UCLA
American Indian Culture and Research Journal

Title
Native American Communities in Wisconsin, 1600-1960: A Study of Tradition and Change. By Robert E. Bieder.

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6b11s6df

Journal
American Indian Culture and Research Journal , 20(3)

ISSN
0161-6463

Author
Danziger, Edmund J., Jr.

Publication Date
1996-06-01

DOI
10.17953

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people have a tendency to use their arms to protect themselves from flying objects.

Because stomach wounds are among the most serious, Indians often aimed at this part of the body. Wounds to blood vessels and vital organs, especially perforation of the intestines, frequently caused fatal infection. During one battle between the Navajo and U.S. soldiers, twenty-one cases of arrow wounds to the stomach resulted in seventeen deaths. U.S. soldiers failed to protect their midsections adequately from wounds, whereas some Indian warriors wore a cuirass of animal hides around their bellies, and Mexican troops protected their stomachs with wrapped blankets. Both methods helped prevent arrows from penetrating the abdominal region deeply.

Finally, skull injuries were not necessarily as deadly as some might think, unless the arrowhead was deeply embedded. In such cases, a procedure known as trephining, or opening the skull, was used by both army doctors and Indians. During the Indian wars of the latter half of the nineteenth century, the survival rate of soldiers who underwent trephining was about 50 percent.

Although the concluding chapter is rather weak, *The Lightning Stick* provides a number of intriguing facts to readers interested in Indian tribes' uses of bows and arrows, and it contains several pertinent illustrations.

*Raymond Wilson*
Fort Hays State University

**Native American Communities in Wisconsin, 1600–1960: A Study of Tradition and Change.** By Robert E. Bieder. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995. 288 pages. $37.50 cloth; $17.95 paper.

Writing in the *Journal of American History,* anthropologist Bruce G. Trigger reminded readers, "Native societies became increasingly dependent upon European ones and were dominated by them because they lacked time to develop the human and material resources required to compete with them, not because of their incapacity to understand in rational terms what was happening to them" (March 1991, vol. 77). The book under review is a case history of how Trigger's generalization played out in Wisconsin. Here native communities struggled valiantly and creatively to

preserve their integrity but ultimately were overwhelmed by Euro-American diseases, superior technology, and large numbers of land-hungry settlers.

Rather than present a series of tribal studies, Bieder, a professor of American history at Indiana University, has synthesized previous works about Wisconsin's native peoples. The time frame is ambitious—nearly four centuries—but the book is tightly focused and seeks to answer the question, "What mechanisms were used [by Wisconsin Indians] to redefine and preserve community over time?" (pp. 8–9)

*Native American Communities* commences with an overview of the state's geography and how it helped shape tribal cultures prior to European contact. The well-watered forests and open prairies of southern Wisconsin supported a Winnebago economy based on fishing, wild rice-gathering, hunting, and the growing of corn, beans, and pumpkins. This populous tribe of sedentary village dwellers was also characterized by complex social-cultural and political structures. In the mixed hardwood forests of central Wisconsin, from Green Bay west, the Menominee also lived in large villages but relied more on hunting, fishing, and gathering. The sandy, stony, forested Northern Highland was home to the Ojibwa, who generally survived by year-round hunting and whose culture reflected their wandering ways. Besides these differences, the three tribes shared many similarities. Most important for Bieder was the perception of community and how it permeated their physical, social, and spiritual worlds.

The coming of the French and later the British greatly challenged Wisconsin Indian communities, as earlier scholars have shown. Bieder contributes significantly to the literature by concentrating on Indian response at the community level and by documenting how aboriginal groups changed in different ways. These responses and changes, he notes, were "a product of the complex interplay of environmental forces, social structures, cultural and economic traditions, political forces, and degrees of disintegration" (p. 77). War, disease, and the necessity of adjusting their economies to the French fur trade seriously disrupted Winnebago communities, for example, whereas the more flexible internal structure of the Ojibwa made cultural adjustments less disruptive. Additional challenges to native communities were the migration into Wisconsin of eastern tribes uprooted by the European invasion and the expansion of the imperialistic

American republic west of the Appalachian Range. (By the 1830s the native people of Wisconsin included Winnebago and Potawatomi in the south; Menominee, Ojibwa, Ottawa, Munsee, Brotherton, Oneida, Potawatomi, Stockbridge, and Winnebago in central Wisconsin; and Ojibwa in the north.) As French and English trappers, soldiers, and missionaries joined this mix, they further strained native community bonds. Bieder chronicles how the Indians' self-sufficient world deteriorated but also how communities fought to maintain some control over their lives. They modified their cultures and carefully selected from other tribes and white neighbors those items that were appealing and promised to help maintain their sovereignty: technological innovations (guns, traps, manufactured clothing), new foods, alcohol, and even religious ceremonies like the Midewiwin. Prior to the War of 1812, neither the French nor the British fur traders acquired large amounts of Indian land. The remoteness of Wisconsin also buffered its Indians from land-hungry Americans who were busy clearing Ohio, Indiana, and southeastern Michigan of native inhabitants.

When "long knives" from the United States—soldiers, Indian agents, traders, missionaries, lumbermen, miners, and farmers—turned their attention to Wisconsin, they disrupted Indian communities far more than the French and British had done. Indians lost most of their homeland over the next two centuries. Washington confined them to reservations and pressured them to abandon traditional ways. The conquest of the state's aboriginal population composes the second half of *Native American Communities.*

The volume contributes much to our understanding of the reservation years, because it focuses on local conditions rather than rehashing the story of forced native land cessions and Washington's coercive assimilation policy for its Indian wards. Bieder explains how Wisconsin's native communities dealt with traders and Indian agents who undermined political institutions; how poverty-stricken communities coped with feelings of social dislocation, helplessness, and rage. Bieder spotlights the community factionalism that was triggered by chronic stress and disagreements about whether to accept federal programs designed to "civilize" Indians and integrate them into mainstream white society. Struggles between traditionalists and a pro-acculturation groups characterized each Wisconsin reservation and made more difficult the task of reconstituting themselves during the post-fur

trade era. The Ojibwa community, as described by the author, "dissolved into a mosaic of competing interests, factions, and personalities, stretched now [late 1800s] over four reservations and wandering groups" (p. 170).

The twentieth century was a time of continuity as well as change for Wisconsin Indians. Washington still threatened native communities that struggled creatively to preserve their traditions, languages, kinship relations, and geographic bases. New waves of change also pounded reservation shores: Bieder gives special attention to World War I and the experiences of those who served in the armed forces outside of Wisconsin, as well as to the Great Depression and the Indian New Deal. The Indian Reorganization Act gets mixed reviews; it encouraged some native self-determination while leaving a great deal of power over them in the hands of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. *Native American Communities* ends in 1960, just as tribes in Wisconsin and across the nation are about to reassert their sovereignty and take to the streets in protest over hurtful postwar government programs, suffocating federal paternalism, and the persistence of grassroots poverty. Throughout the century, Wisconsin Indians understood the interests of their communities and battled vigorously to preserve them, as they had since the days of the first French traders and missionaries. In the late 1900s, Wisconsin reservations constitute the scene of that struggle, serving as buffers between Indians and the white world and, as Bieder notes, powerful symbols of community identity.

Bieder's *Native American Communities* is essentially a tragic story, "not in the inevitability of cultural change, for all cultures change, but in the increasing frustration that tribal people experienced in trying to control the rate and direction of change" (p. 11). The volume is buttressed by solid research and helpful maps. Numerous photographs capture the look as well as something of the spirit of Wisconsin's first residents. The author hoped to create an important book for general readers, not just specialists, and he has succeeded admirably. Clearly written, well organized, comprehensive, reliable—*Native American Communities* should serve as a model for others who seek to understand and write about the Native American past.

*Edmund J. Danziger, Jr.*
Bowling Green State University