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Land and Population on the Indian Reservation of Wisconsin: Past, Present, and Future

Gary Sandefur, Miguel Ceballos, Susan Mannon

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All views, interpretations, recommendations, and conclusions expressed in this paper are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the supporting or cooperating institutions.

Contents

Maps, tables, and figures

LAND AND POPULATION ON THE INDIAN RESERVATIONS OF WISCONSIN: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE[1]

by

Gary Sandefur, Miguel Ceballos, Susan Mannon

The historical relationship between land use and population change among Wisconsin's Indian groups has been strikingly emblematic of the larger American Indian population. The ingredients of this rich relationship include the state's natural resource base, as well as the major engines of demographic change, namely fertility, mortality, and migration. In addition, federal policies have played a critical role in mediating this relationship. These policies have figured prominently since the earliest contact between Europeans and Wisconsin Indians and have continued to exert substantial influence. This paper discusses the past, present, and future relationship between the land and the state's Indian populations, paying particular attention to reservation populations.

The reciprocal relationship between land and population among Wisconsin's Indians has evolved in an environment of changing social and political forces. Hence, the paper treats these issues in a chronological manner. It begins by reviewing the early period of contact between Europeans and Indians in the area known today as Wisconsin. Then, it discusses the creation of the state of Wisconsin and various Indian reservations, as well as their implications for Indian populations in the state. Next, it discusses federal land policies of the 19th and 20th centuries, and their effects on Wisconsin reservation populations. Finally, it describes current land tenure issues and the implications of future population growth.

WISCONSIN INDIANS DURING THE EARLY CONTACT PERIOD

French explorers, fur traders, and missionaries provided the earliest mention of Wisconsin's Indians by Europeans. Jean Nicolet was the first known European to have come to Wisconsin around 1634. He is thought to have met with the Ho-Chunk somewhere around 1640 (Mason 1988). The European presence in North America, however, had exerted a substantial influence even before this time. The fur trade, for example, introduced both European goods and Indian groups from outside the region. At the time of contact, most of the state's Indian groups were related to the Oneota culture, which was characterized by intricate adaptations to a varied natural resource base (ibid. 1988).

Wisconsin's natural resource base largely directed early indigenous settlement patterns.[2] As a result, the land and its natural resource base provide a telling starting point to the history of

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Wisconsin's eleven Native American residential groups. These groups include the Ho-Chunk, Menominee, Potawatomi, six Ojibwa groups (St. Croix, Red Cliff, Bad River, Lac du Flambeau, Lac Courte Oreilles, and Mole Lake), Stockbridge-Munsee, and Oneida. Due to the glaciers of the ice age, Wisconsin has a flat and rolling contour with an abundance of lakes and rivers. The many lakes and rivers provided opportunities for fishing and transport. Lake Winnebago, for example, was rich in fish, fresh water clams, birds, plant foods, as well as wild rice along its shores. In addition, the Mississippi River, the Fox River, and the Wisconsin River were among the most important conduits for travel throughout the state. These crucial bodies of water also served as natural boundary lines for various Indian groups.

Wisconsin's natural resource base is associated with three major biotic zones. The Canadian Zone, located in the northern portion of the state, has a mean annual temperature of 39°F and a short growing season. The zone is characterized by shallow, post-glacial soils, or 'podzols,' developed from centuries of forest growth. As a result, farming in this region is difficult.[3] Fishing grounds, however, are very rich at specific times of the year and thus a vital part of economic life. Hence, the north was strictly a home for hunters and gatherers (Mason 1988). The southern part of the state, called the Carolinian Zone, has a mean annual temperature of 48°F and a longer growing season. In contrast to the Canadian Zone, agriculture was more feasible in this zone. The southern and eastern portions of this area contain prairie soils that are more fertile, but generally difficult to cultivate using simple tools. Hence, hunting and gathering were also important in this region during the earliest periods. The Transition (Tension) Zone is situated between the Canadian and Carolinian Zones, representing a mixture of both regions. This zone provided an optimal mixture of life-sustaining activities, including hunting, fishing, collecting wild plants, and agriculture.

When Europeans arrived, farming-hunting-gathering communities were located in the south, while smaller nomadic hunter-gatherer groups were found in the north. At the time of this first European contact, the Indian groups in the region included the Ho-Chunk, Menominee, and Santee Dakota. The Ho-Chunk, also known as the Winnebago, is a Siouan speaking group that was originally located near the Green Bay area.[4] The population of the Ho-Chunk was estimated to be 10,000 in 1634, a relatively large size for this time period and area. Within a mere twenty years, their numbers had dwindled to approximately 600 (Terrell 1971). The primary cause of this decline was the introduction of European diseases. High mortality rates combined with increased in-migration of other Indian populations had devastating consequences for the group's political stability and access to resources. As a result, the Ho-Chunk moved westward, where they encountered abundant resources, plentiful bison, and a booming trade along the Mississippi (Mason 1988).

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[2] Paleo-Indians first migrated to the area now known as Wisconsin around 11,000 BC. They came from the south following game into new territory created by receding glaciers. These early groups were hunters and gatherers. Farming arrived in the area via early Woodland Indians from the south after 700 BC. By 500 AD, two distinct cultures appeared to dominate early Wisconsin: a northern fishing culture centered on key waterways and a southern agriculture culture. There appears to have been some trade in ideas and goods between these two cultures.

[3] The high levels of snow also affect living conditions.

[4] Lurie (1980) argues that the Ho-Chunk eventually became Algonkianized due to intermarriage and intermixing with eastern Algonkian tribes.

The Menominee represent Wisconsin's earliest residents, having occupied the area for more than 10,000 years. Their early population size is unknown, but some evidence suggests they were considerably smaller than the Ho-Chunk. By the time the first European explorers arrived in Wisconsin in 1634, the Menominee were hunting much of the eastern part of the state. They lived primarily in an area encompassing Milwaukee, Michigan's upper peninsula, and west of Black River Falls. Although the exact location of their settlements is unknown, their "Grand Village" is known to have been located at the mouth of the Menominee River at the time of contact.

The Santee Dakota, known as the Sioux, were a third Indian group in Wisconsin when Nicolet arrived. The Santee Dakota are believed to come from north of the Great Lakes, moving southwest until they encountered attacks by the Ojibwa and other tribes in Sault St. Marie. By 1640, they were located on Lake Winnebago, as well as near the Mississippi and St. Croix River (Kubiak 1970). By the late 1600s, they had a little over twenty villages along the Mississippi, while claiming the entire west bank to the Des Moines River as hunting territory.

Apart from these three original Indian groups, many Indian groups had migrated into Wisconsin by the 1640s.[5] This migration was due in large part to warfare with the Iroquois in the East and the politically destabilizing expansion of the fur trade. The Potawatomi and Ojibwa were among these migrant Indian groups. They were related to the Anishinabe, who lived along the east coast of Canada near the mouth of the St. Lawrence River.[6] The Potawatomi, or the Neshnabek, first arrived in Green Bay around 1648 from the Lower Peninsula of Michigan and the east shore of Lake Michigan. Here, they defeated the Iroquois' attacks from the east. They ultimately spread south and back east into Michigan and Illinois (Mason 1988). Arriving in 1695, the Ojibwa also entered the area via Green Bay. They were at constant war with the Santee Dakota over hunting lands. As their population grew, various groups of the Ojibwa spread throughout much of northern Wisconsin (ibid. 1988).

The effect of these in-migrating Indian groups on Wisconsin's original Indian groups varied. Both the Ho-Chunk and the Menominee moved further west. The Santee Dakota appeared to have posed the most ardent challenge to the newcomers, engaging in numerous confrontations and battles (Mason 1988). In the latter half of the 17th century, however, the newcomers had settled into new villages. European missions and trading posts were also well-established by the turn of the century. In 1689, Nicolas Perrot took possession of Wisconsin for France, exerting a distinct French influence on the region well in to the 1700s. France's defeat by the British in Quebec in 1760 marked a change in metropolitan rule. However, it did not alter the devastating effects of trade and migration, intra-tribal conflict, and European diseases on the Indian groups in Wisconsin.

During this early contact period, the flora and fauna of the region created patterns of trade, travel, and settlement that had a substantial effect on population growth and decline in the area. The fur trade, for example, led to the in-migration of numerous Indian groups from outside the

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[5] Eleven other Indian tribes arrived in Wisconsin at different times after contact, but eventually migrated out of, or were removed from the state. They included the Miami, the Sauk and Fox, the Kickapoo, the Illini, the Mascouten, the Huron, and the Tionontati.

[6] Around the 10th century, the Anishinabe began a western migration that took approximately 500 years. Upon reaching Sault Saint Marie in Michigan, they split into three groups: the Potawotami, the Ojibwa, and the Ottawa (Oxley 1981).

region, not to mention various European traders. As a result, some areas of Wisconsin experienced considerable conflict and competition over natural resources. At the same time, downward pressure on the Indian population was also occurring during this period, primarily through the importation of European diseases. The Ho-Chunk provides just one shocking example of such population decline. Illustrated here is a nascent reciprocal relationship between land and population change, situated at a particular historical moment.

WISCONSIN STATEHOOD AND THE RESERVATION PERIOD

The Americans gained possession of the Wisconsin areas as a result of the War of 1812. The change marked a critical shift in Wisconsin land tenure patterns. In contrast to British and French traders, American settlers came to farm rather than trade. Thus, they settled down instead of moving on. They also arrived in larger numbers, bringing their families and establishing stable farming communities. The settlers soon put pressure on the U.S. government to open up more land for settlement via Indian land acquisition and/or Indian removal (Mason 1988). The age of fierce land politics witnessed elsewhere in the U.S. had at last arrived in Wisconsin, signaling new patterns of land use and migration.

Land acquisition by white setters followed a familiar pattern of territorial demarcation and treaty signing. The process signaled dwindling land control among Wisconsin's Indian groups. However, land grabbing was also uneven and concentrated in the Carolinian zone, where agriculture was more viable. Among the first and most important treaties was the Treaty of Prairie du Chien of 1825. While the treaty's official purpose was to settle intra-tribal conflict, it also served to draw rigid boundaries for Wisconsin Indian tribes. Legally established boundaries aided white setters in identifying those tribes whose land they wished to acquire. As a result, the Treaty of Prairie du Chien initiated a process of dwindling Indian territory in southeastern Wisconsin. By the time Wisconsin was admitted into the Union in 1848, most Indian land in Wisconsin had been ceded by treaty.

White settlers did not penetrate the north woods in large numbers. The Canadian Zone was less suitable for agriculture, making white settlement in this region slow and sporadic. Thus, the region's Indians came to be concentrated in the north, where they were not under immediate pressure to leave. They remained in the area until signing treaties between 1854 and 1856, which assigned them to reservations in the north.[7] As a result, most of Wisconsin's Indian reservations are located in the Canadian and Transition Zones (see map). Their location in this area would have profound implications for economic development strategies in later periods. In this initial period, however, the creation of reservations more prominently marked new boundaries of political influence and residential living. What these patterns meant for Wisconsin's Indian tribes depended largely on the individual group. The remainder of this section will briefly outline the shape of this emerging map for individual tribes.

[7] The reservation system was largely a response to the realization that Indian removal to the west of Mississippi was both costly and dangerous. Such relocation threatened potential alliances among Indian groups and various Plains tribes against whites.

Map: Wisconsin's Indians

Source: Lurie, Nancy Oestreich. 1987. *Wisconsin Indians*. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Used by permission of the State Historical Society.

The Ho-Chunk claimed most of southern Wisconsin as a result of the Treaty of Prairie du Chien. Their land was bounded on the southeast by the Rock River, the Mississippi on the west, and the Fox-Wisconsin on the north. The territory includes all of Lake Winnebago and parts of the Lower Fox River, as well as rich farmland, lead mines, and the main water routes through the region. In 1829, pressure from white settlers and miners led to several large land cessions in return for land west of the Mississippi. The remaining land was taken from the Ho-Chunk in 1837 (Mason 1988). The group was forced to resettle in northeast Iowa, south-central Minnesota, and later, in Nebraska and South Dakota. Many returned to Wisconsin where, lacking reserved lands, they established scattered but enduring communities.[8] These Indians resided in Wisconsin as fugitives, planting and hunting on the edges of rural America. In 1874, the Ho-Chunk tribe was granted 40-acre homesteads in Wisconsin, which totaled less than 4,000 acres in 1969.

At the beginning of the 19th century, Menominee land claims stretched to Green Bay and Lake Michigan in the east, the Black River in the west, and the Milwaukee River in the south. Treaties signed between 1831 and 1836 allowed the federal government to purchase Menominee land at will, forcing the tribe to cede all their northern land. Although many Menominee remained in the area, pressure from white setters led to the Treaty of 1848, which required the Menominee to sell their remaining land in Wisconsin and resettle in Minnesota (Mason 1988, Ourada 1990).[9] A delegation of Menominee eventually traveled to Washington D.C. to contest the unfair treaty. Their efforts culminated in the Treaty of 1854, which granted the tribe a reservation along the Wolf River. Their lands were reduced to 232,400 acres by treaty in 1856.

In the Treaty of Chicago of 1833, the Potawatomi lost all their land in Wisconsin and accepted land in Kansas. Many Potawatomi, however, refused to move to Kansas, instead moving north into Canada, Michigan, or back into Wisconsin. Potawatomi fugitives in Wisconsin were often caught and sent back to Kansas, but many were able to remain in the northern parts of Wisconsin. In 1913, small reservations at Stone Lake and Wabeno were created for the Potawatomi (Lurie 1969, Mason 1988). Today, the reservations feature checkered settlements covering an area of approximately 14,500 acres.

When copper was discovered on the south shore of Lake Superior, government pressure began to push the Objibwa west of the Mississippi. The Objibwa, also known as the Chippewa, sold their mineral rights in 1826 and eventually lost most of their land by treaty between 1833 and 1854. A series of agreements and treaties beginning in 1854 led to the creation of the existing Ojibwa reservations in Wisconsin (Lurie 1980).

- The St. Croix Chippewa reservation in northwest Wisconsin includes eleven separate Indian communities. The reservation features numerous lakes and a portion of Wisconsin's north woods. The St. Croix Chippewa reservation held 1,750 acres in 1934.
- The Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Chippewa is situated on the Northern shoreline of the Bayfield Peninsula. Its reservation land has hovered consistently above 7,000 acres since 1854.

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[8] In 1881, the federal government created two separate tribes of the Ho-Chunk: the Wisconsin Ho-Chunk and the Nebraska Winnebago (Lurie 1969, Mason 1988).

[9] Chief Oshkosh of the Menominee reluctantly signed the Treaty of 1848 after much pressure by then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, William Medill.

- The Bad River Chippewa Reservation is situated in the northwest portion of the state, primarily along Wisconsin's northern coast of Lake Superior. The reservation features 16,000 acres of wetlands, supporting wild rice harvesting and a fish hatchery. The reservation now encompasses over 4,000 acres.
- The Lac de Flambeau Band of Lake Superior Chippewa was formally granted a 70,000 acre reservation in north-central Wisconsin. The reservation demarcates an area occupied by the Lake Superior Chippewa Indians since 1745 when they settled in the region to take advantage of the abundant wildlife of the 'Lake of Torches,' or Lac de Flambeau. Today, the reservation consists of approximately 40,500 acres.
- The reservation of the Lac Courte Oreilles Band of Lake Superior Chippewa is located in the woodland region of northwest Wisconsin. Since 1854, this reservation has dwindled from 70,000 to 30,500 acres.
- The Mole Lake (Sokaogon) Band of Lake Superior Chippewa received 1700 acres of reservation land in 1934 after much struggle. The band is also known as the Lost Tribe since legal title to a small reservation established in the Treaty of 1854 was lost in a shipwreck on Lake Superior.

By 1821, the Menominee were experiencing territorial conflict with new in-migrating Indian groups, the Stockbridge-Munsee and Oneida in particular. The Stockbridge-Munsee, like the Menominee, Chippewa, and Potawatomi, are of Algonkian linguistic stock. Mahican in origin, their reservation in Stockbridge, Massachusetts was among the earliest in U.S. history. Due to increasing pressure from white settlement, both the Stockbridge and Oneida moved westward in search of new territory. In Indiana, they were joined by the Munsee and Brotherton from New Jersey. Together, the four groups became the Stockbridge-Munsee. The Menominee eventually ceded two of their twelve townships in 1856, which provided the foundation for the Stockbridge-Munsee reservation. The Stockbridge-Munsee reservation consisted of 44,000 acres in 1856. Another group of Oneida moved separately from New York into Wisconsin. A treaty signed in 1838 granted the Oneida 65,000 acres near Green Bay. In 1978, the reservation had dwindled to a little over 2000 acres (Lurie 1980).

Most other Indian groups in Wisconsin at this time were forced to leave. The Ottawa, who were located around the mouth of the Milwaukee River in the early 19th century, ceded all their lands in Wisconsin by 1833. They resettled on a reservation on the Missouri River in Kansas. The Prairie du Chien Treaty of 1825, which attempted to resolve conflict between the Santee Dakota and the Sauk and Fox, gave all disputed lands east of the Mississippi to the Santee, forcing the Sauk and Fox to move west of the Mississippi. Black Hawk and his group attempted to regain the unlawfully lost lands, resulting in the Black Hawk War in 1832. Their defeat led to their loss of land in Iowa, forcing most Sauk and Fox to move to Kansas and later Oklahoma. The Santee Dakota gave up most of their lands in Wisconsin in 1837. By 1851, they lost their remaining lands and moved to a narrow strip of land along the Upper Minnesota River (Mason 1988).

Thus, during the 1800s, Wisconsin's Indians experienced considerable population change due to white settlement in the region. In most cases, these changes stemmed from substantial land loss. The reservation system relegated various Indian groups to the northern part of the state, where economic activities and population growth were limited. The best agricultural and mineral producing land in the Carolinian Zone was granted to white settlers by government

policy and white settler pressure. The migration of white settlers into the state, and the growing importance of agriculture in the southeastern portion of the state, had enormous implications for Indians' land use and population change.

FEDERAL INDIAN POLICY AND WISCONSIN INDIAN RESERVATIONS

By the middle of the 19th century, the Indians of Wisconsin were removed or were forced to relocate to very small reservations. The treaty period ended roughly around 1871, at which point federal policy turned to efforts around integrating and assimilating Indians into white society. Chief among these efforts was the General Allotment Act, or Dawes Act of 1887. The Dawes Act divided tribal lands into 160-acre parcels for individual family heads. These allotments were to be held in trust by the U.S. government for a period of 25 years, after which the land was to be conveyed in fee simple to Indian owners (Otis 1973, Hakansson1997). In light of its intent to assimilate Indians into the role of farmers, the original act did not allow allottees to lease or sell their land.

Eventually, non-Indians pressured the government to make possible the leasing of allotted land lying fallow. As a result, congress amended the act through the Land Lease Amendment of 1890.[10] The amendment allowed Indians with "special disabilities" to lease land up to three years for farming or grazing, and up to ten years for mining purposes. Later, Congress further modified the act to allow any Indians wishing to lease the land to do so. Lease approvals increased from 6 in 1894 to 2,500 in 1900. The Burke Act of 1906 aggravated these disastrous results. It allowed the Secretary of the Interior to issue deeds to "competent" allottees capable of managing their own affairs. Many more Indians than expected applied for fee patents, some due to unscrupulous persuasion by non-Indians. Inaccurate processing of applications and failure to check for abuses signaled further land loss (see table 1).

Under Indian probate law, when an individual dies, his/her allotment descends to heirs as undivided "fractional" interests in the individual allotment. In other words, tenancy is held in common. Since Congress never amended the Indian probate laws, the process of fractionation continues today. The major problems with fractionation revolve around the high number of individual owners and the complexity of title. It is increasingly difficult to locate landowners for obtaining consent to lease, sell, or acquire property. It is also difficult to secure the agreement of all owners for decisions around land use. Thus, many individuals and firms are discouraged from pursuing economic development on Indian land (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1994). Any profits made from the land accrue to the lessee, frequently a non-resident of the reservation. Administering the land has become quite costly for the Bureau of Indian Affairs as well. Approximately 50-75% of the Bureau's realty budget goes to administering these fractional interests, adversely affecting other programs such as forestry and social services.

While the national figures demonstrate an estimated three-quarters loss in Indian land, Wisconsin's Indian land base was reduced only by one half. The unique situation was due largely

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[10] The inability of Indians to make use of the land as farmers was due largely to specific structural factors. Government policy, for example, prevented Indians from using the land as collateral to borrow money for purchasing seeds, equipment, and stock. Thus, leasing these allotments became an enduring trend, if not a logical recourse to such obstacles.

to the decision not to allot land on the Menominee reservation. The successful lumbering industry on this reservation precluded allotment efforts (Lurie 1980, Ourada 1990). The less drastic figures should not detract attention from substantial land loss on other Wisconsin reservations (see table 1). The Stockbridge-Munsee and Oneida, for example, lost substantial portions of their reservation land due to allotment. Meanwhile, inheritance continues to divide and complicate Ho-Chunk homesteads, decreasing individual Indians' ability to maintain control over their own land. The Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934 recognized the failures of previous federal land policies. It ended the allotment process and froze all allotted lands that were still in trust until Congress took action to take it out of trust. The IRA was successful in preventing further erosion of the tribal land base. Nevertheless, by 1934, 100 million acres of Indian trust land had already been lost nationwide (Lurie 1980).

TABLE 1: Indian land loss and land tenure after allotment

Indian Group	Land provided in treaty	Indian-owned land as of 1980		Tribally-owned land		Alloted land	
	Acres	Acres	Percent of treaty	Acres	Percent of total	Acres	Percent of total
Ho-Chunk	---[a]	3,673	---	---	---	---	---
Menominee	276,400[b]	193,380	69.96%	---[b]			
Potawatomi	14,439[c]	11,667	80.80%	11,267	96.57%	400	3.43%
St Croix-Chippewa	1,750[d]	1,715	98.00%	1,200	69.97%	515	30.03%
Red Cliff-Chippewa	7,321[e]	7,267	99.26%	5,122	70.48%	2,145	29.52%
Bad River-Chippewa	124,332[e]	41,802	33.62%	8,325	20%	33,477	80.08%
Lac Du Flambeau-Chippewa	70,000[e]	40,479	57.83%	25,152	62.13%	15,327	37.86%
Lac Courte Oreilles-Chippewa	70,000[e]	30,529	43.61%	3,945	12.92%	26,584	87.08%
Mole Lake-Chippewa	1,700[d]	---	---	---	---	---	---
Stockbridge-Munsee	44,000[f]	15,320	34.82%	3450[h]	22.62%	---	---
Oneida	65,000[g]	2,581	3.97%	2,108	81.67%	473	18.33%

[a] Ho-Chunk families each took 40 acre Indian homesteads in 1874.
[b] Almost all tribally-owned.
[c] Treaty of 1913
[d] Treaty of 1934
[e] Treaty of 1854
[f] Treaty of 1856
[g] Treaty of 1838.
[h] Title to 11,800 acres held by U.S. Department of Agriculture.
Source: Lurie (1969, 1980).

During the summer of 1953, Congress initiated a new phase of federal Indian policy. The set of policies, known as termination, removed federal supervision of targeted Indian groups. Between 1954 and 1962, various legislative acts terminated numerous tribal-federal relationships. According to these acts, reservations were to be eliminated, as were special federal services to Indians. Most importantly, land held in trust was to be transferred to private ownership and made fully taxable and alienable.

Among the larger groups to be terminated were the Menominee in Wisconsin, which took place in 1954. The terms were not fully understood by most members of the Menominee tribe and less than 10% of the tribe voted on the issue (Ourada 1990). As part of the termination agreement, Menominee land became Menominee County, which immediately became one of the poorest counties in the state. A Menominee corporation, controlled mostly by whites, began efforts to raise income via economic development schemes. Economic development

encompassed a renewal of the timber industry, as well as the development of a tourist industry. Most importantly, it entailed the selling of Menominee land to non-Indians (Ourada 1990).

Opposition to termination and its aftermath led to the formation of DRUMS (Determination of Rights and Unity for Menominee Shareholders). Founded by Menominees living in Milwaukee and Chicago, the group protested the sale of Menominee land, discrimination against Indian children in the schools, and the loss of lumber mill contracts. Their protests prevented further land from being sold and eventually led to the Menominee Restoration Act of 1973, which restored the Menominee's tribal status. Some Menominee tribal members chose to put their property into tribal trust once again; others chose to remain private property owners on the reservation (Ourada 1990). Similar confrontations occurred among other Wisconsin Indian groups. The Lac Court Oreilles Chippewa, for example, occupied the dam site of the Northern State Power Company in 1971 to protest the flooding of 6,000 acres of reservation land.

Throughout this period, federal policies have had drastic effects on land loss and population size on Wisconsin's Indian reservations. Allotment, fractionation, and termination policies not only reduced Indian-controlled land, it severely curbed economic options and development on reservations. At the turn of the 20th century, Indian populations began to recover numerically, which put pressure on dwindling natural resources on the reservation. Fragmented land claims promised little in terms of agriculture, and unemployment soared on the reservation. The search for jobs and viable livelihoods led to large-scale urban migration beginning in World War II.

Population change has also been occurring in the opposite direction as well. Nagel (1997) argues that such federal termination policies contributed to growing pride in identification with Indian ancestry. To the extent that these policies inadvertently led to an increase in self-identification as American Indians and return migration to Wisconsin reservations, they had a positive effect on population change (see tables 2 and 3, and figure 1). The case of the Menominee is well-documented, showing a significant number of tribal members returning from the urban areas to fight the policy of termination.

TABLE 2: American Indian migration to Wisconsin reservations

Indian Group	1974 or earlier[a] (%)	1975-78[a] (%)	1979-80[a] (%)	1985[b] (%)
Ho-Chunk	18.30	28.90	16.90	11.82
Menominee	10.40	8.40	4.60	7.68
Potawatomi	14.30	13.20	10.50	8.79
St. Croix-Chippewa	24.20	22.30	7.20	14.79
Red Cliff-Chippewa	15.20	15.80	30.40	6.61
Bad River-Chippewa	24.30	29.10	13.20	15.38
Lac du Flambeau-Chippewa	11.10	10.60	13.20	14.44
Lac Courte Oreilles-Chippewa	22.90	19.30	12.40	20.78
Mole Lake-Chippewa	13.00	16.30	15.20	13.01
Stockbridge-Munsee	43.50	19.90	11.70	17.87
Oneida	21.30	16.90	9.00	19.47

[a] Percentage on the reserveration that moved in stated year, relative to 1980.
[b] Percentage on the reservation that moved in 1985, relative to 1990.
Source: Reddy (1993).

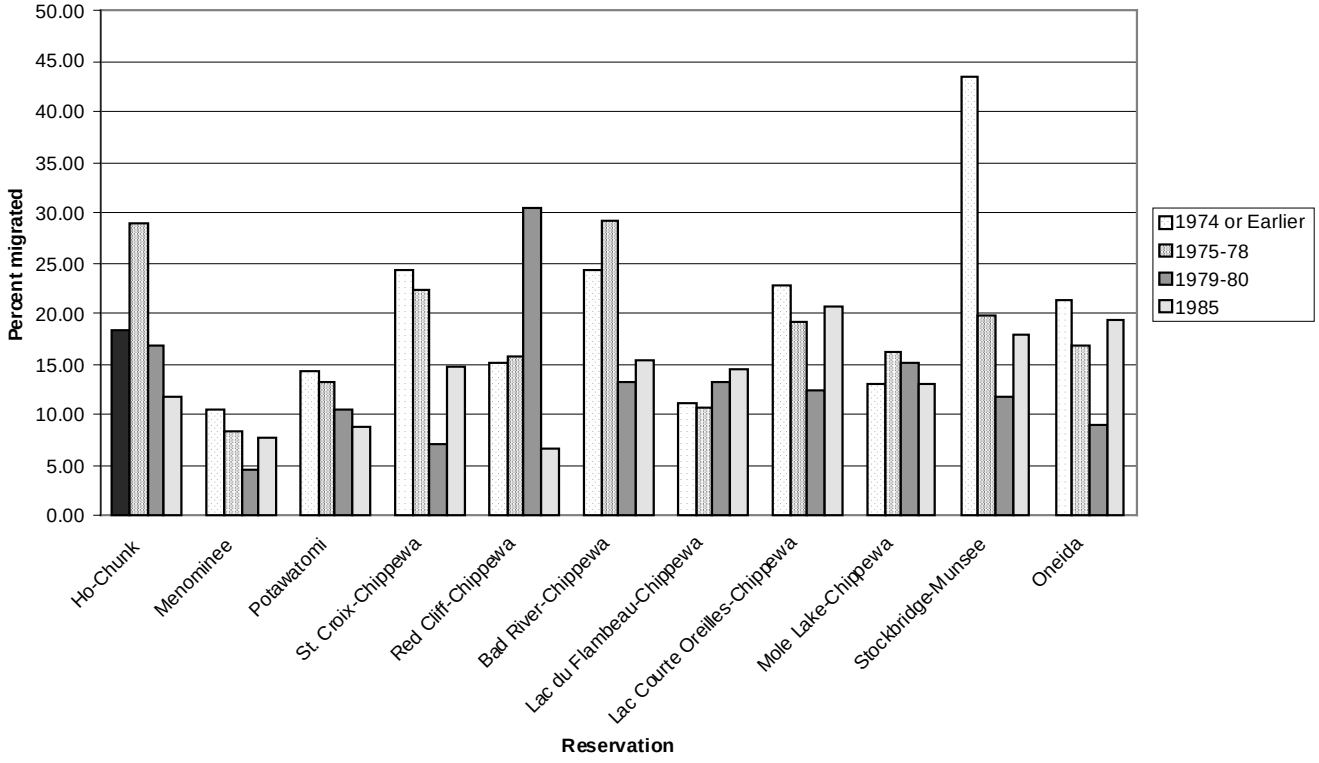
TABLE 3: Population on Wisconsin reservations, 1960-1990

Wisconsin Indian Group			1960	1970	1980	1990
Ho-Chunk (Winnebago)	Total		345		658	700
		American Indian	345	---	579	566
		Non-American Indian	---	---	79	134
Menominee	Total				2,672	3,397
		American Indian	---	2,445	2,377	3,181
		Non-American Indian	---	---	295	216
Potawatomi	Total		---	---	224	279
		American Indian	234	173	220	266
		Non-American Indian	---	---	4	13
Ojibwa (Chippewa)	Total		---	---	---	---
		American Indian	---	---	---	---
		Non-American Indian	---	---	---	---
St Croix	Total		---	---	427	505
		American Indian	272	---	409	459
		Non-American Indian	---	---	18	46
Red Cliff	Total		---	---	686	857
		American Indian	375	178	589	727
		Non-American Indian	---	---	97	130
Bad River	Total		---	---	916	1,070
		American Indian	509	575	699	868
		Non-American Indian	---	---	217	202
Lac Du Flambeau	Total		---	---	2,211	2,434
		American Indian	910	848	1,092	1,431
		Non-American Indian	---	---	1,119	1,003
Lac Courte Oreilles	Total		---	---	1,699	2,408
		American Indian	950	767	1,145	1,769
		Non-American Indian	---	---	554	639
Mole Lake	Total		---	---	105	357
		American Indian	117	---	95	311
		Non-American Indian	---	---	10	46
Stockbridge-Munsee	Total				1,272	581
		American Indian	254	138	582	447
		Non-American Indian	---	---	690	134
Oneida	Total		---	---	13,389	18,033
		American Indian	1,356	1,642	1,821	2,447
		Non-American Indian	---	---	11,568	15,586

* In 1910: US Census, Stockbridge-Menominee no indication of state of origin

Source: 1970 US Census of Population, American Indians Subject Report, PC(2)-1F; 1980 US Census of Population, General Population Characteristics, PC80-1-B51; 1990 US Census of Population, General Population Characteristics, CP-1-51; Reddy (1993).

Figure 1: Wisconsin Indian migration to reservations



CURRENT LAND USE AND RESERVATION POPULATION GROWTH

In general, the acreage of Wisconsin's Indian reservations has decreased substantially since the signing of treaties. Much of this reservation land is no longer tribally-owned. Indeed, over half of the land on the reservation is white-owned property taxed by the state. Details on these ownership and allotment patterns are provided in table 1. Reservation size, degree of land loss, and percentage of land tribally-owned varies substantially by tribe. The Menominee, for example, have retained 70% of their original 276,400 acres, granted by treaty in 1854. Most of this land is tribally-owned. This example contrasts sharply with the case of the Oneida, who retained only 4% of their 65,000 acres from 1838 (Lurie 1969, 1980).

Land use issues continue to feature prominently on Wisconsin Indian reservations. Mining and mineral extraction, for example, has become a contested issue for the Mole Lake Chippewa. Perhaps the most provocative development in the past forty years has been the dramatic rise of gaming on Indian reservations. It has led to job creation, social infrastructure development, and return migration of tribal members. Thus, recent population growth on the Menominee and Oneida reservations may be driven in part by the success of their casinos. This growth has occurred via return migration of American Indians (tables 2 and 3), as well as migration into these reservations by non-American Indians (table 3).[11] Over 40% of the population on the Stockbridge-Munsee reservations in 1980, for example, had migrated to the reservation (figure 1). As noted previously, return migration began before these developments. Nevertheless, in some cases, gaming has encouraged and intensified such return migration.

Although population has changed over time, the population of each reservation is still small by most standards. Table 3 shows that in 1990, the Oneida Reservation had the largest population, 18,033, and the Potawatomi had the smallest population, 279. Because these population figures may illustrate the increase in non-American Indian populations on the reservation as well, the table provides figures for both American Indian and non-American Indian populations. In 1990, for example, 15,586 of the 18,033 residents on the Oneida reservation were non-American Indian. These estimates count only people living on the reservation or trust land, not members of these groups who live off the reservation. Thus, table 4 gives estimates of American Indians living on reservations as a percentage of total tribal enrollment. For example, only 19% of the Bad River Band of Chippewa resides on the Bad River reservation.

Overall, these figures show an increase in the population on most Wisconsin reservations between 1990 and 1995. They suggest that for some reservations the potential of increased populations can be significant through return migration. The potential of natural growth is also an important factor, especially in light of the large under age 16 population, who range from 20 to 45% of all the reservations and adjacent areas (table 4).

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[11] Table 2 shows return migration to Wisconsin Indian reservations, *not net migration*. Hence, these figures do not reflect out-migration during this period. Nor do they reveal the circular migration in and out of these reservations, which has certainly occurred in most cases.

TABLE 4: Wisconsin tribal enrollment and reservation Indian population, 1995

Indian Group	Tribal enrollment	Reservation Indian population		Reservation Indian population under 16 years	
		Population total	Percent of total enrollment	Total population	Percent of reserv. Indian pop.
Ho-Chunk	5,139	2,510	48.84%	729	29.04%
Menominee	7,548	4,452	58.98%	1,419	31.87%
Potawatami	954	501	52.52%	228	45.51%
St Croix-Chippewa	832	1,635	- 196.51%	482	29.48%
Red Cliff-Chippewa	3,538	1,797	50.79%	412	22.93%
Bad River-Chippewa	6,284	1,199	19.08%	377	31.44%
Lac Du Flambeau-Chippewa	2,792	1,430	51.22%	492	34.41%
Lac Courte Oreilles-Chippewa	5,104	3,382	66.28%	718	21.23%
Mole Lake-Chippewa	1,149	438	38.12%	183	41.78%
Stockbridge-Munsee	1,508	814	54.05%	267	32.80%
Oneida	12,674	4,837	38.16%	1,379	28.51%

Source: BIA (1995)

Figure 2 shows the projected growth of the Wisconsin reservation populations from 1990 through 2015.[12] Again, these figures include Indian and non-Indian populations. The projections suggest that if past rates of growth are any indication of future rates of growth, Wisconsin's reservation populations will be expanding a great deal in upcoming years. (Figure 2 excludes the projected growth of the Oneida population, which has a much different scale than that of the other reservations: while the Menominee Reservation population, for example, will approach 5,000 by 2015, the Oneida population will surpass 40,000 by the same year.)

Understanding the future relationship between the reservation land base and the Wisconsin Indian reservation population requires understanding the potential for economic development. The introduction of gaming ushers in a new force, and one that has the potential for substantially changing the reservation population composition and size on the reservations. The limitations imposed by land will ultimately control its growth. Hence the role of land and its use remains central in linking the history of population change with the projection of population into the future.

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[12] A simple linear extrapolation recommended for small populations by Voss (1978) give some reliable estimates of what reservation populations might look like in the future. Estimate the average annual population change:

$\Delta P_a = [(P_c - P_1)/Y_c - Y_1) + (P_c - P_2)/Y_c - Y_2) + (P_c - P_3)/Y_c - Y_3) + \ldots + (P_c - P_n)/(Y_c - Y_n)] / n$

which provides the basis of estimating projected population for year p:

$P_p = P_c + (Yp\text{-}Yc)\ \Delta P_a$

where:

P_p = Population projection for year Y_p

ΔP_a = average annual numerical population change

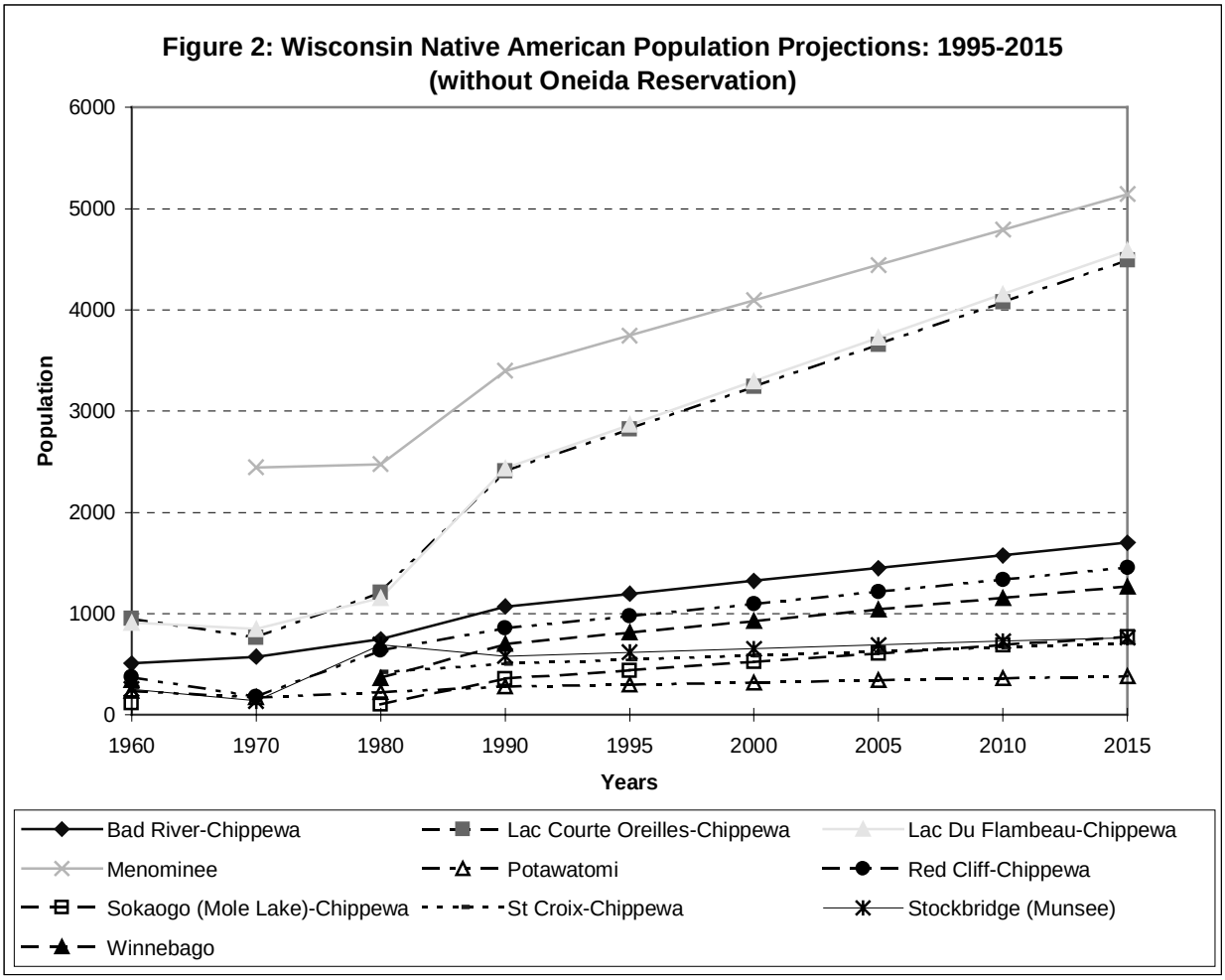
P_c = current population counts of year Y_c

P_i = population counts in year Y_i

Y_p = projected year p

Y_c = current year c

Y_i = year of population counts, i = 1, 2, …, n.



CONCLUSION

During the early period of contact in the area known today as Wisconsin, the land and its resources determined, in part, patterns of trade and settlement. The fur trade shaped various social and political forces in the eastern and Midwestern portions of the United States, introducing new groups into the region. The in-migration of such groups led to demographic change. Six of today's ten Wisconsin Indian groups are fairly recent migrants into the state. These in-migrating groups clashed with white traders. They also clashed with one another in a heated competition over natural resources and political authority. European diseases distorted patterns of commerce and migration in that they had devastating effects on Indian populations in the area.

Beginning with the early 1800s, however, demographic patterns began to change. White settlers entered the Carolinian Zone of present-day Wisconsin en masse. Forming small agricultural communities, they pushed various Indian groups out of the state or into the sparsely populated north woods. As a result, all of Wisconsin's Indian reservations, except for the scattered homesteads of the Ho-Chunk, are located in the Canadian and Transition Zones. The

Indian land loss during the 1800s, especially the loss of agricultural and mineral producing land, had important effects on the Indians' ability to make reservation land economically viable, and hence on population size.

The federal policy of allotment resulted in further land loss and reservation population decline. The Oneida people, for example, lost nearly all of their land due to allotment. Today, they are left with only a small fraction of the land they were granted in 1838. Fractionation and termination only complicated matters. To the degree these policies prevented economic development on the existing reservation, they curbed economic development and population growth. Out-migration of Indians from the reservations is particularly prominent in this regard. However, these policies also had the opposite effect; many Indians returned from urban areas to defend Indian sovereignty on many reservations as well.

The contemporary picture hinges to a large extent on a limited land base and the prospects of economic growth through the gaming industry. Population projections for reservation growth are substantial in terms of both Indians and non-Indians. Because population growth will undoubtedly figure prominently in coming years, the dynamics of the land-population relationship on Wisconsin's Indian reservations will continue to have enormous purchase in debates around the state's reservations. How the relationship will evolve in an unfolding policy environment, however, remains unclear.

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