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Chippewa Treaty Rights: The Reserved Rights of Wisconsin's Chippewa Indians in Historical Perspective. By Ronald N. Satz.

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come to influence Chippewa life. Hilger pointed out that among the Chippewa, sharing was considered "a virtue" and that the Chippewa were taught from childhood to have great respect for elders. At the same time, Hilger commented that contemporary Chippewa allowed the elderly to "shift for themselves" (p. 98).

Hilger began her fieldwork among the Anishinaabe in 1932. Sixty years later, her interviews and observations provide rich historical insight into Chippewa social life, although her conclusions remain a product of an earlier anthropological generation. No doubt, Chippewa who are engaged in collecting their own oral histories will find a much different picture. Still, the book is detailed, pleasant to read, and full of revealing excerpts from informants on Chippewa reservations in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan.

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**Chippewa Treaty Rights: The Reserved Rights of Wisconsin's Chippewa Indians in Historical Perspective.** By Ronald N. Satz. Madison, WI: Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters. 251 pages. \$14.95 paper.

Throughout much of the twentieth century, the state of Wisconsin has denied the Ojibwa/Chippewa the right to hunt, fish, and gather on off-reservation lands ceded in the treaties of 1837, 1842, and 1854. The Chippewa have steadfastly claimed that their treaties protected these rights and continued to exercise what they regarded as their legal prerogative. Over the last one hundred years, they often have come into conflict with state officials, conservation officers, and an irate public. Until recently, the United States has refused to exercise its trust responsibility to protect Chippewa hunting and fishing rights, siding with Wisconsin to prohibit the tribes from hunting, fishing, or gathering in off-reservation ceded territory without state license or regulation.

In a series of legal decisions between 1978 and 1991, United States courts reversed previous state and federal contentions about Chippewa hunting and fishing rights. In the first round of litigation, United States District Court Judge Doyle ruled that Chippewa treaties reserved tribal hunting and fishing rights in the entire ceded area. Judge Doyle and his successor Judge Crabb then

heard further evidence to determine the nature and scope of the historic and modern treaty rights, to establish rules for regulating the Indian share of natural resources within the ceded territories, and to discuss procedure for determining damages that the tribes could claim against Wisconsin.

Throughout the litigation, violence flared between tribesmen and local non-Indian residents. When the Chippewa exercised their treaty-preserved rights, they were met with vicious taunts, racial slurs, destruction of their property, and threats of bodily harm. Antitreaty rights coalitions spearheaded propaganda campaigns throughout Wisconsin to incite racist feelings against the tribes. Citing uninformed opinions about the interpretation of laws, quoting inaccurate or misleading statistics, and constructing a platform slogan of "equality versus special privilege," these groups agitated to abrogate the rights defined by the treaties and upheld by the court. The animosity between antitreaty rights proponents and the tribes reached its high point in 1989, when antitreaty rights protesters broke through the police lines that protected Chippewa fishermen and threatened direct, violent confrontation.

*Chippewa Treaty Rights* is a timely work that attempts to educate the general public about the historical basis of Chippewa off-reservation hunting and fishing rights. Satz states that "Northern Wisconsin must be transformed from a battle zone over treaty rights issues each spring and summer to a sanctuary of peace and beauty for Indians and non-Indians" (p. 127). He believes that many of the conflicts will cease when racial prejudice and fear are ended through educated, informed discussion, and cooperation. This book is a worthy first effort in what may prove a difficult task. Throughout the book, Satz discusses both sides of the hunting rights debate, presenting an historical outline within which readers can interpret the reports they hear and the events of their personal experience.

This treaty rights primer begins with a concise, chronological essay that outlines the historical issues and events that have shaped the current relationship between the Chippewa, the state of Wisconsin, and the United States from the early nineteenth century to the present. He focuses careful attention on the treaties of 1837, 1842, and 1854. Devoting one chapter to each treaty, Satz carefully sketches the historical and cultural environment in which each agreement was negotiated, to show the intent of both the United States negotiators and the Chippewa. The analysis moves

into a description of the legal history surrounding the many hunting and fishing rulings handed down by state and federal courts throughout the twentieth century. The essay ends with a step-by-step account of the *Lac Court Oreilles Band of Lake Superior Chippewa et al. v. Voight et al.* (the Voight case) and the succeeding phases that became known as *Lac Court Oreilles Band of Lake Superior Chippewa et al. v. State of Wisconsin*. Satz adds well-selected visual images that give faces to principal actors and includes manuscript facsimiles or transcripts of the most important primary documents that the courts have relied on to make their decisions.

The message in this work is clear. In all of the treaties the Chippewa made with the United States, the Americans gained far more than the Indians did. The efforts of antitreaty rights groups to limit or abrogate Chippewa off-reservation hunting and fishing rights within the boundaries of their treaty cessions would only continue the long pattern of economically and politically disenfranchising a people who have already suffered greatly. Satz balances his coverage and bolsters his theme by listing arguments put forward by antitreaty rights proponents in as sympathetic a manner as possible, considering that the courts have given them little or no credence. He then refutes their positions. To those who say that the Indians enjoy special privileges, he presents Judge Crabb's own argument that "the Indians have the same right to enter into contractual relationships and to go to court to enforce their rights under those contracts" as do all other citizens (p. 118). Claims that Indian hunting and fishing rights and the equipment with which they are exercised destroy northern Wisconsin wildlife are answered with statistical comparisons to sport takes. These demonstrate that the tribes take only a fraction of one percent of the harvest of the resources most often at issue. To those who argue that Indian treaty-protected hunting and fishing have ruined tourism in northern Wisconsin, Satz counters that perceptions of violence and racism generated by antitreaty rights proponents, not Indians, probably account for any decline in tourism.

Satz ends his work with a chapter designed to quiet fears that Indians will destroy the natural environment as well as the Wisconsin tourist economy. He points to successful cooperative ventures between tribes, sports fishermen, and the state of Wisconsin to restock fish. He reports that resorters and the tribes in some areas of northern Wisconsin are cooperating in ventures that will yield abundantly. The details of these cooperative ventures are con-

spicuously absent, perhaps because there have been few such incidents of cooperation and far more occurrences of conflict to this date. Indeed, the book ends with a plea for continued cooperation between Indians and non-Indians to protect Wisconsin resources for common use without conflict or further erosion of Chippewa rights.

As with any primer, *Chippewa Treaty Rights* offers only a summary of history and the development of the modern hunting and fishing rights issue. The major arguments presented in this book are drawn from copious testimony and documentation presented in federal court. This material is supplemented with articles from Wisconsin publications, interviews with tribal attorneys involved in the suits, newspaper coverage, and recent scholarly articles on the Chippewa. The breadth of local sources collected by Satz enhances the value of the work for scholars who rarely have the time or finances to locate the most obscure sources. Unfortunately, most of the collected documents show the motivation and decision-making processes of state and federal officials more clearly than those of the Chippewa tribes.

The primary weakness of *Chippewa Treaty Rights* is the book's lack of significant description and analysis of the interaction between the various Wisconsin tribes, or the decision-making processes that occurred with them. Indeed, Satz purposely chose to represent all of the Wisconsin tribes with the single identity of Chippewa (p. xix). This shorthand limits the book's potential to show the social and political dynamic that has occurred within and between the Chippewa tribes during the litigation. In only one instance is dissension or debate in the Chippewa ranks made visible—around a discussion of settlement negotiations held in 1989, when two tribes opposed settlement and a third divided along factional lines, defeating efforts at a paid settlement in a referendum. Although Satz raises many of the key issues presented by both sides in the Wisconsin litigation, the Chippewa are sometimes hidden in the shadows of their attorneys, replaced by a stereotype of an abused racial minority in the story. Had Satz envisioned a longer work, he no doubt would have addressed this issue.

The detail of Satz's outline, the broad range of source materials compiled, and the clarity of the text will make this book valuable to a wide audience. Only Robert Doherty's book *Disputed Waters*, a journalistic account of *U.S. v. Michigan*—the Michigan hunting and fishing rights litigation—has attempted to document this kind of modern treaty rights case in detail that matches Satz's work.

Satz provides stronger coverage of the historical forces that shaped the modern claims than does Doherty. A lay audience will receive a crash course in the early history of the Great Lakes and the dispossession of the Chippewa tribes that may make them more sensitive to the real issues motivating the litigation. Students and scholars of modern Great Lakes Indians have gained a second useful reference resource on the twentieth century Great Lakes Chippewa.

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**Columbian Consequences, Volume 3: The Spanish Borderlands in Pan-American Perspective.** Edited by David Hurst Thomas. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991. 592 pages. \$45.00 cloth.

At the coming together (a term I prefer to *encounter*) of Old World and New, the Fates gathered great numbers of dice from each, shook them together, and rolled them out in infinite combinations. So many were the consequences that our descendants five hundred years from now will still be sorting them out. Hence, this fat and fascinating interim report is a very mixed bag.

On the midway at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, can that really be chiefs Rain-in-the-Face, Red Cloud, and Kicking Bear gleefully astride painted ponies, floating up and down on the merry-go-round? In 1693, at Tuxtla, in extreme southern Mexico, have race relations deteriorated to such an extent that Zoque Indians are, in fact, stoning to death don Manuel de Maisterra y Atocha, their avaricious Spanish district officer? And around 1520, are invisible Old World microorganisms borne northward from the Valley of Mexico to strike down native peoples and alter their cultures decades before Spaniards ever meet and describe the survivors?

The inspiration of David Hurst Thomas, curator of anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History, the completed, three-volume *Columbian Consequences* takes its place on schedule as "A Contribution from the Society for American Archaeology in Recognition of the Columbian Quincentenary" (p. ii). The series presents in print a string of symposiums held at the annual meetings of the SAA in 1989, 1990, and 1991 for which Thomas drew from an interdisciplinary stable of scholars sixty-four archaeologists, eleven