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American Indian Culture and Research Journal

Title

Siege and Survival: History of the Menominee Indians, 1634-1856. By David R. M. Beck.

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0j49h2b4>

Journal

American Indian Culture and Research Journal , 27(3)

ISSN

0161-6463

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Publication Date

2003-06-01

DOI

10.17953

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There is an upbeat attitude throughout the book; one comes away with the feeling that indigenous models of education are not only possible but are being developed with great zeal. Although they remain the most underfunded institutions of higher education, TCUs have made great strides during the past thirty years and the cooperation among TCUs, philanthropic organizations, and the federal government bodes well for the future.

The book provides useful charts, as well an appendix of American Indian Demographics and Maps. If the reader would like supplementary sources, I would recommend *Surviving in Two Worlds: Contemporary Native American Voices* by Crozier-Hogle, Wilson, Saitta and Leibold, eds. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997) and *First Person, First Peoples: Native American Graduates Tell Their Life Stories* by Jay Leibold, ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997). The personal testimonies in both of these books give weight to the content of *The Renaissance of AIHE*. Today, "Capturing the Dream" seems not only possible but highly probable.

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Siege and Survival: History of the Menominee Indians, 1634–1856. By David R. M. Beck. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. 294 pages. \$49.95 cloth.

In *Siege and Survival*, David R. M. Beck argues that the Menominee Nation of Indians in present-day Wisconsin sought "consistently to maintain political and economic sovereignty and cultural identity" throughout its history. The tribe, he says, "retained complete independence in its own lands for nearly two centuries, until its country was claimed in 1815 by the United States in the aftermath of war" (pp. xv–xvi). To explain how the Menominee did this and how they countered an aggressive United States government successfully to retain a portion of their traditional homeland is Beck's stated purpose.

There is much to commend this approach. For much of the twentieth century, the writing of Native American history was fully informed by the myth of the "Vanishing American." Indians might resist briefly the onslaught of forces that intruded upon their lands, but in the end they, and their way of life, disappeared. Not so in Beck's retelling of Menominee history. He emphasizes repeatedly that the traditional Menominee culture remains intact, and that the tribe continues to pursue a variety of traditional subsistence regimes on lands that they have occupied for centuries.

Still, Beck's treatment of the Menominee in these crucial centuries is intensely Turnerian in its approach and, as a result, deeply flawed. He begins with a description of the Menominee world before the arrival of Europeans, by far the best chapter in the book (although there is little here with which specialists will not be familiar). Beck uses Menominee oral tradition, some of it gathered in interviews he conducted, although he does not tell us when, with whom, and where these interviews took place. A discussion of the French

fur “trading frontier” follows. Beck argues that French traders and Jesuit missionaries forced the Menominee to “modify their culture” and to “adapt to the new material and social conditions,” but he does not do nearly as much analysis of these changes as the surviving sources will allow. This chapter is very much a study of a “frontier” along which the French “expanded their territory westward” (p. 32).

Beck similarly describes the entry of the British into the western Great Lakes region after the Great War for Empire (the French and Indian War) and, after the Revolution, the arrival of the Americans, who abandoned entirely the protocols of the fur trade. In Beck’s view, the “fur trade dwindled,” and the land rush began after the Peace of Paris in 1783. Loggers and farmers “demolished America’s frontier in pursuit of a livelihood and a place to live.” More missionaries and Indian agents followed, with further destructive consequences for Indians in the region. These Americans began to demand both land cessions from the Menominee and adherence to the federal government’s new “civilization” program, a contradictory set of programs chronicled in many studies of early American Indian policy.

Although Beck cites the work of historians such as Richard White, who have transformed our understandings of the concept of a frontier, he seems unaware of the pitfalls of the older approach and, in places, falls right into them. All too often, Beck’s book is about what non-Indians did to Indians: “duplicitous” federal officials “defraud” Indians; missionaries pull off the “feat” of converting a few Menominee; pushy agents threaten hesitant Indians. As a result, Indians sometimes tend to disappear from Beck’s narrative. Indeed, his book reads in places as a brief in Indian-rights litigation, in which he is trying to convince a judge and jury to award the Menominee damages on the basis of unjust actions by their overlords and oppressors.

Such an appeal will make Beck’s book useful to litigants and lawyers, but fails to answer many questions raised by his evidence that are important to historians. Without question, the Menominee succeeded in deflecting and defeating policies aimed at their “removal”; yet we see surprisingly and disappointingly little of how, precisely, they did this. In Beck’s discussion of the several treaties the Menominee negotiated with the United States, for instance, we move rapidly from the opening speeches to the completed treaty. We read little of the actual proceedings and of how the Menominee responded to and attempted to thwart policies aimed, for all practical purposes, at their destruction. Beck’s Indians appear all too often as victims, acted upon by unprincipled outsiders. Certainly there was victimization aplenty, but Beck at times seems to lose sight of the Menominees’ real accomplishment in defending their tribal interests as well as they did.

By allowing the actions of outsiders—whether French, English, or American—to drive his narrative, Beck overlooks a number of important questions that, if answered, could have made his work a significant contribution to the literature. For example, by describing conversion to Christianity as something done to the Menominee by missionaries, Beck never explains in any detail the motives behind conversion. Why, in short, did some Menominee become Christians? Beck suggests a few answers, but never explores them in

any detail. And what about the identity of these converts, and other Menominee who, for whatever reasons, incorporated elements of European culture into their daily lives? Beck suggests that most of the Menominee who followed this course were mixed-blood peoples. He emphasizes that “people who did not actively participate in tribal life were not considered Menominee unless they returned.” In a note, he defines the term “mixed blood” as something more “than a biological mixture of blood; it also implies a cultural mix.” Some people of mixed blood, he says, “became part of the tribe, while others became part of white society” (p. 211, n.7) Being Menominee, Beck suggests, is based on actions, on belonging. Fair enough. What he doesn’t tell us is how non-Indian members of the community, such as fur traders, amalgamated themselves into Menominee villages and, significantly, how those mixed-blood peoples who became Christians saw themselves. If the tribe no longer considered them Menominee (and Beck provides us no evidence that they did so), how did they see themselves? He leaves unanswered these fascinating questions about Menominee identity. What’s more, Beck seems largely uninterested in questions of gender: given the findings in Susan Sleeper-Smith’s excellent recent book on *Indian Women and French Men* (Amherst, 2001), it is shocking that he pays so little attention to the role of Menominee women in shaping the nature of intercultural exchange.

Furthermore, throughout the book Beck describes the Menominee in fairly monolithic terms. There is, from the earliest days, a Menominee “tribe” made up of villages, clans, and lineages. But what we know from the work of other scholars, such as White and Gregory Evans Dowd, who have studied Indians in the Old Northwest and the Ohio Valley, is that tribal identity in the region was quite fluid. Villages consisted of all sorts of people, a result of the reshuffling caused by warfare and European epidemic diseases in the seventeenth century. Indians in a given village reacted in different ways to the arrival of European and American newcomers. Beck devotes little attention to these major historiographical questions. He might have explored more fully how the Menominee emerged and developed a “tribal” identity, had he not devoted so much of his attention to chronicling the effect of U.S. Indian policies upon the Menominee.

Finally, by looking at policies and their consequences for the Menominee, Beck fails to examine as closely as the evidence will allow the complex relationships that developed along the frontier. For instance, in the 1840s the Menominee, according to Beck, complained of the encroachment and aggression of Irish settlers, which the tribe distinguished from the behavior of German immigrants and Americans (pp. 179–180). The evidence suggests a complicated web of relationships between the great varieties of peoples, of both Indian and European descent, then residing in Wisconsin. It is unfortunate that Beck did not try to make full use of the evidence to explore the nature of these relationships.

Beck has written a well-intentioned book. His goal was to show how the Menominee survived the “centuries-long siege of Indian societies and cultures that destroyed tribal economies, decimated or diminished their populations, subverted their governments, and forced many to migrate from their home-

lands” (p. xv). To a limited extent, he succeeded. However, in failing to explore as deeply as he might have the implications of his own evidence, Beck has overlooked many of the nuances and subtleties of his subject, and missed an opportunity to write a monograph of significant creativity and value.

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Termination’s Legacy: The Discarded Indians of Utah. By R. Warren Metcalf. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. 243 pages. \$55.00 cloth.

Metcalf modifies Donald Fixico’s thesis in *Termination and Relocation* (University of New Mexico Press, 1986) that termination was an attempt to revive assimilationist policies and Kenneth Philp’s argument in *Termination Revisited* (University of Nebraska Press, 1999) that termination was a reaction against the Indian Reorganization Act. Metcalf convincingly argues that the way termination played out in Utah resulted directly from the Indian Claims Commission’s proceedings; the coincidental accession of Arthur Watkins to the chairship of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs; and Watkins’, Wilkinson’s, and Boyden’s Mormonism. The author uses interviews, as well as the recently released papers of John Boyden at the University of Utah and the papers of Arthur Watkins and Ernest Wilkinson at Brigham Young University, as well as other archival and published sources

Ernest Wilkinson had stumbled onto Indian claims cases in the 1930s, and his appearance before Congress in 1945 to lobby for passage of the Indian Claims Commission Act resulted directly from his pique at having the Supreme Court reject his arduously reasoned argument on behalf of the Northwestern Shoshone. In the termination decade of the 1950s, he became increasingly skeptical about termination, especially after the Association on Indian Affairs headed by longtime activist Oliver La Farge issued a blistering denunciation of the program. Wilkinson even expressed his doubts to the president of the Mormon Church. However, he never publicly voiced his opposition because in the tight-knit circles connecting Washington Mormons with Utah Mormons, he would not gainsay the powerful and respected Senator Watkins

Watkins was the junior senator from Utah in 1946 when he took the chairship of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs simply because no one else wanted the job. He had neither previously interest in nor knowledge of Native Americans. He also did not create the idea of termination. That idea, paradoxically, came from Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Zimmermann, a New Dealer left over from the days of John Collier and the Indian Reorganization Act. When forced to tell the Senate Civil Service Committee exactly how the Bureau of Indian Affairs would cut staff and economize, Zimmermann could think of nothing except to withdraw services from some tribes to avoid a general hamstringing reduction in funds that would torpedo economic development programs on other reservations. Zimmermann proposed an approach to identify tribes in three categories: