

Setting a New Course in Native American Protest Movements: The Menominee Warrior Society's Takeover of the Alexian Brothers Novitiate in 1975

Rachel Lavender

Capstone Advisor: Dr. Patricia Turner

Cooperating Professors: Dr. Andrew Sturtevant and Dr. Heather Ann Moody

History 489

December, 2017

Copyright for this work is owned by the author.

This digital version is published by McIntyre Library, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire with the consent of the author.

Table of Contents

Table of Contents..... Pg. 1

Abstract..... Pg. 2

Acknowledgments..... Pg. 3

Introduction..... Pg. 4

Secondary Literature..... Pg. 7

Long Term Causes: Menominee Termination and D.R.U.M.S..... Pg. 14

Trigger..... Pg. 20

The Takeover: A Collision of Tactics

 Ada Deer and Legislative Change..... Pg. 22

 The Menominee Warrior Society and Direct Action..... Pg. 27

After Gresham: Conclusion..... Pg. 30

Bibliography..... Pg. 35

Abstract

Abstract:

In the 1960s and 1970s, the United States experienced multiple Native American protest movements. These movements came from two different methods of protest: direct action, or grassroots tactics, and long-term political strategies.. The first method, grassroots tactics, was exemplified by groups such as the American Indian Movement and the Menominee Warrior Society. The occupations of Alcatraz Wounded Knee and the BIA, as well as the takeover of the Alexian Brothers Novitiate all represented the use of grassroots tactics. The second method of protest was that of peaceful change through legislation, or political strategies. The D.R.U.M.S. movement, the Menominee Restoration Committee and the political activism of Ada Deer all represented the use of political strategies. The conflict between these two methods of protest was exemplified by the takeover of the Alexian Brothers Novitiate in 1975, which shaped the future of Native American protest movements, enabling both types of protest movements to work together and created situations in which both protest movement methods complemented each other to achieve a common goal. This paper examines two different types of Native American protest movements and how they collided in the takeover of the Alexian Brothers Novitiate. Research was done using a variety of primary and secondary sources. These sources mostly focused on the takeover of the Novitiate, but also touched on other native American movements that exemplified both grassroots tactics and political strategies. This project seeks to provide insights into the transformation of Native American Protest Movements in the twentieth century.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank those that made this project possible. If it weren't for the many people that were so supportive of this process, this paper wouldn't be what it is today.

First, I would like to thank Dr. Andrew Sturtevant, Dr. Heather Ann Moody, and Dr. Patricia Turner for their help. All three professors helped me to develop concepts, ideas, and arguments, and spent hours editing my work. Thank you.

Second, I would like to thank my supportive friends, family, and partner, Sam. They helped me to remain calm when I felt like I couldn't keep going. Thank you.

Introduction

As the church towers in Gresham, Wisconsin struck midnight on New Year's day 1975, a group of Menominee people known as the Menominee Warrior Society were beginning to forcefully make their way into the Alexian Brothers Novitiate. Led by Michael Sturdevant, approximately 50 men, women, and children entered the monastery, removing the caretaker of the property and his family.¹ The Menominee Warrior Society lay claim to the property under United States Code of Law, USC 25 Section 280 which states that "Indian land which has been patented by the Secretary of the Interior to tax exempt religious or missionary organizations that have become unused for those purposes ie., not used for religious or missionary purposes must revert to the original Indian ownership."² According to the Menominee Warrior Society, the monastery had been vacant for more than ten years; its ownership had thereby reverted back to the Menominee people.³

This method of Native American protest movement direct action, grassroots tactics had been seen in recent decades in several different occupations and takeovers. In the late twentieth-century, in the wake of the civil rights movement, native American movements began to take stride. The American Indian Movement (AIM) was founded in Minneapolis with the purpose of protecting native American peoples and providing social services. In part and in addition to AIM, there were four native American occupations in the seven year span between 1969 and 1975. These included the occupation of Alcatraz in 1969 and 1970, AIM's takeover of the Bureau of

¹ Aq-ua-chamine: The Menominee Restoration Committee Newsletter, 19 January 1975. Menominee Collection on the Termination and Restoration Era, 1961-1973. College of Menominee Nation Library Special Collections. Milwaukee Public Library, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

² Runa Simi Press Release, 3 January 1975. Menominee Collection on the Termination and Restoration Era, 1961-1973. College of Menominee Nation Library Special Collections. Milwaukee Public Library, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

³ Ibid.

Indian Affairs (BIA) in 1972, the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973, and the focus of this paper, the 1975 Menominee Warriors Society's takeover of the Alexian Brothers Novitiate in Gresham, Wisconsin. In this paper, "direct action" and "grassroots tactics" will be used interchangeably.

In addition to the first method of protest movement, direct action tactics, which was typically violent and militant, there was another way that native American people were fighting for their rights. The second method of protest movement embraced long-term political strategies, which were normally peaceful efforts to achieve reform through legislation. The D.R.U.M.S. movement, the Menominee Restoration Committee and the political activism of Ada Deer were all proponents of this form of native American advocacy. In this paper I will argue that the conflict between these two forms of protest advocacy during the takeover of the Alexian Brothers Novitiate shaped the future of native American protest movements to be less forceful and created more peaceful methods around crafting change.

In order to craft this argument, extensive research was done using primary documents such as newspaper articles, archival collections, press releases, and Menominee nation publications. Each source was analyzed carefully and put together with other sources to tell a larger story. Other authors have written on the subject of the Menominee Warrior Takeover of the Alexian Brothers Novitiate. These works were also extremely helpful in understanding the context of the subject, and finding where the gap in the literature was. While comprehensive histories of the event exist, never has there been one which expressly looks at the difference in views within the Menominee nation and how their collision at the takeover shaped the future of native American protest movements. First, I will examine secondary literature which gives readers a better understanding of the context of this paper. Next, I will look at the long term

causes of the takeover of the Alexian Brothers Novitiate. Shortly after, I will discuss the triggers associated with the takeover, and the event itself. Finally, I will examine the effects of the takeover on future Native American protest movements.

Secondary Literature

Due to the longstanding mistreatment of native American peoples by the United States government, it is not a surprise that there were many different Native American protest movements and revolts. In order to understand how these two protest methods collided in the Menominee Warriors Society's takeover of the Alexian Brothers Novitiate, it's important to first take into consideration the hardships and atrocities that native American peoples faced in the hands of the United States government and how they affected their worldview. Works written on other Native American protest movements help us to understand how tactics and strategies often worked without the help or hindrance of each other. Movements such as the occupation of Alcatraz in 1969 and 1970, the occupation at Wounded Knee in 1973, and the 1972 American Indian Movement's takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington D.C. all represent protest movement which utilized direct action, grassroots tactics and militancy. Events and movements such as Menominee Termination, D.R.U.M.S., and the Menominee Restoration Committee instead relied on political strategies. Works written about the takeover itself are helpful to create an understanding about what has already been written about the topic, and what is still to explore. Finally, Native American protest movements following the takeover are important to examine, because they show us the impact that the takeover had.

In order to understand why Native American movements developed in two different directions, it's important to look at their causes. Even before the United States became a nation, European settlers committed atrocities against Northern America's indigenous peoples.. In his famous book, *Custer Died for Your Sins*, first published in 1969, Vine Deloria Jr. discusses many different injustices experienced by native American people and the effects that still are felt. Deloria argued that the United States signed treaties with Native American tribes that it knew it

could never keep.⁴ He acknowledges that native peoples want to contest these fallen treaties in court, but “because of the ambiguous and inconsistent interpretation of their legal status”⁵ it proved to be a difficult task. A number of treaties were signed, guaranteeing land rights to native American tribes, and the United States continually violated them, giving reason for later land occupations by Native Americans such as the occupation in Gresham, Wisconsin. Deloria also argues that the basis land right disputes stem from the U.S. government guaranteeing native American rights over their lands and slowly backing out of their promises.⁶ Deloria argues that the United States has a long way to go in making their foreign policies fair and just. He writes, “Definite commitments to fulfill extant treaty obligations to Indian tribes would be the first step toward introducing morality into foreign policy.”⁷

The pan-Indian occupancy of Alcatraz Island near San Francisco in 1969 and 1970 raised a lot of eyebrows, and caught the attention of the nation. The occupants based their claim for the unused government land on the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 which granted the Sioux tribe surplus federal land. The members of tribal nations involved were trying to make a point that the United States wasn't holding up their end of the bargain in the treaties that they had signed with tribes. In their book, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee*, Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior discussed how that specific occupation fit into the greater web of the Indian Movement of the 1960s and 1970s. They discussed how the young radicals on Alcatraz functioned, saying “plenty of the young occupiers had drunk deeply from the well of anarchism popular among student radicals of the time, and even the nebulous

⁴ Vine Deloria Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1969), 32.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., 37.

⁷ Ibid., 51.

structure of a coordinating council was to them, too much.”⁸ Originally, the occupation was quite peaceful.⁹ Nearing the end of the occupation however, the mood on the island became significantly more tense. It became dangerous due to the lack of security enforcement in such a large group of people.¹⁰

In her autobiography, *Mankiller: A Chief and Her People*, Wilma Mankiller wrote about her experience of occupying Alcatraz. She wrote of her experiences bonding with people of different tribes, making the Indian movement about more than one single tribe’s fight for justice. Mankiller wrote that those nineteen months on the island solidified her personal investment in the movement:¹¹

Although Alcatraz ultimately would not remain a sovereign Indian nation, the incredible publicity generated by the occupation served all of us well by dramatizing the injustices that the modern Native American have endured at the hands of white America. The Alcatraz experience nurtured a sense among us that anything was possible - even, perhaps, justice for native people.¹²

This occupation and Mankiller’s experience on Alcatraz mirror the thoughts and visions of many Native American people who were involved in direct action movements. Though her book doesn’t touch on other native protest movements, it does give an inside look at the positives of direct action militancy.

The American Indian Movement’s march on Washington D.C. and occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs was another native American movement that Smith and Warrior wrote about in *Like a Hurricane*. The American Indian Movement (AIM) was a pan-Indian

⁸ Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New York: The New Press, 1996) 19.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁰ Smith and Warrior, 34-35.

¹¹ Wilma Mankiller, *Mankiller: A Chief and Her People*, ed. Michael Wallis (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993), 192.

¹² *Ibid.*

organization based in Minneapolis, Minnesota which was known for practicing direct action militancy. One of the first projects was the AIM patrol. This was a force of drivers who had equipment which made it possible for members to use cameras, radios, and tape recorders to keep track of police department arrests of Native American people.¹³ AIM eventually became a place for native American people to turn to in times of need. “The AIM office was a place to stop by if you needed a ride, an emergency loan, leads on jobs, or a play to live.”¹⁴ On October 23, 1972, AIM began their journey on their trail of broken treaties to express their grievances to President Nixon himself.¹⁵ When their voices weren’t heard in Washington D.C. they began their occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This occupation became violent when police officers attempted to make them leave.¹⁶ After extensive negotiations and forceful attempts to make them leave, AIM ended the occupation on November 6, 1972, leaving behind a building in total destruction.¹⁷ The author argued that the direct action militancy undertaken by Native Americans in Washington D.C. reflected poorly on them and made them look very militant, thus hurting their public image.¹⁸

The occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973 was the final large occupation of its kind before the Menominee Warrior Society’s takeover in 1975. The occupation began on February 27, 1973 when AIM took over the small town.¹⁹ The occupation went on for many months until the violence finally ended on May 8.²⁰ In his personal account, *Wounded Knee 1973*, Stanley David Lyman argued that this AIM occupation, like many of their other ones, was extremely

¹³ Smith and Warrior, 128.

¹⁴ Ibid., 132.

¹⁵ Smith and Warrior, 144.

¹⁶ Ibid., 54.

¹⁷ Ibid., 163.

¹⁸ Ibid., 168.

¹⁹ Stanley David Lyman, *Wounded Knee 1973* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991) xv.

²⁰ Ibid., 135

violent, and may have done more harm than good. In his book, he wrote about the gunfire that AIM exchanged with law enforcement, and even violence within Indian country between people who disagreed with the movement's tactics. This occupation and the violence that occurred there was the precursor to the takeover of the Alexian Brothers Novitiate.

Ada Deer is known as one of the champions of Menominee Tribal Restoration and one of the leaders of the Determination of Rights and Unity for Menominee Stockholders (DRUMS) group. In Nicholas Peroff's book, *Menominee DRUMS: Tribal Termination and Restoration, 1954-1974*, he argues that Ada Deer and the other DRUMS leaders "exercised a more effective voice in the national policy-making process than that of their traditional-elite predecessors because they displayed more self-assurance and determination" in their actions.²¹ He also argues that Ada Deer and the other governing members of DRUMS made huge strides for Native American rights. Deer then went on to be the leader of the interim Menominee government leading to restoration known as the Menominee Restoration Committee. This committee, like D.R.U.M.S. used peaceful legislative strategies. Margaret McCue-Enser also wrote a work about Ada Deer and her influence on protest rhetoric. She argues that "Deer inverts the ideals of liberal democracy from being an argument that compelled termination to one that justifies restoration by focusing on the right to self-determination and equality."²² McCue specifically looks at the differences between Deer's tactics and the confrontational tactics of AIM. This helps us understand why Deer was opposed to the confrontational direct actions of the Menominee Warriors Society during the takeover.

²¹ Nicholas C. Peroff, *Menominee DRUMS: Tribal Termination and Restoration, 1954-1974* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 203.

²² Margaret McCue-Enser, "Ada Deer and the Menominee Restoration: rethinking Native American protest rhetoric," *Argumentation and Advocacy* 53, no. 1 (2017): 59.

One of the more intriguing recent works on the Menominee Warriors Society is a 2011 University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire master's thesis *Hungry for Four Hundred Years: Menominee Dissent, Protest, and Revolution, 1968-1976* by Clayton Randolph Jones. In his thesis, Jones argues that the occupation of the novitiate in Gresham was the result of internal conflict in the Menominee tribal government.²³ He discussed the occupation broadly, and touched on Menominee politics and history. In addition to Jones' work, Libby Tronnes' article for the *American Indian Quarterly*, "Where is John Wayne?" is another excellent piece written about the Gresham occupation. She narrowed her focus to how the Menominee tribe functioned internally during the occupation. Tronnes talked a lot about the militancy of the takeover, and the desire of the Menominee tribe to have justice for their mistreatment by the United States' government. Tronnes wrote, "For these young Indian men the occupation of the Alexian Brothers novitiate was, for many reasons, their response to growing problems on the reservation."²⁴

After the takeover of the Novitiate, it became obvious that Native American protest movements were beginning to utilize direct action tactics and legislative politics strategies in ways that were complementary instead of at odds with one another. An excellent source on this is Lawrence Bobo and Mia Tuan's *Prejudice in Politics*. In this book, the authors talk about the Chippewa Tribe's struggle to regain their fishing rights in the state of Wisconsin. In March of 1924, the Lac Courtes Oreilles Chippewa band challenged the state and asked that their spear

²³ Clayton Randolph Jones, "Hungry for Four Hundred Years: Menominee Dissent, Protest, and Revolution, 1968-1976" (Master's Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, 2011), iv.

²⁴ Libby R. Tronnes, "Where is John Wayne?: The Menominee Warriors Society, Indian Militancy, and Social Unrest during the Alexian Brothers Novitiate Takeover," *The American Indian Quarterly* 26, no. 4 (Fall, 2002): 530.

fishing rights be reinstated after being unjustly taken away.²⁵ The tribe not only used political strategies to get the result they desired, but also used direct action protest tactics to grab the attention of supporters. In 1983, the Chippewa tribe's fishing rights were reinstated, honoring old treaties.²⁶

All of these sources aid in our understanding of the Menominee Warriors Society's occupation and takeover of the Alexian Brothers' Novitiate in Gresham, Wisconsin. My aim is to create an intellectual debate between two versions of Native American politics and put the event into a framework that has not been researched before. It is my hope that after reading my work, the story will have one more piece put in place.

²⁵ Lawrence Bobo, "Prejudice in Politics: group position, public opinion, and the Wisconsin treaty rights dispute (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 48.

²⁶ Ibid.

Long Term Causes

Menominee Termination and D.R.U.M.S.

In order to understand the complexities of the Menominee Warrior Society and their takeover of the Alexian Brothers Novitiate, one must first be able to understand the intricate history of the Menominee people and the termination of their tribal rights by the U.S. government. In 1953, phase one of Menominee termination began.²⁷ Tribal termination was the loss of tribal identity and sovereignty. The terminated tribe would no longer have sovereign status and treaties with the United States would no longer have any legal backing. Like many other tribal nations, before termination, the Menominee people struggled with their lack of meaningful self-government. In some respects, they were better off than many other tribal nations and reservations because of their lumber industry. The Menominee lumber mill was a main source of employment for the tribe, and it relied heavily on the region's natural resources. Initially, the Menominee lumber industry was run by the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). In 1951, the tribe won the right to review the BIA budget and sued the federal government for mismanagement of their business and assets and won \$7,650,000.²⁸ Tribal leaders stressed that while they appeared to be thriving they wrote in a statement, "virtually all individual Menominee were poor, that our federal services were not of highest standard, that our housing, health, and education fell far below national norms, and that our stage of self-government was a tender, young one."²⁹

²⁷ The Effects of Termination on the Menominee: Testimony on Senate Concurrent Resolution 26, 21 July 1971. Box 1, Folder 7. Ada Deer Papers, 1979-1978. Green Bay MSS 120. Green Bay Area Research Center. Cofrin Library. University of Wisconsin Green Bay. Green Bay, Wisconsin.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

Phase one of Menominee termination lasted between 1953 and 1958³⁰, consisting of the basis on which the Determination of Rights and Unity for Menominee Stockholders (D.R.U.M.S.) was founded for. The first phase started in 1953 when the tribal nation wanted the first \$5,000,000 of their 1951 settlement to be disbursed to them. They created a bill describing their needs and sent it to congress. The bill passed the House, but in the Senate an amendment was added calling for “termination of federal supervision and assistance to the Menominee.”³¹ The Senate Committee on Insular Affairs refused to pass the bill unless the tribe agreed to termination.³² At this point, the Menominee people had no idea what termination would look like for them, or the long-term effects that they might encounter. In June of 1953, former senator Watkins used their lack of knowledge to his advantage, and convinced the tribe that their status as a tribal nation was holding them back and impinging on their freedoms.³³ On June 20 of that year, Senator Watkins announced that Congress had already decided to terminate the Menominee tribe in three years. Only after termination would they receive the portion of their settlement. To keep up appearances, Congress had the Menominee Tribal Council vote on the issue of termination. They voted in favor, not knowing the exact terms of the proposed action. Only five percent of the Menominee population voted.³⁴

After termination was voted for, congress began to draft a bill. The Menominee tribal leaders tried to prepare their own termination bill, but Senator Watkins prepared his own which was ultimately used.³⁵ The Tribal Council did vote 197-0 to oppose it, but their voices went

³⁰ The Effects of Termination on the Menominee: Testimony on Senate Concurrent Resolution 26, 21 July 1971. Box 1, Folder 7. Ada Deer Papers, 1979-1978.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

unheard. On June 17, 1954, President Eisenhower signed the Menominee Termination Act into law. Phase one of Menominee termination ended with the tribe paying for most of the money used to plan termination.³⁶

Phase two of Menominee termination lasted from 1958 to 1961. The process was dragged out many years longer than Congress had promised and it kept the money from the Menominee people longer as well.³⁷ The plan that was drafted was a long and heavily worded document of which DRUMS wrote, “99 percent of us did not know what it meant.”³⁸ In 1961 it was approved, and the former Menominee reservation became the newest and smallest county in the state of Wisconsin.³⁹

The Menominee people began to see the negative effects of termination almost immediately. Termination caused tribal loss of rights, power, money, and self-governing, all of which were previously so important to tribal survival. DRUMS stated, “To Menominee, the real meaning of the termination period is this: Congress decided to unilaterally end its treaty obligations toward us, and attempted to thrust us unprepared and uninformed into a way of life completely unacceptable to us.”⁴⁰ The immediate effects were threefold: first the loss of treaty rights, second the loss of protections, and third the loss of government provided services.⁴¹ Land responsibility was given over to Menominee Enterprises Incorporated (MEI) who was forced to sell it because of their lack of ability to take care of it. The end result made the Menominee experience similar to that of tribes who went through the federal plan of allotment.⁴²

³⁶ The Effects of Termination on the Menominee: Testimony on Senate Concurrent Resolution 26, 21 July 1971. Box 1, Folder 7. Ada Deer Papers, 1979-1978.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

While the short-term effects of termination were horrible for the tribe, the long-term effects were even more detrimental. The tribe began to sink into a deep poverty. In 1967, the per capita income of Menominee county was \$381 and almost 80 percent of families were below the poverty line. In addition, due to lack of employment opportunities, in 1968 fifty percent of the county was on welfare.⁴³ The quality of education was also declining, and drop-out rates began to soar. “Termination represented a gigantic and revolutionary forced change in the traditional Menominee way of life... Congress expected immediate Menominee assimilation of non-Indian culture, values, and lifestyles.”⁴⁴

Quickly, the Menominee people realized that something needed to change or they would soon fade into the shadows of American culture. The grassroots group, Determination of Rights and Unity for Menominee Stockholders or D.R.U.M.S. grew out of this despair and began to fight for Menominee tribal restoration. Leaders of the group began by trying to stop the sale of Menominee ancestral lands and returning control of MEI to the tribe itself.⁴⁵ The education of Menominee children was also a key focal point of D.R.U.M.S. in response to the plummeting quality of education available to them.

Out of the ashes of termination and the rise of D.R.U.M.S. Ada Deer became a leader for her tribe. Ada Deer was a Menominee woman born and raised in Indian Country. Deer, the oldest of many children was the first Menominee graduate of the University of Wisconsin-Madison (UW-Madison) and a political force to be reckoned with. She received a bachelor’s degree in social work from UW-Madison and a Master’s degree in Social Work from Columbia

⁴³ The Effects of Termination on the Menominee: Testimony on Senate Concurrent Resolution 26, 21 July 1971. Box 1, Folder 7. Ada Deer Papers, 1979-1978.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Mary Jane Saunders, “Menominee Indian Lobbyist Seeks Restoration of Federal Aid,” *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, March 21, 1973.

University.⁴⁶ Deer lived through Menominee tribal termination and was committed to making it right for her tribe. She was attending Wisconsin Law School when she was called to duty by tribal leaders to move to Washington D.C. and lobby for her tribe's rights.⁴⁷ As a leader of the Determination of Rights and Unity for Menominee Stockholders (D.R.U.M.S.), she led her tribe through a legal battlefield to restore their tribal recognition.

While she was a member of D.R.U.M.S., Deer was the Menominee lobbyist in Washington D.C. fighting for restoration. As the tribe's lobbyist, she stirred up a lot of support within the tribe and the larger federal government. In a *Washington Post* article, the author wrote, "Deer's assiduous footwork around the capital has produced heavyweight support -- an administration endorsement from Interior Secretary Rogers Morton, co-sponsorship by Sen. Henry Jackson, the Senate Interior Committee chairman, and an impressive bipartisan list of House and Senate sponsors."⁴⁸ In 1973, Ada Deer and D.R.U.M.S. were successful and Congress passed the Menominee Restoration Act to become effective in 1975.⁴⁹

Though the Menominee tribe was successful in regaining tribal status, Termination and its after effects became the roots of Menominee turmoil which led to two very different strategies when it came to creating change. Especially in the Menominee tribe, there were sharp gender differences in the choice of advocacy methods. In an article written in 1972 by Nancy O. Lurie, she wrote, "Today, the organizational effectiveness of even young women often upsets the more militant young male Indian nationalists."⁵⁰ The interim government of the Menominee people between 1973 and 1975 was called the Menominee Restoration Committee and was led

⁴⁶ Kathy Callahan, "Chief Lobbyist has 'exhausting job'," *The Tulsa Tribune*, October 30, 1973.

⁴⁷ Kathy Callahan, "Chief Lobbyist has 'exhausting job'," *The Tulsa Tribune*, October 30, 1973.

⁴⁸ William Greider, "New Spirit in Congress Brightens Outlook for Indian Legislation," *The Washington Post*, July 8, 1973.

⁴⁹ "Indian 'paid the price' to restore land, status" *The St. Paul Pioneer Press*, April 28, 1977.

⁵⁰ "Indian Women A legacy of Freedom," *American Way*, April 1972.

by three women, Ada Deer, Shirley Daly, and Sylvia Wilbur. These three women believed in organizational, legislative change. Other members of the tribe however believed that grassroots direct action was the correct course to follow. That direct action impulse led to the formation of the Menominee Warrior Society which mirrored the militant activities of AIM and clashed bitterly with the Menominee Restoration Committee during the takeover.

The Trigger

The trigger which led to the occupation of the Alexian Brothers Novitiate stemmed from two sources. First and foremost, there was social unrest within the tribe. While some members supported and agreed with the Menominee Restoration Committee, many believed that the Committee wasn't taking the action that it needed to and that its leaders were involved in nepotism.⁵¹ Secondly, and less talked about, were the differences of method inherited from previous Native American movements and occupations.

Tensions were high within the tribe as poverty ran rampant and an interim tribal government was trying to prepare for the restoration of tribal rights. This, coupled with the different views between militant direct-action adherents and the peaceful legislative proponents created the trigger for a powerful and attention grabbing militancy. Many believed that the Menominee Restoration Committee would not successfully reestablish their tribal sovereignty. In the past, political strategies hadn't been successful on their own, and they felt that the United States government would never work with them to create a better life for the Menominee people. The Menominee Warrior Society took advantage of the New Year's Eve date to make an impact on news sources. The Menominee Warrior Society based many of their actions and ideas on AIM and decided that they were fed up with the treatment of the Menominee people and wanted to receive their fair dues immediately.

As the second wave of the women's movement was spearheading demands for gender equality, the Menominee people were not immune to similar tensions. With three women leading the Menominee Restoration Committee, and advocating for the peaceful legislative

⁵¹ Clayton Randolph Jones, "Hungry for Four Hundred Years: Menominee Dissent, Protest, and Revolution, 1968-1976" (Master's Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, 2011)

strategy, , the Menominee Warrior Society took issue with both their tactics and their gender.

“Warriors claim they want the women ousted because of a lack of progress in solving the economic plight of the tribe, the real reason seems much simpler... It is based on the sexist idea that men should be leading the restoration task.”⁵²

⁵² Editorial, *The Capital Times*, January 24, 1975.

The Takeover: A Collision of Tactics

Ada Deer and Legislative Change

Ada Deer and other members of the Menominee Restoration Committee were regarded as tribal leaders throughout the Menominee Warrior Society's takeover of the novitiate. She along with her colleagues were not in favor of the tactics that were used in the occupation; in fact, they didn't see the need for an occupation. D.R.U.M.S. had just succeeded in their legislative effort to restore Menominee Tribal rights. Deer, Daly, and Wilbur saw no need for direct action militancy when peaceful legislative strategies had already brought about meaningful results.

On January 19, 1975, Deer wrote a press release expressing her opinions on the takeover, and how she thought things should unfold. Her overarching point was that institutional racism had caused the chain of events to occur. She began by discussing the reasons that she saw for the takeover. Deer argued that the justice system was working against the Menominee People.⁵³ A disproportionate number of Menominee people were in prison, sometimes unfairly. Juries rarely included Native American people and routinely gave out harsh sentences.⁵⁴ She also claimed that Menominee prisoners faced poor treatment while serving their time.⁵⁵

In 1953, Public Law 280 had taken away Menominee jurisdiction, leaving them without their own legal system.⁵⁶ This meant that Menominee people were submitted to the state legal system which did not have any Menominee representation. Even after the restoration of Menominee tribal rights, the tribe still was without their own court systems. Deer tied all of this into institutional racism.

⁵³ News Release: For Immediate Release, 19 January 1975. Box 1, Folder 7. Ada Deer Papers, 1979-1978. Green Bay MSS 120. Green Bay Area Research Center. Cofrin Library. University of Wisconsin Green Bay. Green Bay, Wisconsin.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

Deer suggested a five-step program to fix these injustices as an alternative to the direct action militancy being practiced by the Menominee Warrior Society at the Novitiate. It was the same five-point proposal agreed to by the Menominee Restoration Committee on several days earlier. Several other native American organizations backed these five points, and offered their support.

The five-point plan was not to necessarily resolve the situation at the Novitiate, but instead was meant to aid the Menominee people, and decrease the need for direct action militancy. The first point was that Wisconsin should publicly announce that the Menominee Tribe wouldn't have to follow Public Law 280 and could have their own justice system.⁵⁷ This would hopefully help to address the over representation of Menominee People in Wisconsin prisons. It would also give the tribe more jurisdiction over their own people.

The second point was that the Menominee Warrior Society should be given a non-militant public platform. The National Congress of American Indians asked to have a national conference on the Menominee Reservation where they would discuss Public Law 280. This conference would give the Warrior Society an avenue to express their own opinions on the subject.⁵⁸

The last three points were closely tied together. In the third point, the Restoration Committee would ask the state attorney general's office to create a new division to prosecute discrimination claims made by Native American tribal members.⁵⁹ In the fourth point they suggested that the State and federal governments work together to free Wisconsin tribes from Public Law 280. Finally, the fifth point said that the Menominee Restoration Committee would

⁵⁷ News Release: For Immediate Release, 19 January 1975. Box 1, Folder 7. Ada Deer Papers, 1979-1978.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

ask the United States Congress to hold oversight hearings in Wisconsin Indian Country to expose what Public Law 280 did to tribes, and to give them back control over the reservations.⁶⁰

Deer continued her news release by recognizing AIM for being involved with the takeover from the very beginning. She did however voice concern with the tactics that they were promoting.⁶¹ AIM was well known for being a militant group which used direct action tactics to fight for their objectives. They were the group that the Menominee Warrior Society based much of their beliefs and actions on. Ada Deer called upon other native American organizations which shared the same ideals as the Menominee Restoration Committee to send their help.⁶² The National Tribal Chairman's Association (NTCA) sent their treasurer to help, the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) sent their area Vice-President, and the Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council sent help as well.⁶³ It was the hope of the Menominee Restoration Committee and the other like-minded Native American groups that this confrontation would soon end, and that any future confrontation of its kind could be prevented. They also hoped that the surrounding white community would see the need to begin the process of ending the hardships that the policies and institutions were creating for Native American peoples.⁶⁴

Ada Deer ended her news release by acknowledging and validating the frustrations of the Menominee people occupying the novitiate. She stated that the issues that the Menominee people were angry about would be addressed in the constitution and by-laws of the Menominee government which were soon to be drafted.⁶⁵ She urged her fellow tribal members: "Let's not

⁶⁰ News Release: For Immediate Release, 19 January 1975. Box 1, Folder 7. Ada Deer Papers, 1979-1978.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

fight among ourselves. We need all the help we can get. This includes the Menominee Warrior Society and the American Indian Movement.”⁶⁶

The Menominee Restoration Committee wasn't the only group that wanted the takeover to end and to discuss and debate matters peacefully. The Wisconsin State government was concerned about the militancy of the event, and sent the Wisconsin National Guard to the Alexian Brothers Novitiate in an attempt to end the occupation and deter the group from further violence.⁶⁷ Governor Lucey stated that there was very little that he could do about the takeover, and this presence of law enforcement was one of the few things that he could do.⁶⁸ The Menominee Warrior Society had a list of demands before they would consider the negotiations that the Menominee Restoration Committee and the Wisconsin State government wanted to conduct. First, the police perimeter had to be out of firing range of the occupation. Second, they requested that Neal Hawpatoss be reinstated as the lead negotiator between the police and the Menominee Warrior Society. Third, they demanded that food be allowed to enter into the novitiate. Lastly, they asked that telephone lines be re-opened to the monastery.⁶⁹

Even after the Menominee Warrior Society surrendered on February 3, 1975, their direct action militancy continued to clash with the strategies of the Menominee Restoration Committee. The surrender came after a pact was drafted guaranteeing the monastery to the Menominee tribe for health or school purposes.⁷⁰ Though the pact had been drafted and it seemed as though the society had won its fight, the Menominee Restoration Committee, particularly Deer, Wilbur, and

⁶⁶ News Release: For Immediate Release, 19 January 1975. Box 1, Folder 7. Ada Deer Papers, 1979-1978.

⁶⁷ National Guard Papers, 1941-1978, Special Collections & Archive. McIntyre Library. University of Wisconsin--Eau Claire. Eau Claire, Wisconsin.

⁶⁸ Lucey Passes the Buck!, Menominee Collection on the Termination and Restoration Era, 1961-1973. College of Menominee Nation Library Special Collections. Milwaukee Public Library, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Editorial, "Deer Won't Help Tribe Acquire Abbey," *The Capital Times* (Madison), February 21, 1975.

Daly, expressed their concern in acquiring and caring for the immense building and property.⁷¹

The estate was estimated to be between 225-247 acres. A portion of the property was also zoned for residential use only, making it difficult for the tribe to do anything with it since the pact specified that the property only be used for school or medical purposes. In addition to the limitations of the property, the building required extensive renovation work as well. It would have cost \$250,000 alone to update the plumbing and the structure's heating needing to be renovated as well.⁷²

The Menominee Restoration Committee continued to fight for legislative and peaceful change within the Menominee Tribe. Their stark contrast between the direct action/militant mindset of the Menominee Warrior Society was seen by the nation, and attention was drawn to the two different strategies in native American protest movements.

⁷¹ Editorial, "Deer Won't Help Tribe Acquire Abbey," *The Capital Times* (Madison), February 21, 1975.

⁷² Ibid.

The Takeover: A Collision of Tactics

The Menominee Warrior Society and Direct Action

Unlike Ada Deer and the Menominee Restoration Committee, the Menominee Warrior Society wanted immediate change, and were unwilling to wait for the courts or state government to decide in their favor. Their direct action militancy was the same that was seen in native American movements of the 1960s and 1970s. The occupation of Alcatraz, the AIM occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the occupation of Wounded Knee were all models for the Warrior Society. Comprised of 25-30 young men, the Menominee Warrior Society was a very small portion of the Menominee people, yet they believed they could make a huge impact through the means of a takeover.⁷³

At midnight on January 5, 1975, the Menominee Warrior Society forced their way into the Alexian Brothers Novitiate on the outskirts of Gresham, Wisconsin.⁷⁴ Once inside the monastery, the group removed the caretaker and his family and took control of the 84 room building.⁷⁵ They wanted to negotiate directly with the Alexian Brothers, and didn't want to have interactions with law enforcement of any type.⁷⁶ In addition, the occupiers turned down an offer of immunity if they left the building peacefully and without a fight.⁷⁷ In the Menominee Restoration Committee Newsletter, it was stated that, "The occupiers said they will die, if necessary, in order to keep the property."⁷⁸

⁷³ Get On With It!, Menominee Collection on the Termination and Restoration Era, 1961-1973. College of Menominee Nation Library Special Collections. Milwaukee Public Library, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

⁷⁴ Aq-ua-chamine: The Menominee Restoration Committee Newsletter, 19 January 1975. Menominee Collection on the Termination and Restoration Era, 1961-1973.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

As the occupation continued, the monastery became encircled by a local police force headed by the Shawano County Sheriff, Robert Montour.⁷⁹ During the first five days of the takeover, there was gunfire exchanged between the police and the Warriors Society, but nobody was injured.⁸⁰ On the first day of the ceasefire, January 6, 1975, Governor Lucey called in the Wisconsin National Guard to aid the local police force.⁸¹ Governor Lucey hoped that the National Guard could restore some sort of negotiations with the Menominee Warrior Society, which would lead to an end to the takeover.⁸² On February 3, 1975, the takeover ended, due to an agreement being reached between the state and the tribe, leaving mixed feelings within the Menominee Tribe.⁸³

The Menominee Tribe had been conflicted before the takeover occurred. The tribe had just gone through so much at the hands of the federal government. A large portion of people were still living below the poverty line, and were unsure of their tribal future. The Menominee Restoration Act had been passed, but there was still an interim government, and tribal rights had not yet been reinstated. Some members of the tribe believed that D.R.U.M.S. and the Menominee Restoration Committee were doing the best thing possible in going through the courts for eventual change. Others, like the Menominee Warrior Society believed that only direct action could improve their situation.

After the takeover ended, disputes continued between the two groups and their divergent strategies. The Menominee Warrior Society believed that it had been extremely successful in its occupation since the pact had been signed, granting them the property and building. “The

⁷⁹ Aq-ua-chamine: The Menominee Restoration Committee Newsletter, 19 January 1975. Menominee Collection on the Termination and Restoration Era, 1961-1973.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ron Legro, “Shawano Starts to Relax a Bit,” *Milwaukee Sentinel*, February 5, 1975

occupation did achieve important goals for the Warriors. It enabled them to establish an identity for themselves.”⁸⁴ The society saw the pact as a victory for their methods of direct action, and were happy with the result. Although the tribe wasn’t able to maintain and care for the building, the Menominee Warrior society nonetheless felt that they had been successful in using protest as a symbol.

Others, such as Ada Deer of the Menominee Restoration Committee, thought that the takeover was an insignificant “blip” in native American history.⁸⁵ In a Menominee Restoration Committee newsletter, the Committee argued that “Many tribal members feel that nothing has been gained as a result of the take-over.”⁸⁶ They believed that the Warrior Society chose to take such direct and immediate action to occupy a hitherto unknown building in reaction to losing the election for interim government in late 1974.⁸⁷ No matter which side was “right” or “wrong”, it is arguable that this conflict over strategy taught people about how to enact positive change within a society or culture often overlooked by the federal government. When reflecting on the event, it’s obvious that the Menominee Warrior Society made their mark on history. They got a lot of attention, bringing recognition to native American issues and rights. It’s also obvious that militant actions, while bringing attention to legitimate demands, doesn’t always end in a positive result. Today, most successful native American movement include both grassroots protest and legislative strategies, bringing together aspects of both methods of advocacy that had clashed so bitterly in the Novitiate takeover.

⁸⁴ Libby R. Tronnes, “Where is John Wayne?: The Menominee Warriors Society, Indian Militancy, and Social Unrest during the Alexian Brothers Novitiate Takeover,” *The American Indian Quarterly* 26, no. 4 (Fall, 2002) 547.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 545.

⁸⁶ Aq-ua-chamine: The Menominee Restoration Committee Newsletter, 20 February 1975. Menominee Collection on the Termination and Restoration Era, 1961-1973. College of Menominee Nation Library Special Collections. Milwaukee Public Library, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

Conclusion: After Gresham

In the years following the Menominee Warrior Society's takeover of the Alexian Brothers Novitiate, native American protest movements didn't cease to exist. Instead, the way they were conducted and the ideology behind them shifted. Instead of either pursuing legislative change or protesting in grass roots group movements utilizing direct action, they generally started to see that they could accomplish more by pursuing both simultaneously. This can be seen easily in the 1978 march from Alcatraz to Washington D.C., the 1980 Ojibwe fight against the Crandon mine in Wisconsin, and the 2016 Standing Rock demonstrations.

In 1978, native American leaders were alerted that there were 11 pending bills in Congress that would impinge on native American rights and ways of life.⁸⁸ Specifically, "the bills would have essentially eliminated land and water rights in Maine and New York" ... imposed new laws in Washington State affecting fishing and hunting, conduct a policy of forced assimilation, and cut off social services.⁸⁹ As would be expected, native American leaders found this unacceptable, and mobilized to protest against the legislation.

Dennis Banks, co-leader of AIM, suggested a 3,000 mile march from San Francisco to Washington D.C. to bring attention to the cause.⁹⁰ On February 11, 1978, 2,000 marchers departed.⁹¹ While utilizing direct action, protesters also adopted other strategies to focus the

⁸⁸ Carly Rosenfield, "Native Americans walk from San Francisco to Washington, D.C. for U.S. civil rights, 1978," Global Nonviolent Action Database, April 12, 2011, accessed November 4, 2017, <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/native-americans-walk-san-francisco-washington-dc-us-civil-rights-1978>.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

attention that they were receiving. Protesters educated non-native Americans along the march route, bringing attention to the unfairness of the bills pending in Congress.⁹²

On July 15, five months later, the 2,000 protesters arrived in Washington D.C., and began to hold large rallies protesting the bills. Instead of resorting to violence, they used peaceful methods such as marches, rallies, and speeches.⁹³ This was coupled with proposed legislative reform. On July 25, a native American manifesto was presented to Congress, and California Representative Donald Dellums read it two days later in the House of Representatives.⁹⁴ Ultimately, none of the 11 pending bills were passed.⁹⁵ The success of this protest movement utilizing both grassroots and legislative strategies reaffirmed the lessons learned following the Menominee Warrior Society's takeover of the Alexian Brothers Novitiate.

Another example of grassroots and political strategies working together is the protesting of the Exxon mine in Crandon Wisconsin from 1976-1986.⁹⁶ In 1976, Exxon announced that they had found vast deposits of copper and zinc only a mile away from the Sokaogon Chippewa community.⁹⁷ The Sokaogon Chippewa reservation bases much of its identity on Rice Lake, the third most productive wild rice growing area in the state. "A symbol of the people's integrity and wholeness, wild rice can reproduce a traditional conception of society."⁹⁸ This new mine would have been detrimental to the natural environment of the area, and would have hurt the wild rice production immensely.

⁹² Rosenfield.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Larry Nesper, "Law and Ojibwe Indian 'Traditional Cultural Property' in the Organized Resistance to the Crandon Mine in Wisconsin," *Law & Social Inquiry* 36, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 151.

⁹⁷ Ibid. 152

⁹⁸ Ibid. 153

It was estimated that Exxon would “extract fifty-five million tons of sulfide, zinc, and copper ore from a depth of about two thousand feet over a period of twenty-eight years.”⁹⁹ The groundwater inflow caused by the mine would have been 300-2,000 gallons per minute, creating massive problems in the hydrology of the area.¹⁰⁰ Many communities including the Sokaogon Chippewa, Forest County Potawatomi downstream Menominee, and the Stockbridge-Munsee tribes felt threatened by this prospect, and formed an Indian-environmentalist alliance that had an immense impact on the outcome of the mine.¹⁰¹ In 1986, Exxon announced that it intended to suspend all plans of the mine.¹⁰²

Many other companies sought the land for a mine of their own in the years to follow. The Sokaogon Chippewa led the legal battle against them, even including a supreme court battle in 1986 against Exxon.¹⁰³ Through their legal efforts, public presence, and direct action of protests led the tribe to an overall success when in 2003, when interests in the land were sold to the Forest County Potawatomi and the Mole Lake Bands.¹⁰⁴

When the Standing Rock Reservation was in danger due to the Dakota Access Pipeline, people from all over the country, native Americans and non-natives alike, came together to protest what would be a very harmful pipeline. While there was violent direct action taken at the protests, these actions were largely taken by the law enforcement.¹⁰⁵ Protesters were there largely peacefully and for the purpose of getting the attention of legislators that could stop the pipeline from being put in.

⁹⁹ Nesper., 154

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 54

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 161

¹⁰⁵ Laura Paskus “Beyond Standing Rock: Seeking Solutions and Building,” *Journal of American Indian Higher Education* 28, no. 4 (Summer 2017): 20.

Though the pipeline was approved by Donald Trump during his presidency, it's arguable that the protest at Standing Rock was nonetheless a success. Both grassroots tactics and political strategies were used simultaneously, and worked together to grab the attention of a nation. President Obama originally postponed the construction of the pipeline, therefore giving protesters a legislative victory. The protests at Standing Rock brought positive attention to native American rights and helped to further the use of both direct action and peaceful legislative change that was brought about due to the 1975 Menominee Warrior Society Takeover of the Alexian Brothers Novitiate.

In 1975, the Menominee Warrior Society's takeover of the Alexian Brothers Novitiate in Gresham, Wisconsin changed the way that future native American protest movements were conducted. Two forms of advocacy, peaceful legislative strategies and direct action, grassroots militancy, collided at the event, making it less successful than if the two methods had worked together. Although a relatively small event in native American history, the takeover of the novitiate had an unprecedented effect on native American protest movements. After the takeover, protest movements often used both forms of advocacy as complementary tools to improve the lives and secure the rights of native American peoples.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Ada Deer Papers, 1969-1978. Green Bay MSS 120. Green Bay Area Research Center. Cofrin Library. University of Wisconsin--Green Bay. Green Bay, Wisconsin.

Callahan, Kathy. 1973. "Chief Lobbyist has 'exhausting job'." *The Tulsa Tribune*, October 30.

Editorial. 1975. "Deer Won't Help Tribe Acquire Abbey." *The Capital Times* (Madison). February 21.

Editorial. 1975. *The Capital Times*. January 24.

Greider, William. 1973. "New Spirit in Congress Brightens Outlook for Indian Legislation." *The Washington Post*. July 8.

Editorial. 1977. "Indian 'paid the price' to restore land, status." *The St. Paul Pioneer Press*. April 28.

Editorial. 1972. "Indian Women A legacy of Freedom." *American Way*. April.

Legro, Ron. 1975. "Shawano Starts to Relax a Bit." *Milwaukee Sentinel*. February 5.

Mankiller, Wilma. 1993. *Mankiller: A Chief and Her People*. Edited by Michael Wallis. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Menominee Collection on the Termination and Restoration Era, 1961-1973. College of Menominee Nation Library Special Collections. Milwaukee Public Library, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

National Guard Papers, 1941-1978. Wisconsin Historical Society, Eau Claire Area Research Center. University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire Special Collections and Archives. Eau Claire, Wisconsin.

Raymer, Patricia L. 1973. "Canceled Reservation." *The Washington Post*. April 15.

Saunders, Mary Jane. 1973. "Menominee Indian Lobbyist Seeks Restoration of Federal Aid." *St. Paul Pioneer Press*. March 21.

Secondary Sources:

- Bobo, Lawrence. 2006. *Prejudice In Politics: Group Position, Public Opinion, and the Wisconsin Treaty Rights Dispute*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Deloria, Vine. 1969. *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. New York, NY: Macmillan Publishing Company.
- Jones, Clayton Randolph. 2011. “‘Hungry for Four Hundred Years’: Menominee Dissent, Protest And Revolution: 1968-1976.” Master’s thesis, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire.
- Lyman, Stanley David. 1991. *Wounded Knee 1973*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- McCue-Enser, Margaret. 2017. “Ada Deer and the Menominee Restoration: rethinking Native American protest rhetoric.” *Argumentation and Advocacy* 53. no. 1.
- Nesper, Larry. 2011. “Law and Ojibwe Indian ‘Traditional Cultural Property’ in the Organized Resistance to the Crandon Mine in Wisconsin.” *Law & Social Inquiry* 36. no. 1 (Winter).
- Paskus, Laura. 2017. “Beyond Standing Rock: Seeking Solutions and Building.” *Journal of American Indian Higher Education* 28. no. 4 (Summer).
- Peroff, Nicholas C. 1982. *Menominee DRUMS: Tribal Termination and Restoration, 1954-1974*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Rosenfield, Carly. 2011. “Native Americans walk from San Francisco to Washington, D.C. for U.S. civil rights, 1978.” Global Nonviolent Action Database. April 12. accessed November 4, 2017.
- Tronnes, Libby R. 2002. “‘Where is John Wayne?’: The Menominee Warriors Society, Indian Militancy, and Social Unrest during the Alexian Brothers Novitiate Takeover.” *The American Indian Quarterly* 26, no. 4 (Fall): 526-558.
- Smith, Paul Chaat. 1996. *Like a hurricane : the Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee / Paul Chaat Smith & Robert Allen Warrior*. New York, NY: New Press.