

## **Wisconsin Academy review: Wisconsin Indians. Volume 28, Number 2 March 1982**

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# WISCONSIN ACADEMY REVIEW

Published Quarterly by the Wisconsin  
Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters.

March 1982

Volume 28, Number 2



Wisconsin  
Indians

\$3



## Editorial: People and ideas

Working on the last two theme issues of the *Review* has made me aware of how the pleasure of putting together such a magazine comes from the conjunction of people and new ideas. The most exciting way to learn is from people who are themselves excited about the ideas they are working on. The idea for this issue was born early in 1981 when Michael Sherman described to me the Winnebago research project which the Wisconsin Humanities Committee had funded. He gave me some leads on people who might write articles. When I turned to Nancy Lurie for other names, she sent by return mail two typed pages of people who should contribute to an issue on Wisconsin Indians in the 1980s, adding her enthusiasm and support for the project. Academy members are a bottomless well of information about anything and everything. As I discussed the projected issue with friends and Academy members, I realized that many of us are uninformed about the special pleasures and problems experienced by more than 25,000 of this state's residents, who represent twelve separate Indian societies and three major linguistic stocks. In this issue we will discuss some of these pleasures and some of the problems.

I want to take this opportunity to thank the five Academy members who served on the *Review* editorial board last year: Richard Boudreau of La Crosse, William Hug of Neenah, Dennis Ribbens of Appleton, John Rusch of Superior, and Judith Schmude of Kenosha. I welcome the 1982 editorial board: Bruce Cronmiller of Appleton, Charles Goff of Oshkosh, Harold Liebherr of Milwaukee, Peter Muto of River Falls, and George Richard of Milwaukee. I also want to thank Edna Meudt for her years of service as poetry consultant to *Review* editors; she will be replaced by Mary Shamway. Editorial board members and poetry consultants receive anonymous manuscripts which they may recommend for acceptance, rejection, or acceptance with specific changes. They also encourage writers in their communities to submit quality manuscripts to the *Review*. By having board members' opinions on manuscripts to supplement my own, I hope to prevent the journal from becoming a simple reflection of my personal tastes and enthusiasms. Academy members who do not serve on the editorial board are encouraged to write letters to the editor to express opinions on material published and to suggest ideas for articles. A magazine such as the *Review* depends on a close relationship with its readers. Write to let us know what we're doing right and what we're doing wrong.

—Patricia Powell

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# WISCONSIN ACADEMY REVIEW

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# Authors

Nancy Lurie



**Nancy Oestreich Lurie**, a native of Milwaukee, is head curator of anthropology for the Milwaukee Public Museum. She holds a master's degree from the University of Wisconsin (1945) and a doctorate from Northwestern University (1952). Before joining the staff of the Milwaukee Public Museum in 1972, she was professor and chairman of the department of anthropology in the UW-Milwaukee. Her most recent book, *Wisconsin Indians*, was published in 1980 by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

**Jack Messing** has been the director of PRIDE (Programs Recognizing Individual Determination Through Education) an administrative unit for providing support services for minority and/or disadvantaged students at UW-Stevens Point. He served as UW-Stevens Point representative on the planning committee that developed the concept of the Native American Center and served as its first director from 1978 to 1979. Jack still works as a consultant or instructor with the Center on reservation-based programs.

**Mary Alice Tsosie** is a member of the Navajo Tribe and has worked extensively with Wisconsin Indian tribes developing library services before she became the coordinator-director of the Native American Center in June of 1979. In addition to administrative duties, she travels to reservations and attends GLITC meetings to keep communications open between the Native American Center and the tribes.

**Michael Sherman** is the associate director of the Wisconsin Humanities Committee, a state-based program of the National Endowment for the Humanities. Before coming to Madison and the WHC in 1978, he taught humanities and history at Lawrence University in Appleton.

Sherman describes himself as one of the least ethnic people he knows and is therefore surprised to find himself the author of three recent articles on ethnicity. His interest in the topic began when he was asked to prepare an article on ethnicity for the September 1980 issue of the *Wisconsin Academy Review*.

**Robert E. Deer** was born and raised on the Menominee Indian Reservation in northern Wisconsin. He left the reservation to attend UW-Madison, where he took a B.S. in geology, an M.S. in water resources management, and an M.S. in urban and regional planning. Mr. Deer is presently a doctoral candidate in urban and regional planning.

Robert Deer has worked for the University of Wisconsin Extension and is presently employed by the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources. Married with two children, he lives in Oregon and enjoys such hobbies as flying, motorcycling, hunting, fishing, and running.

**James T. Addis** is director of the DNR Bureau of Fish Management and is in charge of coordinating statewide fisheries programs.

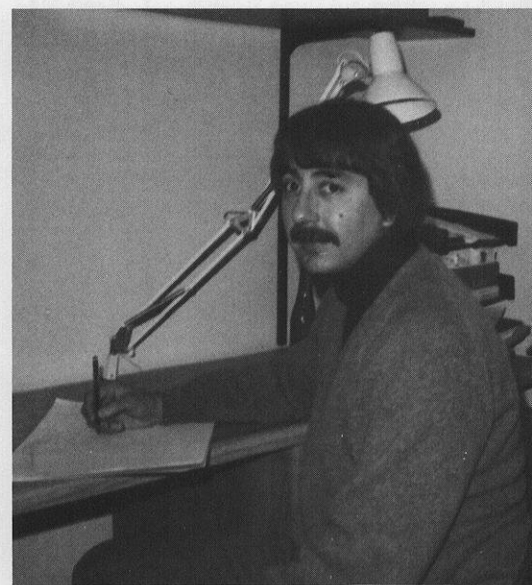
**Mark J. Thiel** is currently an archival assistant at the State Historical Society. He has an MAT-History degree from the UW-Stevens Point. A former Wisconsin Dells High School teacher of American Indian history, he has researched the historical development of powwows and has traveled extensively with Wisconsin Winnebago friends to celebrations throughout the northern United States and southern Canada.

**Gerti H. Sennett** is a Wisconsin Menominee presently living with the St. Croix Band of the Ojibwa Tribe of the Lake Superior Indians. She is a poet, story teller, and writer. Raised by grandparents on the Menominee Reservation, she attended St. Joseph's Indian Missionary School at Keshena and public and parochial schools in Milwaukee. She studied at the University of California at Los Angeles and UW-Madison.

**Herman Logan**, a Winnebago from Milwaukee, has been the acting director of the United Indians of Milwaukee.

**John Niemisto** is an assistant attorney general with the Wisconsin Department of Justice. He received his BBA and JD degrees from the UW-Madison in 1973. A member of the Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, John was the first person of Indian heritage to graduate from the University of Wisconsin Law School. Prior to his work with the attorney general, he held a joint appointment with the University of Wisconsin as assistant to the dean of the Law School and coordinator of Native American Programs for the Madison campus.

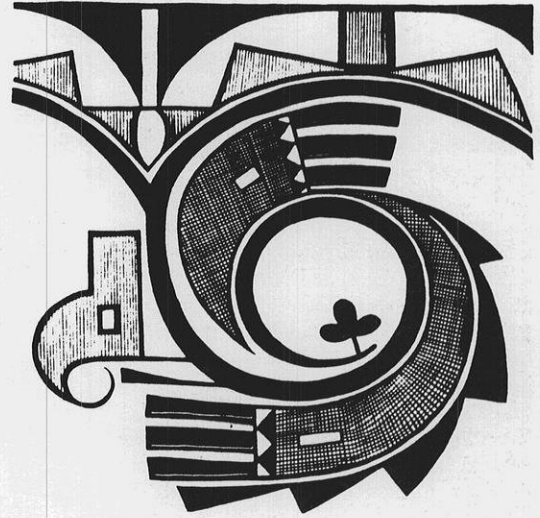
John is recognized as an expert on Indian law. While working at the university, he developed and taught the first law course devoted exclusively to Indian law. He was instrumental in securing the establishment of the Indian Law Center at the Law School which works with students interested in Indian law and assists Indian tribes in Wisconsin with various legal matters. As an assistant attorney general, he has primary responsibility for all Indian law matters that involve the state.



John Niemisto

continued on page 56

# INDIAN PEOPLE



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By Nancy Oestreich Lurie

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Although publications about American Indians addressed to a general readership are perennially popular, the public at large remains poorly informed about the Indian people among us. A number of factors contribute to this state of affairs. Sensationalist trash accounts for some misunderstanding, but there really is no lack of interesting and reasonably accurate material for the discriminating reader who is not necessarily a scholar or specialist in Native American studies. For all that, there seem to be two major problems with the available literature. The first, as I see it, is not so much what it says but what it does not say.

Historical treatments focus on the drama, usually tragic, of singular personalities or critical events but tell us little about ordinary Indian people or what went on between times. Popular ethnology which seeks to illustrate cultural norms stresses the past, when Indians were *Indians*. Indian culture is presented like an interesting fossil of an extinct species. In these accounts, old borrowings of European items such as horses, glass beads, guns and woven blankets are acceptably Indian, but most non-Indians do not realize that automobiles and tape recorders, for instance, have been incorporated into Indian cultures by the same

processes as earlier acquisitions from whites and even acquisitions between tribes in prehistoric times as revealed by archeological evidence of the spread of agriculture or design elements on pottery. If the Americas were discovered by Europeans today instead of nearly 500 years ago, Indian culture would not be like those of 1492. We can only speculate about what changes would have occurred, but we can be sure there would have been changes through innovation and diffusion. Recent and current cultural borrowing by Indian people, however, is seen as "deculturation," rather than what it has always been and continues to be, survival through selective adaptation to Indian core values and changing but still very Indian concerns.

Presentations regarding Indian life today, more often dealt with on television than in popular literature, are almost uniformly dismal litanies of poor health, unemployment, substandard housing, alcoholism, and a host of other problems. Sadly, the statistics are all too true, but they are one-sided. Despite centuries of pressures and inducements to break up their communities and get lost in the general American crowd, Indian groups persist. They must have something going for them.

The overall effect of historical, ethnological, and sociological information is to reinforce the stereotype of the vanishing Indian, passive or powerless, driven into the sunset, without a culture and no future but to be helped to disappear into mainstream America. The insistence on the abstraction, the vanishing Indian, is amazing. When it is pointed out that the overall Indian population has been increasing since at least 1910, not just as a minority but as socially and culturally distinctive tribal communities, and that groups who survived the earliest phases of white contact and conflict had begun to increase before 1910, non-Indians often counter with, "Yes, but they are not all 'full-bloods'." Perhaps anthropologists should be blamed for not promoting more vigorously before the general public what their studies have long allowed them to take for granted, that race, language, and culture are independent variables. A great many white and non-white Americans have Indian ancestry, but the descendants of those Indian progenitors opted out or were co-opted out of Indian identity to share in alternative cultural and social traditions. They are not Indian people despite Indian "blood." Similarly, many Indian people have white ancestry, but the offspring of their white progenitors



were absorbed into Indian societies. Besides Indianizing mixed blood children of fur traders and other frontier whites, Indian groups traditionally adopted captives to make up for loss of their own numbers in armed conflicts. White captives were adopted as readily as Indian captives, and what is interesting are the many documented instances of whites who were captured as children or in early adulthood who resisted efforts to repatriate them to white society. Not only did whites and part-whites join the tribal rank and file, some took prominent roles in promoting Indian interests in opposition to whites. Osceola, a mixed blood, led Seminole resistance to removal from Florida to Oklahoma. John Ross, no more than one quarter Indian, headed the Cherokee who held out in North Carolina against removal. In Wisconsin, members of the part-French Decorah family were village chiefs and resisted removal to Nebraska.

What upsets Indian people today, whether so-called full or mixed bloods, are whites with a trace or dollop of Indian ancestry who suddenly want to be considered Indians or, worse, try to speak for Indians. They are not Indians because they have not learned how to be Indians by being among Indian people, although genetically they may be more Indian than some of the real Indians. It is these real Indians that concern us here.

Certainly, there is increasing public awareness of Indian reaction and action in regard to what is popularly termed their "plight." Like contemporary social problems, these Indian activities are more likely to be presented on television than in publications but are often highly abbreviated news shots and consequently distorted. Even if done sensitively, they run the risk of misinterpretation because they are viewed by the public against a background of entrenched stereotypes. Demonstrations and protests are newsworthy but talk of treaties, self-determination and Indian rights has been known to come across to some viewers as unrealistic as trying to bring back the buffalo. For other non-Indians, the buzz words are taken as complaints about denial of assimilation into the general American society to overcome the grim statistics the public is exposed to in Indian "documentaries" on television.

There is no easy way to convey the historically accrued complexity of legal, political, economic, and social problems Indian people face. Nor is there an easy

way to convey the varied range of aspirations and objectives which concerned but apparently not newsworthy Indian people are trying to achieve through their tribal governments, social, and religious institutions and distinctive methods and shared value systems.

This, then, brings us to the second major problem with the literature about American Indians. Much of it is the product of non-Indians. This is not to say that only Indians, Jews, blacks, Chicanos, women or whoever, are qualified to speak knowledgeably about particular groups. Far from it. It does suggest, however, that until there is a significant body of literature from a particular group, outsiders find it hard to relate to the group as people. In the case of Indian people, it is important for readers to be confronted by persons who obviously are not about to vanish and who are not all alike.

More public expression by more Indian people can go a long way toward breaking down stereotypes, particularly that abstraction, THE Indian, and the notion that real Indian people have to be poor, quaint, and ignorant to be credible as Indians. It can clarify Indian desires for rational economic development, better education for their young people, and a decent standard of living, achieved on their own terms and in their own ways rather than as programs laid on them by non-Indians, no matter how benevolently motivated. It can show what Indian people themselves consider basically Indian and what they consider regional or tribal or as cross-cutting currents affecting special interest groups within tribes and regions. The new Indian literature is beginning to illustrate the variety of ways in which individuals chose to express their identity in overall Indian or tribal terms through the arts, politics, religion, and social action. A substantial literature from the insiders' perspective can, furthermore, assist the reader in weighing outsiders' writing about Indian people to separate informed ideas from patent nonsense.

Actually, Indian people have engaged in writing for publication, at least a few of them, since early in the nineteenth century, but most of these people were from the minority of education professionals writing for white professional interest groups to which they also belonged, beginning with Indian clergy in Christian missionary denominations and later including employees in government agencies and researchers in the field of anthropology. There is also an extensive

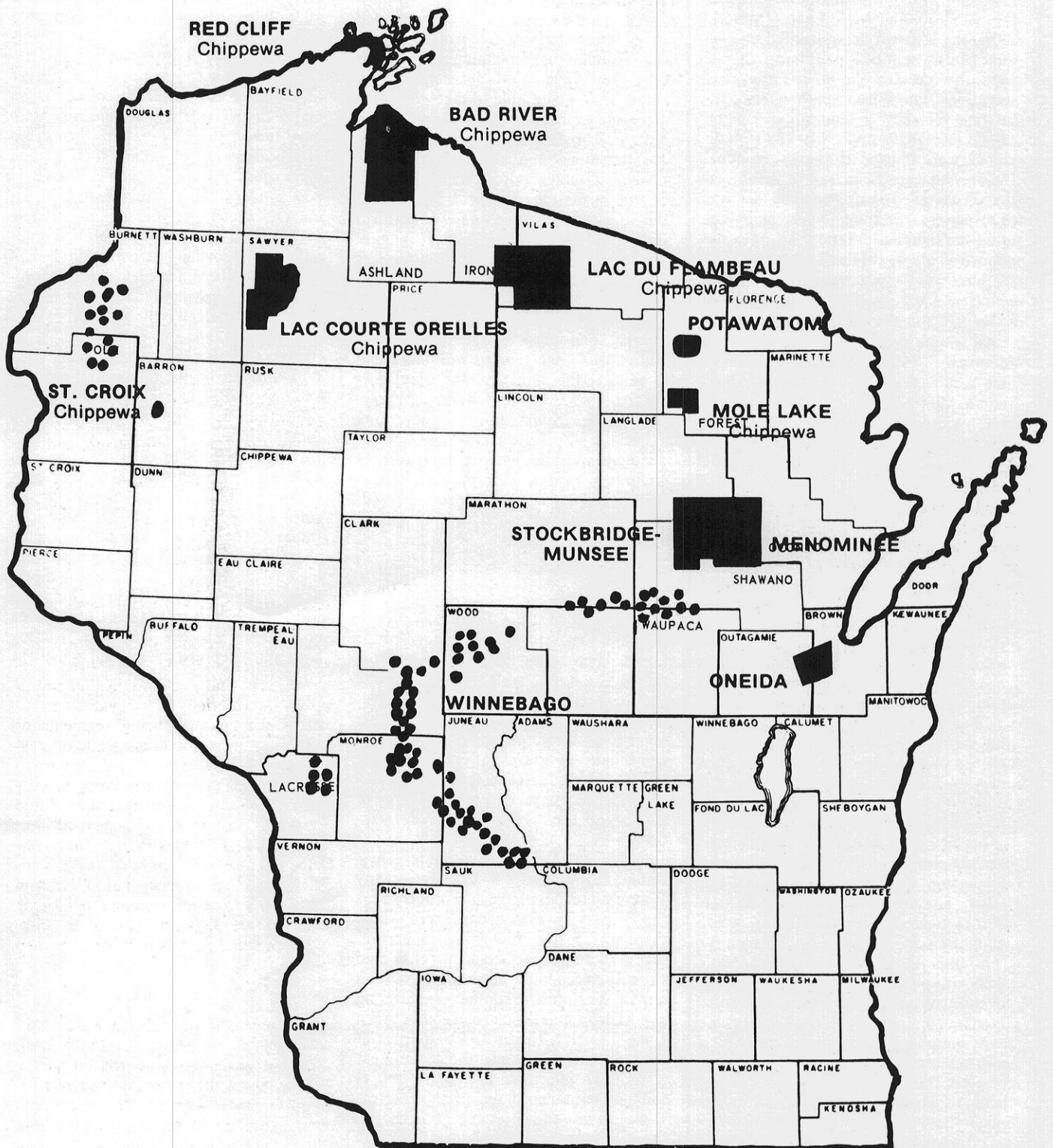
literature of many years' standing written by Indian people for other Indian people. Tribal and intertribal newspapers and periodicals also go back at least to the late nineteenth century, and these have proliferated markedly over the last thirty years, although they are scarcely known to the non-Indian public.

It is only in the last decade or two that increasing numbers of Indian authors have published poetry, fiction, history, and social commentary addressed as much or more to non-Indians in general as to Indians. The response of Indian people asked to participate in this issue of the *Review* reflects this trend. The emphasis on Wisconsin provides understanding of both the local scene and the larger Indian world. It may be useful to the non-Indian reader to know that Wisconsin affords an unusual opportunity to become acquainted with the Indian world within and outside its boundaries. Wisconsin has the greatest variety of Indian language families and tribes of any state east of the Mississippi River: the Algonquian Menominee, Ojibwe, Potawatomi and Stockbridge; the Siouan Winnebago; and the Iroquoian Oneida.

The state's tribes also illustrate virtually the entire range of federal policies and programs instituted since the founding of the republic. The Oneida and Stockbridge were in the first wave of Indian removal westward, arriving in Wisconsin from New York State in the early 1820s. Former Wisconsin residents, notably the Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, and Ottawa, were moved out of Wisconsin. The Winnebago and Potawatomi illustrate a recurrent reaction to removal by tribes across the country, being segments of larger groups who held out while the rest of their people went elsewhere. One group of Wisconsin Potawatomi in Forest County resisted removal. Another group, located around Wisconsin Rapids, returned from Kansas about 1904 although they continue to be officially enrolled at the Kansas reservation agency. The Wisconsin Winnebago are descendants of people who held out against removal or stubbornly made their way back when pushed out by force.

Seven groups' reservations were established by treaty in the 1850s when the government reconsidered the policy of shoving all the tribes into one vast Indian territory west of the Mississippi where they might make common cause. These are four of the Ojibwe groups: Lac du Flambeau, Lac Court Oreilles, Red Cliff, and Bad River and the Menominee,

# INDIAN SETTLEMENTS IN WISCONSIN





Oneida, and Stockbridge. When the government ceased making treaties with Indian tribes in 1871, subsequent reservations were created by Executive Order of Congress. Thus the Forest County Potawatomi were granted land in 1913 and the St. Croix and Mole Lake Ojibwe in 1934, the last two being belated and reduced fulfillment of the Ojibwe treaty of 1854 that created the other Ojibwe reservations. The Wisconsin Winnebago illustrate yet another federal experiment. In the late 1870s and early 1880s, individuals were allowed to take up individual Indian homesteads instead of being settled on a single reservation. The idea was to disperse them among white neighbors to hasten their assimilation. The idea did not work although the homesteads are scattered over more than ten Wisconsin counties. They just kept on being Winnebago Indian people.

All of the treaty reservations except Menominee suffered extensive land loss as a result of the government's General Indian Allotment Act of 1887 which enabled whites to obtain land supposedly guaranteed to the Indians by treaty. The Menominee were relatively prosperous on their unallotted reservation until 1954, when they had the unhappy distinction of being the first experiment in the government's policy to terminate Indian reservations. Through dint of their own efforts, the Menominee also became the first tribe to have their reservation restored after termination (although the disastrous effects of termination convinced the government to abandon the policy after terminating only a few tribes), regaining official Indian status in 1973.

All of the Wisconsin Reservation groups and the Winnebago have federally recognized constitutions and elected tribal governments under the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934, but these were achieved at different times. The Menominee and Winnebago rejected the IRA when the rest of the reservation groups accepted it in the 1930s. The Menominee already had a form of elected government to allow for negotiation of contracts in relation to their lumbering enterprise. This was abolished with termination in favor of county government and a corporation structure. Upon restoration, the Menominee eventually hammered out a constitution which utilizes more provisions available through the IRA than any other tribal constitution in the state. The Winnebago who had become self-sufficient through an itinerant crop harvesting economy by the 1930s saw no need for the IRA but finally organized under the IRA in 1962 to cope

with social and economic problems that had become increasingly critical since the close of World War II as crop harvesting became fully mechanized.

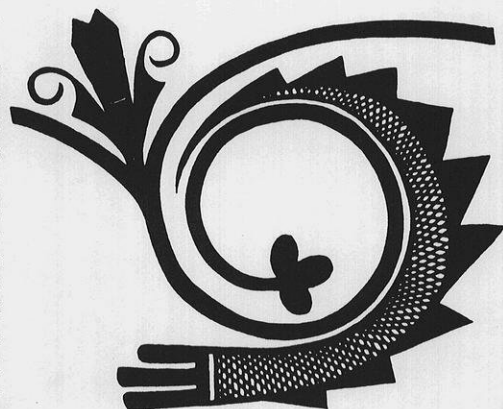
Although the IRA was a great improvement over previous, assimilationist Indian policies, tribal governments had to operate under excessive federal restrictions, forcing them to manipulate sources of power, funds and decision making rather than being able to take real initiative and exercise power in the tribal behalf. This bred lack of confidence in tribal governments and rapid turn-over of office holders. Greater self-determination has become a matter of federal policy since the late 1970s, but the legacy of political instability since the 1930s still plagues the tribes of Wisconsin as elsewhere as they learn the difficult tasks of taking responsible control of their own futures. The problems, however, are more than internal and perhaps Indian literature addressed to non-Indians will also begin to educate the public to take tribal governments seriously as federally empowered bodies. State and local governing agencies and private institutions and individuals are still inclined to ignore or circumvent tribal governments, undercutting the tribes' effectiveness and credibility to determine and carry out their own mandates.

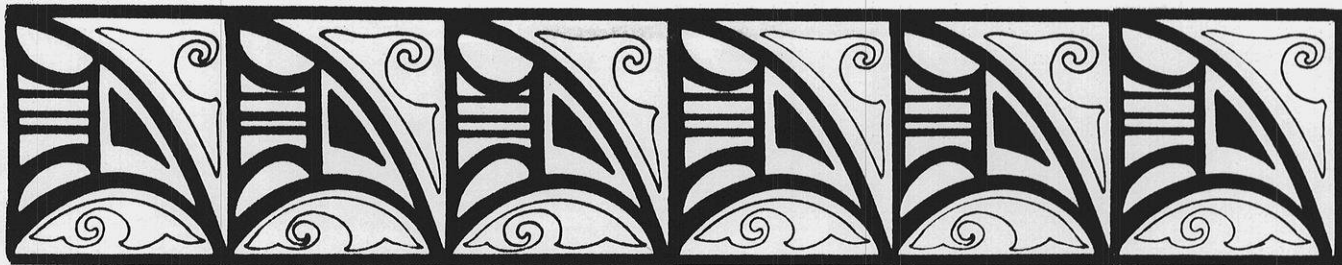
**I**n an effort to strengthen tribal government, the Wisconsin tribes formed the Great Lakes Intertribal Council in 1962, reflecting a nation-wide trend at the time toward regional, intertribal confederations. These organizations serve as clearing houses for information and seek to coordinate programs affecting all the tribes. GLITC's successes and failures are functionally related to the degree of stability of the member tribal organizations.

While Indian people consider their communities of origin as home, many Wisconsin Indian people, like others across the country, live in urban areas where there are greater employment opportunities. Indian people had long considered cities as an economic option and were and remain consummate commuters traveling hundreds of miles each weekend between home and city. In the 1950s, as part of the termination package, the government instituted a relocation program to propel Indians permanently out of the reservations and into the cities expecting the Indians would be swallowed up as a solution to "the Indian problem." Instead, the so-called city Indians formed intertribal,

self-help organizations and Indian centers and in many cities started schools for Indian children who were having difficulties in public schools. Milwaukee, with the largest Indian population in the state (variously estimated at 8,000 to over 10,000) has such an Indian Community School now in its fourth and successively larger quarters. Also reflecting the national Indian scene, both private colleges in the state and a number of campuses in the University of Wisconsin System have Indian studies programs, instigated at the insistence of Indian students and other concerned Indian people. Their purpose is threefold: to provide an environment to encourage young Indian people to enroll and stay in college through graduation, to provide instruction in Indian subjects for Indian students, and to provide similar instruction for non-Indians to promote understanding of Indian people. Understandably, administrators of these programs are eager to see qualified Indian people on the faculties of colleges and universities, whether teaching Indian subjects or not, as examples for young Indian people.

In content, this issue of the *Review* is a departure from the usual kind of non-Indian periodical that occasionally devotes a block of space to "the American Indian." The editor turned first to Indian people for contributions rather than seeking out non-Indian scholars first and perhaps finding a token Indian along the way. I guess that makes some of us token non-Indians which is only fair. It is my hope and I venture to say the hope of the other contributors that the following pages spark interest to want to learn more from Indian people themselves.■





# **The Legal Powers of Indian Tribal Governments**

**By John Niemisto**

Just as settlement of the United States took place by compelling the Indians to accept European laws and practices pertaining to the land, so also dominion over the tribes themselves was achieved by substituting the rule of outsiders for inherent self-rule.

And just as the Indians still retain bits and parcels of their original homeland, so also they still cling to shreds of the sovereignty which once was theirs.

Harold E. Fey and D'Arcy McNickle, *Indians and Other Americans: Two Ways of Life Meet* (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), p. 47.

At first glance a rather bleak picture emerges from this assessment made more than twenty years ago. Although tribal government in Wisconsin as elsewhere has enjoyed rejuvenation in recent years, the continued erosion of tribal sovereignty may suggest to some an even bleaker picture today. What the future holds for tribal sovereignty depends in large part on how effective tribes are in promoting and protecting the inherent powers they retain.

In the rapidly developing and ever changing field of Indian law, no topic is more frequently debated and less understood than Indian tribal sovereignty. This is because the recent public interest in tribal government is occurring amid continuing jurisdictional uncertainty—notwithstanding 200 years of treaties, statutes, and court decisions that bear on this topic.

In creating government institutions and in planning for the implementation of tribal laws, tribes in Wisconsin (as well as throughout the United States) are beginning to utilize much of the technology of modern government administration. In recent years, tribes have begun to realize that if they do not develop and strengthen tribal government institutions, such as tribal courts, and if they do not tax, police, zone, and protect their natural resources and their territory, they may forever lose their government powers. It is the exercise of this type of governmental authority, especially over nonmembers of the tribe, that is the focal point of the most heated controversy today.



The powers of tribal government cannot be understood without reference to the legal foundation upon which those powers depend. Equally significant is the ever changing Federal Indian Policy that has molded and shaped tribal existence. With that reference, existing tribal government powers can be identified and the future of tribal government, especially in relation to state government, can be more readily ascertained.

### **Tribal sovereignty— Its legal foundation**

Historically Indian tribes exercised most of the rights and powers of sovereign nations. Perhaps the most fundamental right of an Indian tribe is the right to govern its people and territory under its own laws and customs. The inherent right of Indian tribes to govern themselves has been recognized and sometimes protected by the United States government. An inherent right is one that comes from within a group of people; it is not granted by another government. Thus, the Indian right of self-government was not granted by the United States, although it is guaranteed and protected by federal law. An Indian tribe is qualified to exercise powers of self-government because it is an independent, separate political entity.

Although tribes have only recently begun once again to flex their governmental muscle, their authority to do so is rooted in the early history of the tribes' legal relationship with the states and the federal government. Judicial decisions on the nature of tribal governmental powers are marked by adherence to three fundamental principles: (1) an Indian tribe possesses, in the first instance, all the powers of any sovereign state; (2) conquest rendered the tribes subject to the legislative power of the United States but did not by itself affect the internal sovereignty of the tribes, that is, the power of local self-government; (3) a tribe's government power is subject to qualification by treaties and by express legislation of Congress, but, save as thus expressly qualified, full powers of internal sovereignty are vested in the Indian tribes and in their duly constituted organs of government. These principles have evolved from two landmark Supreme Court decisions handed down in the 1800s.

#### **Justice Marshall and the Cherokee cases**

The first significant legal pronouncement regarding the legal status of Indian tribes as governments was made by the United States Supreme Court in a case involving the Cherokee Nation and the State of Georgia. In *Cherokee Nation v.*

*State of Georgia*, (30 U.S.) 5 Pet. 1 (1831), the Cherokee Nation asked the United States Supreme Court to prevent Georgia from extending its laws within the boundaries of their territory. The Cherokee, however, were not permitted to bring an original action in the Supreme Court because they were not a "foreign" nation. In so ruling, the Court was required to define the tribe's legal status.

Chief Justice John Marshall, speaking for the Court, declared that although the Cherokee had been treated as a state since the settlement of the country and that numerous treaties had been made with them similar to treaties that were made with foreign countries they had a different legal status. Marshall foresaw eventual control of the entire continent by the United States. Accordingly, Indian tribes would be within the boundaries of the United States, and they would, therefore, be dependent upon the United States for their general peace, security, and protection against foreign powers. Justice Marshall, therefore, categorized the Cherokee as a "dependent domestic nation" with whom the United States shared a unique legal relationship, a relationship that "resembled that of a ward to a guardian." An important legal concept was thus articulated.

A year later in a related case involving jurisdiction within the Cherokee's territory, Justice Marshall further defined the status of tribal government. He concluded that "Indian nations [are] as distinct political communities, having territorial boundaries, within which their authority is exclusive, and having a right to all lands within those boundaries, which is not only acknowledged, but guaranteed by the United States." *Worcester v. The State of Georgia*, (31 U.S.) 6 Pet. 515, 557 (1832). He also determined that "[t]he whole intercourse between the United States and . . . [the Indian Tribes] is, by our constitution and laws, vested in the government of the United States." *Id.* at 561.

These two cases established the foundation for a dualistic theory of Indian status. Indian tribes are still referred to in court decisions as "ward of the government" while at the same time being characterized as "dependent domestic nations." Because of these seemingly mutually exclusive theories the legal and governmental status of Indian tribes remains uncertain.

Although Justice Marshall did not say that Indian tribes were in fact wards of the government or that the federal government was a trustee of the Indians, his comment that an Indian tribe's relation-

ship to the United States "resembled that of a ward to a guardian" laid the groundwork for the evolution of what is commonly referred to as the trust relationship between Indian tribes and the United States.

### **The trust doctrine—protection and paternalism**

The trust relationship is reflected in the many treaties negotiated with the Indians by the United States government. Virtually all treaties with Wisconsin tribes are concerned with cessions of land by the tribes. In exchange for the Indians' vast landholdings, the United States agreed, in various forms, to establish small reservations of land for the tribes which include: (1) resources of that land such as water and mineral rights; (2) exclusive hunting, fishing, and gathering rights on that land; (3) goods and services to replace the aboriginal economies that land cessions made unfeasible; and (4) exemption from taxation and jurisdiction by the states. A fundamental aspect of these treaties is the agreement by the United States as trustee of Indian land and resources to protect the tribes in these rights forever (*See notes*). Both the trust relationship and the domestic nation status of Indian tribes have influenced (in many cases adversely to the Indians) the evolution of tribal sovereignty.

The federal trust responsibility was administratively delegated in the 1840s to the secretary of the interior, who in turn has delegated primary authority to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Under the guise of its trust responsibility, the Bureau of Indian Affairs over the years has deeply invaded virtually all aspects of tribal government. This "paternalism" together with ever changing federal policies reflected in legislation has severely undermined the governmental status of Indian tribes.

### **The impact of shifting federal policies**

In 1871 Congress ended its treaty-making with the Indians, and since that time Federal Indian Policy has been shaped for the most part by federal legislation (*See notes*). The federal Indian policy had been, since about the mid-1800s, focused upon forced assimilation of Indians into the mainstream of American life. Perhaps the most significant piece of federal "assimilation" legislation in the 1800s that affected tribal government status was the 1887 General Allotment Act (24 Stat. 388, 25 U.S.C. sec. 331 *et seq.*). That legislation provided for: (1) granting citizenship to individual Indians who would take land allotments;

(2) divesting the tribe of title to these parcels and transferring title to the tribe member citizen; and (3) authorizing the sale of surplus reservation land that was not allotted. The effect of the General Allotment Act, in the context of this discussion, is that it virtually destroyed tribal government as the intermediary through which individual tribe members dealt with the federal and state governments. Notwithstanding the substantial erosion of the Indian's land base and the weakening of tribal government, internal matters continued to be the responsibility of those tribes that retained at least some semblance of a governmental structure.

Most of the tribes in Wisconsin experienced a steady decline in tribal government functions until the mid-1930s. The ability of tribes to exercise governmental powers was greatly enhanced by the enactment of the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act. That federal legislation facilitated the development of tribal government units, ended the allotment system, established more reservation land, and enabled tribes to incorporate. Assimilation, however, was not dead.

For a short period of time, the governmental powers of the largest and most economically advanced tribe in Wisconsin, the Menominee Tribe, were effectively curtailed as a result of the federal government's termination policy. (A number of other tribes also were affected in other states.) On June 17, 1954, the Menominee Termination Act (68 Stat. 250, 25 U.S.C. sec. 891 *et seq.* repealed), was enacted. This termination experiment, as it affected the Menominee Tribe, ended on December 22, 1973, with the enactment of the Menominee Restoration Act. (Pub. L. No. 93-197, 87 Stat. 770, 25 U.S.C. sec. 903-903f). Under restoration the federal government once again recognized the Menominee Tribe as a governmental entity, reestablished the Menominee Reservation, and once again extended the public services for which the federal government had long been obligated by treaties and federal legislation.

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The restoration of the Menominee was a historic event of major significance. It signaled the federal government's rejection of termination as the official federal Indian policy and renewed support for Indian self-determination. The adoption of Indian self-determination as the official federal Indian policy had been suggested in 1968 when President Johnson sent a message to Congress proposing "a new goal—a goal that ends the old debate about 'termination' of Indian programs and stresses self-determination; a goal that erases old attitudes of paternalism and promotes partnership self-help." Self-determination means, in effect, a return to the basic tribal-sovereignty idea of control over an Indian tribe's own affairs that Justice Marshall had articulated in his early decisions.

The 1968 Indian Civil Rights Act (Pub. L. No. 90-284, 82 Stat. 77, 25 U.S.C. sec. 1301 *et seq.*) was the first major piece of legislation under the self-determination policy. The act extended basic civil liberties to individual Indian persons (and non-Indian persons as well) in their relationship with tribal government. Thus, for example, an individual coming in contact with tribal governmental authority was guaranteed such basic rights as due process and equal protection of the laws.

On January 4, 1975, the federal government enacted the Indian Self-determination And Education Assistance Act (Pub. L. No. 93-638, 88 Stat. 2203, 25 U.S.C. sec. 450) to provide maximum Indian participation in the government and education of the Indian people, to provide for the full participation of Indian tribes in programs and services conducted by the federal government for Indians, and to encourage the development of human resources of Indian people. In the declaration of policy section, the act states at 25 U.S.C. sec. 450a(b):

The Congress declares its commitment to the maintenance of the Federal Government's unique and continuing relationship with and the responsibility to the Indian people through the establishment of a meaningful Indian self-determination policy which will permit an orderly transition from Federal domination of programs for and services to Indians to effective and meaningful participation by the Indian people in the planning, conduct, and administration of those programs and services.

It is this declaration that today guides the intergovernmental relationship between the state, federal, and tribal governments.

It also supports the legitimacy of tribal governments and their exercise of government powers.

### Tribal sovereignty today— Remaining powers

With this historical overview of diverse and conflicting federal Indian policy as a backdrop, it is readily understandable why there is still today so much uncertainty and misunderstanding regarding the authority of Indian tribes to exercise governmental powers. Although tribes enjoy a unique relationship with the federal and state governments, the extent of tribal sovereignty today is only indirectly related to but definitely influenced by that relationship. As Felix S. Cohen noted in his *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971, reprint of 1942 ed.) at 122:

*[T]hose powers which are lawfully vested in an Indian tribe are not, in general, delegated powers granted by express acts of Congress, but rather inherent powers of a limited sovereignty which has never been extinguished. Each Indian tribe begins its relationship with the Federal Government as a sovereign power, recognized as such in treaty and legislation. The powers of sovereignty have been limited from time to time by special treaties and laws designed to take from the Indian tribes control of matters which, in the judgment of Congress, these tribes could no longer be safely permitted to handle.*

The contemporary meaning of tribal sovereignty is well stated in *Iron Crow v. Oglala Sioux Tribe of Pine Ridge Res.*, 231 F.2d 89 (8th Cir. 1956). The court defined tribal sovereignty as follows:

It would seem clear that the Constitution, as construed by the Supreme Court, acknowledges the paramount authority of the United States with regard to Indian tribes but recognizes the existence of Indian tribes as *quasi* sovereign entities possessing all the inherent rights of sovereignty excepting where restrictions have been placed thereon by the United States itself.

*Id.* at 92. The parameters of this "*quasi* sovereignty" can best be understood in the context of specific cases; for example, in the areas of law and order jurisdiction, taxation authority, religious liberty, domestic relations, hunting and fishing rights, and control of trade and intercourse and similar activities on reservations.



Among the inherent tribal government powers that have been recognized by the courts are: (1) the power to determine its form of government; (2) the power to define conditions for tribal membership; (3) the power to regulate the domestic relations of its members; (4) the power to regulate inheritance and distribution of the property of its members; (5) the power to determine the condition under which persons shall be allowed to enter, reside, and settle on Indian land and conduct business within reservation boundaries; (6) the power to levy and collect taxes; (7) the power to administer justice and enforce laws; (8) the control of religion; and (9) the authority to regulate hunting and fishing rights of tribe members on tribal trust lands (*See notes*).

The first significant judicial consideration regarding the exercise of internal tribal sovereignty involved the question of whether the Fifth Amendment of the United States Constitution applied to the local legislation of an Indian tribe so as to require all prosecutions for offenses committed against the laws of that tribe to be initiated by a grand jury organized in accordance with the Fifth Amendment. Although the Supreme Court earlier had said that Congress had the right to regulate the manner in which the local powers of an Indian tribe were exercised, (*Cherokee Nation v. Kansas Railway Co.*, 135 U.S. 641 (1890)), the Court held that its prior decision did not mean that local tribal powers are federal powers arising from and created by the constitution. *Talton v. Mayes*, 163 U.S. 376 (1896). The Court held that the powers of an Indian tribe are not derived from the constitution, treaties, or statutes, but rather are inherent powers of limited sovereignty which have never been extinguished. *Id.*

The independent nature of tribal governmental power and its exercise was buttressed in the case of *Ex Parte Tiger*, 2 Ind. T. 41, 47 S.W. 304 (1898). The court concluded that Indian courts need not be guided by the Anglo-Saxon common law, but may properly consider traditions and the unique circumstances of Indian people. The court acknowledged that "[t]hey derived their jurisprudence from an entirely different source, and they are as unfamiliar with common-law terms and definitions as they are with Sanskrit or Hebrew." *Id.* at 305.

Tribal courts have repeatedly been recognized as appropriate forums for the exclusive adjudication of disputes affecting important personal and property interests of both Indians and non-Indians. Nonjudicial tribal institutions have also

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**Court fights have soured state-Indian relations, and adverse decisions have weakened both state and tribal administrative capacity. Regardless of who has won in the courts, the animosities created have made subsequent relationships hostile.**

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been recognized as competent law-applying bodies.

**Several tribes in Wisconsin have their own tribal courts presided over by tribal judges. The courts carry out a tribal law and order code and enforce ordinances and laws enacted by the tribe. The Menominee Tribe maintains its own police force, maintained in part with tribal funds, but with substantial financial assistance from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Other tribes in Wisconsin such as the Red Cliff and Bad River Bands of Lake Superior Chippewa maintain a modified law enforcement program focusing primarily on the enforcement of the tribe's conservation code as it relates to hunting, fishing, and related activities. Nearly all tribes in Wisconsin perform typical municipal functions such as maintenance of roads, water systems, sewer systems, and other public facilities. In many cases these municipal functions extend to both tribe members and nonmembers alike.**

It is unsettled, however, to what extent, if any, tribal governmental authority has been lost as a result of the alienation of Indian land that once was reserved exclusively for the tribes' use. Where both federal and tribal laws are involved, it is clear that those laws extend to all territory within the original exterior boundaries of the reservation. Thus, for example, the Supreme Court recently upheld the regulation of liquor by the tribe and the federal government on private property located within the original boundaries of the reservation. *United States v. Mazurie*, 419 U.S. 544 (1975).

Although each tribe clearly has authority to regulate its members anywhere within its reservation and in some cases even outside of its reservation (*Settle v. LaMeer* 507 F.2d 231 (9th Cir. 1974); regulation of Tribal Hunting and Fishing Rights located off the reservation), it is

less clear whether the same governmental authority exists with respect to nonmembers and nontribal lands. This is especially important when issues such as zoning, business regulation, taxation, and the like are involved. Very likely, tribal authority to exercise such jurisdiction will be upheld by the courts provided the tribe can show that the exercise of such authority is a necessary tribal government function. A tribe, no doubt, retains inherent power to exercise some civil authority over the conduct of non-Indians on privately owned lands within its reservation when that conduct threatens or has some direct effect on the political integrity, the economic security, or the health or welfare of the tribe (*See notes*). As recently as 1980 the United States Supreme Court observed that "[a] tribe may regulate, through taxation, licensing, or other means, the activities of nonmembers who enter consensual relationships with the tribe or its members, through commercial dealing, contracts, leases, or other arrangements." *Montana v. United States*, 101 S.Ct. 1234, 1258 (1981).

Tribal inherent authority, however, was dealt a severe blow by the Supreme Court's ultimate holding in *Montana*. The Court cited an earlier case in which it rejected a tribal claim of inherent sovereign authority to exercise criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians. *Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe*, 435 U.S. 191 (1978). The Court concluded that the legal principles on which that case relied "support the general proposition that the inherent sovereign powers of an Indian tribe do not extend to the activities of nonmembers of the tribe." *Montana*, 101 S.Ct. at 1258. The Court went on to conclude that because the special circumstances that would otherwise allow the tribe to exercise jurisdiction over nonmembers did not exist in that case, the tribe lacked any authority to regulate nonmember hunting and fishing activities on privately owned land and on navigable waters located within the boundaries of the Crow Reservation in Montana. The full significance of the Court's decision is not yet known, but it is clear that the courts will be closely scrutinizing any attempt by tribal government to exercise jurisdiction over nontribe members.

### **Tribal sovereignty—The need for closer ties with state government**

Unquestionably, the status of an Indian tribe as a governmental entity and the recognition of such by the State of Wisconsin enables, indeed demands, closer cooperation between the two governments

in the resolution of problems of mutual concern. The state and various tribes have already undertaken a number of efforts to promote better cooperation through intergovernmental agreements. For example, the state makes available many of the state services on a contract basis that otherwise would not be available to the tribes and also has turned over, pursuant to contract, the administration of a number of social-service related programs on reservations. Cooperative efforts regarding resource management have also been undertaken.

Unquestionably, state institutions are under severe political pressure to resist Indian claims of jurisdiction from citizens resident within reservation boundaries or dependent on disputed reservation resources. Such persons are adamantly opposed to any state action or concession that may cloud their entitlement. They demand court challenges.

There is legal confusion over the applicability of land use, water and air quality, and other environmental controls in Indian country. This confusion is compounded by the uncertainty over whether state or tribal jurisdiction or both apply to privately owned land located within the exterior boundaries of Indian reservations. As already suggested, further complications are created by the conveyance of Indian property and development rights to non-Indian individuals and incorporated interests whose subsequent operations are nonetheless within the boundaries of the reservation and affect the Indian community.

Faced with this maze of ownership, uncertain jurisdiction, conflicting management objectives, and political conflict, both Indians and state and local governments have been forced to go to court. The inevitable adversary relationship often has caused deep hostility on both sides.

Court fights have soured state-Indian relations, and adverse decisions have weakened both state and tribal administrative capacity. Regardless of who has won in the courts, the animosities created have made subsequent relationships hostile. Once adversary roles have been assumed, settlement of conflicts by negotiation or inter-governmental agreement have proven very difficult.

Unquestionably, resort to the courts is a necessity for both state and tribal government. Only through definitive court judgments can fundamental jurisdictional issues be resolved. In many situations, however, the option of inter-governmental cooperation is a legitimate alternative, and one that may offer a resolution of greater mutual benefit to the

parties involved. Notwithstanding the political risks involved, inter-governmental cooperation would appear to offer the state a better approach than litigation in establishing a solid legal and political foundation to sustain amicable relations with Indian tribes. Such a basis of communication is critical in facilitating reasonable state influence and possible intervention in questions affecting land use and natural resource and environmental management in Indian country.

**To develop further a positive and mutually beneficial state-Indian relationship, the state, in my opinion, would be wise to accept and promote the concept of Indian self-determination and economic independence. State initiatives to provide aid and technical assistance are vital to the improvement of Indian capacity for self-government and for self-sustaining economic enterprise. Through strengthening tribal organizations and economies, the state will be laying the groundwork for the kind of partnership agreements and arrangements that may provide the basis for cooperative endeavors in many areas of government concern.**

Unquestionably, tribal government powers have been limited by court decisions and shifting federal policies. Tribal sovereignty nevertheless retains much of its legal vitality. With clearer understanding and acceptance of the Indian's unique legal status, both as individuals and as governments, today's controversy can be replaced with interpersonal and intergovernmental cooperation.

## NOTES

(1) The reservations were established so the United States could obtain Indian lands and make them available for white settlement. Most treaties negotiated with the tribes provided for the cession of Indian lands to the United States. In return, a tribe was allowed to reserve a smaller portion of its lands for its "permanent residence." These "reserved lands" were the foundation of the American reservation system. The reservations, therefore, were either the Indian's own lands or lands set aside for the tribe in lieu of lands taken from the tribe. Indian lands are also referred to as Indian territory and Indian country (See Note No. 2.). For general historical information regarding Wisconsin Indians see *Wisconsin Blue Book*, "The Indians of Wisconsin," by William H. Hodge, p. 95 (1975).

(2) The federal government stopped making treaties with the Indians in 1871.

Reservations were established after this date by executive orders or pursuant to special federal legislation. Before 1871 many reservations also were established by executive order or legislation. Regardless of how established, the legal status of reservations is usually the same. Also, the lands may be either owned by the tribe or in some cases held in trust for the tribe by the United States. Hence, the term "trust lands." The United States occupies the legal status of a trustee of these lands and related natural resources for the Indians, who are the beneficiaries of the trust.

Related is the concept of "Indian country." The term Indian country and Indian reservation are very often used interchangeably when jurisdictional issues are discussed. Because of varied land tenure occasioned by the alienation of Indian lands under the allotment process and the granting of rights of way through reservations, Congress, in 1948, defined Indian country to mean all land within the limits of any Indian reservation notwithstanding the issuance of any patent and including rights of way running through the reservation, all dependent Indian communities and all Indian allotments, the Indian titles to which have not been extinguished. (62 Stat. 757, 18 U.S.C. sec. 1151).

(3) The following cases are representative of the decisions by various courts that have upheld specific inherent tribal government powers: *United States v. Charles*, 23 F. Supp. 346 (W.D.N.Y. 1938); *Patterson v. Council of Seneca Nation*, 245 N.Y. 433, 157 N.E. 734 (1927); *Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez*, 436 U.S. 49 (1978); *United States v. Quiver*, 241 U.S. 602 (1916); *Fisher v. District Court*, 424 U.S. 382 (1976); *Jones v. Meehan*, 175 U.S. 1 (1899); *Williams v. Lee*, 358 U.S. 217 (1959); *Buster v. Wright*, 135 F. 947 (1905); *Washington v. Confederated Tribes of Colville*, 100 S.Ct. 2069 (1980); *State of Arizona ex rel. Merrill v. Turtle*, 413 F.2d 683 (9th Cir. 1969) cert. denied 396 U.S. 1003 (1970); *Native American Church v. Navajo Tribal Council*, 272 F.2d 131 (10th Cir. 1959); and *Montana v. United States*, 101 S.Ct. 1245 (1981).

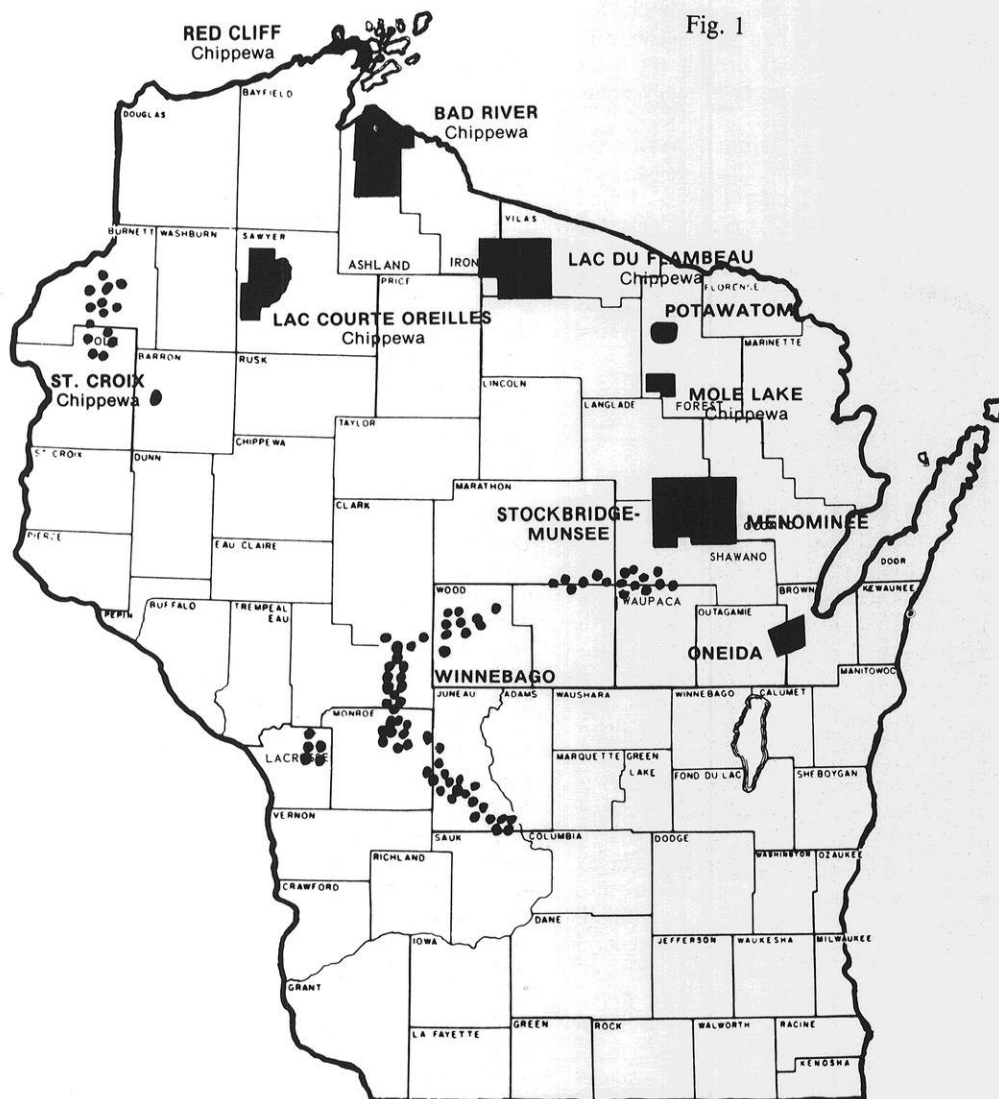
(4) Cases which uphold tribal authority over non-Indians or private property located within reservation boundaries include: *Fisher v. District Court*, 424 U.S. 382 (1976); *Williams v. Lee*, 358 U.S. 217 (1959); *United States v. Mazurie*, 419 U.S. 544 (1975); *Catholic Missions v. Missoula County*, 200 U.S. 118, 128-29 (1906); and *Thomas v. Gay*, 169 U.S. 264 (1898).■



# Resource Management and Treaty Rights:

## Conflict or Cooperation?

By Robert E. Deer and James T. Addis



Wisconsin has an abundance of natural resources. Lake Superior in the north and Lake Michigan in the east offer to the visitor hundreds of areas of water-based recreation. Interior areas also contain thousands of areas of lakes, rivers, streams, and flowages. The Chippewa Flowage, for instance, is famous for its musky fishing, while the Flambeau Flowage is well known for northern and walleye. The Brule River has an international reputation for its excellent steelhead fishing, and the Wolf River within the Menominee Indian reservation has been identified as a potential wild and scenic river area. These large water resources, coupled with a land-base covered by hardwood, pine, and poplar comprise a fish and game habitat which is enjoyed and appreciated by all.

Many natural resource enthusiasts, however, are unaware of the numerous Indian reservations scattered throughout the Wisconsin environment and the tribal resource-use policies. In Wisconsin there are six distinct Indian tribes: Menominee, Chippewa, Oneida, Winnebago, Stockbridge-Munsee, and Potawatomi. These tribes live upon eleven different reservations or "trust" land areas in the northern and western portions of the state (see Fig. 1). Collectively, these tribes own natural resources worth millions of dollars. They can also have a large effect on the use of other state resources such as the Lake Superior fishery. Consequently, these tribes, through their resource-use policies, can have a significant impact upon state, regional, and local resource bases. Yet, in spite of their number and size, the tribes and their "status" are generally unknown to the public.

## Resource controversies

Many of the Wisconsin Indian reservations have large tracts of undeveloped forest land and water frontage. Here, the fish and game habitat is underutilized. Here, the largest walleye and record whittail find a home. This "best" fishing and hunting is much sought after by the sportsman, but these reservations are not playgrounds for the tourist, nor are they wilderness frontiers awaiting exploitation. These reservations are homes of the tribes, representing their identity, their security, and acting as a symbol of their former greatness. Tribalism demands protection of the homeland, and therein lies the reason for conflict: tribes are determined to assert and protect their reservation home against outsiders. This stance leads to controversy, especially when people don't know much about the location and status of the reservations.

One of the largest and best known Indian reservations in Wisconsin is that of the Menominee Tribe, located just northwest of Green Bay. Here, the tribe owns over 230,000 acres of forest land, lake and river frontage, and game habitat, a priceless wilderness heritage. In the southeast corner of the Menominee Indian reservation lies an artificial lake development called "Lakes of the Menominees." Here, several thousand non-Indians have bought lake lots and are building recreational homes. This project, developed at a time when the tribal leadership was trying to expand the tax base, has become controversial. It represents, in the minds of many tribal members, a "selling out" of the Menominees' historic homeland, something the tribe's ancestors fought to preserve.

Many questions in the "Lakes of the Menominees" project are posed as state's rights versus tribal rights. Who, for instance, has exclusive authority over the navigable waterways in the project—the state or the tribe? The Wisconsin position of exclusive state jurisdiction is countered by the tribe's position of exclusive tribal jurisdiction. Who has boating and fishing license regulatory authority? Does the tribe have authority over tribal members and not over nonmembers? If so, in which court, tribal, state or federal? Do Indian treaty rights supercede state's rights? These are tough questions which will take many years to resolve.

In spite of the complexity of these resource issues, the Menominee tribal chairperson is taking a cooperative position rather than a conflict-oriented one.

The tribe's goal is reacquisition of the lake development project, and the chairperson recently stated: "We would like to live together and get along with the Lakes of the Menominees' people, but we intend to reacquire the lake property over the long term. We realize we'll have to pay for it. It'll be done legally."



Lucille Chapman, Chairperson, Menominee Indian Tribe, Keshena, Wisconsin



Robert Gillis, President, Property Owners Association, Keshena, Wisconsin

The President of the Lakes of the Menominees property owner's association is equally cooperative: "We're becoming more of a community every day and are trying to work together in the best interests of all of the people in the community."

## A cooperative approach

The problem with posing natural resource questions in a state's rights versus tribal rights dichotomy is that it separates and divides the people by polarizing the views. A design for conflict is built in to the interactive process. The settlement process in resource controversies becomes very difficult.

A focus upon common cause or common interest, a search for mutual interest, understanding, and respect, and rational lines of communication can lead to a settlement process which ultimately benefits everyone. This approach was used in the case of the Red Cliff Tribe and the Lake Superior fishery. The tribe and the State of Wisconsin (through the Department of Natural Resources) negotiated for a number of years on this matter. The basic problem facing all users of the Lake Superior fishery was depleted fish stocks. The United States and Canada, in the early fifties, decided as a matter of national policy to rehabilitate cooperatively the fish stock, especially the lake trout (see *Lake Superior: A Case History of the Lake and Its Fisheries*, Technical Report No. 19, Great Lakes Fishery Commission, Ann Arbor, Michigan). Central to this rehabilitation theme was the concept of regulation; all users would be controlled through various authorities. Unfortunately, Indian tribes were not given adequate consideration in the development process; their treaty rights were neither acknowledged nor recognized as significant.

Some tribes, through the protection afforded by their treaty rights, are almost immune from state regulatory efforts (see *State v. Gurnoe*, 53 Wis. 2d 390 [1971], and *U.S. of America, et al., v. State of Michigan*, et al., 471 F Supp. 192 (W.D. Mich. 1979). These court decisions have severely limited state regulatory authority and clarified tribal access to the fish resources in Lake Superior. This still leaves the question: who has the capability and authority to manage the Lake Superior fish stock?

The answer to this tough management question lies in a cooperative approach which blends formerly competitive interests into a shared management authority.



Just such a result was achieved in the historic, interim fish management agreement for Lake Superior. Figure 2 displays this complicated agreement geographically (taken from "Wisconsin Lake Trout Harvest Allocation Policies," by Lee T. Kern, Chief, Great Lakes and Boundary Waters Section, D.N.R., Madison, Wisconsin).

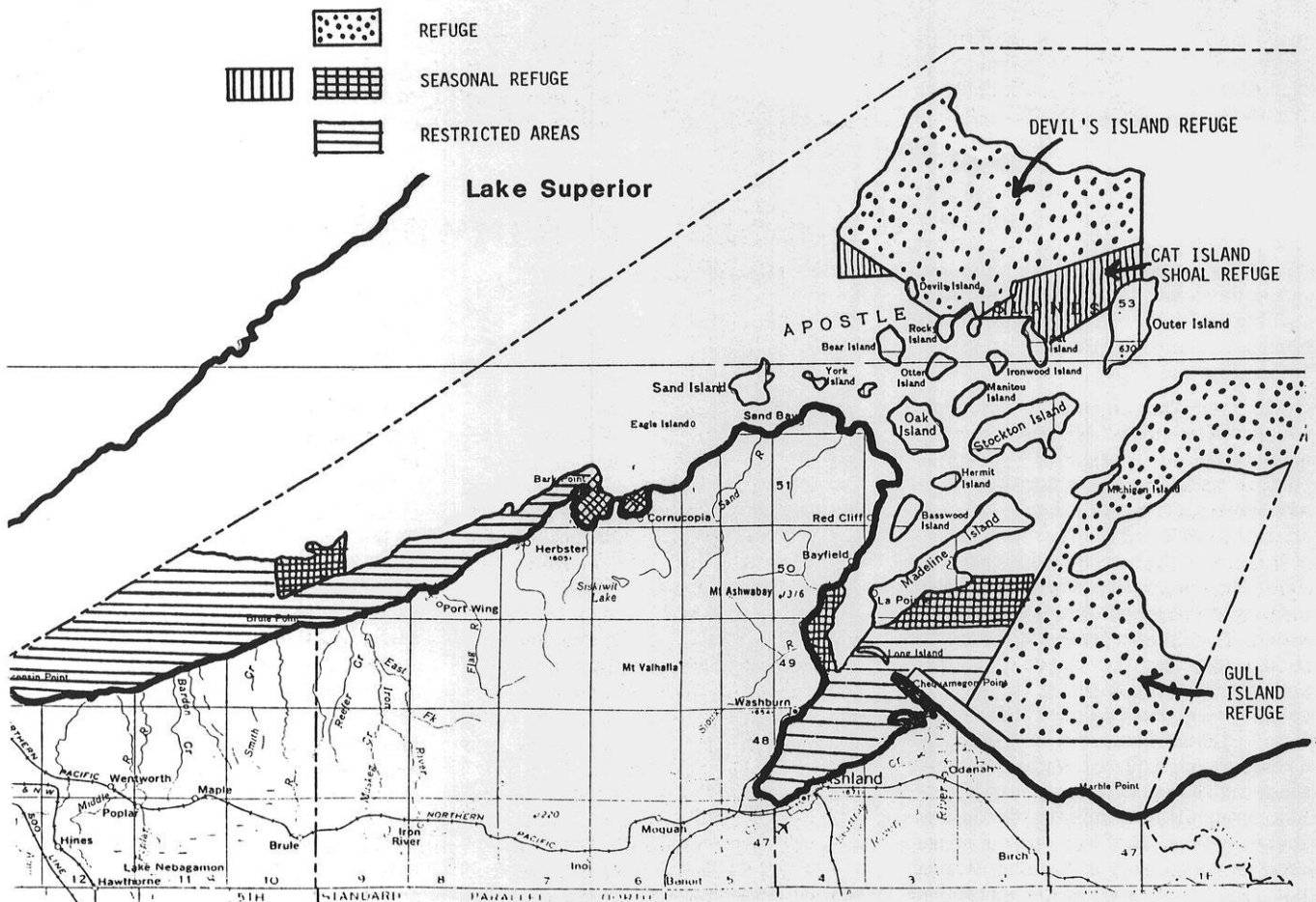
This agreement, signed by the Department of Natural Resources and the Red Cliff Band of the Lake Superior Chippewas is historic. Never before has a Wisconsin Indian tribe jointly developed and entered into such an area where treaty rights and state's rights have complemented each other. Tribal commercial, sports, and subsistence fish user-groups have been joined with non-Indian commercial and sports interests into a total plan which enhances the fish resource through delineation of refuges and restricted areas and gear restrictions.

Such an agreement requires patience and persistence and, when realized, is tenuous in character. The parties involved must have a chance to build lines of communication, trust, and support. Thus, the

present management plan, interim in character, reflects the sensitivity of the negotiators to the political constituencies, their willingness to develop an experimental model of cooperative management, and their commitment to a long-term resolution of the problem. Without these continuing themes, the plan might be lost.

Negotiators should not hesitate to seek assistance from external sources, especially when in-house expertise is lacking. These outside sources, when interacting constructively, can be formidable in their presence. The Department of Natural Resources received just this kind of assistance from the Wisconsin Center for Public Policy in the form of professional mediation and the Indian Law Center of the University of Wisconsin (which built support for a rational fish management plan within the tribe). Together, in a co-operative fashion, these principals were able to develop a plan which changed Wisconsin Indian history. It is to be hoped that future agreements with other Wisconsin Indian tribes may follow in this new direction. ■

Fig. 2





## United Indians of Milwaukee

By Herman Logan

In the Potawatomi language, Milwaukee means, "Gathering Place." It was so named because its geographical location initially made an ideal campground at which various tribes and later white traders met to talk and trade.

It is ironic that an area that was once a gathering place for Indian people is now the largest metropolitan area within Wisconsin. The irony is further compounded by the fact that the Indian population today in this area is less than 1 percent of the total population.

And yet, Milwaukee can still be described as a gathering place for Indian people. Although it may appear that the Indian has been swallowed up by the non-Indian society, there still exists a strong, cohesive community within the Milwaukee area, a testimony to the strength of

Indian people's will to survive.

One might question, "Where are these Indians, and where is this 'community'?" I've never seen them or it." This is a valid yet disheartening question. Indian people always have been here. Our failure to be seen is, for the most, the failure of non-Indians to look at us.

The Indian has long ago learned to adapt to living in and with the dominant society. They have learned that if they are not only to survive but advance, they must work within the system. The conflict arises when the dominant society says Indians must enter the "melting pot." The pride of Indian people tells them that although they must work with the system they will not be culturally "melted."

The willingness of Indians to work in and with the dominant society is clearly

seen by the number of Indians now residing in the metropolitan Milwaukee area.

Ten thousand, approximately one third of all Indians in Wisconsin, are currently in this area. Their day-to-day work activities find them working next to you at Allen-Bradley, teaching the English class down the hall, typing your letters, and wiring your house.

However, their nonworking hours oftentimes find them engaged in other activities: singing and dancing, a potluck dinner to raise funds for other needy Indians, or staging a Halloween or Christmas party for children. These activities are the result of Indian people's desire to retain their pride in the cultural distinctiveness. United Indians of Milwaukee is one such organization helping to do this.



United Indians is a loosely structured, yet definitively based community organization dedicated to the retention and practice of Indianness in the Milwaukee area, an area which has not always been kind to them.

It was formed during the early 1960s because of the need to help the rapidly rising numbers of Indians migrating from the reservations with problems that were not or could not be met by existing social service agencies. Their needs not only included adjusting to the urban living situation, but also a recognized need to preserve the traditional ways. A group of Indian people decided to organize in order to continue the traditional ways of the Great Lakes tribes. One of their main goals was to teach young Indians their Indian heritage.

The tribes represented in Milwaukee include members of the following tribes: Chippewa, Menominee, Oneida, Potawatomi, Stockbridge, and Winnebago. A prime concern was their effort to ensure that all tribes were represented.

Initially, meetings were scheduled at several churches in Milwaukee which had

ties to the Indian people, including St. John's Episcopal Church and All Saints' Cathedral. These meetings resulted in the formation of a constitution and by-laws which were to form the basis of United Indians of Milwaukee, Inc. in March of 1969.

One of the most significant events for the United Indians membership was the rental of an abandoned firehouse from the City of Milwaukee in September of 1969. This firehouse, located at 1554 West Bruce Street, has become the home of United Indians and is now recognized by the Indian community as well as the non-Indian community as perhaps the main center of day-to-day Indian activities within the Milwaukee area. At present, the City of Milwaukee charges United Indians of Milwaukee one dollar per year rental.

The unique thing about United Indians, and perhaps one thing that has made it such a success, is the fact that the membership has consistently voted to keep away from funded programs. It has been their desire to be free from the many restrictions that funded programs impose on their grantees which ultimately tend to interfere with their own goals. At times, this has caused financial problems with insurance, utilities, and necessities of building maintenance. However, at these times, harder work by United Indians' members has carried on the organization.

It can be said with much pride that some of the basic desires of Indian people have been accomplished. Each week, young people spend several evenings learning to sing Indian songs and practice Indian dances. Making dance outfits seems to be one of the most popular pastimes with young people. Not only have these activities been of great cultural value, but as a result, United Indians currently has a group of approximately forty to fifty Indian dancers and singers available for programs which contribute funds to the center.

This dance group has been the basis of several large celebrations in the city. In March of 1981, United sponsored a statewide powwow at the Richards Street National Guard Armory. About 2,000 Indians and non-Indians attended.

To those who ask, "where are Indians," this was an opportunity for the general public to become acquainted with them. In addition, receipts from this two-day powwow supported United for most of the year.

Many times, United will participate in an event simply to educate the general public and will receive only expenses: The

West Allis Western Days is a good example of this. Over the past five years, United has performed dances several times a day and participants spend the rest of the time visiting and sharing food with the general public.

United has also been a member of the International Institute for the past several years. This year, there are plans to be in the Folk Spectacle, Exhibit, World Mart, and Children's program. United plans to participate because we felt that Indians should represent themselves. In the past, non-Indians dressed as Indians have represented the American Indians at these events.

United has become a recognized center for Indians in Milwaukee to carry on the social activities which they need and enjoy. The firehouse has become a base for the United Alcoholics Anonymous group, the Young Eagles youth group, basketball, softball, volleyball, bowling, elderly dinners, and meeting space for different tribal groups.

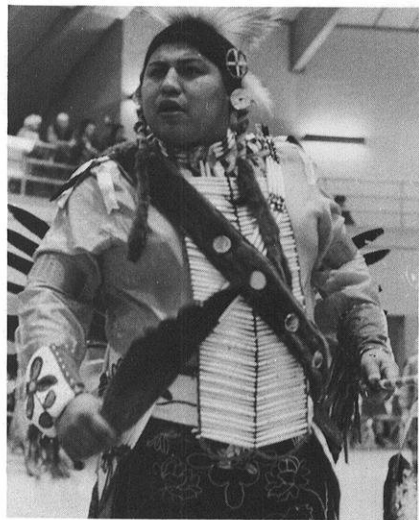
In the past, the Indian has never attempted to look too far into the future, because his constant struggle to maintain his presence had demanded all his strength. With the added problems of urban living, one can only guess what the future holds in store for Indians. However, as long as Indian people band together to help themselves, it should never be said, where are these Indians? We are here. ■

United Indians' powwow held at International Institute, March 1968



Milwaukee Journal Photo

Joe Kazumupa Photo



United Indians' powwow, February 1977, grand entry

Editor's note: In December of 1981, I taped an interview with Ada Deer in her office in the Educational Sciences Building on the UW-Madison campus. Ada Deer was the first Menominee to graduate from the University of Wisconsin in 1957. She received her master's degree in social work from Columbia and holds honorary doctorates from UW-Madison and Northland College. She was among Outstanding Young Women of America in 1966. In 1977 Ada Deer was a Fellow of the Harvard University Institute of Politics. An unsuccessful candidate for Wisconsin secretary of state in the 1978 Democratic primary, she is still actively involved in partisan politics. In 1981 she was appointed to the Hunt Commission whose purpose is to produce recommendations to the Democratic National Committee on ways to improve the party's nominating process. An avowed purpose of her political activity is to help inform Indians and engage them in the political process.



## **Ada Deer Speaks Out on History, Politics, and the American Indian**

I think it's important for American Indian people to understand the society and the political system under which the tribes and individuals must function and live. If we look at Indian history, we can see the tremendous importance of dealing with the federal system. In the colonial era Patrick Henry and Benjamin Franklin were commissioners of Indian affairs—to show the importance that was attached to dealings with Indians at that particular time. Later on treaties were negotiated, important legal documents that are to this day used to assert the rights and claims of some of the tribes for services as well as legal rights such as hunting and fishing. Not all the treaties are uniform; some are more specific than others. But the point is that Indians need to understand how to deal with government. Treaty making stopped in 1871, and from that time on laws and agreements were made between the tribes and the federal government to carry out functions and responsibilities.



If we look at Indian history starting approximately 100 years ago, we see that in 1887 the Indian Allotment Act (this is also known as the Daws Act), which made it possible for individual Indians to receive individual portions of land, was instrumental in breaking up many of the reservations and creating many of the economic problems we have today. According to one source, approximately 90 million acres of land were lost to Indians between 1887 and 1934. Other important pieces of legislation the Congress passed were the Indian Citizenship Act in 1924, the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934, and the Termination Act in 1954. In 1960 President Kennedy established a task force, consisting of high-level federal officials to study the American Indian, and in 1970 President Nixon issued an extremely important message on Indian affairs. This is a sketch of important federal policies. In all of these policies American Indian people had little influence because they did not understand how to deal effectively with the federal government.

There was some recognition by President Kennedy of the importance of involving and informing Indians when formulating federal policy, and this was reiterated by President Nixon in his message. But the Indian people were not informed or sophisticated enough to understand the political processes by which these bills and policies were developed.

However, in a democracy each person has the right to vote. In some areas of the country, if Indians voted they could exert a real influence on the local and state governments. In Arizona, for example, a Navajo has been elected to the legislature. And in Alaska Indians are members of the state legislature. In order to carry out the best interests of Indian people, it is essential for the tribal leaders to be involved in the political process. I say this because when the termination policy came down in the fifties, the Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin did not understand it; they tried to delay it, tried to fight it, but were unable to. Then in 1970s when the restoration movement began, some of us became involved in the political system and a very small group of Indian people achieved the monumental task of getting a law through the congress reversing the termination policy. This would not have been possible unless we had understood and used the political system.

Having worked through the whole restoration process, I know that it is possible to influence the political system. I can't emphasize this enough. This is one of the precious rights we as American citizens

have: to speak up, to speak out, to work for change within the system. But it is continuously necessary to urge people to understand the governmental structure and its operations. Most important, they have to act: write letters, give testimony, visit congressmen, make their voices heard. You can always get an appointment with someone, although it may not be the congressman or senator right off. If you persist and establish good contacts you can get your point across.

Now here we are in the eighties. It's an entirely different time, but still it is possible to be involved if one is willing to pay the price: that is, to become informed, to go to meetings, to provide information, and to participate. There are a lot of opportunities for participation. Indian citizens, as well as other people, are afraid of "The Government." Who is the government? We are! The elected public officials are there to represent the people. Of course, various interest groups contend for influence in Washington as well as the state level. We know that such public interest groups as the Sierra Club and Common Cause are able to persuade elected officials. Indian people, too, have several organizations located in Washington that are able from time to time, depending on the issue, to have an impact on the system.

If the Indians had been organized at the beginning of this country, history would have been different. And we still have the same basic problem today: We can't get organized! I should also say, some people don't want to get organized. There are significant tribal differences, dating back to historic times, of language, political and religious structures.

Yet there has been in recent times, a pan-Indian movement; people are beginning to recognize common interests and to work together to promote certain actions at the congressional level. There are a number of national groups: Americans for Indian Opportunity, an organization founded by Mrs. Ladonna Harris ten years ago, National Congress of American Indians, the National Tribal Chairman's Association, and other groups which exist for a particular issue, for example, the United Indian Planners Association and the National Indian Education Association.

No one group can really speak for all Indians. There are many tribes, each with different needs. But with the budget cuts affecting everyone, we must form coalitions to voice objections and make suggestions. Congressman David Obey has stated that it will be more important than ever for various groups to form coalitions

to advocate for their particular issue and to ask serious public policy questions.

One of the most effective organizations in Washington is the Native American Rights Fund (NARF). I spent the past two years with them as a legislative liaison working on a number of issues and cases. Native American Rights Fund is a public interest law firm based in Boulder, Colorado, which has been in existence for ten years and has a record of achieving important results for Indian tribes: land claims, water rights, treaty rights, hunting, fishing, religious freedom, and other areas. The staff is a mixture of Indian and non-Indian. Two lawyers and two legislative liaisons work in Washington with support staff. I worked on Indian housing, health, legal services, and education. There is a lot of work to be done at every level.

To put this into perspective, one should understand that by any social-economic indicator, the Indians are either at the bottom or at the top—depending on which is the worst. In 1970, the latest population census data, Indian housing was 90 percent substandard. Unemployment is from 40 to 60 percent on some reservations. The average achievement in school is eighth grade. We of NARF decided to focus on housing, health, education and try to maintain the present funding levels. Housing is a difficult area to work with because there are three agencies involved: Bureau of Indian Affairs, HUD, and Indian Health Service. BIA builds the roads, HUD builds the houses, and Indian Health Service connects sewer and water. To coordinate the efforts of those three agencies is time-consuming.

We worked to keep a certain number of housing units authorized. Up until recently, 6,000 units per year were authorized, but it was stated in one housing report that 10,000 units per year were needed to be constructed over a five-year period to catch up with the backlog in Indian housing. This is not going to happen; my information indicates that only 2,500 units were authorized, which in no way will meet the need of Indian people across the country on reservations. (Indian people in cities are eligible to apply for public housing, but they are a small group and often ignored.) On December 15, 1981, in the news was the item that the government was moving to eliminate public housing across the country. Indian people, at the bottom of the heap, will be affected by the continuous thrust by the new (Reagan) administration to cut the

budget. The administration wanted to wipe out Indian housing from the budget, but we (Native American Rights Fund) haven't allowed them to do that. However, with the conservative tide in the country . . . I could go down the line, point by point, but housing is an illustration of what has to be done.

It takes a certain degree of confidence in your own cause and a willingness to exert a lot of energy to attend hearings, to make contacts—to do your homework—and to be persistent. Too many people zip into Washington and zip out; they forget that thousands of people come there on all kinds of missions. Once they're gone, the next person is there. It is necessary to maintain a presence, to focus people on your cause. I think Indian people need to understand how the particular unit, local to national, operates and lobby within that context. For example, now with all these state block grants coming through, some of these will undoubtedly be available to the tribes. The tribes will have to learn how to deal with the state, which some groups are able to do better than others.

I find it intriguing to meet staff, senators, and congressmen; they're human; they can be influenced. But generally I think that Indian people, due to the long history of mistreatment, neglect, and oppression by the federal government and others, have rightfully developed skepticism, suspicion, and lack of confidence. However, when one is in a position of tribal leadership, one has to contend with reality—accept the responsibility of the position and work within the system. Many of the tribal leaders are responsible, conscientious people who want to do the best job possible, and therefore they understand and accept the necessity of dealing with the federal government and the state government. But many are shortchanged because many tribes do not pay salaries to their tribal chairmen. Some chairpersons have to make their own livelihood, and do this as an extra task. It can be a real burden at times for tribal people to accept positions of leadership. Some have been chosen by religious leaders of the tribes, some have been elected in regular elections. They do work with the federal and state governments. Numerous meetings are called in Washington to deal with specific issues; members of the tribes go as often as they can. Some tribes hire law firms in Washington to represent them but law firms are very high priced.

At this point we do not have an Indian lobbyist here in Madison. There should be one. For many years I have suggested

to the Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council that they have an office here, but this has not been done. There is too much *reaction* to governmental acts rather than *action*, which needs to be carried on continuously. This costs money, which many tribes don't have, but we can't afford not to lobby at state level. This is my opinion, I don't speak for anybody. The Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council cannot act as a lobbying organization because it has been funded by the federal government. What Indian people—as well as many groups of citizens in general—need is a lobbying organization. GLITC can educate and provide information, but it cannot strongly advocate a position on legislation.

Each tribe has a governmental structure, headed by a chair or chief. Some of the larger tribes have large budgets from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, some have small. Some tribes have a better economic base, such as natural resources. The Menominee, for example, are fortunate in that the reservation had abundant forests and a lumber industry to provide money to the tribal government. Though individual members may be poor, the tribe does have resources many other tribes don't have. Some tribes now have planners and associated personnel, but they will disappear with budget cuts coming. CETA cuts affected the Menominee and Winnebago; the Menominee had 300 people working under CETA and now there will be about 20. These people still need to be clothed and fed. Many will go on Relief to Needy Indians, a state program which I understand is slated to go out of existence sometime next year. We have serious public policy questions about economic development in the state.

Problems at every level in our society are not going to go away; they are going to get worse because there has not been sufficient planning for making such substantial cuts at the federal level or the state level. According to recent newspaper articles, unemployment in Menominee County was 39 percent, the highest in the state based on October figures. That figure will increase substantially. (The next highest unemployment rates were in Forest, Sawyer, and Washburn at 11.5 percent.)

You ask which of my own political activities I consider most effective—Menominee restoration. The passage of the Menominee Restoration Act was significant not only for the Menominee Tribe but for all tribes across the country as a concrete illustration that Congress could be made to rectify a gross injustice. It was a major reversal of Indian policy and

as such affected all Indians. Some other smaller tribes have followed this example and achieved restoration on the basis of the Menominee precedent, without the lengthy battle.

Another significant involvement of mine was as a member of the American Indian Policy Review Commission, the first commission in the history of Indian affairs in this country to include Indians as equals to congressmen and senators. There were three congressmen, three senators, and five Indians—one Indian woman. We conducted an exhaustive analysis and review of the relationship between Indians and the federal government in order to make recommendations and suggestions. We had eleven task forces dealing with issues affecting Indian life, such as health, housing, etc. We made several recommendations which should be used as policy for future direction. We conducted hearings and had studies written. I would commend readers to these particular reports. Senator James Abourezk of South Dakota was the chair.

I should also note that my involvement with other groups, such as being on the boards of Common Cause and Girl Scouts of America, has been important in being able to expand the groups of people whose sensitivity to American Indians issues was increased. One of the most satisfying and fulfilling involvements has been serving on the President's Commission on White House Fellows, to which I was appointed by President Carter in 1977 and reappointed by President Reagan. We select from fourteen to twenty fellows out of 1500 to 2000 applications. The fellows work in staff positions with cabinet members or in various departments. We select highly gifted, motivated young people and give high-level exposure in government service, so they can return and be better public servants. They are all super achievers. It is one of the most prestigious fellowship programs in the country. This year we have an American Indian as a White House Fellow (the third Indian to be named fellow). Three Indians made it to the final level this year and, George Thomas, a nuclear engineer with the Department of Interior, was selected.

Whatever I can do to help Indian people I do, but I'm "into people" and my involvement reflects that. The Girl Scouts of America have just opened up a new training facility one hour from New York City. I've been asked to conduct a seminar on American Indians for the GSA—the largest youth-serving organization in the country. If I can increase their sensitivity and service to American Indians, I will consider it a contribution. ■



A Wisconsin Winnebago dance, Black River Falls about 1910-1913.



Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin

To the powerful rhythm of the pulsating drum, strong voices sing a rousing song. Hundreds of persons clothed in bright, multicolored outfits respond with an accompaniment through dance: the men with rhythmic flicking of a profusion of feathers and clanging of bells, and the women with the soft rhythmic swaying of long fringed shawls. Together, the song and dancers stop abruptly.

This vivid spectacle is the powwow—today's foremost North American Indian celebration. Its activities focus on a Plains War Dance and frequently include a combination of artistic and athletic dance competition, games, traditional food, and what is regarded as the sharing of "tradition." At the major powwows thousands of dollars in prize money are awarded for contests ranging from dress to dancing to marathon running. The activities attract hundreds of contestants—men, women, and children from many tribes throughout the United States and Canada. As Boye Ladd, a Wisconsin Winnebago organizer of just such a powwow in 1981 at Tomah, Wisconsin, explained:

It builds a concept of our world, and develops the beliefs and ways of our forefathers. . . . They teach us through song. They teach us through dance.

Such a celebration becomes an expression of intertribal Indian solidarity as well as the continued vitality of an Indian identity.

Among the salient features of the celebration, certain important elements have long been prominent in the culture of the Winnebago and other tribes of North

# The Powwow

## A Celebration of Tradition

By Mark G. Thiel

Powwow captions by Mark Thiel and Dennis Lyon

Photographs taken at Ho Chunkgra Indians Days in Tomah, Wisconsin, June 1981, by Barry Powell



A traditional Northern Plains dancer hooded in a wolf skin, evoking the days when scouts donned camouflage to prowl near enemy camps and buffalo herds. Complete facial paint in those days served as protection from the sun as well as from supernatural harm. (—DL)



Lolita A. Hark Him, an Oglala Sioux from Rosebud, South Dakota, does the Northern Women's Fancy Dance. (—DL)



Northern Plains fancy dancer wearing a typical matched pair of bustles constructed of white turkey feathers, and commercially dyed rooster hackles. (—MT)



Northern Plains traditional dancer wearing an eagle tail feather bustle. The circular feather arrangement is an early twentieth-century development. (—MT)





Northern Plains traditional dancer whose outfit features a bone breastplate flanked by otter skins streaming from mirrors. He carries an eagle-wing fan, an honored possession and source of pride. (—DL)

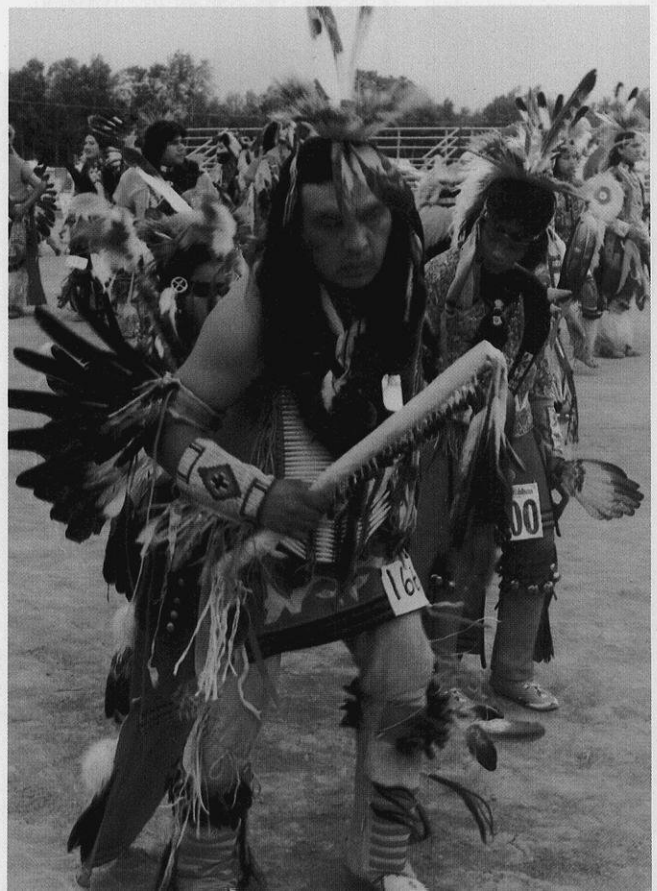


The lady on the left wears a Sioux traditional outfit with an interesting modified cape design. Her companion wears a Kiowa traditional dress and boots. Both are beautifully robed in brain-tanned buckskin dresses highly prized among Indian people. (—DL)

Shawl dancer exhibiting the relatively new and vigorous style of dance complementing the male fancy dancer. Her outfit features an exquisite matching cape, leggings and moccasins done in the appliqué style of geometric, plateau (Montana-Idaho) beadwork. (—DL)



The outfit of this Northern Plains dancer features Sioux cuffs, Cheyenne moccasins and Winnebago aprons, a good example of eclecticism. (—DL)



America. The drum, now frequently of commercial manufacture, continues to be accorded respect. It is regarded as a symbol of creation whose sound and accompanying songs are viewed as having a sacred character. If a song has lyrics, they often describe the war exploits of tribal veterans. The continued importance of the warrior role is also reflected in the attire of the male dancer. Both the roach headdress, a crest of porcupine and deer hair to which is attached one or two eagle feathers, and the bustle, a feathered ornament attached to the back of the waist (it may also have a matching component attached to the back of the neck), are articles which were once reserved for the exclusive use of distinguished warriors. Today, in one style or another, they are worn by the vast majority of men and boys.

Other important features added to the powwow complex are of more recent origin. In response to government attempts to erase Indian culture in the late nineteenth century, the Hethuska ceremony, a men's warrior society originating on the east-central plains, was one of a number of dances to spread among the reservations of the plains and western Great Lakes area tribes. On the northern plains, it was often called the Grass Dance; in

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**Powwow**—A word of Narragansett Indian origin meaning a shaman or religious leader or a religious ritual with song, dance, and feasting. The word was assimilated into the English language and modified during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries to mean any American Indian celebration or any celebration that could be compared to an Indian celebration. In the twentieth century, its usage was readopted by Indians to identify any Indian celebration but especially one which, at least in part, included Indian dancing.

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In addition to the outfits, dancing, and contests, the renewing of old friendships is important. (—MT)

Oklahoma, the War Dance; among the Winnebago, the Herucka (a variation of the name Hethuska); and among the Potawatomi, Chippewa, and Menominee, the Dream Dance or Drum Religion. Increasingly the ceremony took on the function of a ritual through which the people could express their religious beliefs while maintaining their cultural integrity and tribal solidarity. Participation was expanded to include the entire community with visitors from other tribes frequently present. War speeches gave way to long prayers of petition and thanksgiving, which frequently included references to the efforts to maintain tribal traditions. Giveaways and gift giving became frequent practices. Gradually, during the early twentieth century, the use of the Hethuska, in this religious form began to diminish; however, some elements have been retained by the contemporary celebration.

Meanwhile, beginning with the decade of the 1920s, a rapidly growing Indian population without the experience of the prereservation way of life was coming of age. Through the missionaries, government, and mass media, these people came to accept many ideas from the dominant society, such as the secularization of activities and fads from the prevailing youth culture. Even though many were becoming increasingly educated, urban, and Christianized, they generally did not

share the prevalent missionary view that they should assimilate. With interest they looked to the new ethnic immigrant organizations as models for functioning in the larger society while retaining some of their heritage.

With these ideas in mind and facilitated by intertribal boarding school friendships and the now common use of the English language, a new secularized Hethuska with a standardized intertribal format developed in Oklahoma and gradually spread throughout much of the United States and southern Canada. To accommodate the intertribal crowds, many songs have come to use vocables (word sounds) exclusively, instead of a combination of vocables and lyrics sung in a specific tribal tongue. Among the young men, a new "fancy feathers" dance style utilizing fancy footwork and head and body motions was created with a corresponding new style of dance clothes featuring matched pairs of multicolored circular shaped bustles. Dance contests in both the new and older styles of dance became the primary focus of the celebration. By midcentury, cash prizes had heightened the enthusiasm for contests. Owing to the prestige acquired from winning, the contest champions from the major Oklahoma and northern plains powwows then became the innovative trend setters in the continuing development of dance movements and clothing styles throughout the continent.





All generations share in the powwow activities; the outfits of children frequently mirror those of adults. (—MT)

Innovative changes during the 1970s became most apparent in the northern plains-northern Great Lakes area where a new, distinctively northern look has gained popularity with youth. To increase the effect of their motion while dancing, the young have added long fringes and other dangling accessories to their outfits. Among the young men, this has greatly contributed to the development of a new variation of the feathers outfit. Among the girls and young women, historical tribal styles have now largely given way to the new "fancy shawl" style, featuring a new skip step and an outfit with a short hemmed dress and a long fringed "Span-ish" style shawl.

Other factors too, have influenced the development and increasing popularity of powwows. In maintaining the traditions of the warrior, the powwow has become the primary vehicle through which the Indian veterans have been honored following the wars of this century. In addition, for both reservation and urban Indian communities, powwows have become an important means by which to express their identities and solidarity while increasing their economic participation in the dominant society. The Congressional Medal of Honor from the Korean Conflict, posthumously awarded to a Wisconsin Winnebago, signaled the reactivation of the semiannual powwow at Black River Falls. Among virtually all college, urban, and reservation Indian communities (such

as Chicago, Milwaukee, Hayward, or Oshkosh) powwows have become intertribal gatherings as well as local community celebrations. Such celebrations are also to be found among tribes like the Oneida and Stockbridge who had not participated in the historical predecessor to the modern powwow. Dances occur throughout the year but reach a crescendo between May and September when they are held out of doors.

In all powwows the drum and songs are necessary for providing direction to the dance. All songs are sung from memory and are learned only through listening. Songs are short in length, frequently repeated, and sung in unison. In Wisconsin, and among the tribes to the west throughout the northern plains, the pitch often approaches the falsetto level. Songs are commonly sung in slightly accented two-four rhythm and may be of slow, medium, or fast tempo. During the course of a song, its volume rises until it is carried with full force, creating a euphoric sense of power.

Dancers respond to the song by dancing "en masse." Within the context of the individual dancing style and in time to the song, the dancers exhibit their own routines expressing their particular degree of enthusiasm for the song. Near the end of a song when it is being sung for the last time, the singers will often cue the dancers that the end is nearing by beating a series of unaccented beats which build to a loud climax on the last beat of the song. This allows the dancers to end their routines with a dramatic flourish on the last beat of the song simultaneously with the singers.

Typically the ceremonies on each day begin with a grand entry of all the dancers, followed by a flag ceremony and an opening prayer. The program usually starts on a Friday evening with dancing on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. Throughout the course of the three days contests in various styles of dance will be held for men, women, and children, with the adult championships as the climax of the weekend. At other times individual members of tribes may express their gratitude towards friends through a public "giveaway" of gifts. Group dances of unique tribal origin and dance exhibitions may also take place. Equally important, the powwow provides the opportunity for informal visiting and sharing of meals with friends and relatives. Together, the many activities and social exchanges have caused the powwow today to emerge as the foremost celebration for the maintenance of American Indian identity and solidarity.■

A Wisconsin Winnebago drum group singing in the Northern Plains tradition on the steps of the State Capitol building in June of 1981. (—MT)





## Repositories of Tradition

In the last decade Indian people, along with Americans of all backgrounds, have been caught up in the effort to document and preserve their cultural heritage. Such attempts at recovering and passing along the knowledge to future generations have most often been initiated by the tribes and gathered in a central building. While the primary purpose of these tribal centers and museums is to conserve the identity of a people for those people, this information is an important part of Wisconsin's history that has too often been overlooked by state historians. We give below a partial listing of tribal centers where archives and artifacts are being collected and, in many cases, made available to the non-Indian public as well as members of the tribe, to the interested citizen as well as the historian.

### The Oneida Nation Museum

Located fifteen miles west of Green Bay on one of the last parcels of the original Oneida allotments, the primary function of the museum is public instruction. Initiated by a 1976 Bicentennial grant, its mission is to collect and preserve Oneida/Iroquois artifacts and crafts from the tribe's earliest culture to the present and to promote a better cross-cultural understanding of the Oneida People. Tour guides attempt to dispel stereotypes of Indian people perpetuated by movies and television.

The upper exhibit area details the early beginnings of the League of the Iroquois, starting with the Creation story and moving through formation of the Confederacy, the effects of colonization, and eventual dispersal of the Iroquois people after the Revolutionary War. Two large island cases show the Oneida man as hunter, warrior, statesman, husband and father, the Iroquois woman as wife and mother, and family members involved in religious activities as well as those of daily life. Another exhibit shows the Oneida migration to Wisconsin and the changing role of family members as they were

moved into an unfamiliar environment in which they were unwanted.

The hands-on exhibit has long tables set up with ninety-two reproductions of artifacts. The tour guide instructs the visitor in the use and significance of these artifacts and invites him to examine a basket, beat a drum, or try on a head-dress. The guide makes comparisons between Indian and non-Indian cultures, noting what each has contributed to the other's culture. With this exhibit the museum has had excellent success with handicapped people, especially with the blind who can smell the smoked hides, feel the texture of beadwork, hear the sound of different drums and rattles, or grind corn with mortar and pestle.

In the stockade area is the Indian fort and a forty-foot bark long-house, probably the only one west of New York state. Here the visitor experiences life in an Indian village of the early 1700s. This outside exhibit acquaints the visitor with such activities as hide tanning, playing Indian games such as La Crosse, or throwing a tomahawk. Indian medicines and herbs and other plants necessary for the Indian's well being are grown in a traditional mound-planted garden cultivated with a digging stick.

The museum has hosted visitors from eighteen foreign countries including a recent day-long tour of UW-Madison foreign students. Here the students were shown how Indian people view themselves and their history.

The Oneida Nation Museum is open for group tours every day except Monday in the summer and Tuesday through Friday in the winter. For more information or tour reservations, write the Oneida Nation Museum, 886 EE Road, De Pere, WI 54115, (414) 869-2768. Robert Smith is the museum director.

### Red Cliff Chippewa Art Center

This art center is housed in a striking building, an architectural interpretation of a traditional Native American dwelling, the tipi. Inside showcases contain pictures and artifacts dating back to the early 1800s. Historical items such as baskets, beadwork, pottery, paintings, and a birchbark canoe as well as contemporary crafts are displayed in an attractive setting.

The art center is located on the Red Cliff Indian Reservation, along the shore of Lake Superior fifteen miles northwest of Bayfield, which was set aside by the Treaty of 1854 for this band of Lake Superior Chippewas. Campgrounds and a marina make this an attractive place for a summer visit.



## **Stockbridge-Munsee Historical Library-Museum**

This historical library and museum was begun by a committee determined to see that accurate historical information and authentic materials were collected by tribal members themselves and preserved within the tribal community for the use of present and future tribal members. They wanted materials made available so that people could study their own history and increase their pride in and understanding of their own cultural and historical traditions.

In the 1970s tribal members traveled to Stockbridge, Mass., to visit the places where their ancestors had lived 250 years ago and later retraced the routes ancestors followed in their westward movement to Wisconsin: from Massachusetts to New York, to Pennsylvania, to Ohio, to Indiana. As they traveled they located and gathered records and artifacts and became conscious of their great cultural loss. They grew intent on gathering all the historical and cultural materials possible to preserve them for the people now known as the Stockbridge-Munsee. They are still attempting to recover a 1745 Bible given to the tribe by the Prince of Wales who later became George III, which was discovered in the 1950s in the Stockbridge Room of the Historical Library in Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

As the archives grew, the main task became the project to read and annotate the historical items and provide an index to the materials. With BIA funding the tribal council provided a new building equipped with a fire-proof vault, an historical research room, and exhibition space. In 1980 the annotated catalog of materials in the historical library museum was published. Library materials include books, articles, government documents, maps, personal journals, and microfilm which relate the history of the tribe. Museum materials include a Mahikan basket collection, beadwork, pictures and photographs, and trunks of artifacts.

## **Winnebago Research Center**

The Wisconsin Winnebagoes differ from other Wisconsin tribes in that they are a nonreservation people without a tribal land base. Thus even the most common and more recent historical records and documents of this people are scattered among individuals, families, and repositories throughout the country. The Winnebago Research Center planning committee was organized in the summer of 1978 to aid the tribe in the preservation

and transmission of Winnebago culture, history, and language. While ideally Winnebago families should be the prime transmitters of cultural heritage, today that ideal is not always attainable. This research center serves to supplement the role of the family in passing on Winnebago heritage, but it will not seek to supplant that role.

The first step in the preservation attempt, borrowing photographs, maps, diaries, linguistic, and other documents held by Winnebago families, was undertaken with funds from the Wisconsin Humanities Committee. The photographs, primarily after 1900, include formal family and individual portraits, photographs of church congregations, community meeting places, schools, and wigwags; people working in the cranberry bogs and in the woods, playing the moccasin game and wearing traditional dance dress at powwows. More than 1300 photographs have been copied and are being annotated. For the past year, the Winnebago Research Center has been presenting photographic exhibits at Indian gatherings around Wisconsin, in Minnesota, and in Nebraska.

The Winnebago research committee has also collected oral memoirs and archival documentation. Nancy Lurie is working on the cylinder record project, an effort to get phonetic transcriptions and translations of nearly 350 songs which were collected by Frances Densmore in the 1920s and 1930s. Winnebago elders have been working with her to preserve this aspect of their history. Kenneth Funmaker, an accomplished craftsman who works with German silver, has conducted Woodland Indian metalwork workshops around the state. This project was funded by the Wisconsin Arts Board and sponsored by the Winnebago Research Center.

The Winnebago Research Center has offices at 315 West Gorham Street in Madison; Janice Beaudin is the archivist.

## **Sokaogon Chippewa Tribal Archives Project**

The Sokaogon Chippewa at Mole Lake have established tribal archives through a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to assemble and preserve a collection of primary and secondary source materials relating to the history and cultural identity of their community.

Although they were parties to the various treaties between the Lake Superior Chippewa and the federal government, the Sokaogon, as an interior band far

away from direct contact with government officials, never received the twelve mile square reservation promised them according to their tribal tradition. Firm in this claim, the Sokaogon continued to reside in their homeland without the benefit of legal title or federal recognition for over eighty years. Finally, under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, they were federally recognized and received 1680 acres of land surrounding a lake with extensive stands of wild rice, which is a principle feature in traditional Chippewa economy and culture.

The tribal archives project was begun with the organization and processing of nearly eighty years of material gathered by Mrs. Alice Ackley Randall, the sister of the band's last recognized chief, Willard L. Ackley. She recognized the historical value of this material and devoted much of her time and personal resources to this collection with the desire to preserve it for the future generations. These materials include documents such as minutes of tribal meetings, land descriptions, legal files, newspaper articles, photographs, and personal correspondence, along with official federal and tribal government records and correspondence spanning eight decades. This collection documents in detail the historical, cultural, legal, and social activities of Sokaogon life through the twentieth century. Additional materials and information have been collected from other members of the community and from federal, state, and local archives, libraries, and museums.

Tribal members have participated in conferences and workshops for training in document preservation and organization, the collection of oral histories, and the care and use of photographic resources in cooperation with the ASA and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. A small photograph collection has been gathered for archival reproduction and preservation. The remembrances of tribal elders are also being recorded so that future generations will be able to hear the stories of the Sokaogon Chippewa in the words and voices of the community elders. The document collection is to be microfilmed for security, and the tribe plans to construct a permanent archives and museum facility to house the collections. As the closest community to the proposed Exxon mine site south of Crandon, the Sokaogon worry about the changes in the social, cultural, and natural environments that will come if mining occurs. For them, concern for their homeland and the welfare of their community spans the generations, extending as far into the future as does their memory preserve the past. ■

## Contemporary Woodland Art

Text by Dennis Lyon  
Photographs by Barry Powell

Chippewa bandoleer bag. The Chippewa excelled in curvilinear, appliqué design in floral patterns and lavished their art on large bags of this kind. Once a common article in the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this modern example, made by Mrs. Kingswan, is a relatively rare item. (*Private collection*)

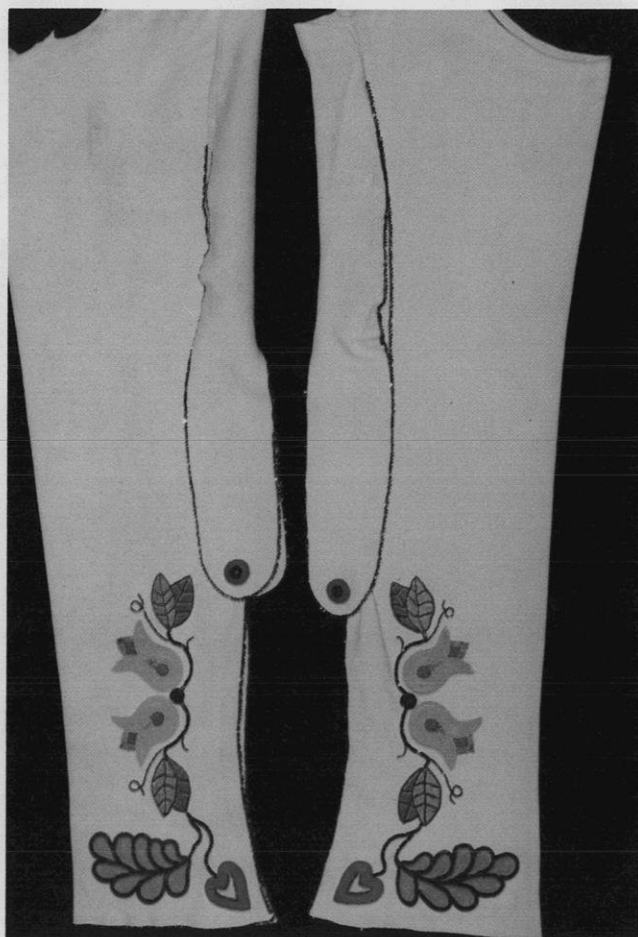


Chippewa pipe bag and Potowatomi bandoleer. The bag is done in appliqué beadwork on buckskin. The bandoleer is loomwork bordered with small, German silver brooches. (*Private collection*)





Potawatomi belt, Chippewa apron and cuffs. The Potawatomi and Menominee tribes are well known for their loomwork, which features intricate and complex repetitive patterns. This particular design has become well known as one which Hong Kong workers have reproduced by the thousands in the attempt to capture the tourist dollar. The oriental industry is a source of aggravation to some native craftsman, but they need not worry: Hong Kong work is easily identified as inferior, produced with large beads and loosely woven in flat colors. This example is tightly woven with smaller beads, a sure sign of native work. This set of Chippewa cuffs, made in the 1940s has a solidly beaded background and, surprisingly, a zipper up each side. The apron reflects the realistic, floral design of the Chippewa and that tribe's inclination to work with shades of the same color which blend with one another and sharply contrast with other colors. *(Private collection)*



Chippewa front seam leggings. This modern set of leggings is modeled after a traditional pattern of the early nineteenth century. The seam runs up the front of the leg, while the tabs fold over to hang down the side of the calf. The leggings are crafted out of brain-tanned buckskin, a wonderfully soft, white hide produced through backbreaking labor. *(Private collection)*

Winnebago skirt, shawl, and half-leggins. Women who prefer the traditional Great Lakes attire eschew the famed buckskin dress in favor of this more conservative costume. The Winnebago and Sauk and Fox tribes specialized in design less realistic than their Chippewa neighbors, preferring in many cases a more stylized and geometric, floral motif. Although this set is machine sewn, a few Winnebago women still do hand-sewn appliqué. They prefer to do their ribbon work on black, maroon, or sometimes dark green cloth. *(Private collection)*

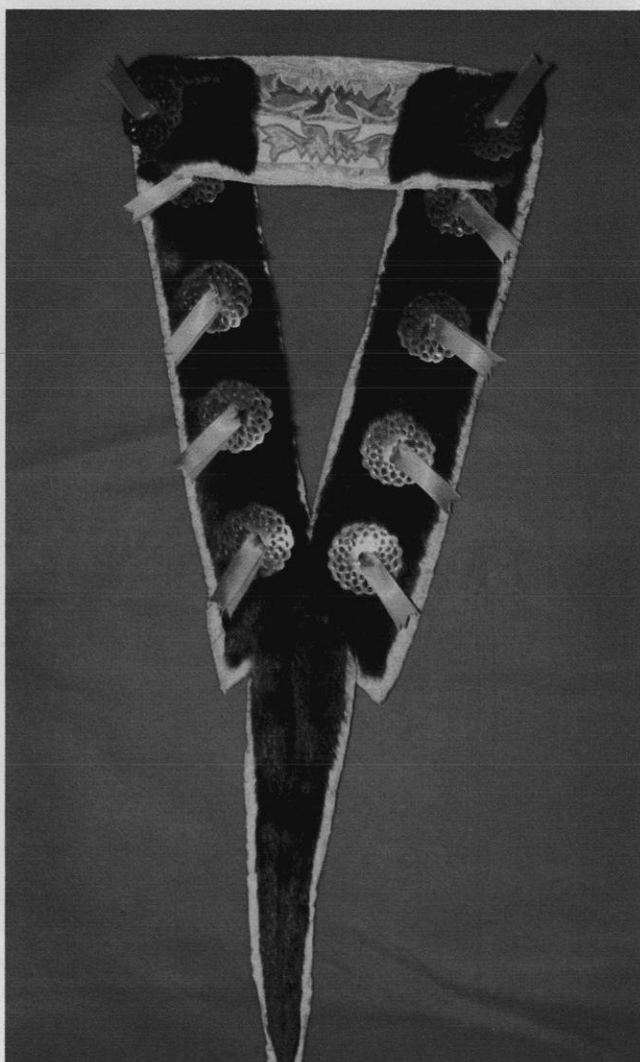


Selection of contemporary Winnebago baskets. (1) made by Rose Miner, now in her 80s; (2) made by Lucinda Tudahl; (3) and (4) made by Ruth Cloud now in her 60s. Makers of the other baskets are unknown. (*Katy's American Indian Art, Madison*)

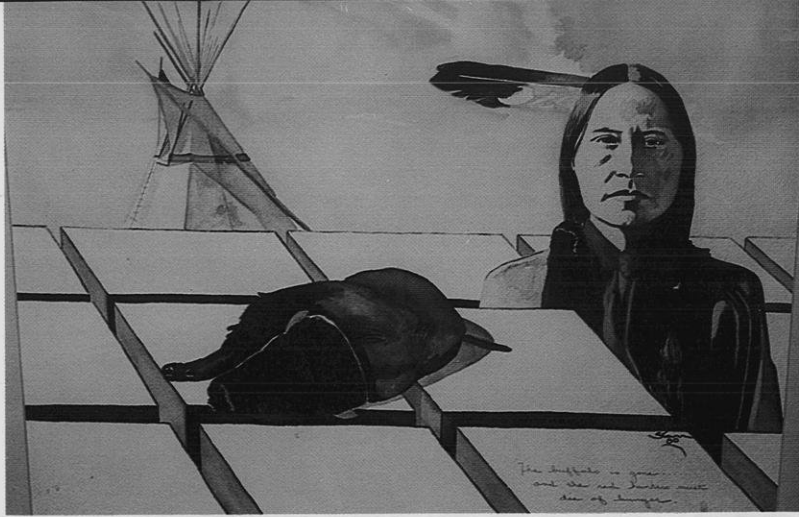


Miniature baskets—the four smaller ones fit inside the hamper—made by Alvina Decorah, Winnebago of Wisconsin Rapids. (*Katy's American Indian Art, Madison*)

Winnebago, otter fur bandoleer. Still prized and used in modern costuming, the otter pelt is slit down the back to the base of the tail and attached to ribbonwork at the top. The large, German silver brooches, made by Darwin deCamp, a highly respected craftsman seen at many powwows in the area, are set off with pinked ribbon streamers. The ribbon work appliqué, done by Virginia Decorah, drapes over the shoulder. (*Private collection*)

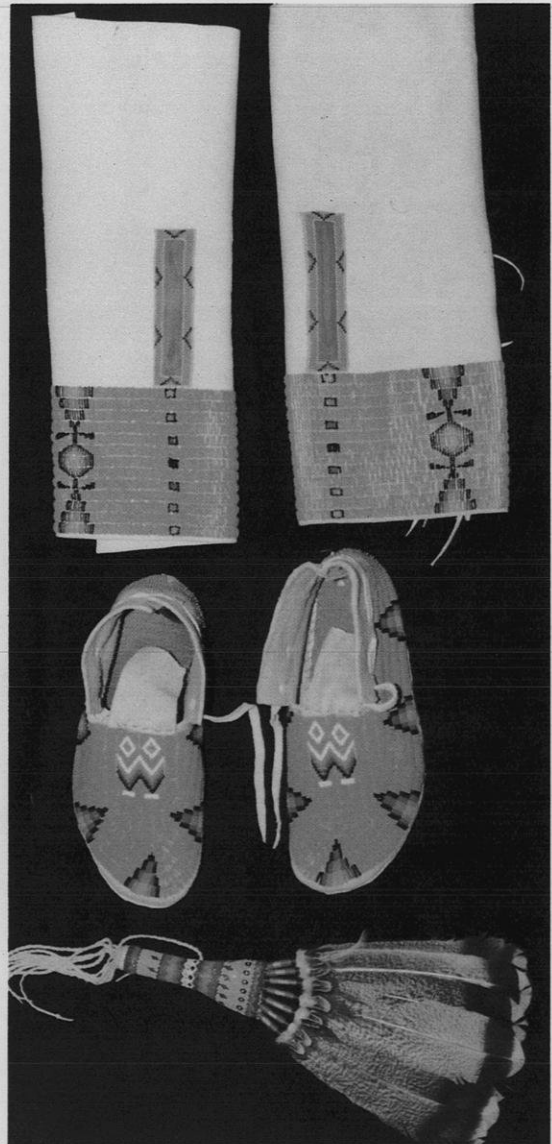






The buffalo is gone . . . and the red hunters must die of hunger. Watercolor by Neal Starr, Chippewa art student in Milwaukee. (*Katy's American Indian Art, Madison*)

A Southern Cheyenne buckskin dress, necklace, and belt. This dress and its variations represent a popular style seen at many Wisconsin powwows. The beadwork seen here is fashioned out of tiny, faceted beads called "cuts" which produce a shimmering effect in sunlight. The Southern Cheyenne and their neighbors, the Kiowa, Comanche, and Arapaho, have developed a style of beadwork which features fine, sharp lines, and a relatively conservative use of beads. (*Private collection*)



Northern Cheyenne Woman's moccasins, half-leggins, and fan. Made to catch the judge's eye during contest dancing, these half-leggins and moccasins complement the color and design of the beadwork on the dress on photo to the left. The fan is constructed out of "tiger" turkey feathers; the fan handle is beaded in "peyote" stitch, a technique whereby threads are netted into beads. (*Private collection*)

# This land— Our common heritage

Chief Little Eagle

The Wagon Train Program was a part of Wisconsin Dells' Bicentennial Celebration in May 1976. Chief Little Eagle (Roger Tallmadge), as master of ceremonies, introduced native dances and flute songs, then honored the leaders of the wagon trains by inviting them to participate in the traditional Snake Dance. Through the courtesy of Randy Tallmadge and WNNO Radio in Wisconsin Dells, we present the following excerpt from that Bicentennial Program.

I want to close with a serious thought. We have had fun. We have listened to the beat of the drums. It woke up our old tired bodies, brought us back to other days. We of the Dells Indian community salute your leaders, your national leaders, for being here. We salute our friends and neighbors. Here is my serious thought.

Many of our Indian people did not want us to be here. We love this land. It is very deep. Your people came here for freedom. The biggest word as your ancestors fled Europe was . . . freedom. But, sadly, your search for freedom cost our ancestors theirs.

So tonight in a spirit of a strong heart and a clean mind and faith in God—we call him *Ma-oonah* in Winnebago, the Earth-Maker—our people are here. We are here because we love this land. We can feel it. The earth is our mother. We come from her; we return to her. We are not charged to throw Coca Cola bottle caps and filth and beer cans upon her; we are charged to get our life from our mother. We are her guardians, and we return to her. And we kept clean springs and treasured this land and hunted the animal as we needed him, not for sport and slaughter. So we are here tonight with you, not as paid Indians or postcard

Indians, for a tip, but we are here as proud Dells residents who happened to have been here a long time, looking with open eyes to you for a better future, a better future and working together as God took mother earth . . . and fashioned in his likeness, man. I am sure he didn't pay any attention whether the clay was red or white or black or brown or yellow . . . we are all God's children. The only way our country will hold for another hundred is learning to live together, learning how to shake each other's hand, learning how to live with mother nature, mother earth, learning how to live within our bounds, learning, perhaps, how to turn back to good things and clean things. This is the heritage we give to you. This is the heritage, plus our freedom and a better life, that we look for in being with you tonight.

We are proud of this land. Our people knew it for over 25,000 years. Indians have lived in the Dells for over 7,000 years. The Bicentennial is a 200-year scratch on the rocks. Let us look into each other's hearts and learn how to live together in peace, good will, integrity, honesty, and freedom, toward a better and stronger America for all. Pee-na-gee-gee wee. Ah hay!■

## Bay of Tonkin—1966

Out of that day, came the cry  
Of a hawk, shrill and haunting;  
I listened in the stillness.  
The sound hung in the sky.

The path of my sighting eye  
Could not find a flying bird;  
I froze on my footprints,  
Waiting for the sound to die.

Out of that day, came the fears  
For his silver bird kissing the sea  
As S.A.M. missiles found their mark;  
While I slept in other atmospheres.

Out of that night, blood-domed light spears  
Through my window, with their message,  
While the Navy searched for its bird;  
I veiled my tears.

*Gerti H. Sennett*

## Dream Song to the Buffalo Spirit

Old shaggy-headed one with dark horns,  
Curved smooth and sharp as obsidian, I sing for you.  
My song came in a dream and you were there.  
In my dream, I saw and heard;

A vision of your migration across the plains  
And the rumble of your beating hoofs on the prairie.  
My older brother, are you content in the place  
Of the Silent One, when you range over the plains  
Of the high happy hunting grounds?

I sing of Sioux, Arapaho, Paiute; Hunters of you,  
The Chief of all animals that walk.

I sing my song, old shaggy-head, when your spirit crosses  
The blue night skies where our spirits meet.

Where white buffalo clouds pass in herds

And you look upon me with brown velvet eyes.

I sing that you, Great One, tipped the bowl of stars,

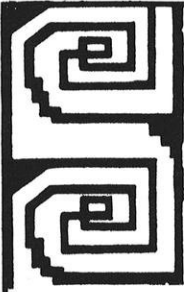
As long ago, you tipped the ground.

This is my song; I sing in a dream of your nobility,

Oh, mighty shaggy-headed one, wait for me, I will come.

*Gerti H. Sennett*





# Modern American Indian Values

By Robert E. Powless  
President, Mount Senario College

The boundaries of the state of Wisconsin encompass an astonishingly representative illustration of the total historical development of federal Indian policy and Indian reaction to it. Wisconsin's Indian population today, at least 25,000 people, is the third largest east of the Mississippi River. North Carolina and New York have more Indians, but Wisconsin includes a greater variety of tribal and linguistic proveniences and administrative complications.

These words by the respected anthropologist Dr. Nancy Oestreich Lurie in *Wisconsin Indians* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1980) reflect one of the problems of tribal people in Wisconsin. Our relationship to each other has been complicated by our diversity and by the way that our diversity has affected our response to the federal Indian policy as transmitted to us through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). This overall policy, perhaps best characterized by the word "assimilation," has been faced historically in different ways by the tribes. My people, the Oneida, who had been Christianized early in upper New York state, were relocated to the banks of Duck Creek, Wisconsin, around 1823 quite ready to accept "white ways." The Wisconsin Winnebagos, on the other hand, had an early history in the territory of attempts by the federal government to remove them to Minnesota or to their brethren in Nebraska. They resisted these moves then and continued to "resist" in other ways, especially linguistically, well into the twentieth century.

It seems clear that two quite different perceptions of the world existed (and exist) between those people called "American Indians" and the non-Indian people who became dominant in what is now the continental United States. The history of Indian-white relations in Wisconsin points this out quite dramatically. Dr. Jack Campisi in his *A History of the Oneida Indians* (1972) describes an exchange (published in the *Green Bay*

*Gazette* and the *Green Bay Advocate*) between an Indian Agent M.L. Martin and Chief Cornelius Hill of the Oneidas in June 1868. Mr. Martin said:

All efforts to civilize the Oneidas have failed; that the Oneidas are a thriftless, reckless, and beastly people, that they are, every five of them, the useless consumers of the subsistence of a thousand white men; that the Oneidas are a nuisance and an obstacle to the progress of Green Bay, and that the Government of the U.S. ought to accede to the wishes of the people of Green Bay and remove the Oneidas to some place where they may be no longer such a hindrance to the welfare of Green Bay.

Chief Hill responded:

There is not a jail, a grog shop, or a house of ill fame amongst my people; all of them exist where Mr. Martin lives at Green Bay, whose civilized progress must not be arrested by the presence of the Oneidas in the vicinity.

Mr. Martin ought to view his own people; they have for more than a thousand years been under the influence of civilization, yet how many reckless, thriftless white people there are. Look at this Green Bay whose progress must not be impeded by the presence of Indians; how many drunkards, gamblers, adulterers, shameless women, liars, thieves, cheats, idlers, consumers, slanderers, there are there. . . .

The efforts to civilize the Oneidas have failed no more than the efforts to civilize the white. . . . The whites claim to be civilized; from them we must learn the acts and customs of civilized life, but our people learn to become drunkards of white people; if a civilized white man gets drunk, why should not a red Indian? The whites teach our people all their vices and learn them to despise Virtue. . . . Mr. Martin ought to assist us . . . to see that our people do not obtain the means of intoxication . . . but he does not lift a finger toward

warding off this curse from us. Instead of devising plans for our advancement in civilization, he bends all his energies to the work of depriving us of our houses.

These two individuals had access to the same basic set of facts, but saw them in two quite different ways. Why? Because their value orientations were from two different cultural approaches to the world. Clyde Kluckhohn, defines a value as follows:

A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action. (Quoted in *People of Rimrock*, Vogt and Albert, 1966.)

A value, then, is an idea of what is good which results ultimately in our taking some sort of action. Indians and non-Indians in this country had different ideas of what was "good" or "desirable." This is also true today in many cases.

We hear it said today that Americans have fewer values than they used to. Ashley Montagu, as far back as 1966, disagreed with this in his book, *On Being Human*: "I think this is no more true than to say that what is wrong with most people of the Western world today is that they have no values. Unfortunately, the trouble with most of us is not that we have no values but that we have too many of the wrong kind." Montagu, of course, believes that people must reorient their development and conduct "in the direction of cooperation, of love. . . ." The newspapers, radio, and television would seem to tell us that this reorientation is not occurring in any serious way in the world.

What are some understandings that would help in looking more intelligently at American Indian world views and value systems? Perhaps most basic is the need to understand the difficulty for Westerners in grasping the differences in perception. Dennis and Barbara Tedlock

discovered this, and in their preface to *Teachings from the American Earth* (1975) they describe their discovery in an interesting way:

Our road, if we now wish to hear the Indian and learn to think, to see like him, is not an easy one. Even if we succeed in abandoning a purely historical approach, there is a further pitfall. In attempting a straight intellectual experiment with Indian thought, we might assume, for the sake of argument, that 'everything is alive.' If we were to do that, we might get a response like the one an old Ojibwa gave the anthropologist who asked, 'Are all the stones we see about us here alive?' The answer was, 'No! But some are.' This old man had the double vision. He did not live solely in the other world, where indeed all stones are alive, but he had the capacity to recognize that world in the appearances of this one. The way to his understanding is not found with the road maps of the measurable world.

A Wisconsin Indian, of the middle 1800s, looking at a tree often thought, "That tree is much like me. It needs the sun and the earth to survive. Blood (sap) flows through its veins to give it life. It grows. It has a youth and old age." A Wisconsin non-Indian lumber exploiter, of the same period, looking at the same tree usually thought, "I wonder how many board feet of lumber I can get out of that tree." This, and other similar perceptual differences, was the basis for the way Wisconsin Indians and non-Indians were to relate to the same space that they called "homeland." While the white way became dominant, vestiges of the Indian way still survive among many individuals and numerous small groups in all of the tribes represented in our state.

An important second understanding is the recognition that American Indian culture and values would be different today whether or not non-Indians had entered this hemisphere, but that they might not be the same as those of non-Indians. What form these changes might have taken is purely speculative. But we do know, for instance, that some children's toys among the Inca had rollers for feet. Perhaps the concept of the wheel was in the near future, or perhaps it had been thought of, tried—and rejected.

In the same vein, the non-Indian stereotype of the Indian (which has persisted into the 1980s) as only a person of feathers and arrows hampers the understanding of modern Indian values. Leaving us

in the past causes us to lose our viability in a modern world to which we have adjusted in order to survive. Because the Indian met on the street in Madison or Milwaukee may wear jeans, drive a pickup, and have a college education does not necessarily mean that he/she perceives the world from a cultural standpoint exactly as a non-Indian might. Margaret Cattey's summary of several studies in split-brain theory as this relates to American Indian-white perceptions of the world (*Journal of American Indian Education*, October 1980) seems to indicate that Indians process more information through the right hemisphere of the brain, and that this may well be a result of how they perceive the world in which they live.

With these general understandings in mind, one can look with greater chance of comprehension at the basic tenets of modern Indian values. As in most cultures, these values or value orientations grow out of a central philosophical-religious base. Even after several centuries of exposure to white values, certain of them have shown remarkable persistence. Interestingly enough they tend to parallel Montagu's important area of "cooperation." Most Indians saw themselves as one part of the total creation and so tried to live in harmony with it. The natural interdependence of all things that Indians felt and saw came to be symbolized in the circle. Was not life itself a circle (cycle)? Did not the seasons move in a circle (cycle)? The relationship of all things, nurtured by the animistic religious beliefs of most Indian tribes, was further expressed by the use of kinship terms—Mother Earth, Father Sun, Grandmother Moon, Brother Bear. This "kinship" within the great circle of creation caused a relationship based on mutual respect to develop between Indians and their environment. An individual Indian drew "power" for living from this relationship.

Once again it is not easy to describe the concept of "power" as many Indians perceived it. In talking with tribal people from around the world, I find their views of power to be strikingly similar to that of the American Indian. In his article "The Ojibwa Concept of Power" Professor Tim Roufs used the descriptions of this phenomenon provided by an old Ojibwa friend of ours, Mr. Paul Buffalo from the Deer River-Ball Club area of Minnesota. Mr. Buffalo said:

Power's just like magnets. When you have power, it's just like your body is magnetized. It's almost the same as the gravity of the Earth. Everything's got an electric form—seeing, sight, vision,

hearing, the Earth, gravity, and the Spirit.

When you use power, you call as much of that form to you as you can. The more you call it, the easier it is to call, and the more you have of it. If you use your power for the good, the power will increase. But you gotta take interest in things! You gotta show that you're interested in the things of this world. Then you'll begin to get power.

Because an Indian wishing to enhance his personal power had to use it for the general good his power became dependent on his relationship with all of the society. Therefore "power" and "interdependence" became inseparable.

While today some Indians have lost these concepts, many have been able to retain them. A tribe like the Winnebago with a history of some continuity in an Indian-oriented religion still has many people who cling to the old ways. This is also true for some of the more isolated bands of the Chippewa. In the last two decades among all the Wisconsin tribes and bands there has been a movement to recapture Indian values and perceptions. This has been a difficult process, for many spiritual muscles have atrophied through generations of disuse. ("Spiritual muscles" in an Indian sense.)

As I indicated earlier, the sometimes subtle, sometimes overt policy of "assimilation" has been faced by Wisconsin Indians in various ways. The Lac Courte Oreilles band of Chippewa now has its own school system. The Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council was formed (1961) to present a more united front to state and federal government. Some higher education programs for Indian students, such as that at Mount Senario College, have attempted to provide sound post-secondary education for them without threatening or diminishing their "Indianness."

Wisconsin Indians make no claims for having "magical" solutions to current regional and world problems. Certainly, however, the values and perceptions of the world that have maintained and are maintaining them as they live in many cases between two cultures, deserve close scrutiny by the non-Indian world for clues to survival for all of us.

John Collier, former BIA Commissioner under Franklin Roosevelt, perhaps summed it up best in his *Indians of the Americas* (1947):

They had what the world has lost. They have it now. What the world has lost the world must have again, lest it die. Not many years are left to have or have not, to recapture the lost ingredient. ■





## By Duaine Counsell

The early history of the American Midwest is the story of trade between the European and the Indian. Already in 1535 Jacques Cartier, a French navigator searching for the Northwest Passage, discovered instead the St. Lawrence River and the great profit to be made from the exchange of knives and metal pots for American fur. Samuel de Champlain in 1603, unwilling to await Indian hunters straggling in from the frontier, created the ingenious institution of the voyageur, who traveled deep into the heartland to seek out the valuable fur. By 1650 the French were established in the Great Lakes. So began a tradition wherein flourished the great Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company: the romance of the Scottish Nor' Westers and the *hommes du Nord*. Relations between the Indians and the European trader were ever cordial, and, unlike the mercantilism familiar to the shopper at chain stores, these commercial relations were conducted on a basis of mutual trust and even affection. Little known except to aficionados of native crafts and to the native Americans themselves is that the ancient tradition of Indian trader continues today, not only in the Canadian wilderness and on the remote reservations of the American Southwest, but even in Wisconsin, even in the Wisconsin Dells. There Parsons' Trading Post continues to function as a center of exchange for manufactured goods and native crafts and skins in a fashion like the posts of olden days.

—editor

Parsons' Indian Trading Post, a Southwest pueblo from the outside, a glimpse of American Indian life inside, is located on seven acres of white and Norway pine-placed land along Lake Delton in Wisconsin Dells. The trading post was built over sixty years ago by Glenn Parsons and Kenneth Counsell and for years has served the Woodland Indians of the area. For thirty years the Indians held their tribal dances in the natural amphitheatre on the lake, and they bought supplies and sold their crafts at the trading post.

An 1850 log cabin stands behind the trading post on the land that at one time housed as many as sixty-four families of Indians in wigwams, tipis, or log cabins. The trading post served as a general store, supplying them with food, clothing, craft materials, water, and providing a safety deposit area and a place to sell their finished baskets, beadwork, and buckskin products.

Many of the items seen in the trading post today were also available sixty years ago, such as Pendleton blankets and shawls, Hudson Bay blankets, hand-tanned buckskin dresses or shirts, porcupine hair roaches, bustles, beaded moccasins, as well as jewelry, pottery, Navajo rugs, and other American Indian hand-crafted products.

For many years Indians and whites gathered each June for the Lac-Del-Ton Indian Festival for three days of dancing, visiting, and camping on the old ceremonial grounds. Renowned participants were John Winneshiek and family, Harry Funmaker and family, Ed Cloud and family, John Lotter, Earl Past and family, Ben Bearskin and family, Jim Smith and family, Chief Evergreen Tree plus hundreds of others.

Today, Parsons' Indian Trading Post continues to be a hub of Indian trade and has grown into the largest trading post and museum in the Midwest. Tourists from across the country browse in the museum to learn more about past and present life of the American Indian.

The museum, painted on the outside with old ledger drawings, has an atmosphere reminiscent of the late 1800s and early 1900s. Hanging from the beams across the top of the museum can be found beaded and quilled articles of clothing. One such shirt belonged to Curley, who served as a scout for General Custer.

The wall displays are set up to instruct the person who is truly interested in the American Indian. The first display case demonstrates the uses the Indian made of the buffalo and deer: bladder bags, woven hair ropes, stone weapons wrapped with rawhide, and arrows are reminders of the true genius of the Indian. The second case gives a pictorial image of the tribal locations in the United States and the types of housing used by each: the wigwam, tipi, mud house. The third display area illustrates the Plains Indians' uses of the porcupine: moccasins, pipe stems, breast plates, tipi bags made with porcupine hair and quills. Three other cases of Plains Indian material include beaded gun cases, hide scrapers, solid beaded-yoke dresses, leggings, high boots, and early cloth dresses decorated with buffalo teeth and cowrie shells. Several of these pipe bags belonged to famous Indian chiefs.

Four other display areas feature the clothing, weapons, household utensils, and religious articles of the Woodland tribes—the Chippewa, Winnebago, Potawatomi, and Menominee. A fine display of contemporary crafts, consisting of baskets by Margaret Decorah, beadwork by Gladys Cloud, and miniature baskets by Lucinda Tudahl, gives evidence of the high-quality work being carried on today. Contemporary silver work by Ken Funmaker and Julius and Bob Caesar demonstrates another traditional craft; yarn-woven belts and garters by Germaine Green and Maurine Stacy are examples of woodland weaving today. Beaded harness dance sets by Alvina Decorah, Gladys Cloud, and others attract attention with their intricate designs.

Mississippi culture bowls and pots, over 600 years old, tell a fantastic story of early man's use of clay. Many early baskets show how different tribes used the materials available in their parts of the country. The Winnebago, for example, use black ash in most of their basketry, while the Chippewa make birchbark baskets.

The Indian trading post, today as 100 years ago, provides Indian craftsmen with raw materials and an outlet for their artistry. For the non-Indian world, the trading post offers a glimpse of another culture and an opportunity to collect a special kind of American art.



C. 1890 Sioux beaded cradle cover

## Parsons' Indian Trading Post

Fully beaded Woodland vest

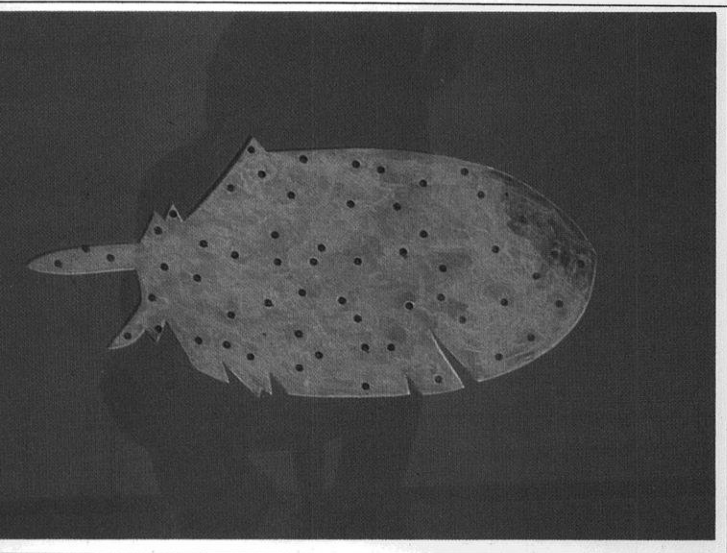




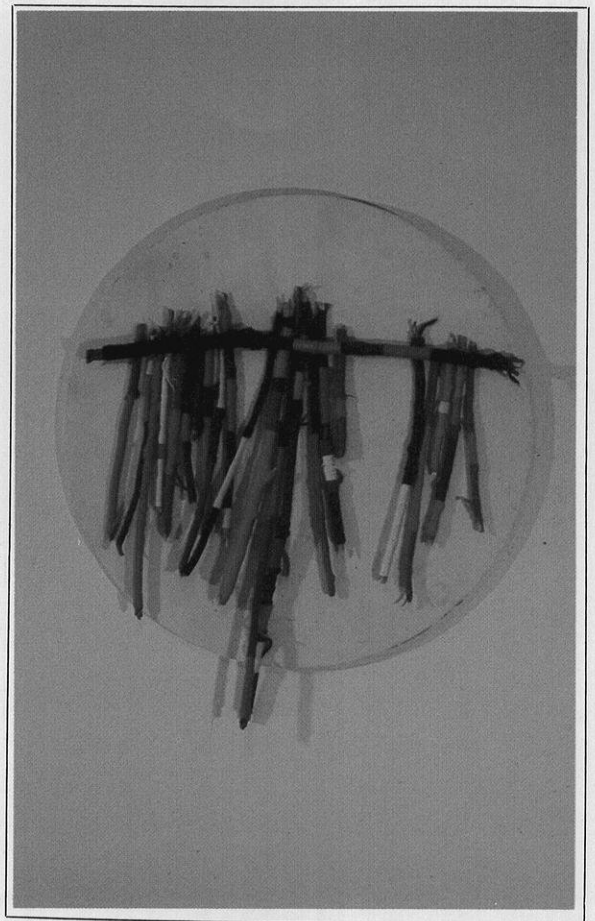
"Father Blanket," 1977. 36" x 48"  
feathers on canvas



"Calico Feather," 1979. 19½" x 24"  
water color, paper with beads



"Moon Shield," 24" diameter  
leather, wood, yarn



# Truman Lowe, Indian Artist, Comments on Indians and on Art

I am a Wisconsin Winnebago. I grew up in an Indian community seven miles east of Black River Falls, a mission now run by the United Church of Christ. I went to a community school at the mission, until the sixth grade when we were bused to public schools in Black River Falls. In my senior year I went to live with my brother and graduated from high school in New Lisbon. This was probably one of the most important things that happened to me. In Black River Falls Indians were primarily encouraged to excel in sports, but in New Lisbon encouragement was not so restricted. I was treated just like everybody else. I was involved in theatre, in music, everything. It was a small school, but there weren't any limits to what I could do. It made me comfortable with abilities I hadn't even known I had.

From there I went to La Crosse for undergraduate work, took a degree in art education, and taught in the public schools for two years. Deciding not to spend my life in teaching high school, I got a Ford Foundation fellowship, which allowed me to go to graduate school. After receiving my MFA from UW-Madison, I taught sculpture in Kansas. There I discovered I was really a Woodland Indian. While it was enjoyable to be in a different environment, I was so familiar with trees and water and bluffs that it was important for me to come back.

As a graduate student in sculpture, I worked entirely in plastics. But I helped an engineering professor in some research in primitive technology in which I began to analyze the use of wood and leather

and how superior they were for specific purposes.

My parents were excellent basket makers. My father understood woods. He made the best basket handles. People from the community who also made baskets would come to him and ask him to make the handles. My mother was a colorist: she put unrelated colors together and made them work. Women who were dyeing the black ash for baskets would ask my mother to dye some wood and then tell them which combinations of colors should be used. Her speciality in the community of basketmakers was color design.

Let me give an example of how I think about Indians. When we talk about Indians we assume that they know their environment, but I had always wondered how Indians become so in tune with the earth. When I went back to Black River Falls and talked to the people in my community, I began to understand the extent of their intimacy with the environment. I talked to an older gentleman who made basket handles, traditionally the man's job, asking him which wood was best for this purpose. He replied that you can make the handles out of any wood if you know how to make them, but the best wood is hickory. Then he went on further: "You need to get the hickory that is about four to six inches in diameter. You need to get the second growth hickory, and you need to check for the annual rings. You cut a notch and look at the chip. If the annual rings are the thickness of a nickel, that is the most perfect wood there is. You need to cut it about four feet long and make sure it's clear, with no branches

or knots that are visible at least from the outside. When you cut it, cut the ends off square and if you hit your axe right in the center, the wood just falls apart. You do this and quarter it, you do it the same way, and you split it. But if you miss that center, you'll have problems trying to split it further." Then he told me which local areas had the second growth of hickory just right for basket handles. That was a concrete example, for me, of how well Indian people really know their environment and how they gain this familiarity in their daily lives.

I don't know at what point a craftsman becomes an artist—there's such a fine line between them. I've learned so much from people who do crafts, and I don't really identify the processes well enough to know how I differ from them. But I think the main difference may be an attitude. To consider yourself an artist is an attitude, but it is very close to how an Indian thinks about life. An artist has to be sensitive to his environment, just as the Indian is sensitive. That's why it is difficult for me to make distinctions between Indian craftsmen and artists. The common definition of an artist—one who makes objects that are not meant to be used—is one I strongly reject. I think Indian craftsmen are artists. What they make is sometimes to be used and sometimes to be looked at, but they want to surround themselves with objects of beauty made from materials from their environment.

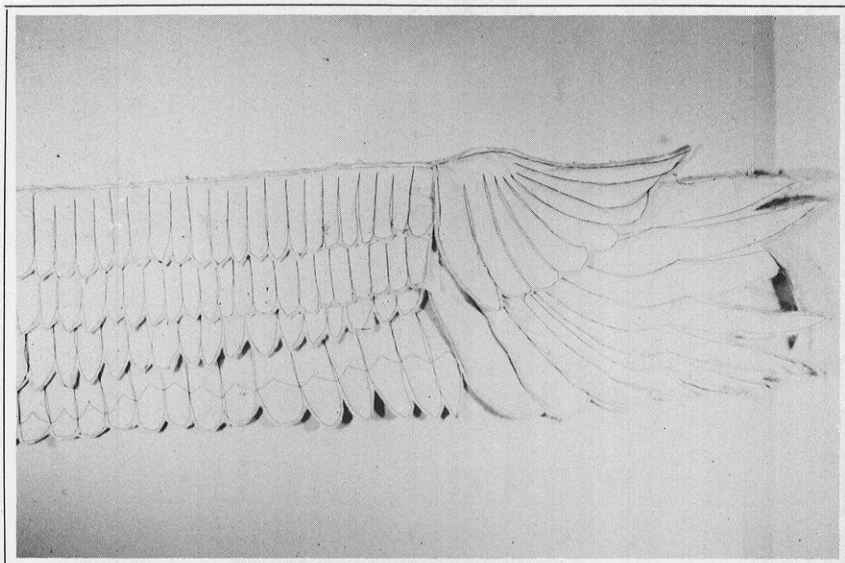
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*Truman Lowe is program coordinator of the UW-Madison Native American Studies Program and assistant professor in the art department.*



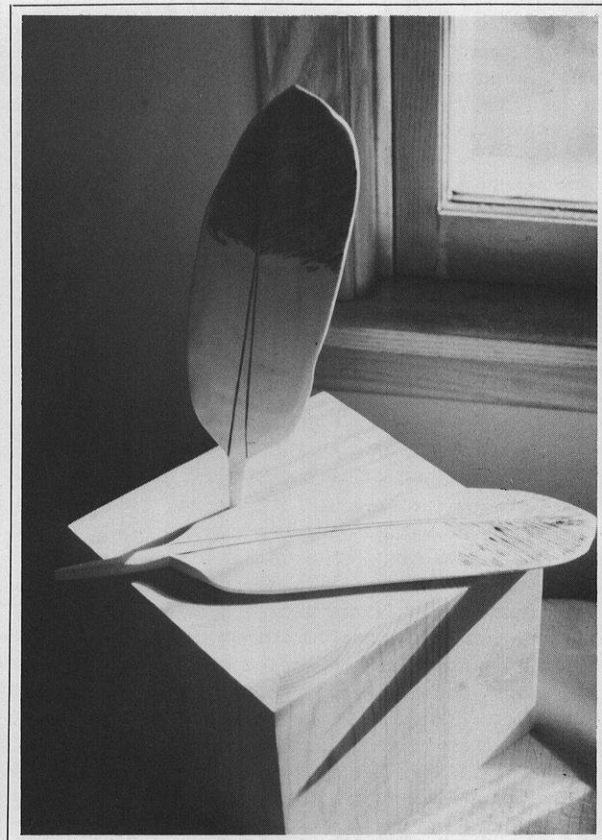
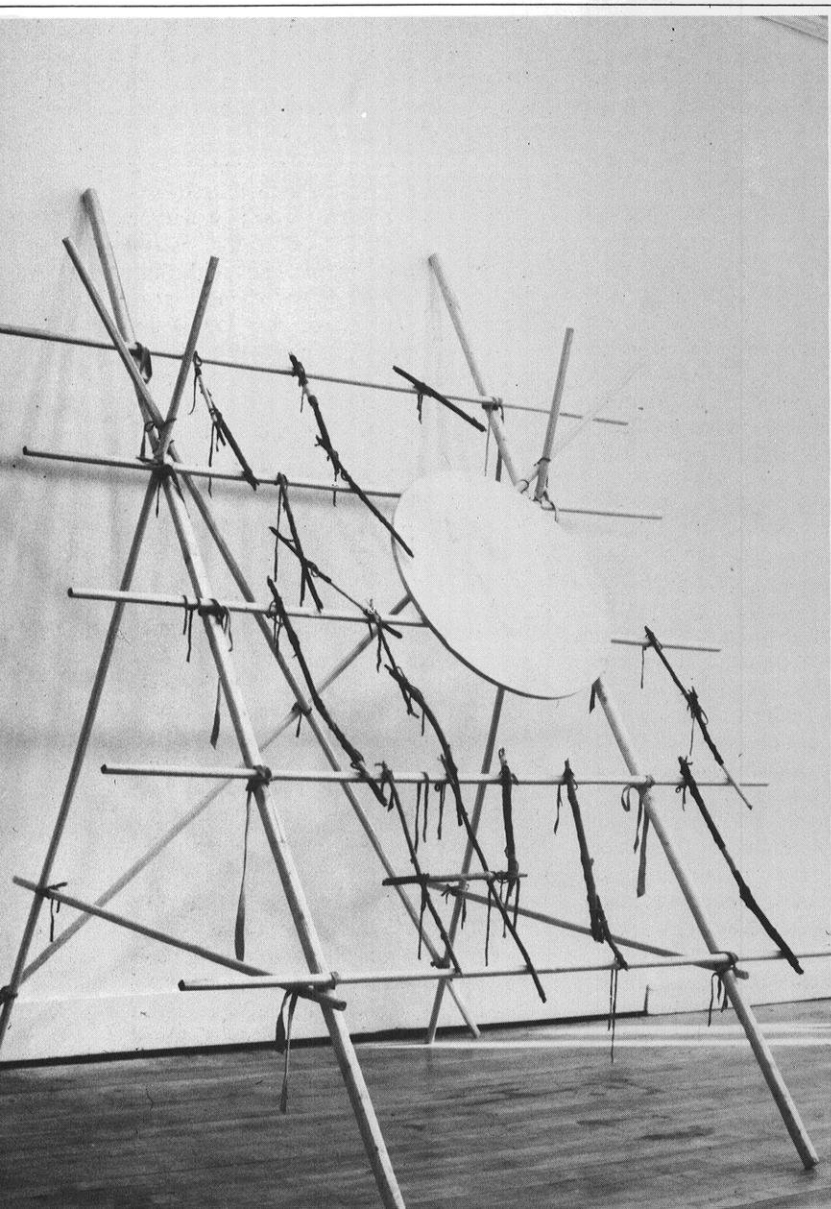
**Recent works**

**by Truman Lowe**



"No one knew him until he sang," 1978.  
7' x 6' x 5' mixed media

"White Wing," 1978. 36" x 52"  
sewn muslin on canvas



"Feather Box," 1979. 19" x 12"  
wood

# Public Ethnicity and Public Policy

By Michael Sherman

Discussions about race relations, racial policies, and the place of ethnicity in American society seem to be blanketed with a depressing inconclusiveness. The history of race relations in this country is littered with acts of apparent malice, and the treatment, even the identification, of ethnic groups is colored more by prejudice than good will. Although as a nation we have prided ourselves on our diverse origins—even to the point of adopting as a national ethos the metaphor of “the melting pot”—we have not thereby escaped the historic, persistent, and seemingly universal tendency to define various groups as either temporary or perpetual “outsiders.” Nor have we established in well over 200 years of our history a satisfactory way to approach the policy issues, not to mention the attitudinal ones, that surround the legal, social, economic, and cultural status of the various identifiable subpopulations that comprise our nation. When it comes to ethnicity, therefore, we can neither take it nor let it alone; we find it difficult to decide whether, as the title of one project in which the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters was involved put it, ethnicity is a blessing or a burden.<sup>1</sup>

Wisconsin, as is well known, has an abundance of subpopulations that identify themselves variously as ethnic or racial groups. Among the most significant of these constituent populations within the state are its first inhabitants: the several tribes and bands of American Indians. This issue of the *Academy Review* is devoted largely to articles by and about Wisconsin's Indians; and while the articles themselves are not all—or necessarily—about ethnicity, it seems appropriate that they be framed by some comments and questions about ethnicity in America.

Indians have not, of course, been alone in suffering from discriminatory and destructive policies. But Indians in America have just about the longest history of being held apart and treated separately from other identifiable subgroups.<sup>2</sup>

Our society and our culture have emerged out of a peculiar blend of mostly European elements brought by mostly European emigres. Until very recently, only three groups have stood conspicuously outside that formative European tradition: Indians, blacks, and Chinese. Of those three, only the Indians have had a significant measure of *de jure* institutional autonomy that legally separates them from the government of the United States. This institutional separateness, combined with languages, social structures, and a broad range of cultural and religious traditions that are quite different from European patterns, have raised a great barrier between Indians and almost all other segments of the population of the United States. The barrier has been only reinforced by European traditions of pastoralism and romanticism which, when imposed on Indians, have subjected them to the twin perils of exoticism and “museum piece” status. Because most of us understand the culture and the situation of Indians so badly or so incompletely, our occasional contacts with the living Indian community often prove unsatisfactory, disappointing, or misleading.

## Three observers

Our ignorance about Indian life and culture has an honorable ancestry. By and large, however, we of later generations have done little to improve on the stock. Two historical examples will suffice to characterize the blinders that most of us have inherited and continue to wear in

our encounters with Indians.

So keen an observer of peoples and institutions as Alexis de Tocqueville failed miserably to comprehend the Indians he encountered in his visit to America in the 1830s. Tocqueville did not see or understand the internal social and political arrangements that shape Indian life and culture, and this oversight led him to observe that the Indian

... is his own master as soon as he is capable of action. Even his family has hardly any authority over him, and he has never bent his will to that of any of his fellows; no one has taught him to regard voluntary obedience as an honorable subjection, and law is unknown to him even as a word. He delights in this barbarous independence and would rather die than sacrifice any part of it. Civilization has little hold on such a man.<sup>3</sup>

What Tocqueville saw, apparently, were the fragments of several broken communities of Indians. He described with great sympathy the loss of the Indians' traditional territories, the flight of wild-life to the west, and the forced migrations of the Indians. He predicted from these observations the eventual and complete disappearance of Indians from North America. Like many another observer, before and since, Tocqueville seriously misjudged both the ability and the willingness of the Indians to survive in a political, social, and natural climate that was persistently hostile to them.

It is impossible to imagine the terrible afflictions involved in these forced migrations. The Indians leaving their ancestral fields are already worn down and exhausted. The country in which they intend to live is already occupied



by tribes who regard newcomers jealously. There is famine behind them, war in front, and misery everywhere. In the hope to escape so many enemies they divide up. . . . The long-weakened social bond then finally breaks. Their homeland has already been lost, and soon they will have no people; families hardly remain together; the common name is lost, the language forgotten, and traces of their origin vanish. The nation has ceased to exist. . . .

The ills I have just described are great, and I must add that they seem to me irremediable. I think that the Indian race is doomed to perish and I cannot prevent myself from thinking that on the day when the Europeans shall be established on the coasts of the Pacific Ocean, it will cease to exist.<sup>4</sup>

Less than forty years after Tocqueville's visit, in 1869, Mark Twain wrote a short story that satirizes the attitudes that most of us bring to our encounters with Indians. "A Day at Niagara" neatly and devastatingly captures and satirizes the pastoral imagery which has clouded attempts to meet and understand Indians.<sup>5</sup> The short story, which mocks every convention of tourist memoirs and guidebook prose, culminates with the benighted tourist's encounter with what he assumes to be the local Indians.

The noble Red Man has always been a friend and darling of mine. I love to read about him in tales and legends and romances. I love to read of his inspired sagacity, and his love of the wild free life of mountain and forest, and his general nobility of character, and his stately metaphorical manner of speech, and his chivalrous love for the dusky maiden, and the picturesque pomp of his dress and accoutrements. Especially the picturesque pomp of his dress and accoutrements. . . .

Then the encounter:

I came upon a noble Son of the Forest sitting under a tree, diligently at work on a bead reticule. He wore a slouch hat and brogans, and had a short black pipe in his mouth. Thus does the baneful contact with our effeminate civilization dilute the picturesque pomp which is so natural to the Indian when far removed from us in his native haunts. I addressed the relic as follows:

'Is the Wowhoo-Wang-Wang of the Whack-a-Whack happy? Does the great Speckled Thunder sigh for the warpath, or is his heart contented with dreaming of the dusky maiden, the Pride of the Forest? Does the mighty Sachem yearn to drink the blood of his enemies, or is he satisfied to make bead reticules for the papooses of the paleface? Speak, sublime relic of by-gone grandeur—venerable ruin, speak!'

The hapless hero's Indian turns out to be spurious—an Irishman dressed in Indian clothes for the benefit of wages, the delight of tourists, and the profit of the shopkeeper who sells the much coveted "genuine Indian figurines."

Twain's cynicism here is less the point than his conjuring of the many images—caricatured to be sure—that our culture has given us of Indians. Twain's benighted tourist is, after all, a true heir to European pastoralism and its images of the American Indian.<sup>6</sup> And we, in less purple tones, perhaps, are nonetheless true heirs of Twain's hero. If we weren't, the story would no longer retain its humor or its satirical edge.

There is, of course, another side of ethnic stereotyping—the side that makes it difficult for casual observers of "other" cultures to understand either the etiology or the course of major social, cultural, or political disturbances in Indian communities. Problems concerning tribal government, land settlements, and the ownership of natural resources, alcoholism, unemployment, personal and cultural identity—not in themselves unique to Indians—become somehow inexplicable to non-Indians and are all too often perceived as unique aberrations within American society. The barrier of exoticism that has put and kept Indians at a distance from white America has become a permanent barrier to exploring both the common and unique problems of white and Indian societies. It has been the Indians who have done most to reach across that barrier to show us what the problems are, where they have come from, and how they reflect on some larger, more universal issues of ethnicity in American life.

About a year ago, I had occasion to listen to the tape recording of a talk given by a young Winnebago man to an audience of mainly non-Indians in LaCrosse. The speaker was participating in a series of programs for adults on Winnebago life and culture. His talk was part of a session on Winnebago oral traditions, and it ranged freely over a variety of traditions, institutions, and practices of the Winnebagoes. He explained for the audience the

symbolism of clans, colors, and eagle feathers; he explained family structure and sex roles; he discussed traditional religion and its role in daily life by giving examples of morning songs and meal prayers. Then the speaker turned his attention to cultural changes and the dilemma of American Indians. He described movingly his own search for identity in his own Winnebago culture and his ambiguous appreciation of the dominant white society that surrounds and threatens always to engulf the Winnebagoes. He placed in sharp focus a contrast between the continuity of Winnebago culture and society in Wisconsin and the constantly changing culture of the "immigrant white Americans" who have imposed change and doubt upon Indians. This was a startling personal account that emphasized and dramatized the speaker's appeal to his audience for tolerance and mutual understanding.

### Core culture and sub-culture

Hardly anyone these days will dispute the axiom that diversity *is*; that diversity is a fact of our national life and character. But while we seem to be caught up in the self-congratulatory act of celebrating ethnic diversity or tracing "Roots" (with quotation marks and uppercase R, please), we rarely stop to ask the question that follows from stating the axiom, namely: If diversity *is*, what do we do about it? Or better, what do we do with it? It is important, however, to recognize that the axiom carries in its wake a number of cultural, political, and ethical problems.

No cosmopolitan, heterogeneous society I know of has escaped having to deal with the tension between its core culture and the subculture or many subcultures of its constituent groups. This is not simply a question of "high culture" versus "popular culture," fine art versus folk art, the culture of a poorly defined elite versus the culture of an equally poorly defined populism. These are all parts of the much more troublesome issue of whether there is or even can be a set of cultural terms, artifacts, values, or styles that are commonly held by a society, commonly acknowledged as belonging to the whole of a society. The existence of such a core culture would be the basis for communication within a given society across its history, geography, and social barriers. It would be the glue that forms a primary bond among widely dispersed individuals and groups. But is there in fact such a thing as a core culture?

Modern nation-states appear to have suffered difficulties in defining and maintaining core cultures. Perhaps the nation-state is, after all, based on an illusion that political cohesiveness can create cultural cohesiveness. Perhaps culture is by nature and by necessity a local phenomenon. Nation-states with imperial histories seem especially susceptible to difficulties in creating or maintaining a core culture. Empire brings with it not only new information but also new people. Immigration not only swells numbers but strains as well the boundaries, definition, and flexibility of the core culture.

At the most basic and immediate level, ethnic diversity means linguistic diversity. How will a society deal with the multitude of tongues it acquires or inherits? In the past, that question seemed easier to answer. In America as in other countries, a new age of greater tolerance for diversity has created unanticipated problems. Can we have, for example, a polyglot core culture? What, as a society, do we want to accomplish through policies of either linguistic monism or linguistic pluralism?

Other aspects of the politics of diversity are corollaries to that first, linguistic issue. As one cultural group confronts another there will be inevitable points of divergence as well as parallelism. The parallelism presents no problem, but what do we do about divergence? How do we conduct a census, for example, among societies or groups who traditionally see family size, living arrangements, occupations, income, or ethnic identity as very private matters or as questions not relevant to their own lives in the same way they are relevant to those devising the census? What, in short, are the socially and politically affordable limits of accepting diversity?

Viewed from the other side, the side of the individual forced to weave a course between core culture and minority culture identity, what sorts of ethical binds do we impose by encouraging or discouraging cultural pluralism? How does one shape a whole life out of such diversified cultural elements? The Winnebago speaker whose talk I listened to called upon his audience for tolerance and mutual respect. Yet he confessed confusion about the kinds of identities he could have and did have and about his place in two traditions or his place between two traditions.

### Public ethnicity or nostalgia?

In America we have seen some recent significant changes in attitudes toward

ethnicity and cultural pluralism. Among liberal circles now, ethnic identity is fashionable; assimilation to an assumed but poorly defined core culture is somehow shameful when it means forsaking a traditional ethnic or racial heritage. These attitudes are almost unconscious in the 1980s. Ronald Steel, in his 1980 biography of Walter Lippmann, implicitly condemned Lippmann and the society of upper class German Jews who flourished in New York during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century for their self-consciously assimilationist attitudes and culture. Barely hidden behind Steel's description of the Temple Beth-El Jews of Lippmann's childhood, the reader finds an angry question—why weren't they more Jewish? Similar questions were asked of successful blacks, Hispanics, Indians. We want people these days to be more of what they were, not so much what they are or are becoming. Such fashionable ethnicity places great burdens on individuals to move continuously and comfortably between two or more cultures, to belong to each, to identify fully with each, to champion the cause of each, even when those identifications and causes pull in opposite directions.

Such fashionable ethnicity is also time-bound. Ethnic heritage is most often publicly presented as a frozen moment, not as a flexible, living, changing phenomenon. Indians are expected to be as we used to see them in the movies—post-Civil War relics of pre-Columbian societies. That assumes the noninfluence of industrialization, mineral exploration, electricity, radio, TV, and synthetic fabrics. To continue to ignore those influences and the changes they have wrought within Indian society is as mistaken as ignoring them in white society. It is exactly the same mistake that Tocqueville made a century and a half ago when he wrote:

The North American native preserves his opinions and even the slightest details of his customs with an inflexibility otherwise unknown throughout history. In all the two centuries during which the wandering tribes of North America have been in daily contact with the white race, they have not, so to say, borrowed one idea or one custom from them. Nevertheless, the Europeans have had a very great influence over the savages. They have made the Indian character more disorderly but have not been able to make it more European.<sup>7</sup>

Tocqueville's mistake of 150 years ago has in fact become our mistake today.

Public ethnicity in our day is most often a museum piece; it is usually merely nostalgia. It denies changes of fashion, language, material culture that we see and expect in our daily contact with a phantom core culture. It probably does so on purpose, because what we long for is both a concrete contact with some coherent cultural tradition and a dehomogenization of the amorphous world culture we have created through international business and international communications.

These hard issues about ethnicity and ethnic heritage are only just beginning to be explored publicly. By and large, however, we continue to encounter ethnicity in the form of festivals and celebrations which serve largely to "keep the faith"—maintain or, in the most desperate cases, restore traditions, languages, customs, and an historical awareness that is constantly threatened. But avoiding the public policy dimensions of ethnicity has its cost in avoiding the hard questions—the questions about the political, cultural, and, most important, the personal costs of cultural pluralism. While we may be incapable of resolving those difficulties or neutralizing those costs, we cannot as a society postpone much longer coming to terms with them.

1. "Wisconsin's Ethnic Heritage: Blessing or Burden?" An eleven-part radio series produced by the Wisconsin Educational Communications Board with a grant from the Wisconsin Humanities Committee. The series, cosponsored by the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, was broadcast over the Wisconsin Educational Radio network June-July 1981.

2. For an excellent, brief survey of the history of the policies of the United States government toward Indians see Nancy O. Lurie, "Forked Tongue in Cheek: Life among the Civilages," *The Indian Historian* 28 (1974), 40-54.

3. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. George Lawrence, ed. J.P. Mayer, (Garden City, 1969), part I, chapter 10 "The Three Races that Inhabit the United States," 318-19.

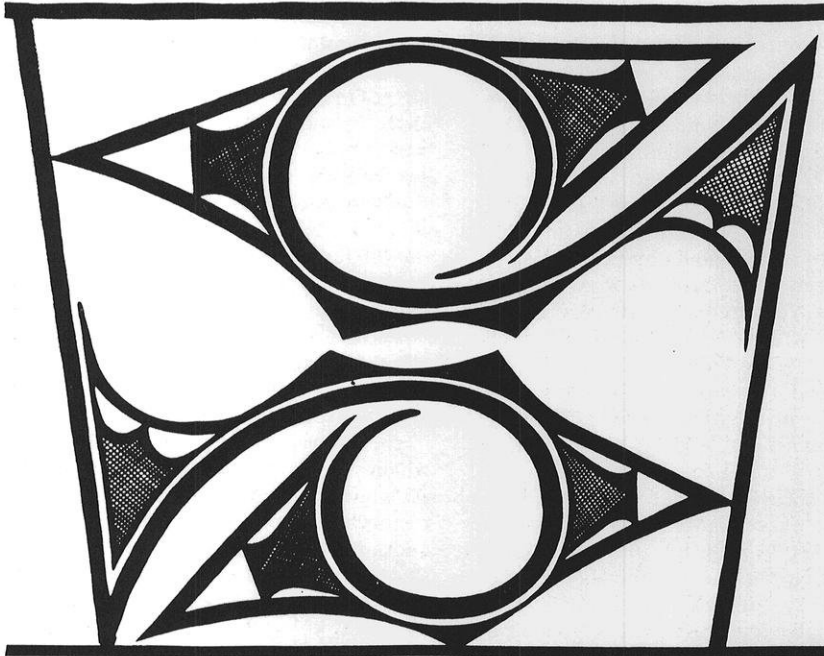
4. *Ibid.*, 323-24.

5. Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain), "A Day at Niagara," in *The Complete Short Stories of Mark Twain*, ed. Charles Nieder (New York, 1957), 16-22.

6. See Johan Huizinga, *America. A Dutch Historian's Vision from Afar and Near*, trans. Herbert H. Rowan (New York, 1972), chapter 4: "Tame and Wild America," 194-95.

7. Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 319, f.n. 1. ■





Buck Martin was born and grew up on the Stockbridge-Munsee reservation in Shawano. He attended Bowler public schools and UW-Oshkosh where he took a B.S. in secondary education. After graduation Buck worked in the Wisconsin Dells Public Schools and at UW-Milwaukee where he was responsible for developing and implementing the Native American Studies Program. From 1975 to 1978 he served as the education coordinator of the Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council. He was appointed by Governor Schreiber to the Wisconsin Equal Rights Council and to the Higher Education Aids Boards, to which he was reappointed by Governor Dreyfus. Buck Martin is also serving on the board of trustees of Northland College in Ashland. His current position is planning analyst for the Council on Criminal Justice. A keen observer of the Indian political scene, he shares some of his observations with us.

## Remarks on Indian Politics

By Buck Martin

Informed observers of the American Indian scene, including Indian people themselves, are aware of an apparently irresistible urge of Indian groups to defeat themselves just at the point when unified efforts have brought desired goals nearly within their grasp.

So said Nancy Oestreich Lurie in "The Will-o-the-Wisp of Indian Unity," *Indian Historian*, Summer 1976. This particular article by Lurie is one of very few that has attempted to take an accurate look at political activity inside the Indian community.

I think what Nancy said was the prevailing view among Indian people back in 1976, and it is a view that continues to be entertained by many Indian people today. Unfortunately, it seems to be a view that more and more non-Indian people are beginning to assume is just another example of political infighting that makes dealing with the tribes so difficult.



It should surprise no one to observe politics in the Indian community. I did find it interesting, however, as I reviewed my own thoughts on this topic, because the activity of politics seems never to have enjoyed a reputable image anywhere. In the Indian community it may be characterized at best as disagreeable. Politics are discussed more often than not in extremely negative terms and blamed by

the community for bad policy decisions, poor judgment, lack of technical skills, and just about any other problem that exists locally. Outside the community, critical state and federal agency representatives are quick to characterize Indian politics as obstructionist and the cause for ineffectual programs.

Somehow political activity does not get the credit for increased housing, the development of health and education programs, and the gradual development of social, economic, and political goals that are so important for strong tribal government.

What many people refer to as Indian politics is local or tribal politics, what happens on the reservation, rather than Indians in politics, such as Ada Deer. At the state and national level it is tribal governmental representatives who tend to be involved in the political process rather than individual citizens (with the exception of Ada Deer). The Indian community rarely is active in supporting candidates or in the political parties. Indians may talk issues, but I have never seen the tribes come together and decide to support one candidate. Perhaps in some cases the tribe may have felt the need to organize formally, but the involvement of the Indian community is usually informal.

On particular issues that affect the tribes, the tribes do send people to Mad-

ison to lobby. Usually someone from Madison calls the tribal chairman and suggests that he get his people down to Madison. In some instances, on "Indian issues," local Madison tribal members are consulted by the decision makers in the governor's office or the legislature and in this informal way the tribes may have input into policy making or legislation.



Traditionally, the Indian community has preferred the time-honored, "consensus" approach to politics. This approach is the most time consuming and slows things down considerably in this fast moving, high-technology era, but it is thought that decisions should be nurtured, allowed to grow, rather than rushed. It is democracy slowed down.

What does this approach include? First, the problem and a possible solution is presented to the community and decision makers. As many people as possible are informed and the implications are discussed. It is not likely that new initiatives proposed by public or private officials are going to get much of a response right away. This should be kept in mind by these officials if they are requesting expressions of support or need decisions to be made immediately. This is true no matter who presents the initiative or the "obvious" good it will do for the community. Second, the initiative is presented

before the governing body. After discussion, the initiative is likely to be referred until the next meeting to allow a smaller group to investigate, discuss, and develop recommendations for consideration. This process will continue until such time as there appears to be no major objections to the proposal. When finally acted upon, the measure is likely to satisfy the concerns of everyone and to receive a unanimous vote.

It is quite plain that the above process is not uniquely Indian. As a matter of fact, it describes perfectly the legislative process in state and federal government.



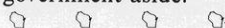
Indian involvement in state and federal politics has been on the upswing in the last twenty years. Traditionally that involvement has been with the Democratic party for the simple reason that it has been in power for so long. It was the Democratic party which legislated the major social programs which allowed the tribes to develop the Indian-controlled service programs which are so much more effective than the previously BIA-administered programs. Some individuals became actively involved in Democratic party activities, and one, Ada Deer, Menominee, ran for statewide political office—secretary of state. In the Democratic primary she polled 46,696 votes and came in second. Another, James Taylor of Burnett County, a Chippewa, successfully ran for that county's office of district attorney. Although presently in private practice, he still maintains an interest in political concerns.

Most intriguing will be the developing interest in Republican Party politics almost mandated by the election of President Ronald Reagan. Initial reaction to the President's election brought cries of grave concern from Indian leaders across the country. It was thought that tribal government would lose entire social programs which brought much needed assistance to reservation communities, and there was even some concern as to how the new administration would interpret the unique government to government relationship which exists between tribal and federal governments.

There was a fear that Reagan had absolutely no commitment even to the existence of tribal government, because he was perceived as advocating positions that the tribal governments were opposed to, such as many of the Watt positions. While it is true that the cuts are having a devastating impact on the tribes, those cuts are at the same level for Indians as for non-Indians. Unfortunately for small tribal communities in Wisconsin, if you

have one person under a contract for health, or education, or to provide services, a cut of 10 or 50 percent will cut into that one person, and that is what's happened. But we are not seeing the wholesale elimination of programs that deal with the tribes.

The philosophy of the Republican party, it would seem to me, goes hand-in-hand with what the tribes have wanted—local control, self-government. Deputy Assistant Interior Secretary Roy Samsale, testified last October before the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs that this administration "simply cannot support the abrogation of treaty rights, the overriding of federal court decisions, or the invalidation of present co-management agreements . . . between the tribes and state and federal governments. . . ." I think there should be no problems with the tribes being able to identify with some of the philosophies of the Republican Party, or the Reagan administration or the Dreyfus administration. If there is a reluctance of Indian people to participate in the Republican Party, it will not be because the Republican Party is shoving the tribal government aside.



Tribal government today exists as a constitutional form of government. Its authority and responsibility is limited only by acts of Congress and by interpretation of the courts. Treaties also define the authority of tribal government, but only by defining or restricting certain authority specifically identified in treaty language itself. The most important point to remember, however—what Indian people ultimately have in the uppermost thoughts of our minds—is that tribal authority is inherent. It is not *granted* by the congress, the courts, or by treaties. These three elements only have limited the extent of tribal governing authority. That authority which is not explicitly addressed by these three remains in the hands of tribal government.

I believe that the integrity of tribal government must be maintained, protected, and preserved at all costs. Even though we are facing a bleak economic future, tribal governments are so much stronger in the last fifteen to twenty years that we will meet the challenge of budget cuts. We have learned enough about making decisions and being responsible for ourselves that we are better able to withstand tough times.■

### Old Woman

Seeded into the warm womb of the old woman,  
I feed upon her mother's breast;  
And felt the spirit of me growing  
With the strength and wisdom of her,  
Who nurtures all of nature's living things.  
I came alive, feeling the vivid beauty  
Even though my eyes were still closed.  
My senses were waking to her song,  
She fed delicacies and strong broths.  
She bathed me in warm rainwater  
Until I was silk as brown satin.  
She fastened eagle eyes onto mine,  
And, the swift feet of fleeting doe.  
Then my heart beats were measured to drum beats,  
The forgotten songs of old ones were brushed in my memory.  
I walk among men; I was born to care for her.  
I talk to her babies, the squirrel and the rabbit;  
I plant my corn with fish, with medicine tobacco;  
She springs forth with golden fruit.  
I beat my drums with praise, with thankfulness;  
I dance the powwow with joy.  
I honor my mother giving me birth,  
From seed to manhood; and when life is gone,  
I will sleep, again, upon her bosom.

*Gerti H. Sennett*



# Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council

by Robert Miller, Executive Director

Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council, Inc. is a nonprofit corporation created in 1965 for the purpose of providing a mechanism through which member tribes could achieve social and economic self-sufficiency. It was created on the premise that it is the Indians themselves who must provide their own leadership and establish their own direction in order to achieve constructive change.

The organization was chartered under State of Wisconsin statutes by ten Wisconsin tribes. The founders felt that through inter-tribal unity they could better develop and implement programs, seek outside funding, and gain leverage in dealing with state and federal agencies. These ten member tribes originally founded the organization and remain members today: 1) the Bad River Band of Lake Superior Chippewa; 2) the Lac Courte Oreilles Band of Lake Superior Chippewa; 3) the Lac du Flambeau Band of Lake Superior Chippewa; 4) the Sokaogon (Mole Lake) Chippewa; 5) the St. Croix Chippewa; 6) the Forest County Potawatomi; 7) the Oneida; 8) the Winnebago; 9) the Stockbridge-Munsee; and 10) the Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Chippewa.

Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council formed after the termination policy years of the Eisenhower administration and during the Kennedy-Johnson years of social change. Earlier attempts to establish a Great Lakes confederation proved futile, but after Menominee and other tribes were terminated, renewed efforts began. With the advent of Johnson's "War on Poverty" resources became available to set up the structure for a Wisconsin confederation of tribes. Under Johnson, the OEO (Office of Economic Opportunity) initiated new efforts in social programming.

Out of small quarters at Bowler near the Stockbridge-Munsee reservation, GLITC developed and provided community health programs, summer youth programs, Headstart, and housing assistance to the ten tribes. Since that time, GLITC has moved twice as programs and personnel expanded, to the Lac du Flambeau reservation in 1971, and in 1977 the central offices were moved to the present site at the old St. Mary's School building on the Bad River reservation.

The tribal chairmen from the ten member tribes constitute the board of directors of the organization. They provide direct services to an Indian population of approximately 15,000 residing on the ten

reservations and an additional 10,000 Indian people residing off the reservations. The board of directors is responsible for the establishment of policies and direction, which must represent the interests of all Indian people within the GLITC, Inc. service area, although individual board members provide advisory assistance regarding the need for and operation of programs on their respective reservations.

There are at any given time nearly 200 people employed through various programs developed at GLITC, Inc. There are two types of staff: the executive officers, program coordinators, and support staff located at GLITC central offices, which number about seventy five, and those people employed through a GLITC funded program, who report directly to their local tribal governments and supervisors.

Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council, Inc. has been a valuable resource for the tribes since its inception and continues to provide much needed support and services to the member tribal governments and to their communities. Those services have been primarily in the areas of employment, social services, economic development, housing, health programs, nutrition programs, planning, and education. Success of the organization can be measured by the establishment of the member tribes as capable units of government, better able to fulfill their responsibilities to their constituents.

## Programs

The need for self-sufficiency is evidenced by the social and economic conditions prevalent on the ten reservations. Many Indian people continue to live their lives without access to adequate health care. Education attainment levels remain well below the nation's average, and the dropout rate for Indian students remains high. Housing conditions on some reservations can accurately be described as deplorable. The lack of these basic needs and services is a major factor contributing to a high rate of alcoholism within the Indian community.

The Wisconsin tribes remain heavily reliant on federal programs and projects for their governmental operations and for employment. These are some of the reasons why the tribes find it extremely difficult to break this reliance: The reservations are located in geographically remote areas, far from marketing centers; reservations have few raw materials available as a base for industrial devel-

opment; the population of the tribes is not large enough to comprise a home market; the land-base of the Wisconsin tribes is generally small, thus hampering many normal development opportunities. In addition, much of the best land within reservation boundaries has been alienated. Attempts to buy back some of this land is severely hampered by the lack of available capital. Until these constraints can be overcome, unemployment rates for the GLITC, Inc. member tribes are expected to continue to average approximately 75 percent.

Although some federal programs have proven beneficial, many others have not. Many federal programs were ill-conceived using little if any input from the tribes. Others were of such short duration that before they had a chance to work, the federal government terminated them. Others were inadequately funded, providing only a Band-Aid approach to major problems.

One of the major concerns the tribes now have is the across-the-board-termination and cutting of every program that does benefit them. The recent budget cuts on the Wisconsin tribes are potentially devastating. They not only set back what progress has been achieved, the budget cuts threaten the future existence of the tribes. Social programs have been eliminated or severely cut. New housing starts are at a standstill. Monies to support economic development efforts have been eliminated. Important resource persons have been eliminated, and important resources have been lost.

It is important to remember that each tribal government and community is unique. Each member tribal government of GLITC, Inc. must be allowed to address its own goals, objectives, priorities, and plans. Each must develop its own capacity to plan and manage. One of the major differences among the tribes is population, the smallest having approximately 330 residents, the largest having more than 3,000 members. The size of the land-base is another area of difference, varying from approximately 2,000 acres to nearly 85,000 acres.

It is the responsibility of the Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council, Inc. board of directors to consider the differences between the individual member tribes and to establish the best possible direction and policy to meet the common goals of all the tribes, allowing for constantly changing economic conditions which potentially can devastate reservation development programs. ■

# The Native American Center at University Of Wisconsin-Stevens Point

By John C. Messing and Mary Alice Tsosie

Historically, relations between American Indian Tribes and institutions of higher education have been characterized by mutual apprehension, distrust, and unrealistic expectations. Each approached the other from an ethnocentric position which often created or reinforced feelings on both sides of being misunderstood or exploited.

Tribes have long recognized their own needs for education, training, technical assistance, and for research—all services that universities could have provided. From the tribal viewpoint, however, universities typically came to the reservations to “take” rather than to “give,” and when they did provide services, the services were delivered on the institution’s terms, not the tribe’s. University responses to tribal requests tended frequently to reflect what institutional staff thought the tribe needed or should have, rather than what tribal members wanted.

Although any assistances from the universities, inadequate or inappropriate as they might be, would seem to be better than no assistance at all, tribes resented the implied paternalism and were understandably reluctant to surrender their autonomy to gain such limited access to institutional expertise and other resources. A present generation tribal member, quoting his father on the need for Indian control over educational processes affecting Indian people, offered the following:

*Long ago, a tribal leader had a dream . . . a dream that someday there would be a place dedicated to the tasks of preserving ideals, culture, and heritage; a place dedicated to the philosophy that a member of any tribe can study and become educated, and still be Ojibwa, or Winnebago, or Mohican, or Potawatomi, or Oneida, or Menominee; a place dedicated to all tribes for what they are and not what others would like them to be. This place would be like a hogan, teepee, wekiam or pueblo, where tribal members from all over would be welcomed. This place would have open doors; it would be the meeting ground or council fire for those who needed it. It would be the learning place.*

Universities were equally dissatisfied with the outcomes of many of their dealings with the tribes. Restrictive institutional missions and policies, narrowly defined curricular offerings and geographic service areas, and constraints on the utilization of budgets and other resources, prevented universities from responding to some tribal requests. Tribes, however, did not always understand or accept the existence of such restraints, and frequently attributed refusals of, or partial responses to their requests to institutional indifference. Their feeling was that the university could accommodate the tribe, if it wanted to.

Despite their perceptions of being misunderstood and unappreciated, the educational institutions were still willing to become involved with tribes, with mixed results. There have been some genuinely cooperative efforts, to the benefit of both, but there have been many more activities that ended up satisfying neither. Programs and services offered with good intentions were often received with disinterest or resistance. A lack of current and correct information about reservation conditions, limited contacts with contemporary tribal leaders, and tendencies to cling to methods and materials developed for the campus made the universities vulnerable to well-founded charges of insensitivity and irrelevance when they ventured out to the reservations.

Several of the larger tribes in western states have resolved this dilemma by establishing their own colleges. While these institutions are dependent upon federal and other external financial support (some to a greater degree than others), they are controlled and operated by the tribe. Curriculum, program, and services can be made as relevant as the tribe wants them to be, and institutional resources can be allocated according to tribal needs and priorities.

The obvious advantages of tribally controlled colleges are offset by the fact that most of them are only two-year institutions, with severely curtailed course offerings and necessarily limited faculty, staff, facilities, and other resources. For Wisconsin tribes in particular, this ap-

proach is questionable. No Wisconsin tribe by itself has sufficient numbers of potential students or other assets to support a college; physical distances and cultural diversities between tribes presented obstacles to consortial efforts.

Nevertheless, the idea of a “Native American College” for all of the Wisconsin tribes persisted, and in 1976 the Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council education committee authorized the University of Wisconsin at Stevens Point to explore it further. The education committee designated Indian people to serve on a planning committee, provided initial direction, and periodically reviewed the planning committee’s work as the concept was developed. UW-Stevens Point appointed faculty and staff to serve on the planning committee, and assumed responsibility for arranging meetings of the committee and coordinating its activities.

An early decision of the planning group was to substitute “center” for the word “college” in the name of the evolving entity, to reflect the broader purposes it was intended to serve. The group also recognized that, at least in the beginning stages, there would be many advantages if this “Native American Center” could be attached to an existing educational institution where it could draw on institutional resources, utilize established facilities, and have access to faculty, equipment, and services. To circumvent problems of university/tribal relationships, the planning committee devoted almost two years to designing an organization and structure that would be responsive to tribal needs and concerns and yet be compatible with institutional policies and procedures.

Regular and continuous two-way communications between the tribes and the Center were regarded as an essential component of everyday Center functions and operations. Tribal differences in historic, economic, cultural, political, and geographic factors required active participation of each Wisconsin tribe to assure sensitivity to the needs and concerns of both tribal governments and each community. An all-tribal body, the Native American Center Council, was designed to provide this vital interchange.



In addition to the Council, the Center needed an overseeing body to develop policy, establish priorities, review accomplishments, and provide the overall direction. Whereas members of the Council represented their own tribe and community, members of this group would be obligated to maintain a broader viewpoint and to address state-wide or even national issues. Since the Center would initially be a discrete unit of UW-Stevens Point, university representation as well as tribal representation was considered to be appropriate, and the governing board, the Native American Center Board, was set up accordingly. (See Diagram A.)

Two staff positions were identified as necessary for the Center to begin operations: A director/coordinator to serve as the chief administrative officer and a development specialist to work with the Council and in the communities to clarify tribal requests. Other personnel would be "borrowed," as needed to respond to specific tribal requests, from the university faculty and staff.

By midsummer of 1978, the planning committee had a general outline of the proposed Native American Center ready to be submitted to those with a vested interest in the project. Presentations were made to the Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council board and education committee, to the UW-Stevens Point administration and faculty, and to UW-System administration. The Center concept, as developed by the planning committee and with a few minor modifications, was accepted or endorsed by all. A period of intense activity followed to transform the idea into reality.

In October of 1978, a proposal from the Center was selected for funding by the U.S. Office of Education under the Community Services and Continuing Education Program. The terms of this grant supported further development and staffing of the Center itself, and enabled the Center to expand greatly its services to the tribes.

The full Center Council met for the first time in December 1978. Initial meetings were organizational. At the request of the membership, a training program for Council members was developed to increase their effectiveness as representatives of their tribe to the Council, and as representatives of the Council to their tribe.

Temporary Center staff provided workshops, technical assistance, training sessions, and other one-time services to the Wisconsin tribes, and individual long-range, comprehensive education and training programs were developed with

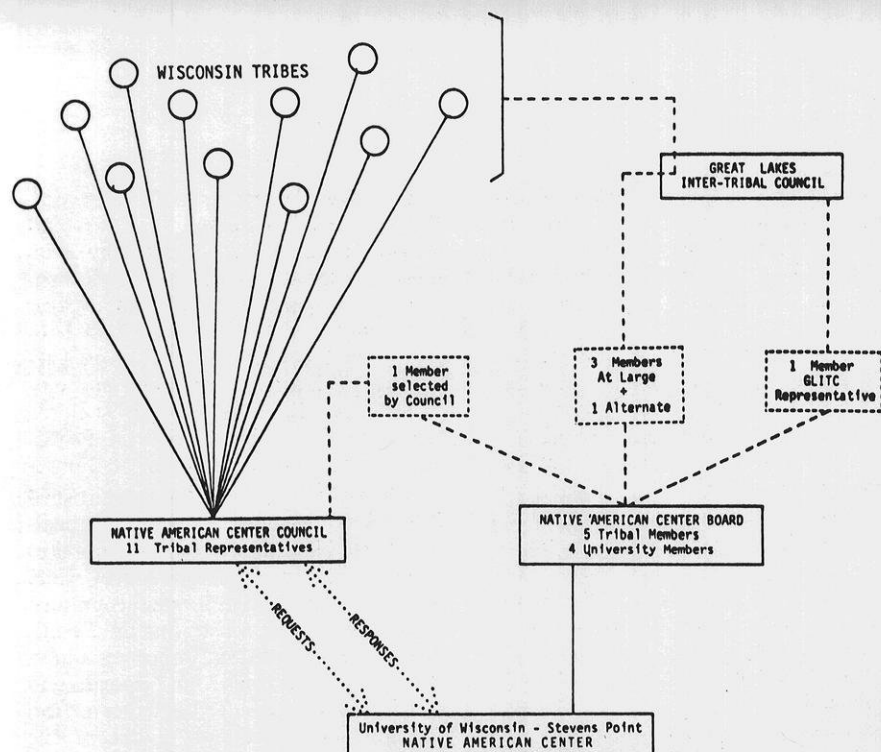


Diagram A. Organization and structure of the Native American Center

tribal leaders on several reservations. At first, the Center's guiding philosophy of working with the tribe to develop and plan activities was met with considerable skepticism—this was not the way people from universities usually approached tribes, and tribal people had become accustomed simply to accepting university offerings and then selecting whatever was relevant or useful to meet their own needs. The Center process involved extensive consultation with those who were to receive the services, and plans were often revised several times to reflect local needs and concerns, before the services were delivered.

Many of the consultants and instructors employed by the Center to work with the tribes also had to develop new methods compatible with the Center process. An orientation and training package was designed to explain the Center's purpose, philosophy and methods to make sure that persons hired to provide services thoroughly understood what was expected of them, and what local needs were to be addressed through their involvement.

By May of 1979, the Native American Center and all of its component parts were in place and fully operational. The Center Council was serving in its intended role, the Board was providing the necessary oversight and direction and had selected the permanent staff, and the Center was working in some capacity with every tribe in the state. Federal and state agencies with responsibilities to the tribes had begun to recognize the Center's potential for augmenting their services, and tribal governments themselves were increasingly turning to the Center for assistance.

Since that time, the Center has continued to provide diverse services to Wisconsin tribes, while further refining its methods and strategies. The Center's role is often that of a "broker," serving as an intermediary between users and suppliers, as illustrated in Diagram B.

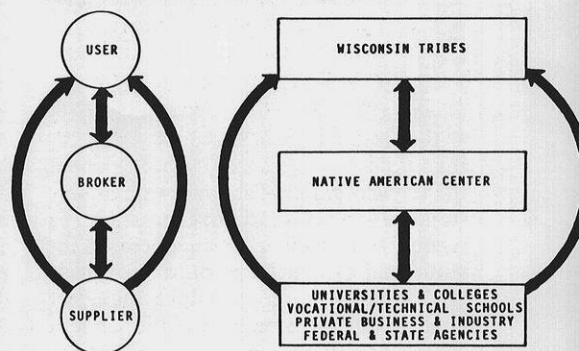


Diagram B. User-broker-supplier model

The Center's approach requires tribal participation in all stages of planning, implementation, and evaluation to develop programs and services with Indian people, rather than for them. The result is a highly credible mechanism for dealing flexibly and sensitively with unique tribal needs, in a manner that is fully supportive of tribal goals for self-determination. This individualized approach involves a great deal of staff time and travel, in what is termed the "Core Cycle" for designing and delivering services. A brief description of the steps taken in response to a request from one of the tribes will provide further understanding of how the cycle functions.

1. A tribal request comes to the Native American Center through the tribal representative on the Center Council, through a member of the center staff while in the community, or directly from a tribal official.
2. A member of the Center staff consults with the initiator of the request to define further the need or problem and to explore possible appropriate responses.
3. Center staff determine if possible responses are within the scope of the Center's mission, design a tentative response plan, and identify potential resources for providing the requested service.
4. A preliminary plan is presented to the Native American Center Board and/or Council for suggestions and support, then submitted to tribal officials for further refinement.
5. Contracts are issued to the instructional staff or other consultants who will provide the actual services.
6. The classes, training sessions, or workshops are conducted, or the technical assistances are provided. A member of the Center staff and a nonparticipating member of the tribe monitor group sessions to assure that objectives are being met and to provide feedback to the consultants.
7. At the conclusion of the total program, Center staff compile the session evaluations and assess outcomes of the program with participants and with tribal officials.
8. Center staff review evaluation results for necessary revisions in the service and for possible adaptations to the needs of other tribes.

With eleven Wisconsin tribes and several inter-tribal organizations requesting services, and some with simultaneous requests, all of the above steps are apt to be in various phases of completion at any given time. A complete list of the services that have been provided to each tribe through this cycle would fill many pages, but most of the Center's responses to date could fall into one or more of the following broad categories.

**Management Training.** Programs to enhance management skills and know-how of top administrators, middle managers, and supervisors or program directors have been conducted on almost every reservation or Indian community. While each training program is designed to address specific tribal management needs, topics have included general management procedures and techniques, principles and applications of management by objectives, human relations, personnel and financial management, needs assessment, short-term and long-range planning, employee and program evaluation and program development.

#### *Employee Training and Development.*

Regular tribal employees also attend long-term training programs, similar to those for managers but designed especially for support staff. A course titled "Attitudes and Realities in Contemporary Tribal Government" has been repeated on several reservations for employees at all levels; others, such as "General Office Practices and Procedures" and "Organizational Communications and Human Relations" have been popular with clerical staff.

Other training for tribal employees is offered in the form of more concentrated workshops in areas of general concern such as report and proposal writing, compliance with conflicting provisions of the Privacy Act and the Public Information Act, interviewing skills and techniques, dynamics of drug/alcohol abuse.

**Board Training.** Tribal governing structures are made up of various councils, boards, and committees from the elected Tribal Council with overall responsibility for all tribal affairs to appointed boards and committees with limited jurisdiction or advisory functions in carefully defined areas of health, housing, education, enrollment, land use, and so on. The Center provides training programs and workshops for these groups, at both the basic level and the advanced level, to help members better understand their roles and responsibilities and to improve their operations.

**Credit Courses.** Most of the previously described training programs and workshops do not allow participants to earn academic credit, although Continuing Education units and/or appropriate certification may be awarded upon successful completion. Tribal and individual needs for academic credentials have stimulated the establishment of programs in which college credit may be earned.

Summer curriculum development workshops have been held so tribal people could use their own cultural materials to create curricular units for use in public or tribal schools. Participants could earn up to six undergraduate or graduate credits.

A program for assessing prior learning and awarding college credit for knowledge adult American Indians have gained outside the classroom has been established at UW-Stevens Point, to recognize educationally valid work experiences and noncollege training. Applicants who wish to pursue a degree can then be advised as to the training requirements in their chosen field, but will not have to enroll in courses where they have already acquired the expected competencies.

A two-credit program for training tribal archivists will be implemented in the spring of 1982. Lectures, workshops, and laboratory sessions will instruct participants in archival theory and practice, acquaint them with published and unpublished source materials, introduce them to professional literature, and allow them to complete two laboratory projects for their own tribal archives.

An associate degree program for adult tribal members will also be initiated this spring. Classes will be scheduled on weekends to allow full-time employees to enroll while continuing to work.

**Technical Assistances.** The Center is often asked to provide expertise to a tribe with an immediate or one-time problem, where there is not sufficient time or long-term need to train tribal members to do the job. To respond to these requests, consultants are identified and then are assigned to provide the needed technical assistance.

Most of these services are in support of tribal efforts to obtain resources or collect information to promote educational, social, or economic programs. Consultive services help the tribes prepare proposals for forest management plans, studies of possible environmental/social impacts of mining, reservationwide emergency medical systems, and many many others.

Technical assistance with internal matters is another request frequently received by the Center. The desired help may involve research on historical or legal incidents, searches for current information, reproduction or preservation of tribal documents, or other services that require the resources of a university campus. Other requests, such as for assistance in writing or revising tribal policies, testing soil and water, or developing procedural manuals, require the consultant to work directly with Indian people in the community. A current request for assistance with preserving and restoring a 24 ft. dugout canoe found on one of the northern reservations, and then helping the tribe explore archeological implications of the find, and eventually prepare a public display of the dugout, will involve a number of consultants doing research on campus and elsewhere and working with people on the reservation for a period of several years.

The preceding general activity descriptions give some idea of the present scope and nature of the services the Native American Center is providing to Wisconsin tribes. Evaluations and other indications of support from tribal people suggest that these services are well received, are meeting tribal needs, and are filling a void



in the assistance previously available to the tribes. However, benefits are definitely reciprocative in that the Center itself increases its capabilities and expertise with every request it responds to; through the center, the university and resource people from other institutions acquire knowledge about contemporary Indian affairs and have opportunities to work with tribal people in a new way, free from institutional restraints and charges of cultural bias or insensitivity.

Financial support for Center activities has been and continues to be a concern. The university contributes salary dollars for the core staff and allocates an annual base operating budget, but external resources are necessary for providing services to the tribes. The Center has been successful in securing grants and contracts from federal, state, and private sources, and to the extent possible, utilizes volunteers, donations, and other in-kind contributions, but financial considerations are increasingly limiting responses to tribal requests at the present time. Up to now, each tribe has also had some funds for educational programs, training, and technical assistance, which they often preferred to spend through the Center. However tribes are currently experiencing reductions in every budget category themselves, so the search for money is intensified for both the Center and the tribes.

The UW-Stevens Point Center has become the model for pending legislation in the U.S. Congress to establish "Tribal Resource Institutes" in every state with a significant Indian population. If passed and funded, such a program could provide some financial relief if the Center's Board chooses to move in that direction. However, the final legislation may contain requirements or restrictions that are not acceptable to the Board or the tribes so this remains a highly speculative alternative for assuring continuation of Center activities.

Regardless of financial insecurity, the Native American Center has become established within the university and with the tribes as an essential link between the campus and the reservations. Its organization and structure may evolve into something quite different from the present form, and details of the services provided may change considerably as the tribes become increasingly knowledgeable and self-sufficient, but the need for something like the Center will continue. The future of the Center and whatever it eventually becomes will be determined by the Indian people of Wisconsin.■

## Milwaukee Indian Health Board

By Carol Marquez-Baines  
Executive Director

The Milwaukee Indian Health Board, a private nonprofit health agency, began functioning in June of 1974. Initial funding was provided by the Aberdeen Area Indian Health Service.

The goal of the Milwaukee Indian Health Board is to define and fill the health needs of the Indian community. The board of directors consists of twelve Indian community members, two of whom are physicians. In keeping with the Milwaukee Indian Health Board's goal to develop a comprehensive health care program, the board involves Indian people in the planning and delivery of their own health care. Through programs and activities developed by the board, Indian community members are educated about their rights and responsibilities as consumers of health services so they can effectively meet their personal and family health needs and help develop new health programs which are culturally relevant.

Urban Indians have specialized health care needs which have not been filled, since the government has only recently accepted responsibility for the health of off-reservation Indians. Recent studies have confirmed with percentages the sad truths Native Americans have seen on their own furrowed brows and tombstones for decades: an Indian's life is less promising and more difficult to sustain despite medical advances which have benefited the rest of the population. Traditional health care agencies have tried to help, but their generalized programs have not attracted significant numbers of Indians. It has become apparent that the unique psychological and cultural makeup of the American Indians requires a unique program.

More than 8,000 American Indians from Wisconsin and other tribal groups throughout the United States reside in the Milwaukee metropolitan area. De-

spite the extensive health care network in Milwaukee County, the health status of urban Indians, like that of their rural brothers, is far below that of the general population.

Statistical reports from the Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services illustrate the seriousness of health problems within the Indian population. The age standardized death rate for Indians from 1968 to 1972 was 58 percent higher than that for Caucasians; the proportion of infant deaths was almost twice as high. Wisconsin Indians suffered accidental, often violent deaths, at a rate more than three times higher than that for Caucasians. Preventable deaths, which represent those causes of death which show a rapid decline with concerted medical and public health attention, were one and one-half times more frequent for Indians than Caucasians.

When these findings were coupled with other preliminary indications of high disease rates and poor nutrition, the outline of a formidable health problem became clear enough to rally some public support for corrective measures.

Local Indian leaders began planning a path out of this discouraging tangle of statistics in August of 1973 by forming the Milwaukee Indian Health Board. Aided by a grant from the Indian Health Service, the twelve member board began working in June of 1974 to break the vicious circle of unemployment and illness with health care designed to make modern medicine more culturally acceptable and provide much needed careers as a by-product.

The board is confident that if its programs continue to receive funding and support, the urban population of Wisconsin's Indians will be better able to lead productive and healthful lives in our industrialized society.■

## Currents

### *In Memory of Eva Whiteman*

How differently the river gleams  
now you are gone.

Once it rushed headlong  
down the plain,  
polishing the canyon stone  
until the fluted edges  
filled with fire,  
but now two currents churn,  
converging in a single ripple  
that never reaches shore.

Like a diamondback  
migrating to mountains,  
the ripple culls the current;  
the far half jumps with light,  
sending all shadow  
back along the ridge,  
while the other is subdued,  
measuring an obscure song,  
deep as plunder, doubly lost.

Some said you were unhappy,  
that you had planned  
to travel tomorrow.  
Tomorrow. The right cadence,  
the right words are wedged  
in the hoof of the horse  
that took you  
beyond the clatter of dishes  
and toys, beyond the market  
bartering rifles,  
beyond broken glass  
or the need for shoes.  
I believe your beloved  
rode that dark stallion,  
so much like the one  
he owned before the war.  
At last he came to carry you  
over the dim shimmer of mountains,  
along the white road,  
into the smoke of stars.

Worlds upon worlds  
the stallion restored  
you to your beloved.  
We couldn't call you back,  
lovely autumn mother  
with a face so like the moon.  
Please look once again,  
for at last we're learning  
to live as you have taught,  
taking time to love each day,  
to live without regret.

Now each of us must suffer  
his own spirit,  
and catch the starlight  
aging in his hands.  
Now each of us knows the river  
will never be the same,  
and sometimes it gets hard  
to see the undiscovered depth,  
or to hear the wind  
singing above our cries.

*Roberta Whiteman*

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## Variations for Two Voices

### I.

Where do we live?  
Underneath sunset.  
How long have we been here?  
Since your grandfather's death  
when war came without effort  
and hearts didn't own  
a tear or a victory.  
We stand in a stranger's field  
beyond pardon.  
What do we do?  
We hide. We bargain.  
We answer each question  
with a difficult anger,  
map the future for heartache  
and rattle old bones.  
When is it time?  
Time is that beggar  
living in the basement.  
He dictates to us  
when to move, how to dream.  
Run and he'll be there  
waiting at crossroads,  
with pitch for your ribcage  
and pins for your eyes.  
Who'll come to save us?  
No one. Nothing.  
Yet when the wind stirs  
I hear voices call us  
inside the snow drift.  
I've heard it those nights  
when snow writhes before Spring.  
Don't ever listen.  
Don't ever listen.  
Don't listen. What  
it can bring!

### II.

Where do we live?  
Inside this morning.  
How long have we been here?  
Only the lakes remember  
our arrival. Go there at dawn  
when reeds ride the slow wash.  
An answer will come  
from the small world of crayfish.  
What do we do?  
Balance our shadows  
like oaks in bright sunlight,  
stretch and tumble  
as much as we're able,  
eat up the light  
and struggle with blindness.  
When is it time?  
Time is a thrush  
that preens in the wood  
and sings on a slender branch  
in your ribcage. Listen.  
What comes on invisible wings,  
darting above the blue roots  
of flowers? Fly Dragon  
fly. Now the bird sings.  
Who'll come to save us?  
For some, it's the rattling  
cloud, the air before evening.  
Come, take my hand,  
for all that it's worth.  
Our hearts learn  
much too soon  
how to speak like mountain  
stones.

*Roberta Whiteman*

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## WINDFALLS

# The Jungle and the Stream

By Arthur Hove

Each autumn its size increases as though it were on an eating binge, or suddenly the thyroid had failed and the growth was symptomatic of an endocrine imbalance.

The corpus in question is not that of some unfortunate or less-than-conscientious weight-watcher, but one of the nation's more prosperous and thoughtful magazines—*The New Yorker*. The reason for the autumnal bloat is a pre-Christmas increase in the number of advertisements. From October through early December the magazine regularly swells with advertisements noted for their sheen and opulence.

Last year *Business Week* magazine ran a feature pointing out that in spite of general economic uncertainty, "It is the best of times for magazines that cater to affluent readers." Other magazines are seeking ways to exploit the market represented by a group of people who have no anxiety about making it from one paycheck to the next.

Although competition may be emerging, Arnold Semskey, senior vice president at Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborne, Inc., noted that "*The New Yorker* still occupies a special niche . . . It's mass upscale book."

A closer examination of the magazine gives some indication of what Mr. Semskey's advertising lingo might mean. A representative fall 1981 issue ran to 208 pages, plus cover, and featured 312 ads ranging in size from one inch to two full pages. While the ads were diverse, several recognizable categories were evident. They gave some hint of the world view of *The New Yorker* reader.

Invariably, there is a cartoon in any given issue that can be used to underscore a point. This issue was no exception. Four businessmen are seated around a conference table. One, with a sardonic expression on his face, says to the others, "Miracles happen, gentlemen, but they don't come cheap."

Thumbing through the pages of a particular *New Yorker* issue, regardless of the season or the size of the issue, affords a look at a lotus-land of materialism. It is a personification of the capitalist dream. Things are to be consumed; the world and its pleasures are to be experienced fully. Indulging one's fancies is to be encouraged. Holding back is the only sin.

The texture of the magazine is glossy, smooth to the touch. Nothing fustian here. The coated paper has a sheen that sometimes makes it necessary to hold the magazine at an appropriate angle to avoid having the text obliterated by the glare of reflected light rising from the page.

It is on a closer examination of what James Thurber characterized as those "great big glittering ads" that one is transported into an environment where fantasy and material realities are closely linked. Money is a universal solvent. If you have it the stuff of dreams becomes a commonplace commodity. The copy in the ads helps make the connection between perception and reality.

The goods advertised in *The New Yorker* are not the end products of an assembly line. Hardly. They are "built to last," "meticulously," "exquisitely," or "impeccably" hand-crafted by an "expert," a "master"—or a "magician."

Adjectives used to describe products and services include such superlatives as: incredible, thrilling, unbelievable, memorable, brilliant, extraordinary, remarkable, challenging, thorough, glowing, and revolutionary.

The items themselves are: expensive, exclusive, fashionable, luxurious, outstanding, unique, intimate, fabulous, authentic, imported, graceful, personalized, distinctive, contemporary, chic, subtle, great, rare, superior, legendary, prestigious, sensuous, superb, and perfect.

A sense of well-being emerges from such a world, something that accompanies the realization that excellence is the

norm rather than the exception. Further confidence is gained from the recognition that there are others who appreciate quality and high standards. Dwight Macdonald has observed that *The New Yorker* is a magazine "which has always been edited with the assumption that the readers have the same tastes as the editors and so need not be in any way appeased or placated. . . ." Thurber reinforced the point in 1959 when he explained that the magazine "annually rejects a quarter of a million dollars worth of ads which it regards as distasteful or not up to *New Yorker* standards."

The most frequent type of ad speaks of far away places, locales where one can indulge one's fancies or interests—from Africa to Anchorage, from Copenhagen to the Caymans, from the Nile to New Orleans. Vacations on distant isles are particularly popular: Eleuthera, Peter Island, Sea Island, St. Thomas, Jamaica, Hilton Head Island.

Domestic travel also offers reassuring ports in a metropolitan storm, from Los Angeles and San Francisco to Chicago, Philadelphia, Miami, Washington, D.C., and New York itself. Most accommodations are "in the great European tradition," places to stay which are "elegant," "prestigious," "fashionable," "intimate," and "unruffled."

Traveling and staying in the right places naturally implies a concern for how one looks—an obvious reason why fashionable clothing and jewelry are another staple of *New Yorker* advertising. The clothing described is "classic," "exclusive," "dashing good-looking," "imported," "luxurious," and sometimes "legendary."

Garments range from the most fetching fur coats to thermal underwear. The emphasis is on those items which mirror impeccable taste and have a timeless style about them. If they aren't made of fur or cashmere, they are tailored from some-

thing like the "finest wool," "softly brushed nylon," "pure cotton flannel," or "foxy velvet."

Jewelry and other personal appointments have similar characteristics. They tend to be "gleaming," "unabashedly beautiful," or "fashionably sleek." Sometimes they come with a "distinctive dazzle," or reflect a "new chic." Expensive watches seem to be the favorite item of jewelry that has both a decorative and functional purpose. No throw-aways here; they are the product of master craftsmanship—timepieces whose engineering is associated with the likes of Einstein or Benvenuto Cellini.

Such material profusion presupposes other forms of indulgence. *The New Yorker's* liquor cabinet is stocked with special potables for such a moment. Here again taste is the hallmark. People are known by what they drink as much as by where they stay and what they wear. The spirits should be something which has a "true style and greatness in every sip." Good liquor comes of good lineage; it can trace its roots to the Czar, the Renaissance, Napoleon, or to Italy, Mexico, the heather of Ireland, the gorse of Scotland, or even the hills of Tennessee.

And while you're having a drink you can enjoy an interesting array of delectable food supplied by specialized mail order firms that appeal to discriminating tastes. They can send you the "rare Comice Pear," "giant cashews and gourmet mixed nuts," "unbelievably tender and delicious steaks" from Omaha, or Vermont Common Crackers. If you want to receive a regular treat, the cookie or fruit of the month club will oblige at relatively modest cost.

If you're concerned about setting a proper table, there are ads to proffer suggestions on that, too. There is "superb French porcelain dinnerware and ovenware," silverplate that "enhances any setting," and glassware that promises to "sparkle all year 'round."

Other colorful threads run through the advertising tapestry of *The New Yorker*. They represent a catalog of those accessories deemed essential to maintaining the good life—"tools for living" such as an engraved pewter flask, a design table/desk clock, a chocolate mill that grinds out chocolate like a pepper mill, a graceful handblown lamp, chromium-plated car hood ornaments, solid teak mallard bookends, a fuzzy Goony Bird, and an original English Bobby whistle.

There are books and records, cosmetics and perfume, furniture, household items, sound and video equipment, automobiles, art works, stationery, and calendars. For

those who make important business decisions or have discretionary money to invest, there are various forms of assistance to make life easy in this realm.

Quite often it seems as though the primary orientation of the magazine is to provide a showcase for the wares and services featured in the sumptuous ads. The ads are so stylish and compelling that the reader is often tempted to pore over them and give only passing attention to the editorial material that has been the staple of the magazine since Harold Ross launched it in the mid-1920s. The ads represent an ordered world untrammelled by the concerns of everyday life. This is ironic because they are juxtaposed against stories, articles, reviews, and cartoons done in *The New Yorker* style, a genre which derives its special identity from a virtually pathological examination of the foibles, heartache, and thousand natural shocks our contemporary flesh is heir to.

The editorial matter sometimes seems coincidental—a situation which causes irritation to some readers, particularly if they are trying to track a story, article, or column through page after page of advertising. E.B. White tried to placate one such complainer by noting that, "Advertising is the jungle through which winds the thin, clear stream of our discourse. Sometimes it's difficult to tune out the strange cries that come from the forest, but remember, it is the jungle that supports the stream." ■

### Jump rope Song

Black crow, Black crow  
Eat me when I die,  
For then, I'll mount  
Your dragon heart  
And fly you through the sky.  
  
Perched in winter fog,  
My dark grace, just as loud,  
Will dazzle  
like the cricket's voice,  
along a summer road.

Roberta Whiteman

### Kolanchoe

Your stems rise quietly,  
not quivering from touch,  
but from memory forced  
to send beyond its pain  
a brighter thing. Alive  
with light, your leaves contain  
the waves of an early world,  
a shoal lapping up the shadow  
of itself. I am charmed  
whenever you are there,  
calling without a tongue,  
turning my living room  
into a warehouse  
of skittery reflections.

Heal me, lovely, burning  
so green, like jade stones  
the old ones placed in the mouths  
of their dead, sending them  
ahead of the harvest,  
their spirits, rising stars.  
In euphoria, I flaunted  
a thousand faces,  
unraveled alibis, denied  
your richer world until today,  
when, like a bowline knot,  
this winter glare held me  
in the small country of my life.  
Like a woman rescued  
from a glacier, who can't  
completely understand  
what death she left behind,  
I hear the white wind still  
working chasms, the crows,  
raucous in the blow,  
and sometimes, in a fragile moment,  
rivers humming deep below.  
Startled by your leaves,  
I could no longer rave,  
for you smelled like a tropical  
mountain and praised the kind orbit  
of earth with the open mirth  
of your flowers.  
You save me from myself.

I've been afraid of my flowering,  
afraid to send from this spinning  
dark the little lights  
in eyes that laugh.  
Disciplined by a pot  
and the pinch of my thumb,  
you create clusters  
of evening clouds, always moving  
beyond me. Ah, your old leaves,  
stippled with blood,  
fold like human hands,  
while a few of your flowers  
shrivel into moths,  
so silver in their slumber,  
another moon will envy them.

Roberta Whiteman





## BOOKMARKS/WISCONSIN

**MARY** by Mary E. Mebane; Viking Press, New York, 1981. 242 pp. \$12.95.

By Pat Watkins

Mary Mebane, professor of English at the UW-Milwaukee, is also a writer of talent and promise, as ably demonstrated in this autobiographical account of coming of age in rural North Carolina in the years spanning the Great Depression and the Korean conflict. This book chronicles one black girl's persistent struggle, in that last generation to mature before the civil rights upheavals of the 1950s, to maintain her identity and integrity despite societal demands that she adhere to the precepts of a life without options.

Born in 1933, Mary is the only girl and middle child in a family of five, which lives on its own thirteen-acre plot a few miles outside of Durham. Her mother, Nonnie, works in one of the large tobacco factories in the city; her father collects and sells trash and does some truck farming. Mary grows up attending the rural, black, segregated school. Aunt Jo, her father's half-sister, moves into their home and remains several years, until the mounting friction with Nonnie forces her to move to the city. It is the warmth and concern of this aunt, her perception of the girl's potential, and her encouragement of latent ambitions that become the major influence in the author's life and that make it possible for Mary to surmount the limitations that others attempt to impose on her. During the course of the book, relatives visit from the North, Mary receives a piano and begins to study music, friends marry and/or become pregnant, school and books become a passion, and the painful inexorable estrangement from her mother, caused by continuous criticism, faultfinding and coldness, clouds her adolescence with bitterness and perplexity. Meanwhile, her growing awareness of the color line and its consequences

tempers the joy and magic of girlhood. Her examples of prejudice, discrimination and segregation are not those highly emotional and shock-laden confrontations frequently encountered in black writing. Rather, the author has chosen to give us those ever-present daily situations which so unrelentingly threaten the black spirit: the youngster walking in fear of approaching cars along a country road; the bus rider not daring to occupy a seat lest a white passenger board and demand it; the schoolchild opening the castoff textbook and recognizing that it is obsolete; the factory foreman demeaning the women whose only chance for employment lies in his hands.

What lifts this book above the ordinary is not merely the content of the tale, but also the extraordinary craftsmanship of its telling. The simplicity of its language and sentence structure are marvelously appropriate and compelling, especially in the childhood scenes. The detailed descriptive passages are richly textured and vividly rendered. The writer's ability to distance herself from her material and to present it, for the most part, objectively and dispassionately, imbues the writing with placidity and honest realism. She seldom editorializes, but gently pulls the reader into a participatory relationship with the writer and her writing. The book is structured as a series of self-contained vignettes, yet maintains its continuity by both chronology and recurrent thematic material. *Mary* is an illuminating and delightful work, one well worth settling in with on a cold winter's night; or, for that matter, at any time when one feels the urge to be beguiled by an adventure in good reading.

*Pat Watkins is assistant director of the UW-Madison's Office of New Student Services and has published poetry and educational materials.*

**THE RED CEDAR SCROLL** by Robert Schuler; Crow King Editions (Uzzano 18), 511 Sunset Drive, Menomonie, Wis., 1981. Unpagged. \$3.00.

By Ray Smith

As its loose leaves are turned or taken up, Robert Schuler's recording scroll in clustering images brings a voice to Wisconsin's Red Cedar River. The voice of "a natural world of pure sensation which is magical because all sensation is magical" (quoting his epigraph from Frank O'Connor); a place evoked so that the reader finds at the tip of his senses "over the river pooled flame / yellow of maple leaves / in their wake shadows drift / hump-backed."

As an inhabitant, not merely somebody "living there" (in Gary Snyder's distinction), Schuler experiences the river environs in their seasons "as it rushes / over sandstone. . . / rain tickling leaves for hours." Or he watches the leaves "lean / into the south / wind veined with sand," and hears arriving "the clumsy thudding whirr of herons." Images absorbed while fishing or in movement, skiing "into a Sung landscape" as "poles pound powdered snow" past "thick thin black brushstrokes of oak."

Keen notes of things and time in passage, the poet's perceptions cross the seasons into thaw and summer. Personal history interweaves the design, and "Ghost Dances" adds mementos of the frontier from settler diaries and in "Sketch toward a Family Album."

Citations from Basho and Tu Fu emphasize this poet's technical concern. The deft sure achievement of *Red Cedar Scroll* deserves Thomas Campion's praise (in another epigraph) for "Short Ayres, if they be skilfully framed, and naturally exprest."

**BETWEEN ZEN AND MIDWESTERN: SIXTEEN POEMS** by Tom Montag; salt-works press, Vineyard Haven, Mass., 1981. Unpaged. \$5.50.

By Ray Smith

When these clear poems were so cleanly handset and "sewn into Beau Brilliant end sheets and wrappers . . . during the green & gray of our island spring," the editors of salt-works press were reading: "today I've / opened two windows and let / spring fill these rooms. Either / those wooden frames still ache or / it was winter's back I heard / breaking."

"Spring Morning" and all these deft sensory poems from daily life about weather, morning coffee, working wife, are written with Tom Montag's understated flat compression, his "Midwestern" voice.

"This stone is weathered, / grey here beside water, / its underside moist as / a kiss." An untitled six-liner, literally "Between Zen and Midwestern," goes on: "A simple stone, / grey, weathered, hard, as if / something has been settled." The "Zen" effort in portentous juxtaposition here seems to me poetically unearned.

As if demonstrating dichotomy, the facing poem separates by asterisk an apt mood description of morning light "diffuse and wind-blown" from the ensuing, "I cannot return / what I have not taken"—which seems to me more successfully fused, a haunting intimation.

Among quietly satisfying cadences the loveliest may be in "Simply Morning," written for the poet's daughters, quoted here in part: "Their eyes / grow deep into a sun / through kitchen windows as if / these last fine days / between summer's green curl / and the flat ice / of winter / are to be expected; / as if joy can be / as constant as water."

*Ray Smith, poet and lecturer in creative writing at the University of Minnesota, Duluth, lives in Superior.*

**FINDING HOME** by David Kherdian; Greenwillow Books, New York, 1981. 242 pp. \$8.95.

By Richard Boudreau

*Finding Home* continues the story of David Kherdian's mother, Veron Dumehjian, survivor of the Armenian holocaust during and after World War I. Her earlier odyssey of suffering and deprivation—she lost her home, her family, even her childhood—ended in a refugee camp in Greece. That story was told, and told well, in *The Road From Home*, the 1980 WLA Banta Award winner.

In this, its sequel, the author tells of Veron's later odyssey of hope, her search for a new life as she becomes one of the thousands of mail-order brides seeking husbands in "The Golden Land" of America. By proxy she becomes betrothed to Melkon Kherdian, an Armenian-American cook living in "Rehscene, Vesskahntzsun." This is the story of her coming to America, and of her experiences during those first weeks and months following her arrival in Racine.

An Armenian saying went "In America, anything can happen," a saying recalling the book of that title by George Papashvily which recounted his hilarious encounters with that strange American culture. Perhaps such humor is natural in any book about immigrant experience, and it's found in Kherdian's book as well. Veron, for instance, is at first frightened by the fizz of a soda, then acutely embarrassed when an unlooked-for belch slips out.

The book is primarily about Veron's attempts to find a life of "purpose and meaning." Her struggle for that becomes one of establishing the conditions for starting her own family in her own home. The struggle pits her against her husband, Mike, who, at twice her age, is both independent and malleable. She succeeds in getting him to give up his night job, in removing his two brothers from under their roof, and in moving to a nicer apartment, their first real home.

But there is a larger struggle in the book, best expressed by Veron in the words of her father: "He said my generation would have to refund the race in a land far from the scars and the sufferings of our people." Like all resettled peoples the Armenians attempt to maintain family, clan, and mores in the new land. Unlike most groups, however, they intend to reestablish their culture, their attempt culminating with their founding and building their own church.

But the book has problems. The first book dealt honestly with cataclysmic events, tragic to millions of people, and a balanced rendering of such a story is bound to be gripping. Adapting to a new culture and land is pretty mild stuff compared to that. And in spite of some humorous situations, the book is generally humorless, and the warmth achieved in the first book through the wise sayings, customs, and tales of the characters is absent in this.

"This book is dedicated to no nation, no epoch, no civilisation, but to the imperishable spirit that emanates from God and returns to God." That's a beautiful opening for the story, but the story does

not live up to its promise. The Armenian people reflect that spirit, but they are not the focus of this book; Veron is, and it is demeaning to the term to apply it to her sometimes selfish pursuit of her own aims.

**THE BACKHOE GOTHIC** by Jean DeWeese; Doubleday, Garden City, NY, 1981. 184 pp. \$9.95.

**THE WANTING FACTOR** by Gene DeWeese; Playboy Paperbacks, New York, 1980. 303 pp. \$2.50.

By Richard Boudreau

A Jean is a Jean is a Jean . . . except when it turns out to be a Gene!

Gene DeWeese, using the pseudonymous first name, Jean, has nine novels of Gothic-Mystery Romance to his (her) credit, and it's fun to see what he (she) does with them. In each the main character, to whose observations we are limited, has certain qualities: she is attractive not beautiful, somewhere in her twenties, unattached (sometimes divorced or widowed), living alone, a self-reliant feminist from Wisconsin, a librarian or student or writer, owner of a small, generally unreliable car, and a user of a frustrated "hell" or "damn" now and then.

Though his heroines share many qualities, his novels do not fall into an undifferentiated lump. Yet they are written to a general formula: something intriguing or startling happens at the end of the first chapter; a death of someone close, four to six years before figures in present events; the character seeming the most antagonistic and dangerous generally isn't; and the whole takes place during a couple weeks in early spring or fall. Most of the books involve the macabre and thus qualify as true Gothic. But at least three do not—though they allow that possibility for most of the narrative—and are therefore mysteries, or better, romantic suspense novels.

In spite of its title, *Backhoe Gothic* belongs to the latter group. The main character, Linda Baldwin, 23, is an independent, small-town girl, studying tech writing at UW-Milwaukee. She drives a beat-up Toyota to her part-time job as a DJ at radio station WMBT on Capitol Drive, but prefers her bicycle at most other times. In the summer she operates a backhoe for a local construction company. When her father dies back home, she temporarily takes in her younger sister from whom she has been estranged since their mother's death six years before.



As in all of his books the story line (here involving threats and finally murder) twists, intrigues, surprises. And eventually the death of her mother figures in the working-out of this plot. *Backhoe Gothic* is a competent book in its genre, a fine candidate for that evening of light reading that we all need once in a while, provided, of course, we have some interest in mystery and in romance, and provided we don't want the author to probe too deeply into the human condition.

But *Gene DeWeese* provides quite another story under his own name. *The Wanting Factor* is a novel of the supernatural, twice as long as his other efforts. It pays homage to past masters of the occult, a subject in which it is evident he has read widely and carefully. The story draws on H.P. Lovecraft, on Milwaukee native Peter Straub (at least I see *Ghost Story* parallels), on DeWeese's own *Nightmare in Pewter*, one of the Gothics referred to above, and on an imagination wide-ranging and fertile, with a full understanding of plot manipulation to draw the optimum titillations of terror from the reader.

Evanne Link, instructor at a small university in northern Indiana, comes close to fitting the description of the heroine of DeWeese's other novels. But two things are immediately different: she is only one character among many, and the reader is not restricted to her point of view. Not only is the range of characters greater in this book, but their individual development is as well, though the excessive antagonism of newspaperman Aaron Whelan mars the otherwise deft characterizations.

More importantly the scope of the underlying structure is much more ambitious and ultimately much more mind-boggling and shocking. Certain people in the small university town suddenly become aware of a small, jagged scar on their left wrists they are unable to account for. With the help of closet psychic, Evanne, the reader soon discovers that these people are bodies only, their souls having been sucked out of them into a strange, terrifying limbo. Fatal accidents, murders and suicides begin, and before the blood-letting ends, Evanne and her family and friends are dragged down into the maelstrom of death and despair that a powerful supernatural force has set in motion.

Though the word "vampire" occurs only a couple of times in the story, once derisively, at the heart of these terrible events lies that centuries-old barbarity that still disturbs us so elementally. But there is also a centuries-old mythos at the center of the novel whose reinterpretation

will be viewed by many as the ultimate in blasphemy. And it poses a peculiar question: Can a reader who subscribes to Christian beliefs and traditions willingly suspend his disbelief adequately to finish a story that is ultimately, though fictively, sacrilegious?

The ending in one respect—in its fantastic reworking of tradition—surpasses the promise of the story, but in another respect—bringing the conflict to a stasis for the main characters—it fails that promise. There is only one way to judge either view, and that's by reading the book. It will provide an absorbing, but hardly relaxing, double evening's entertainment—though that's probably the wrong word because it's "a real shocker," according to former Milwaukeean, Robert Bloch.

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*Richard Boudreau teaches English and specializes in Wisconsin literature at UW-La Crosse.*

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**THE PRIMITIVE** by Credo Enriquez; Tokyo English Literature Society, Tokyo, 1981. 43 pp.

**By Rosella Howe**

Credo Enriquez was born in the Philippines in 1953, has lived in the United States for several years, including a period of study at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, and currently lives in Japan. Images of both Wisconsin and Japan appear in his poems. The poems in this volume deal with the development of the poet's sensibilities, rather than with the social and political world outside, but they are in no way narrow or self-centered. The themes are fresh, and Enriquez sees things in a distinctive and highly perceptive way. He uses language gracefully and chooses words with sure aim, sometimes rescuing an outworn phrase and giving it new life, as in "White, White the City," where a snow-covered Tokyo brings "intimations of Milwaukee / In the final truth of trainyards: / A lineman in bright plastic tightens / the ties that bind the stark black tracks, / lifelines, clarified now / By the white consciousness of death." How happily "the ties that bind" step out of their customary weary role!

No words are wasted. A poem called "A Car Hit Me This Morning" begins: "Felt the whole weight of the machine / crush my body. / Of course I died. / . . ."

Subjects are examined coolly. In the poem "Bones": "Somewhere a professor writes / A bone is a perfect object. /

Later he will pass out samples / from a corrugated box / marked Floor Wax. / . . ." In the poem "Steak," the butcher "will pat the two pieces of steak / with a special fondness / as he wraps them in white paper / the blood staining the edges / . . ."

One of the most successful poems in the collection—and one of the most outward-looking in theme—is "Regarding the Edward Steichen photograph, *Isadora Duncan at the Parthenon*": "I was not ready / I must say / for her legs: / massive, overblown / like a lady wrestler's / as she flexes for combat / or perhaps / two balancing porpoises / under the ruffled toga / defying gravity with every purposeful / leap and flip. / But why resort to the comic / or to the bizarre / to account for these legs / when the Greek columns in the photograph / will do? / Yes, each leg is thick / as a Greek column. The crown / coiled tight / tight as a bow / as it tenses / to release / the shaft / the whole Parthenon / into the sky."

"United states of the mind," the longest poem in the book, chronicles the poet's move from the Philippines to the United States, and elsewhere, with a series of impressionistic scenes. There are many interesting ideas about cultures and people. This is an altogether enjoyable book to read.

Incidentally, the title of the book seems to have no relation to the contents. This sophisticated young poet is anything but primitive.

Enriquez's earlier collection, *Preparing the Body*, was published in 1977. (The title poem also appears in the new collection.) He has received awards and recognition in the United States and in Japan.

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*Rosella Howe, formerly of Madison, now living in Massachusetts, is a free lance editor, writer, and sometime poet.*

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**HISTORIC WISCONSIN BUILDINGS: A SURVEY IN PIONEER ARCHITECTURE 1835-1870** by Richard W.E. Perrin. 2nd rev. ed. Milwaukee Public Museum, Milwaukee, Wis. 53233, 1981. 123 pp. \$7.95 (add \$1.22 tax and handling for mail orders).

**By Gordon D. Orr, Jr.**

Richard Perrin's *Historic Wisconsin Buildings*, since publication of the first edition in 1962, has become the most frequently referenced history of Wisconsin's buildings and their construction techniques during the territorial and early

statehood days. Any discussion of buildings from this pioneer period invariably quotes the author as the source in determination of style, construction, importance or rarity, whether in journals, National Register nominations, or newspaper articles.

The new edition is presented in a new, larger format that is easier to read. The photographs, some new, are all larger, clearer and arranged to follow the text more closely. The reader will find it an easier text to use and to enjoy.

In its content, the book follows the original closely, however there are some notable improvements. More detailed attention is given to some construction methods, such as palisaded and stovewood, in separate chapters of Part I, Buildings of Wood, only sketchily mentioned in the original edition. Likewise, the gravel wall in construction, also known as "Grout" construction, is given a chapter in Part 3, Buildings of Stone. Thus Perrin has organized the book into three parts by material types, wood, brick, and stone, and further organized his chapters within these parts. This book, as true of the first edition, is the definitive work on early building materials and many specific structures that illustrate the techniques and styles which the author describes. No person in Wisconsin has recorded the vast inventory of early structures exhibiting the extensive knowledge of the pioneer builders that built them, and traced their origins, as has Perrin. His original edition was a rare contribution to Wisconsin's history, and this new revised edition substantially advances the work in quality, format, and content beyond the first.

*Gordon D. Orr, Jr., FAIA, is UW-Madison campus architect and an occasional author of articles on architects, architectural history, and the outdoors.*

**SONS OF THUNDER** by Barbara Fitz Vroman; Pearl-Win Publishing Co., Hancock, Wis, 1981. 388 pp.

**By John H. Dunn**

From County Sligo Yeats extolled "the indomitable Irishry." From County Wau-shara Barbara Fitz Vroman celebrates "the sons of thunder." Both refer to Ireland's centuries-long struggle for freedom from England. In her *Sons of Thunder*, the Hancock (Wis.) author takes one year of the struggle for a story of love and revolution with sharp focus on County Wexford and the awakening of Irish nationalism.

This small section of Southeast Ireland existed a thousand years under the Vikings, Normans, and English. Vroman brings together history and imagination in a highly readable account of the 1798 attempt "to burst in twain the galling chain and free our native land." Swift described eighteenth century Irish peasants as "living in filth upon buttermilk and seed potatoes, not a stocking to their feet or a house so convenient as an English hog sty to receive them." Meanwhile Dublin's English-dominated society flourished, perhaps leaving their parties a few hours at mid-century for the world premiere of Handel's "Messiah."

Siobonna Covington, knowing both these worlds, provides the novel's fast movement. Irish born but educated in an English convent, Siobonna returns to Dublin where her father dies in a drunken stupor. His paramour, a middle-age hooker, pays for the burial and manages valuable introductions and social invitations for Siobonna. Her beauty and English education enable titled admirers to overlook her Irish-Catholic heritage. But she could never forget the Irish people, particularly those in Wexford. And therein lies the story.

As an enhancement of history via the eye of a novelist, *Sons of Thunder* resembles a BBC or Australian TV effort to drum up interest for the past. One can almost hear Alistair Cooke filling in background for the Battle of Vinegar Hill. Vroman doesn't take undue literary license in dealing with the Wexford rebellion. Within an authentic framework she develops the themes and variations necessary for a plausible story. She admits to creating Father John as a leader before her research revealed that the insurrection's key figure was none other than Father John Murphy, now memorialized in bronze at Enniscorthy. She thus develops believable characters, but sometimes it seems, as in the case of Siobonna, they might be asked to accomplish too much within the brief time span. But I guess that with the rebellious Irish spirit nothing was too hard. Some of the novel's best moments involve Father Ewan, a sort of Irish Alyosha Karamazov. His religious dialogues with Siobonna are handled with understanding.

Vroman treats conflict effectively, not just between individuals but in the warfare that climaxes the novel. She has a good command of language and uses it sparingly. She likes the active voice, few adjectives, and original metaphors, all of which make for pleasurable reading. Some may already know the thirty-day Wexford uprising from such Irish rebel songs

as "Boolavogue," or "The Boys of Wexford." They'll especially enjoy *The Sons of Thunder*.

*John H. Dunn is a Madison free-lance writer.*

**THE BUCKY BADGER STORY** by Gwen Schultz; with drawings by Bertha Schumacher; Hammock and Inglenook, Madison, 1981. 80 pp. \$6.

**By Pat Powell**

The attractive cover of this 8½" x 11" book sports the words "fact and fiction for all ages" beside a color photograph of Bucky riding onto the Camp Randall field with a carload of UW cheerleaders. To test the "for all ages" promise, I read the book and then gave it to my two children, ages 11 and 13 to read. One evening we all went through the book discussing what we like best and what we liked least. We agreed on two things: we all liked the graphics, the skillful mixture of line drawings, photographs (black and white and color), and we all liked the opening fiction, "Bucky Badger Comes to Life."

There are also chapters on real badgers (the animals) with information on habitat, life cycle, and such information to make a good elementary school report; and on the evolution of Bucky as mascot and as graphic symbol, information to stir nostalgic memories in UW alumni and satisfy the curiosity of newcomer football fans.

This well-done book in magazine format should find its way into school libraries across the state as well as into the homes of loyal Badger fans. It does live up to the claim—"fact and fiction for all ages."

### Squaw Dance

Young girls dancing,  
Knees and feet together,  
Hopping in tight circles;  
Their budding kept still,  
Not yet, jumping inside buckskin.  
Old women, heels flying high,  
In twirling and squatting movement;  
Between shuffled steps,  
Their action inviting  
The whole world in;  
Because love has been conceived.  
And virgins do not give  
The invitation sign.

*Gerti H. Sennett*



# Authors

continued from page 2



**Robert Powless**

**Robert E. Powless** is a member of the Oneida Tribe of Wisconsin. He holds the B.S. degree in history and the M.S. in guidance and counseling from UW-Madison, and the Ph.D. in educational administration from the University of Minnesota-Minneapolis. He has taught and worked in administration at UW Center System Fox Valley, UW-Stevens Point, and was director of the American Indian Studies Program at the University of Minnesota in Duluth. In August of 1981, Dr. Powless assumed the duties of president of Mount Senario College in Lady-smith.

**Barry Powell**, who took the color photographs for this issue, teaches classics at UW-Madison. He devotes much of his leisure time to studying the material culture of the American Indian, which includes attending frequent powwows.

**Dennis Lyon** teaches in the English Department of Madison's West High School.



**Roberta Whiteman**

**Duaine Counsell**, owner of Parsons' Trading Post, teaches at UW-Stevens Point.

**Roberta Hill Whiteman**, a member of the Oneida Tribe of Wisconsin, earned her M.F.A. from the University of Montana in 1973. Since that time she has worked as poet-in-the-schools in South Dakota, Minnesota, Oklahoma, Wyoming, Arizona, and Wisconsin. She now teaches composition and Indian literature at UW-Eau Claire. In 1980 she married Ernest Whiteman, a Northern Arapaho artist.

Roberta's poems have recently appeared in "The Nation," "Shantih," and in *The Third Woman: Third World Women Writers in America*, ed. by Dexter Fisher (Houghton-Mifflin, 1979).

## Letter to the editor

Dear Ms. Powell:

I have recently become a member of the Academy and have been very pleased with the *Review*. I particularly like the recent issue on mining in Wisconsin. I think further issues could also benefit by having a similar, perhaps controversial theme: for example, a series of articles on wetland-related issues in the state.

Wisconsin is one of the few states blessed with extensive wetlands, and this unique state resource is constantly being eroded through draining and ditching for housing and commercial and agricultural uses. Perhaps a critical investigation of the pros and cons of wetland use, abuse, and preservation could prove exciting and educational. I would be glad to assist with such an undertaking.

A second idea I wish to propose: perhaps a special issue, or even an additional Academy publication, could be a conglomerate of color photography (of Wisconsin history, landscape, and natural heritage), contributed by area photographers. . . . I recognize that black and white photography is less costly, but I would still like to see some color photographs in the *Review*.

Charlie Luthin  
Madison

Dear Mr. Luthin:

Some of our best ideas come from readers, and both of yours are good. In fact, the Academy already has a committee looking into the possibility of publishing a book on Wisconsin's natural heritage. We, too, would like to see color photographs as a regular feature of the *Review* and are pleased that a grant has made color possible in this issue. Black-and-white photographs, (8 x 10 glossy, include SASE) to be considered for the section on Wisconsin photographers, are always welcome.

Review editor

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