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FROM THE EDGE OF THE ICE: A Look Back Into The Life Of Prehistoric Manitowoc County

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It is generally assumed that history along the Manitowoc shores of Lake Michigan commenced in August of 1795 when the French-Canadian trader, Jean Vieau, his wife, children, and voyageurs landed to establish two modest trading posts within the County; one near the mouth of Jambo Creek, the other on the high north bank of the Manitowoc River upstream near the first rapids. After that the beginning of settlement is marked from the arrival of the schooner "Wisconsin" which brought Benjamin Jones and his workers here from Chicago in the spring of 1836. That summer they cut timber, cleared house lots, built a sawmill, and laid out their plan for a city.

In quite a literal sense, those events were the beginning of "history" in Manitowoc County, if history is only the study of the written records of human experience. But they were clearly not the first stirrings of human life in this region. Indeed, that did not have to wait for Vieau's great flat-bottomed Mackinaw boat to collide with the sandbar at the mouth of the Manitowoc River; nor did the primeval forest stand undisturbed until the Conoroos, Hubbards, Thayers, and Joneses landed with their axes and bucksaws. Indians were here to meet them. They had already been here a long time. In fact, human beings had lived in this place for decades, and centuries, and thousands of years.

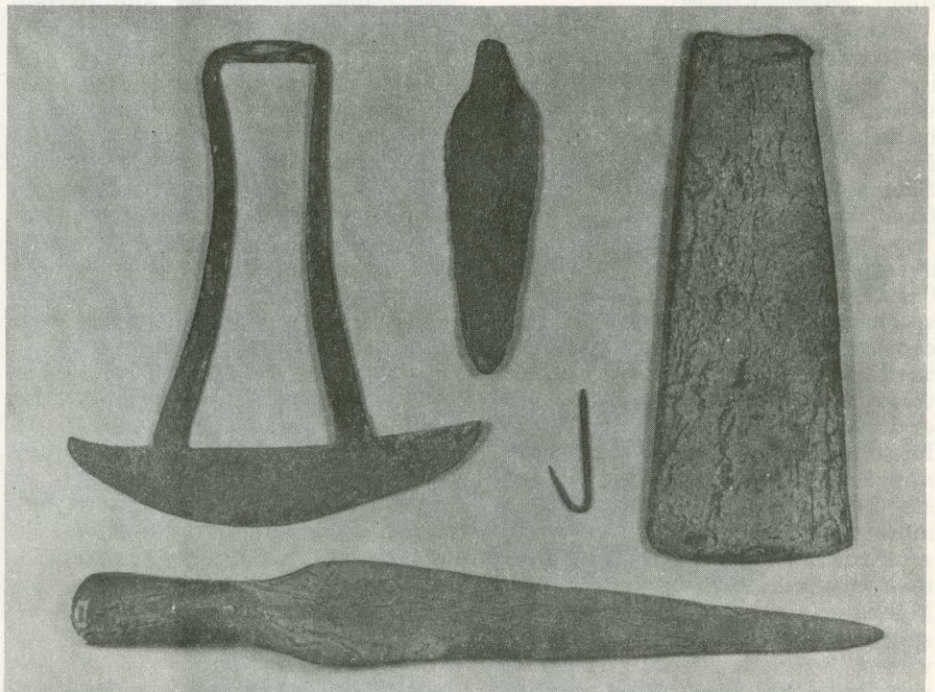
When Vieau arrived it is estimated that as many as nine hundred Indians were living within the territory that forty years later became Manitowoc County. Their principle villages were at Manitowoc Rapids, Two Rivers, and near Cato Falls, Tisch Mills, and Mishicot. They were mostly Chippewas who shared their settlements with smaller numbers of Ottawa and Potawatomis. For them life was good until the devastating smallpox plagues and the decline of the fur trade in the 1820's. After that they were persuaded by the white people to sell their land. In 1831 the Indians of Manitowoc joined with the Menominee and accepted what was known as

"Stambaugh's Treaty", which was negotiated in Washington and through which the natives sold all the land east of Green Bay, the Fox River, and Lake Winnebago and from the mouth of the Milwaukee River on the south to the Door of Death on the north. In exchange they received from the Jackson administration \$72,000, paid to them in twelve yearly installments of \$6,000.

Even the Indians who made that treaty and who had lived here for more than a hundred years were only the last of a very long line of peoples who had inhabited Manitowoc County. People had been here scraping skins and gathering wild rice even before the Sumerians began building their brick walled towns near the marshy delta of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. They were here through the long centuries in which the Egyptians cut and hauled limestone blocks to the Valley of the Kings, while the Greeks read Homer

and listened to Socrates argue in the streets of Athens, and they lived and died, and raised their children in this place while the Romans conquered and gave order to the known world and while the crusaders rode east in armor to free Jerusalem from the grip of the Saracens. According to the old Potawatomi chief, Nannaboujour, people had been living here since the very origins of the earth.

In the winter of 1804, Nannaboujour told a tale to a young English-Canadian trader, Thomas Anderson, who was on his way, by foot, from Milwaukee to Green Bay to visit friends. He stopped in the chief's village at Two Rivers for food and a night's lodging. In his tale, Nannaboujour stated that it was close to the very spot where they sat that the first man, the first woman, and all the animals had once floated about in a great canoe upon the dark surface of the primordial waters which covered

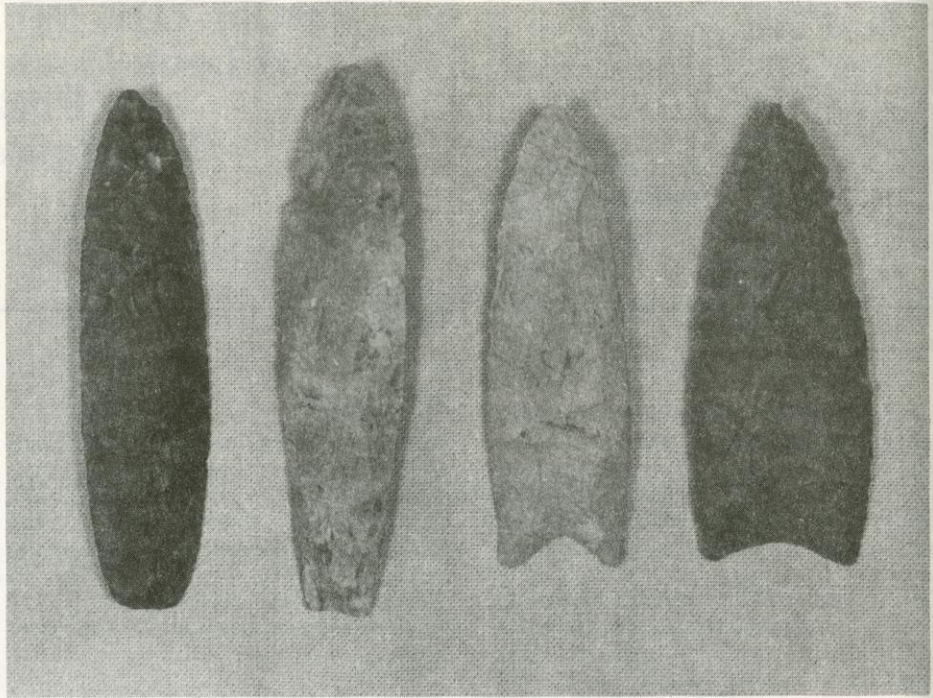


Assorted Old Copper Culture artifacts found in Manitowoc County perhaps as much as 5000 years old.

the entire earth. After some time, the father of the human race, weary of pitching about endlessly upon the waves, began to think that there must be something solid at the bottom of the waters. He expressed the hope that if it could be found and brought to the surface it might provide a place upon which the living creatures could stand. He asked the animals to dive into the darkness in search of such a substance. At first none wished to undertake so perilous a venture. At length, however, the beaver, the very best of all swimmers, agreed to try. He hurled himself from the relative safety of the canoe, splashed into the cold water, and vanished beneath the waves. After a long while he resurfaced having found nothing. The ancestors and the animals despaired. They believed themselves doomed to ride the rolling waters forever. But, in time, the man persuaded the muskrat to make a dive. That poor humble creature reluctantly left the craft, and he too disappeared for a very long time. Then, according to Anderson's own written record of the narrative, "he emerged from the flood of waters quite exhausted. The woman ancestor took him up in her arms, and on nursing and drying him to bring him to, found a little clay adhering to one of his forepaws. This she carefully scraped off, worked it between her thumb and finger, and placed it upon the water to see if it would float. It immediately began to increase in size, and in three days it was more than a fathom broad." Soon after that the wolf was cast ashore, and soon after that, as the land continued to grow, the man and the woman and all the animals departed from the canoe "to find a lodgment there."

Nannaboujour's story was only a myth, of course, but there is great irony in the fact that the very village in which he told his tale had once been buried beneath a great flood. Water from the melting ice — from the thousand foot thick rock and rubble filled Valderan advance of the mighty Wisconsin ice-age glacier — once covered nearly all of Manitowoc County. After advancing, inch by inch southward, for more than fifteen centuries the great ice cap stopped, and then, around 8500 B.C., it began to thaw. The water flowed down, rushing and rising in a mighty deluge. Lake Michigan rose more than sixty feet above its present level and the flood stood deep and cold upon the land for more than five hundred years. Only after the glacier had finally retreated to a position north of the Straits of Mackinac, thereby opening a drainage spillway to the east, did the flood waters begin to recede. When that occurred the lake level dropped drastically by more than three hundred and fifty feet. Beaches were then more than twenty-five miles out

**Paleo Period
9500 to 7000 B.C.**



2 Agate-Basin points

Projectile (spear) points

2 Clovis points

into what is now Lake Michigan and the water level remained low until almost 3000 B.C.

It was during that long frozen dark age, while whales and walrus swam in the depths of Lake Stanley (Lake Huron), that the first man and the first woman entered the primeval spruce forests of Manitowoc County. They strolled the ancient beaches of Lake Chippewa (Lake Michigan during the low stage), hunted elk and barren-ground caribou along the bright blue wall of the Valderan ice-field, and witnessed, over the span of thousands of years, the rising and the falling of the waters and the melting migration of the great glacier.

The discovery of certain types of stone projectile points within Manitowoc County provides evidence that human beings may have been here as early as 9500 B.C. Grooved spearheads — fluted Clovis points fashioned by pressure flaking flint or quartz and used by the men who hunted the great beasts of the late ice age — were found in this county by H. George Schuette during the late nineteenth century. Those hunters and their families first lived in small roving bands on the vast flatlands west of the Mississippi. There, they were the killers of the huge, thirteen foot tall, Imperial Mammoths. But, in time, probably due to the decline and eventual disappearance of the mammoths, these ancient elephant-hunters migrated towards the rising sun to stalk the hair-covered, tree-browsing Mastodons that inhabited

the eastern woodlands. Here along the lakeshore, those small men lurking among the damp shadows of the glacial forest, would leap forth to startle their massive quarry, driving it towards the marsh in which it would become mired. They would then rush upon the struggling beast with their Clovis-tipped spears. They would thrust the razor-sharp stone through the matted hair and thick fat, between the ribs again and again until the thrashing, screaming Mastodon shivered convulsively and finally lay dead in the cold mud.

Such a struggle did take place in Richland County, close to the town of Boaz. But evidence of Mastodon kills in Manitowoc County still await discovery. Here the people of the Paleo period (9500 to 7000 B.C.) hunted deer, elk, and probably caribou as well as the gigantic six foot long beaver which swam in the swollen streams flowing into Lake Chippewa. Those people were nomads, following the game. They dressed in tailored clothes sewn with the twisted sinews of the animals they killed. They slept beneath bark and skin covered sapling poles, warmed themselves around their camp fires, and lived mainly upon the meat of the hunt.

In time the Clovis hunters wandered north with the ice and other hunters, using longer lance-like points, came in to take their place. Archaeologist, Dr. Victoria Dirst of the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, who has examined many artifact collections gathered in Manitowoc County, has

found that while fluted points are rare, the long narrow Scottsbluff-Eden and Agate-Basin points of late Paleo times are much more plentiful. Two excellent examples of Agate-Basin points are included in the Schuette collection on display at the Rahr-West Museum, one of which was found at Manitowoc Rapids and the other in the Township of Eaton. They provide solid proof that people were here at the time of the great flood brought on by the ending of the ice age.

As the cold climate began to warm and as the big animals departed, the spruce and fir forests gave way to those of pine and hardwood. The lake level fell and a new people took up residence in Manitowoc County sometime shortly after 5000 B.C. They remained here throughout most of the Boreal Archaic age (5000 to 500 B.C.).

Like their Paleo predecessors, the Archaic Indians were hunters and gatherers, but they also fished in the off-shore waters of Lake Chippewa and in the cascading rivers which dropped over three-hundred feet, rushing down the near naked limestone hills that rimmed the lake basin. The water level in the lake remained low until nearly 3000 B.C. During that low water period of the first half of the Archaic age these people set their nets and weirs along beaches and river banks which are now covered by many fathoms of water. Because of that their notched stone net-weights, bone fish hooks and gorges have not been recovered; nor have their barbed deer and elk antler harpoon heads. Nevertheless, other

tools and weapons of unmistakable Archaic origins have been discovered in the fields and shoresands of the county. Their axes, adzes, and gouges turned up by plowshares and spades or uncovered by the winds indicate that their makers had attained a higher level of skill and came from a more complex culture than the Paleo Indians.

In making their tools and weapons, Archaic craftsmen first shaped the rough stone by pressure flaking. They then ground the object with fine pebbles and grit and finally, the surface was worked and rubbed to a smooth polished finish. Their finest work produced the bannerstone weights which were attached to their spear-throwers, as well as the smooth-surfaced sharp-edged woodworking tools with which they cut and carved their dugout canoes.

Among the Indian artifacts in the Rahr-West Museum, there is an excellent example of an Archaic bannerstone. This one was found by Frank Hessel in Kossuth Township, just south of Francis Creek. The same collection also contains a grooved and fluted ax head of the kind unique to Archaic Wisconsin. Other axes of this type have also been found within Manitowoc County by Mr. John Schamburek of Whitelaw.

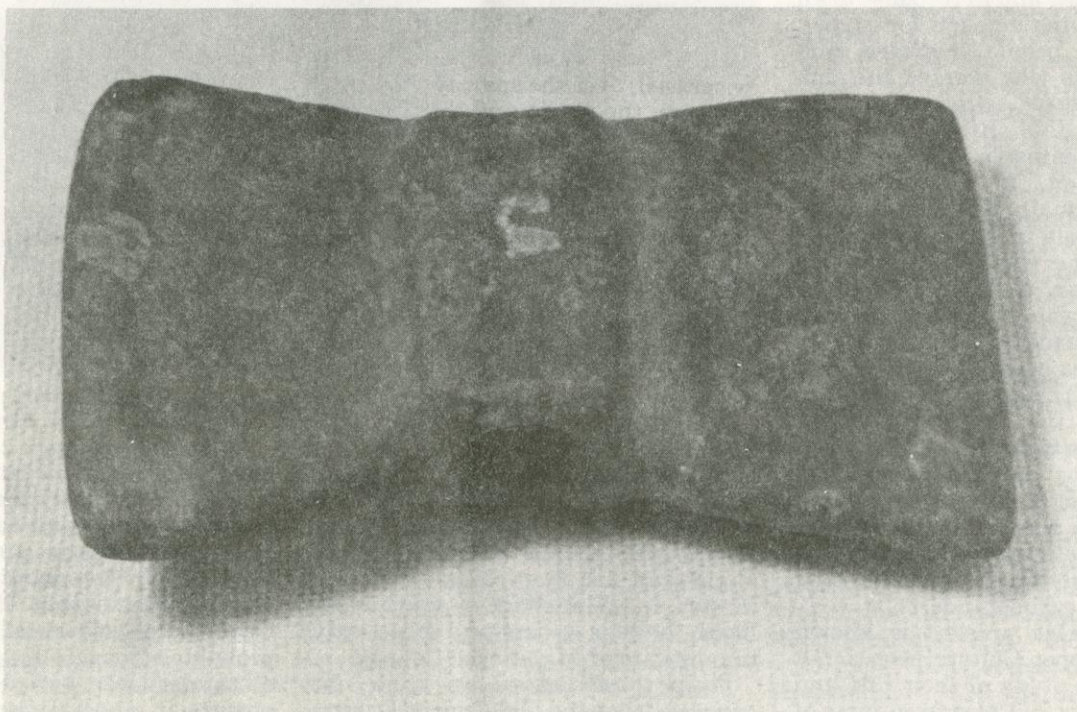
For the people who used those tools, life here, along the lakeshore, was good for a long time. The small Archaic bands must have experienced great success hunting deer, elk, and moose in the meadows and woodland of the post-

glacier period. For centuries those people glided through the reed beds of the shoreline marshes harvesting wild rice and felling water fowl with fine-tipped arrows. They gathered acorns among the autumn leaves and stored them in bark baskets. Throughout the long cold northern winters they lived upon the meat of those nuts, the rice, and the smoked flesh of fish they netted in the lake. During those winters they had time to shape and polish new stone axes and to try to understand the mysteries of human existence. We know that they thought of such things from the manner in which they treated their dead. Unlike the Paleo nomads, the Archaic people buried their dead comrades in shallow graves, gently laying them to rest in a prenatal-like "flexed" position surrounded by their earthy possessions. That suggests they had acquired some special appreciation for the value and goodness of life and some hope and expectations that it would continue beyond the cold sleep of death.

Perhaps the same leisure time that permitted some of those ancient artisans to grind and polish bannerstones into modest works of art, permitted others to experiment with the green shiny copper nuggets found among the gravel of stream beds. That experimentation led, in time, to the emergence of an important new cultural development in this region.

The Old Copper Culture appeared among the Archaic people on the west side of Lake Michigan sometime

Boreal Archaic Period 5000 to 500 B.C.



Bannerstone weight which was attached to spearthrowers.

around 3000 B.C., about the same time the lake began to rise once again. Judging from the very large quantity of artifacts found, Manitowoc County must have been at the very heartland of the Old Copper Culture region. H. George Schuette discovered numerous copper goods scattered throughout the County, and the collection by Henry P. Hamilton of Two Rivers during the late nineteenth century (most of which was later dispersed among a number of major national museums) once contained more than 1,400 copper artifacts. Hamilton found most of them along the beach among the shifting sand dunes north of Two Rivers. There are also many other private collections of Indian artifacts from this county rich in copper goods.

The people who forged and used those finely shaped metal awles, axes, spear points, fish hooks, and harpoon heads, had a way of life similar to that of the other Archaic hunters and gatherers with whom they shared time and space. In fact, many of their copper tools and weapons were near replicas of those their cultural cousins continued to make from stone. Others, however, like their tanged and socketed projectile points and the crescent-shaped knives which resemble an Eskimo's ulu, were designs and innovations unique to the Old Copper Culture people.

In the beginning at least, those implements and utensils were made from the "float" copper which had been ripped from its veins further north by the bulldozing glaciers and then left behind in this area when the ice eventually melted. In time, however, that must have proven an insufficient source of supply, and in response to an apparent growing demand for copper, some of the people migrated and became miners who worked the rich pure surface deposits among the rocky outcrops of Isle Royal and the Keweenaw Peninsula in the Lake Superior region. In extracting the metal they actually dug mine shafts. Fires were built to heat the rock in which the copper was imbedded. When the rock began to flake from high temperatures, the workers threw cold water upon it causing it to shatter into fragments that could be dug out and hauled away. Through that simple but highly effective method, Copper Culture miners were able to burrow up to twenty feet deep into the hard granite. Most of the copper they seized from the earth was carried southward to human communities where it was exchanged probably for food and other products of the woodlands.

A considerable amount is known about the Copper Culture people, not only from the study of their fine and varied artifacts, but also from some of their graves that have been uncovered. As yet none have been found in



Archaic Period Ax head unique to Wisconsin.

Manitowoc County, but information acquired through the excavation of cemeteries near Osceola in Grant County, Wisconsin at Oconto, and along the south shore of Lake Butte des Morts in Winnebago County near Reigh, help us understand those early inhabitants of Manitowoc County.

From these graves we know, for example, that the Old Copper Culture people were tall, big-boned, well built individuals with long heads and

narrow faces. We also know that there were some cultural differences among their bands and that there must have been cultural change among them over time. Their treatment of the dead clearly indicates that. The burial site at Oconto, the oldest of the three, is probably at least 3600 years old. There, all the dead were buried in the "flexed" posture in shallow rectangular pits. Each pit contained a wide variety of copper and stone artifacts as well as

the skeletal remains of from one to five human beings. Those funeral practices are almost identical to those used at the Lake Butte des Morts-Reigh site, except, that there the skeletons of dogs, some the size of coyotes and others as large as Eskimo huskies, were interred with the human remains. The members of that band were probably the first inhabitants of this region to possess domesticated dogs. In contrast to both, the Osceola graveyard, near Potosi, which is no older than 1500 B.C., consists of a single mass grave containing the bones and belongings of perhaps as many as five hundred people. The society that dug that great pit must have had strong communal attitudes about both life and death, and like the historic Hurons they probably saved their dead, placing the bodies on scaffolds or in trees out of the reach of dogs and other scavengers, waiting till a large number had accumulated so they could all be buried together to travel in a great happy throng to the pleasant land that lay beneath the horizon of the setting sun.

Perhaps such graves rest still undisturbed beneath our feet. Both Osceola and Reigh type projectile points have been found within Manitowoc County in Liberty, Cooperstown, and Two Rivers. The superabundance of copper goods found near the surface indicated that the Old Copper Culture people lived and died here generation after generation for more than a thousand years. Then, sometime after 1500 B.C., for reasons still unexplained, they left this place forever. It was not until nearly 500 B.C. that a new people came to take their place.

In 1897 a seven foot high dome-shaped mound, 45 feet in circumference, was discovered on top of a wooded bluff in Centerville Township, a quarter mile inland from Lake Michigan and a little north of Fisher Creek. It contained the skeletons of seven people buried in the flexed position on two different levels within the mound. Other than a few beads, a slate crescent-shaped throat gorget, and a small copper ax, the tomb was empty of artifacts. Ash and charcoal strewn around the floor of the mound indicates the ground had probably been prepared and purified with fire before construction began. At a later date, close to the same mound, eight other single-grave burials were found, but neither the contents nor any information about them has survived. Nevertheless, a year after the opening of the Centerville mound, Henry P. Hamilton found some red ochre stained human bones, a necklace of large copper beads, and a few other modest articles in an area about half a mile upstream from the mouth of Molash Creek within what is now Point Beach State Forest.

Those few antique bits and pieces suggest the presence of Burial Mound builders in Manitowoc County sometime between 500 and 100 B.C., during what is known as the early Woodland period. They, like all others who preceded them here, were hunters and gatherers, but unlike the others they built earth mounds for the entombment of their important leaders. Also, they were the first people along the lakeshore to make pottery. In fashioning their crude heavy vessels, they worked a mixture of clay and grit between their palms forming long cylindrical rolls which they coiled into big broad-mouthed cone-bottomed pots which stood upright in holes in the ground. The surface of those vessels was first made smooth and then decorated by being beaten while still wet with cord-wrapped paddles. However, the scant number of artifacts they left behind suggests that these people were probably here in Manitowoc County in small numbers for only a brief time.

They were all gone by 100 B.C., and no other human beings appear to have lived here until the sixth century after the birth of Christ. Then a new people drifted in to dominate the area until the eve of historic times in the fifteenth century.

In Manitowoc County, those newcomers established their villages upon the high hills overlooking the rivers, and there, close to those villages, they built their own unique mounds many of which were in the shape of animals, reptiles, and birds. Others were cone or oval shaped, while still others were long low linear mounds. This Effigy Mound Culture was almost exclusively a Wisconsin development, and it flourished particularly well in this part of the state. Seventy-two of their mounds were discovered within this county. Of those there were, seventeen long-tailed panther effigies, five lizard mounds, a bird-shaped mound, and a 76-foot long turtle effigy mound. The rest were conical mounds 4 to 8 feet high and 15 to 50 feet in diameter, or linear mounds 3 to 5 feet high and up to 250 feet in length. All have now been dug up, plowed under, and destroyed, but while they existed they were found, in most cases, concentrated in groups in areas which their makers undoubtedly assumed to have special sacred significance. Most were located on the bluffs along the north bank of the Manitowoc River.

Most of these ancient earthen monuments were found in four areas. One was within the City of Manitowoc itself, where perhaps as many as 25 mounds lined the high ground along New York Avenue west of 16th Street, and Michigan Avenue near the present Evergreen Cemetery, and the area along the Chicago Northwestern rail

line near Manitou Park. A second concentration was found upstream in Cato Township, a half mile north of Clarks Mills, and another beyond Collins Marsh in the southeast corner of Rockland Township. It was among those Rockland mounds that the impressive and unusual turtle effigy was located. However, the richest of all mound concentrations, was at the forks of the Manitowoc River, right at the Manitowoc-Calumet County line. There, on the Manitowoc side, in the southwest corner of Rockland Township, among the trees on the north bank, there were 21 mounds — two conical, thirteen oval, and six effigy mounds of which one was a bird-shaped mound and five were panther effigies, the longest of which was 150 feet. Not far to the west, just across the county line in Rantoul Township, there were two other major mound groups; one of ten panther mounds and a conical mound, and another consisting of eight conical mounds and a 255 foot long linear mound.

The mounds had obvious totemic significance, but because most of them contained very few grave goods, we know very little about the lives and beliefs of the people who built them. Also, only a few contained human bones. An examination of those bones indicates that there was no consistency in burial postures, but some skeletons showed signs of partial cremation. Many mounds contained only the burned out remnants of fires once kindled at either the heart or head of the effigy creature. Some held the shattered fragments of elbow-shaped pipes and wide-mouthed clay pots.

The mound builders lived in rather settled communities. Their pottery suggests a relatively sedentary lifestyle. Also, the seeds and corn kernels found strewn about their village sites and among their garbage heaps indicate that they may have been the county's first farmers or at least the first people here who substantially supplemented their food supply by trading with Indian farmers in other parts of the region. Their primary occupation, however, remained hunting and gathering, and they were people who made their livings with antler-tipped arrows and stone scrapers, skinners, and polished grooved axes.

Their villages were probably fortified with wooden palisades to protect them from the attacks of intruders. Their biggest threat probably came from the Mississippian people who ferociously raided far and wide throughout Wisconsin during the same time the Effigy Mound people occupied Manitowoc County. Mississippian war parties departed from walled cities like Aztalan, which stood on the banks of the Crawfish River between the future sites of

Milwaukee and Madison, and to which they returned at the completion of their bloody work with captives, many of whom were killed and devoured in cannibalistic feasts. Such brutal enemies may have brought about the extinction of the more gentle folk who shaped the dirt of the Manitowoc River valley into the likeness of huge panthers, birds, lizards, and turtles.

Nevertheless, for nearly a thousand years the smoke from the fires of the effigy builders was seen rising in the light of dawn and dusk down the Manitowoc valley. Men sat smoking tobacco pipes, women squatted and cooked corn meal and venison. The sounds of babies crying, children playing, and people laughing reverberated through the pines and maples century upon century. Drums, too, could be heard along the lakeshore as men and women chanted and laid fallen friends among the embers dying in the hearts of the effigy animals. Life had both blessings and anxieties for them here, but the cycles of existence ran long for these mound makers before they finally ran out.

They were no longer here when Jean Nicolet landed at Green Bay in 1634 firing off pistols and dressed as a Chinese mandarin. Then the Winnebago were lords and masters of northeastern Wisconsin. They were the descendents of the Oneotas. They had grown to be a numerous and powerful people. Nicolet estimated there to be 3000 warriors living in their large village near the mouth of the Fox River. At that time they counted the Menominee among their subjects.

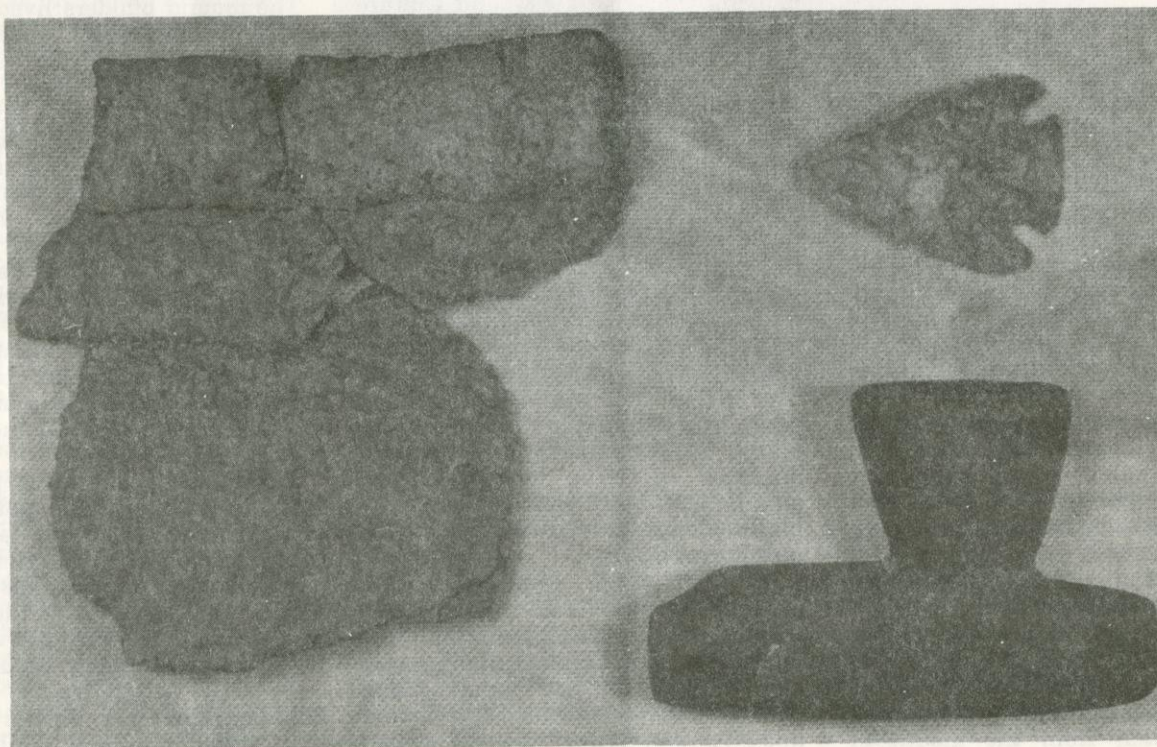
However, even then, in the early seventeenth century, their dominion over this region did not remain uncontested for long. Soon after the arrival of the French, they became locked in a brutal and prolonged struggle with the Potawatomi who invaded and occupied the Door Peninsula. According to the Winnebago's own accounts, at some point in that bloody feud, the Winnebago sent out a mighty armada of war canoes to cross Green Bay and massacre the intruders. In the midst of the crossing, however, the expedition was caught in a terrible storm. The frail birch-bark crafts were caught and crushed in the waves and more than 500 of their best warriors were swept to their deaths beneath the angry waters. The Winnebago never recovered. In fact, soon after that their numbers were decimated even more by smallpox plagues and enemy raiding parties from Illinois.

As the Winnebago declined, other tribes — the Mascoutin, Kickapoo, Miami, Sauk, and Fox — moved into northeastern Wisconsin. Most were refugees fleeing the savage attacks of the Iroquois who terrorized the continent further east, and most congregated in camps along the bottom of Green Bay. Few came to live in Manitowoc County because, by the middle of the seventeenth century, nearly all the Indians east of the Mississippi had grown dependent upon the fur trade for their weapons, tools, and livelihoods, and therefore chose to settle along the main water routes of the trade. Manitowoc was a

backwater, far removed from the thoroughfares of commerce.

By 1672 the whole lower end of the Fox Valley had become densely populated, so densely in fact, that the natural resources of the area and the primitive methods of Indian agriculture proved inadequate to support the needs of all the tribal peoples living there. Hunger became a growing problem, and by the end of the decade some groups began to disperse. It was probably then that the Potawatomi began to scatter themselves along the western shore of Lake Michigan, from their large camp on Washington Island as far south as the Milwaukee River. They established small camps, and some of them settled near Two Rivers, Cato Falls, and Tisch Mills within Manitowoc County.

The Potawatomi who came here escaped the bloody chaos of the Fox Wars which blazed up in 1711, ravaged much of the Fox and Wisconsin valleys, and then burnt out thirty years later resulting in the near extermination of the Fox and Sauk. The French and their Indian allies emerged the winners. Soon after that, however, the Chippewa began arriving. The Chippewa had two large villages in the upper lakes; one at Chequamegon Bay at the west end of Lake Superior, the other at Sault Ste. Marie. They were essentially summer-time communities, gathering places for hunters and their families at the end of the long hard winter hunts in the snow-filled forests of Wisconsin. There they would rest and trade until autumn when it was once again time to break



Late Woodland Artifacts.

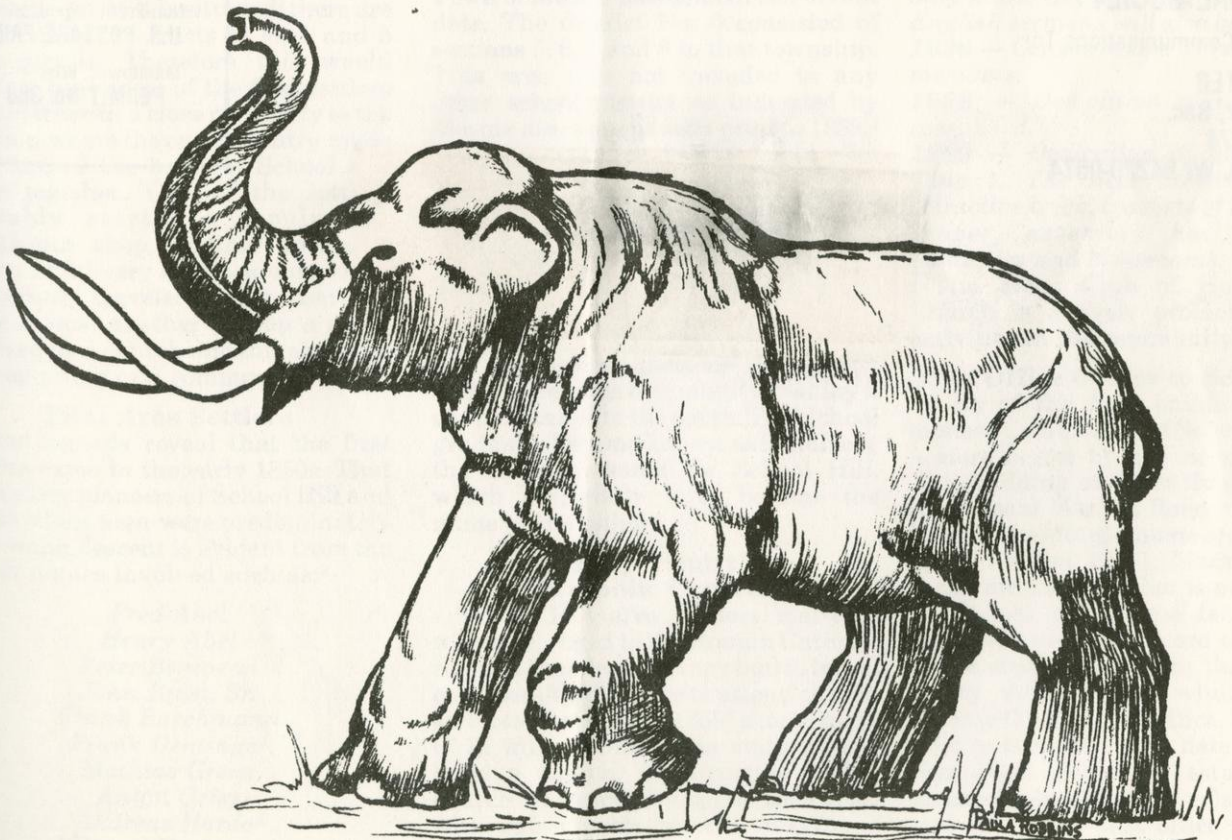
up into small kinship bands and return to the wilderness to trap the animals. Among all the people of the upper Great Lakes, the Chippewa were the most skillful and successful participants in the French fur trade. They were remarkable hunters and woodsmen.

In the early decades of the eighteenth century, Chippewa bands associated with the Sault Ste. Marie community began to migrate further and further into the wilderness of northeastern Wisconsin. The farther they traveled from "home," the less inclined they were to return to the Sault in the summer. Their sojourns here eventually stretched into permanent residency in some. They came to Manitowoc County and settled among the Potawatomi. Some of them

established new villages which were later enlarged to take in Ottawa refugees fleeing the continuing fury of the Iroquois. Their largest settlement was located at Manitowoc Rapids. According to their own oral tradition, as related by John Y. Mexico, the Chippewa of Manitowoc County had originally been led out of Canada early in the eighteenth century by a chief named Etoigeshak. His son, Chaiconda, was born in the village at Manitowoc Rapids. When he died he was succeeded by his oldest son, Waumegesako. It was he who was here when Jean Vieau arrived in 1795 and when the lumbermen and farmers landed in the late 1830's.

The farmers and woodcutters, mill hands and shipwrights stayed on. The Europeans and their descendants have

now been here nearly a century and a half. But the Chippewa have all gone. They and the Potawatomi, the Ottawa, and all the other Indian peoples who once planted corn in these river valleys and fished in the cold waters between Manitowoc and Two Rivers have all vanished. Most left for the last time in 1869, departing to live among the Menominee along the Wolf River. Those of us who now inhabit Manitowoc County can sense those who preceded us. We can place ourselves in a rich and full historical perspective and recognize that we are merely the most recent of peoples to live along this part of the lakeshore. In our brief stay we share this place with the spirits of those many hunters who once stalked the caribou here along the very edge of the ancient ice.





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