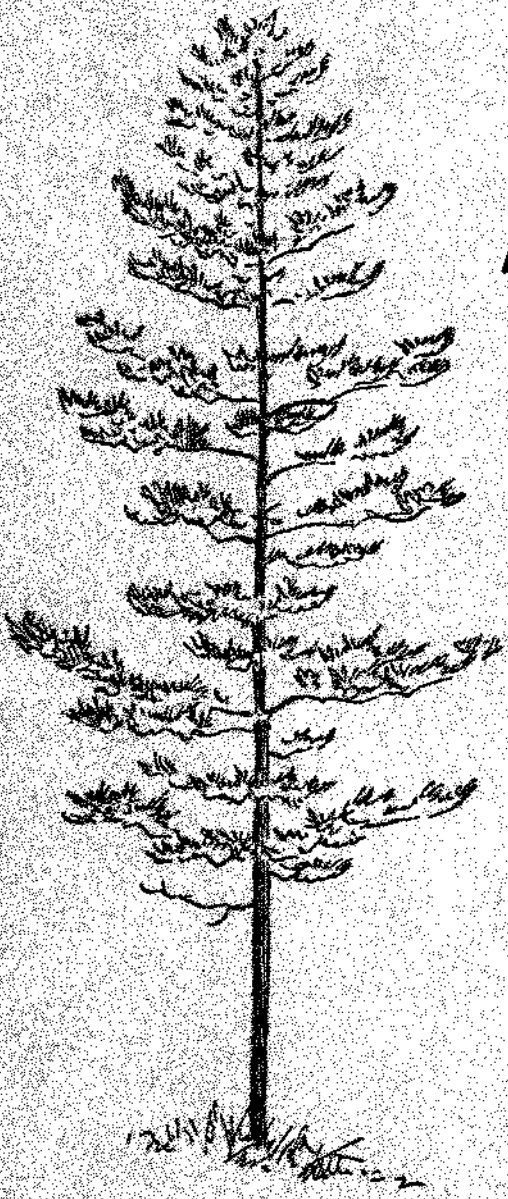


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MENOMINEE REPORT



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MENOMINEE REPORT

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FOREWORD

By HAROLD G. KRUSE, President, CNRA

Passage by the United States Congress in 1954 of Public Law 399, commonly known as the Termination Bill for the Menominee Indian Tribe, has served to focus much attention on this tribe of Wisconsin Indians. This bill, which would end federal supervision over the Menominees as of December 31, 1958, poses a number of serious problems for both the tribe and the State of Wisconsin.

That our state officials are aware of the importance of these problems is shown by Governor Kohler's appointment of a Legislative Committee on Indian Affairs and by the comprehensive studies being made on the Reservation at the present time. A number of other groups have also shown an active interest in aiding the Menominees. Among these have been the Governor's Commission on Human Rights, the League of Women Voters, the Wisconsin Taxpayers' Alliance, the recently organized Citizens Committee for the Menominees, and other church, civic, and conservation organizations, including the Citizens Natural Resources Association. This booklet is CNRA'S contribution toward helping to promote a better understanding of, and a greater appreciation for the Menominees-their past history and current problems. It is hoped that those who read it will use the information contained herein as a basis for judging Menominee legislation during the 1957 and following sessions of the Wisconsin Legislature, and that it will place them in a better position to advise their Assemblymen and Senators on such legislation.

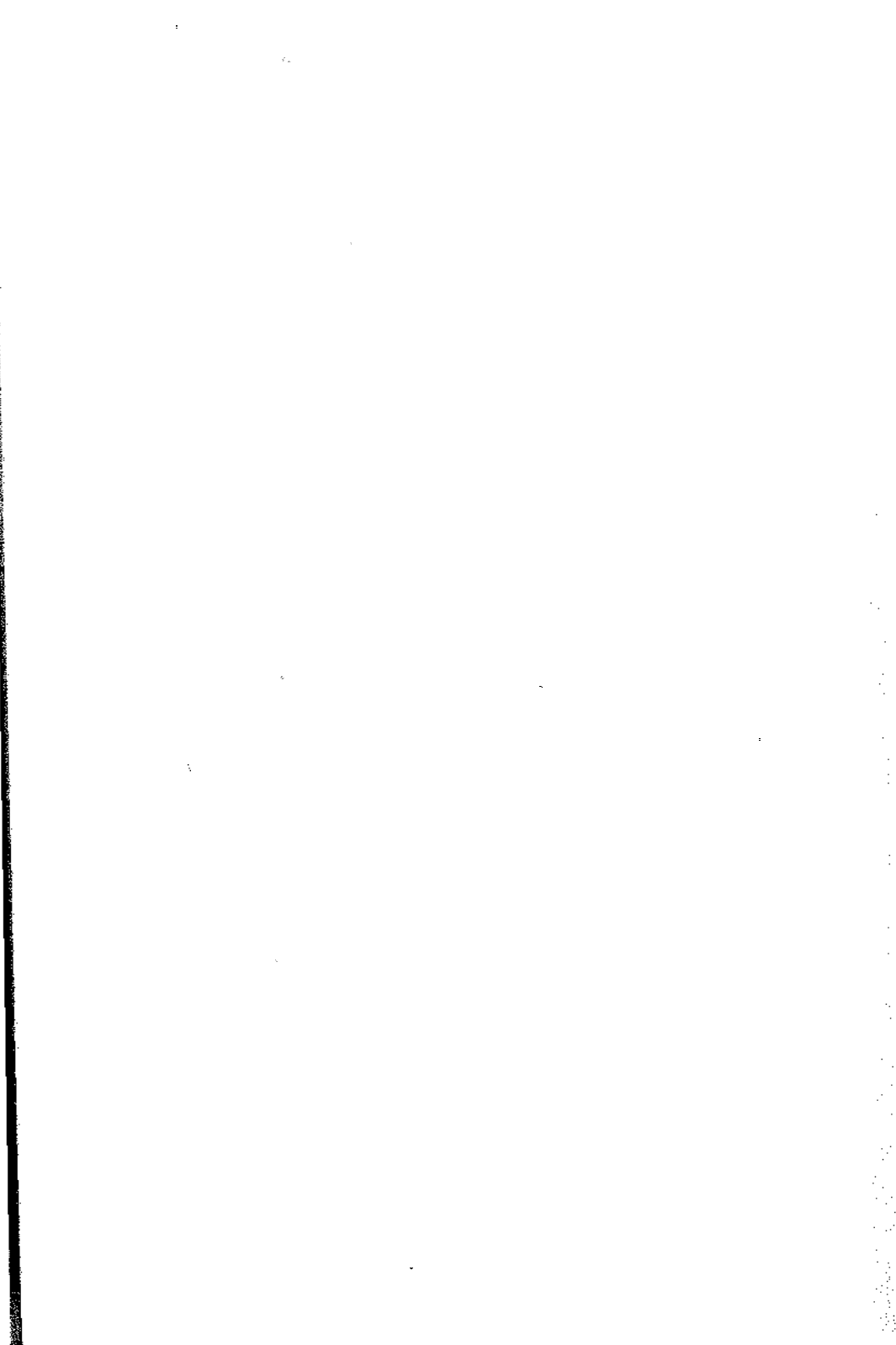
The U.S. Congress and President Eisenhower have shown an awareness of their responsibilities toward the Menominees by passage, in the 84th Congress, of H.R. 9280 and H.R. 6228 which require, respectively, that the plan for the tribe's future government provide protection of the forest on a sustained yield basis, and of the water, soil, fish, and wildlife as well; and that Federal funds be appropriated to meet the costs of expert assistance required by the tribe in preparing its plan. It is now up to the Menominees themselves and the people of Wisconsin, working through our State Legislature, to devise ways and means of bringing the tribe into Wisconsin's political and economic set-up without at the same time causing needless disruption of the Menominees' way of life or endangering the future of their rich natural resources.

The record of the white man's treatment of the American Indian has, with too few exceptions, not been one to evoke feelings of pride or satisfaction in the minds of right-thinking people. The white man has often, and with good reason, been accused of having a "forked-

tongue" in his dealings with the Indians. The Menominees have suffered their share of mistreatment, although they have fared better than most tribes. By helping them to find a satisfactory road to complete freedom from both government wardship and the depredations of unscrupulous whites, the people of Wisconsin have a wonderful opportunity to atone for past mistakes and set a good example in restoring to these descendants of the first Americans a fair measure of the freedom and dignity their ancestors once enjoyed.

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IT HAPPENED IN WISCONSIN

By PHEBE JEWELL NICHOLS

(Mrs. Angus F. Lookaround)

Curator, Angus F. Lookaround Memorial Museum, Keshena, Wisconsin

"LOOK!", said a reader of a Wisconsin newspaper the evening of November 2nd, 1951, "those lucky Menominees! The Government just gave them \$8,500,000!!

Let's see just how 'lucky' those Menominees are, and what about that 'gift' from the rich Uncle Sam.

A significant event in Wisconsin history was the spectacular arrival here in 1634 of Jean Nicolet, adventurous emissary of Samuel de Champlain, who had come to America in 1608 as Lieutenant Governor of New France. Having founded the first European settlement on the site of the present city of Quebec on July third of the same year, Champlain began looking westward to see how he could extend the domain of his sovereign, King Henry the Fourth of France, for whom he made extensive journeys of discovery that convinced him of great lands as yet unseen far beyond the lordly St. Lawrence.

Champlain sent the young and eager Nicolet into the forests and lake regions to learn the Indian dialects to prepare him for the far journeys, and began, himself, to search out new clues that would open up the way to that age-old dream of a northwest passage to the East.

Many Indians were coming down the waterways to trade. From these Champlain learned of a people whose name filled him with great, enthusiastic curiosity. Because, as he translated this name from the Indian words, it meant 'People of the Sea.' Ah! the sea. That must mean the China Sea. And before Champlain's imagination appeared the conquests of the Far East and wealth in jewels, spices, silks and jade.

But Champlain had jumped to conclusions through a maze of Indian dialects. He had gotten the words 'sea water' from one that means 'salt water' from one that meant 'sulphur water' which is salty. This referred to the salty, smelly sulphur springs of the northern Winnepeg region, now Winnipeg, Canada. It was the early home of an off-shoot group of Siouan Indians who called themselves Ochagras (the people), but whom their neighboring Chippewas came to call by the Chippewa name of their habitat, Winnepegos, people of the 'evil-smelling waters.' By Champlain's time these people had come to dwell at the foot of the water now named Green Bay and were well known to

the northern Crees, Chippewas, and Ottawas. Probably, if Champlain had gone farther into the intricacies of Indian nomenclature to the point of thinking of these Ochagras as Stinkards (Puants) as the bland logic of the translating narrators indicated or implied, placing the characteristics of the place upon the person, he might never have sent Nicolet on this errand and the Menominees might not have been discovered for another hundred years, the Menominees who in 1951 retrieved eight million five hundred thousand dollars in a damage suit against the United States of America.

Champlain provided Nicolet with an impressive wardrobe of exquisitely embroidered Mandarin coat and hat with great pistols to salute the prospective Oriental trading partners of his present sovereign, King Louis the Thirteenth. As Nicolet journeyed on his way with his Indian guides who were just looking for their trading pals the Winnebagos and knew nothing of Mandarins, he quite inadvertently discovered somebody else whose descendants were to make more history in Wisconsin than all the other Wisconsin tribes put together. The Jesuit Relation of 1640 XVIII, P. 231, records Nicolet as writing, "We enter the second freshwater sea (Michigan) upon whose shores are the Maroumine (a way of writing Menominee)". A later historian referred to this site as Potowatomi, which it could not have been since there were no Potowatomis west of Green Bay at that time. The Menominees do have a tradition that Nicolet did visit them, and this should not be confused with the visit of Nicholas Perrot in 1667. It is said that Nicolet stopped for a short rest there, and to get information as to how much farther it was to the home of the People of the Sea.

Much historical attention was given to Nicolet's landfall at Red Banks, to his greeting by the people who were Winnebagoes and who prepared a great feast of hundreds of beavers for the occasion; and a noted painting was later made picturing this landfall and now hangs in the rotunda of Wisconsin's State Capitol. Though no picture shows the 'Maroumine' in their large fishing village situated on both banks of what is now called the Menominee river at its mouth where the cities of Menominee, Michigan and Marinette, Wisconsin now stand, they went along about their business of conserving their great wild rice fields (their name meant People of the Wild Rice), gathering, and trading the popular cereal as far south as the delta of the great Meesi-seepi, of making a living and keeping peace with their neighbors. Of this art of tending to their own business, history will show the Menominees to have been, and now to be, past masters.

The age of discovery was followed by the fur trade after the French nobility had seen the glistening beaver robes brought home from the New World by the adventurers and could not rest until they too had

beaver robes. With the traders came the Jesuit, Capuchin, and Recollect missionaries, and the governments of the nations successively of France, Great Britain, and the United States of America, as the White Invasion got into full swing. As it smged westward into the Indian lands (which each monarch thought he owned by right of discovery or conquest) it brought dislocations, maladjustments, uprootings, and misunderstandings of all kinds. Through these years the Menominees seem to have been able to steer a reasonably even course, with diplomatic approach to the newcomers, hospitality to the victims of the Great Dispersion, and a determination so grim as to have been proven indestructible. Concentrated in the Green Bay area and considerably intermarried with the French, they felt the impact of the Indian wars but maintained their tribal equilibrium. Living under three flags and having to be well aware when one flag came down and another went up and thau it required a yet further recognition, if not loyalty, from them, they grew to realize that they must breast the combined efforts of the whites to push them out of their homelands. Looking upon lands as shared more than owned, they were slow to appreciate this tragedy, but they were ready when it came, as if gathering about them their deep ethos and all their native stamina and patience to endure.

After the French had invited all the western Indians (of the Great Lakes Region) to remove to Detroit and the Menominees would not go, and this concentration policy had failed, and when the fur trade began to dwindle and lands were wanted for settlers, the Menominees approached their time of direst trouble so far. The ordinance of 1787 was set up for the Northwest Territory by the new United States of America, and the Menominee lands were within what was marked off as the Territory of Illinois by 1809. Troubled as they were, they still would not unite with Tecumseh in 1810 in his Lost Cause. Their chief Tomah came into prominence when he made the historic speech about his hands being unstained by human blood which was doubtless true as he was not a War Chief but a Peace Chief. "He (Tomah) concluded that he was folly aware of the injustice of the Americans in their encroachments upon the lands of the Indians and for them feared its consequences, but that he saw no relief for it in going to war." (Biddle, Recollections. Wis. Hist. Colls. I.). In 1815 the name of La Baye was changed to Green Bay when a U.S. trading post was established there. The French residents opposed this as there were always more French in the region than English. The Menominees, in spite of this opposition, realized the wisdom of again changing their political allegiance, seeing that opposition was futile. In the History of Brown County, French says, "The officers visited Tomah, a Menominee chief, whose quarters were some half mile distant, and asked his consent to build a fort. He replied that they were too strong for him even if he wished to oppose them, and added that they might build a fort wherever they

pleased, but asked as a favor that they would not molest the French settlers."

The American occupation having begun, the Menominees were in the midst of the treaty period. If the reader will divest himself of some of the preconceived fallacies about Indians and see them as human beings surrounded by relentless politicians and land seekers who justified themselves on the ground that the Indians were savages and could not possibly appreciate or use adequately the lands they called their own, he will understand the American tragedy that was taking place.

The first American treaty making to which the Menominees were called was that of 1817 at St. Louis. This was named a Peace and Friendship Treaty, and the tribes were asked to agree to relinquish their British loyalties and "henceforth be under the protection of the United States and no other nation." There was a great deal of hyperbole about this and doubtless some hoopla. The Menominee stoutly contended that those of the tribe who had gone to St. Louis and signed the Paper did so without the knowledge of nine-tenths of the tribe and were "persons of no character or influence with the Indians."

Contested delegates are not new to America, it seems, and objections to being steam-rollered are also intrinsically American. Some of the other tribes had not been so grim. Before this the U.S. had been negotiating with these tribes as independent nations and so had moved out the Sauks and Outagamies, Ottawas, Chippewas, and Potawatomis. By 1818 the Menominee lands were included in the Territory of Michigan. About this time it was estimated that there were not more than 160 white people in the Green Bay region and that the Menominee domain extended as far north as, and somewhat beyond the present city of Escanaba (which means in the Menominee tongue 'As Far As We Go'), west along the Brule, southwest to the present towns of Antigo, Stevens Point, south to Altoona, west to Eau Claire and Durand, southeast through Tomah, then northeast to Portage, then to Milwaukee and up along the west bank of Lake Michigan to the starting point. The Rev. Jedediah Morse, special government commissioner, had once referred to the Menominees' western boundary as the Mississippi.

General Lewis Cass, Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Governor of Michigan Territory, had the duty of making treaties with the tribes in the Territory. After the death of Tomah in 1818, Cass found the Menominees in great grief and mourning, confused and apparently leaderless. For six years there had persisted a rivalry between the son of Tomah and the grandson of the 'Old King' who, after having to relinquish his authority during his last years due to his far advanced age, at which time he depended upon Tomah, died in 1821. These would-be

leaders were young, and white officials did not give them much attention, thinking that they lacked experience and authority. Preparing for the treaty of 1827, Cass made a thorough study of Menominee leadership and chose young Oskos (Oshkosh) of the Bear Clan, grandson of the 'Old King', whose hereditary prestige was in his favor and whose popularity was equal if not superior to that of his rival, Josette, son of Tomah. Cass evidently chose wisely. This man became the great Chief Oshkosh, head of a council of twenty-six members, who carried negotiations henceforth and went down in history as A MAN OF PEACE BELOVED BY ALL.

In this period a large delegation of eastern Indians had arrived in the territory, headed by the Rev. Eleazar Williams, pastor of one of the tribes, and pushed along by land speculators who wanted their New York domain. Without due thought and when over-influenced, the Menominees had granted lands along the Fox river. The Oneidas settled along Green Bay, the Stockbridge, Brothertowns, and Munsees settled along the East shore of Lake Winnebago. These agreements were made at Lake Butte des Morts and were never established as satisfactory, largely because the Menominees did not agree among themselves and did not understand the difference between usehold and ownership of land. By 1831 the Menominees had passed a half million acres over to the eastern Indians at 4½ cents an acre and a half million acres to the U.S. Government for 5 cents an acre, the money to be paid in annuities, always with the emphasis on Peace and Harmony while the Government reserved the right to buy more lands if necessary.

In 1836 Wisconsin became a territory. Significant events in the Green Bay region up to that time were: 1816, Green Bay Indian Agency formed; 1820, post office established; 1822, Catholic church built; 1824, first road along the Fox river, first court session and school formed; 1825, newspaper established, 'Durham' boats first operated on the Fox; 1827, Episcopal Mission set up, saw and grist mills built, outbreak among the Winnebago tribe; 1832, the Sauk outbreak known as the Blackhawk War, land rights given to start timber mills; 1834, Land Office opens in Green Bay, Bank of Wisconsin starts, and the rise of commercial lumbering. In the two decades after 1830 the white population in Wisconsin grew to over four hundred thousand. Clamor for land and more land was loud and heavy and the only relief was in getting for these settlers titles to more Indian land. This was now up to Henry Dodge, Governor of Wisconsin Territory.

The story of the treaty of the Cedars, consummated Sept. 23, 1836 at a point near the present city of Kimberly and now well indicated by a highway marker, is a long one and thoroughly told by Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, for many years research specialist of the Wisconsin His-

torical Society and Library. Briefly, now the Menominee lands from Escanaba through the Fox river valley and some 184,320 acres on the Wisconsin river went to the new Territory for settlement or lumbering. All told, for these lands with cancellations of all unpaid compensations of the terms of the 1831 treaty, the amount per acre was about 17 cents. On this treaty Capt. Marryat in Wis. Hist. Colls. XIV, Page 139 says, "The Indians are *compelled to sell*—the purchase money being a mere subterfuge by which it may appear as if the lands were not wrested from them, although, in fact, it was."

Once more the Menominees must move on.

The totemic legend of the Menominees shows the people as having descended from great animals of heroic bearing who had asked the Great Spirit for a being such as his, the stature of mankind. Hoffman writes through a Menominee interpreter, "The bear came out of the ground—was made an Indian. He found himself alone and decided to call to himself Kine'ui, the eagle, and said, 'Eagle, come to me and be by brother.' Thereupon, the Eagle descended, and also took the form of a human being." The story goes forward with the Eagle adopting the Beaver as younger brother, the Wolf and the Crane, etc. taking their places, the Good Mystery having made them all, with the Bear and Eagle (Thunderer), they then having decided to live together at the Bear village which is where the Menominees were found by Nicolet in 1634. While there were always the two principal groups, the Bear was always head of the Council of Elders which demonstrated the earliest known of American democratic thought, primitive as we may consider it, and much less complicated than the council technique of the eastern Iroquois.

The Bureau of American Ethnology says, "The name of this people (Menominee) is Oma no meni wuk (Omanomen, rice; wuk, people) and the term used to designate a member of the tribe is Oma nomini (Omanomen, rice; inini, person). Omanomen is a combination of meno, meaning 'good', and 'min' which is a general term applied to berry, grain, seed. The grain from which the tribe derived its name is commonly called wild rice and grows extensively in Menominee waters. The French called the plant 'Folle avoine' (wild or foolish oats) and the tribe the same name. In the early records the tribe is referred to as Folles Avoins."

Chief Reginald Oshkosh said long ago, when asked 'where did the Menominees come from?', "We do not remember any former home than our village where Marinette and Menominee now stand." As for the origin myth, here is the beginning of the great Indian clans, the Bear, the Eagle, and their relatives. The Indian is entitled to his revelation



Colorful costumes and exciting Indian dances are still very much a part of Menominee life. The dancers perform at the annual Menominee Fair and Pageant, and at tribal pow-wows and ceremonial gatherings.

of Creation. If we study the first chapter of the Book of Genesis in our Bibles, we shall find not so great a divergence from the Indians' idea though if we are not careful we may read into it a considerable touch of Darwinism. As Reginald Oshkosh told this all to me as he had told it to Dr. Hoffman for the Bureau of Ethnology record, I was moved and deeply touched as I beheld the Indian's concept of the Great Living Goodness.

The coming of the whites had changed many things. First the Menominee village divided and one group moved farther south on the Bay. As the fur trade started, families went off together to get the furs, for the pressure was very great. The Menominees were at the beck of the traders, often bedeviled by the soldiers, and always besought by the Missionaries who dubbed their religious ideas as 'bastard.' They wandered and never again had a permanent home till after 1852, but they did not lose their innermost tie with their Creator, though they were literally surrounded in a great many antagonistic ways. Mrs. Juliette Kinzie, wife of the Indian agent to the Winnebagos at Portage, wrote of her life in the region in the 1830's. She refers in her book

WAUBUN to a visit she and her husband made to the Judge Dotys of Green Bay. She says that she was awakened in the early morning hours by 'a plaintive, monotonous chant, rising and then falling in a sort of mournful cadence.' It came from the room below hers. She was frightened and woke her husband who reassured her with the information that some Menominees had come in the evening and had been given shelter in the house, and that they were just singing their morning salutation to the day. She says, "There was to me something so inexpressibly beautiful in this morning song of praise from the untaught sons of the forest. What a lesson did it preach to the civilized, Christian world, too many of whom lie down and rise up without an aspiration of Thanksgiving to their Almighty Preserver—Never has the impression of that simple act of worship faded from my mind. True, they were untaught as far as the white man's books were concerned, but far from untaught by their Great Spirit, he who had made them and whose children they were."

After the treaty of 1836, the Menominee headquarters or pay grounds had to be at Lake Poygan, near to the site of the present city of Oshkosh, for they could no more dwell east of the Wolf river. Their old homes were now under cultivation by the Whites. They were still unhappy over the farming and 'civilizing' experiment in the Neenah area after the 1831 treaty. They were extremely weary of being pushed yon and hither. Chief Oshkosh grew in political stature during this time. He refused to be 'conquered', yet maintained an unantagonistic poise toward the white folk with whom he had come in contact. The Oshkosh family tells a story of him that indicates his attitude after the Treaty of the Cedars and when he was a familiar figure in the streets of what is now Oshkosh. He would don the dress coat and high hat which Governor Dodge had given him after the Treaty, still keeping on his buckskin vest, breeches and moccasins, with his hair in braids, and say, "Don't I look awful? This is the way the white man's laws fit the Indian." In this garb he would walk through the town on his business. The irony of it was doubtless lost on many who saw him, but it was by no means lost on him.

Oshkosh settlement was growing at this time, but had not yet received a legal name. There was considerable agitation about this. A minority wished to call it Oshkosh. The Minority had its way. The Menominee women, used to voting in their own councils, though white women did not yet have the franchise, were not backward. It was said that no one realized how many Menominee women there still were till, nothing daunted and with stern and enigmatic faces, they came into town, crowded the ballot box, and Oshkosh got its name. Doubtless there was many a chuckle around the campfire that night. Nobody ever challenged the vote.

This was a period of terrific adjustments for the Menominees. About sixty log cabins were built at the Poygan Paygrounds, and Oshkosh had to headquarter there, but the clans wandered and felt homeless. So many places that had been theirs were now alien and they 'could not even sit down there and smoke a pipe.' The settlers resented their presence. The Menominees had known for a long time that they were only temporarily endured and would be asked to move again. Because of the demands of the settlers, many of whom were European immigrants the U.S. had more or less grandiosly invited to these shores, the Federal policy was now to move all Indians West of the Mississippi.

It appears that Oshkosh and his closest confidants had made up their minds never to go. They were determined that there was to be for their women and children and old people no prodding by soldiers into box cars (as happened to the Winnebagos), no Trail of Tears as with the Cherokees. Indian patience is a terrible thing, indestructible as Indian silence and self-control. When the white commissioners approached them again in 1844 it is reported that one of their chiefs said to a group of tribesmen, referring to the agent who had appeared among them, "You don't expect he has come to decorate your ears with silver earbobs? No, he comes to get the balance of our country! He proposed to move us across the Mississippi." (Porlier in Wis. Hist. Colls. VIII, p. 288). In truth, the Menominees were now asked to negotiate for the transfer of all the rest of their lands for a place on the Crow Wing river in Minnesota (Near St. Paul), 600,000 acres that had been ceded to the Government by the Chippewas, and other considerations including \$40,000 for the half-breeds who wished to remain behind and therefore not share in later benefits. The Menominees were threatened with forcible removal if they did not agree to go. Oshkosh recognized the threat. He held his people around him. He would take care of them, and without bloodshed, too. The Commissioners were discomfited by his powerful silence. They tried to cajole him. Finally, he agreed to choose some of his chiefs and go with the Commissioners to have a look at these lands, but, apparently, this was just a gesture; he had made up his mind not to move out of his motherland in any case. Wagons took the party of eleven Menominee chiefs and five white men to Prairie du Chien, leaving on June 7, 1850. From this point they took a steamboat to St. Paul, then wagons to the mouth of the Crow Wing, then canoes to the proposed lands. Oshkosh and his chiefs took their look. They were not impressed. Winnebago lands were nearby and the agent there gave a speech of advice to the Menominees, hoping they would come under his jurisdiction. To this Carron Claude, tribal spokesman replied, "My father, we appreciate and thank you for your advice, but we cannot give you an answer now. We are as if choked. Our hearts are up in our throats, and I presume it is the same way with our Chiefs we left behind. We cannot do anything without them. We

were sent by them to look at the country . . . and report to them what we have seen, and I that am called a Menominee will never make my tongue forked. That is the reason we do not feel authorized to give you an answer. This is all I have to say."

When questioned upon their return by the weary commissioners, their answer was "No, not enough game there,—country unsuitable, etc.", but no mention of their observation that the Winnebagos had completely capitulated to the white man's dictatorship and that they themselves wanted none of it. However, any reply but "No" would have been superfluous, for the matter had been decided in their minds before one step of the journey had been taken.

This story is well told in **RED MEN CALLING ON THE GREAT WHITE FATHER** by Katherine Turner, a recent release of the University of Oklahoma Press in its *Civilization of the American Indian Series*. The whole eighth chapter is devoted to **OSHKOSH AND THE CROW WING COUNTRY**. Oshkosh and his people staged the first sit-down strike in Wisconsin. They also exhausted the patience of the Federal Commissioners who had counted on the culmination of the treaty agreements they had prepared. Though it was called the Treaty of 1848, it was never a document of integrity. The Menominees stood out against it and became very unpopular in the region. The lands around Lake Poygan were rich farm lands and they were being constantly asked for. The white officials and settlers alike looked down their noses at the Menominees and tried to elbow them out. Oshkosh kept his aplomb and every appearance of suave good nature.

Deep in his heart, Oshkosh wanted more than anything to make certain that there was no mistake about his stand against removal to Minnesota. He decided to go to talk with the Great White Father. The arrangement was made, both hopefully and impatiently by the commissioners. Oshkosh departed with Lamotte, Carron Claude, Shawanopenasoc, Waukechon, Shonemew, Sagatoke, and Cheequetum and four white men including Charles A. Grignon whose mother was a Menominee, and Father Florimond Bonduel. The story of that trip by wagon, steamboat, and train, with all its humor and pathos, cannot be told in detail here. Picture Oshkosh in conventional clothes for the occasion—frock coat, white waistcoat, black cravat, and very tall hat. But his hat was trimmed with bands of colored ribbon about the crown, his hair came to his shoulders, and he wore a heavy necklace of pipe-stem beads. He was not over five feet tall, with a perpetually wrinkled forehead. He was all wire and muscle, brains and grit, spunk and spirit, and had very sharp, brilliant eyes that missed nothing, told everything yet told nothing. And he had a golden voice of great sweetness and power—an unforgettable voice. Dynamic and persuasive were the words for him, and someone once said of him, "Little, but O MY."

The Menominees were received at Washington with considerable fanfare and were paraded around to see the sights. Then they met various Indian Department dignitaries and were finally escorted to the White House to meet President Fillmore. The President entered the room with General Winfield Scott. Oshkosh remembered the tall, stalwart general whom he had met at Prairie du Chien and on greeting him said, "You are like a tall pine tree and myself like a scrub oak, so I stand under your branches to protect myself from harm." He made other pointed remarks to the President in that compelling yet mellifluous voice of his—among them that 'the poorest land in Wisconsin was better than the Crow Wing country where there were continual intertribal wars' adding, "My tribe is small and we want to live in peace the little time remaining to us." The wily little chief, Fillmore was touched. He would not force a removal to the Crow Wing. He gave the tribe another year where they were, and, Oshkosh knowing what he knew, was satisfied. After seeing more sights, including Barnum's American Museum in New York and some of them even hearing Jenny Lind in one of her first concerts in Castle Gardens—they thought "the big noise and then the little noise" scarcely worth the price—the Menominees turned homeward. They were but one of many Indian delegations to visit the Great White Father, some being invited to Washington in the hope that they would give up their opposition to white encroachments after they saw the evidence of the white man's power and the great city crowds. Others were not appeased. Oshkosh got what he went for. Probably the best account of the Menominee situation secured at first hand in Wisconsin is that in Vol. XXIII of *The Friend*, a Quaker publication of the time. The author, a government agent sent to distribute the half-breed money, took pains to hunt down rumors and report the facts at great length with names of all chiefs, their attitudes and hardships, and shows them to have been thoroughbreds with not a little canniness and plenty of noblesse oblige.

Giving up in despair and plagued on all sides by clamoring white settlers, the government decided to move the Menominees onto forest lands along the Wolf and Oconto rivers, 360 square miles of wilderness "where no white man wants to go anyway." With a sort of good-enough-for-you attitude the government moved the main body of the Menominees to this destination in the Fall of 1852. Heedless of the perils of November weather in Wisconsin, the agents supervised the embarkation of the Menominees in their birchbark canoes. Picture the canoes loaded with goods, with old and young, sick and well, 2000 of them, the grim chiefs tight-lipped. Ice blocked their way, the cold was intense, they had to make camp by the way, but it was 'orders'. Perhaps Oshkosh and his council had occasion to wonder whether this was better than the Crow Wing, knowing full well that the agents were making them pay through their noses for not being co-operative back there at Poygan. Father Florimond Bonduel, who had been with them for

some time, accompanied them up the river and as he helped with their birthings, bridals, and burials was more of a father to them, as were indeed later missionaries, than was their fabulous Great White Father in Washington. The other Menominee bands joined them. Young Chief Keshena came down with his Menominee river band. Many who had accepted the "49 payment", believing they would be removed to the Crow Wing otherwise, arrived soon, and, though a bone of contention for many years and technically 'outsiders' and not on the roll, though blood affiliates, they took up tribal responsibilities vigorously.

The affairs of the Menominees were by no means immediately alleviated. They were still in a state of suspense and located only temporarily. They had moved from their Paygrounds and none other had been established. They had disembarked on the East bank of the Wolf river and camped along it near the present town of Keshena and Keshena Falls. They were still operating under the terms of the 1836 treaty, but 'goods and services and rations' were slow in coming. The winters of 1852 and 1853 were full of distress. Finally an agreement was drawn up May 12, 1854 at Keshena Falls. Oshkosh repudiated it. Then it was stipulated that it would not be legal until Chief Oshkosh and the young Chief Keshena signed. Oshkosh would not sign without an amendment and insisted that one article of the agreement had not been read or explained to him (as it had not). This article would have cut them off from all former claims upon the United States. They still had two years to go on the 1836 treaty, two years of payments yet to be made to them by the government. Oshkosh was furious when he heard of it. He would not sign till the U.S. Senate sanctioned an amendment to take the sting out of Article 4. This was, briefly, to substitute \$242,686 for \$150,000, the extra amount representing the further annuities to be paid in 15 installments. It also stipulated that the treaty would not be binding without the signature of Chief Oshkosh and the young Chief Keshena. Oshkosh did not sign till August of that year and then he said, "I do it without my consent. My tribe compels me to sign it." (Repeated in Petition of Jan. 15, 1864, I.O.F.) The first four chiefs signing by mark were Oshkosh, Ke-she-nah, Lamotte, Wauke-chon.

The Menominees were in the wilderness all right. Their numbers had been depleted by small pox in 1837, this being attributed to carelessness on the part of the whites, and by cholera in 1847 attributed to 'misery and starvation'. Most of their last payment had gone to white traders. Of this period Baird writes in his recollections in Wis. Hist. Colls. IV, p. 218, "The Menominees are reduced to a mere fraction of their former numbers—. We may assume—in a few years hence—nothing will be left of these people but their name."

Distinct tribal feelings were emphasized and intensified by hardship, however. There was a native stamina that could not be destroyed, a

light that could not be extinguished. In those early Reservation years there was an accumulated unhappiness to be reckoned with. The efforts to de-Indianize them, to 'civilize' them had shown much ineptitude and little wisdom and a great deal of racial prejudice, with the attempted indoctrination of many things European of which the Indians disapproved and which were contrary to their own sense of right and wrong. Now in the wilderness these techniques were not practical at all. In the meanwhile they came under the strictest supervision and control they had ever known. Their contact became limited to government officials and to frontier rowdies, adventurers, a few missionaries, and soon the wandering lumberjacks and bushwhackers with their eyes out for pretty Menominee women.

The Menominees 'made out.' The place had been inhabited by some Menominees long ago who knew that fishing was good in the lakes, sturgeon bred near the Falls, and there was wild rice near the eastern border.

There were two factions now among the people—the Christians and those whom these Christians called Pagans, although a better name for them would be non-Christians or members of the Meta'win or Medicine Lodge. The Christians stayed near the Paygrounds and here Father Bonduel built the first Chapel, though one of these chiefs moved to the West Branch of the Wolf and 'because he was a chief they named it after him'. He was Akine'bui and the place is now called Kinip'oway Settlement. The Bear (Oshkosh) and the Thunder People (Owass'e and Kine'ui respectively as known of old time) took the West bank of the Wolf just above the Falls where the creeks Oshkosh and Weke (Wayka) still bear their names. The young chief Ke-she-niu (Keshena) of the Menominee river band had come down and settled at the Payground and given his name to it. As time went on, bands moved to other sections for one practical reason or other. "Old Man Crow" was of the Thunderers, but he went up in a hardwood West Branch place to farm and make maple sugar each year and finally stayed there. His relatives gathered round so that today a Highway 47 sign reads "CROW SETTLEMENT." "Old Man Crow" was a Pagan and he was now near Akine'bui who was not, but it did not matter too much for they were brothers under the skin if not in the chapel. Other Thunder people later moved in their canoes to the northern Reservation limits. There were no roads, only trails, and canoes were used for travel. Paul Bunyan's Blue Ox had not yet arrived.

The Menominees had not gotten used to feeling at home when they were approached by Government agents to sell the two southwestern townships of their land. This had not been penetrated for homes, and the Government wished to transfer the Munsee and Stockbridge Indians here from their Lake Winnebago lands which were wanted for

white settlement. The Menominees agreed and received about 60c an acre and seemed glad to have these otherwise homeless Indians "sit down amongst us." This was in February of 1856. The agent now at Keshena Indian Agency had charge of the Stockbridge and Munsee, the Oneidas and the Menominees. Though the arrangement for these new neighbors was amicable, the occasion gave the Menominees another reason for feeling uncertain about their ever being able to keep for themselves a permanent home.

There was no medical work or any resident physician the first years on the Reservation, the people relying on Indian medicine and Medicine Men, though certain patent medicines were distributed. It was not until 1876 that at the request of the Menominees a resident physician was appointed, and long after that the Menominee midwives, considered expert by the doctors, were continuing to take care of birthings. The Indians were vaccinated practically wholesale during the smallpox epidemic of 1865. There was a great deal of pneumonia and tuberculosis and by that time the tribe had decreased to 1800 in numbers.

Education and religion are always tied up in the same bundle. Father Bonduel did not stay long with the Menominees after building the chapel and the place had only occasional visiting missionaries until 1880 when the Franciscans established a mission which still flourishes today. They were assisted by the Sisters of St. Joseph and established tributary missions at West Branch and the Oconto river area called South Branch. Education may be said to cover the attempt in 1831 to teach the Indians to farm and 'keep' house by bringing in white farmers and their housekeeping wives among them. This project, and the Catholic and Episcopal schools including the one Father Vanden Broek had started at what is now Little Chute, had to be abandoned when the Menominees moved after the 1836 treaty. The later school started by Mrs. Dousman and her daughters, and her sewing school stopped with her death. Missionary schools were interrupted by the Indians' habit of moving for seasonal occupations such as berrying, sugar making, wild rice gathering, and sturgeon fishing. All of these temporary moves were necessary and involved the entire family. Sugar making was more important than we may now think of it, because maple sugar was almost the only sugar obtainable and making it was a real commercial enterprise. Some of the old Reservation maps show the location of some of these camps by family name. Statistics show that in one season as much as 70 tons of this sugar were made here. The U.S. Government took over the schooling in 1863 and established a boarding school in 1875, vigorously opposed by the Missionaries who wanted only a Catholic school. This first boarding school had 76 pupils.

There was great rivalry between the agents and the missionaries. Up to 1870 four of the six Government Agents had been investigated

and dismissed on complaint of the Menominees and some of the priests met the same fate. Unscrupulous lawyers and traders made trouble. Critics writing of the period refer frequently to drunkenness among the Indians, but fail to mention that it was the whites who introduced the liquor to befuddle the Indians and that the Indians had no resistance, psychological or other, against it. If a white man can choose his own poison to 'forget it all', why not the Indian who has much he would like to forget? Vagabonds and rowdies thought the Reservation a free-for-all. The Menominee Tribal Council sent a complaint to Washington protesting against the seducing of their women by the whites. In 1862 one hundred twenty-five Menominees enlisted in Wisconsin volunteer regiments and marched off to the Civil War and one third were killed. At this time there were on the Reservation 116 frame houses, 75 log houses, and 150 wigwams, and one half of the tribe were blanket Indians. The whites had begun to introduce oxen, wagons, and sleighs, and there were only a few horses.

It was claimed by the State of Wisconsin that within the Reservation were school lands and swamps belonging to the state by the Swamp Lands Act. For years the Menominees were plagued by surveyors and induced to let out some of the timber there. This matter was not settled for many years, and it increased the Menominees ever-present anxiety about the security of their home, but at the same time made them more aware of their own great resource, timber. As the annuities and other services stopped they began to give more thought to this resource. The Reservation mill had been cutting only enough timber for local use. Now the chiefs began to think of selling some of this output and soon the Indian office began to let out contracts to white lumbermen to cut "dead and down timber." But there was a great deal of timber stealing and the Indians knew it. Appointing a committee of their own people to investigate the lumbermen, the Menominees insisted upon the right to supervise their activities. This was a most unpopular idea to the white people. Supposedly in retaliation, great forest fires were set to make more timber available, for burned timber is certainly "dead and down."

In 1868 the Menominees protested against the activities of the lumber group known as the "Pine Ring." In the melee, a new agent was appointed who wrote that he could see that his "usefulness was impaired by the vagabonds that surround the tribe." The one-time 'wilderness where no white man wants to live anyway' had become a coveted territory. A powerful timber lobby in Washington caused Congress to pass an act in February, 1871 authorizing the sale of Menominee timber lands if the Menominee Council would accept. This was, of course, just another way to enter the wedge that would disrupt the Reservation and throw it open, another broken treaty. But the Menominees were ready. The Council, fully attended and united in action, refused to

part with any portion of their Reservation. Here was again the same grim spirit that refused to move to the Crow Wing, backed by the great motivating grief over the loss of their former lands and the nagging fear that they would soon be altogether homeless. Even the "Pine Ring" 'went underground' for a little while. Some commercial lumbering by whites under Indian office contracts continued and there was still much illegal cutting. In 1872 a tribal lumber camp was set up at the insistence of the Indians. In that year 12 million feet of pine was cut and driven down the Wolf to white mills, putting into the tribal fund \$60,000. With supposedly only Menominees working in the camp, the similarity to the old fur trading days of out in the winter and home to the small farms and gardens in the summer made the people happier.

Suddenly the U.S. Indian department stopped all logging. An investigation showed that the Menominees were also very low on funds. With some of the trust funds left from the treaty of 1836 and some from lumbering the total was \$153,039.38 in the year 1880. The residue was put in trust to draw 5 per cent. The Menominees petitioned again and again to be allowed to cut the timber going to waste. They were not permitted to cut a single load of wood to sell. It was evident that the Pine Ring intended to force them by hardship into selling their timber lands. They would not. "We will not consent to the sale of any more land. We want it for our children and grandchildren. We accepted our present Reservation when it was considered of no value by our white friends. All we ask is to be permitted to keep it as a home." Neopit, his mark. (Quoted in the Shawano County Advocate of March 16, 1882).

An occurrence in 1880 grew out of, and produced further tension. It was the arrival on the Reservation of a party of Chippewa and Potawatomi Indians to start the Peace and Dream Dance Cult among the Menominees. This was a branch of the Plains Indians' Ghost Dance and was the result of the Indians' racial heartache, whatever the tribe, in this time of invasion, and a hunger for and a desire to recapture his lost happiness and native ways. The agent and the missionaries both opposed this as it was certainly an obstacle to their attempts to de-Indianize the Indians. A violent clash followed between the Meta'win people and the Catholic Indians, a group of whom were influenced to try to drive the newcomers out as Reservation policemen were powerless to move them. The tension was so great that a detachment of U.S. troops was sent for and stayed on the Reservation several weeks. This only drove the cult 'underground' as they moved to the far northern part of the Reservation where the cult survives today and is known as the Native American Church. The incident separated absolutely the Pagans and the Catholics, the latter assuming an air of great superiority over anything that smacked of old-time Indian ways, thus losing much dig-

nity and forthrightness as they took on white ways that often ill became them. The feeling broke up family solidarity where "the Old Man stayed Pagan, but the women went to church."

A special act of Congress that same year gave the Indians permission to cut the 'dead and down' timber again, but prices at once became discouragingly low as the result of a "collusion of buyers" evidently backed by the Pine Ring. Of whatever the Menominees did make, 10 per cent was counted as stumpage and put into a hospital and poor funds. A hospital was opened in 1886 at the expense of the tribe where the sick, aged, and orphans were cared for by three Catholic Sisters and the resident doctor. There were six years of lumbering under this Act in the midst of which a new agent started the policy of not allowing the Indians to log in the winter unless they farmed in summer, and allowed them to cut the green timber which had to be cut in clearing farm land. In this way 16,000 acres of new forest lands were cleared.

In 1888 another federal stoppage of logging was ordered, due once again to pressure from the Pine Ring, and a U.S. Attorney General handed down a decision "that the right of Indians on an Indian Reservation is one of occupancy only" and "the title to the timber is absolute in the U.S.". But the rebellion against this dictum was so strong that another act was pushed through and the Menominees were allowed to continue logging.

The cupidity of the Timber Barons was intense and their bitterness was vocalized in complaints that the Menominees were now setting fires to increase the "dead and down" timber; that they also didn't pay their debts when they had money but squandered it. The Pine Ring now wanted standing pine, too, and tried to persuade the Menominees to sell it. They would not. They planned to log it out themselves. The Act of 1890 gave them permission to do this under white logging superintendents. Menominees could now contract to log out certain areas and cut a certain maximum number of feet, with the proceeds to be divided, after contract payments and expenses were met, with one-fifth to go to the "stumpage" fund (hospital and poor) and four-fifths into the tribal treasury. By 1905, the Menominee Log Fund was over \$2,000,000, and "the tribe had become one of the wealthiest in the country."

It must be observed that the words *permission* and *allowed* come to be more and more frequently used with regard to Menominee affairs and emphasis is continually made to their being wards of the Government. Reservation controls were such that the power of officialdom steadily increased and the power of the chiefs waned. The Old Chief "Oshkosh the Brave", who had grimly brought his 2002 people up the Wolf in the bleak autumn of 1852, died in 1858—in his own bed and

not as the result of a drunken brawl as some of the 'historians' seem to enjoy making us believe. His eldest son Akinem'i (Acqua-ne'mmi, as it is sometimes spelled) took his place. This man lost his place, too, because in a quarrel he had killed a cantankerous half-breed trader, was arrested and imprisoned, and his brother Neopit was chosen to follow him in 1871. Both of these men, though hereditary chiefs in the European sense, could not have held their positions unless duly elected. Previously, the Metawin people in 1858 had wanted Akinem'i and the Christians the younger Neopit, and the Medicine Lodge had won. Now Neopit received the vote and exercised good judgment and influence until his death in 1912.

The young men back from school (Carlisle, etc.), and Neopit's son Reginald was one of these, took active part in tribal affairs, organized the councils, hunted down trouble and misdemeanors, wrote the petitions, stood up for their rights, went unofficially to Washington on tribal errands. In 1890 Neopit and the other Menominee chiefs had been called down to Washington and asked to surrender their titles of sovereignty. They could do nothing but consent. Behind this is a deep heartache which only served to build a greater inward strength among the people. As long as these men lived they were deferred to, but with their death the Government stepped in to set up more wardship controls. It is to the vigorous young men who would not be downed that the tribe owes its survival during this period. The Government tried to circumscribe the functions of the Council and in their place establish direct and paternalistic relationships between itself and individual Menominees. This could be interpreted as an almost deliberate scheme to "divide and conquer" and thus perpetuate the wardship system, for, as the years went on, many white people found jobs in the Indian Service to "take care of the Indians", to as many, in fact, as one employe for every 38 Indians as late as the year 1948, throughout the United States. In 1906 a heavy Blow Down occurred in the northern part of the Reservation. This timber would be wasted if it was not logged, and it was a valuable stand of northern hardwoods and pine. A railroad had been built from Shawano to Antigo passing some distance west of the Reservation. Shawano, the town nearest the Menominees, had been incorporated in 1874 and by 1875 had over 6,000 inhabitants. It was inevitable that the railroad would cross the Reservation, though at first Neopit did not want it as it seemed just another encroachment. In 1906 the tracks were laid to span the river at the Norway dam on the West Wolf and the town of Neopit started around a depot and a post office. This was the logical place for a mill to take care of the Blow Down. The Menominees wanted one, a good one. The Pine Ring did not want them to have it. The timber lobby in Washington was rich and powerful. At this time there was in the United States Senate a man who despised the tactics of the Pine Ring. He also knew all about



Heart of the tribal economy is the Menominee Indian Mills at Neopit. Established by Act of Congress in 1908, it is the largest sawmill, owned and operated by Indians, in the United States. Most of the members of the tribe are employed in the mill industry.

what they were doing in Wisconsin as elsewhere, and he knew the power of the timber lobby. This man went down in history as Wisconsin's 'Old Bob' LaFollette. Understanding fully the problems of the Menominees, he introduced in the Congress the famous LaFollette Act of 1908 which legally created the Menominee Indian Mills and related industries, and, says the Act, "This enterprise shall be carried on for the financial and educational advancement of the Menominee Indians and Menominees shall be employed throughout the industry." The Act made adequate provision for everything including the amount of timber to be cut yearly and specified "selective cutting." The Pine Ring had suffered a blow where it hurt most.

The town of Neopit mushroomed up in 1909 as the new mill town. In 1910 Congress established the Indian Forest Service for Indian tribes having forest resources, and this Service took over the Menominee business full force. Eyeing this change, an Old Chief is said to have remarked, "I want my timber managed so that when it is being cut in the sunset I can see it growing in the sunrise." The Menominees now became definitely "Government regulated." This was the only Indian-owned, Government-operated enterprise of its kind in the United States. The whole economy of the tribe changed. The mill was an Around-the-

clock-around-the-calendar business with a whistle that told the people so. White 'bosses' were everywhere. Reginald Oshkosh told me about this period. "Those new foresters have an awful lot of relatives and they all want to come here to work. I took some of them around to see our timber and they didn't know a pine tree from a lilac bush." The Government planned that Neopit should have a residential section; the white employees to live in the best places and the Indians definitely segregated away from 'White City.' An old photograph shows this district in construction. A caption, in the corner, says "Quality Row." Well, Reginald considered his people 'quality'; he and some of the other leaders built homes in Quality Row. Segregation, however, was the silent if not open intention, and it penetrated far into the everyday lives of the Indians. White employees were not encouraged to mingle with the Indians except on official business, and there was never to be any social intercourse. White employees had their orders about this before they took their jobs. The Indians called this the Government Mill, though it was theirs in every particular except as they were "wards" and were daily being made to feel inferior. Menominees were not being 'employed throughout the industry' and the system of apprenticeship to help the young Menominees never worked. Many young men would not tolerate the methods and would find work elsewhere.

State and Federal highways were put through the Reservation in 1923. In approving this, Chief Reginald said, "It will be a good thing. Now the Indians think that all white men are crooks and the white people think that all Indians are savages. This way they will get to know each other better and find out that there is not much difference after all."

It must be realized that tribal leaders, including the 'vigorous young men' previously alluded to, often incognito and behind the scenes, were the persons continually on guard for the protection of their timberlands and their intrinsic rights as people. This 'inside' story, as told by the Old Timers themselves (and as the author has heard it,) sends a tingle up the spine at the courage and tribal devotion involved. It is remarkable how they retained their amiability and aplomb and carried on a clever espionage despite the fact that they possessed little privacy and little freedom of action. The Government men were not always careful of their manners. It was customary for them not to trouble to knock on Indian doors but to walk right in at any hour, and gatherings that appeared to have the least suspicion of concerted--or unconcerted--action were systematically broken up.

Nevertheless, the Menominees were determined to have 'a say' in their affairs and stubbornly worked to gain some sort of representative body of their own. The General Council was too cumbersome and was

subjected too easily to outside interference. A Business Committee elected within this General Council was the first result of this endeavor, and even this had to be OKayed by the Washington office. Curious machinations contrived to pronounce this group "crooked" in 1909, and the system was abolished. But the essential idea itself could not be suppressed. For a people who from 'way back' had held meetings and run their business according to the needs of the times, the persistent thought of "Taxation without Representation" was not only tyranny but abhorrent. Everyone who voiced an opinion contrary to that which the officials wanted was dubbed an agitator. It was these 'agitators'—and there was a sufficient number of them—who once more put on the pressure so that the Indian Bureau 'permitted' the forming of what they named an Advisory Board. Dominated by the local federal men, this soon lost its effectiveness as far as the Indians were concerned. But the 'voice in the wilderness' was not stilled nor the ideas of freedom it uttered in any sense devitalized. Patient waiting and planning continued in small strongholds secretly known and well guarded. The Moccasin Telegraph operators were twenty-four-hour people.

The mill burned to the ground October 5th, 1924. A new one of concrete was erected and paid for, as had been the other mills, out of Menominee funds. Indicative of the feeling of the time is a typical expression, "That white employee needn't be so stuck up. It's OUR money that pays him."

Unrest grew and it was healthy. The 'agitators' were alternately hated and admired, to say nothing of feared. The 'voice in the wilderness' could no longer be considered as 'crying', it was talking. To defy it would not be practical. In 1928 it became possible for the tribe alone to elect an Advisory Board. No advisory group of the Menominees ever proved to be more controversially interpreted than this one. How effective this Board proved to be, succeeding events show. If the Menominees had been helped satisfactorily to take hold of their business themselves; if they had been encouraged instead of being over-ruled and dominated, and if their natural inquiries into their own business had not been snubbed; and if racial prejudice had not operated so destructively against them, they might not have been so definitely awakened to what was going on. But snubs and discourtesies and holier-than-thou techniques only served as stimulus to activity. Looking down noses at the Menominees made them all the more nosy as to what was happening to their business. They found enough discrepancies. The Board went to Washington with complaints, often against the wishes of the officials, and therefore were 'unauthorized', had to pay their own way, were more or less impoverished, and found themselves without their local jobs upon their return, this because 'going down to Washington this way shows you are disloyal'. Disloyal to whom? Certainly not

to their own people. In Washington they found listeners, one of whom was Robert LaFollette Jr., Senator from Wisconsin, son of "Old Bob." That year he himself was heading a Senate Investigating Committee on Indian Affairs throughout the nation, so well had the voices in all the Indian 'wildernesses' cried and spoken. But the Menominee jurisdiction demanded special treatment because of the money involved and the large potential timber industry. LaFollette helped to get a special investigating committee to go to the Menominee Reservation in June of 1929. The inquiries were long and thorough. Politics being what they were, this report was pigeon-holed, and the bluest of the blue days settled upon the Menominees.

What to do now? Take this lying down? They made complaints about that pigeon-holing and received a lot of promises which meant nothing. They gathered more data than the committee had. It showed unmistakably that the Government was giving them mismanagement and maladministration, but it remained to be proved. The Menominees felt that they had now enough proof to sue the Government. How could they? They were this Government's wards. Their suit would have to go into the Court of Claims, but it could not get there unless Congress were to pass an Enabling Act for them. How to get Congress to do that? A bill would have to be introduced in the House, first of all. Well, they would call upon their friends.

For some time the Wisconsin League of Women Voters had been interesting themselves in the Menominees' affairs. Its Indian Affairs Committee had been working along with the Menominee delegates and Advisory Board, much to the displeasure of the white administrators on the Reservation who did not hesitate to slander some of these conscientious women. At this time a large League meeting was held in the city of Oshkosh, and Chief Reginald Oshkosh came to it to tell the people that what the League's Affairs committee was saying about their troubles was "every bit the truth, with no exaggeration whatever." The League's committee went to work to see about helping to get the Enabling Act through. Congressman Edward E. Browne of Waupaca agreed to introduce the bill. The League's committee took over the business of seeing to it that the right people knew when the bill was to come up in the House. The Menominee delegates wired the date. The key women of the committee relayed the information according to plan and the day of the vote every Wisconsin congressman and some others had their pockets full of telegrams reading, "Support the Menominee Indian Enabling Act." Back in Oshkosh a very weary committee woman received a night letter signed by the Menominee delegates, "Thanks to you our bill passed the House today." It soon passed the Senate also. The victorious Menominees now had to hire attorneys to represent them. They chose the New York firm of Hughes, Shurman, and Dwight. Charles

Evans Hughes was the senior member of the firm, and in accepting the work he said he considered it his patriotic duty to represent the Indians in this suit.

The Menominees were in litigation over this and the Swamp Lands Case for over eighteen years, the Swamp Lands Case being settled in the Indians' favor though the government had recommended that the State of Wisconsin be paid for the lands out of Menominee funds. However, the government had to pay for its own oversight and error. This suit took 13 years. It was settled in 1945 when the government paid the state \$1,590,000, and 38,000 contested acres became bona fide Reservation lands, an act of Congress in 1935 having permitted the Menominees to sue the government for the value of the swamp and timberlands in question, both suits being handled at the same time by the same law firm.

The story of the Menominees' struggle through the intervening years is a brave one. Many obstacles and obstructions were put in the way of the Indians' winning. Internal dissensions were instigated. Efforts to intimidate and discredit their leaders were numerous. Meanwhile, the Menominees were like never-sleeping watchdogs over their affairs. The New Deal for Indians had come in with the other New Deal. It had its flare and its good features. The League of Women voters stopped their efforts, thinking they had completed their work in helping get John Collier, long time friend of the Indians, appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He did many fine things for the Indians all over the country, but he, too, soon found that the Old Guard in the Indian Service were still playing politics, and he resigned. Since then several men have served short terms as Commissioner, nobody, it seems, relishing the job. During the New Deal in which self-expression and freedom of action were being emphasized, the Menominees voted to turn their hospital and boarding school facilities over to the Franciscan Mission to operate on a two-year contract basis, paying a certain per capita for each pupil and a flat sum for the hospital. A high school was then started but was discontinued as most of the students preferred to go to Antigo or Shawano to high school. To make ends meet during the period of litigation, per capita annuities out of tribal funds had to be asked for and the Congress persuaded to grant them. In 1938 dividends on the mill's operations began to be authorized as stumpage per capita. In families the mother received her own and her children's checks and the father his, showing the woman's position, as of old, in the tribe. In the Spring of 1952 the boarding school contract between the tribe and the Mission was not renewed, and in the Fall of 1952 the Catholic school at Keshena became a day school only. The school buildings were tribal property and those which had been used for the boarding school proper became a Receiving Home for homeless children

and old people, this Home being operated by Menominees and expenses being paid by the tribe. The lands formerly used for the school farm became residential homesites for Menominee families.

The Menominee Indians won final settlement and the damage money was appropriated by Congress in November of 1951. It is the result of a settlement entered by the Federal Court following the consolidation of five law suits pending since 1938. The four grievances named in the claims under which the Menominees collected are as follows:

1. The failure of the Government to manage the cutting of timber on the Menominee Reservation during the period between 1910 and 1928 so as to preserve the forest resources of the tribe on the basis of forestry principles established by an Act of Congress March 12, 1908.

2. The failure of the Government to salvage a large amount of valuable timber blown down by a heavy windstorm in 1905.

3. The failure of the Government to manage the sawmill operations in an efficient and competent manner.

4. The failure of the Government to manage tribal funds so as to produce all the interest which the tribe was entitled to receive under the various acts of Congress. Prior to the final money settlement, numbers 1, 2, and 4 had been decided in favor of the Menominees. Actual damages in the "Blow Down" case (No. 2 above) had been awarded in January of 1951 to the amount of \$896,000, but the Government appealed it and the money was not paid. The appeal was dropped, and the money included in the final judgment from which the Government has agreed not to appeal. Of this amount, \$850,000 went to the attorneys, 38 of whom worked on the case over the 18 years. The firm changed personnel during the years and is now known as Dwight, Royall, Harris, Koegel, and Caskey. Its special attorney assigned to the Menominees, Ernest Wilkinson, did a similar job for the Utes of Utah, securing for them damages of \$35,000,000.

The public took off on a spree of comment over this money as if it were their business and they had to watch out to see that the Menominees did not buy with it too many striped peppermint sticks.

The privilege of free speech could have its disadvantages in that it subjects us to the expression of so many silly opinions, silly to us, that is; and I have heard a great many such coming from those who are 'convinced against their will are of the same opinion still' and are so proud of their ignorance that they cannot be enlightened. One of these was an exquisitely coifed and gowned woman with a healthy bank ac-

count and a prosperous husband. She said to me, "All that money for the Menominee Indians! I don't think it's fair. After all, some of the rest of us have seen hard times too!" I felt sure she must have had as ancestors some of those immigrants who were disgruntled at their failure to make the Indians into a replica of the peasant classes of Europe.

Another expression of opinion was that of a taxi driver (and taxi drivers are certainly grass-roots philosophers). This man said to me, "The same kind of folks are out to get all of that money they can away from the Menominees. They'll do it by hook or crook as they always have. Just awhile ago I was in a used-car paint shop where they had a lot of crates they were painting up to look good to those Menominees when they get that money. 'Just so they run as far as the Reservation,' one of the painters said to me. Those Indians now, why they're the only real Americans. All the rest of us are just newcomers. And as for drinking, a white man is no nicer when he's drunk than an Indian when he's drunk. I ought to know; I haul all kinds."

As a matter of fact, of course, this money was put in trust in the keeping of the U.S. Treasury, and the Menominees could not get a cent of it, without an act of Congress, for they were still wards of the Government. This did not daunt the Menominees at all. They knew it was a good thing to have that money protected from the sort of people the taxi driver told me about, and from many others in groups well organized who know so well what the Menominees 'ought to do' and 'let us advise and help you.'

The idea of that old Council of Elders has never died. The 'voice in the wilderness' has grown in range and power, and the wilderness, while not 'blossoming as the rose,' has proven a veritable heritage of sound security. The Menominee Indian Advisory Council, whose ancestors had to hide in woodland shelters and do their business around a small fire or kerosene lamp, now stand before the world in acknowledged power and dignity. Had they not saved their heritage for their children in this very Motherland where their first votive fires sent the sacred smoke up to the Great Spirit and their tribal drums beat their messages up to the Great Living Goodness? In the village of Keshena, the 'Old Agency Town,' a handsome log structure bears the impressive sign, MENOMINEE INDIAN ADVISORY COUNCIL ROOMS. The offices within are ample, the interior of polished logs, huge fireplace, historical pictures, and the furniture of an efficient office are all impressive and in good taste. Here the Advisory Council meets once a week and often when necessary. There are twelve Board members, six of whom are elected, one from each of the six Reservation districts, and six members-at-large. They in turn elect from their number one to be the full-time chairman who is paid a salary. Being the chairman often entails resign-

ing from, or getting a leave of absence from, a good job in the Mills industry, but being Chairman or being on the Board is regarded as a tribal responsibility and no one shirks it. True to tradition, women as well as men serve on this Board. It is the business of the Board to expedite and implement the decisions laid down in the big tribal councils. This Council which is a projection, as we have said, of the Council of Elders, is the inevitable emergence of, and shows the vigorous recurrence of, the indigenous democratic idea. This Council, in view of both past and present, is more significant than the government position of Superintendent of the Menominee Indian Agency.

Upon the announcement of the payment of the damage money, a notice was sent out for a General Council. This was held Feb. 9, 1952. At this time the Menominees discussed their affairs thoroughly. Such a Council meeting is of great importance. The first business is to elect a chairman to preside, then an interpreter. All business is done in two languages. This day, the tribe asked for \$3,140,000 to finance tribally approved programs of economic development and expansion and \$3,000,000 operating capital for the Menominee Indian Mills, and \$1,000 for each enrolled Menominee, in cash for adults and safeguarded for minors. A special amount was to be set aside for a new Catholic day school at Neopit, the old building having been condemned as a fire hazard. All of these measures were the expressed wishes of the tribe in council assembled, but they could but await the decisions of Congressional committees and final acts of Congress. As citizens, the Menominees can vote in public elections, but as wards their money is still 'held in trust.'

In the meanwhile, the Menominees were planning. They voted to call in the Wisconsin State Department of Public Welfare, Division of Children and Youth, to help with their problems, and this division with a steering committee appointed by the tribal council has been working for some time, having meetings in the different areas to bring about better things for the young people and better social adjustment and progress in the communities of South Branch, Zoar, Neopit, and Keshena. Architects were called in to plan the school, electric facilities have been extended, and a sewage disposal plant and more sewers have been built. There were plans for the renovation and improvements at the Keshena hospital. More educational and building loans were made available. New standard homes went up where the herds of Keshena Mission once grazed.

There are two schools of thought on the matter of release from wardship, and the Menominees, loving freedom deeply, do not want this freedom so much as to find themselves without certain protective measures now needed because of the long years of mismanagement. It must be remembered that the suit money is damage money, and the

damages are great. To make up for them, the Government which is responsible must not be allowed to walk away without repairing those damages. In the years when it should have been apprenticing Menominees in forestry techniques, it did not do so. Therefore now it must make up for lost time. Much of this rehabilitation work has been going on, but it is not enough, and the Menominees are due for many hard and tight years ahead. Trees cannot be forced to grow; they can only be planted and nurtured. The old chief who hoped to see his forest growing in the sunrise when it was being cut in the sunset has been disappointed. There are now great plantations of white pine due to the hurry-up-before-we-get-caught policy, but these trees, as one of the foresters told me "will not be logs for seventy-five years." So, the Menominees quite generally feel that they don't want to be free till their guardians have made up for lost time and squared away so that the Menominees can go ahead on their own without having to repair too many damages done by the Government in those flamboyant years after 1910.

On July 7, 1952, Dillon S. Meyer, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, came to the Reservation to speak to the tribe in General Council. He said, "It is the job of the Indian Bureau to help the Indians help themselves." Then he recommended a gradual shifting of responsibility by (1) agreement or (2) legislation, and that during such transfer there should be a regular re-inventory. "If you are ready to take over the responsibilities, we'll be glad to turn them over. The time is comparatively near when you can take over your own affairs." The Menominees listened. They were not greatly impressed. They had heard lots of Government men talk. Those (and they are few) who want the turn-over right away are not the practical ones, and their school of thought is more radical and emotional than anything else. The real thinkers are not being hasty to let anyone dodge responsibility. They are looking ahead as was the old chief who said, "We will not sell any more land. We want it for our children."

The Menominees know of the dangers that surround them—from those who paint up old rattle-trap cars to sell to the "monied Menominees," to the people who would like to sell them a \$5,000 swimming pool, and they are wary and wise. They know that there is need for factual unselfish thinking and a strong movement for this thinking to express itself in the council and voting times to come. Many Menominees are dubious and fearful and apprehensive and realize that they must see to it that the reins of their government are put into capable hands that will drive forward for the good of all the people.

The hue and cry upon payment of the damage money (\$1,500 to each enrolled tribal member) was, "How will the Menominees spend

that \$1,500? I wish I was that lucky!" The Menominees know how to handle money. There were, of course, new cars. And why not? There were also home improvements, washers and driers and ironers, freezers, new furniture, farm machinery, ponies, bicycles. Most indicative of the Menominee attitude to this 'payment' was what a little old Menominee lady said to me, "When I get my thousand five hundred dollars I'm going to buy me a little house where I can take care of myself and not have to go to the Home. I can have my little garden and all." It needs to be repeated that the \$8,500,000 was damage money. Because clear cutting instead of the prescribed selective cutting was done and conservation and reforestation practices were neglected by Government management, the Menominee forest is not "growing in the sunrise" as well as was once anticipated, and money for a rainy day will be needed

The Menominees look after their own. They have been at it for a long time. Indian patience is very durable.

Those of us who have had many and long heartaches over the troubles of the Menominees (and other Indian people) can lift our heads with a little less shame now for that more-than-a-century of Dishonor, because it is true that only in a democracy or a republic could it happen that the Government would be big enough in spirit to acknowledge its grossest errors and pay for them. So the payment to the Menominees reflects credit upon our country. After paying the Utes and the Menominees, Uncle Sammy must have stepped out with a clearer conscience, a new crisp crease in his long striped pants, a good flip to his coattails, a nice glint to his silvery whiskers, and bright stars in his hat if not in his crown.

AH! THOSE LUCKY MENOMINEES!

(Hard upon the bill for cash payment of the \$1500 came the Senate's obstructions, through the activities of Senator Arthur Watkins of Utah, making the Menominees subject to the Government's plan for termination of federal control over all Indian tribes. Of the effects of this policy upon the Menominees, another writer will tell).

SOME EFFECTS OF PUBLIC LAW 399

By JAMES C. FRECHETTE

Chairman, Menominee Indian Advisory Council

In 1954 there was passed by the United States Congress, Public Law 399, commonly known as the Termination Bill for the Menominee Indian Tribe. In the beginning, it was the desire of the Tribe to ask for the use of some of its funds in the form of a per capita payment. This request was honored by the House of Representatives and passed on to the United States Senate. Upon reaching the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the Chairman of the Committee, the Honorable Arthur V. Watkins, seized upon this simple bill and attached thirteen amendments which had the effect of terminating the Menominee Indian Tribe from federal supervision without consultation and consent of the Menominee Indian people themselves. This became a long drawn out fight between the Tribe and the United States Senate to the end that the Tribe was in no position to properly stand off some of the mandates in Public Law 399.

Contrary to the impression that is being made by someone, this Tribe does not officially oppose termination of federal supervision nor have they expressed officially, a desire for an extension of time that is mentioned in Public Law 399 as of December 31, 1958. Our position on the extension of time is simply this: the Tribe is doing whatever it can to meet the mandates of Public Law 399. One Editorial we read could be interpreted to make the people believe that the Tribe is simply stalling and refusing to work out Public Law 399 and its problems; this is also a misrepresentation of the facts. The records clearly show that the Tribe has taken on one responsibility after another; responsibilities formerly handled by the Federal Government, and the Federal Government has been released of the following responsibilities: an agency budget of responsibilities calling for approximately \$450,000—\$385,000 of this budgetary responsibility and activities have been taken over by the Tribe in their first year's work. Besides these former federal responsibilities, Public Law 399 called for the closing of the Tribal Rolls and reviewing and approving of all applications filed for enrollment with this Tribe within the first six months after the signing of the bill by the President of the United States. This work comprised the reviewing of 497 applications of people desiring to be enrolled with this Tribe. This responsibility of the Tribe was taken care of within the time specified by the law. This job was so big and important that the Secretary of the Interior is still working on the appeals filed with him on these cases.

On January 1, 1955, the Secretary of the Interior released himself of the responsibility of law and order on the Menominee Reservation.

By this action of the Secretary the Tribe was immediately confronted with the problem of establishing proper law and order on the Menominee Indian Reservation. A complete new system of law and order had to be drawn up; a police force established and organized to the best of our ability to protect the citizens of the Reservation. Much difference of opinion is still in the minds of various individuals coming in contact with our law and order system as to its effectiveness. Even though the Tribe had adopted Public Law 280 to come under State jurisdiction in all Civil and Criminal Laws there were problems which could be raised that would necessitate a Court decision to afford the Tribe full protection of law and order. However, the Tribe, seeing the need for proper law and order, has established a system which has worked properly to this date.

The Secretary of the Interior also relieved himself of the responsibility of the Tribal credit and loan program so that it became necessary for the Tribe to seek special legislation through the State Legislature to permit us to re-establish our credit and loan program under the laws of the State of Wisconsin. This was accomplished under State Bill No. 75-A and the Tribe in General Council approved the re-establishment of the credit and loan program and all details have been worked out with the State Banking Commission to a point where Tribal loans will again be made to members of the Tribe in the near future.

Besides the above mentioned activities which include hospitalization, education, welfare, agriculture, recreation, tribal government and other necessary activities, the Tribe has established a working relationship with the University of Wisconsin for assistance in formulating a plan or plans for the future consideration of the Menominee Indian Tribe. The preliminary work accomplished so far with the University consists of studies necessary for the formulation of a sound, economical organization. The task of making these studies and cataloguing them in their importance for future development is in the hands of very capable University people and the Tribal relationship with them in the past year has been valuable beyond our expectations. Not only have we had good sound advice, but we have created a bond of friendship that will be cherished by us in years to come.

The creation of the State Legislative Committee on Menominee Indian Affairs also was an important step taken in the past year. The genuine interest displayed by the members of this Committee indicates that they are willing to do a job which not only would benefit the Menominee Indian Tribe but will benefit the State of Wisconsin as well. These people are honorable people and they have the highest respect of the Menominee Indian Council which is constantly working with them.

Certain amendments are absolutely necessary to preserve the future economy of the Menominee Indian Tribe; these amendments will be sought and work will be done by the Tribe to secure them and the Tribe will have to use its own judgment as to when is the opportune time to try and get these amendments;* in the meantime the Menominee Indian Tribe will continue to take on more responsibilities as they have in the past year without paying too much attention to what the editorials may have to say. We are not concerned with what John Doe thinks or writes; our only concern is the future of the Menominee Indian Tribe. We have a job cut out for us to do. We are not crying WOLF at this stage of the game and as far as we know we have no intention of doing so.

*This article reprinted from the "Menominee News" by permission of the author.

**Two such amendments—H.R. 9280, sponsored by Congressman Henry Reuss, and H.R. 6228, Congressman Melvin R. Laird—were passed by the recent session of Congress since this article was written.—Ed.

THE FOREST RESOURCES OF THE MENOMINEE INDIAN RESERVATION

By

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WISCONSIN CONSERVATION DEPARTMENT
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The Menominee Indian Reservation of Shawano and Oconto Counties supports the most outstanding area of large saw timber size white pine and northern hardwood forest in the Lake States. Hemlock, white pine, sugar maple, yellow birch, elm, red oak, beech, aspen and norway pine are the reservation's most important tree species and they attain great size and unusually fine quality on the good hardwood soils of the area. The writers have purposely refrained from referring to the Menominee Forest as "virgin timber." Except for a small area of old growth white pine, it is anything but "virgin timber." This forest, one of the most beautiful of Wisconsin's large timber tracts, has been harvested again and again for many decades.

The tree species of the forest are for the most part tolerant of shade. This simply means that seedlings and young trees thrive and grow under the shade of larger trees. The stand is known to foresters and botanists as a "climax forest," the type of forest which if not clear cut, burned, or severely damaged by wind, insects or disease, will tend to retain its species composition. Such forests are best managed under the *selection system*, a method of harvesting whereby the forest is cut over at frequent intervals, probably every fifteen years or less, each time taking an amount calculated to maintain or increase the volume and growth. Older trees are individually selected for harvest and young healthy trees take their places. This system retains a healthy, slightly, vigorously growing forest at all times. Indeed to the untrained eye such a forest usually appears as "virgin timber." Here are found Indian pipe, yew, maidenhair fern and other ground plants which normally occur in the shade of the oldest hardwood forests.

This plan of continuous harvest is not a pleasant theory; it works. It has been working on the Menominee Forest for many years and in the process has produced a livelihood for the tribe.



Continuous, selective logging of the Menominee Forest has made its owners one of the wealthiest and most self-sufficient Indian tribes in the United States today. It is vital to the future well-being of the Menominees that their forest should continue under a wise management plan.

The passage of Federal legislation providing for the termination of Federal control of the Menominee Indian lands has been a matter of very real concern to the tribe, to the counties concerned, to the Wisconsin Legislature and to many other responsible Wisconsin organizations of wide and varied interests. Foremost in the minds of many of these groups is concern over the future management of the tribal timber resources. It is generally agreed that as the management of the forest goes, so will go the welfare of the Menominee people. The history of the forest resources of the other Indian tribes of Wisconsin provides a clear and frightening picture of the future of the Menominees should their timber lands be cut off.

Not only is the proper management of the Menominee Forest vital to the tribe, it is of tremendous importance to Wisconsin's growing wood using industries. While the Menominee Forest contains only about 1 1-3 per cent of the commercial forest land of the state, it accounts for nearly 8 per cent of the total sawtimber volume of the state,

and because of its very high quality, for a much higher proportion of the total value of Wisconsin's sawtimber stands.

The Menominee Forest is one of the state's major natural resources and should be treated as such.

When the reservation was first established, a small sawmill located at Keshena Falls was purchased for the tribe by the Federal Government. Since that time the tribe has been actively engaged in and dependent on the lumber business. The Menominees soon came to the realization that their forest was their greatest asset and they set out to manage it in a manner that would provide for both harvest and constant regrowth. In 1890 legislation was passed by Congress limiting the cut of timber to twenty million board feet annually. The "LaFollette" bill in 1908 authorized the Secretary of the Interior to prescribe rules and regulations for the operation of the forest, to hire foresters, mill men, scalers, etc., and re-affirmed the twenty million board foot limitation on the annual cut. Prior to 1930 fire and wind determined to a very great extent what was cut and the high investments involved in railroad logging made clear cutting necessary. Truck logging became practical in the early 1930's and selective cutting became a reality.

Following is a summary of pertinent statistical information relating to the reservation and in particular the forest: (Area figures rounded off to nearest 1,000 acres)

Total Area of the Reservation	234,000 Acres
Forest Land Area	222,000 "
Merchantable Forest Land Area	177,000 "
Sawlog Area	132,000 "
Posts, Poles, and Pulpwood Area	45,000 "
Non-Merchantable and Reproduction Area	45,000 "
Water Area	4,000 "
Agricultural and Industrial Area	8,000 "
Total Timber Volume in 1914	849 Million board feet
Volume Last Cruise in 1952	1,224 Million board feet
Net Volume Gain	375 Million board feet

Distribution of Forest Area by Counties:

Area	Acres	
	Oconto County	Shawano County
Sawtimber	30,000	102,000
Posts, Poles and Pulpwood	15,000	30,000
Non-Merchantable and Reproduction	18,000	27,000
TOTAL	63,000	159,000

Distribution of Timber Volume by Counties:

Oconto County	270 Million Board Feet
Shawano County	954 Million Board Feet
Total Volume	1,224 Million Board Feet
Legal Allowable Annual Cut	20 Million Board Feet
Average Annual Cut Last Ninety Years	15 Million Board Feet
Number of Lakes	82
Trout Streams	32—330 miles total length
Topography — Level to moderately rolling	

Drainage — Southernly, primarily by the Wolf River crossing from north to south; also South Branch of the Oconto River (northeast part) and Red River (west part).

Surface — Mostly smooth, but rock outcrops common in some portions; surface boulders profuse in others.

It has been estimated that the Menominee Forest can support an annual harvest at least equal to that shown in the following table—if present harvesting methods are continued. The value of the trees which make up the annual harvest is estimated at about one-third million dollars as they stand in the forest before cutting. The total stumpage value of all the standing timber on the reservation will exceed \$20,000,000 and may be as much as \$35,000,000.

The reservation is rich in water and fishery resources. The major portion of the area lies in the watershed of the Wolf River and a lesser portion is drained by the Main South Branch of the Oconto River. Tribal lands have 82 lakes which total over 3,000 acres in extent and 32 trout streams having an aggregate length of approximately 330 miles. There are about ten miles of major river water having a significant population of warm water fish.

The utilization of these resources is restricted to the residents of the reservation and most of the fish populations are very lightly exploited. The amount of lake fishing is limited and practically no ice fishing is done except on those lakes and spring ponds containing trout. The physical condition of the lakes and streams is very good, although biological conditions in some lakes appear to be unbalanced. Tribal laws regulating the cutting of timber along lakes and stream banks, coupled with lack of agriculture in the area, have preserved the waterways, allowing them to remain in their natural state.

Fisherman reports indicate that excellent trout populations are found in the reservation waters. Eleven lakes contain trout populations

Estimated Allowable Annual Harvest Under Sustained Yield Management

Volume — Thousands of Board Feet

Year	Hemlock		White Pine		Yellow Birch		Beech		Hard Maple		Basswood		Elm		Red Oak		Aspen		Norway Pine		Misc. Hardwood		Misc. Conifers		Volume-Cords Misc. Forest Products (Aspen Hemlock Cedar, etc.)
	Hemlock	Pine	White Pine	Yellow Birch	Beech	Hard Maple	Basswood	Elm	Red Oak	Aspen	Norway Pine	Misc. Hardwood	Misc. Conifers	Volume-Cords Misc. Forest Products (Aspen Hemlock Cedar, etc.)											
1959	7,800	1,950	1,365	390	3,120	585	975	390	780	390	780	390	975	780	1,500										
1960	7,800	1,950	1,365	390	3,120	585	975	390	780	390	780	390	975	780	1,500										
1961	7,800	1,950	1,365	390	3,120	585	975	390	780	390	780	390	975	780	1,500										
1962	8,190	1,560	1,560	390	2,925	780	1,170	195	780	390	780	390	780	780	1,500										
1963	7,800	1,560	1,560	585	2,925	780	1,170	390	780	390	780	390	780	780	1,500										
1964	8,190	975	1,950	780	2,730	780	1,170	390	585	390	585	390	780	780	1,500										
1965	11,310	975	1,170	195	2,340	890	585	390	585	195	390	975	390	975	1,500										
1966	4,290	4,680	1,170	585	3,120	1,365	1,560	780	390	585	195	780	195	780	1,500										
1967	4,290	4,680	1,170	585	3,120	1,365	1,560	780	390	585	195	780	195	780	1,500										
1968	4,290	4,680	1,170	585	3,120	1,365	1,560	780	390	585	195	780	195	780	1,500										
1969	4,290	4,680	1,170	585	3,120	1,365	1,560	780	390	585	195	780	195	780	1,500										
1970	4,290	4,680	1,170	585	3,120	1,365	1,560	780	390	585	195	780	195	780	1,500										
1971	4,290	4,680	1,170	585	3,120	1,365	1,560	780	390	585	195	780	195	780	1,500										
1972	4,290	4,680	1,170	585	3,120	1,365	1,560	780	390	585	195	780	195	780	1,500										
1973	4,290	4,680	1,170	585	3,120	1,365	1,560	780	390	585	195	780	195	780	1,500										
TOTAL	93,210	48,360	19,695	7,800	45,240	15,405	19,500	8,775	8,190	7,215	7,215	11,895	22,500												

but some other lakes contain stunted panfish populations. This appears to be a major management problem. At present the only active management practice being carried out is the stocking of about 20,000 legal trout per year. These fish are raised in raceways on the reservation in co-operation with the Fish and Wildlife Service. Practically every stream and a number of lakes have been stocked at some time in the past. Following the termination of Federal control of the reservation detailed biological and economic studies of the water and fisheries resources of the reservation should be made to determine what management practices are desirable.

From the game standpoint the reservation is unique. The forest is an example of what foresters hope to see on similar lands outside the reservation in the future. The type of management which will eventually be in effect on extensive areas throughout the state is in large scale operation on the reservation now. This is important to game managers. In past years and since the heavy logging and fires, most of Wisconsin's forests have been in the stage of transition from pioneer forest types to the more permanent types. The logging and burning, however, did provide ideal food and cover conditions for northern forest game species. Ruffed grouse thrived in the cut-over. Sharptailed grouse took up life in the openings created by logging, fire and agriculture. Deer, always a creature of the forest fringes and openings, thrived on the changing landscape. It is only within the last two decades that these creatures have started to feel the pinch of new forest growth coming in, closing the openings and trails and putting the forest floor in perpetual shade. This pinch of course is greatest where the new timber crop is of a type requiring many years to reach harvest age. This has been especially true of extensive areas of young hardwoods. From the game standpoint these stands are generally unproductive and will remain so until some cutting is done in them.

Following are some conditions which prevail in managed forests which are beneficial to game species:

1. An active timber harvest program through which openings are being created by the removal of trees; sunlight reaching the forest floor; logging roads in constant use.
2. Varied species composition with a hardwood-coniferous ratio favorable to game populations.

The requirements of good game management are closely tied in with the commercial aspects of forestry. Generally speaking, good forest management is good game management. The Menominee Reservation typifies the big active forest which can do so much for game populations. The key to good game populations is *activity* within the forest

-cutting, skidding, road building, planting, bull-dozing. Big woods without cutting are beautiful but produce only limited quantities of game and very selective wildlife species.

Under normal conditions, the game crop on the reservation is harvested more completely by the Indians than is true on most of the other forest lands of the north. This is especially true of the white-tailed deer. Deer are hunted through much of the year and by various means. The use of dogs for running deer, for instance, is an accepted method of doing business on the reservation and families traditionally have kept hounds for this purpose—much as many Wisconsin hunters keep bird dogs or coon hounds. Under such liberal hunting regulations, it is only natural that the cropping of the herd is somewhat more intense than elsewhere. This has turned out to be good and essential business for the tribe for a variety of reasons, but primarily because this cropping has kept the herd at a sufficiently low level so that desirable young forest reproduction can come in following logging operations. This is of extreme importance to the economy of the tribe since they are almost wholly dependent upon the health and well-being of this forest for their livelihood. Trees removed by logging must be replaced by young reproduction. The maintenance of a profitable forest enterprise means that this reproduction must contain species of high value as timber: White pine, yellow birch, basswood, etc. It is unfortunate that those species most valuable for lumber and veneer manufacture are most palatable to deer.

The Menominee Indians on the reservation are not now and never have been governed by state conservation regulations. They are free to take fish and game during any season of the year in any manner. Because of the fact that the lands of the reservation are owned by the tribe as a whole and not by individuals, hunting and fishing on the reservation are restricted to members of the tribe by tribal law.

This condition does not hold true on the other reservations of the state, the Bad River and the Lac du Flambeau for example. Most of the lands of the reservations other than the Menominee have been divided among the tribal members and during the course of many years much of the land has been sold. On these reservations the public hunt and fish, subject of course to both conservation and trespass laws.

Upon termination of Federal control, state game laws will automatically go into effect on the Menominee reservation. This does not mean that the area will automatically be open for public access. The Menominees will still own the land and will be entitled to protection from trespass as are all other landowners in the state. It does mean, however, that under the protection of state game laws the tribe will no longer be able to regulate their wildlife. Game populations now held

in check by heavy hunting and trapping will probably be greatly increased. This is especially true of the deer herd and unless the deer population is controlled a wholesale loss of extremely valuable tree reproduction is inevitable.

Outdoor recreation has been advanced as a possible panacea for the financial ills of the Menominees. Just what is meant by outdoor recreation and what does the reservation have to offer which may satisfy an outdoor seeking public and at the same time bolster the reservation's economy? Outdoor recreation is a broad and extremely varied proposition. It includes fishing and tennis, hunting and shuffleboard, winter sports and water skiing. To some it brings visions of quiet waters, the splash of a bass in the evening, wilderness canoe trails and white water. To others it means a housekeeping cottage, an elaborate American plan resort with planned entertainment, good service and a Duncan Hines cuisine. It means catching a musky, golfing and bird watching or simply a glimpse of a "white flag" in the timber. Its activities are as varied as the tastes of its participants and the size of their purses. The reservation has within its boundaries the natural surroundings necessary for the development of an outstanding recreational industry. First, it has the climate and a proper background—the forest. Second, it has water—82 lakes and 330 miles of trout stream including the famous Wolf River. Third, the topography is moderately rolling and well suited to recreational development. The human resources, particularly as they apply to Indian lore and pageantry can mean much to the development of a recreational industry.

From the recreational standpoint the reservation is an uncut diamond, potentially of tremendous value but needing careful guidance, sympathetic to the particular needs of the Menominee people. Undesirable exploitation of the recreational potential is a real possibility and care must be taken that a properly organized development plan is prepared and followed. To be successful, such a plan must be thoroughly understood and supported by the residents of the area. Proper and timely application of the principles of rural zoning can do much to provide a balanced land use program. Other northern counties are now finding it necessary not only to zone for forestry, agriculture, and recreation; they find it necessary to separate summer home areas from boys and girls camps, service areas from housekeeping cottages, public beaches and landings from resorts. The experiences of other counties and the advice of rural zoning experts of the College of Agriculture can save the Menominees many a sad experience. All these uses, industrial and recreational, are compatible if properly planned. A recreational industry can grow within a commercial forest property. The lumberjack, the resort owner, the summer resident and sawmill operator, the grocer and garage man can live together and help each other prosper—provided the special needs of each are recognized and planned for.

The disposition of the Menominee forest lands may depend on the pattern of government adopted for the area. The decision as to the plan of local government, on the other hand, may be influenced by the type of land disposition most favored by the tribe. The two problems are inter-related and must be solved together, not separately. Following are listed some land management and land ownership possibilities with a brief analysis of their possible effects.

1. *Ownership by individual Indians following a division of lands; that is, a proportioning of description among the members of the tribe.*

This alternative would probably lead to the liquidation of most of the timber. Further, the lands would become involved in heirship status, a land inheritance process which has plagued the other reservations of the state.

2. *Ownership by a number of corporations and individuals after division of the land into a number of tracts and sale by the tribe.*

3. *Ownership by one corporation or a small number of corporations after sale by the tribe.*

The second alternative would result in at least partial and possibly complete liquidation of the timber, and the third could result either in liquidation or in a high caliber type of management as an industrial forest. No guarantee attaches to either.

4. *Ownership by the Indians as a cooperative or private corporation with lands not under the Forest Crop Law.*

This alternative could be successful only if the reservation is set up as a separate county. If attached to either Oconto or Shawano County or as parts of the two, the general property tax on the high assessed value of the forest would force liquidation of the timber.

5. *Ownership by the Indians as a cooperative or private corporation with lands under the Forest Crop Law.*

This possibility provides for relief from the high general property tax and may provide a workable solution. Entry under the Forest Crop Law, however, cannot unconditionally guarantee good forest management. It promotes and encourages good management and failure to follow good forest practices may result in penalties or cancellation. Of itself, the law cannot be used to force good management.

6. *County ownership and operation as a county forest with or without entry under the Forest Crop Law.*

7. *Operation as one or more community forests.*

Alternatives six and seven do not appear likely as there is no apparent means by which either a county or town could acquire the property.

8. *Acquisition by the Federal Government and operation as a National Park.*

9. *Acquisition by the Federal Government and operation as a National Forest.*

Alternatives eight and nine seem unlikely of adoption. The high cost of acquisition and the legal limit set for national forest acreage in the state are deterrents. Management as a national park would be undesirable in any case as it would not provide for sustained yield harvesting and would mean the loss of the principal means of livelihood on the reservation.

10. *Acquisition by the state and operation as a state park.*

11. *Acquisition by the state and operation as a state forest.*

Alternatives ten and eleven are unlikely of adoption from the cost standpoint since the state cannot go into debt for such a purchase. Further, management as a state park has the same objection as management as a national park. The timber must be managed not just preserved.

12. *Operation by the state as a state trust.*

This alternative may be possible and could guarantee proper management. However, if legally possible, it could be set up only by a majority vote of the Menominees along with approval by the Secretary of the Interior and the passage of enabling legislation by the State of Wisconsin. This possibility needs study and should be carefully considered.

Other land ownership and management arrangements are possible of course, including variations of the twelve possibilities discussed here. These alternatives are presented simply as examples of what can develop and to stimulate constructive thought.

Finally and most important, it is imperative from both business and social points of view that the forest continue to be managed for sustained yield harvest of forest products. This should be the first priority consideration in all deliberations of the Federal Government, the Wisconsin Legislature and the Menominee tribe. If this requirement is understood and properly met, plans for education, public welfare, local government and the like, have an excellent chance of success. If the issue is not fully appreciated and properly handled, they have no chance at all.

SOCIAL ASPECTS: HEALTH, WELFARE AND EDUCATION

By RENNETTA E. MEYER, Community Services Consultant

Division for Children and Youth - State Dept. of Public Welfare

On the Menominee Reservation, as in every other community in Wisconsin, the home and the family are the most important influences in the lives of children and youth. When parents and the home fail in their responsibilities, children are the first to suffer and the harm done can leave scars on a child's whole adult life.

The picture of family life on the Reservation is one of contrasts and contradictions. On the one hand there is a unique solidarity of the family unit. There is a strong loyalty within the typical family circle and a deep respect on the part of parents for the individuality and rights of the younger members of the family. Youth are encouraged to state their own opinions and are very much a part of the family council. This family solidarity is enhanced as the men, women, and children work together as an economic unit in Indian craft work and in gathering of greens, cedar boughs, ferns and mosses.

On the other hand, there have been influences and circumstances in this community which have tended to weaken family life and parental responsibility. One of these factors appears to have been the boarding school which tended to shift the responsibility for care and nurture of children from parents to the school.

Historically the tribe has provided itself with a program of assistance to its needy members. The people of the Menominee community are eligible for the Social Security Aids on the same basis as any other person in the county, and the administration of these programs has been provided by the Public Welfare Departments of Shawano and Oconto counties.

Number of Cases and Persons Receiving Public Assistance for the Fiscal Year 1953-1954:

Aid to Dependent		
No. of Cases	Number of Persons	Average Grant Per Month
Old Age Assistance-66	66	41.36
Aid to Blind-5	5	52.49
Aid to Disabled-1	1	80.00
Aid to Dependent Children-Relatives home-73	260	91.62

Aid to Dep. Children		
in Foster Homes--9	9	42.28
Indian Relief--96	441	44.48
General Relief--12	59	46.67

The enrolled members of the tribe received a \$1500-per capita payment in August of 1954, in settlement of claims against the government. These funds greatly reduced the welfare load from September through December 1954. The tribe has been contributing \$10,000 annually to the counties as a repayment to them of county costs of the welfare program.

In addition to the State and County Welfare Programs, the Tribe has set up \$21,900 to be used for the following purposes:

- \$10,000--Repayment to the counties
- 1,500--Direct Relief (Emergency care)
- 1,000--Building Repairs (For old people)
- 500--Fuel
- 500--Seed, Garden Plowing
- 1,500--Burial Expenses
- 200--Ambulance Service
- 3,500--Receiving Home Care
- 3,000--Welfare Worker Salary & Expense

SPECIAL SERVICES: A trained Child Welfare Worker on the staff of the Shawano County Public Welfare Department has been provided through county and Child Welfare Service Funds. Although designated as the County Child Welfare Worker, he devotes about 90 per cent of his time to child welfare problems on the Reservation. The Oconto County Child Welfare worker gives service to the Menominee children in Oconto County. The State Department of Public Welfare through the Division of Corrections has provided a full time juvenile probation officer for Shawano County and most of his time is devoted to problems arising on the Reservation. Because the Reservation is an area of special need, the Division for Children and Youth has provided a trained worker through the Green Bay District Office. He gives direct service to committed children, and assists in consultation with local workers and Reservation personnel.

Because this is an interim period preceding termination of Federal Supervision, the insecurity of the people shows up in aggravated behavior patterns, and family break down with resultant child neglect and dependency.

With the addition of a Home Demonstration Agent to the Agricultural Extension Office on the Reservation beginning July 1, 1956, it is hoped that family life will be strengthened.

HEALTH SERVICES: Physical, mental, and emotional health are essential in helping a child grow and develop to his full capacity in preparation for responsible citizenship.

The Menominee people have been aware of the need for adequate health care for their citizens over the years.

Through the cooperation and financial assistance from the State Board of Health, a full time public health nurse is employed on the Reservation. She is responsible to the Health Committee of the Advisory Council and receives help and supervision from the Green Bay District Office of the State Board of Health. Much of her time is spent in the schools and in homes educating children and parents in practical aspects of health and hygiene.

There are two physicians on the Menominee Reservation; one in Neopit, employed by the Menominee Mills, who works out of the clinic office. The other physician is employed by St. Joseph's Hospital at Keshena. In addition to caring for the hospital patients, he is also available through the out patient clinic to the Keshena people daily. Hospital and medical care on the Reservation or by referral to facilities elsewhere, are free to the individual. This free care is not available to those who go to outside physicians through their own choice. The 1956 health budget included \$132,000, of which \$75,000 was for maintenance care at St. Joseph's Hospital. This hospital in Keshena is operated by the Franciscan Sisters, under contract with the Menominees. Recent modernization of the Hospital has greatly improved the hospital and the service.

The 1950 figures show that the infant death rate of babies from birth up to the age of one year is four times greater than for the rest of the state. The principal causes of death were premature birth, pneumonia, diarrhea, birth injury, and whooping cough. Every effort is being made to give pre-natal care and medical supervision to women through pregnancy. Immunizations for prevention of contagious diseases is also available through the clinics.

The incidence of tuberculosis is another serious health problem. The death rate for a five year period 1944-1948 (number of deaths per 100,000 population) was 14.6 for the state as a whole, 18 for Shawano County exclusive of the Reservation, and 120 for the Menominee Reservation. More Menominee children are affected with tuberculosis than those in other parts of the state.

The Menominee tribe has had the foresight to equip dental offices in Keshena and Neopit and to provide the services of a dentist who

spends one day a week in each center. Dental care is available without cost to any child on the Reservation. In spite of these efforts, children on the Reservation have a higher rate of tooth decay than is found elsewhere in the state, and the number of children receiving adequate care is low.

Since November of 1955 a full time Sanitarian, provided by the U.S. Public Health Service, has been employed on the Reservation. He has been busy visiting homes to give consultation on improving water supply and sewage disposal systems, developing satisfactory garbage and refuse collection and disposal, and continuous rodent and insect control programs. With the co-operation of the people on the Reservation, the community could become one of the cleanest and safest communities in the state.

EDUCATION: The future economic security, social adjustment, and welfare of the children and youth of the Menominee people depend upon education through the regular primary and secondary schools and then upon opportunities for vocational training.

Two school systems serve the Reservation: The Catholic parochial schools—St. Anthony's at Neopit with an enrollment of 289, and St. Joseph's at Keshena with an enrollment of 322. St. Anthony's School was newly constructed in 1955, while St. Joseph's built in 1922 had an addition and gymnasium built in 1929. There are 125 pupils attending the State Graded School at Neopit, the children coming from all over the Reservation. State aids are provided for this school and made available on a per capita enrollment basis. A tribal fund of \$46,000 was made available to the parochial schools for 1955 and an additional \$1500 set up in the budget for the hot lunch program.

When children finish the eighth grade arrangements are made for bus transportation and tuition to the nearest high schools. 91 students attended the Shawano High School and 48 the Antigo High School in 1955-1956. In addition, 90 Menominee people participated in the adult education program. Special funds have been set up to provide for vocational, college, or professional training for those desiring to fit themselves for special work. Tuition, transportation, and maintenance is provided for those who enroll and job placement upon completing their courses is provided.

With counseling and guidance services close to home and the opportunity for job placement available, vast strides have been made over the previous non-reservation boarding school program so prevalent two decades ago. As more young people take advantage of these educational opportunities, surely the Menominee people will be prepared to supply

the skills and "know how" of caring for themselves when termination becomes effective.

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Factual information for this article has been taken from:

Report on a study of services for Children and Youth on the Menominee Indian Reservation -- State Department of Public Welfare -- 1953.

Menominee News

Statistical Report -- Public Assistance Grants to the Menominee Indians -- State Department of Public Welfare.

Interviews with Officials and Agency Personnel.

THE PROBLEM OF INTEGRATION WITH STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

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The problem of integration with state and local government is being studied by the Menominee Indian Study Committee which was created by the 1955 Wisconsin Legislature. In this short article the work of this committee has been explained.

The 1955 legislature in providing for a committee to study the integration problem specified the number of members and the agencies to be represented. The agencies as well as the actual persons on the committee are as follows:

Three members to be named by the Menominee Tribe	James G. Frechette, Bernard Grignon Hilary Waukau
Two members, one each from Oconto and Shawano counties	Arthur H. Schultz (Shawano) Oscar Sorenson (Oconto)
Six members representing following state departments	
Taxation	Harry Harder
Attorney General	Vernon W. Thomson
Public Welfare	George Keith
State Department of Public Instruction	George E. Watson
Highway Commission	Charles W. Ahner
Conservation Commission	George E. Sprecher
Three legislators, one senator and two assemblymen	Hugh Jones (Senator) Reuben LaFave and Robert G. Marotz (Assemblymen).

At a later date two additional members were added, Mrs. Rebecca Barton, representing the Governor's Commission on Human Rights, and Dr. Allan Filek, representing the State Board of Health, making a total of 16 members. An appropriation of \$5,000 was made by the 1955 legislature to assist the committee with its study during the two-year period. The appropriation bill also directed the University of Wisconsin to cooperate to the fullest extent by making available its facilities and personnel.

At the first meeting of the committee, August 4, 1955, Vernon W. Thomson was elected chairman; Hugh Jones, vice-chairman; and James

Frechette, secretary. Before the first meeting had dosed it was also decided that an "action" committee, now identified as the executive committee, should be appointed which would have as its primary responsibility the consideration of the basic problems of government, economy, and land ownership. The committee which included the two representatives of Shawano and Oconto counties as well as the three officers listed above was authorized to employ the additional personnel needed to complete the study. It also was encouraged to seek supplementary funds for financing the research program.

Although the study committee is the focal point of the research program other Wisconsin governmental agencies have created study groups. These will be briefly described so that a more complete picture of the total pattern of research being performed by governmental agencies will have been presented. They include the University, the Menominee Indian Tribal Council, and the two county boards of supervisors.

In the summer of 1955 President E. B. Fred conferred with a representative group of the University departments in order to determine the best way the University could assist in the research program. As a result a committee on Menominee Indian Tribe Problems was created having as its chairman, Professor Burton Fisher, and including five additional faculty members-Professor James R. Donoghue, Bureau of Government; Professor B. W. Kreitlow, School of Education; Professor Robert J. Muckenhirn, Assistant Director, Agricultural Experiment Station; Professor Arthur P. Miles, School of Social Work; and Professor Louise Young, School of Home Economics.

A governmental planning committee was created by the Menominee Indian Advisory Council to work with the state research agencies and to develop its own study of the integration problem. This committee is chairmanned by Hilary Waukau and includes two other members, Mrs. Christine Webster and Tony vVaupochick. Similarly a Committee on Indian Affairs has been operating for sometime in Oconto county. headed by Oscar Sorenson and containing other members of the Oconto county board of supervisors. In Shawano county the chairman of the board, Arthur Schultz, and members of the advisory committee of the Shawano county board of supervisors function as the study committee. The Tribe also has established a committee on economic development--its members are Bernard Grignon, who is treasurer of the tribe, Lucille Chapman, and Roy Peterson.

It should also be mentioned that a business advisory committee has been appointed to assist the University with its economic study. This advisory committee includes C. H. Blancher, Roddis Plywood Corporation, Marchfield; F. J. Dvorak, Marathon Corporation, Menasha; A. E.

Swanke, Tigerton Lumber Company, Tigerton; Arlie Toole, Lake States Forest Experiment Station, University of Minnesota; and Professors Knight and Loomer, University of Wisconsin.

The state study committee has held four meetings including its organization meeting on August 4, 1955. The major actions taken during these are summarized as follows:

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| August 4, 1955 | Committee organized and discussed operating policies. Agreement made that state departments should submit reports to the committee. |
| September 21, 1955 | Preliminary reports from state departments were discussed; research assignments given the University by the executive committee were described. |
| February 7, 1956 | Progress reports of state and university research activities were discussed. |
| May 4, 1956 | Changes in federal laws regarding termination and a policy statement on forest operations to be submitted to the U.S. Congress were drafted; report of the organization of business advisory body to assist with the economy study was accepted; a special committee on law and order was created consisting of a representative of the Office of Attorney General, Dept. of Public Welfare, and University Bureau of Government. |

In addition to the above activities, there are two actions of the executive committee that should be reported, both took place on August 18, 1955. At that time the executive committee requested the University "to make a thorough study of the local government programs that will be involved upon termination of federal control, and that all possible alternative proposals be presented . . ." and (2) to make personnel available for a study of tribal economy and land ownership. For the economic study the committee specifically requested such faculty members as Professor Ray Brown, Law School, Professor W. D. Knight, Director of the Bureau of Business Research and Service, and Professor Charles W. Loomer, Department of Agricultural Economics be made available.

(The University had already authorized Professor David Ames, Dept. of Anthropology and Sociology, to accept a position on the staff of the Governor's commission on Human Rights in order to devote full-time to research on the Reservation in the field of human relations).

At present (July 1, 1956), the various state departments and the University research agencies are completing their reports on the phases assigned to them by the study committee or that are generally considered to fall within their fields of interest. These reports should be available for study this coming fall since it is understood that the study committee will want to submit its report to the 1957 legislative session.

The committee has already received a wealth of information about the various aspects of integration. Most has come from the state departments although, since the committee meetings are open to the general public, some interested citizens have also contributed to the various discussions. In addition, the Federal Indian Agency office on the Reservation has generously offered its own services and at times has presented members of the research groups with compilations of data regarding the Reservation and the Menominee Indians. Some extracts will indicate the types of information already in the hands of the study committee members:

Conservation Department: that 222,000 of the 234,000 acres in the Reservation are eligible for the forest crop law provisions on providing for an exemption from the property taxes; that on this basis forest crop income would provide an income of \$59,000.00 in 1974 (year by which payments would become stabilized) to be distributed 20 per cent to county, 40 per cent to towns and 40 per cent to schools; that the desires of the tribe to use the forest crop law and yet to retain exclusive use over hunting and fishing on the Reservation cannot be resolved without special legislation and that it would not be desirable from the standpoint of the state to enact such legislation.

Health Board: the birthrate on the Reservation is about 50 per cent above that for the entire state and the infant mortality rate about 170 per cent above that for the entire state; the principal causes of infant death seem to be pneumonia, diarrhea, and birth injury; a question exists whether the present hospital and medical care system can be financed in the future.

Welfare Department: the rate per 1,000 Reservation population under state correctional supervision (prisons and reformatories) is 10.8 while that for the entire state is about 2.0—the difference is similar to that found between whites and non-whites in general; public welfare,

programs will probably cost the county and local units each year about \$40,000 in addition to administrative costs.

University Bureau of Government: alternative forms of country government include: (1) continuing present division of 7 townships in Shawano county and 3 in Oconto county; (2) creating a separate county; (3) placing entire in one of the three counties surrounding the reservation—Langlade being the third county; assumptions for final report will be: (1) that the normal pattern of Wisconsin state, county and local government will provide the basis for the governmental organization of the Reservation; (2) that the state government will safeguard the interests both of the residents of the Reservation and of the surrounding area (in terms of undue governmental costs); (3) that the normal public and community services presently furnished by the federal government, the state, counties, the tribal council, the mill and private agencies will be considered as part of the future government for the Reservation; and the major economic base of the Reservation will continue to be the present lumbering industry with no major changes in operation policies.

Since the writer is deeply immersed in the governmental aspects of the over-all problem of integration, it is likely that even in this generalized description that the economic aspects have not been adequately reported. Both the governmental and the economic problems are important.

The major observation that is found in this description is that there is a systematic study being made of the problems of integration. State legislators, state departmental heads, county officials, representatives of the tribe, university faculty, and representatives of certain industries are devoting considerable time and energy to an analysis of the problems.

But it should also be said that the successful completion of integration will depend greatly upon the interest of the general public and upon the unselfish support of civic-minded groups such as the Citizens Natural Resources Association.