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Author

Kugel, Rebecca

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tradition of Indian decision-making has much to offer mainstream society. But his historical overview does not convince one that it has been a particularly fruitful approach in preserving and promoting native society in the past. The Micmac poet Rita Joe wrote that "while skyscrapers hide the heavens, they can fall." Canadians generally hold to the skyscrapers, while the native peoples focus on the heavens. Perhaps the heavens are more enduring, but the skyscrapers obscure more and more of the heavens, and they show little sign of falling down. Miller is not entirely optimistic that effective solutions will be applied. One obstacle is that the "public cannot perceive an Indian victory that does not entail a corresponding loss for non-natives in the overheated rhetoric and guerilla theatre that has (*sic*) accompanied recent political confrontation" (p. 284).

This sympathetic and sensible overview of four centuries of contact relations is augmented by thirty poignant illustrations, nine maps, useful notes on primary sources, an excellent bibliography, and an adequate index. A few statistical tables would have been useful additions to document demographic factors and the extent of social and economic deprivation. The publishers are to be commended also for an attractive presentation; unfortunately, the book is overpriced for consideration as a textbook, so in most institutions it will likely remain a reference work. Pity.

Cornelius J. Jaenen
University of Ottawa

The Chippewas of Lake Superior. By Edmund Jefferson Danziger, Jr. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990. 217 pages. \$21.95 Cloth. \$12.95 Paper.

Edmund Jefferson Danziger, Jr.'s *The Chippewas of Lake Superior* provides a brief, descriptive overview of the history of that portion of the Chippewa (or Ojibwa) people whom the United States government designated "Lake Superior Chippewas." Although located primarily in Wisconsin, the Lake Superior Chippewas also include sizable communities in northeastern Minnesota, northern Michigan, and Michigan's upper peninsula.

Danziger begins his work with a description of traditional Chippewa culture, then moves to a discussion of the French and

British regimes, with a focus on economic relations between the Chippewas and the Europeans. He views the advent of the United States as of monumental significance; relationships with the Americans would differ markedly from those with the French and British. Danziger locates the turning point in Chippewa-American relations in the Treaty of 1854, by which the Lake Superior people sold the majority of their lands, retaining only relatively small reservations. The book continues with a description of life in the reservation era, then moves on to view such important twentieth-century events as the Indian Reorganization Act, World War II, the postwar termination policy, and the later move towards self-determination in the 1960s and 1970s. The work ends, unfortunately, in the 1970s, and its introduction, rewritten for the issuing of this paperback edition (p. x), sounds a note of optimism about federal government-Indian relations that seems overly optimistic in an era of BIA budget cuts, congressional investigations detailing widespread corruption in the administration of tribal programs, and, of course, the current conflict in northern Wisconsin regarding Chippewa treaty rights.

Throughout his account, Danziger returns to the theme of Chippewa economic dependence, finding the earliest form of such dependence in the fur trade. The Indian policies of the American government, he suggests, though intended to create conditions of economic self-sufficiency, only magnified an existing problem. Danziger details at length the efforts (and ultimate failure) of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to turn the Chippewas into individualistic farmers owning their land privately and producing crops for a market economy.

Without a doubt, economic dependence and the poverty and social crises that have accompanied it have proven formidable problems for the Lake Superior Chippewas. However, the interpretation advanced by Danziger relies too uncritically on older sources and is inadequate for understanding the complexity of the issue. In discussing the fur trade era, for example, Danziger accepts the idea that the Chippewas became so utterly dependent on the trade that they could not afford to displease their traders and, indeed, relied upon traders for "food, clothing, political advice, and paternal leadership" (p. 89; see also pp. 55, 66, 68, 71, and 72). Without question, the relationship between the Chippewas and the fur traders included elements of dependence and paternalism, but such works as Arthur J. Ray's *Indians and the Fur*

Trade, 1660-1870 (1974) reveal a much more mutualistic relationship than Danziger allows for. The Indian peoples, including Chippewas, who emerge from the work of Ray and other scholars are not simply pawns that Europeans and Euro-Americans can manipulate. That Danziger has not considered the complex, interdependent relationship engendered by the fur trade seriously weakens his contentions concerning the origins and extent of dependency.

Concluding his discussion of the fur trade era, Danziger devotes the remaining half of the book (chapters 5 through 10) to the American period. He pays significant attention to the twentieth-century reservation experience, a welcome departure from works that have ended the histories of Native Americans once the reservation era begins. Danziger also continues his focus on economics in the reservation setting, discussing the various Bureau of Indian Affairs efforts to create and sustain healthy reservation economies. He provides considerable information on BIA efforts to promote farming and discusses bureau management of tribal timber resources. He details other economic options available to the Chippewas, such as fishing and wage work in the area's mines, sawmills, railroads, and tourist industry. In spite of the bureau's best efforts, however, the Lake Superior Chippewas remained economically marginal and brutally impoverished.

The book concludes with discussions of economic self-determination in the 1960s and 1970s. Such reservation developments as tribal marinas and fish hatcheries, community centers and campgrounds, that emerged from the self-determination era of the 1960s and 1970s are featured. Danziger conducted a series of interviews in the 1970s with Chippewa tribal officials and interested individuals, who spoke confidently of the future and of their abilities to overcome the poverty of their communities. Self-determination, Danziger indicates, has accomplished more for the Chippewas than all the years of BIA paternalism. In this context, an additional new chapter assessing the developments of the 1960s and 1970s would greatly enhance the work. It is also regrettable that Danziger has not included material on the 1980s—in particular, information on the impact of bingo and gaming on tribal economic situations.

Uncritical reliance on his sources and their interpretations hampers Danziger's treatment of the Chippewas' experience in the American era, as it did his earlier discussion of the fur trade.

Drawing mainly on Bureau of Indian Affairs documents, Danziger allows the concerns of the BIA to shape his discussion. Bureau efforts to implement policies in economic matters, in health, and in education often dominate the narrative. How, for instance, the Chippewas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries viewed BIA efforts at controlling diseases such as tuberculosis and gonorrhea, and how the Chippewas reconciled Euro-American medical practice with their own conceptions of health and disease causation are not systematically explored. This has the effect again of casting the Chippewas in a passive role, as pawns to be manipulated—in this case by well-meaning agency personnel—without goals, perceptions, and expectations of their own.

This treatment is especially unfortunate, because the text is rich in suggestions that the Chippewas were active and creative participants in their history. It is especially ironic that in the area of economic development and dependence, Danziger overlooks strong evidence of Chippewa efforts to create a viable new economy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, after the collapse of the fur trade and confinement to reservations. During these decades, sales of reservation timber provided the Chippewas with welcome cash income. The BIA viewed timber sales as a temporary economic condition, and often seemed to regard them as a quick way to clear the land so that the Chippewas could then get down to the “real” work of farming. However, the Chippewas themselves reveal, through their actions, a very different perspective. Recognizing their need for cash, they accepted the timber monies, yet they also remained committed to their traditional round of subsistence activities (hunting, ricing, berrying, maple sugar manufacturing).

Attempting to meld timber sales money with traditional economic pursuits, the Chippewas sought to create an economy of their own, independent of BIA planning and control and more in keeping with traditional Chippewa economic values. An evaluation of Chippewa success or failure to create such an amalgamated economy would have added an important, missing dimension to this work. It would have shifted the focus from the policies and programs of the BIA to the expectations of the Chippewas themselves.

Rebecca Kugel
Beloit College