Potawatomi and the Menominee (see Wheeler-Voegelin 1974:374-375).

From the village at Milwaukee around 1800, the Potawatomi moved inland by 1812 to villages at Wauwatosa, Waukesha, Muskego, and Mukwonago. White settlement after 1800 spurred the Potawatomi move from Milwaukee. About 1820, Potawatomi lived in villages at Pewaukee, Waukesha, Muskego, Vernon, Mukwonago, and Wauwatosa (Wheeler-Voegelin 1974:304,354-355,360). An 1819 Indian census listed 110 Potawatomi men, 75 women, and 100 children in eight towns that were in an area 45 miles north of Chicago. In 1821, Potawatomi were attached to the Chicago Indian Agency and the Green Bay Agency (Thwaites 1911, vol. 20:50,237). By 1840, the Potawatomi had moved westward to Waubeka, Kewaskum, Horicon, Beaver Dam, Watertown, Koshkonong, Lake Geneva, Burlington, Oconomowoc, and Pike Lake. The dispersal may be related to the increasing white settlement in southeastern Wisconsin, though Kay suggests that Potawatomi immigration into southeastern Wisconsin after 1760 (and possibly continuing) boosted the population (Wheeler-Voegelin 1974:304; Kay 1977:274).

About 1836, the Potawatomi had 400 warriors at Waukesha, 300 men at Muskego Lake, and 300 to 500 men at Mukwonago. The Waukesha village had a cemetery in what is now Cutler Park. The village or camp at Pewaukee Lake also had several hundred people. Big Foot's Village at Lake Geneva, a collection of lodges with surrounding gardens, was abandoned in 1836, but the associated cornhills were visible as late as 1840. One Potawatomi band in 1836 made about 1,000 pounds of maple sugar on Sugar Creek. Another band in 1837 raised about two acres of corn, and had about two dozen ponies (Kay 1977:409-410; Lawson 1920:65,68).

By the nineteenth century, some Potawatomi had even settled as far west as Prairie du Chien (C.I. Mason 1983:84). Potawatomi claims to land in southwestern Wisconsin were ceded in 1829, and the Treaty of Chicago in 1833 ceded Potawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa lands in Wisconsin, mostly in the southeastern part of the state. After the Treaty of Chicago, part of the Wisconsin Potawatomi were moved west in 1836, first to Iowa and then to Kansas. Some Potawatomi also fled north, and between 1833 and 1845 there was a major migration of Potawatomi to Canada northward along the Lake Michigan shore (Clifton 1977:182,280,286; Lawson 1920:98; Lurie, 1980:18,21).

Census figures on Potawatomi migration to Canada during the 1830s present a picture of Wisconsin Potawatomi social structure at that time. The Potawatomi came as intact, extended family and lineage groups and settled in Canada in groups based on the groupings in their villages in Wisconsin and northern Illinois. There is some indication that even at this date these villages were organized around lineage groups (Clifton 1977:307).

By the 1830s, the single unitary Potawatomi tribe had broken down, with the territorial expansion (outside Wisconsin) during the Late Historic I Period. The removal of Potawatomi to land west of the Mississippi also led to the break up (Clifton 1977:xiv,276).

The Potawatomi living north of Milwaukee on the Lake Michigan shore seem to have differed from the rest of the Potawatomi even before deportation. Skinner mentions three Potawatomi bands in southeastern Wisconsin, and a group called the "between" people, along the Lake Michigan shore speaking a dialect which was different from the rest of the tribe (Skinner 1924-1927:16). Morgan L. Martin described Potawatomi and Ottawa in 1827; they occupied the lakeshore from the entrance to Green Bay south to Milwaukee, with the principal villages at Manitowoc, Pigeon River (Sheboygan County), and on the

Sheboygan River. Temporary camps occupied other areas along the lakeshore (Wheeler-Voegelin 1974:369).

Lawson (1920) gives an extensive list of "Potawatomi" villages (probably mixed villages) along the lakeshore, including a large village at Bay Settlement, one in the Town of Union (Door County), and a large village at Sturgeon Bay. Potawatomi/Ottawa/Chippewa villages are reported in Kewaunee, Manitowoc, Sheboygan, and Ozaukee counties, in addition to those of Waukesha, Milwaukee, and Dodge counties.

A rather detailed account of life in the mixed but mainly Potawatomi lakeshore villages was given to Lawson by Potawatomi leader Simon Kahquados (Lawson 1920:69-71; Kay 1977:281). The original correspondence and notes from the Lawson-Kahquados friendship are on file in the Archives Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Kahquados described the yearly cycle starting in mid-April with the redhorse and sucker runs, and also maple sugar making. In mid-May the sturgeon runs upriver began, and at the beginning of June the planting season started. Raspberries and blackberries were picked in July and August. In September, wild apples, plums, and nuts were gathered, and cranberries were picked. In October, potatoes, squash, beans, peas, pumpkins, melons, corn, and onions were harvested, and lake trout came in close to the shore where they were speared in large numbers. In November, everyone except the old men and women left the village for the hunting grounds, where they hunted deer, bear, raccoon, turkey, prairie chicken, ducks, and geese. In December, still away from the village, the people trapped wildcat, wolf, otter, badger, and mink. In January, the band returned from trapping and stayed indoors during the cold weather. In February, the band kept close to the wigwam and began to prepare for the maple sugar season. In March, the people speared sucker through the ice along the lakefront (Lawson 1920:74).

During the 1830s, the Potawatomi adaptation to the fur trade and European settlement began to break down. The fur trade itself was losing its importance in Wisconsin. As noted earlier, the beginning of extensive white settlement pushed the Potawatomi out of their territory, and it led to agitation by white settlers for the removal of the Potawatomi. After 1833, the Potawatomi in southern Wisconsin hunted and raided west of the Mississippi. They were not as rapidly overwhelmed by white settlers as the Potawatomi farther south and east. The Wisconsin Potawatomi tried to maintain their traditional subsistence pattern in the face of change, but were eventually pushed northward by white settlement or removed by the United States military. The Potawatomi suffered a smallpox epidemic in the winter of 1832-1833 (Clifton 1978:737; Lawson 1920:64).

Many of the mixed Potawatomi/Ottawa along the lakeshore and the Potawatomi from the Waukesha County area remained in Wisconsin, despite attempts by the military to move them west of the Mississippi. As late as 1848, 800 Potawatomi were reported as gathered at Platteville while waiting for removal. The Potawatomi who remained in Wisconsin did not share in the annuity payments from the Treaty of Chicago, which after 1837 were distributed only on the reservations west of the Mississippi (Lawson 1920:99; Clifton 1977:312). The Potawatomi, along with the Ottawa and Chippewa who remained in Wisconsin, helped comprise the "United Nations" Band of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi, often referred to simply as Wisconsin Potawatomi (Gerend 1920:130; Wheeler-Voegelin 1974:x).

Sociopolitical structure during the Late Historic I Period followed the pattern described for the Middle Historic Period. There are hints that women held formal political office, or at least had a great deal of influence, as women were among the Potawatomi signatories to several treaties (Clifton 1978:617).

Some change in Potawatomi culture was the result of the adaptation to the addition of the horse during this period. Horses were important to at least the St. Joseph River

Potawatomi by 1775. The Potawatomi of southeastern Wisconsin continued to make and use birchbark canoes, but horses (or ponies) eventually replaced canoes for long distance transportation as pack animals (Clifton 1977:128-129,161).

LATE HISTORIC II POTAWATOMI

Despite United States government attempts to remove the Potawatomi from Wisconsin--attempts which continued into the 1850s--several hundred Potawatomi remained in Wisconsin in the early years of the Late Historic II Period (Clifton 1978:740). In July of 1851, about 600 nearly "destitute" Potawatomi (along with some Menominee and Winnebago) were rounded up near Theresa in Dodge County for removal to Kansas. They were scattered over the countryside in small bands of 50 to 60, and exaggerated reports of their stealing chickens and other items reached the authorities and led to the removal efforts. Several Potawatomis died on the way to Kansas, but the relatively low casualty rate was due more to chance than because their welfare was foremost in the minds of the government or the civilian contractors deporting them (Trennert 1979). The last formal removal of Potawatomi from Wisconsin to Kansas occurred in the spring of 1852. Potawatomi continued to camp on the Door Peninsula into the 1850s (Clifton 1977:301; Lawson 1920:50-51).

Some Potawatomi from Kansas moved back to west-central Wisconsin in the 1850s. By 1861, 200 Potawatomi enrolled on the Kansas reservation lived in Wisconsin. Some Potawatomi who migrated to Canada moved back to Wisconsin later, with arrivals in Wisconsin into the early 1900s. Larger numbers of Potawatomi removed west of the Mississippi returned to Wisconsin. These Wisconsin Prairie Potawatomi (or Skunk Hill Band) in Wood County had returned to Wisconsin in the 1870s, though they were enrolled in Kansas (Clifton 1977:309,311,352; Callender 1962:42). Others in the group later leased their allotments in Kansas and moved back to Wisconsin because they preferred to live there. Some took up homesteads, and others moved into the cutover lands (Lawson 1920:107). This group occupied settlements in Wood, Taylor, and Marathon counties at various times in this period.

The Potawatomi from the towns along Lake Michigan moved north about 1863 to Horicon Marsh, Black Wolf, and Waukau. From these areas, they moved to the Little Wolf River, about 15 miles northwest to Northport in Waupaca County, where they lived for 10 years. They then went to Wittenberg in Shawano County where they lived for some 15 years. Some Potawatomi left Wittenberg in the spring of 1894 to take up homesteads under the Indian Homestead Act of 1884. These northeastern Wisconsin Potawatomi (many of whom are ancestral to the present Forest County Potawatomi) settled on scattered forties, mainly in Forest County but also along the Peshtigo River in Marinette County and Oconto County. Approximately 30 homesteads were taken; before this the Potawatomi lived in clearings they made in the forest. Here, they built log huts in settlements, made maple sugar, raised hay for their ponies, and grew corn, beans, and squash for themselves. Some Potawatomi moved farther north into the Upper Peninsula of Michigan (Lawson 1920:69,103).

Before the Potawatomi took up homesteads, they occupied and exploited land still not settled by Euro-Americans in central northern Wisconsin. However, the intensive logging of Wisconsin forests reduced the available game. The Potawatomi were in competition with loggers and settlers in Wisconsin and lived under severe economic hardship (Clifton 1977:382-383).

During the 1880s, the harsh conditions they suffered made the Potawatomi especially receptive to the nativistic Dream Dance, or Drum Dance, introduced by the Dakota and Chippewa. Some of the Potawatomi who adopted the Drum Dance, approximately 200 in number, settled among the Menominee to introduce the Drum Dance to them. Those Potawatomi eventually settled at Zoar where they have since become legally enrolled

among the Menominee and assimilated into the Menominee tribe (Clifton 1977:311,383; 1978:738; Vennum 1982). The Peyote Religion or Native American Church was introduced to the Wisconsin Potawatomi by Kansas Potawatomi about 1900. Kansas Potawatomi spreading the Peyote Religion may have been among the Kansas Potawatomi who settled in the Crandon area around 1904 (Ritzenthaler 1953:162, Lurie 1980:21).

LATE HISTORIC III POTAWATOMI

In approximately 1907, the Wisconsin Forest Potawatomi were gathered near Carter, Star Lake, Phlox, Minocqua, and about 12 miles from Wausaukee. Most of the Wisconsin Potawatomi were thought to have no fixed home, but moved from place to place for various activities--picking berries, digging ginseng and roots, and working in lumber camps. Some had taken up homesteads (see above) (Lawson 1920:105).

Clifton states that the basic social, economic, and residential unit seems to have been the nuclear family, or fragments of extended families. The Forest County Potawatomi around 1914 were reported to have only one clan (Clifton 1977:311, Lawson 1920:106). This may indicate how far the traditional clan structure had broken down, or it may indicate that there had been a corporate decision by a clan or a lineage to remain in Wisconsin. The Wisconsin Potawatomi remained a less acculturated and more traditional group than the Potawatomi in Lower Michigan or Canada (Clifton 1977:352). There were some differences between the Potawatomi who lived in northern Wisconsin and who had intermarried with the Chippewa and the Ottawa and the Kansas groups. The Wisconsin Potawatomi seem to have had a less complex social organization (Callender 1962; Clifton 1978).

In 1913, to improve the economic conditions of the Wisconsin Potawatomi not enrolled at a western reservation, and to hasten assimilation of this group into the surrounding white communities, Congress purchased discontinuous parcels of land totalling 14,439 acres in Forest County for the Potawatomi and paid for construction of houses on the plots (Gerend 1920:130; Lawson 1920:106; Lurie 1980:21).

In 1914, most of the Wisconsin Potawatomi derived from the mixed lakeshore villages of Potawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa had moved to their new land (cutover land purchased from lumber companies) in Forest County (Ritzenthaler 1953:108). The Skunk Hill group enrolled with the Prairie Potawatomi band in Kansas lived near Arpin in Wood County, and the enclave among the Menominee had become assimilated with that tribe (Clifton 1978:738; Lawson 1920:106-107). About this time Potawatomi children began to be enrolled at the Lac du Flambeau and Tomah government Indian schools (Lawson 1920:103,105).

By 1920, Potawatomi families had abandoned land formerly used in Marinette and Florence counties. One family still lived in Oconto County on an Indian homestead. One or two Potawatomi lived on the Lac du Flambeau Chippewa Reservation, and a small group of about 10 Potawatomi families, from Kansas and Wisconsin, had a village at McCord in Oneida County. The Potawatomi formed no villages on land held in trust in Forest County, since they had purposely been given scattered holdings. This was at the instigation of Senator Robert M. La Follette who believed that dispersing the Potawatomi among white neighbors would hasten acculturation and assimilation (Lawson 1920:103-104,106; Smith 1933:13,91). These lands did not constitute a reservation, and the Potawatomi were legally restricted from year-round hunting and fishing (Clifton 1977).

In 1920, most of the Forest County Potawatomi lived in frame houses built by the government on 40 acre plots of land. Some farming was done, but not more than a few acres on each parcel. Some Potawatomi worked seasonally in lumber camps, and about half followed the traditional religion (Gerend 1920:130, Lawson 1920). A photograph

from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin Iconographic Collection shows a Potawatomi family at about 1920 standing in front of their log cabin with frame windows and a gabled roof. Some Forest County Potawatomi had managed to save heirlooms, including manuscripts, from earlier periods (Lurie 1980:29; Gerend 1920:171).

Ethnobotanical work done by Smith among the approximately 850 Forest County Potawatomi shows that by the 1930s, farming was still comparatively unimportant to them, although some corn and hay were grown. This should perhaps not be surprising, given the northerly location of Forest County. The Forest County Potawatomi elders were conservative, and at the time of Smith's fieldwork, the elders tried to perpetuate the old varieties of cultivated plants (Smith 1933:13,23,91). A considerable amount of hunting, fishing, and gathering of native foods was done, and sugar camps were set up in March or April (Smith 1933:24,93).

At this time (around 1933), there were fairly definite Potawatomi settlements near Laona, Soperton, and Blackwell. Still, most Potawatomi had only ponies and wagons for transportation, and fairly lengthy journeys were necessary in order to visit relatives in the scattered acreage. Children were sent in the early 1930s to the Lac du Flambeau Indian school. In the 1930s, the Indian boarding school system was abolished, and Potawatomi children were sent to local public schools (Ritzenthaler 1953:132). The Forest County Potawatomi also incorporated under the Provisions of the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, and instituted a tribal council. During this period, a number of "self-appointed" chiefs appeared among the Potawatomi. To what extent these men took the role of leader of a flexible group of Potawatomi, or used the title "chief" to further relations with white society, is unknown (Clifton 1977:433; Ritzenthaler 1953:123).

Robert Ritzenthaler did fieldwork among the Forest County Potawatomi in the early 1950s. At this time, slightly more than 200 Potawatomi lived in Forest County in two major groups: the Stone Lake (or Lake Lucerne) community of 96 people east of Crandon and the Wabeno community with 126 people north and east of Wabeno. The Stone Lake community was more concentrated, while in the Wabeno community families were rarely closer than a mile from their nearest neighbors. The communities were alike culturally and in degree of acculturation except that the Peyote Religion was centered at Stone Lake and the Mide at Wabeno. The Potawatomi community at McCord lasted into the 1930s when it gradually dispersed. By about 1951, only a Potawatomi woman and her Chippewa husband remained. The Forest County Potawatomi had 436 enrolled, but only 222 lived in Forest County (Ritzenthaler 1953:105,107,110-112,150).

The Forest County Potawatomi around 1950 were very poor, their principal earned income coming from cutting timber and seasonal farmwork. In July and August, some Potawatomi picked cherries in Door County, and during the latter part of August, picked potatoes in northern Wisconsin. Some also cut hay for local farmers in July and August. Some minor income came from guiding and selling crafts to tourists (Ritzenthaler 1953:113,115-116).

The Potawatomi lived in the frame houses built by the government, log cabins, and tar-paper covered houses. Some of the older people wore moccasins, but traditional Indian clothing was not common. Potawatomi family cemeteries were 50 feet to 100 yards from the houses--in the Wabeno community there were about 20 cemeteries (Ritzenthaler 1953:116-119,150).

Ritzenthaler states that the Forest County Potawatomi perhaps retained more of their old culture than other Indian groups in Wisconsin, "due primarily to their living back in the woods" (Ritzenthaler 1953:137). Secret bundle ceremonies were still held in 1951, and some of the old pregnancy taboos were still followed. In addition to the Peyote Cult and the Mide, the Drum Dance was important. Many older Potawatomi did not speak English at all or spoke it poorly (Ritzenthaler 1953:56, 122,125,128-129,138-139). Some Ottawa

speech had been adopted by the Forest County Potawatomi (Callender 1962:xiii).

Despite this conservatism, few people under 40 in 1951 had a guardian spirit gained in a vision quest, and the old clan system had broken down completely. Ritzenthaler found no trace of the moiety system reported by Skinner among the Potawatomi in Kansas (Callender 1962:xiii; Ritzenthaler 1953:122).

At the time of Ritzenthaler's fieldwork, the community was "bound together by close ties of kinship and friendship cemented more firmly together by a mutual culture pattern and obligations." Formal political organization among the Forest County Potawatomi was weak, with a lack of strong leadership within the group, divisions within the group, and the isolation of the Potawatomi from each other (Ritzenthaler 1953:121,125).

There was little contact between the Potawatomi and surrounding white communities, partly by Potawatomi choice and partly because of Euro-American attitudes. Children attended the local schools where they encountered some prejudice from teachers and students. Few Potawatomi went on to high school at this time (Ritzenthaler 1953:121,133-134).

In 1978, the Forest County Potawatomi had 11,267 acres held in tribal trust, and 400 allotted acres. About 200 Prairie Potawatomi lived in Wood County on rented or purchased property. They are still enrolled among the Kansas Potawatomi (Sturtevant and Trigger 1978:738; Lurie 1980:9-10). There are about 20 speakers of Potawatomi among this group, perhaps 40 in the Menominee enclave, and probably 70 in northern Wisconsin and upper Michigan (Clifton 1978:725). The Drum Dance is still vitally important to the Potawatomi as a symbol of their cultural survival, with renewal of ties to the past and the promise of cultural continuity (Clifton 1977; Vennum 1982:154).

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types

Early Historic Potawatomi: Fortified villages, cemeteries, fishing camps, agricultural fields, missions.

Middle Historic Potawatomi: Fortified villages, missions, trading posts, agricultural fields, hunting camps, fishing camps, cemeteries.

Late Historic I Potawatomi: Fish camps, winter hunting and trapping camps, summer villages, agricultural fields, cemeteries, trading posts, maple sugar camps.

Late Historic II Potawatomi: Temporary camps, homesteads, cemeteries, trading posts, dancing grounds, maple sugar camps.

Late Historic III Potawatomi: Homesteads, cemeteries, dancing grounds, maple sugar camps, Indian agencies, Indian schools.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types

Early Historic Potawatomi: Along Green Bay and the western shore of Lake Michigan--also at Chequamegon.

Middle Historic Potawatomi: Along Green Bay and the western shore of Lake Michigan.

Late Historic I Potawatomi: Archaeological sites along Lake Michigan and in the Fox River Valley of southeastern Wisconsin.

Late Historic II Potawatomi: Archaeological sites in central, eastern, and Wisconsin.

Late Historic III Potawatomi: Forest, Menominee, Oneida, and Wood counties.

Survey Needs

Early Historic Potawatomi: Archaeological survey for location, excavation, and analysis of fortified village associated with Early Historic Potawatomi.

Middle Historic Potawatomi: Location (identification), excavation, and analysis of Potawatomi villages from all parts of Middle Historic period and compilation of a catalogue of Potawatomi materials in archaeological collections are important survey and research needs.

Late Historic I Potawatomi: Location (identification), excavation, and analysis of archaeological sites (and material) referred to Late Historic I Potawatomi; compilation of bibliography of Late Historic I Potawatomi material in collections.

Late Historic II Potawatomi: Location (identification), excavation, and analysis of archaeological habitation sites from Late Historic II Potawatomi; compilation of bibliography of Potawatomi material in various collections and collection of oral histories from older members of the Potawatomi tribe are important research and survey needs.

Late Historic III Potawatomi: Architectural survey of Potawatomi settlements to identify and inventory historic properties; compilation of bibliography of Potawatomi material in various collections, collection of oral histories from older members of the Potawatomi tribe,

and archaeological study of any habitation or midden sites to confirm or supplement historical record are important survey and research needs.

Research Needs

Early Historic Potawatomi: The nature of the Potawatomi occupation along Green Bay needs examination. For instance, questions such as whether villages along the shore were composed primarily of Potawatomi or of more mixed groups from many tribes should be considered. This may be indicated by types of ceramics present. The subsistence base also needs clarification. Fitting and Cleland indicate that the Potawatomi in Lower Michigan were adapted to the Carolinian biotic zone, but the Early Historic Potawatomi occupied areas in Wisconsin in the Carolinian-Canadian zone (Fitting and Cleland 1969:290). An examination of resources used by the Potawatomi in Michigan and Wisconsin may show differences between the two areas or a dependence on resources that crosscut biotic zones. Clifton (1977:36) suggests that the dependence on fishing developed while the Potawatomi were living on Green Bay and Lake Michigan (Clifton 1977:36).

Middle Historic Potawatomi: The yearly subsistence round at the beginning of this period among the Green Bay villages should be established. There is evidence that the larger villages broke up in winter and that Potawatomi camped in smaller groups along the Green Bay shore during the winter (Clifton 1977:77; Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:96). This should be confirmed, as well as the Potawatomi's dependence on agriculture, hunting deer and bear, and fishing suggested above. The data from these early villages may serve as a baseline from which to compare the later villages. The subsistence bases and yearly cycle of the Potawatomi in Wisconsin from the later Middle Historic Period should also be investigated to determine whether the subsistence base changed with the possible westward expansion of the Potawatomi hunting territory and increasing involvement in the fur trade. Also of interest is the question of whether the sociopolitical changes suggested by Clifton (1977) for the Middle Historic Potawatomi are reflected in the archaeological record, perhaps in village sites, settlement pattern, or house size and style.

Late Historic I Potawatomi: The degree to which the adoption of the horse changed the Potawatomi culture (and the degree to which this may be reflected archaeologically) is worthy of investigation. Also, how similar the Potawatomi in the mixed groups along the lakeshore and the Potawatomi in southeastern Wisconsin were culturally and in their subsistence base should be determined. The extent of acculturation among the Potawatomi should be determined and compared to the other groups in Wisconsin.

Late Historic II Potawatomi: Accounts from white observers during the Late Historic II Period refer to the Potawatomi as wandering, apparently aimlessly through northern and eastern Wisconsin. This impression may be misleading, and the Late Historic II Period Potawatomi may have had an adaptation similar to the Late Historic II Chippewa, which involved opportunistic exploitation of available resources, combined with a deliberate desire to live far from white population centers. Excavation of archaeological sites and ensuing analysis of the food remains may shed light on the yearly cycle of the Potawatomi, as would oral histories. Questions raised in this report as to the social structure of the Wisconsin Potawatomi, such as the clan structure, may be answered by oral histories or possibly contemporary accounts.

Late Historic III Potawatomi: There has been little published research on the Potawatomi in Wisconsin since the 1950s. Updating of information is necessary. Little is available on the Wood County Potawatomi, and the relationships between the Forest County and Wood County Potawatomi should be investigated. Of interest also are the relationships (if any) among the Potawatomi descendents living on the Menominee Reservation with the other Potawatomi groups and the extent to which the Potawatomi have participated in the recent, Pan-Indian movement.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Rock Island Historic District, Town of Washington, Door County (NRHP 1972)
Carpenter Site, Town of Rushford, Winnebago County (NRHP 1982)
Tomah Indian School, Tomah, Monroe County (NRHP 1976)

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Temporal Boundaries: Early Historic Sauk: (1640 - 1670), Middle Historic Sauk: (1670 - 1760), Late Historic I Sauk: (1760 - 1804, 1832).

Spatial Boundaries: Early Historic Sauk: Around Green Bay; Middle Historic Sauk: Green Bay, Fox River Valley and lower Wisconsin River; Late Historic I Sauk: Lower Wisconsin River and Mississippi Valley.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

EARLY HISTORIC SAUK

The Sauk (Saki, Sac) are an Algonquian-speaking tribe closely related to the Fox. They formerly lived in the Lower Peninsula of Michigan (Callender 1962; Kinietz 1972:309; Mason 1983:8l; Thwaites, ed. 1902, vol. 16:56). They may have been pushed westward by aggressive policies of the Neutral Tribe (see Trigger 1976). In about 1665 or 1666, the Sauk were reported living along the northern part of Green Bay (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:39). By 1667, Allouez reported the Sauk as numerous, wandering, and scattered in the forests near Green Bay, but Callender discounts the Allouez report of the Sauk as wandering because by 1668 the Sauk are settled at Green Bay (Stout et al 1974:263; Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:57; Callender 1978:651).

In November, 1669 (or 1670), Sauk are reported living with members of other tribes in a village on Green Bay, perhaps near the mouth of the Oconto River. The 600 people remained in the village, though it was winter and the other inhabitants of the area had left the Bay (Deale 1958:319; Stout et al 1974:263-264; Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:67). It is likely that the Sauk had another village on the west side of Green Bay, and in April, 1670, a Sauk village was reported building a fish weir to be used during spring and part of the summer, about four leagues up the Fox River, near Little Rapids in Brown County (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:68; Stout et al 1974:264-265).

Contemporary accounts contain few references to Sauk social organization. At this time the Sauk and Fox were politically as well as ethnically distinct, though they spoke closely-related languages (Wallace 1982:248-249). A dual division and the presence of clans and a tribal council are documented for the Sauk during the Late Historic Period, and it is possible that the Early Historic Sauk social organization was similar to the Late Historic organization (see Callender 1978:616; Wallace 1982).

The Fox annual cycle around 1670 is described as hunting in the winter, with a return to the village at the end of winter where the Fox live on cached corn, seasoned with fish, then planting the gardens and harvesting them in the fall (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:70). This may be similar to the Early Historic Sauk pattern. The construction of the fish weir suggests that spring fish runs may have been quite important to the Sauk.

MIDDLE HISTORIC SAUK

Much of the information on the Middle Historic Period Sauk is a recitation of their locations, moves, and numbers. Little other overall information is given though individual Sauk appear in the record.

For most of the Middle Historic Period the Sauk lived on Green Bay, an area considered Sauk country at that time (Blair 1911, vol. 1:188; Kay 1977:88; Mason 1983:82). Involvement of the Sauk in the Fox and French wars (1712 to 1738) led to more

references to the Sauk and their location in contemporary European accounts than during the Early Historic Period (Kay 1977:142).

In about 1700, the Sauk at Green Bay are reported as having their numbers diminished by warfare and probably also by epidemics reported near Green Bay (Kay 1977:388; Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:101). Raudot describes the Sauk as sedentary and growing "wheat" (Kinietz 1972:366). He later stated that the Sauk lived at 43 degrees 33' on Green Bay (44 degrees 33' would put the Sauk at the head of the Bay), were sedentary, and grew Indian corn. They caught ducks by spreading nets flat on the water. The village could muster only 50 to 60 warriors (Kinietz 1972:381).

By about 1711, some Sauk were living along the St. Joseph River in southwestern Michigan (Stout et al 1974:268). During the war against the Fox and Mascouten at Detroit in 1712, some of the Sauk sided with the Fox, and others fought against the Fox and Mascouten. The Sauk at this time were enumerated as 80 men ("boatmen") (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:272,281,289).

By 1718, the Sauk could muster 100 to 120 warriors, though they are still spoken of as having once been more populous. At least some of the Sauk lived in a village about 15 to 18 leagues from Green Bay, on the Fox River. These Sauk are mentioned as being very close culturally to the Potawatomi; indeed, by 1721 the French writers speak of the Sauk as split into two factions, one partly supporting the Potawatomi and the other the Fox (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:360,371). The Sauk living in the village near the French fort mainly belonged to the former group. The Sauk were still reported as few in number, possibly due to a sickness in the Sauk village about that time (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:409,412,415).

The Sauk and Fox had intermarried heavily by 1723 (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:434). The Sauk village at Green Bay was probably on the east side of the Fox River near its mouth, and at least at a later date was fortified (Bauxar, 1978:598; Wittry 1963:44). Some Sauk fishing on a lake [Winnebago?] in July of 1723 were attacked, the report on the attack giving a clue to Sauk summer activities (Thwaites 1902, vol. 16:430).

From 1720 to about 1732, the Sauk are often considered as resident in the Green Bay area (Kay 1977:396). However, in 1729 Sauk are again reported on the St. Joseph River, and Sauk and Potawatomi were at Detroit in 1739 (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:63; Stout et al 1974:275). During the Fox-French wars, in 1730, the Sauk and the Potawatomi were accused by the French of actually aiding the Fox (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:111-112).

In 1732, the Sauk are reported "rebuilding" their village at Green Bay (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:169). This village was fortified, and some Fox took refuge from the French. This year marks the beginning of the formal alliance between the Sauk and the Fox (Callender 1978:648). In September of 1733, the French attempted to take the Fox from the village and were repulsed by the Sauk. The Sauk and Fox fled the next day (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:188-190).

The Sauk fled to Iowa in 1733 (Mason 1983:82; Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:206-207). French reports, though, indicate that by 1735, about 30 Sauk had settled on the St. Joseph River, and the rest had gone to the former village at Green Bay (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:218). The Sauk village at the head of Green Bay had 120 to 150 warriors in 1736, and the Sauk and the French were reconciled in 1737 (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:249,275).

In June of 1739, the Sauk were reluctant to return to Green Bay (after the winter hunt?) (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:315). In 1743, though, the Sauk assembled at Green Bay except for 10 cabins at Chicago and two cabins at Milwaukee (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:437).

After about 1746, the Sauk had moved to Sauk Prairie on the lower Wisconsin River

(Draper, ed. 1857, vol. 3:206). The move from Green Bay may have been due partly to Sauk uneasiness over the nearby French fort, overhunting around Green Bay, a shift in habitat orientation, or any combination.

The Sauk may have acquired Spanish horses as early as about 1720 (Kay 1977:170). Callender (1978:648) points out that the Sauk used canoes, and originally seemed to be oriented to a woodland habitat. They shifted to a prairie orientation after European contact.

LATE HISTORIC I SAUK

The opening of the Late Historic Period found the Fox living in their village on the Wisconsin River, at the lower end of Sauk Prairie (Hibbard 1905:146). There are fuller descriptions of Sauk life from this period, and though the most informative and detailed accounts deal with the Sauk after they had left Wisconsin, doubtless many of the details are applicable to the Late Historic I Sauk in Wisconsin.

The Sauk village at Sauk Prairie was visited by Jonathan Carver in the fall of 1766. He described the village as having about 90 houses, each large enough to hold several families. The houses were built of hewn planks neatly jointed and covered with bark, with "sheds" at the doors to the houses. Carver also describes the streets in the village, and the "plantations" adjacent to the houses where the corn, beans, and melons were grown. The town was able to muster about 300 warriors, suggesting a total population of about 1200 (Callender 1978:654; Stout et al 1974:165-166). Carver also mentions Sauk living in the Fox village at Prairie du Chien (C.I. Mason 1983:82). Evidently the Sauk were hunting across the Mississippi in Iowa by this time (Kay 1977:153-154). In the summer the men waged war with tribes as far away as the Pawnee, and Grignon mentions the Sauk taking Pawnee, Osage, Missouri, and Mandan captives and selling them to other tribes (Stout et al 1974:165-166; Draper 1857, vol. 3:256). Also about this time the Sauk may have attempted to exploit the lead deposits in southwestern Wisconsin (Draper 1857, vol 3:206).

Peter Pond visited the Sauk village at Sauk Prairie at the end of September, 1773. He found the village after harvest with plenty to eat, and his description of the houses matches Carver's (Thwaites 1908, vol. 18:335).

When Augustin Grignon visited this site in 1795, the village had already been deserted. Only a few remains of fireplaces and poles were visible (Draper 1857, vol. 3:206). Remains of the Sauk village are said to have included 400 acres covered with well formed, regular cornhills (Hibbard 1905:146).

Some time around 1780 the Sauk began to move south along the Mississippi into Iowa and western Illinois (Kay 1977:164; Stout et al 1974:181). As late as 1778, the main Sauk town was still at Sauk Prairie, but some Sauk lived to the south on the Rock River (Kay 1977:397). Even as early as 1762, the Sauk (with 350 warriors) are located "above Louistonstant" in the government of Louisiana; i.e. west of the Mississippi (Draper 1855, vol. 1:32). This location may have referred to the winter hunting grounds of the Sauk.

There are several reasons for the move south along the Mississippi. The Spanish in St. Louis were wooing the Sauk south into their territory for trade (Stout et al 1974:183-185). Attempts by the Sauk to expand their hunting range along the Mississippi northward at the expense of the Eastern Dakota failed, and the Illinois to the south along the Mississippi proved an easier mark (Mason 1983:82; Kay 1977:164). Kay suggests also that the declining buffalo and elk populations in Wisconsin probably also influenced the move closer to the hunting grounds in Iowa (Kay 1977:164; 1979:404). The adoption of horses and hunting large game on the Plains marks a much more Plains-like lifestyle suited to the Sauk's westward expansion (Kay 1977:170).

By the late eighteenth century the Sauk occupied the Mississippi River between Prairie du Chien and the Rock River to the Des Moines River (Kay 1977:164; C.I. Mason 1983:82). In 1787, many of the Sauk are reported "summering" on the Mississippi near Prairie du Chien (Gussow et al 1974:89; Stout et al 1974:203). This may be a summer hunt, for during the 1790s the main Sauk village was on the Rock River of Illinois (Kay 1977:397). The Sauk maintained hunting grounds in Wisconsin on the east side of the Mississippi River from the Wisconsin River on south until these lands were ceded in the 1804 Treaty that relinquished Sauk land in Wisconsin (Gussow et al 1974:90; Lurie 1980:18). No Sauk settlements in Wisconsin were reported at that time (Wallace 1982:255-256).

Though most of the Sauk had passed south and west out of Wisconsin by the nineteenth century, some Sauk remained in the mixed villages along Lake Michigan (Kay 1977:274). In the 1790s, Sauk lived in the Potawatomi village at Milwaukee, and in the 1830s there were still Sauk in the mixed villages there and in Sheboygan County (Gerend 1920:129; Kay 1977:411).

In 1832, the sad retreat of Black Hawk's Band across southern Wisconsin marks the last occupation of Wisconsin by an organized part of the Sauk tribe. Nichols (1982) discusses the events leading up to the "Black Hawk War" and the path of the Sauk retreat. In late June the Sauk arrived in southern Wisconsin and most of the small bands congregated near Lake Koshkonong to forage for food. In July the fleeing band tried to cross the Wisconsin River near Sauk City. Rearguard action at the Battle of Wisconsin Heights allowed most of the Sauk to cross the river. The Band tried to reach the Mississippi River, but on August 2nd at Bad Axe, militiamen attacked and killed most of Black Hawk's Band. Those Sauk that crossed the Mississippi were killed by Dakota (Lurie 1980:17, Nichols 1982:242-243).

Evidence from Peter Pond and other observers suggest that the Late Historic I Sauk in Wisconsin had a subsistence strategy similar to that described by Forsyth for the Sauk settled at Rock Island in the nineteenth century, in which agriculture and communal hunting were very important (Blair 1912, vol. 2; Kay 1977). The Sauk also made some use of maple sugar groves (Kay 1977:172). In about 1793, the Sauk are reported taking deerskins, raccoons and in some years bears during their principal hunt (Kay 1977:160). These items seem to have been traded.

Despite their involvement with the fur trade, and a seeming population increase, the Sauk never split into smaller and less complex social groups like some other groups in the post-contact period. The Sauk remained in one or two large villages for the summer (Callender 1978:650; Kay 1977:170,206). Perhaps because of the large summer groups, the Sauk political organization remained complex. The Sauk possessed patrilineal clans (sibs) and moieties based on birth order. The trout and sturgeon clans provided a civil and a war chief respectively. These chiefs presided over and carried out the instructions of the tribal council, whose members were probably the clan representatives. The tribal council allotted winter hunting territories and put the tribe under martial law in the spring to prevent people from returning early and using their neighbors' cached corn. The council also organized some forms of police control. Each Sauk moiety also had its own "war chief" responsible for the warriors of his own moiety. Around 1804, the Sauk were organized into about seven local bands. The local bands were essentially winter hunting groups, and the band leaders were not necessarily chiefs or members of the tribal council. Black Hawk's Band eventually constituted a formal political organization distinct from that of the rest of the Sauk (Wallace 1982:249-251,283; see also Callender 1978:649-650).

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types

Early Historic Sauk: Fish weirs, villages, hunting camps, fishing camps, missions, cemeteries, agricultural fields.

Middle Historic Sauk: Fortified villages, hunting camps, fishing camps and weirs, missions, cemeteries, agricultural fields, french forts.

Late Historic I Sauk: Villages, hunting camps, fishing stations, missions, cemeteries, agricultural fields, trading posts, lead extraction sites.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types

Early Historic Sauk: Along Green Bay and Fox and Oconto Rivers.

Middle Historic Sauk: At the head of Green Bay, along the Fox River, and along the lower Wisconsin River.

Late Historic I Sauk: Lower Wisconsin River and Mississippi River.

Previous Surveys

None.

Survey Needs

Early Historic Sauk: Archeological survey of area known to be occupied by Sauk in Early Historic Period, with identification and excavation of Early Historic Sauk habitation sites.

Middle Historic Sauk: Archeological survey to locate, excavate and analyze Middle Historic Sauk habitation sites; compilation of a bibliography of Sauk material in museum collections.

Late Historic I Sauk: Archeological survey to locate, excavate and analyze Late Historic Sauk sites and compilation of a bibliography of Sauk material in museum and manuscript collections are necessary survey and research needs.

Research Needs

Early Historic Sauk: Identification of the archeological culture associated with the Early Historic Sauk is a necessary first step. An important question involves the separation of the Sauk from other Central Algonquian tribes intrusive into Wisconsin from Michigan. Fitting suggested that an archeological distinction of the Sauk, Fox, Potawatomi, Mascouten, and Kickapoo may be difficult (Fitting 1970:191). The annual cycle and resources exploited can be identified by excavation and analysis of a series of Sauk habitation sites, and the annual cycle suggested above can be evaluated on that basis.

Middle Historic Sauk: The identification of the archeological culture representing the Middle Historic Sauk is again necessary. Some of the pottery from the Bell Site (Wn-9) may be Sauk, or another central Algonquian group (Fitting 1970:191). Again, the yearly cycle and subsistence base of the Sauk at various times within the Middle Historic Period should be established. The relative importance of the fur trade to the Sauk at this time should be established, and any changes in subsistence should be compared to the importance of the fur trade at that point. The switch from a woodland oriented

subsistence economy to a prairie orientation as suggested by Callender may have occurred during this period, and examination of subsistence patterns will help determine if this happened. Confirmation of the Sauk acquisition of horses during this period should be confirmed and any subsequent changes in the Sauk lifestyle should be examined.

Late Historic I Sauk: Again, the identification of the archeological unit representing the Wisconsin Late Historic I Sauk is necessary. Excavation of habitation sites would confirm the description of houses and the subsistence patterns suggested above. Descriptions of Sauk subsistence refer to the Sauk of Illinois and Iowa, and there may or may not be differences among the Wisconsin Sauk subsistence patterns. The effect of the horse upon Sauk culture should be examined, especially in regard to subsistence and communal hunting, and the large summer congregation at one (or two) villages.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

None.

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STOCKBRIDGE/MUNSEE/BROTHERTOWN "NEW YORK INDIANS"

Temporal Boundaries: Late Historic I Stockbridge/Munsee/Brothertown (1822-1848), Late Historic II Stockbridge/Munsee/Brothertown (1849-1899), Late Historic III Stockbridge/Munsee/Brothertown (1900-present).

Spatial Boundaries: Late Historic I Stockbridge/Munsee/Brothertown: Calumet and Outagamie Counties; Late Historic II Stockbridge/Munsee/Brothertown: Calumet and Shawano Counties; Late Historic III Stockbridge/Munsee/Brothertown: Towns of Bartelme and Red Springs (Shawano County), Calumet County.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

LATE HISTORIC I STOCKBRIDGE/MUNSEE/BROTHERTOWN

The Stockbridge are a group of Mohican, eastern Algonkian-speakers who became partially acculturated culturally and materially to things European in the eighteenth century (Brasser 1978:208). The Brothertowns (or Brothertons) are the remnants of several New England and New Jersey tribes that lived near the Stockbridge in New York State during the late eighteenth century (Mochon 1968:86). The Munsee (part of the Delaware) merged with the Stockbridge in Indiana (Sturtevant and Trigger 1978:222; Lurie 1969:3). These groups all moved west in an effort to escape the growing European settlement in the east (Lurie 1980:12).

These groups planned to settle in Indiana but land was not available. They entered in agreements with the Menominee and Winnebago to settle on the lower Fox River. The government later regularized this arrangement. The Stockbridge are the only eastern Algonkian farming group that has continuously maintained a community since Colonial times (Mochon 1968:81). Missionaries were commissioned by the War Department to buy land from the Menominee and Winnebago on which to settle the "New York Indians," and to remove the Indians from the "harmful" effects of European settlement. In 1822, some Stockbridge settled on the south bank of the Fox River across from Kaukauna on land supposedly ceded by the Wisconsin tribes (Betz and Kellogg 1983:III-4; Draper, ed. 1856, vol. 2:425; Schafer 1937:46). More "New York Indians" (led by John W. Quinney) moved to the settlement south of Kaukauna in 1828; this migration lasted into 1829. By 1831, some 225 Stockbridge and about 100 Delaware (Munsee) were living at this settlement, called Statesburg (Betz and Kellogg 1983). Statesburg boasted a log church as early as 1830, possibly by 1827 (Schafer 1937:35,49). The Episcopal mission at Statesburg had a schoolhouse which was the first free school in Wisconsin. Electa Quinney and two other Stockbridge women taught at this school. Statesburg was described, about 1830, as stretching two miles inland and four or five miles along the south bank of the Fox River. The Stockbridge (including 39 church members) lived here in log cabins and raised corn, wheat, and livestock. Some farms had large, cleared areas. The community had a sawmill and its own temperance movement (Betz and Kellogg 1983:III 4-5; Schafer 1937:50-51).

By 1831 four families of Brothertowns had emigrated from New York, and they were followed by others (Draper 1859, vol. 4:296). Unfortunately for the farmers settled at Statesburg, the purchase of this land was repudiated by the Menominee and Winnebago. The new treaties took the Outagamie County land back from the New York Indians and gave them land in Calumet County east of Lake Winnebago (Brasser 1978:210). The move to Calumet County began in the winter of 1834 (Draper 1855, vol. 1:103-104).

Migration from New York (and of some Munsee from Canada) continued up to 1840 (Brasser 1978:210, Goddard 1978:222). By then, Calumet County had about 230 Stockbridge, 300 Brothertowns and three whites (including one missionary and one millwright for the Brothertowns).

A split among the Stockbridge became apparent around 1836 (Schafer 1937:53). In 1837, John W. Quinney drew up a constitution that eliminated hereditary leadership and substituted elected tribal officials; this in what had been a tribe with well-developed ideas of chieftainship (Brasser 1978:210, Lurie 1969:101). The tensions between those Stockbridge who wanted complete assimilation into the surrounding white society and those who wanted to retain their Indian identity came to a head over the government's plan for the tribe's removal to land west of the Mississippi. Many of the nativist Stockbridge and most of the Munsee were in favor of removal. To settle the split, the Stockbridge sold the best part of their land to the United States Government. This financed the trip west for those who wished to go. About 70 Stockbridge and 100 Munsee left for the new land on the Missouri River in 1939. Many died there, and only a few families appear to have returned to Wisconsin (Brasser 1978:210).

The Brothertowns petitioned for citizenship in 1839, and it was granted (Draper 1855, vol. 1:105). In 1843, the Stockbridge also petitioned for citizenship. This act again split the tribe into the Indian Party and the Citizen Party. Thomas Commuck, a Brothertown writing in 1855, describes the situation:

> In 1843, the Stockbridge Indians also petitioned for citizenship, and were likewise admitted; but a portion of them remonstrated from the out-set, and finally succeeded in shirking out; and since that time, those who desired and embraced citizenship have sent a delegation to Washington to get set back again as Indians, and it is said they have agreed to emigrate west of the Mississippi (Draper 1855, vol. 1:105).

Much Stockbridge land was lost to Europeans before Quinney and the Indian Party succeeded in having the act granting citizenship repealed in 1846 (Brasser 1978:210). The series of tribal splits took their toll on the Stockbridge. By 1843, the Stockbridge are described as "pinched" with poverty. The school had lapsed for want of energy and morale (Schafer 1937:58-59). The Citizen Party did not cooperate in the tribal enrollment or partition of tribal land after the repeal of citizenship (Brasser 1978:210).

The Stockbridge of this period were Christians, and the Citizen's Party accepted commonly-held white values, thus weakening matrilineage and other traditional institutions (Brasser 1978:210).

LATE HISTORIC II STOCKBRIDGE/MUNSEE/BROTHERTOWN

In the early 1850s, the Indian agent A. G. Ellis wrote:

> The Brothertowns have entirely laid aside the aboriginal character, been admitted to all the rights of citizenship, and remain quietly and prosperously pursuing the avocations of civilized men. The Stockbridges are not as fortunate. A premature attempt to imitate their neighbors, in 1834 resulted in failure, and a division of the tribe which has never healed.
> Their affairs are in an unsettled state, and the Government has now pending a negotiation for a final adjustment of the difficulties between the citizen and Indian parties (Draper 1856, vol. 2:448).

In 1850, the Stockbridge had fields varying from four to 40 acres in size, on which they grew corn, potatoes and produce, made maple sugar, and kept some cattle and pigs. Most just survived, despite the few Stockbridge whose farms produced hundreds of pounds of

butter yearly (Schafer 1937:69).

The Brothertowns settled in Calumet County with fewer problems. They had their own schools, churches, preachers, and public officers (Draper 1855, vol. 1:105-6). They had also inter-married with Europeans and many were said to have no distinctive "Indian" (Draper 1859, vol. 4:298). The first steamboat on Lake Winnebago was contracted and built by the Brothertowns at the time (Draper 1855, vol. 1:105-6).

In 1856, a new treaty with the Menominee gave the Stockbridge the townships of Bartelme and Red Springs in Shawano County (Brasser 1978:210). The 1850 census shows that of 1,746 people in Calumet County, only about 250 were Stockbridge and 400 were Brothertown (Draper 1855, vol. 1:105). Perhaps this increase in European settlement was an incentive for the move north.

The Stockbridge-Munsee community was split by the move. The Citizen Party remained in Calumet County, where Stockbridge was a terminal of the Underground Railroad (Brasser 1978:210). Some blacks married into the community at this time (Ritzenthaler 1950:14). The Indian Party moved to Shawano County between 1856 and 1859. Most of the Brothertowns remained in Calumet County, though some moved to Shawano County (Draper 1859, vol. 4:298).

In Shawano County, the land was less suited for farming than the land in Calumet County. Economic conditions were poor and community differences continued (Brasser 1978:210).

In the early 1870s, pine lands belonging to the Stockbridge-Munsee were sold without their knowledge to a corporation, which reduced their landholdings and eliminated one of their sources of revenue (Schafer 1937:74). Continued factionalism precluded effective tribal leadership (Brasser 1978:210).

The General Allotment Act of 1887, giving ownership and the right to sell land to individual Native Americans, resulted in more land loss for the Stockbridge-Munsee (Brasser 1978:210). By the late 1800s, many Stockbridge-Munsee had left the area to rent land from white owners, or log what timber was left. Farming, trapping or berry picking, and seasonal labor jobs also were occupations of the Stockbridge-Munsee (Schafer 1937:75). In 1895, 503 people were listed on the tribal rolls, 300 of whom lived on the Stockbridge-Munsee Reservation (Brasser 1978:210).

LATE HISTORIC III STOCKBRIDGE/MUNSEE/BROTHERTOWN

Termination of the Stockbridge-Munsee as a tribal entity was advocated and authorized by acts of Congress in 1904 and 1906, and finally put into effect in 1910. Education of the children, including that offered by the Norwegian Lutheran mission near Wittenberg, did not encourage the use of the native language. The last native speakers died early in the twentieth century (Brasser 1978:210,704).

The Depression of the 1930s severely hurt the Stockbridge-Munsee. Many of those still owning land lost it for back taxes at this time, and lumbering revenues also fell. Under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the group was again able to form a tribal government and receive federal aid. The 1938 tribal constitution and bylaws mandated elected leadership (Brasser 1978:211).

Also at this time, the Bureau of Indian Affairs began acquiring land for the Stockbridge-Munsee as part of a reforestation project. Unfortunately, some of the forest land was held under title to the United States Department of Agriculture rather than the Stockbridge-Munsee. This complicated the finances and also the efforts of some Stockbridge-Munsee to settle again on the reservation, until transfer of title was finally

made in 1972 (Lurie 1969:52; Lurie 1980:41; Mochon 1968:92-3). (In 1966, there were 750 on the tribal rolls, of which 380 lived on the reservation [Brasser 1978:211]).

The Stockbridge-Munsee reservation today is a patchwork of tribal- and white-owned land. The degree of acculturation of the Stockbridge-Munsee eases interaction with the local white population, and intermarriage is frequent. The Native American Church has no congregation among the Stockbridge-Munsee; the mainline Protestant religions (Lutheran and Presbyterian) serve the tribe (Lurie 1969:9, Mochon 1968:95).

Employment for the Stockbridge-Munsee includes limited logging work, some farming, and other work in Shawano County. Some women work as agricultural laborers in Langlade County for the potato harvest and then in Door County for cherry picking. Many young people take jobs in Milwaukee and other cities and return to the reservation on weekends (Brasser 1978:211).

The Stockbridge-Munsee, though acculturated, still maintain a separate identity as Native Americans (Mochon 1968). There is an effective community leadership today, although BIA policies limit its sphere (Brasser 1978:211). A handicrafts project begun in the 1960s has expanded into a tribal archive and cultural center (Lurie 1980:621).

Today there are some people in Wisconsin who still identify themselves as Brothertowns, but many have become assimilated into either the white or Stockbridge-Munsee populations (Lurie 1980:5,12). Presently, a movement exists for official tribal recognition.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types

Late Historic I Stockbridge/Munsee/Brothertown: Cemeteries, houses, farmsteads, maple sugar groves, schoolhouses, churches.

Late Historic II Stockbridge/Munsee, Brothertown: Mission and other schools, tribal buildings, farmsteads, villages, cemeteries, churches, sites of homesteads in Calumet County.

Late Historic III Stockbridge/Munsee, Brothertown: Mission schools, churches, tribal buildings, farmsteads, villages, cemeteries.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types

Late Historic I Stockbridge/Munsee/Brothertown: Outagamie County (south bank of Fox River across from Kaukauna); Calumet County on east shore of Lake Winnebago.

Late Historic II Stockbridge/Munsee/Brothertown: Calumet County and Towns of Red Springs and Bartelme, Shawano County.

Late Historic III Stockbridge/Munsee/Brothertown: Towns of Red Springs and Bartelme, Shawano County.

Previous Surveys

None.

Survey Needs

Late Historic I Stockbridge/Munsee/Brothertown: Standing structures associated with these groups dating from early settlement days need to be found and photographed. Buildings associated with John Metoxen, and Albert, John or Elects Quinney should be identified and archeological sites in Calumet and Outagamie counties should be identified.

Late Historic II Stockbridge/Munsee/Brothertown: Buildings associated with the tribe and its history, and prominent Stockbridge-Munsee are unknown. A survey of the reservation should be undertaken to identify resources still available. Archeological survey to identify sites of homesteads in Calumet County should be continued into this period.

Late Historic III Stockbridge/Munsee/Brothertown: Same as Late Historic II.

Research Needs

Late Historic I Stockbridge/Munsee/Brothertown: The degree to which the "New York Indians" shared the material culture of their European neighbors in unknown. Also unknown is the extent of their dependence on agriculture and hunting. Mochon (1968) claims that they were cultural brokers between the settlers and the Wisconsin tribes. An archeological comparison of these groups may reveal the position of the "New York Indians" in relation to the European and more conservative Native American groups in the same area. Another important research area concerns the differences among various households of the "New York Indians" as either "Indian Party" or "Citizen Party," and even as to whether the three groups - the Stockbridge, the Munsee, and the Brothertown - show any differences archeologically.

Late Historic II Stockbridge/Munsee/Brothertown: The continuation of the Stockbridge-Munsee as a community in the face of official dismemberment, and the factions in the community, merits the study of the forces at work in this community. Also, the available histories only hint at the transformation from uprooted farmers to people made a living in whatever ways they could. Archeological excavation could supplement the few accounts of Stockbridge-Munsee-Brothertown daily life and perhaps be useful in comparisons of the degrees of assimilation within the community, and between men and women.

Late Historic III Stockbridge/Munsee/Brothertown: The survival of the Stockbridge-Munsee as a community after termination and prior to 1934 should be examined especially for patterns of leadership shown in preserving the community. Also, the survival of the special nature of a fully Christian Indian community surrounded by Euro-American culture should be looked at in terms of the Stockbridge-Munsee's own ideas of community, and the surrounding culture's perception of the Stockbridge-Munsee.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Stockbridge Indian Cemetery, Town of Stockbridge, Calumet County (NRHP 1980)

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Temporal Boundaries: Early Historic Winnebago (1634-1670), Middle Historic Winnebago (1670-1760), Late Historic I Winnebago (1760-1848), Late Historic II Winnebago (1849-1899), Late Historic III Winnebago (1900-present).

Spatial Boundaries: Early Historic Winnebago: East Central Wisconsin; Middle Historic Winnebago: Eastern Wisconsin and area along Mississippi between Lake Pepin and La Crosse; Late Historic I Winnebago: Southwest Wisconsin and Northwestern Illinois; Late Historic II Winnebago: Central and western Wisconsin; Late Historic III Winnebago: West and central Wisconsin.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

EARLY HISTORIC WINNEBAGO

The Winnebago, a Siouan-speaking group, were among those Indians who allegedly met Jean Nicolet in 1634. They trace their origin to a place near Red Banks, on the eastern shore of Green Bay (Lurie 1960:794; Hall 1983; Neville 1906:145). Bigony (1982) offers tentative evidence based on Winnebago folktales that the tribe inhabited Wisconsin as early as the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D.

There is no definite tie-up between the historic Winnebago tribe in Wisconsin and an archeological culture. McKern (1945) offered the hypothesis, based largely on coincidence of geographic range, that the Lake Winnebago focus of the Oneota Tradition represented the prehistoric Winnebago tribe. Several workers have pointed out weaknesses in this theory, the greatest being that there is no known Lake Winnebago focus site with trade goods identifiable to the Early Historic Period (Hall 1983; C.I. Mason 1976).

Allamakee Trailed ceramics, commonly found in Iowa, have been found on Rock Island at the mouth of Green Bay, and at Point Sable, which is known to have been occupied by Winnebago during the Early Historic Period. It has been suggested that this may have been a Winnebego pottery style. Allamakee Trailed has been found in Historic Period contexts in both Iowa and the Rock Island Site in Wisconsin (Hall 1983; C.I. Mason 1976:342,344; R.J. Mason 1985).

Based on observations of the Winnebago at the time of first contact, and on the traditions of the Winnebago themselves, it has generally been assumed that the Winnebago were a populous, sedentary tribe relying more on horticulture than did other groups already resident in Wisconsin or entering at a later time. At the time of Nicolet's voyage, the Winnebago apparently were the most populous tribe in the Green Bay region (Lurie 1978:698; Kay 1977:27).

The early French accounts seem to indicate that the Winnebago lived along the eastern shore of Green Bay and that Nicolet may have met them here, despite Lawson's assertions that Nicolet found them at Doty Island. This strategic position, a gateway to tribes farther west and north, probably inspired Nicolet's journey (Spector 1974:34; Lawson 1907:147; also see Kay 1977).

It is likely that the Winnebago were once matrilineal, as were many groups that relied heavily on horticulture (Radin 1923; Lurie 1978:695). It is also possible that Winnebago society was once stratified, with a formally-organized hierarchy (Radin 1949).

Winnebago tradition tells of large villages of several thousand people, living in gabled

lodges (Radin 1923). Early accounts mention a very large Winnebago village, but Kay (1977:326) and Lurie (1960:800) suggest this arrangement was due to the need for defense. Both Winnebago tradition and French accounts such as Perrot's tell of bitter warfare between the Winnebago and other tribes, especially the Illinois (Blair 1911, vol. 1).

By the 1660s, the Winnebago are mentioned as inhabiting a small village of hundreds (not thousands, as formerly) of warriors (C. I. Mason 1976:396). In 1665, the Winnebago population was estimated at 150 warriors, indicating a total population of perhaps 600 to 800 people (Lurie 1978:691). Hall suggests that the Winnebago underwent captivity or fled the Green Bay area sometime before 1670 after a disastrous series of defeats in intertribal warfare. Pestilence also devastated the Winnebago sometime before the 1650s (Hall 1983; Lurie 1960:801). It is possible that the Winnebago were especially hard-hit by European-introduced diseases because they were populous and lived in large villages (Lurie 1980:13). When the Algonkian-speaking tribes, refugees from farther east, entered the Green Bay area in the middle of the Early Historic Period, they were unopposed by any group, and may have been entering a vacuum created by warfare and disease (C. I. Mason 1983:85).

Whatever the reasons, by the end of the early historic period, the Winnebago seemed to differ only slightly in material culture from their Algonkian-speaking neighbors (C. I. Mason 1976:345). Lurie has elegantly summarized her views of the reasons for this change:

> ". . . the Winnebago possessed an aboriginal culture quite different from the surrounding Algonkians in sophistication of religious cosmology, dual chieftainship, which divided civil and police functions, and especially strong commitment to gardens and large villages. They became increasingly Algonkianized in cultural traits as the result of catastrophes, war, and some kind of epidemic disease, at about the time of European contact in Wisconsin. Both influence of intermarriage with surrounding Algonkians and the economics of the fur trade encouraged dispersal and expansion of the tribe into smaller village units" (Lurie 1969:6)

MIDDLE HISTORIC WINNEBAGO

At the beginning of the Middle Historic Period, the Winnebago were living in four mixed villages around Green Bay, with Potawatomi, Sauk, and Fox (Kinietz 1972:309, Lawson 1907:156). In May of 1670, the missionary Allouez found Winnebago assembling in a clearing on the east side of Green Bay, possibly at Red Banks on Point Sable. At this time, they had only about 150 warriors (Lawson 1907:156, Hall 1983). Despite the dramatic diminution of the Winnebago, the few still at Green Bay were described as living on their own lands (Kinietz 1972:309). References to the Winnebago in travelers' accounts of the late seventeenth century are limited, which may be due to the decimation of the tribe and/or its subsequent dispersal (Lurie 1960:802).

During the Middle Historic Period, the Winnebago began to withdraw from the Green Bay area, settling farther to the south and west. They had settled along Lake Winnebago by the beginning of the eighteenth century, and by the 1750s, had moved into territory vacated by the Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, Miami, and Mascouten (Lurie 1969:6; Lurie 1978:692; Kay 1977:165). The Winnebago were by this time concentrated in a few villages around Lake Winnebago. Large gardens were planted and tended during the summer. Corn, beans, and squash were grown, and the crops and various wild plant foods were stored for the winter. During the cold months, large groups of men (and perhaps some women) set out in dug-out canoes for a winter big-game hunt in the area bounded by the Wisconsin, Black, and Mississippi rivers. Once they had journeyed as far as they could by water, they cached the canoes for the return trip. One well-known canoe cache was near Wyeville, Wisconsin, on the Lemonweir River (Lurie 1978:692). There

are traditional stories that the Winnebago crossed the Mississippi River to hunt buffalo. Winter hunting parties in western Wisconsin are said to have sent runners back to the village with fresh meat. The runner then returned with news and dried vegetal foods. Fishing was also an important subsistence activity for the Winnebago (Lurie 1978:692).

One French observer writing in 1709 grouped the Winnebago with the Fox, Mascouten, Miami, Kickapoo, and Illinois as "people of the prairies." The same observer in 1710 reported the Winnebago as a sedentary people of 30 to 40 warriors living on the Fox River (Kinietz 1972:366). Apparently a few were still living at Green Bay in 1718 (Thwaites, ed. 1902, vol 16:371). During the Fox-French conflicts of the 1720s and 1730s, at least some Winnebago abandoned the Fox River-Lake Winnebago area and took refuge with the Eastern Dakota who were living along the Trempealeau River and Lake Pepin. In 1736, Winnebago (numbering 80 warriors) were reported as living among the Dakota since 1728 (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:248). In 1732 and 1734, 30 cabins of Winnebago were located at Sieur Linctot's post at Trempealeau (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:168,189). After the conclusion of warfare, the Winnebago settled again in the Lake Winnebago and Green Bay area, and also along the Upper Rock River. It is also possible that some Winnebago stayed behind, living along the Mississippi. But, around 1738, the Winnebago were reported as fleeing the Dakota, because they had joined with the Chippewa in actions against the Dakota (Thwaites 1906, vol. 17:264,363; Kay 1977:165; Spector 1974:40).

The major influence on the Winnebago of the Middle Historic Period was the fur trade. During the Early Historic Period, the Winnebago had intermarried with the Algonkian-speaking tribes, and had adopted some of the material and social traits of their Algonkian neighbors. The dispersed settlement and greater seasonal movement of the Algonkian-speaking tribes are seen as being more easily adapted to the lifestyle demanded by the fur trade then the more sedentary settlement system originally followed by the Winnebago (Lurie 1960:804-805; Lurie 1978:692). The Winnebago's continued reliance on gardening, despite the changes concomittant with participation in the fur trade, insured them an adequate food supply (Lurie 1978:696-671).

The successful adaptation to the fur trade through alteration of settlement system permitted expansion into new territory, and the population of the tribe increased. Spector lists Middle Historic Period village locations which indicates both the expansive and the dispersed nature of Middle Historic Period Winnebago settlement. This may be due in part to a decrease in game and a concurrent lessening in the ability of the area to support a large, concentrated population throughout the eighteenth century (Spector 1974:44-46, Lurie 1960:805-806).

The Winnebago adaptation to the fur trade was dependent upon the desire of the competing European powers to control the fur trade, which enabled the Winnebago, and other tribes, to play one power against the other (Lurie 1978:696-697).

LATE HISTORIC I WINNEBAGO

Winnebago trends of the Middle Historic Period--dispersal, expansion, and involvement in the fur trade--continued in the first part of the Late Historic I Period. Lt. James Gorrell, in a 1761-1762 census of tribes, lists 150 warriors in at least three towns, at the "end" of Lake Winnebago, and "over against Louistonstant" (on the Mississippi) (Draper, ed. 1855, vol. 1:32,34). By 1763, about 360 warriors were reported for the Winnebago (Neville 1909:66). Due to the more dispersed living pattern resulting from the fur trade, these figures may represent numbers of local groups and not the entire tribe.

The Winnebago continued their expansion to the south and west. Villages of 100 to 300 people spread along the lakeshores and riverbanks of southern Wisconsin, probably due to the impetus of the fur trade (Lurie 1978:690). Some of the villages grew quite large later in this period--one ca. 1825 village on Lake Koshkonong contained about 1,000 people--but

there were also settlements at the other extreme, such as the three or four bark lodges occupied during the 1820s by Caramaunee and his sons-in-law at the outlet of Rush (or Mud) Lake (Kay 1979:405; Powell 1913:152-153).

The early gabled lodges had been replaced in many cases by Algonkian-style "wigwams," round or oval domed houses with a pole framework (Lurie 1967:796). In 1766, Jonathan Carver saw a Winnebago village along the Fox River containing 50 houses and a palisade (Lawson 1907:150). These may have been the old-style lodges. Later in the Late Historic I Period, reports of wigwam-like houses were more common. Four Legs' village on Doty Island in the 1820s and 1830s was variously described as having "neat bark wigwams" (Lawson 1907:147), or lodges covered with bark or mats (Lawson 1907:148). Spector cites a detailed description of Winnebago houses visited in June, 1818. These "lodges" were built of bark interlaced with poles forming a rounded frame, oblong in shape, 30 to 40 feet long, and half that in width. The interior of the lodge had two rows of stables, one row on each side, divided by "stanchions." The lodges were raised three or four feet above the ground, and the center of the lodge had two or three fires, and openings in the roof to let the smoke out. Spector suggests that bark was used as house covering during the summer and that lighter, more portable coverings such as mats were used in winter because the lodges were moved more frequently in this season. Lodges of the type described above may have housed three families, each numbering 10 people (Spector 1974:212-213).

The Winnebago of this period were still noted horticulturalists (Sturtevant and Trigger 1978:692, Spector 1974:240-241). The lodges were built near the cultivated fields, and an area was occupied for several summers, perhaps until soil fertility was depleted (Spector 1974:213). As mentioned before, the time and energy that the Winnebago put into their gardens was important for a secure food supply; participation in the fur trade did not result in this type of security (Sturtevant and Trigger 1978:692). Women of an Indian village (with some Winnebago) at Portage around 1793 planted corn, squash, potatoes, melons, cucumbers, and tobacco, and harvested wild rice (Hibbard 1905:151). Trowbridge described considerable fields of corn, squash, pumpkins, and other foods planted by the Winnebago, and mentioned that subsistence depended equally on hunting and planting (Spector 1974:49). Winnebago women of the 1820s were described as industrious as they planted corn, beans, pumpkins, and potatoes and harvested a great amount of wild rice from Lake Winnebago (Thwaites 1911, vol. 20:143). The Winnebago living near Green Bay in 1823 traded corn to local white settlers for whiskey (Spector 1974:240-241). Faunal remains from Crabapple Point (Je-93), a late Historic I Period Winnebago site, show that elk and deer were the most important game, though fish were also used (Spector 1974:241,244-245).

Winnebago men were considered good hunters, providing both food (see above) and the furs necessary to supply trade goods that were by now necessities in Native American societies around the Great Lakes (Thwaites 1911, vol. 20:143). By the early nineteenth century, Pike reported Winnebago hunting as far afield as Lakes Huron and Superior (Neville 1909:34). By the 1820s, the Winnebago expanded (as permanent residents) into the former Eastern Dakota hunting grounds in western Wisconsin, perhaps prodded by increasing white settlement and rising Winnebago population (Kay 1977:273). Late in this period, after 1840, the Winnebago attempted to exploit the Dakota/Chippewa war zone in northwestern Wisconsin, after their traditional southern homes had been ceded to the United States (Kay 1979:412-413).

During the Late Historic I Period, the Winnebago began mining lead to process for their own use and for trade with other groups (Kay 1977:284). The Crabapple Point site, probably dating to the 1760s-1780s, showed evidence of lead mining and smelting. The Winnebago manufactured some ammunition and developed an intertribal lead trade (Kay 1977:286). Lead was also traded to the white settlers for trade goods (Spector 1974:72-73). Lead processing probably took place during the summer months, when it

would not interfere with hunting for the fur trade, and since it seems to have been done near villages, it would not have disrupted planting and harvesting. Until the nineteenth century, women and old men did most of the mining; the warriors and younger men assisted only in smelting (Spector 1974:72-73,193). Kay suggests that the importance of lead mining to the Winnebago (and of the goods available from trading lead) may have been the result of a decrease in the big game available to them (Kay 1977:286). Unfortunately, it soon became apparent to white settlers that the lead trade was too profitable to leave it or the lead district in Winnebago hands (see Spector 1974:194-200).

As noted earlier, the fur trade promoted greater dispersion and mobility, and demanded a larger territory than the sedentary pattern practiced at Green Bay (Sturtevant and Trigger 1978:692). Most of southern Wisconsin west of the Rock River was occupied by the Winnebago during this period. Winnebago villages were mentioned on Doty Island (Lawson 1907), the Wisconsin, Lemonweir, and Baraboo rivers (Draper 1856, vol. 2:178; also see Lawson 1907), the Rock River, and Lake Koshkonong (Jones 1974:361, Kay 1977:273-4). The Winnebago also wintered along rivers, lakes and streams in this area. By the 1820s, there seem to have been three geographic groups--the Mississippi Black River enclave in the west, and the Rock River and Lake Winnebago enclaves in the eastern part of the state. This spread throughout the state is often linked to increased fragmentation of the tribe, which Kay (1977) links to the necessities of the fur trade. She notes the increasing number of Winnebago sites during the nineteenth century--six villages in 1805, 11 in 1812, 21 in 1823, and 36 in 1829, (Kay 1977:277). An interesting comparison is between the number of villages and the estimated Winnebago population: 150 warriors in 1777 (Thwaites 1908, vol. 18:365), 600 warriors in 1786 (Lawson 1907:149), about 2,000 Winnebagos in 1806, 3,000 in 1812 (Neville 1909:66), about 1,500 in 1819 (Thwaites 1911, vol. 20:143), about 5,800 in 1820 (Neville 1909:66), and estimated as nearly 7,000 in 1827 (Lawson 1907b:106, see also Kay 1977 and 1984 for discussions of population increase among Wisconsin tribes during this period). Some of these figures (notably the 1777 estimate, and probably the 1819 figure), undoubtedly refer to a geographic group rather than the entire tribe. Population pressure may have added to the Winnebago's need for expansion into new territory. It may be that there were more Winnebago villages because there were more Winnebagos.

Fairly detailed information on the Winnebago social structure is available for the Late Historic I Period. Leadership may have become less formal than it was in the time before European contact, yet the Winnebago were able to maintain a strong tribal identity throughout this period (C.I. Mason 1983:86). This was perhaps due to the distinctiveness of their language (when compared to the Algonkian-speaking groups around them), and the fact that the Winnebago still occupied their ancestral lands (Bruhy and Goldstein 1983:247: see Radin 1923 and Sturtevant and Trigger 1978:690-707).

By the early nineteenth century, the various local groups each had their own band chief, though at least part of the Winnebago still participated in a tribal council as late as the 1820s (Lurie 1960:797, Spector 1974:63-64). Different clans still retained specific functions among the Winnebago (Lurie 1978:693-4; Radin 1923) and even during the 1820s some chief roles were retained. A dichotomy between civil and war leadership existed (Spector 1974:63-65). The clans and moieties, cutting across different local bands, probably helped integrate the tribe, as did the tribal council.

Spector gives a lucid exposition of Late Historic I Winnebago socio-political organization prior to the breakdown which the Winnebago suffered with deportation (see the detailed discussion in Spector 1974:65-66). Spector suggests that the interpretive socio-political structure helped the Winnebago maintain a degree of cultural identity and stability throughout this period, despite the shifts in location and other changes resulting from the fur trade (Spector 1974:69-70).

The increasing white settlement in southern Wisconsin put added pressure on the

Winnebago. Despite disagreement from some factions, the tribe was among the staunchest supporters of the Shawnee Prophet and Tecumseh (Spector 1974:70-71). By the mid-1820s, the Winnebago in southwestern Wisconsin saw increasing numbers of white lead miners settling on their land, and an increase in traffic on the Mississippi. The Winnebago surrendered the most productive part of their territory in the cessions of 1829 and 1832 which covered southwestern Wisconsin and northwestern Illinois, and the 1832 treaty provided a new home west of the Mississippi in Iowa (Lurie 1978, 1980).

Several epidemics hit the Winnebago at this time--cholera in 1832 and smallpox from 1832 to 1835 (Kay 1977:277). In 1834, nearly one-quarter of the tribe died of smallpox (Lawson 1907b:112). The epidemics and movement from lands which had been ceded to the United States disrupted the yearly cycle of planting and hunting, and many Winnebago starved (Kay 1977:277).

In 1837, a disputed treaty ceded the remaining Winnebago territory north and west of the Wisconsin River in Wisconsin and and contained an agreement to leave these lands for the reservation created in 1832 in northeast Iowa by the spring of 1838 (Lawson 1907b:112; Lurie 1978:699). The Winnebago, regularly resident in the 1837 cession area, considered the treaty invalid and did not move (Lurie 1980:19). In 1840, the government made the first of its attempts to round up the Winnebago by force. Many were found and sent to Iowa, but others escaped the dragnet and went into hiding in Wisconsin. In 1846, the Winnebago who had been moved to Iowa were forced to cede that land and move to Minnesota, where they suffered many hardships before they were eventually moved even farther west. By the close of the Late Historic I Period, considerable numbers of Winnebago remained in Wisconsin, in the Fox, Kickapoo, Black, Wisconsin and Lemonweir valleys (Lawson 1907b:113; Lurie 1978:699-700).

LATE HISTORIC II WINNEBAGO

At the beginning of the Late Historic II Period, the Winnebago were officially under edict to leave Wisconsin and settle on reservations west of the Mississippi. They ultimately gained a reservation in northeastern Nebraska where approximately half of the Winnebago people still reside or consider it home. The United States government began to remove them from the Iowa lands to Minnesota in 1849. During the early 1850s, the government continued to try and move the Winnebago to Long Prairie, Minnesota. Small groups would return to Wisconsin to join those still there. These the government repeatedly tried to round up and move. At this time, Pierce (1914:119) mentions small Winnebago camps at Sugar Loaf and on French Island, both in La Crosse County (Pierce 1914:118-119).

Some Winnebago bought land in Wisconsin as homesteaders in order to escape removal. Yellow Thunder, who died in 1874, owned land in Sauk County along the Wisconsin River. On it were two log cabins for Yellow Thunder and the families living with him. Corn, beans, and potatoes were raised on the cleared five acres. During feasts, as many as 1500 Native Americans gathered near Yellow Thunder's homestead (Lawson 1907:150).

Despite repeated government attempts to remove the Winnebago from Wisconsin, by 1873 there were still about 1,000 Winnebago in the state. They were located on the Fox, Baraboo, and Wisconsin rivers. "Popular" sentiment finally turned in favor of allowing the Winnebago to remain in Wisconsin (Lawson 1907:115-116). The last major deportation of approximately 860 Winnebago from Wisconsin occurred in 1874, and by the summer of 1875 most of those removed had returned (Lurie 1978:702).

During the removals, the subsistence and settlement patterns of the Wisconsin Winnebago broke down. While in hiding, the Winnebago broke into small, wandering bands of two or three families (Spector 1974:55). Despite this, the Winnebago retained many of the

traditional village and tribal structures from the Middle and Late Historic I Periods (Lurie 1978:703). Apparently some of the factors that held the Winnebago together as a tribe during the changes and upheavals wrought by the fur trade (such as familiarity with the environment and linguistic isolation) helped maintain tribal identity through the wrenching deportation period (Spector 1974:56).

The Indian Homestead Act of 1875 allowed the Winnebago families still in Wisconsin to remain there by taking up 80-acre homesteads, although most only claimed 40 acres. Many did this during the 1870s and 1880s. The idea of the Act was to hasten assimilation by scattering the Winnebago among white settlers (Lurie 1969:12,15; Lurie 1980:20). By this time, the poorest land in central Wisconsin was left for the Winnebago to homestead. The homestead served primarily as a headquarters, where there was a small garden and one of the circular mat-covered wigwams generally used by this time, before canvas became popular (Pierce 1914:127-128).

The tribe continued to practice a "seasonal, itinerant" economy (Lurie 1978:702-703). They generally planted their gardens in the summer, and picked blueberries and cranberries to sell to white settlers. Summer was also the season of large social gatherings. In early fall, families moved with ponies and wagons to campsites along the Mississippi near La Crosse to hunt and trap during the winter (Lurie 1966; Lurie 1978:704).

Lands taken up by the Winnebago under the Indian Homestead Act were generally north of the most heavily settled parts of the Late Historic I Period range. Even before 1881, the Wisconsin Winnegbago were forming two territories, with summer settlement scattered around Black River Falls in the west and Wittenberg in the east (Sturtevant and Trigger 1978:702). In 1881, they were officially enumerated at Eland Junction, Black River Falls, Portage, and Kilbourn (now Wisconsin Dells) (Pierce 1914:122). The Winnebago homestead lands were extended over more than 10 counties but were heavily concentrated in Jackson, Adams, Marathon, and Shawano counties (Lawson 1907:116). These lands were described as poor farming areas (Lurie 1948:59; Blair 1912, vol. 2:297). This, plus the fact that the Winnebago lacked the tools and the capital to invest in farming, led to poor harvests. These poor harvests turned the Winnebago from the labor-intensive farming with its meager rewards to greater reliance on hunting and berrying. Unfortunately, the woods were no longer as productive as they had once been, and were being depleted by white settlers (Lurie 1948:58). As was the case for many Wisconsin Indians, the Winnebago lost land to the tax rolls when the 20-year tax-free period was up. The division of land among heirs also diminished the land that was available (Lurie 1978:704)

In 1887, about 1,500 Winnebago were enrolled in Wisconsin (Wisconsin Winnebago and Nebraska Winnebago were considered separate entities for administrative purposes [Sturtevant and Trigger 1978:690]). Of these, 1,180 lived in Wisconsin. Annual payments were made at Black River Falls, Stevens Point, Tomah, and Hatfield. Most Wisconsin Winnebago were subsisting by picking blueberries, huckleberries, cranberries, raising small crops, fishing, and hunting (Lawson 1907:116). By 1912, the situation was much the same: the Winnebago were described as living in tents on poor land, two or more families living close together, and their land was reportedly so poor that they had to scatter to get work (Blair 1912, vol. 2:297-298). Economic conditions began to change for the better just prior to World War I (Lurie 1978:694).

The Wisconsin Winnebago were able to maintain more of their eighteenth century traditions and yearly round than their deported relatives in Nebraska. As late as the early 1900s, Winnebago followed their seasonal and yearly cycle using ponies and wagons instead of canoes (Lurie 1978:694). As late as 1895, some Winnebago wintered at Lake Koshkonong and other southern Wisconsin lakes (Lawson 1907:100-102). Besides having remained in their own territory, the Wisconsin Winnebago had suffered less interference

from the government or missionaires than had the Nebraska Winnebago (Lurie 1978:694).

The Evangelical Reform Church established a mission and school near Black River Falls in 1878. But the mission insisted on total conversion, and the first four Winnebago were not baptized until 1898. The Norwegian-Lutheran Church ran a mission and boarding school near Wittenberg for Indian children, and some Winnebago attended. Winnebago children also attended the Tomah Indian School (Lawson 1907:117; Lurie 1978:703-704).

LATE HISTORIC III WINNEBAGO

In the summer of 1908, about 100 Nebraska Winnebago came to Wisconsin and held three or four meetings to introduce the new Peyote religion. The visit was not completely successful. At Black River Falls, the peyote people met opposition from the most religiously conservative Winnebago in Wisconsin. The peyote people were eventually more successful at Wittenburg (Blair 1912, vol. 2:297-298; Lurie 1948:59; 1978:704).

In 1914, the Winnebago still followed the mobile, seasonal work cycle characteristic of the end of the Late Historic II Period, although there were some changes. The importance of blueberry picking diminished when state regulations forbade the burning of underbrush that had maintained the berry patches. Wage work in strawberry fields replaced the income from blueberry picking. About 1917, Euro-Americans began farming cranberry bogs commercially, which provided employment for more Winnebago people. At about the same time, Door County farmers began growing cherries, giving the Winnebago summer work (Lurie 1978:704). Between the summer chery and fall cranberry seasons, they found other migrant farm work. The newly available automobile made it possible to go quickly from one crop to another. The Winnebago also set up roadside handicraft stands to attract tourists (Lurie 1978:705).

By the 1920s, tourism also inspired many Winnebago to move to the Wisconsin Dells area where they participated in "Indian ceremonials" for tourists. Some Winnebago began to seek winter factory work in the large cities of the Midwest (Sturtevant and Trigger 1978:705). Before World War II, many Winnebago traveled to the Mississippi River in the fall to trap fur-bearers. This source of income dwindled about the time of the war (Lurie 1948:64), although the Mississippi marshes still draw a few Wisconsin Winnebago today (Lurie 1978:696).

Like other tribes in Wisconsin, the Winnebago were hard-hit by the Depression of the 1930s. During World War II, with many Winnebago men in Armed Forces, and more in defense work, a measure of prosperity was attained that did not continue after the war. When the demand for unskilled labor dropped after the war, so did Winnebago employment. The seasonal labor cycle had worked against regular schooling for the Winnebago as children, which caused them to be at a disadvantage in a competitive job market as adults (Lurie 1978:705).

The poverty of the Winnebago as compared with their white neighbors is evident from reports that as late as the 1930s, the majority of Winnebago near Black River Falls were living in cardboard or tar-paper wigwams, sleeping on hay laid on the ground, and using fires in the middle of their shelters for heat and cooking (Lurie 1948:56). WPA labor built frame houses around the mission near Black River Falls, and government funds allowed for needed repairs to other homes, so that by the late 1940s, only two tar-paper covered wigwams were still used by Winnebago in this community (Lurie 1948:66,68).

Since many Winnebago lived in quite small groups, having been dispersed by the provisions of the Indian Homestead Act, summer migrant jobs helped strengthen tribal bonds. Winnebago from all over the state met at and took part in farm labor such as cherry-picking (Lurie 1948:63). But while tribal ties prevailed, other once-important social features were weakened. By the 1940s, the factors stressing clanship were less apparent

in everday life, and marriage taboos linked to clans and moieties were vanishing (Lurie 1948:96).

Game was still an important dietary supplement in the 1940s, and Winnebago women canned some vegetables and fruit. Most food was purchased, though, and traditional wild plant foods were used less frequently (Lurie 1948:70). This is perhaps to be expected, considering that the summer months found most of the Winnebago doing migratory farm labor.

In 1941, the mission at Neillsville started a handicraft (basketry and beadwork) cooperative for Winnebago women, to insure for a fair price for their work and provide for some measure of self-sufficiency (Lurie 1948), but it ultimately failed, largely because of inadequate marketing outlets.

Schooling came from the mission and government, as well as local schools. The Evangelical and Reform Church School near Black River Falls was enlarged and moved to Neillsville in 1921 (Lurie 1978:703). The Norwegian Lutheran boarding school near Wittenburg took Winnebago students until it was closed in 1933. The Tomah Indian School was converted to use as an Indian hospital after World War I; the hospital has since closed (Lurie 1978:704).

Religious differences among parts of the tribe left schisms that still exist among the Winnebago. The Native American Church converted almost the entire Wittenberg community (Lurie 1978:704-705). Lurie suggests that this was because the Lutheran boarding school there had removed the children from the direct care of their parents (and thus from those who passed on traditional values and religion), and provided a Christian foundation upon which the Native American Church could build. At Black River Falls, on the other hand, children attended a day school and were more influenced by older Winnebago. Also, Black River Falls Winnebago were among the most religiously conservative in the state in the 1940s (Lurie 1948:59-60).

Western Wisconsin is still the center of religious conservatism, though the Native American Church is also strong among the Winnebago, with congregations at Black River Falls, Wittenberg, and Wisconsin Dells. The churches at the Dells and Wittenberg own land and buildings. Some Winnebago are Christian (Lurie 1969:9; 1978:704). Even non-conservative Winnebago today have a healthy respect for witchcraft, which may function as a sort of social control in place of the former institutions which have broken down (Lurie 1978:696).

During the early 1960s, the Winnebago developed an elected Business Committee under provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and tried to gain greater self-control and self-sufficiency. Some success was achieved, although they were hampered by the bureaucratic capriciousness of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other Federal agencies on which they must depend for funding. (Lurie 1978:405). In the 1960s, the Winnebago tribe began to enlarge the acreage held under tribal trust title, but even by 1969, fewer than 4,000 acres of homestead land remained (Lurie 1980:50; Lurie 1969:15).

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types

Early Historic Winnebago. Villages, hunting camps, fishing camps, cemeteries, missions.

Middle Historic Winnebago. Summer villages, winter hunting camps, canoe caches, cemeteries, trading posts, fishing camps.

Late Historic I Winnebago. Summer villages, hunting camps, agricultural fields, cemeteries, trading posts, fishing stations, lead mining and processing sites, Indian agencies.

Late Historic II Winnebago. Cemeteries, homesteads, schools, missions, temporary camps.

Late Historic III Winnebago. Tribally-owned buildings, summer migrant camps, churches, schools, hospitals.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types

Early Historic Winnebago. Door Peninsula and Lake Michigan shore.

Middle Historic Winnebago. Villages along rivers and lakes in eastern Wisconsin and along Trempealeau River and Lake Pepin, winter hunting camps in central and western Wisconsin, canoe caches along rivers in same area, cemeteries and fishing camps near village.

Late Historic I Winnebago. All along lakes, rivers, streams, and ponds in the southern half of Wisconsin. Some special-purpose camps (hunting? nutting?) may have been in the uplands of this area away from water.

Late Historic II Winnebago. Central and western Wisconsin.

Late Historic III Winnebago. Buildings and sites in central and western Wisconsin.

Previous Surveys

Early Historic Winnebago: none. Middle Historic Winnebago: none. Late Historic I Winnebago: Spector (1974). Late Historic II Winnebago: none. Late Historic III Winnebago: none.

Survey Needs

Early Historic Winnebago. Location, identification and excavation of early historic period Winnebago sites.

Middle Historic Winnebago. Survey, identification and excavation of securely-dated villages and winter camps. Determination of area occupied by Winnebago. Compilation of bibliography of museum and manuscript collections.

Late Historic I Winnebago. Location, identification and excavation of Winnebago sites representative of the yearly subsistence and settlement cycle in at least three regions--the upper Rock River, the Lake Winnebago-Fox River Valley and western Wisconsin--to form a base with which to identify and define further research problems, and to confirm or reject

various hypotheses suggested below. A series of sites from the early part of this period and also a series of sites from later in the period should be studied. Compilation of bibliography of Winnebago material in manuscript and museum collections is also necessary.

Late Historic II Winnebago. Archeological survey of areas with known Late Historic II Period sites; creation of a bibliography of manuscript references; and identification and photographs of any existing structures associated with Late Historic II Period Winnebago, collection of oral histories are important survey and research needs.

Late Historic III Winnebago. Collection of oral histories from tribal members. Inventory of Winnebago and tribally-owned buildings and government buildings associated with the Winnebago.

Research Needs

Early Historic Winnebago. The most pressing question concerning the early historic Winnebago is which archeological complex (Lake Winnebago focus or Orr focus) represents protohistoric and early historic Winnebago. Lurie's (1960) hypothesis for the breakdown of Winnebago culture during this period rests on the assumption that large, Lake Winnebago focus-type sites were the norm for the protohistoric Winnebago. C. I. Mason (1976) points out that we have not yet found these large early historic and protohistoric sites and suggests that the early historic Winnebago may have already lived in smaller "Algonkianized" groups prior to contact, and been less populous than originally thought, or that the sites are buried under modern cities. This more dispersed pattern was characteristic of the Ioway, who has been associated with Orr focus ceramics (C. I. Mason 1976:345-346). Gibbon (1972) hypothesized that the Oneota in eastern Wisconsin started living in smaller, dispersed settlements instead of large and populous villages by about A.D. 1300, but recent evidence shows that large Oneota population concentrations may have existed up to the time of European contact, or to nearly that time (Overstreet 1978). Obviously, identification and excavation of an Early Historic Period Winnebago site is a necessary starting point for more in-depth research questions. C. I. Mason suggests that the discovery and comparison of several sites with early trade goods to those containing later trade goods may allow some determination of accurate population figures for the Winnebago (C.I. Mason 1976:248). Details of social organization may be determined by careful excavation. The degree of difference of the protohistoric Winnebago from their Algonkian neighbors in their reliance on horticulture, population, and sedentism could also be examined.

Spector hypothesizes that the early Winnebago tribe comprised a number of essentially autonomous local groups (residential units) sharing a common language and social customs that gave them some cohesion and allowed the missionaries to identify them as Winnebago (Spector 1974:35). These groups may not necessarily have shared all details of material culture (i.e., ceramic type), and may have had different adaptations to different environments and contact with different groups. Spector believes that proper archeological and ethnohistorical investigation should allow identification of early historic Winnebago villages, and excavation of these villages to produce artifacts, that in comparison with known cultural groups, may enable a less speculative reconstruction of Winnebago culture at the time of initial contact (Spector 1974:35-36).

Middle Historic Winnebago. The Middle Historic Period seems to show an increase in population and a change in geographic location for the Winnebago. The vagueness of late seventeenth century accounts makes the record unclear. Location, study, and comparison of sites from the early and the later parts of this period may give some indication of a florescence in increased numbers of later sites, and in a greater territory occupied during the later period. The variety and amount of artifacts at sites may also help define the change from a people who had recently suffered a series of catastrophes to a fairly

populous and stable group. Studies of artifact types at Middle Historic Period sites may help determine how much "Algonkianization" had affected the tribe. The continued Winnebago reliance on horticulture should be examined. The subsistence pattern should be compared to Winnebago patterns during other periods to see how the tribe was affected by changes in geographic location and changes due to the fur trade.

Late Historic I Winnebago. Carol I. Mason (1983:86) has already defined some basic questions that should be considered:

> The whole history of the Winnebago with regard to the Mississippi River extension of their tribal territory poses many unanswered questions, some of which have broader relevance than tribal history alone. For one thing, in the course of their dispersal west, the Winnebago shifted emphasis from an originally successful sedentary large village life to a more scattered pattern with smaller gardens, less nucleation, and a social structure more important to such shifts. The gearing down of a political structure has as many lessons in it as does the growth of complex organizations. The ways in which the

Winnebago moved from political structures more functional within a large scale, more integrated tribal unit to those successfully operating dispersed communities have general application within the larger framework of political analysis. Similarly, the question of the role of the fur trade in decentralization is an appropriate one to ask as is the contribution of bison hunting and the various new arrangements made possible by its pursuit.

Subsistence changes over this period should be examined, and careful faunal analysis should be conducted with special emphasis place on isolating the animal populations which were hunted for food. Archeological information on Winnebago subsistence from this period comes chiefly from the Crabapple Point site (Spector 1974) and since the remains came from only a part of this site, the chance for bias are high. Also, one site will not represent the yearly round.

Late Historic II Winnebago. One of the most basic questions centers on the problem of finding Late Historic II archeological sites. Often these sites are small and many Winnebago lived in canvas tents. Possessions were probably few--before the 1870s and 1880s, the Winnebago had to be on the move. Poverty also prevented a wealth of materials goods. In many cases sites were directly on the present ground surface, and liable to immediate disturbance from plowing and logging, with no layer of soil atop the site to preserve part of it. Any preserved archeological site could enlarge the picture obtained from contemporary accounts, or may produce evidence which negates part of the assumptions.

Photographic collections, such as those of Charles Van Schaick and H. H. Bennett, depict Winnebagos, and permit us to trace the degree of acculturation over the years (Lurie 1961:2,6,8). There is evidence that women were more conservative in dress than men, and it would be interesting to see if this conservative attitude was reflected in anything besides dress.

Late Historic III Winnebago. Differences among Winnebago communities are apparent, yet the reasons for this are not totally understood. There is also evidence that Winnebago are perceived differently by different white communities, and the elucidation of the relationships between Winnebago and white communities may aid planners from both groups. The nature and direction of further Winnebago socio-political changes should also be noted, both from an historical perspective and a community-study standpoint.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Rock Island Historic District, Town of Washington, Door County (NRHP 1972)
Lasley's Point, Town of Winneconne, Winnebago County (NRHP 1979)
Carcajou Point Site, Town of Sumner, Jefferson County (NRHP 1972)
Old Indian Agency House (1832), Portage, Columbia County (NRHP 1972)
CrabApple Point, Town of Sumner, Jefferson County (NRHP 1978)
Tomah Indian School District, Tomah, Monroe County (DOE 1981)

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