


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

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

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

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

eight million acres of land, in itself probably an underestimate²—arguments like the one discussed here can undermine a tribe's proper claims. This has impacted Menominee treaty claims and, more recently, the tribe's attempts to establish a casino in Kenosha, Wisconsin, a portion of the tribe's territorial usage area. The constantly evolving federal policy in relation to Indian land and resources provides another reason to constantly reassess the state of scholarship.³

Much of our understanding of the boundaries of traditional tribal territories is based on what are referred to as the "Royce maps." Charles Royce created the Royce maps for his *Indian Land Cessions in the United States* published in 1899.⁴ These were based on treaty documentation and have been extensively used in claims cases including those before the Indian Claims Commission. They are viewed as the authoritative source on the extent of tribal lands at the time of treaty negotiations, and this often becomes a definition of the extent of traditional tribal territory. Despite their reputation, the maps present two problems related to understanding the historical extent of tribal territories.

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

2 "Report of Senate Committee on Indian Affairs," 14 February 1853, Report of the President regarding "information relative to the appropriation in the civil and diplomatic bill of March 3, 1855, for Richard W. Thompson, on account of alleged services to the Menominee Indians," 34th Congress, 1856, vol. 41 of *The United States and the Indians, a Collection of Congressional Documents Relating to the Indians*, 34th Congress, Ex. Doc. No. 72, Senate.

3 Natural resource and water rights and claims are separate issues and are *not* under consideration in this essay.

4 Charles W. Royce, *Indian Land Cessions in the United States*, reprinted in: *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1896–97, by J. W. Powell, pt. 2 (Washington DC: 1889).

of lands they did not live on after treaty-making largely was ignored in this legal context.⁵

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

In fact, the legal system adopted a fiction of "exclusive occupancy" of the land that fails to comport with reality. As a result of this, McMillen observes, "In the early years of land claims this meant that the fluidity of the native past had to be denied, modified, glossed over, or simply never found by scholars searching for stability. The complexity of the past conflicted with the simplifications required by property law.... Because boundary lines did not exist in the fashion required by western notions of property, conflicting claims to common territory, for example, have caused the courts and native people significant problems."⁶

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

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

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

6 McMillen, *Making Indian Law*, 173.

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

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

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

7 Felix M. Keesing, *The Menomini Indians: A Study of Three Centuries of Culture Contact and Change*. (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987 orig. 1939). Keesing was guided by the assumption that Indian tribal cultures were dying, and that social scientists should study indigenous people in order to help national governments incorporate them into mainstream society. See Felix M. Keesing, “Applied Anthropology in Colonial Administration,” in Ralph Linton, ed., *The Science of Man in the World Crisis* (New York: 1945), 373–398. See also Felix M. Keesing, *Handbook of the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands* (Washington: Navy Department, 1949). Regarding his views on Menominee culture, see Felix M. Keesing and Marie Keesing, “The Changing American Indian, A Study of the Menomini Tribe of Wisconsin.” Unpublished, bound typed manuscript, vol. I, 3–6, Menominee Tribal Library. For a discussion of scholars’ views of the Menominee, see David R. M. Beck, “Collecting Among the Menomini: Cultural Assault in Twentieth Century Wisconsin,” *American Indian Quarterly* 34:2 (Spring 2010): 157–93.

8 Felix Keesing, “Leaders of the Menomini Tribe, A Sketch from the Contemporary Records and from the Memories of Old Indians of Today,” typewritten paper with hand-corrected notes, n. d., ca. 1930, p. 6. US, MSS, 7E, Folder 1, State Historical Society of Wisconsin Archives. Also discussed in Keesing, *The Menomini Indians*, 15.

9 Helen Hornbeck Tanner, ed., *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 172–173.

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

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

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

10 “Comments” by David J. Grignon (Nahwahquaw), Historic Preservation Director, Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin, 30 September 1993, Menominee Historic Preservation Department. Early ethnologists using oral history also place the tribe’s origins at these two sites. See for example Walter James Hoffman, M.D., *The Menomini Indians*, in *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1892–93* Vol. 14, Part 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), 39–44; Alanson Skinner, *Social Life and Ceremonial Bundles of the Menomini Indians*, Volume XIII, Part I of *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (New York: Published by Order of the Trustees, 1913), 8; and Leonard Bloomfield, *Menomini Texts* (New York: G. E. Strechert & Co., 1928), 70–73.

11 Alanson Skinner, “Material Culture of the Menomini,” in F. W. Hodge, ed., *Indian Notes and Monographs*, vol. 20 (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1921), 379–382.

Interestingly, Skinner's work was largely confined to the northern reaches of Menominee country probably because he worked primarily with the Menominee cultural broker John Satterlee (c.1852-1940) as a consultant. Satterlee, in fact, served as consultant, or "informant" in the language of the times, to numerous scholars who visited the Menominee in the early twentieth century. Satterlee was born in the North "on an island in the river between the two cities, Menominee, Michigan and Marinette, Wisconsin."¹² As a result, Skinner was well-versed in the lore and tradition of the northern bands of the Menominee including those tribal members who stayed in the Menominee-Marquette region rather than moving to the reservation in the 1850s.¹³ He was not as familiar with those in similar conditions in southern Menominee country.

The tribe's story of origin also suggests the existence of several Menominee bands which predated the fur trade and were located in several villages along Green Bay and south of the present-day city of Green Bay. Each band had its own fishing, hunting and maple sugar grounds, moving seasonally from one to another. Early nineteenth century oral history, recorded in both Menominee and English, also shows that the Menominee tribe did not consist of a single band on the Menominee River. Ethnographer Edwin James (1797-1861) wrote that the Menominee referred to themselves saying "long ago/(had) many/towns/the men (Menominee)." "Long ago" implies a reference far in the past, long predating the beginning of the 1800s. In this telling, Menominee country included the Little Kakalin falls at the Fox River, south of Green Bay, for example.¹⁴

Perrot himself failed to mention the Menominee in his work which is still available to us, but Claude Charles Le Roy, Sieur de Bacqueville de la Potherie, writing in the early eighteenth century, is widely accepted as basing his work on Perrot's lost writings, so his views are accepted as a mouthpiece for Perrot's.¹⁵

12 Alanson Skinner, "Some Menomini Indian Place Names in Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Archeologist* old series 18:1 (1919): 100.

13 See, for example, John V. Satterlee, "Menomini Legend very true on the Menominee River..." in the John V. Satterlee, ca. 1852-1935, "Writings, 1933, by John V. Satterlee ... originally written for Earle S. Holman," Green Bay/SC/77, Green Bay Area Research Center, Cofrin Library—Special Collections, University of Wisconsin-Green Bay.

14 Sylvia S. Kasprzycki, "'A Lover of All Knowledge,' Edwin James and Menominee Ethnography," *European Review of Native American Studies* 4:1 (1990), 2.

15 Emma Helen Blair, *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes...* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1912), vol. I, 16.

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

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

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

16 Claude Charles Le Roy, Sieur de Bacqueville de la Potherie, *History of the Savage Peoples Who Are Allies of New France*, in Blair, vol. I, 304, 291, 294.

17 See Excerpts from the Journal of Pierre d'Esprit, Sieur Radisson, the Fourth Voyage. *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, vol. XI (Madison: Democrat Printing Company, State Printers, 1888), 78.

18 Father Allouez 1669-70 relation, in Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations*, (Cleveland: The Borrows Brothers Company, 1896-1901), vol. 54, 235; Letter from Father Louis André, *The Jesuit Relations*, vol. 58, 273-275; Extract from a letter of Father Louis André, Written from the Bay de Puants on the 20th of April, 1676, in *ibid.*, vol. 60, 201-207. See also vol. 55, 103, 183; vol. 58, 289; vol. 59, 93. Since *The Jesuit Relations* were written to increase support back home in France for the Jesuit missions in New France, the priests described only the contacts they made among the Christian members, and reported mainly their successes. They cannot be taken to report on all that happened in the area where the missionaries lived and certainly not beyond the missionaries' territories of influence.

some identified both in oral history and in the works of ethnologist Alanson Skinner of the American Museum in New York and in the Milwaukee Public Museum that he conducted prior to Keesing's visit to Menominee country.¹⁹

Father Claude Jean Allouez, a Jesuit missionary, visited the Menominee on May 6, 1670. They lived eight leagues distant from his cabin near the mouth of the Fox River about half way between the Fox and the Menominee Rivers. He said he "found them at their river in small numbers, the young people being still in the woods," adding, "This nation has been almost exterminated by the wars."²⁰ Reuben Thwaites, editor of *The Jesuit Relations*, places this visit on the Oconto River. This means Father Allouez visited the *Oconto River Band* of the tribe, one of those mentioned by Skinner as an original band and remembered as such by tribal members also.²¹ There is no reason to believe this is the same band which lived on the Menominee River. That Allouez found the young people of the band "still in the woods" indicates that the fishing season had only begun. The youth were probably finishing the move from the band's hunting and maple sugar grounds, that is, winter and early spring grounds, to the summer fishing camp.²² The Oconto River, followed upstream, crosses the present Menominee Reservation.

Missionaries and explorers mention or describe the Menominee village on the Menominee river numerous times in the Jesuit Relations and other documents.²³ Father Louis André, the Jesuit missionary to the area following Father Allouez, stated in 1676 that his mission "comprises 6 tribes Scattered about the foot and along the two sides of the bay." He mentions the Folles Avoines (French meaning "false oats," their term for wild rice, and hence also for the Menominee, people of the wild rice) as one of these groups, but he does not identify all the others.²⁴ In April 1673, Father André attended the

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

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

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

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

23 *The Jesuit Relations*, vol. 55, 103, 183; vol. 58, 289; vol. 59, 93; Excerpt from Pierre François Xavier Charlevoix's "Journal historique" in: *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, vol. XVI (Madison: Published by the Society, 1902), 411.

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

sturgeon run probably on the Menominee River. He noted that the Menominee were worried because the sturgeon had not begun to run on their river but had already on the Pechetik (Peshtigo) and Oukatoum (Oconto).²⁵ Probably the villagers on the Menominee River knew of the sturgeon runs on the other rivers through their Menominee relatives or friends living on those rivers who already were catching fish.²⁶ "Each Menominee band had its [own] river or stream to harvest when the Sturgeon migrated there in the spring," according to David J. Grignon, the tribe's Historic Preservation Officer.²⁷

Since the *Jesuit Relations* was written to increase support back home in France for the Jesuit missions in New France, Father André described only the contacts he made among the Christian members and reported mainly his successes. They cannot be taken to report on all that happened in the area where the missionary lived, and we can only wonder how many Menominee people or villages in the area remained undocumented. Menominee oral tradition holds that the Jesuits, or "black robes," deliberately omitted recording those bands most strongly opposed to conversion.²⁸

Father Jacques Marquette (1637-1675), on a map made on his journey in 1673, located the Folles Avoines west of Green Bay. He did not mark their villages, but the tribe's name is written next to the Oconto River. The whole area along the shore of the bay and inland appears to be Menominee country.²⁹

As the fur trade developed west of Lake Michigan and as the French became increasingly involved in economic, political and social aspects of tribal life, the French became increasingly aware of the Menominee. As traders and missionaries followed French explorers into Menominee country, many of

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

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

27 "Comments" by David J. Grignon.

28 Interviews made by the author with Menominee people.

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

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

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

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

30 "Memoir on the Indians of Canada as far as the River Mississippi ... 1718," in E. B. O'Callaghan, M.D., ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York* (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1855), vol. IX, 889; "Enumeration of the Indian tribes connected with the Government of Canada, ... 1736," in O'Callaghan, vol. IX, 1052-1058. The 1718 source says the women are four times more numerous than the men and makes no estimate for children, nor does it say if elders are included.

31 "Menominee Territorial Range, 1720-present," map, Menominee Historic Preservation Department.

32 Virgil J. Vogel, *Indian Names on Wisconsin's Map* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 154. Emphasis in Vogel's original.

33 Vogel, *ibid.* ix-xi, 307.

Menomini Indians and Patricia K. Ourada's *The Menominee Indians* for his understanding of Menominee history. Both emphasize the Green Bay area as the heart of Menominee country, and neither focuses on the outer reaches of tribal territory. The actual naming of the city may have been based on either the Potawatomi or the Menominee version of the term. What is clear is that it was a significant place for the Menominee. They named the creek at the current city site for the fish that they caught there. This is but one example from a plentitude of sources defining the southern reaches of Menominee territory.³⁴

Other historians also have accepted the same narrow interpretation of Menominee demography as Keesing. James A. Clifton, citing Perrot, claims that the Menominee had been "less than cautious in their relations with surrounding tribes," thus becoming nearly extinct.³⁵ Ourada, whose history of the Menominee appeared in the 1970s, accepted the view expressed by Father Allouez in 1670 that the Menominee were "almost exterminated by war," yet she also described the traditional home of numerous Menominee bands.³⁶ Robert E. Bieder, who published a broader study of American Indians in Wisconsin in the 1980s, also used Keesing as the basis of his truncated

34 Archaeological sources include David F. Overstreet, "Overview of Theoretical Frameworks Addressing Models and Probable Correlates of Menominee Protohistory and Prehistory," United States District Court for the Western District of Wisconsin, File No. 95-C-0030-C, *Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin v. Tommy G. Thomson et al.*, Document 103; Charles E. Brown, "Archaeological History of Milwaukee County," *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 15:2 (July, 1916), 23-105; and Charles E. Brown, "Waukesha County, Northern Townships," *The Wisconsin Archeologist* new series 2:1 (1923): 7-59.

35 James A. Clifton, *The Prairie People, Continuity and Change in Potawatomi Indian Culture 1665-1965* (Lawrence: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1977), 62-63.

36 Patricia K. Ourada, *The Menominee Indians, A History* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), 11, 6. The war she describes as a war between Chippewa and Menominee is the civil dispute over sturgeon fishing between two Menominee bands. All other sources agree that this is a civil conflict. See excerpts from "C. C. Trowbridge's Account of the Menominee Taken at Green Bay, summer of 1823," transcribed from Leonard Bloomfield Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, pp. 4-5; Hoffman, 217-218; Alanson Skinner and John V. Satterlee, *Folklore of the Menomini Indians*, Volume XIII, Part III of *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (New York: Published by Order of the Trustees, 1915), 445-446; "Battle of the Pierced Forehead," in Works Progress Administration, Charles E. Brown, *Wisconsin Place Name Legends or Wisconsin Indian Place Legends* (Madison: 1936), 34-38; interviews with Menominee people.

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

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

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

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

Finding a New Home: Hungarian Emigrés in Scotland

EVA BECSEI-KILBORN

Introductory Remarks

This paper considers the experiences of Hungarians who came to settle in Scotland in the period between the end of the Second World War and the collapse of communism in 1989.¹ It is based on the preliminary findings of a larger project that will attempt to compare and contrast the experiences of the pre-1989 émigrés with those of more recent migrants, especially those who arrived in Scotland in the period following Hungary's accession to the European Union (EU) in 2004. In the ten years that have elapsed since the enlargement of EU, a significant number of migrant workers have been practising their rights of free movement from the former East-Central European countries like Hungary and have come to live, work and study in Scotland.²

The findings of this article are largely based on face-to-face interviews, but the research additionally has been informed by ethnographic fieldwork and by the analysis of press and media reports that describe how the incomers have been received by the host society. The interviews, which were conducted in the period 2009-2011, mostly took place in the interviewees' homes.

1 A shorter version of this paper was read at the European Social Science History Conference held in Glasgow in 2012.

2 According to the 2011 census the number of Hungarians in Scotland is 2,685. The census figures need to be interpreted with some caution. They represent the number of people at a given time and do not, for instance, include those who only stay in the country for a comparatively short period. Census for Scotland, General Register Office for Scotland.

Probing the Past

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