War in Vacationland

The failure of grassroots backlash politics in Wisconsin's Northwoods

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April is usually a quiet time of year at Nokomis Lake in Wisconsin's Northwoods. There is still a bite in the air and the water carries winter's chill, but there is also a thaw and signs of the coming summer too. The loons return to their breeding grounds on the lake, cutting the night air with their crying. In no time, the migrating loons are followed by another annual southern migration eagerly anticipated by the few who brave the winters in the woods: that is, the migration of city dwellers to the housekeeping cottages that line the hundreds of lakes in the area. The locals prepare for the bounty by dropping piers into the chilly water and making repairs that have waited all winter. Their migrating guests, tired from mundane months in factories and offices will bring their wallets full of cash and their appetite for adventure. Most are seeking the communion with nature that comes with sitting on a boat and dropping a fishing line in the crystal clear water.

The Ojibwe[1] fishermen from the Lac du Flambeau Reservation who had the nerve to drop their boats in the waters of Nokomis Lake at dusk on April 17, 1990, while also eagerly anticipated by the locals, were *not* so welcome. They spent the night prior sharpening the tines on their homemade spears and placing the car batteries used to power their headlamps in covered milk crates.[2] To get to the water, they had to walk past five hundred people donning bright orange vests and scowls, brandishing clenched fists, some with rocks in hand.[3] If the fishermen weren't hit with rocks, the death threats and taunts which so easily rolled off those five hundred tongues certainly did not miss them "Shoot 'em all! If we shot 'em, they'd be thinking twice about coming out here."[4] They were no victims. The Indians, led by self-proclaimed "Walleye Warrior" Tom Maulson, saw this as a form of war.[5] The anticipation that is a natural part of spring in the Northwoods[6] fueled another event which had become a tradition for the previous five years: angry, racially-charged spearfishing protests. "Spring used to be a time of excitement," George Langley, a sporting goods salesman from Eagle River lamented. "Now it's a time of anxiety and apprehension."[7]

Peace activists from Milwaukee stand arm in arm as a human shield separating protestors from Native American spearfishermen.

The boat landings had become a battleground over walleye between working class whites and their American Indian neighbors. Whites claimed Indians were granted special privileges by outside forces to take fish they considered the cornerstone of their economic well-being, but Indians were merely trying to exercise their own fishing rights guaranteed by treaties with the U.S. government one hundred fifty years prior to the ugly skirmishes at Nokomis. What separated the groups was much more than mere fish. They were in the midst of a battle much bigger than themselves, a battle for rights, access, agency, identity, masculinity, and economy.

The boat launches of Chicago's vacationland were surprising places to hear shouts like "timber nigger" and to read placards carrying slogans like "Spear an Indian!"[8] If racism was an issue in the past, it was either latent or a topic of taboo for discussion for most of the 20th century. Tom Maulson didn't remember racism in his youth. After the boat launch confrontations, though, he recognized that

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[1] I have chosen to use the term "Ojibwe" to refer to the Native American people historically known as "Chippewa." Another term used to refer to the Ojibwe is "Anishinaabe," a reference to their Algonquian language.

[2] Larry Nesper, *Walleye War: The Struggle for Ojibwe Spearfishing and Treaty Rights* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002): 22, 24.

[3] Robert Imrie, "Lac du Flambeau launch spearfishing Tuesday night," *Associated Press*, April 18, 1990.

[4] Witnesses for Non-Violence. UC1416A "Spear fishing protest. Eye witness reports of protests," April 10 to May 10, 1990, audio tape, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.

[5] Nesper, *Walleye* War, 53.

[6] I will be using the ambiguous, yet locally colloquial term "Northwoods" to refer to an area comprised mostly of Vilas and Oneida Counties, Wisconsin, and areas adjacent to an extent of about 50 miles in North-Central Wisconsin.

[7] John Husar, "Spearfishing squabble has Wisconsin worried," *Chicago Tribune*, April 23, 1989: B15.

[8] Great Lakes Fish and Wildlife Commission, *Moving Beyond Argument: Racism and Treaty Rights* (Odanah, WI: GLIFWC Public Information Office), 1990.

racism was always built into the system.[9] Acculturation of the Ojibwe here seemed mostly complete, according to the 1946 anthropology fieldwork at Lac du Flambeau of Alfred Hallowell. He described a tribe which was Christian, with only the very old carrying on midéwiwin religious practices. They were mostly monolingual, speaking English. Only a quarter of the Lac du Flambeau were full-blooded.[10] In many ways the Ojibwe were indistinguishable from local whites. They often attended the same schools, played together in softball leagues, shopped in the same grocery stores, intermarried, and worked in the same resorts and restaurants.[11] Despite this, the situation at the boat landings between 1985 and 1991 seemed to descend into a racial abyss. The space was heavy between the white protestors on the boat landing and the Ojibwe on their boats. Where two peoples once stood at least in toleration of each other, now was a chasm over something seemingly trivial as competition for game fish.

The national and regional rise of the activist "Silent Majority."

Walleyes and muskies were *not* the heart of the matter, no matter how passionate anti-treaty groups claimed to be about conservation. Many of the rank and file protestors were seasonal workers: young, white, male and most of the movement's leaders were owners of small, family-owned tourist businesses. While leadership spoke of color-blind motivations to the press, their recruits confronted Amerind spearers at the boat launches with rocks, death threats, and racial slurs. All the while they accused the federal government of "segregating" and "raping" resources. Leaders went so far as to compare themselves to Martin Luther King. The protestors used sit-ins, chanted patriotic slogans, and waved American flags. They saw themselves as the true Americans under siege, and their own government was denying them their right to what was considered their birthright: not only access to the natural resource that meant a livelihood to them but also access to the government. They borrowed rhetoric from the civil rights movement *and* from the Reagan anti-Big Government populism. They felt they were pawns in a game controlled by forces in Chicago, Madison, and Milwaukee. They saw themselves as fellow former Democrat Reagan described in his "Time for Choosing" speech as a upright, honest rural folk trying simply to make a living battling "a little intellectual elite in a far-distant capitol" that felt it could "plan our lives for us better than we can plan them ourselves."[12]

The changing economic and cultural landscape of the post-Civil Rights era saw the need for new conservative political strategies. Much has been written by historians of the "Silent Majority," particularly with how it used color-blind, post-racial rhetoric to gain widespread support for political agendas which might have divisive racial consequences. Jefferson Cowie, Lisa McGirr, and Matthew Lassiter, among others, have written notable histories which demonstrate the effectiveness of this movement to build legitimacy in the 1970's and 1980's, but they focus on population centers in urban and suburban areas.[13] Similar processes were evident in rural areas, in distant orbit to these urban centers, but the rural landscape and distances made for different results. Even Wisconsin, a bastion of progressive radicalism during the early 20th century, edged toward the right. Equal Rights for Everyone (ERFE), an early Northwoods anti-treaty group, explicitly used the New Right's "Silent Majority" label in recruitment materials, even stating, "To win this battle, we need the voices of the Silent Majority."[14] In doing so they aligned their rural cause with this growing conservative coalition, which by 1980 had captured the White House under the banner of Ronald Reagan.

The breakdown of the New Deal coalition and the revolutionary consequences and events of the 1950's and 1960's Civil Rights Movement transformed the American political scene and, thus, the effectiveness of political strategy. No longer was it acceptable to the new conservative coalition to stand obtuse and angry like George Wallace under exclusive, obsolete mantras like "segregation now and segregation forever." As Milwaukee-based activist Rick Whaley wrote in the midst of the Walleye Wars, "One of the successes of the civil rights movement has been to make racism a dirty word."[15] The Silent Majority was meant to be a wide-ranging, inclusive coalition. The *new* conservatives were color-blind, motivated not by race, but by a quest for equal opportunity. This was a theme repeated by anti-treaty groups in the media again and again. A new morality was personified by the independent man, responsible for lifting himself up to overcome obstacles like racism. They certainly had no need for government assistance. Not only was assistance and intervention from the federal government a sign of

[9] Tom Maulson, "Tom Maulson Interview." From **Waasa Inaabidaa: We Look In All Directions, 6, a**ccessed January 15, 2015. http://www.ojibwe.org/home/pdf/Tom_Maulson_LDF.pdf

[10] Edmund Danziger, *The Chippewas of Lake Superior*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978): 150-1.

[11] Steve Hopkins, "Hayward is calm amid dispute," *Treaty Crisis: Cultures in Conflict*. (Madison: Wisconsin State Journal, 1990): 42.

[12] Ronald Reagan. "Time for Choosing," October 27, 1964, from Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, accessed April 21, 2015. http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/reference/timechoosing.html

[13] Jefferson Cowie, *Stayin' Alive: The 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class*. (NY: New Press, 2010); Lisa McGirr. *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2001); Matthew D. Lassiter. *Silent Majority: Sunbelt Politics in the Sunbelt South.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2007).

[14] ERFE recruitment poster, undated, Larry Peterson Papers, M91-204, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.

[15] Rick Whaley, "Racism alive in Northern Wisconsin," *Community Journal (Milwaukee)*, June 15, 1988.

weakness, it was also un-American. This new ethos swept the working and middle class in the Reagan Revolution of 1980. The white middle class felt disempowered by the unemployment of deindustrialization and alienated by liberal federal programs like integration.[16] A Jacksonian populism underpinned much of this shift as whites were motivated by federal interventions and taxation to organize grassroots organizations, a process illustrated in the rural setting of the Northwoods by the establishment of various anti-treaty groups in the Northwoods.[17]

Race was never supposed to be a motivation, but, as Matthew Lassiter described, a white "siege mentality" was an integral part of "Silent Majority" thinking.[18] Whites often saw themselves as victims of post-Civil Rights political over-correction and their outrage often boiled over into ugly racism, despite their best efforts at color-blindness. The New Right in the Reagan era would attempt to bring aboard the anti-elitism and populism of George Wallace, but throw out Wallace's racist rhetoric to become a viable, modern political coalition.[19] The Walleye War in the rural Northwoods started in the Reagan vein, echoing populist themes of equality and self-empowerment, but its varnish peeled in increasingly racially hostile rhetoric.

There have been a few academic studies of the dark days on the boat landings that are mostly sympathetic to the Amerinds. In these narratives of the so-called "Walleye Wars," white anger appears almost as a setting piece, like the trees, rather than a dynamic force in itself worth careful studying. The descent of the crowds into racism is a given in these narratives. Larry Nesper, a historian of the cultural turn, used the tools of the anthropologist in his research for what has become the quintessential text of the Walleye Wars, going so far as to ride alongside Ojibwe spearfishers.[20] His story is one of Ojibwe renaissance. The spearfishers rediscover their unique identity as a people, independent of and apart from the surrounding white majority. Ronald Satz's important 1991 study of the Walleye Wars also focuses on the Ojibwe point of view, presenting spearfishing as an ancient cultural practice.[21] Satz, who wrote in the midst of the debate, focused on countering white arguments about the legitimacy of treaty rights, historically, culturally, and legally, instead of examining them for what they were.

The anti-treaty protestors were a product, though, of their time. The men and women at the boat landings were angry, yes; but they were not so much angry about fish as they were about the sense that they had been disempowered by forces outside of their control. Real estate prices and taxation were skyrocketing. The roller coaster economy put their small, service-oriented businesses in danger, just as big corporations with deep pockets came in to compete with the family-run resorts and restaurants that defined the Northwoods. There were no places to turn for help since they felt they were under siege by a perceived elitist government that could never represent their interests. Without an outlet, the backlash fell on the Flambeau spear-fishers in the form of protest. Ojibwe leader Walt Bresette called the protestors "neighbors" and felt compassion for them. "They're hungry and they're tired and they have no answers" for the economic and cultural pressures they feel. Bresette predicted that one day they would "locks arms" with the Indians.[22] Federal intervention and the voice of elitist gentrifiers (affectionately called "tree-huggers" by protestors) from Chicago and Milwaukee in what was considered a local matter, made the walleye issue one of vital importance for the whites.

The disempowering force of a satellite economy in transition.

Everything in the Northwoods depended on the 700 small, low gross, family-run resorts[23] that lined the best fishing lakes in the region. Tourism was the bedrock of a local economy dependent on an annual influx of cash brought by from mostly working class and middle class tourists, who desired activities of "speed and blood."[24] Almost one million fishing licenses were sold by the Department of Natural Resources (DNR) in 1989 and 20% of these were purchased by out-of-state visitors. $19.7 million in fishing licenses were sold by the DNR in the sample year of 1989,[25] proving to many that sport-fishing was a preferred activity of all these tourists.[26] The vast Northern Highland State Forest, central to the region,

[16] Cowie, 4.

[17] The organization of New Right grassroots organizations is particularly notable in Lisa McGirr's work and in Darren Dochuk. *From Bible Belt to Sun Belt.* (NY: W.W. Norton, 2011).

[18] As Matthew Lassiter described it in "Who Speaks for the Silent Majority," *NY Times*, Nov. 2, 2011.

[19] Cowie, 364.

[20] Larry Nesper, *Walleye War: The Struggle for Ojibwe Spearfishing and Treaty Rights,* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002.) Nesper even dedicated his study to Red Cliff Ojibwe leader Walt Bresette.

[21] Ronald Satz, *Chippewa Treaty Rights: The Reserved Rights of Wisconsin's Chippewa Indians in Historical Perspective*, (Madison: Wisconsin Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1991.)

[22] Walt Bresette. "We are all Mohawks: Keynote address at the 1990 Green Gathering, Estes Park, CO," *Green Letter* (Winter, 1990): 50.

[23] John Fraser Hart. "Resort Areas in Wisconsin." *Geographical Review* 74, no. 2 (April, 1994): 209.

[24] Hart claims "White collar types watch birds. Blue collar types shoot them," in Ibid, 203.

[25] 1989 proved to have the lowest number of licenses sold in the years from 1986 to 1989, reported by the DNR.

[26] Lawrence Barish, ed., *State of Wisconsin Blue Book 1991-1992*, (Madison: State of Wisconsin Legislative Reference Bureau, 1991): 600.

contains the highest concentration of lakes in the world.[27] These lakes have produced record muskellunge and walleye.[28] Fishing means money "up north" and spearfishing seemed to be a threat to every business. Vilas County alone attracted $64 million every summer in the mid-1980s, which was not only spent on resort lodging, but also on souvenirs, outboard rentals and sporting goods, bars, and restaurants.[29] Almost every business in the Northwoods depended in some way on the region's status as a satellite to the Chicago-Milwaukee megalopolis. This was always the case.

About a century before the Walleye Wars, a tidal wave of logging overwhelmed the virgin white pine forests that once covered the region. During this period, lasting from the late 1880s through the 1890s, jobs were plentiful as boom towns like Star Lake, Minocqua, and Boulder Junction sprung up around railroad depots.[30] Trees were felled at a frantic pace and loaded onto trains bound for Chicago. Here they were plugged into a nation-wide trade network. They are the stuff of almost every building in the American Midwest.[31]

This extraction-based economy did not last long. Almost as fast as the lumber companies set up shop, they left for the west.[32] The era of easy money had passed, leaving what was called "the cutover" in its wake, endless landscapes of stumps and swamps.[33] There was a push in the 1910s to establish agriculture here, as was done in other areas left to waste by logging, but crops did not take in the poorly drained soil and population plummeted. Eagle River, once a thriving logging town, was "the size of a postage stamp" in the winter.[34]

Even so, the area began to attract sport-fishers from the great city at the terminus of the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad. Some stayed in the old logging camp hostels and in the barns of local residents.[35] They were attracted by the rural setting and untapped fishing lakes. Land owners, many of them formerly employed in ancillary businesses relating to logging, responded by building rustic "housekeeping cottages" for rent.[36] A collection of these structures, set up directly on lakes with a pier and a boat for each, was called a "resort," although they never remotely resembled the plush four-star inclusive lodgings that come to mind when one hears the word "resort."[37] One of the originators of this business model, O.W. Sayner, built a resort on Plum Lake in central Vilas County. One of Sayner's ads, run in the *Chicago Tribune* in 1904, promised that his lake escaped the ravages of cutover, promising "solitude" brought about by "grim stands of pines." The advertisement begins, "Extra-large muskellunge live in Plum Lake,"[38] demonstrating the centrality of fishing to the transformation of the Northwoods from an extractive to a service economy. [39] This economic transition predated a nation-wide shift to the service economy by several decades.

The resorts grew more complex as visitors began to bring wives and children along roads built for the automobile. Often these complexes surrounded small bars and they always included among out-buildings a fish cleaning shack. Some resort owners would clean the fish caught by guests and cook them up and serve them at the end of a weeklong stay. They were built with privacy in mind and for the enjoyment of outdoor activities.[40] The *Chicago Tribune* was full of advertisements from competing Northwoods resorts promising "pleasingly novel conditions" for urban families.[41] Sayner's 1949 print ad sounded much like his ad from 1904. Sayner announced to his urban customers that "Fish are biting on Plum Lake… North Woods' best fishing." Another ad paid for by the Vilas County Chamber of Commerce promised "hundreds of teeming lakes."[42] The ads featured enticing images of fish jumping out of lakes.

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[27] William Klase and Raymond Guries. *Forestland Ownership in Vilas and Oneida Counties, 1975-1994,* (Madison: Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin, 1999): 4.

[28] Wisconsin DNR, "Record Fish Caught by Hook and Line," accessed March 10, 2015. dnr.wi.gov/topic/fishing/recordfish/hookline.html

[29] Rogers Worthington, "It's open season on spearfishing treaties," *Chicago Tribune*, May 7, 1989.

[30] According to Danziger, even the reservation at Lac du Flambeau was part of the boom. The reservation has two towns. The old town was the site of the traditional tribal community, but a few miles to the north a "new town" or "uptown" was established by loggers keen to pick up plots of land through the Dawes Severalty Act (p. 151). Satz further explains that the BIA, meanwhile, implemented a policy meant to "transform the communal Chippewa into civilized, capitalistic farmers." (p. 77)

[31] William Cronon. *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. (NY: Norton, 1991): 200-6.

[32] Rebecca Schewe, et. al. *Condos in the Woods: The Growth of Seasonal and Retirement Homes in Northern Wisconsin*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012.) Kindle file.

[33] Aaron Shapiro. "Up North on Vacation: Tourism and Resorts in Wisconsin's Northwoods." *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 89*,* no. 4 (Summer, 2006): 3.

[34] Hart, 208.

[35] Shapiro, 4.

[36] Ibid., 7.

[37] Hart, 208.

[38] "The *Tribune's* Vacation Guide." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 1, 1904.

[39] Schewe, et. al., ch. 2.

[40] Hart, 210.

[41] Shapiro, 4. "Pleasingly novel conditions," quoted by Shapiro from a brochure for Ross's Teal Lake Lodge gleaned from the Ross Papers held at the Wisconsin Historical Society.

[42] Both ads printed side-by-side. See figure B. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, classified display ads, May 15, 1949.

Early 20th century Northwoods tourism advertisements featured fishing as a central amenity. Here is a series of ads as they were laid out in 1949. *Chicago Tribune*, classified ads, May 15, 1949.

Before long, these businesses saw the transformation not only of the local economy, but also the identities of residents and even the natural landscape in what one *Tribune* writer called "an impossible shotgun marriage" between "Mother Nature and Mr. Economics."[43] This especially ramped up in the time coinciding with the rapid development of the Chicago suburbs. Increasingly affluent Chicagoans saw a chance to exercise their new social status by taking the trip "up north," something only accessible to wealthier classes in decades past.[44] Restaurants and saloons served the appetites of these new visitors, who wanted to pretend to be "pioneers," but did not want to leave the comforts of city life.[45] Sporting goods stores provided boat rentals and offered baits and guide services for the urban fisherman.[46] These tourist service businesses provided residents with at least seasonal employment and at best, the opportunity to own small businesses. What results is "a service economy built on a slim resource base." As historian Jack Holzheuter remarked in the midst of the Walleye Wars, "It's been a marginal lifestyle for many people for 70 years now."[47]

A sign hung alongside the taxidermy in the dining room of the Last Wilderness Café in Presque Isle listed mileages to the nearest McDonald's and Burger King and concluded, "so you better eat here." Competition with national corporate restaurant and hotel chains was not something these small business owners had to contend with until the mid-1980's when urbanites, seeking the serenity and excitement of the lakes they remembered vacationing near in their youth, bought second homes intended for eventual retirement. Tourists became seasonal residents and then permanent retired residents. Vilas and Oneida counties had the highest rates of in-migration in the late 1970s.[48] These migrants, despite their pretentions of wilderness living, demanded reasonable access to national chain restaurants and cheap big box stores, sparking a rural gentrification process more pronounced in the village of Minocqua than in other areas. It was no coincidence that Minocqua, straddled across Highway 51's weekly tourist caravans and in the middle of the region, was not only the site of the area's first Wal-Mart and McDonald's, but also the most militant anti-treaty protest groups, such as Stop Treaty Abuse (STA).[49] As Ojibwe activist Walt Bresette simply put it, "Every corporate logo is a tombstone for small business, for mom'n'pop resorts, and for rural culture."[50] Dean Crist, STA's leader and the owner of Minocqua's Alexander Pizza, was famously suspicious of elitists and outsiders acting to force identity change in the Northwoods.[51] He found a willing constituency among some of his fellow family-owned business operators. Crist's contempt for the urban was evident. "I don't make a lot of money here, but it keeps me from living in the city," he once told a Madison reporter.[52]

Some Northwoods business owners have time and again expressed concern over these "heavyweight" competitors, more recently when the humble Minocqua Wal-Mart was rebuilt as a sprawling "Supercenter." Business owners expressed concern that the new big box would not "fit in" with the identity of the Northwoods. At an explosive Minocqua Planning Commission meeting,

[43] Bill Stokes, "A fish troubles spring waters," *Chicago Tribune*, May 15, 1989, 15.

[44] Larry Nesper. "Simulating Culture: Being Indian for the Tourists in Lac du Flambeau's Wa-Swa-Gon Indian Bowl." *Ethnohistory* 50, no. 3 (Summer, 2003): 442.

[45] A Wisconsin Conservation Department ad in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 7, 1936, reads, "There's a little bit of a pioneer in almost everyone, a love of the woods, wilderness waters, and wild life…. Rent a cabin beside a lake. Fish, swim, and tramp in the great outdoors."

[46] Hart, 210.

[47] Jack Holzheuter quoted in Jennifer Riddle, "Better economy," *Treaty Crisis: Cultures in Conflict*. (Madison: *WSJ*, 1990): 12.

[48] Hart, 214.

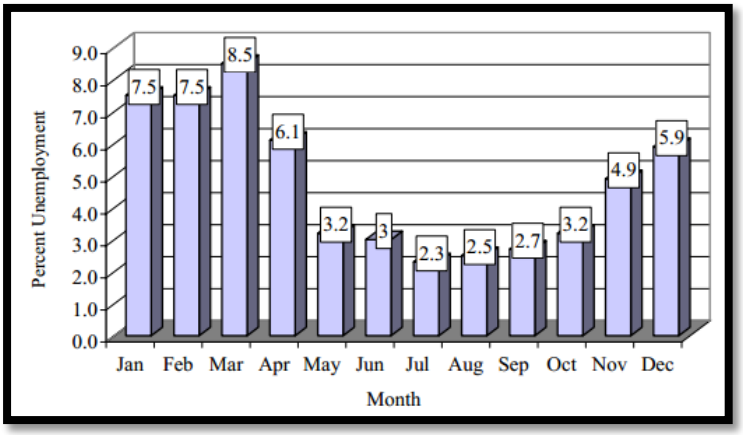
[49] The Minocqua Wal-Mart opened on October 29, 1996, per research data compiled for Thomas Holmes, "The Diffusion of Wal-Mart and Economies of Density," *Econometrica* 79, no. 1 (January, 2011): 253-302.

[50] Bresette, 50.

[51] Even though, ironically, he was a native of Chicago's suburbs.

[52] George Hesselberg, "Profile: Dean Crist," *Treaty Crisis: Cultures in Conflict*. (Madison: *WSJ*, 1990): 18.

they met with a Wal-Mart official who curtly dismissed their concerns and called for a referendum to make the decision. Kurt Justice, the owner of the independent Island Sport Shop, attended the meeting and, exasperated by the corporate representative sent to the meeting and feeling helpless, asked his fellow business owners, "Why are we allowing them to do this again?"[53]



"Monthly Unemployment Rates" *County of Vilas, Wisconsin. Vilas County Year 2020 Comprehensive Land Use Planning Report, November, 2000, http://www.co.vilas.wi.us/landuse/vchap06.pdf (accessed January 17, 2015).*

The near complete dependence on outsiders for capital and the singularity that the tourism economy creates as fragile a political situation as it does an economic one. These new migrants and tourists, contemptuously dismissed as "flatlanders" and "FIBs"[54] by long-term residents, brought capital earned during a lifetime of work in urban Chicago and Milwaukee.[55] Their desire for property with lake frontage drove up real estate prices to levels that left longtime locals out of the market. Lakefront homes could sell for a million dollars, convincing many resort owners to cash out their properties.[56] During the 1980s, following a period of steep in-migration from 1975 to 1987, many resorts were sold and converted to condos.[57] Some were completely demolished. The identity of the Northwoods was changing throughout the 1980s in the face of rural gentrification. Despite the current of contempt for the emasculating presence of Chicago and Milwaukee capital, business owners were dependent. "Our service sector could not survive without the seasonal home owner and tourists," explained a Northwoods real estate agent. "We could not live without them."[58] A heated debate about development was underway in the 1980s between so-called "gangplankers," who wanted no development and to leave the natural environment as they first encountered it; and "bulldozers," who saw all economic development as beneficial.[59] While residents, whether long-standing or newcomers, could fall anywhere on this spectrum depending on their economic outlook, a political divide seemed to be forming. As researcher John Paul Green explained of rural development and its political outcome, "Exurbanites challenge the political, social, and cultural heritage of longstanding residents. Questions [arise] about who owns the landscape and how it should be used."[60]

Added to the nervousness brought on by all of these factors is the cyclical nature of the economy. There were periods of plenty in summer and periods of less in the late winter and spring. Although incomes were 20% lower in the Northwoods than in other parts of Wisconsin, the employment picture looked fine when one approaches it annually.[61] For example, unemployment in Vilas County in 1991 was only 0.5% worse than the state average. But a different picture emerges when one looks at the numbers seasonally. The March and April unemployment numbers are regularly seven points worse than those of July and August.[62] The cyclical nature of the Northwoods economy and the fact most businesses operated on slim profit margins created a tense situation with hundreds of workers, mostly young men, laid off annually.[63] The apprehension was most pronounced in spring and would reach its peak at the same time as the walleye spawning runs that were most productive for Ojibwe spear-fishers. As explained in a 1990 editorial, "The fear that Indian spearfishing would harm the fish population and hurt the fragile northern economy blinded its sufferers to the perpetual North Woods poverty."[64]

Wisconsin attempts to control Lac du Flambeau

"Unspoiled nature" was the raw material for sale to tourists in this fragile economy, so "nature" was carefully managed by the Wisconsin Conservation Department

[53] Rick LaFrambois, "Walmart wags its tail in Minocqua," *Lakeland Times (Minocqua)*, March 21, 2003.

[54] "Flatlanders" was a term imported by Kentucky bootleggers who operated in the woods. (The area has a long history of bootlegging and connections with Chicago's Syndicate.) "FIBs" is more contemptuous, standing for "Fucking Illinois Bastards."

[55] Hart, 208.

[56] Gary Paul Green, ed., et. al. *Amenitites and Rural Development: Theory, Methods, and Public Policy*. (Northhampton, MA: Elgar Publishing, 2005): 8.

[57] Ibid., 196.

[58] Schewe, 1132.

[59] Hart, 216.

[60] Green, 15.

[61] Jennifer Riddle, "Better economy may lessen conflicts," from *Treaty Crisis: Cultures in Conflict*. (Madison: *WSJ*, 1990): 7.

[62] County of Vilas, Wisconsin. Vilas County Year 2020 Comprehensive Land Use Planning Report, November, 2000, accessed January 17, 2015. http://www.co.vilas.wi.us/landuse/vchap06.pdf See fig. C.

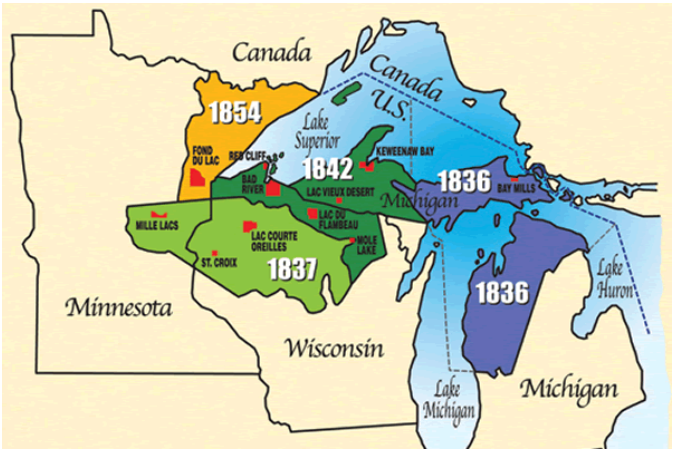
[63] B.J. Hegeman, "Jeff Long has long history with community," *Lakeland Times (Minocqua)*, April 8, 2011.

[64] "For peace, let's spear stereotypes," *Wisconsin State Journal (Madison)*, March 4, 1990.

(WCD), an agency of state government created in 1927.[65] Trees were replanted in the cutover regions and protected by the creation of a 224,000 acre state forest, Northern Highland State Forest. The WCD and its successor agency the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources (DNR) also built fish hatcheries and rearing ponds in an effort to manage sport-fish populations. Resort owners were sensitive to DNR activities as evidenced by thousands of letters to the DNR.[66] Complaints like this from even this small businessmen were not ignored. Errington's letter was sent to the very top of the chain of command at the DNR. DNR activities were always front page stories in the local newspapers and wardens were known by name.

The tourist economy depended on natural amenities: the trees, the lakes, the deer, and the walleyes and muskies. These were the things that it was believed attracted the caravans of automobiles, and the corresponding cash liquidity, into the economically stripped region.[67] Hundreds of small businesses competed over the limited influx of cash. It was not unreasonable to assume that without the fish, a regional economic depression would follow. Because of this, business put pressure on the state, which responded by aggressively pursuing poachers.

At least since the beginnings of the resort industry, the state of Wisconsin held that state game laws applied to Indians and non-Indians equally. Warden arrests of Ojibwe attempting to fish on and off the reservation were commonplace, and were the subject of white-held stereotypes about the Ojibwe as poachers. Amerinds used traditional methods such as gill-netting and spearing, which were outside the bounds of the state's fishing regulations since 1878.[68] Facing poverty and high unemployment on the reservations, the tribal members were fishing for subsistence.[69] Even though a federal court overturned the conviction of Ojibwe fisherman John Blackbird in 1901, stating that state governments did not apply on Indian reservations, the state continued to enforce fishing regulations off the reservation.[70] The Wisconsin Supreme Court justified this action in the 1908 *State v. Morrin*



"Chippewa Land Cessions" GLIFWC, http://www.glifwc.org/map.html (accessed Feb. 20, 2015).

decision, concluding that Indian treaties made with the Ojibwe that guaranteed hunting and fishing rights in the 19th century, were abrogated when Wisconsin was made a state in 1848.[71]

The Ojibwe continued to fish, on and off the reservation, despite the state's claims. Lac du Flambeau subsistence fishing supplemented food stock and became even more important in the years of decline, blight, malnutrition, and disease[72] that accompanied unsuccessful BIA efforts to "teach" the LDF to farm in the 1920s.[73] Spearing was much more important than a way to supplement diet. It was also seen as a rite of passage and a source of tribal identity, especially among the men of LDF.[74] The Lac du Flambeau band is named for the common aboriginal method of using torches to aid in walleye spearfishing at night. The spear and the torch as a fishing method was first observed by the French Jesuit Paul le Jeune in the 17th century.[75] Fur trader David Thompson also recorded the Ojibwe (or, as he called them, the Chippeway) spearfishing by "flambeaux"[76] in the early 19th

[65] Dave Gjestson. "Key factors in shaping WCD history," South Central Wisconsin Association of Retired Conservationists, accessed March 20, 2015. http://www.wisarc.org/dnrhistory.html

[66] WI DNR, Native American Policy Correspondences, 1963-1993. 2010-042, Box 1. Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.

[67] Green, 8.

[68] "Fish & Game Regulations," *Wisconsin Statutes, Chapter 29*. (1989), accessed February 1, 2015. http://docs.legis.wisconsin.gov/1989/statutes/statutes/29 and Nesper, *Walleye War*, 50.

[69] Unemployment was high as 50% in 1989, during the most heated period of the Walleye Wars, according to Riddle, "Better economy," 12.

[70] Satz, 83-85.

[71] *State v. Morrin*, 136 Wis. 552, 117 N.W. 1006 (1908).

[72] Deadly syphillis and smallpox outbreaks at LDF were blamed on the "immorality" and uncleanliness of the OJibwe and not on the inadequate BIA clinics. Danziger, 119.

[73] Danziger, 118-120. Note that whites' failed efforts to convert the poorly drained Northwoods soil into farmland in the 1910s has already been discussed by this paper.

[74] Nesper, *Walleye* War, 53.

[75] Paul le Jeune, *Relation of What Occurred in New France in the Year 1634*, Ruben Gold Thwaites, ed. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791, Vol. 6.* (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1898): 309.

[76] David Thompson, *David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations of Western America, 1784-1812*, ed. J.B. Tyrrell (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1916): 117.

century and noted that it "gives them a considerable part of their livelihood."[77]

Fur traders like Thompson put the Ojibwe into debt, a debt the U.S. government used to encourage tribal leaders to accept land cessions in exchange for cash.[78] Ojibwe leaders in northern Wisconsin were keen to receive payments and negotiated cessions that would enrich the lumbermen and copper miners that so quickly transformed the forests in the late 19th century. Leaders may have sold the land, but they knew the importance of hunting and fishing to the tribe.[79] Ojibwe chief La Trappe negotiated for the guaranteed right to fish and hunt in ceded areas "at the pleasure of the President of the United States" in the 1837 Treaty of St. Peters, the first of three cession treaties.[80] The importance of this right is evident in the speeches recorded at St. Peters, especially that of Flat-Mouth, who said, "You know we cannot live, deprived of our lakes and rivers."[81] Flat-Mouth invoked Indian ownership of the fish when he contended that debts should be considered paid in full since "white men had taken fish from the lakes… without ever paying the Chippewa."[82] Treaties made for further land cessions in 1842 and 1854 reiterated this right.[83] Eager American agent Henry Dodge accepted the terms with visions of "nine to ten million acres of land, abounding in pine timber."[84] The LDF, and other Ojibwe, then carried on hunting and fishing on ceded lands, even after the establishment of reservations in 1855. The treaties gave authority to abrogate the treaty to the President alone, not the state of Wisconsin.[85]

Despite the federal authority to abrogate indicated by the treaties, and despite the Constitution's affirmation that treaties are, along with the Constitution "the supreme law of the land," Wisconsin fishing statutes were enforced in violation of the treaties. Ojibwe fishers were imprisoned and fined, justified by the Snyder Act of 1924 which recognized the American citizenship of Native Americans. At a 1934 BIA conference in Hayward, meant to advise BIA director John Collier on a proposed Indian Reorganization Bill, LDF Judge Thomas St. Germaine held firm to the century-old agreement and made it clear that any reorganization should not change the "reserved" treaty fishing rights. While the federal government under Collier promoted limited Indian self-government, the state of Wisconsin continued to make arrests, some of which ended in lengthy prison sentences. According to a state-sponsored report written by Joyce Erdman in 1966, "Indians hunting, fishing, or trapping outside the boundaries of Indian reservations are subject to Wisconsin laws... here there is no disagreement." Erdman argued that arrests on reservations may have been justified by the passage in 1953 of Public Law 280, which gave the state government jurisdiction over criminal matters in the reservations located in Wisconsin.[86] Public Law 280, however, stipulates that the act should not "deprive any Indian or any Indian tribe, band, or community of any right, privilege, or immunity afforded under federal treaty… with respect to hunting, trapping, or fishing."[87] A cat and mouse game ensued throughout the '50's and '60's, as LDF "violators," as they called themselves, organized nighttime raids into ceded territories to collect game, much to the consternation of dutiful WCD wardens. Many on the reservation recalled these raids fondly, as a time of manly community bonding.[88] But it was more than just a fun outlaw fishing trip, the LDF saw "violating" as a way to affirm their masculine role as providers in the face of structural disempowerment.[89]

On the boat landing at Nokomis Lake in 1990 a white protestor from Monico made the beer-soaked claim that "them Pottawatomies are good Indians."[90] If the Pottawatomie were "good Indians" what were the Indians of his own experience who lived at LDF? From the white point-of-view in the 1980s, the Flambeau were examples of everything wrong with the welfare state. In many ways, the LDF were little different from whites in the Northwoods. They also grew to depend on the tourist economy, but usually as employees and rarely as business owners. Even the resorts on the reservation were owned by whites. Many LDF acted as fishing guides for tourists and many worked as housekeepers at the resorts.[91] Even the most vocal critic of treaty rights, Dean Crist, employed Flambeau youth at

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[77] Ibid., 267.

[78] Satz, 10.

[79] A GLIFWC map of the land cessions appears as fig. D.

[80] Charles Kappler, ed. "Treaty with the Chippewa, July 29, 1837." From *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, vol. 2.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 491-2.

[81] Satz, 19.

[82] Ibid., 20.

[83] Kappler, 542-5 and 648-52.

[84] Henry Dodge, governor of Wisconsin Territory and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, quoted in Satz, 13.

[85] The 1884 SCOTUS decision in the Head Money cases also give Congress the sole authority to amend the enforcement of a treaty. *Head Money Cases,* 112 U.S. 580 (1884)

[86] Joyce Erdman. *Handbook on Wisconsin Indians*. (Madison: State of Wisconsin Governor's Commission on Human Rights, 1966): 63.

[87] 18 U.S.C. § 1162. "State Jurisdiction over offenses committed by or against Indians in the Indian country."

[88] Nesper, *Walleye War*, 54-5.

[89] Ibid., 55.

[90] Witnesses for Non-Violence. UC1416A "Spear fishing protest. Eye witness reports of protests," April 10 to May 10, 1990, audio tape, WHS, Madison.

[91] Nesper. "Simulating Culture," 449.

his pizza restaurant in Minocqua, but he said the people he hired were "the pits" and lazy. He concluded, "It's tough to find Indian kids to work when they get paid a hundred a month for doing nothing."[92]

Like the whites in the Northwoods, the LDF were subject to the sometimes demeaning positions because of the annual influx of urban capital. "Good Indians" performed "pow-wows" and played the Indian depicted on television to satisfy the expectations of Chicago and Milwaukee tourists at the Wa-swa-gon Bowl, a stadium built in 1951 for the dance spectacle.[93] LDF performers, who had been so thoroughly culturally white-washed by BIA efforts earlier in the 20th century, now found themselves ironically having to reinvent an "authentic" Indian identity for themselves so that their "culture" could be comfortably consumed by expectant tourists. Dancers with names like Ernie and Jerry pretended to have names like "White Owl" and "Robin" when the tourists were invited to come down and meet the dancers.[94] The "good Indian" existed in history, albeit a made-up history. It was the "bad Indians" that existed in the present, which is why the government took steps in 1953 to terminate recognition of over 100 tribes across the U.S. and push for a long-range policy of tribal termination, including the abrogation of treaties.[95] Perhaps that drunken philosopher at the Nokomis boat launch was accurate despite his racist intentions, when he concluded his rant about "good" Indians, "I knew a couple of good ones… they were all dead." His friend reminded him that there was a cassette recorder nearby and they got quiet.[96]

The "good Indian" could take the abuse, though. He was supposed to be subservient. Tom Maulson called it the "bureau mentality" and said BIA schools taught so that "Indian people were reluctant to speak out against the system."[97] Violating and arrests went on without much protest from tribal members. Maulson wrote that "unknowingly… hundreds, maybe thousands, of our native people went to jail because they were violating."[98] Even so, Erdman even remarked in 1966 that racism seemed to be a thing of the past and that "there is much public good will toward the Indian."[99] But the tide was turning, as evidenced by recommendations made to teachers of the Ojibwe that "the teacher would do well to abandon the puritan ethic that suggests everyone must subject himself to arbitrary authority and feel great shame… if his personal behavior deviates from that of the dominant influences of society."[100]

Self-determination and the Voigt Decision

It was ironically, Richard Nixon, the hero of the "Silent Majority," to which many of the protest groups claimed to belong, that invigorated the Indian spirit of self-government which, in turn, motivated them to challenge Wisconsin's enforcement of poaching laws. What Nixon meant to do with the Indian Self-Determination fit perfectly within the New Right's concept of the ideal citizen: an individual responsible for his or her own decisions. His rejection of the Indian termination policies of the 1950s was due to the fact that "through the years, through written treaties and through formal and informal agreements, our government has made specific commitments to the Indian people."[101] Termination of these treaties, the President argued, would be "immoral." Nixon recommended local control of BIA schools, welfare, job assistance, and healthcare. In response to Nixon's urging, Congress passed a variety of new laws including the Indian Self-Determination Act in 1975. In the post-Nixon landscape, Indians were to establish working governments which would have real power and control.

The LDF band reorganized their tribal council in response to the new laws and directed their first Indian-controlled federal monies, unsurprisingly, toward the development of Indian controlled tourism. They built a campground and fee boat launch and marina at Wa-Swa-Gon Park. They also renovated a tribal fish hatchery, which pumped out 30 million walleye into reservation lakes for the enjoyment of resort goers and spearers alike.[102]

The newly empowered LDF government worried white neighbors in the tourism business. A petition organized by white businessmen operating on the LDF reservation complained about the boat launch fees and sparked a series of letters to DNR Secretary Les Voigt that got to the bottom of white anxiety and which foreshadowed the spearfishing debate. One even worried that the LDF might tax white-owned businesses and warned that "discrimination is a two-way street."[103] Residents were

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[92] Hesselberg, "Profile: Dean Crist," 18.

[93] Nesper, "Simulating Culture," 450.

[94] Ibid.

[95] "Concurrent resolution 108 of the 83rd Congress regarding Indians." *August 1, 1953 [H. Con. Res. 108] 67 Stat. B122*

[96] Witnesses for Non-Violence. UC1416A "Spear fishing protest. Eye witness reports of protests," April 10 to May 10, 1990, audio tape, WHS, Madison.

[97] Maulson, ***Waasa Inaabidaa: We Look In All Directions*****, 3.**

[98] Ibid.**, 8.**

[99] Erdman, 68.

[100] Dave and Andrea Peterson. *Minnesota Chippewa Indians: A Handbook for Teachers,* (1967): 49, quoted in Danziger, 196.

[101] Richard Nixon, "Special Message to Congress on Indian Affairs," July 8, 1970, The American Presidency Project: Public Papers of the President Collection, accessed Mar. 20, 2015. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=2573

[102] Danziger, 187.

[103] Bruno Starus, letter to Les Voigt, DNR Secretary, April 26, 1973. 2010-042, Box 1. Department of Natural Resources, Native American Policy Correspondence, 1963-1993. Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.

incredulous, "How can Indians dictate to taxpayers?"[104] A separate letter from the owner of a variety store in Lac du Flambeau, implored Voigt to use the DNR to curtail the tribal council's actions before whites were "run off completely." The letter included a sentiment not too far off from those of the urban anti-bussing advocates in urban and suburban America. The Northwoods businessman wrote, "It is certainly time the government stop catering to minorities and militants and see that they go to work for the rest of us."[105] The Silent Majority was not so silent in the Northwoods and up-and-coming politicians like the state assembly's minority leader Tommy Thompson were listening.

Events ninety miles to the west near Hayward would alter white-Indian relations in the Northwoods on a much wider scale. Two members of the Lac Courte Oreilles Band of Ojibwe were arrested by the DNR while spearfishing off the reservation in March of 1974. After a state court found the men guilty, the LCO appealed to the federal court.[106] The LCO were inspired not only by the American Indian Movement, but also by Great Society programs like the Indian Law Center.[107] The DNR braced for more legal challenges and directed law enforcement to continue investigating violators, but each case was now to be managed by a legal consul.[108] Federal judge James Doyle examined the treaties and in 1979 ruled that the Ojibwe were not exempt from Wisconsin regulations off reservation waters because their treaty rights were abrogated when Indians settled for reservations. The LCO took the case to the U.S. Court of Appeals, where five years later in 1983, Doyle's decision was overturned in what is known as the "Voigt Decision."[109] The court found that the right to fish and hunt, as understood by the Ojibwe at the treaty signing in 1854, not only was not given up when the Ojibwe moved to reservations, but that the 1854 treaty specifically reserved the right to fish in ceded lands.[110] When the Supreme Court refused to hear Wisconsin's appeal, the Voigt Decision effectively freed the Ojibwe to legally fish in any lake. After a chaotic few days at the DNR in Madison, newly elected Democratic Governor (and former DNR Secretary) Tony Earl issued Executive Order 31, acknowledging the treaty rights of the Ojibwe and officially calling on the DNR to stand down.[111] Indians responded by joyfully taking to the roads to hunt. LDF hunter Wayne Valliere went out with his father the night the decision came down. Valliere and father "shot a deer right from the road outside Boulder Junction, 'with white people watching from the cars.'"[112] The following year, as a token of goodwill toward the state, the Ojibwe created their own agency to regulate hunting and fishing among Indians and to advocate for the responsible exercise of treaty rights, the Great Lakes Indian Fish & Wildlife Commission. GLIFWC operated with the Nixon spirit of self-determination. The GLIFWC Constitution, drafted in 1983, states that "the tribes have regulatory authority and a resultant duty to protect the resource that is of great importance to us."[113]

Non-Indians responded with trepidation and outrage at the governor's flimsy response. Letters poured into the DNR offices. A retiree from Wilmette, a Chicago suburb, frustrated that she did not have a voice in Wisconsin elections wrote, "My husband and I work and have worked hard to earn the right to own our property in this state and we will be damned if we will sit here and watch anyone have the right to do whatever they please. Come to your senses."[114] Hundreds of letters like this one insinuated that white Americans worked while Ojibwe were shiftless wards of the welfare state. Privilege and equal rights was another theme of the letters. One resident attempted a turn on the phrase "Native American," writing, "I am a native American. I was born in the state of Wisconsin in 1923. I am not of Indian descent, but this is my native land." He concluded glibly, "I am being discriminated against."[115] Still other letters questioned the Indian-ness of the Ojibwe, "Treaties- Bunk! If they were still Indians maybe, but they are not. They should hunt and fish like everyone else."[116]

The flames were fanned by the press, activating the "Silent Majority" into action for what they considered to be "equal rights." Individualism and the belief in the sanctity of the markets permeated the efforts early on. A grassroots organization was formed called Wisconsin

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[104] Arnold Sirien, letter to Les Voigt, DNR Secretary, April 23, 1973. 2010-042, Box 1. DNR, NAPC. WHS, Madison.

[105] Karl Buehler, letter to Les Voigt, DNR Secretary, April 25, 1973. 2010-042, Box 1. DNR, NAPC. WHS, Madison.

[106] Steve Hopkins, "Hayward is calm amid dispute," *Treaty Crisis: Cultures in Conflict*. (Madison: *WSJ*, 1990): 42.

[107] Nesper, *Walleye War*, 67.

[108] Harold Hettrick, internal memo to DNR Law Enforcement Staff Specialists, July 3, 1974. 2010-042, Box 1. DNR, NAPC. WHS, Madison.

[109] Named for Les Voigt, head of the DNR, and defendant in the original case.

[110] *Lac Courte Oreilles Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, et. al. v. Lester P. Voigt*, et. al. Nos. 78-2398, 78-2443, 79-1014. U.S. Court of Appeals, Seventh Circuit, 1982, accessed January 28, 2015. http://openjurist.org/700/f2d/341/lac-courte-oreilles-band-of-lake-superior-chippewa-indians-v-p-voigt-united-states.

[111] Anthony Earl, Governor of Wisconsin. Executive Order no. 31. November 9, 1983, accessed Feb. 1, 2015. http://docs.legis.wisconsin.gov/code/executive_orders/1983_anthony_earl/1983-31.pdf

[112] Valliere quoted in Nesper, 69.

[113] Constitution of the Great Lakes Indian Fish & Wildlife Commission, 1983, accessed March 18, 2015. http://www.glifwc.org/About/constitution.html

[114] Christine Howard, letter to Carroll Besadny, DNR Secretary, August 1, 1984. 2010-042, Box 1. DNR, NAPC. WHS, Madison.

[115] Dennis Holzem, letter to Caroll Besadny, Sep. 6, 1984. 2010-042, Box 1. DNR, NAPC. WHS, Madison.

[116] Raymond Cyra, letter to C.D. Besadny, Oct. 27, 1984. 2010-042, Box 1. DNR, NAPC. WHS, Madison.

Alliance for Rights and Resources based on the belief that "entitling one group benefits over and above others is a violation of our individual rights." In August of 1984 the Superior-based organization sent DNR secretary Caroll Besadny and Governor Earl a petition containing 5,066 signatures, hoping to get the government to reverse course and challenge the Voigt Decision.[117] An editorial in a nationally distributed hunting magazine *Outdoor Life* was alarmist: "Make no mistake. The tribes are on the move. They aim to lay claim to as much land—your land—as they can get."[118]

The first spearing season hardens opinion

The 1985 spring walleye run the following year proved a key turning point in the debate over resources as the Ojibwe from LDF actually followed through on threats to spearfish in the ceded territory. It happened in a context of a troubled economic picture. Readers of the *Vilas County News-Review* were bombarded with stories communicating economic uncertainty. Taxes were expected to increase in Vilas and Oneida Counties by 18%, as local government felt the dual impact both of austerity measures brought about by President Reagan and the cost of increased regulation.[119] Unemployment was on the minds of residents who hoped a proposed mine in the nearby Upper Peninsula of Michigan, would diversify the Northwoods economy and provide jobs.[120] But concern, as always, centered on tourism. Pressure was on in 1985 to have a strong tourist season, despite the state's slashing of $500,000 originally meant for tourism promotion in urban markets.[121] But with the sport-fishing season right around the corner, anticipation was high. Newspapers talked of how the fishing season would grant a "reprieve" from the economic hardship of spring.[122]

Buried amongst these nervous but hopeful pages of the *News-Review* the spear-fishing story was mentioned too. This would be the first year that Lac du Flambeau Ojibwe would exercise their treaty right to fish outside the reservation since conditions were not right the previous year. Tom Maulson, the unofficial spear-fishing spokesman, who called himself a "walleye warrior," claimed that the events would be "historic."[123] As the spear-fishing was about to commence, it seemed the DNR tried to stop it when they issued a report of a study indicating that walleye were contaminated with mercury in Trout Lake, the historic site of the ancient Flambeau camp, and one of the lakes scheduled by the LDF to be speared.[124] When the LDF decided to skip Trout Lake and head instead to resort-lined Big St. Germain Lake instead, the DNR dropped the mercury warnings.[125] The editor of the *News-Review*, Kurt Krueger, warned readers not to make the Indians into scapegoats.[126] A newly formed anti-treaty group Equal Rights for Everyone (ERFE) also urged calm, warning supporters to avoid conflict and stay away from lakes being speared. "Even the smallest confrontation could set back ERFE efforts to peacefully resolve the overall issue."[127]

Right below the paper's pleas for calm was a graphic showing the exact locations for boat landings expected to be utilized by LDF spearers. At the boat landings the LDF played their drums and, according to the May 1st *News-Review*, after 4 nights, managed to take 1,200 fish.[128] The next issue reported that the spearers took 2,500 walleye and 65 muskies. They also met scores of angry protestors for the first time at the landing at North Twin Lake, about an hour east of the reservation near the town of Phelps. Krueger reported that the crowd "did everything short of violence to stop the spearfishing."[129] Fourteen DNR wardens tried to keep the peace despite a hailstorm of racial insults being flung in both directions between the spearers and the protestors. The sheriff was called in by Tom Maulson when protestors tried to block the boat launch. When the first spearing boats came back with tubs full of walleye, pushing matches in the audience commenced. As Maulson held up three 20 pound muskies, the greatest and rarest of all sport-fish, Krueger reported than many in the audience "were sickened by the sight of speared muskies."[130]

The appearance of the muskies seemed to fire up the crowd. Rocks were flung at Maulson from the irate crowd, which included more than a few intoxicated men according to Krueger's reporting.[131] Five gunshots were heard echoing over the lake. Krueger quoted a man who walked out into the water, shaking his first in rage, "You

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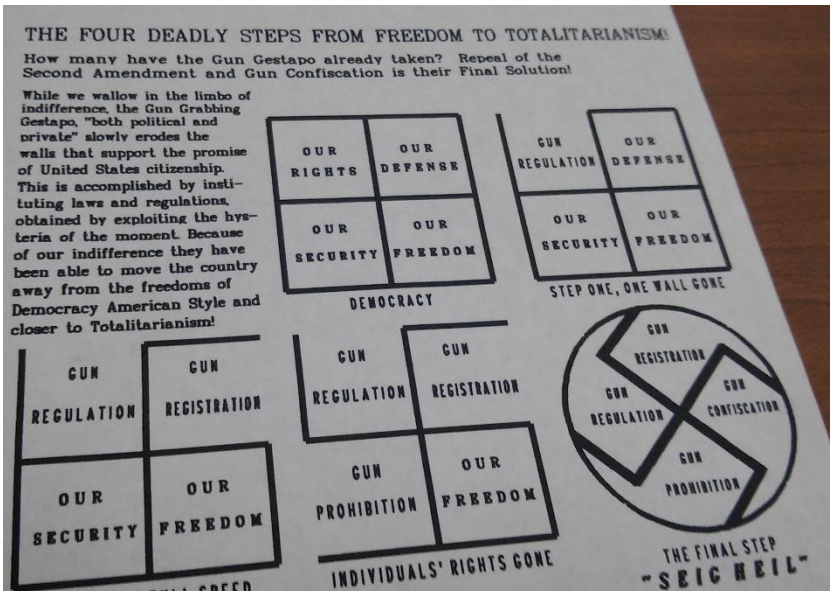
[117] Al Horvath, President of WARR, letter to Carroll Besadny, DNR Secretary, August 30, 1984. 2010-042, Box 1. DNR, NAPC. WHS, Madison.
[118] Clare Conley. "The Threatening Indian Problem," *Outdoor Life* (April, 1984): 2.
[119] "Reagan's cuts could boost property taxes." *Vilas County News-Review (Eagle River)*, March 10, 1985.
[120] "White Pine Mine may reopen, deal could create 1000 jobs," *VCNW*, May 1, 1985.
[121] "Tourism funding proposal slashed," *VCNW*, May 1, 1985.
[122] Kurt Krueger, "Businesses get reprieve this weekend after poor winter: The attraction- the general opening of fishing season," *VCNW*, May 1, 1985.
[123] Kurt Krueger, "Chippewa Spearing to Start after a Century of Absence," *VCNW*, April 17, 1985.
[124] "Eating of walleyes banned on lakes with high mercury," *VCNW*, April 17, 1985.
[125] "DNR modifies fish advisory on walleyes in four area lakes," *VCNW*, April 24, 1985.
[126] Kurt Krueger, "Indian Spearing shouldn't be scapegoat," *VCNW*, May 1, 1985.
[127] "ERFE pleads against violence during spearing season," *VCNW*, April 17, 1985.
[128] Kurt Krueger, "Spearers take over 1200 fish in 4 nights," *VCNW*, May 1, 1985
[129] Kurt Krueger, ""Spearing End Marked by Near-Violence: Indians took 2500 walleyes, 65 muskies in 7 nights," *VCNW*, May 8, 1985.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.

better have fun spearing tonight because you'll never be back on this lake. I'll have my boat out here and I'll cut that boat in half. You'll be bait for them muskies."[132]

Concern was splashed across the *News-Review* about the depletion of the walleye stock. A woman at North Twin Lake asked Maulson if there would be any fish left "for her children." Another story on the same page reported that a DNR official felt the spearing "dug very deeply into the good brood stock" of walleye. Indian game wardens from GLFWC strongly disagreed with the DNR official, claiming that the fish taken by the Flambeau during the entire week was equal to one day of hook-and-line sport-fishing.[133]

The event at North Twin Lake changed Kurt Krueger's mind. His editorial a week prior urged for peace and explained how the Ojibwe were not to blame for the troubled economy. In his May 8th issue he spoke of "reverse discrimination," and insinuated that the Ojibwe were free-loaders and a burden on the taxpayers. He echoed the solution heard at bars and meeting places across the Northwoods: the arrogant Ojibwe, if they won't abrogate their treaty rights, should, at least fish using the same methods they would've employed in 1842. Krueger asked them to ditch their batteries and outboard motors and headlamps and try birch-bark canoes instead. "Think of it. The Indians could have "real tradition" by using the methods and equipment of 1842, and the harvest would be kept to limits that wouldn't cause biological harm or social discontent," he wrote.[134] Here the Indian, who should not be the scapegoat according to Krueger on May 1st is "arrogant" and causing "social discontent" on May 8th. The May 8th issue had no follow-ups on the tax situation or the lack of state support for small business.



"The Four Deadly Steps from Freedom to Totalitarianism," PARR flier. LPP, M91-204, WHS, Madison.

PARR's rhetoric and the Star Lake Incident

North Twin Lake was the birthplace of many new traditions and some of the more heated rhetoric that would haunt the Northwood boat landings every spring for the next five years. Minds were changed and hearts were hardened. When ERFE urged peace and cooperation at the start of the 1986 season, people abandoned it in droves for more aggressive grassroots groups like Protect Americans' Rights and Resources (PARR). With support from Minocqua's *Lakeland Times*, which begged readers to "get your message across," PARR held a huge rally in gentrifying Minocqua and took the lead as the anti-treaty movement's mouthpiece.[135] Alongside the 1,200 protestors, dressed in plaid and orange jackets, marched about one hundred Flambeau led by firebrand Tom Maulson.[136] When Maulson turned his back on the pledge of allegiance, PARR leaders, who used patriotic iconography on their organizational logo, took it as a sign of disloyalty to the U.S.[137] The use of the American flag as a legitimizing icon was true for both sides of the spearfishing debate, but it was PARR that considered itself the protector of true American values. [138] Later that day at Star Lake, Maulson would get his revenge.

Larry Peterson, a Park Falls paper mill worker, founded PARR which consolidated the myriad concerns of the anti-treaty crowd. PARR put the blame squarely on an elitist federal government and big city influence. The rhetoric of PARR reflected the populist sentiment of the working class that helped launch the Reagan presidency in 1980. Jefferson Cowie explained the political shift that was underway by the late 1970s, "The federal government and know-it-all cultural elitists were well on their way to eclipsing the bosses as the workingman's enemy."[139] An early PARR flier, posted in bars and grocery stores, warned

[132] Ibid.

[133] Kurt Krueger, "Indian spearing harvest 'dug into brood stock' on some lakes: biologist: But tribal fish manager disagrees, says spearing kill conservative," *VCNW*, May 8, 1985.

[134] Kurt Krueger, "Indians should compromise on spear methods," *VCNW*, May 8, 1985.

[135] "Protest peacefully at PARR Rally," *Lakeland Times (Minocqua)*, April 18, 1986.

[136] Nesper, *Walleye* War, 81.

[137] "PARR Rally- March draws 100 protestors," *LT*, April 20, 1986.

[138] In fact, in 1989 two Ojibwe were arrested by the Price County sheriff for "improper use of the flag," since they waved American flags superimposed with a Native American figure, a symbol of AIM adopted by the Wa-Swa-Gon Treaty Organization, per Scott Kerr, "Three Ring Battle," *Shepherd Express (Milwaukee)*, Nov. 18, 1989, 18.

[139] Cowie, 227.

people not to blame Indians, but federal policy makers for dividing the people.[140] Distrust of the federal government and anti-statism in the Northwoods often revolved around Second Amendment issues. "The gun-grabbers [are] using hysteria to further their agenda," a PARR flier warned.[141] Another PARR flier predicted the breakdown of liberty and the very identity of America at the hands of a "gun-grabbing gestapo." Imagery included a square with the four corners of "our rights, our defense, our security, our freedom," devolving into a swastika.[142] Enemies included teachers, the DNR, and "eco-freaks," and the "liberal mainstream media, and all those in the government who wanted to trample on private property ownership.[143] The treaty rights issue was another battleground in which "Big Government" was crushing the equality of opportunity for the private individual, the so-called little guy.

Peterson would have agreed with Reagan that "Government is not the solution to our problem- it is the problem."[144] Tapping into a conservative rhetoric that was already successful nation-wide added legitimacy to the anti-treaty cause and struck a chord with whites in the Northwoods. As small businessmen, under pressure from competition with invading corporations, they could relate to the oppressed, yet morally superior individual that was Reagan's rhetorical hero. PARR made an effort to expand its advocacy to include more than just the protection of fish resources. PARR propaganda attempted to expand the purvey of the organization, "Indian policy issues will not take a backseat… but the general eroding of individuals' rights needs to be addressed also."[145] The inaugural PARR newsletter further accessed conservative tropes when it stated, "This group is often referred to in political circles as 'the Silent Majority.' Well, not any more folks."[146] The federal courts, led by elitists in Peterson's eyes, illegitimately held up the minority at the expense of the majority, which from his point of view was unbecoming of a democracy.[147]

PARR was, at least on paper, dedicated to non-violent demonstrations and "education." Every issue of their newsletter listed rules for protesting at boat landings and urged protestors to remain calm. PARR demonstrators were directed to "1. Avoid confrontation, 2. Stay within a group, 3. Remain silent, 4. Obey law enforcement, 5. Refrain from alcohol, 6. Stay off the water, and 7. Remain anonymous."[148] Despite these rules, the 1986 spearing season was even more contentious than that of 1985, even though the DNR negotiated a shortened season with GLIFWC. The DNR hired Quaker lawyer George Meyer to keep the peace at boat landings and to negotiate with GLIFWC. Protesters showed up at almost every spearing event, waving flags and shouting out the pre-recorded drums the LDF played from the landings on boom boxes.

The last night of the short season, the same day as the PARR rally in Minocqua, seventy LDF spearers showed up at Star Lake in the heart of resort country. While Meyer complained about the number of spearers, Maulson led the LDF into the lakes returning with 792 walleye, four times more than the quota previously agreed upon.[149] Pushing and shoving ensued as DNR wardens desperately struggled to separate the protestors from the spearers. Resort owners like Diane Sherren of St. Germain reeled at the ugly scene. She ended a complaint to Besadny about the DNR's handling of the incident with a postscript, "Come on please. Pursue this. My livelihood is at stake."[150] Tony Rizzo, a locally famous fishing guide and resort owner from Star Lake claimed he and the resort owners from nearby Plum Lake already had cancellations. "The Indians took in one night more than my guests take in one season," Rizzo claimed."[151]The press saw the Star Lake incident as an act of retribution and questioned whether the Ojibwe could manage their own resources.[152]

Conservative grassroots: power and mythology

The next four years saw increasingly violent confrontations at the boat landings, the low point coming on the last night of spearing in 1988, when a small riot was sparked at Butternut Lake. By 1990, the protests had become routine. The LDF, the protestors, and law enforcement became familiar with each other, Maulson often engaged protestors with jokes. The whole scene became like a predictable play, with the downstate and Chicago media as the audience. Actors took their places and knew their lines. Talking points were distributed via newsletters and at meetings and banquets.

After the violence at Star Lake, Peterson urged protestors to stay away from the boat landings completely. "PARR has taken a stand to find the solution in a peaceful and non-violent manner," Peterson reminded supporters in

[140] 'History- Indian Treaties- Federal Responsibilities," recruitment flier. Larry Peterson Papers, M91-204, WHS, Madison.

[141] "PARR Position Statement- What is the controversy?," flier. LPP, M91-204, WHS, Madison.

[142] "The Four Deadly Steps from Freedom to Totalitarianism," flier. LPP, M91-204, WHS, Madison. See fig. E.

[143] "Name Change- the Desperate Reasons," flier. LPP, M91-204, WHS, Madison.

[144] Ronald Reagan, "First Inaugural Address," Jan. 20, 1981. Reagan Foundation, accessed March 2, 2015. http://www.reaganfoundation.org/pdf/Inaugural_Address_012081.pdf

[145] "Name Change- the Desperate Reasons," flier. LPP, M91-204, WHS, Madison.

[146] "PARR is…," *PARR Issue* (Winter/Spring, 1989), LPP, M91-204, WHS, Madison, 1.

[147] Will Fantle, "Treaty right foes pledge resistance to 'injustice' of Chippewa spearing," *Isthmus Chronicle (Madison)*, undated: 8.

[148] "PARR recommended guidelines for boat landings," *PARR Issue* (Winter/Spring, 1989), LPP, M91-204, WHS, Madison: 1.

[149] Nesper, 83-84, and John Husar, "Indians feeled speared by 56 pound musky," *Chicago Tribune*, May 7, 1986.

[150] Diane Sherren, letter to Carroll Besadny, May 11, 1987. 2010-042, Box 1. DNR, NAPC. WHS, Madison.

[151] "Spearing may hurt fishing, DNR says," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, April 29, 1986.

[152] Terry Koper, "Maybe Indians speared future self-regulation," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, April 29, 1986.

his newsletter.[153] Instead PARR would focus on letter writing campaigns and recall efforts. Republican gubernatorial candidate Tommy Thompson saw an opportunity in utilizing the grassroots organizations of the Northwoods "Silent Majority" to advance his cause to unseat Governor Earl, who accepted the Voigt Decision in 1983. Thompson appeared at a PARR banquet, his words mirroring that of the PARR playbook. "A very major difference between Tony Earl and me is that I believe in treating all people equally," the candidate explained after blasting the LDF for instigating violence at Star Lake. "I believe spearing is wrong regardless of what treaties, negotiations or federal courts may say." Thompson identified treaty rights as "special privileges" and promised to end them when he was governor.[154] Governor Earl responded to Star Lake by appointing a panel made up of leading white businessmen from local chambers of commerce, church leaders, and Ojibwe representatives to "improve understanding" through dialogue.[155] Thompson responded to Earl's panel by invoking class populism, wondering aloud why the mostly working-class members of PARR did not have a seat at the table.[156]

Thompson seemed to be the answer to PARR's prayers. PARR organized their network of mill workers and resort owners as a loyal constituency when Thompson took office the following year. Much of Thompson's campaign was funded by the Wisconsin Policy Research Institute (WPRI),[157] a conservative think tank that advocated for limited government, free markets, and states' rights. WPRI was a meeting place of policy makers like Thompson and national business interests. The chairman of WPRI was Exxon lobbyist James Klauser. When Thompson took office it was Klauser who he tapped to be his top aide and point-man on the treaty rights issue.[158] Ojibwe activists, led by Walt Bresette, grew suspicious that Thompson was advocating treaty abrogation in an attempt to claim Indian land for zinc mining interests.[159] Klauser dismissed the accusations of Bresette as "conspiracy theories."[160] Klauser advised Larry Peterson to "tell people to stay away from the boat landings and demonstrate in other places, but not at the crowded little landings in the dark of night."[161] The administration promised to take the lead by using more legitimate methods, relying on its ALEC network and ties to Reagan's White House to move the issue to a resolution favorable to the "Silent Majority." Klauser continued to have meetings with Peterson to "promote dialogue."[162]

PARR's strategies of political pressure did not suit the more revolutionary leanings of Minocqua restaurateur Dean Crist, who left the group to form a more activist group Stop Treaty Abuse (STA) with a Minocqua bait shop owner, Donald Long, in 1987. Many followed Crist to STA, dissatisfied with PARR's lack of direct action.[163] "I supported them [PARR] with pizza and beer, but I saw they were unable to find their butts with both hands," Crist told a reporter in 1990. Crist's fiery temper and stream of empty threats attracted media attention and soon he became the star of the annual drama performed at the boat landings. Similarly tempered, antagonistic LDF judge Tom Maulson finally had a worthy personality to play his foil.

Breaking PARR rules and going against the advice of Klauser, Crist led his mostly working class followers into the water in boats and by foot to block spearers from entering the water. Crist took a moral high ground. He put his body on the line and compared himself to Martin Luther King in his struggle for "equal rights for whites."[164] He got so close to spearers that he was hit by a spear held by a 15 year-old LDF. It was probably an accident, but Crist claimed assault.[165] He also claimed law enforcement used excessive force when he was arrested at Catfish Lake in 1990 and was marched off to jail in a neck brace.[166] Unable to pay what he considered excessive bail, he resorted to a jailhouse hunger strike while Governor Thompson toured the boat landings in 1990.[167] STA leaders pressed their followers to get arrested. "It's like the body counts in Vietnam," Crist said, "If there are so many arrests, there is a problem."[168] Thompson said Crist's outbursts and "civil disobedience" was a "terrible mistake." Considering STA's refusal to listen to PARR or Klauser, Thompson lamented, "We are so close—and to risk it now?"

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[153] Larry Peterson, *PARR Issue* (Winter/Spring, 1989), LPP, M91-204, WHS, Madison: 3.

[154] "Thompson, Watts hit Indian treaty rights," *Milwaukee Journal*, June 20, 1986: 36.

[155] "Earl names Indian relations panel," *Milwaukee Journal*, June 26, 1986.

[156] "Indian panel criticized," *Milwaukee Journal*, July 11, 1986.

[157] WPRI is Hartland, WI, associate of the American Legislative Exchange Council, criticized for being a corporate "bill mill" by liberal media such as *Mother Jones*. See Andy Kroll, "ALEC's own Senator," *Mother Jones*, Sep. 4, 2012.

[158] Jeff Mayers and Ron Seely. "Treaty rights may be weapon against mining," *Treaty Crisis: Cultures in Conflict*. (Madison: WSJ, 1990): 17.

[159] Bresette, 51.

[160] Mayers and Seely. "Treaty rights may be weapon…," 17.

[161] Ron Seely and Jeff Mayers. "North steps toward peace," *Treaty Crisis: Cultures in Conflict*. (Madison: WSJ, 1990): 3.

[162] "Klauser plans treaty meetings," *Milwaukee Journal*, Dec. 5, 1989: 8B.

[163] Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission. *Moving Beyond Argument: Racism and Treaty Rights*. (Odanah, WI: GLIFWC Public Information Office, 1990): 22.

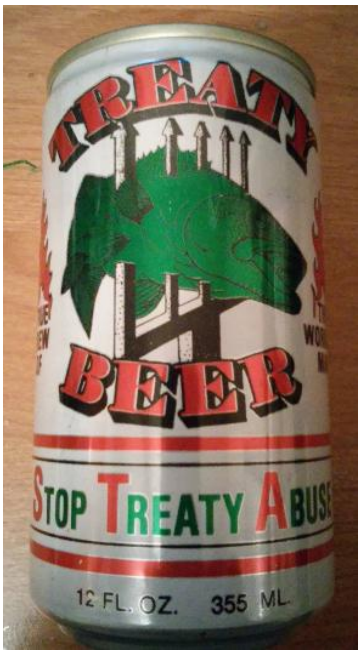
[164] Hesselberg, "Profile: Dean Crist," 18.

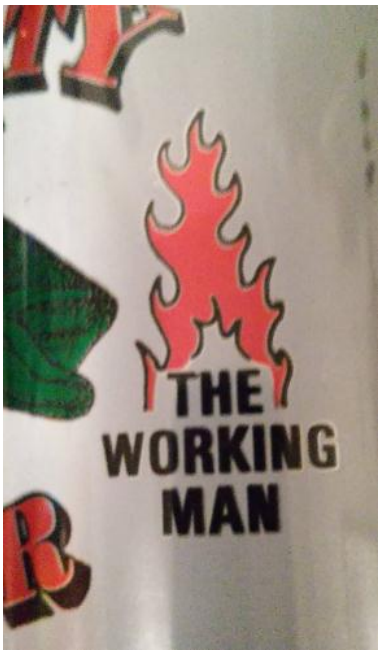
[165] Zoltan Grossman. "Treaty Conflict: No End in Sight," *Z Magazine*, July/Aug., 1990: 126.

[166] "Spearing foes take defiant tack," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, April 19, 1990: 4.

[167] "Thompson sees spearing during Vilas County visit," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, April 30, 1990: 4.

[168] Matt Devine, "Spearing protestors urge followers to force arrests," *Waukesha (WI) Journal*, April 23, 1990: 5B.





Images of the Treaty Beer can, printed in 1988 *Treaty Beer (consumer product packaging, 12 oz. aluminum can). Brewed and canned by Torc (Hibernia) Brewing Co., Eau Claire, WI, for STA, Minocqua, WI, 1987. (photos from the author's collection)*

As much as he was a lightning rod for controversy, Crist was a vital and creative force who managed to keep protestors motivated. In 1989, STA sponsored a decoy contest, publicized in the *Lakeland Times*, in which participants would manufacture concrete walleye decoys with reflective eyes in the hopes that a spearer might mistake it for a fish and damage the tines of his spear.[169] The decoys did not fool the Ojibwe, but proved a great way to rally the anti-treaty troops. LDF spearer Scott Smith mounted one of the concrete fish in his home among his other trophy fish.[170]

Crist also oversaw the brewing of Treaty Beer, which was marketed in eleven states in 1987. Sales went partly to provide a fund to bail protestors out of jail. As Crist said, "There are many people who support the cause… but who do not have extra money. But they drink beer."[171] Advertisements in the *Lakeland Times* not only urged resort owners to order Treaty Beer for guests to drink, but also provided a scapegoat for their business troubles: "Attention Resort Owners, when you order your summer beer inventory please remember this: Treaty Beer gives all its profits to fight the economic blackmail that is currently threatening your industry."[172]

The beer was short-lived as the Eau Claire brewer halted production due to protests from Milwaukee that labeled Treaty Beer as "hate in a can."[173] But the beer can proved rather effective as a method of communicating the anti-government, anti-tax, anti-elitist conservative populism that marked the Northwoods protests. Protestors mounted cans on poles and brought them to boat landings and recreated the can's imagery on their homemade signs.[174] Understanding the iconography of the can is a way to understand the political rhetoric that dominated white protest circles.

The can served as a recruitment tool in the bars where the white working class congregated. The can was adorned with iconography of the anti-treaty movement: a walleye speared from the underside, gasping its last breaths. The product packaging claimed that Treaty Beer was "the true beer of the working man" and featured dollar bills aflame. On the back of the Treaty Beer can was printed "Equal Rights?" in bold green after a listing of areas perceived by protestors to be unequally enforced by the federal government in favor of the LDF including "land claims, fishing, hunting, and water rights."[175] Drinkers who perceived their communities under siege from elitist outsiders and who felt the pinch of the tumultuous labor market in the Northwoods, seemed to identify with the fish speared right through the gut. Larry Nesper argued further that the image conjured up a rape scene, with which protestors, "raped" by economic factors beyond their control, could identify.[176] Indeed rape rhetoric was an important part of PARR and STA's messages. Crist and

[169] Advertisement: Rules for Concrete Walleye Decoy Contest, *Lakeland Times (Minocqua)*, March 31, 1989.

[170] Nesper, 22.

[171] GLIFWC. *Moving Beyond Argument*, Appendix VI.

[172] Treaty Beer advertisement, *Lakeland Times (Minocqua)*, April 19, 1988: 2.

[173] Don Hannula. "Treaty beer: the burial of a bad brew," *Seattle Times*, May 23, 1990.

[174] Photo of protest sign, GLIFWC. *Moving Beyond Argument*, 10.

[175] Treaty Beer (consumer product packaging, 12 oz. aluminum can). Brewed and canned by Torc (Hibernia) Brewing Co., Eau Claire, WI, for STA, Minocqua, WI, 1987. See Figure F.

[176] Nesper, *Walleye* War, 103.

Peterson referred to the spearfishing season "the spring resource rape" on more than one occasion.[177]

Anti-treaty arguments were constantly shifting depending on the audience, but some floated around more persistently than others. A common argument until 1989 was that the Ojibwe should be forced to use the methods and tools common at the time of the signing of the 19th century treaties. As a protestor explained at Nokomis Lake, "You know what? They can spear as many walleyes as they want as long as they peel birch bark canoes and use wooden spears and candlelight lanterns, you know?"[178] Whites felt that the use of high beams, batteries, and outboard motors weren't in the spirit of the treaties. White consternation over fishing methods revolved around the idea that Ojibwe were able, with modern equipment, to take far more fish than the original signatories of the treaties could imagine possible. The same people who saw gun regulation as the final step to totalitarianism suggested outlawing of Ojibwe gun-owners. One wrote, "Tell them to go back with bow and arrow, and outlaw them to use guns if they go by their old way."[179]Kurt Krueger of the Vilas County News-Review who originally urged whites to acquiesce to the treaties considered the way the LDF speared "shocking" and "arrogant." He wrote, echoing the sentiment of hundreds on the landings: "Think of it. The Indians could have "real tradition" by using the methods and equipment of 1842 and the harvest would be kept to limits that wouldn't cause biological harm or social discontent."[180] Federal Judge Barbara Crabb, who inherited the LCO case from Judge Doyle when he died in 1987 explicitly interpreted the treaties to mean that Ojibwe could take fish by whatever means they wanted.[181] The assumption by whites that Indians should continue to exist in a historical state while whites could embrace technological innovation, Crabb argued, was unreasonable. Once again, it irked Northwoods whites that the downstate judge would have the final word instead of "the people." It seemed promises of democracy were going unfulfilled and that the majority would suffer to benefit a minority.

That suffering would be economic. The fear that caused respectable small businessmen to the boat landings, was that spearing would somehow negatively impact tourism. Resort owners like Jim Errington of Star Lake worried that spearing would destroy his livelihood. Errington just wanted "to get back to business and not spend sleepless nights worrying about [the] future."[182] Fishing camp resorts like Errington's, were Spartan places, offering very modest beds, boats, guide service, and outboard rentals to its guests. A fishing camp resort like this relied on a stock of good fish to attract business from the city. It seemed logical to whites that Ojibwe over-harvest of spawning walleye would deplete the stock, which whites saw as economically functioning primarily as an amenity for guests. The logic is simple: no fish, no guests—no guests, no money. A resort owner in Star Lake compared the Ojibwe to the Japanese, who were interned in WW2, and asked the governor's representative if it might be possible to take similar sanctions against "the Indians who harm our recreational business."[183]

Despite the perception held by most people, fishing was actually the second biggest grossing activity for vacationers in the Northwoods behind "sightseeing and amusements."[184] A 1987 study found that only 8% of tourists cited fishing as the main reason for their vacation.[185] Tourism in the Northwoods was changing. Men no longer took fishing trips without their families in tow. The fish camp resorts that failed to adapt to the more family-oriented tourist were facing hard times by the 1980s.[186] Many resort owners were blindsided by the change and grasping to find causes for their financial woes. The only change they could come up with, the most visible change, was that the Ojibwe were now spearing their lakes depleting their top amenity. This perception was curated by the local press and the anti-treaty organizations. A local fisherman and resident reported to the DNR that he hadn't caught a fish in Big Arbor Vitae Lake since the spearing began. He wrote, "With most of the walleye gone, people won't come to fish where they know they can't catch a limit of fish. People aren't going to go fishing in Northern Wisconsin and their money will be spent in some other states or never be spent in Wisconsin."[187]

An important way to ease tensions according Boulder Junction President Jeff Long, a leading voice of moderation, was to seek out new amenities. Looking back on his long career in government, Long argued that only 17% of Northwoods residents and tourists were interested in fishing. "We can't ignore the other 83% out there," he said, pointing out his town's building of cycling trails

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[177] "Issues clarified over spearing at PARR rally," *VCNR*, April 19, 1989: 1.

[178] Witnesses for Non-Violence. UC1416A "Spear fishing protest. Eye witness reports of protests," April 10 to May 10, 1990, audio tape, WHS, Madison.

[179] Lyle Stange, letter to Carroll Besadny, Oct. 3, 1986. 2010-042, Box 1. DNR, NAPC, WHS, Madison.

[180] Kurt Krueger, "Indians should compromise on spear methods," *VCNR*, May 8, 1985.

[181] *Lac Courte Oreilles Band v. Wisconsin*, 653 F. Supp. 1420 (W.D. Wis. 1987) (*LCO III*), from a summary by Ann McCammon-Soltis, et. al., "Fulfilling Ojibwe Treaty Promises: An Overview and Compendium of Relevant Statutes and Agreements," Odanah, WI: GLIFWC, Division of Intergovernmental Affairs, 2009.

[182] Jim Errington, letter to James von Hollen, Governor's Northern Representative, July 22, 1987. 2010-042, Box 1. DNR, NAPC, WHS, Madison.

[183] Jim Errington, letter to James von Hollen, 1978.

[184] Nesper, "Simulating Culture," 455.

[185] Riddle, "Better economy," 12.

[186] Ibid., 12.

[187] Scott Worzella, letter to Carroll Besadny, DNR Secretary, May 20, 1988. 2010-042, Box 1. DNR, NAPC. WHS, Madison.

through the woods and the development of boutique shopping. "There was a time when you drove through the campground on Trout Lake and saw fishing boat after fishing boat. Now there is hardly a campsite that does not have bicycles."[188] Long was one of the growing number of Northwoods leaders who disavowed the anti-treaty movement in the late 1980s and who began to speak frankly about the taboo subject of planning for a post-resort era.

A seasonal Oneida County resident, tongue in cheek, suggested a new direction for tourism: killing *all* the fish. "Since fishing in our area… looks to be thing of the past, maybe Aquacide is the answer. Instant beaches for the new tourist, novice swimmer—once a fisherman."[189] Whites imagined a rapid depletion of the walleye and musky resources, some going so far as to imagine the end of fishing completely. Maulson argued that the LDF was taking fish for food. "We don't look at this as a sporting thing," Maulson said. "We don't play with our food."[190] But the way Maulson triumphantly held up muskies before crowds enflamed whites' doubts. An angry protestor at Nokomis Lake, reflected the opinion of whites that Indians wasted the walleye resource, when he surmised that the Indians "just throw the damned things in the dumpsters."[191] If the Ojibwe were taking fish for food, as they had done traditionally, anti-treaty advocates figured they took enough fish in 1985, at least, to provide each LDF family with thirty pounds of meat.[192] While walleye were used as a food resource and some sold, spearers certainly also speared fish simply as a demonstration of power, and because they had a right to do so. Even pro-treaty whites saw this a battleground over manliness. "It's a question of manhood: the number and size of fish taken."[193] The fact the fish might be tainted with mercury poisoning did not deter the LDF spearers. While some of the fish were, in fact, food, many were trophies.

Whatever their intention, according to Tom Maulson, the number of fish taken by the LDF, paled in comparison to those taken by white sport fishers and tourists. An argument between Maulson and a protestor at Nokomis Lake in 1989 illustrates Maulson's point of view:

> Maulson: "You're taking 672,000 fish a year!"
> Protestor:" Well, I pay taxes."
> Maulson: "I pay taxes too."
> Protestor: "But we let 'em spawn."
> Maulson: "You still catch 'em. We take a few thousand fish and you go nuts."[194]

DNR and GLIFWC data backed up Maulson. In any year during the crisis, Indians never took more than 4% of the annual harvest.[195] The impact on fishing, from a sportsman's point of view, should have been practically non-existent. The conservation impact was also non-existent since the LDF fish hatchery began stocking lakes off the reservation with walleye fry. None of this mattered to whites who disagreed with the DNR's evaluation on the minimal impact of spearing on the sport fishery. After calling DNR data on the minimal impact "moronic," anti-treaty firebrand Dean Crist wondered why bag limits for walleyes were constantly being reduced in lakes that were impacted by spearing.[196] An even bigger problem than the Indian use of an important natural resource was the way the government seemed to ignore the legitimate concerns of whites and seemed to defend the minority unquestionably. Zero would have been the only acceptable number of fish to be taken.

The economic impact, as Jeff Long would have predicted, was also non-existent. Few resort goers cancelled their fishing trips due to the presence of spearfishers. "We've seen nothing direct as a result of the spearing. Personally, my business is up considerably over last year," reported Eagle River chamber of commerce President George Langley in the midst of the debate.[197] Moderates like Long went so far as to make the argument that the protests themselves gave the area a black eye and would be the real detriment of the tourism industry. This, too, did not phase anti-treaty advocates who would never put down their concerns to satisfy downstate "tree-huggers."[198]

Frustrations with Big Government

Frustrations with law enforcement at the boat landings came from the greater feeling that the government was not representing the will of the majority, but instead of representing the interests of elitist big cities. People like the federal judges in Madison and Chicago that ruled on treaty rights had no stake in the unique Northwoods economy and

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[188] B.J. Hegeman, "Jeff Long has long history with community," *Lakeland Times (Minocqua)*, April 8, 2011.

[189] Paul Markussen, letter to DNR, March 4, 1988. 2010-042, Box 1. DNR, NAPC, WHS, Madison.

[190] Jeff Starck. "Walleye wars evolve into peace on lakes." *Wausau Daily Herald*. May 21, 2011.

[191] Witnesses for Non-Violence. UC1416A "Spear fishing protest. Eye witness reports of protests," April 10 to May 10, 1990, audio tape, WHS, Madison.

[192] Krueger, "Indians should compromise…." May 8, 1985.

[193] *Witnesses for Non-Violence 1988 Witness Report,* Witnesses for Nonviolence Records 1988-1991, M92-008, WHS, Madison.

[194] Witnesses for Non-Violence. UC1416A "Spear fishing protest. Eye witness reports of protests," April 10 to May 10, 1990, audio tape, WHS, Madison.

[195] Rogers Worthington, "Wisconsin wants calmer waters," *Chicago Tribune*, April 14, 1991.

[196] Dean Crist, "Spearfishing is blackmail," *Wausau Daily Herald*, April 1, 1994.

[197] "Except for two cancellations in this area, Indian spearing won't keep anglers away," *VCNR*, May 8, 1985.

[198] Crist, "Spearfishing is blackmail."

could not represent "the people." Resentment was long part of the conservative populism that swept the nation in the 1980s. As far back as 1972 controversial Presidential candidate George Wallace identified a liberal conspiracy directed by elitists and technocrats. He said, "It is the trend of pseudointellectual government where a select, elite group have written guidelines in bureaus and court decisions."[199] Going back to *Brown v. Board* and then the Earl court, unelected "activist judges" were accused by the New Right of ruling from the bench. To Crist and Peterson and their followers, the Voigt Decision and Crabb Decisions were just another example of the over-extension of an undemocratic, elitist power.

The 1986 Star Lake incident illustrated the shocked reaction to feelings of helplessness and political disempowerment felt by protestors. Some, like St. Germain campground owner Diane Sherren, felt the wardens' heavy-handedness in crowd control is what "sparked the fuse" that led to violence.[200] When wardens screamed at the crowds to "shut the fuck up," as Sherren reported they did, the words seemed to perfectly reflect the perceived relationship small businessmen had with their government. But DNR Secretary Besadny stood behind his wardens, explaining to Sherren that his wardens were simply responding to the tense situation. He urged compassion for law enforcement noting that wardens "themselves become the target of verbal abuse as a result of their involvement."[201] It is true that at least one warden was hit by rocks and required hospitalization for his wound.[202] It seemed to the not so-"Silent Majority" on the landings that the government was favoring the special interests of the minority. The same feeling of so-called "reverse discrimination" was evident in debates in the late 1970s about bussing and the welfare debates of the 1980s.[203] It was a difficult job for wardens to protect the spearers they were arresting only a few years prior. Fred Maulson remembered thanking an Ashland County sheriff for protecting the LDF from protestors. The sheriff responded, "Fuck you. If I weren't working, I'd be on the other side."[204] Acknowledging the reversal inherent in the situation, the GLIFWC made an effort to thank George Meyer of the DNR for protection at the end of the 1987 season: "We realize that conditions were often not pleasant and that officers frequently had to put up with not only long hours but verbal abuse and physical threats… Our hope is that somewhere down the line your services will not be required as they were this year."[205]

The effect of a perceived unresponsive government plagued Governor Thompson as he prepared for re-election. STA and PARR members could be seen on television nightly carrying signs reading "One Term Tommy!" at the landings.[206] Anti-treaty organizers already managed to force a recall of Eagle River's state assemblyman James Holperin, who had attempted to take on the role as mediator. It was the first recall in Wisconsin since 1932. Vilas and Oneida County voters accused Holperin, their native son, of selling out Northwoods interests to interests in downstate centers of the elite Left: Milwaukee and Madison. Dean Crist said of Holperin, "He flatly goes against 90% of us."[207] Democrats rushed to Holperin's side as he battled an STA member to keep his seat in Madison. Democratic gubernatorial candidate Tom Loftus praised Holperin for "tackling the issue head-on" when so many others (like Thompson) seemed to be brushing it aside.[208] Although they were unsuccessful in the general election, they flexed their political muscle.

Stickers reading "I'm a PARR person" were placed on bumpers beside those that read "Sportsmen for Dave Obey."[209] A candidate on the wrong side could pay the price and patience with Thompson was running out in the Northwoods. His efforts to enforce fishing regulations were frustrated by Judge Barbara Crabb's 1987 federal ruling that treaty rights were unlimited. According to Crabb, the treaties allowed Indians to take up to 100% of the fish in a lake if they deemed it appropriate. Crabb left Thompson with no cards to deal in the negotiation. With news that STA was breaking through police lines in efforts Dean Crist called "civil disobedience," people downstate called for the emergency closing of all lakes. The *Milwaukee Journal* recommended activating the National Guard.[210] Thompson, personally appeared before the federal court to ask for an injunction against the spearers, which was rejected.[211] Claiming Crabb was biased, Thompson's aide and ALEC connection James Klauser cried in frustration, "The governor's hands are tied. He can't act unless the judge says so."[212]

In 1990, a gubernatorial election year, after some of the more violent episodes at the boat landings, Klauser drafted a proposal to lease Ojibwe treaty rights to hunt and

[199] George Wallace, 1972, quoted in Cowie, 5.
[200] Diane Sherren, letter to Carroll Besadny, May 11, 1987. 2010-042, Box 1. DNR, NAPC. WHS, Madison.
[201] Carroll Besadny, letter to Diane Sherren, May 29, 1987. 2010-042, Box 1. DNR, NAPC. WHS, Madison.
[202] James Blankenheim. "Caught in the Middle" *Wisconsin Natural Resources Magazine* (October, 1999).
[203] See Cowie and McGirr.
[204] Jeff Starck, "Walleye wars evolve into peace on lakes." *Wausau Daily Herald*. May 21, 2011.
[205] James Schlender, GLIFWC, letter to George Meyer, DNR Director of Enforcement, May 8, 1987. 2010-042, Box 1. DNR, NAPC. WHS, Madison.
[206] Neil Shively, "Thompson a fish out of water in crisis," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, May 8, 1989: 12.
[207] Doug Mell, "Profile: James Holperin," *Treaty Crisis: Cultures in Conflict*. (Madison: WSJ, 1990): 19.
[208] Mell, 19.
[209] Bumper stickers, LPP, M91-204, WHS, Madison.
[210] "Time to call out the Guard," *Milwaukee Journal*, May 4, 1989: 18A.
[211] Satz, 118.
[212] Shively, 12.

fish for $50 million, hoping to finally settle the issue. An intra-tribal organization of spearfishers known as the Wa-Swa-Gon Treaty Association saw this as an attempt to set a precedent that might be followed when Klauser's mining associates began to take a closer look at the reservation land.[213] Lac du Flambeau was undergoing the same transformative economic pressure from national corporations that white were squeezed by outside the reservation. Tom Maulson saw the proposal as an outrage, even though he often previously argued that the state should pay for the fish that the GLIFWC agreed not to spear. The $50 million would be paid out over ten years. It amounted to $1800 per person per year. This was a tempting offer to the reservation, which was suffering a 49% unemployment rate, and so the Tribal Council approved the offer, pending a referendum.[214] LDF President Tom Allen, hoping for a compromise that might end bad publicity, assured the governor that the referendum would be approved.[215] To the surprise of Klauser and Allen, the Wa-Swa-Gon Association organized the Indian people, who soundly rejected the referendum. "We went door to door, night and day, for weeks," reminisced Maulson of the campaign.[216] Indians carried signs on election day which read, "No more trinkets for land."[217] LDF Chairman Mike Allen didn't see $50 million as a 'trinket.' Despite the suspicions of leaders like Bresette and Maulson, the idea did not come from Klauser's conservative ALEC and WPRI operatives, but instead was long touted as an option by the anti-treaty grassroots. One of hundreds of letters to the DNR that offered up the idea of purchasing abrogation came from a frustrated hunter: "I'd be willing to pay them off and have all equal and not this blackmail."[218] The vote to sell the treaty rights failed 439 to 366. The governor reacted by commenting that "the moderates have lost, the militants have won" and vowed revenge. "They won't get one more dime," he pouted.[219]

Power did not really lie with the state, though. Dean Crist was partly right when he remarked to reporters, "The federal legislature can change these treaties any time they want."[220] Federal political action, though, failed since Congressmen from outside Wisconsin saw the whole affair as a local controversy upon which they needn't risk political capital by taking a stand. Congressman Bruce Sensenbrenner attempted to force through an abrogation bill which would have cancelled the 19th century treaties with the Ojibwe, but it fell flat and never made it to the floor for debate.[221] The entire Wisconsin Congressional delegation sent letters to the Ojibwe urging them to cease spearing, appealing to "common decency" and a respect for the right of others to share in the fish resource since not doing so "threatens the livelihoods of resort owners." Their note makes it clear that Congressmen would be keeping track of which tribes "inflamed" the situation and which did not.[222] Walt Bresette saw this as a threat that not only was unfair, but that could never have been carried through, considering the power of the treaties. "If we were to write [that] letter, we would be imprisoned because that's extortion and that's blackmail," Bresette contended before a meeting of the Green Party in 1990.[223]

Charges of racism sink the movement

What the national New Right did, but anti-treaty groups could not, was to transcend racism. One way Ronald Reagan was able to build such a strong coalition across was to move the country past the tumultuous race debates that plagued the U.S. mid-century by replacing it with a rhetoric of equality and individualism which easily plugged into the traditional American ideal. Although they attempted to utilize this successful color-blind rhetoric, what eventually brought down PARR and STA and the entire anti-treaty movement was the way they seemed to became mired in race-baiting that verged on violent riots. News media from Chicago and Milwaukee honed in on the worst elements and amplified the worst examples at the protests painting the situation at the launches as painfully similar to the situation that plagued the American South in the 1950s and 1960s. A reporter, for a progressive Milwaukee newspaper for example, wrote of a PARR rally in Minocqua, "'Equality was the buzzword thinly spit over the undercurrents of hate and ignorance."[224] As it appeared the descent into outright racism worsened and was exposed to the national media, any downstate and Chicago support that existed melted away.[225] Even at the start of the walleye conflict, a 1984 *Milwaukee Journal* poll showed 53% of downstate Wisconsinites supported leaving treaty rights as they were, compared to 21% in the North. Support for

[213] Mayers and Seely. "Treaty rights may be weapon…," 17.

[214] M. Vold. "A People's Birthright: Not for Sale," *Mother Jones* 16, no. 1 (Jan/Feb., 1991): 42.

[215] George Hesselberg, "Profile: Michael Allen," *Treaty Crisis: Cultures in Conflict*. (Madison: Wisconsin State Journal, 1990): 22.

[216] Vold, 42.

[217] Ibid.

[218] Michael Speich, letter to John Wetzel, Migratory Bird Manager, Sept. 5, 1986. 2010-042, Box 1. DNR, NAPC. WHS, Madison.

[219] Scott Kerr, "Three ring battle," *Shepherd Express (Milwaukee),* Nov. 16, 1989: 18.

[220] Andrew Cassel, "Where fishing rights spawn anger toward Indians," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 29, 1989.

[221] H.R. 2058, 101st Cong. (April 18, 1989.)

[222] Congressional delegation, letter to Chippewa Bands, undated, from GLIFWC. *Moving Beyond Argument: Racism and Treaty Rights*. (Odanah, WI: GLIFWC Public Information Office, 1990): 7.

[223] Bresette, 49.

[224] Scott Kerr, "Blaze orange jackets, white robes, and charcoal grey suits," *Shepherd Express (Milwaukee)*, May 10, 1990: 1.

[225] Nesper, *Walleye War*, 209.

Examples of racist communication during the period 1988-1989. GLIFWC. *Moving Beyond Argument: Racism and Treaty Rights*. Odanah, WI: GLIFWC Public Information Office, 1990, 21.

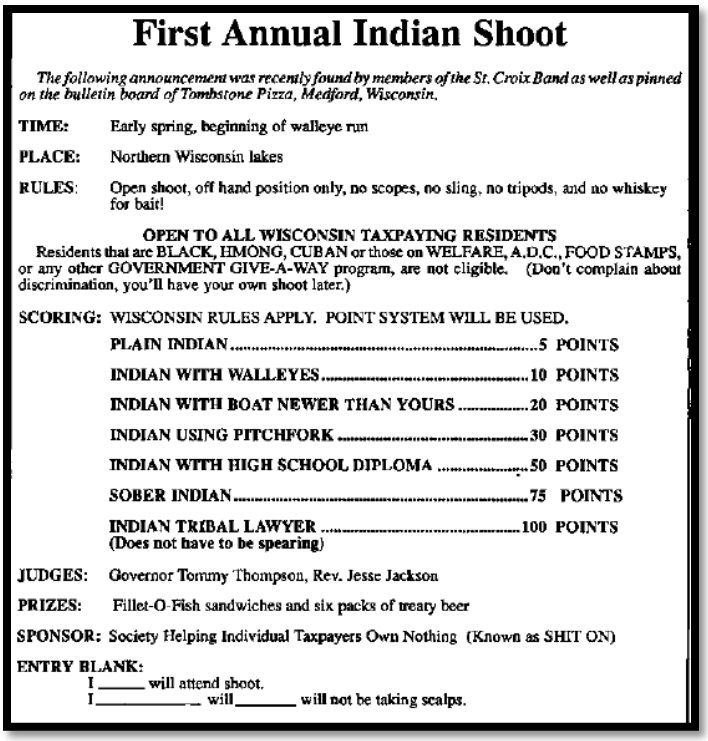
abrogation in Milwaukee and Madison was 8%, and 30% in the Northwoods.[226]

Troubling reports and the lack of success by other pro-treaty whites[227] to make a change motivated downstate liberals. Urged on by Ojibwe Green Party activist Walt Bresette, to form the Witnesses for Non-Violence group, which sent busloads of University of Wisconsin college students, pacifists, and Greens north to simply observe and take notes and record protester activities at the spearfishing sites starting in 1989 and continuing through 1991.[228] The Wa-Swa-Gon Treaty Organization called on supporters to bring "cameras, camcorders, and tents," hoping that the presence of non-threatening whites would calm the situation.[229] "There were no efforts to escalate the boat landing scene by being a counter-demonstration to the protestors," explained Witness leader and Milwaukee native Rick Whaley, "We brought no signs, no slogans."[230] Another downstate group, the Midwest Treaty Network, led in part by UW professor Zoltan Grossman, created a nationwide network of treaty rights supporters. Their efforts even got the attention of anti-Apartheid hero Desmond Tutu who in 1988 urged Wisconsinites to approach each other with respect.[231] Dean Crist brushed off the pushback from the urban Left. They were not invested in the community and "do not speak for us."[232] Pressure from cities or international activists or Senator Daniel Inouye, who urged calm after he toured the area on behalf of the Senate, did not matter to STA.[233]

If the governor saw Dean Crist's leadership as an abrasive obstacle, liberal grassroots groups set their sights on him as an obsolete racist. Crist did not feel he was on the wrong side of history. He often compared himself to Martin Luther King, all the while praising KKK leader David Duke. "What [Duke] was saying was the same stuff we have been saying," Crist told a reporter. "It's like he has been reading STA literature."[234] Duke's organ ization even put money into the election of a local PARR member to the Wisconsin attorney general's office.[235] Even while engaging racist politicians like Duke, PARR and STA borrowed from the successful strategies of the civil rights movement, engaging in sit-ins, forcing arrests, talking of themselves as victims of apartheid, and attempting to control their message in the news media. Leadership was always aware of where the news cameras and microphones were pointing.[236] They also borrowed from the New Right chanting patriotic slogans and waving American flags. They saw themselves as the *true* Americans under siege, and their own government was denying them their right to what was considered their birthright: not only access to the natural resource that meant a livelihood to them but also access to a responsive government.

It was a calculated move at Big Arbor Vitae Lake in 1988 for PARR's grand marshal of protest to be Kevin Hermening, a Wisconsin native and the youngest American taken during the Iran Hostage Crisis. Hermening waved his oversized flag from the bow of a fishing boat as he chased spearers around the lake. Previously he had led the crowd

[226] Gary Rummier, "Treaty Conflict Special Section: How it started," *Milwaukee Journal*, Oct. 14, 1984: 12.
[227] Like the organization "Citizens for Treaty Rights," which was denied access to boat launches during the Butternut Lake riots in 1989.
[228] Rick Whaley, "Who were those witnesses?" *The Circle*, (July, 1991): 10.
[229] Anita Koser, Secretary of the Wa-Swa-Gon Treaty Organization, letter to 'friends, supporters, and witnesses,' Nov. 27, 1990, Witnesses for Nonviolence Records 1988-1991, M92-008, WHS, Madison.
[230] Ibid.
[231] Zoltan Grossman, "World is watching: international support growing for Wisconsin Chippewa," *News from Indian Country* (Mid-September, 1990).
[232] Ron Seeley and Jeff Mayers. "North steps toward peace," *Treaty Crisis: Cultures in Conflict*. (Madison: WSJ, 1990): 3.
[233] Ibid.
[234] Hesselberg, "Profile: Dean Crist," 18.
[235] Zoltan Grossman, "Wisconsin Treaty Conflict: No End in Sight," *Z Magazine* (July/August, 1990), 126.
[236] Ibid, 124.



First Annual Indian Shoot

The following announcement was recently found by members of the St. Croix Band as well as pinned on the bulletin board of Tombstone Pizza, Medford, Wisconsin.

TIME: Early spring, beginning of walleye run

PLACE: Northern Wisconsin lakes

RULES: Open shoot, off hand position only, no scopes, no sling, no tripods, and no whiskey for bait!

OPEN TO ALL WISCONSIN TAXPAYING RESIDENTS

Residents that are BLACK, HMONG, CUBAN or those on WELFARE, A.D.C., FOOD STAMPS, or any other GOVERNMENT GIVE-A-WAY program, are not eligible. (Don't complain about discrimination, you'll have your own shoot later.)

SCORING: WISCONSIN RULES APPLY. POINT SYSTEM WILL BE USED.

PLAIN INDIAN	5 POINTS
INDIAN WITH WALLEYES	10 POINTS
INDIAN WITH BOAT NEWER THAN YOURS	20 POINTS
INDIAN USING PITCHFORK	30 POINTS
INDIAN WITH HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA	50 POINTS
SOBER INDIAN	75 POINTS
INDIAN TRIBAL LAWYER (Does not have to be spearing)	100 POINTS

JUDGES: Governor Tommy Thompson, Rev. Jesse Jackson

PRIZES: Fillet-O-Fish sandwiches and six packs of treaty beer

SPONSOR: Society Helping Individual Taxpayers Own Nothing (Known as SHIT ON)

ENTRY BLANK:

I _____ will attend shoot.

I _____ will _____ will not be taking scalps.

Figure H: First Annual Indian Shoot flier, from GLIFWC. *Moving Beyond Argument: Racism and Treaty Rights*. Odanah, WI: GLIFWC Public Info Office, 1990, 21.

in a rendition of "My Country 'tis of Thee."[237] Protestors saw themselves as hostages just like Hermening was in Iran. Hermening was here to drum up support for his campaign as a pro-Reagan Republican against longtime Democratic Congressman David Obey in 1988.[238] PARR protesters at Big Arbor Vitae were heard by Witnesses telling spearers, "When you get those fish, you can get off welfare," crudely echoing the more polished anti-welfare national Republican refrain.[239]

This wasn't about race, they claimed, as it was about equality and equal access to resources. STA's co-founder Donald Long was quoted as saying, "I believe all Americans should be on the same level."[240] Equality was something everyone could get behind and the loss of equality before the law seemed a much more important stake than walleye or even tourism. Being at the landings was the only way to access power for a working class finding themselves more and more powerless to control their situation. Jim Williquette, the Vilas County sheriff who was no friend of the LDF[241] and who was accused by spearers of favoring protestors at landings, explained to reporters, "These people are not racist. If they had stayed away, no one would have listened."[242] Williquette's comments mirrored those of Crist when Crist compared power of the protests to that of Vietnam's body counts.[243] Accusations of rock throwing were denied by Sheriff Williquette who thought that "some might feign being hit to attract attention."[244] DNR point man George Meyer reminded Witnesses that it was not illegal to carry rocks in boats.[245]

STA and PARR acted more to enflame its supporters, but did not succeed to get their point across in the media. Anti- treaty groups were unable to or unwilling to organize a pointed message. Protestors were left on their own to make their opinions known. In doing so, many descended into ugly racist rhetoric, often threatening violence. They carried signs threatening to spear or shoot Indians, carried Indian figures lynched or speared in effigy, despite PARR's insistence that such displays would set the movement back.[246] They chanted, "Hey, how are ya? Hey, how are ya?" mocking powwow singing as gunshots rang out around the lakes where spearing was taking place.[247] A flier was alleged by the Ojibwe to appear in in bars and restaurants during the 1989 season urged protestors to bring firearms to the landings because "shots fired in the air will scare any brave."[248] Another flier found by Ojibwe in an Eagle River Tombstone Pizza announces an "Indian Shoot," with prizes of Treaty Beer going to one who could rack up the most points. "Tribal lawyers" were worth the most points.[249] Minocqua's Lakeland High School, once a

[237] *Witnesses for Non-Violence 1988 Witness Report*, "April 24, 1988 at Big Arbor Vitae Lake Witness Report by Tim, a Northern Wisconsin Witness," Witnesses for Nonviolence Records 1988-1991, M92-008, WHS, Madison.

[238] Hermening worked in the 1984 Reagan campaign and became a conservative leader in Wausau. See Tom Tolan, "Thirty years ago Iran hostage returned home to Wisconsin," *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, Jan. 17, 2011.

[239] *Witnesses for Non-Violence 1988 Report, ibid.*

[240] Rogers Worthington, "Treaty Beer storm lingering," *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 24, 1987.

[241] Williquette was sued by the tribe in 1986 for enforcing anti-gambling laws on the LDF reservation. See *LDF v. Williquette*, 629 F. Supp. 689 (W.D. Wis. 1986) and in 1991 for violating Judge Crabb's 1991 injunction against those who aided in preventing Indians from exercising treaty rights. See *LDF v. STA, et. al*., 759 F. Supp. (W.D. Wis. 1991.)

1339 (W.D.Wis.1991).

[242] Grossman, "Wisconsin Treaty Conflict," 125.

[243] See page 30.

[244] *WSJ*, April 2, 1990.

[245] *Witnesses for Non-Violence 1988 Report,* ibid.

[246] GLIFWC. *Moving Beyond Argument: Racism and Treaty Rights*. Odanah, WI: GLIFWC Public Information Office, 1990, 7. See Figure G in Appendix for selected images from this source displaying overt racism.

[247] Witnesses for Non-Violence. UC1416A "Spear fishing protest. Eye witness reports of protests," April 10 to May 10, 1990, audio tape, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.

[248] GLIFWC, *Moving Beyond Argument*, 21.

[249] Ibid., 20. See fig. H.

place of relative racial harmony, struggled to contain the political discord as students reflected the sentiments of their parents by wearing "Spear an Indian" t-shirts or producing artwork depicting speared Indians.[250]

Some of the LDF at the landings responded to the threats with threats of their own and it seemed violence was imminent. LDF spearer Gilbert Chapman kept a .357 magnum on his dashboard below a sign that read "Fuck PARR." He proudly wore a similarly worded shirt as he walked right into the middle of off-reservation bars and pulled down the anti-Indian fliers.[251] Chapman felt the threats were empty and he reflected them right back at protestors. When protesters attempted to disrupt spearing activities he bided the protestors to come forward, and brandishing his spear, said, "If you think this hurts on the way in, wait 'til I pull it out."[252] Flurries of actual violence always centered around rock throwing, which was often dismissed by law enforcement. Spearers claimed groups of young men would often hide in the darkness and pelt them with rocks or nails. On one occasion an explosive device was found by sheriff's police on the shore of St. Croix Lake. [253] Dean Crist, feeling that protestors were being treated unfairly by the press and the Left, issued a challenge to the press, "I defy them to bring forward any tribal member who was hurt or taken to the hospital… the only ones hurt were STA members."[254]

The chaos of the 1989 and 1990 seasons worried local businessmen, most especially in the Vilas county seat of Eagle River. The chamber of commerce here was having

An example of a critical Milwaukee press. This cartoon depicts the Wisconsin state tourism motto, "Wisconsin: You're Among Friends" as an ironic backdrop. *Milwaukee Sentinel*, April 28, 1989.

a change of heart. People worried that such overtly racist action might engender violence, hurting the very tourism business that most protestors claimed they were trying to save. The image problem of the Northwoods was evident to one Milwaukee reporter who noted how a Woodruff bartender took down anti-treaty fliers and posters as Chicago tourists filed in for beers. When asked about it, the bartender responded, "We got to make some money."[255] Witness leader Rick Whaley wrote in an op-ed published by Milwaukee's leading African American newspaper that racism was the biggest threat to tourism in the Northwoods. "It is the anti-treaty forces who could prevent a successful tourist season on which both the Native and non-Native artists and business people depend," Whaley said.[256] Statements from downstate leftists like Whaley, which formerly had been dismissed by Northwoods residents were now taken seriously. Kurt Krueger's *Vilas County News-Review* took a more New Right approach when it urged protestors to organize an equality-focused rhetoric and de-escalate the conflict by eliminating "racial overtones":

> "Though we have seen signs of racism against Indians in both signs and some slurs being tossed out from the crowds, it is obvious that the majority of protesters have made a stand based on equal rights for all Americans; and for protection of sport-fishing and tourism. We urge protesters to lessen their racial overtones in the final week or so of the spring spearing of spawning walleye, lest their solid arguments in opposition to treaty rights be written off by state and federal officials as racism."[257]

When the 1990 season rolled around and as Witnesses for Non-Violence appeared with their recorders and notebooks, STA reigned in the most violent protests. PARR meetings were held to better organize a coherent message. It would be death to the movement to be lumped in with memories of a violent, intolerant Deep South, as Rick Whaley was trying to do in any Milwaukee newspaper that would publish him. During their annual rally in Minocqua, anti-treaty rank and file showed some discipline and declined to talk to reporters except about saving walleye for their "children and grandchildren."[258] The Witnesses derided Governor Thompson's claims during a debate with his Democratic opponent in the 1990 election that that year's protests "were not racist or violent." The

[250] "Students sent home for wearing anti-spear shirts," *Ashland (WI) Daily Press*, May 5, 1989.

[251] Nesper, *Walleye* War, 123.

[252] Ibid., 124.

[253] *Witnesses for Non-Violence 1990 Witness Report*, Witnesses for Nonviolence Records 1988-1991, M92-008, WHS, Madison, and "Explosive device found at St. Croix Lake," *Ashland (WI) Daily Press*, May 6, 1989.

[254] Will Fantle, "Treaty rights protestors pledge resistance to the 'injustice' of Chippewa spearfishing," *Isthmus Chronicle (Madiso*n), April, 1990.

[255] James Nelson, "Anti-treaty movement might be losing momentum," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, May 5, 1990, 1.

[256] Rick Whaley, "Racism is racism whether in the Deep South or the Deep North," *The Community Journal (Milwaukee)*, June 15, 1988.

[257] "Avoid racial overtones," *VCNR*, May 3, 1989.

[258] Jim Stingl, "Treaty opponents say protests show they care," *Milwaukee Journal*, April 15, 1990: 11.

editor of the Witnesses 1990 Report asked if "Governor Wallace was congratulated just because African Americans were no longer lynched publically by the Ku Klux Klan?" PARR and STA, the pamphlet argued, were merely "thinly hiding" their hatred.[259] Sheriff Williquette, who it was alleged by Witnesses colluded with Crist to keep the press from the boat landings, was furious at the media coverage, "Reporters don't know what the hell they're talking about to say these nice people are racists." Could a crowd be considered racist, the sheriff argued, if only a handful were making racist comments?[260]

Protest leaders saw the accusations of racism as political redirection by an out-of-touch Left, but the damage was done. During the 1990 gubernatorial elections Governor Thompson saw the grassroots anti-treaty groups less a political base and more a political liability. The press bashed the alliance Thompson was so eager to build four years prior. "The protestors, to gain sympathy and win public support, have tried to cloak themselves in symbols of the civil rights movement," one columnist wrote in an article pressuring candidate Thompson to disavow his ties to the movement, "But they also throw rocks and bottles, fire gunshots into the air, and ram boats of Chippewa fishermen." She chided the governor and ended her article, "Thompson has an opportunity to prove himself worthy of the office he holds by abandoning his alliance with these terrorists."[261] Heeding the columnist's advice would be easier as numbers at the boat launches dwindled from the hundreds to the dozens in the coming years.

Even more troublesome was the ever-waning support from sport fishermen in Chicago and Milwaukee who had always been an important funding source for the anti-treaty movement. Many Chicagoans even showed up at boat landings, where Illinois license plates were not an uncommon sight.[262] But the racial accusations saw Chicagoans slipping away from the movement. A Chicago Heights resident who came north to protest was motivated by his love for "the beautiful lakes," left in disgust and promised to never return or spend the $3000 he set aside for his annual trip. He wrote a warning to the *Lakeland Times* that confirmed the worst fears of the Northwoods chambers of commerce: "I am leaving today with a sick feeling. I want to warn people of this area, you have a very dangerous, mean-spirited racism just below the surface of your communities."[263] He put his finger on the pulse of the problem in a heavy-handed "flatlander" sort of way:

> "After a week of being a spearing protester, I'm going home. Spearing is not the issue. I have had an uneasy feeling about the Northwoods for some years. A "do whatever I want to do, build, bulldoze, cut down" attitude with a glut of noise, speed, machines, and light. You are destroying the Northwoods and making the Indians scapegoats."[264]

Members of Milwaukee's PARR chapter were called "puppets in redneck uniform… [who] sucked on canned beer and hate" by their pro-treaty neighbors.[265] As downstate support eroded, PARR sent letters to lapsed members begging for renewals and financial support.[266] The money stopped flowing north when after a federal probe was initiated to investigate formal accusations of hate crimes. Bailing protestors out of jail was one thing, but being on the hook for damages beyond that caused regional allies to shrink away and disappear.

As the investigations continued and the FBI collected information from his neighbors, Dean Crist directly accused AIM and Maulson of bullying "good Indians" and of stirring up what Crist considered empty racial arguments. "Attacking the man is much easier than arguing the facts," Crist told a reporter. "I never heard the term 'timber nigger' used more than when Maulson [speaks] at the podium."[267] The anti-treaty groups redirected accusations of racism to the federal government's Indian policy, which they felt kept Indians disempowered and attached to the welfare state. "It's frustrating to see Indians wholly rely on welfare when they have the abilities," Crist opined, painting himself the true defender of racial equality and Indian rights.[268]

In the same interview Crist claimed that the Native American race did not really exist, "Clearly Indian culture is dead, non-existent, gone."[269] Seeing Indians as merely a historic people, Crist fell right in line with the tourists who visited the Wa-Swa-Gon Bowl for powwows. While color-blindness may seem a logical way to ensure equality among people regardless of race, it actually leads to the entrenchment of institutional racism. Research by psychologist Stephanie Fryburg shows that Indians "disappear" in a color-blind society. They are either pinned to their historical identities, not allowed to be modern people with modern problems that need to be addressed, or they are not seen at all. A color-blind society, Fryburg

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[259] *Witnesses for Non-Violence 1990 Witness Report*, Witnesses for Nonviolence Records 1988-1991, M92-008, WHS, Madison.
[260] "Lac du Flambeau spearers met by small crowds," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, April 21, 1990: 1.
[261] Nancy Butterfield, "Treaty support groups step forward," *Wausau (WI) Daily Herald*, May 5, 1990: 8A.
[262] H.H., personal correspondence, Jan. 10, 2015.
[263] Bill Braden, "Tried to protest treaty rights, but couldn't (letter to the editor)," *Lakeland (Minocqua) Times*, May 7, 1991.
[264] Ibid.
[265] Scott Kerr, "Blaze orange jackets, white robes, and charcoal grey suits," *Shepherd Express (Milwaukee)*, May 10, 1990: 1.
[266] Larry Peterson, letter to PARR friends, undated, LPP, M91-204, WHS, Madison.
[267] Hesselberg, "Profile: Dean Crist," 18.
[268] Ibid.
[269] Ibid.

concluded leads to advantages for whites and disadvantages for Amerinds.[270]

Denying the Indian-ness of the LDF was a common argument in PARR and STA circles. "If these diluted blood Indians are using antagonism as a tactic… they make a mistake," said Ted Vogel in a PARR newsletter.[271] The Lac du Flambeau band was not only culturally white-washed by federal efforts in the 1920s, but also included a very small number of "full-blooded" Indians.[272] Tom Maulson's ethnicity was often the target of protestors who saw hypocrisy in the way he wore a feather in his "Walleye Warrior" baseball camp and acted as an Indian leader. Maulson's father was a well-known 100% white roofer. He was a well-known Lakeland High School basketball star to most locals, not an Indian "chief."[273] At boat landings, ridicule often centered on his and other Indians' racial authenticity. They chanted jingles like, "Tommy Maulson, a white man's son, spears the fish and away he runs!"[274] According to anti-treaty groups, rights granted by treaty to full-blooded Indians could not be exercised by those of mixed race. This argument was made before Judge Crabb after LDF sued Dean Crist and STA for violating an injunction she made in 1991 against any person who prevented the free exercise of treaty rights.[275] Judge Crabb found these claims meritless since the treaties were made between existing political entities and not races.[276] Historian Larry Nesper made the argument that it was not race, but the exercise of treaty fishing rights that defined Indian-ness for the LDF and sparked a cultural renaissance in the 1980s.[277]

In March of 1991, after almost 17 years of deliberation and several rulings, Judge Crabb put together the final word in the *LCO v. DNR* case. She reversed her previous 1989 decision that spearers could take 100% of a harvest, and "to prevent frustration by non-Indians," capped the Ojibwe take on any lake to 50%. She ordered that Ojibwe spearfishers maintain the GLIFWC to regulate fishing by Indians.[278] Thompson, having won re-election in 1990, seeing every path exhausted, and wanting to be rid of the issue, admitted defeat and recommended that STA and PARR do likewise. A statement made by attorney general James Doyle, Jr., concluded that "this case has been fully litigated" and "the people of Wisconsin are tired of fighting with each other." Doyle urged people to move on. "It is now up to the State and all the people of Wisconsin to build on the relationship we have begun," Doyle said, referring to associations like the Committee of Understanding that was led by Boulder Junction chairman Jeff Long, meant to reach out to the LDF and calm racial tensions.[279] The GLIFWC responded by lowering bag limits for speared walleyes by Ojibwe as "a token of goodwill."[280]

Despite the compromise that his group helped to force, Dean Crist continued to threaten his big government enemies. "The DNR better get Kevlar helmets from the National Guard when they come back because I think the lakes are extremely dangerous now," he told reporters as the ice was thawing on the lakes. "Lakes could become a free-fire zone because there are a lot of whackos out there."[281] An anonymously produced flier circulating in local bars urged readers to "create a crisis." The flier, which also advocated the use of firearms claimed nothing will happen "until the whole nation wakes up."[282] Jeff Long was becoming a leader of the many businessmen tired of the heated tone, "We have to stand firm and denounce people who make such outrageous, threatening statements."[283]

An LDF civil rights lawsuit lodged against STA in 1991 would be the end of Dean Crist's political power in the Northwoods. Judge Crabb's investigation into the activities at the boat landings were aided by reports and recording made by the Witnesses for Non-Violence and by the GLIFWC, which collected photos and recordings of its own. Crabb disbanded the group and classified their actions at the landings as federal hate crimes. Membership records were ordered to be purged and protestors moved on to deal with the challenges of the changing economy. Crist backed down as he appealed the injunction against him. "People don't know going to the boat landings was a drag," he told a reporter at a peaceful 1992 anti-treaty rally in Minocqua's Torpy Park. He hoped to focus his efforts on his business and on other protest methods. "The boat landings don't serve a purpose anymore."[284] Crist has since written two

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[270] Stephanie Fryburg and Nicole Stephens, "When the world is color-blind, American Indians are Invisible," *Psychological Inquiry* 21, no. 2: 119.

[271] *PARR Issue* (Winter/Spring, 1989), LPP, M91-204, WHS, Madison.

[272] Danziger, 150.

[273] Hesselberg, "Profile: Tom Maulson," *Treaty Crisis: Cultures in Conflict*. (Madison: Wisconsin State Journal, 1990): 9.

[274] Witnesses for Non-Violence. UC1416A "Spear fishing protest. Eye witness reports of protests," April 10 to May 10, 1990, audio tape, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.

[275] Rogers Worthington, "Wisconsin wants calmer waters," *Chicago Tribune*, April 14, 1991.

[276] Brian Pierson. "The Spearfishing Civil Rights Case: Lac du Flambeau v. Stop Treaty Abuse - Wisconsin." Conference paper presented at Minwaajimo: Telling a Good Story Treaty Symposium, Odanah, WI, July 28, 2009.

[277] Nesper, *Walleye War*, 197.

[278] "Judge sets 50% limit on harvests," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, May 10, 1990.

[279] James Doyle, Jr., "State of Wisconsin's Acceptance of Judge Barbara Crabb's Final Judgment," May 20, 1991, from Satz, Appendix 9.

[280] John Husar, "Woods and Waters," *Chicago Tribune*, May 24, 1990: A9.

[281] John Scherer, "Crist says wardens will be in danger," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, April 3, 1991: 5.

[282] GLIFWC. *Moving Beyond Argument: Racism and Treaty Rights*. (Odanah, WI: GLIFWC Public Information Office, 1990): 21.

[283] Scherer, 5.

[284] Chuck Baldwin, "One time protest leader gone but not forgotten," *Wausau (WI) Daily Herald*, April 23, 1992.

works of fiction, which amount to an anti-government manifesto. In 2011 he was arrested by the state of Minnesota for not paying tolls at a federally controlled international bridge as a matter of principle. He told a Minocqua reporter covering his 2011 arrest that there is a "trend for aggressive members of society to manipulate the many for the benefit of a few."[285]

Epilogue: A Counterintuitive Alliance

While the fishing issue continued to raise concerns well into the 21st century, the legal framework provided by Crabb's rulings made confrontations at the landings a thing of the past. Soon chambers of commerce led by moderates like Jeff Long were able to convince the public that the confrontations were a much bigger threat to tourism than spearfishing. Processes like in-migration and rural gentrification continued to transform the Northwoods economy, but a more diverse tourism industry evolved serving paddlers, runners, bikers, cross country skiers, snowmobilers, and nature enthusiasts as well as those interested in fishing and hunting. A more upscale clientele began coming to the area and the age of the "speed and blood" tourists seemed to be over. Trails were groomed throughout Northern Highland State Forest and boutique stores selling art replaced the small shops selling lures and outboard motors.[286] One of these boutique stores, a jewelry shop founded in Boulder Junction in 1997 in the midst of this transformation, bears the telling name "Peeplelures," a reference to the fishing-centered past in a town that still celebrates Musky Days every August. Other towns have developed new festivals like Colorama (which features wine tasting and crafts) and the Pig in the Pines Ribfest to attract tourists. The LDF band built the profitable Lake of the Torches Casino as the treaty rights issue settled in the mid-1990s in an effort to tap into the new economy. Many of these efforts have been in the effort of extending the tourism season.

As resorts closed or were sold off to in-migrants, a few historic resorts like the Woodlands in Plum Lake and White Birch Village in Boulder Junction saw heavy re-investment in the mid to late 1990s, often from downstaters and Illinoisans.[287] They maintain the housekeeping traditions that once dominated the region, but many have implemented upgrades like satellite television, telephones, and wifi that would have been unthinkable excess in the fishing camp era. Despite the many changes, nature is still the top amenity and tourism is still the number one business, but fishing is not the center of the economic universe in Vilas and Oneida Counties, as it once seemed to be.

This is why when mining interests descended on the area, as Walt Bresette predicted they would during the Walleye Wars, the environmental threat once again inspired formidable grassroots opposition to "outsider" forces. The threat to the environmental amenities from mining runoff, increased traffic and road-building, and accompanying deforestation were not lost on the working class small business owners struggling to grasp new realities and to transform their economic situation. But even more, they resisted another encroachment on their right to manage their own affairs.

Research was conducted by grassroots groups like the Wolf Watershed Educational Project (WWEP), founded in 1995 by Ojibwe and Menominee Amerinds working in tandem with small business owners, sport-fishers, and downstate environmentalists. They found that mine waste would fill the Northwoods waters with acidic sulfides and heavy metals including arsenic, destroying fisheries and, potentially, make water undrinkable.[288] While new mining jobs seemed by the mining companies like Exxon and Kennecott to be a valuable carrot for impoverished whites and Amerinds, there was predictable resistance to what would end up being a revolutionary economic transformation and the potential end of the tourism industry. People were not ready to go back to the destructive extractive economy that left the Northwoods with vast wastelands of stumps a century prior.

Although the center of the struggle over mines laid fifty miles to the east and west of Vilas and Oneida Counties, many of the same characters from the Walleye Wars appeared in the mine debates that took over the political scene from about 1993 to 2003, but alliances had shifted. Interestingly, when mines were proposed in areas that saw relative peace during the Walleye War years, they saw little opposition. A mine in Ladysmith was opened by Kennecott in 1993 despite DNR opposition and LCO efforts to block its construction. Walt Bresette determined that "where you don't have Indian rights, non-Indians lose."[289] But in areas where spearfishing debates were intense, so was the opposition to mining.[290] Indians near the proposed Crandon mine were able to build unity with local whites, both groups feeling the waters to be hallowed, even if it was for different reasons.

Lessons learned during the Walleye Wars proved vital in preserving the tourism economy in the face of these multinational mining interests. Midwest Treaty Network

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[285] Deborah Bedolla, "Minnesota Court of Appeals accepts Crist toll bridge case," *Lakeland Times*, April 25, 2011.

[286] B.J. Hegeman, "Jeff Long has long history with community," *Lakeland Times (Minocqua)*, April 8, 2011.

[287] Hillerian Hess, "History and Legacy of the Woodlands Resort," unpublished, and White Birch Village, "Who we are," http://www.whitebirchvillage.com/discover/who-we-are (accessed April 1, 2015.) The Woodlands are owned by a pair from downstate Hartland, WI, and Park Ridge, IL, and White Birch Village is owned by a Rockford, IL, family.

[288] Douglas Buege, "The Crandon Mine Saga," *Z Magazine* (Feb., 2004): 17.

[289] Zoltan Grossman, "Unlikely Alliances: Treaty Conflicts and Environmental Cooperation between Native Americans and Rural White Communities," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 29, no. 4 (2005): 33.

[290] Grossman, "Unlikely Alliances," 23.

founder Zoltan Grossman felt that the political confrontation over walleyes in the late 1980s educated both Indians and rural whites. Indians learned how to build and sustain a grassroots movement in the face of heated opposition, while rural whites learned to respect the Amerinds as worthy political agents.[291] In fact, the most vocal treaty rights advocates like Tom Maulson became key players and the people most able to build bridges into the rural white community.[292] Former anti-treaty whites, all too well, knew the strength of the tribal government as a political unit that outranked agencies like the DNR, controlled by Governor Thompson and his top advisor, former mining executive James Klauser.[293] Eventually Amerind tribes were able to secure not only the land targeted by the mines, but also one of the mining companies itself. Mining groups accused the WWEP of "frightening people," as they looked back on their inability to acquire "social license to operate."[294] The overwhelming and organized opposition stunned the industry and forced state assemblymen to push through a mining moratorium bill in 1997.[295] Rick Whaley wasn't surprised at the new alliances. He hoped in the midst of the Walleye Wars that the mining controversy would reunite Northern Wisconsinites against a common enemy.[296] With every effort blocked by fierce grassroots opposition, the governor was forced to sign the bill that would force mining companies to prove proposed mines would not pollute the environment. [297]

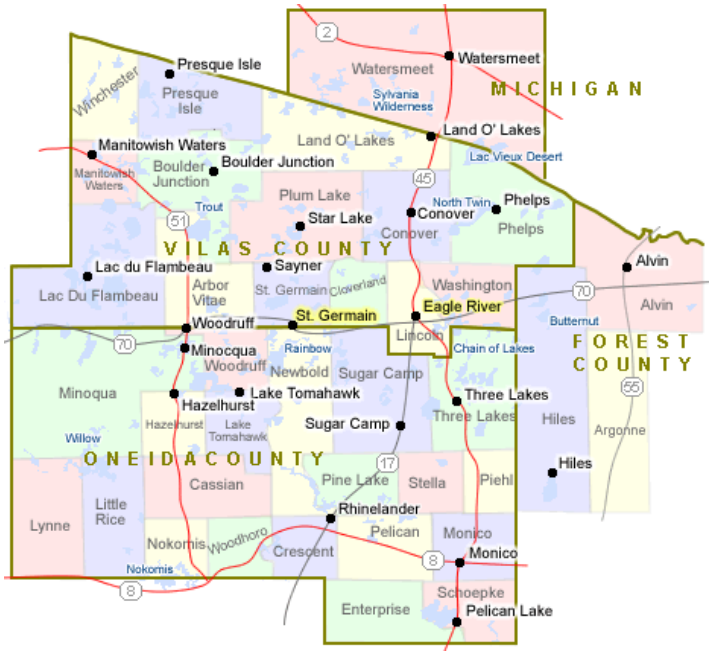
Conclusion

What the Crandon controversy illustrates is just how effective grassroots political organizations can be given the right communication strategies and leadership. The mining controversy saw the building of the kind of coalition that the anti-treaty leaders like Larry Peterson and Dean Crist were unable to build, despite their best efforts to reflect the backlash arguments and political concerns of their disempowered followers. While they had numbers which should have afforded them political power, they were unable to follow through with success in even local elections in which they had a stake. The only politician in power that they had influence with, Governor Tommy Thompson, eventually cast them aside.

Although proponents of the anti-treaty movement attempted to tap into a moral code (namely, the New Right color-blind, individualistic, and equality-driven rhetoric of the Reagan Revolution), they were unable to gain political traction with people from outside Northern Wisconsin and from outside their socio-economic class. Since these outsiders controlled the economy of the region, the movement faded quickly in the wake of media reports depicting a descent into ugly racism. This narrative, cajoled by pro-treaty groups and justified by actions at the protest sites, caused outsiders, who could have aided anti-treaty efforts, to cast aside demonstrators' reasonable concerns about economic opportunity, political power, and equality before the law. In the post-civil rights era, rock throwing, taunts, and threats of violence could lead nowhere but a pariah status. Eventually the weakened anti-treaty movement was shut down by order of the federal courts and by a desire for moderation by the same small business class that founded the movement. When PARR and STA lost their grip on the moral high ground, they lost the Walleye War.

A bumper sticker from the Larry Peterson Papers, WHS, Madison.

[291] Zoltan Grossman, "From Enemies to Allies," *Colorlines* (Spring, 2001), 25.
[292] Grossman, "Unlikely Alliances," 23.
[293] Al Gedicks and Dave Blouin, "In victory at Crandon, lessons for a new proposal," *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, Oct. 9, 2013.
[294] Ibid.
[295] Amy Rinard, "Mining 'moratorium' goes to Thompson," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, Feb. 5, 1998: 13.
[296] Rick Whaley, "Who were those witnesses?," *The Circle*, (July, 1991): 10.
[297] Amy Rinard, "Mining moratorium groups plan to act as watchdogs," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, June 4, 1998: 2B.



(Left) 15 year-old LDF spearer, Lyle Chapman on the Turtle Flowage in 2011. *Wausau Daily Herald photograph.* **(Right) Regional map of communities with townships and major lakes**, from "Buying Property Up North," Eliason Realty. http://www.eliasonrealty.com/buying-property [Accessed March 20, 2015.]

Timeline of Selected Events

1600s French Jesuit explorer Paul le Jeune observes Ojibwe spearfishing.

1837 Treaty of Saint Peters, first cession.

1842 Treaty of La Pointe, second cession.

1878 The State of Wisconsin bans spearfishing.

1880s-1890s The lumber companies come and go, leaving stump-land in their wake.

1908 In *State v. Morrin*, Wisconsin's high Court claims treaty abrogation upon statehood.

1910s-1940s Birth of the resort industry in the form of Spartan fishing camps as agriculture fails.

1920s Bureau of Indian Affairs launches failed agriculture project at LDF.

1924 Snyder Act grants citizenship to all American Indians.

1927 The WCO is created to oversee flora and fauna in Wisconsin.

1934 BIA director John Collier acknowledges LDF claims for off reservation fishing rights.

1953 Congress adopts a policy of

1968 The Wisconsin DNR is established.

1974 Two LCO brothers arrested for poaching. The band sues over the arrest in *LCO v. Voigt.*

1975 Inspired by Nixon, the Indian Self-Determination Act is enacted.

1979 Doyle Decision that Ojibwe are not exempt from state fishing laws in *LCO v. Voigt.*

1975-1987 The period of steep in-migration by exurbanites from downstate and Chicago.

1980 Ronald Reagan elected President.

1983 Voigt Decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals, rejects 1979 Doyle Decision, confirms treaty rights to fish in ceded territory.

1983 GLIFWC is established by the bands of Ojibwe to manage hunting and fishing.

1985 PARR formed to protest treaty rights.

1985, April The first managed Ojibwe spearfishing season meets resistance, peaking at North Twin Lake.

1986, May A huge PARR rally is attended by dozens of LDF who later break their bag limits at Star Lake, violent confrontations ensue in response.

1986, Nov. Tommy Thompson elected over sitting governor Tony Earl, pledges to abrogate treaties.

1987, April Intense riot at Butternut Lake boat landing.

1987, August Crabb Decision, Judge Crabb rules that Ojibwe have a treaty right to 100% of fish wherever and whenever they please.

1988 Dean Crist forms STA and Treaty Beer is brewed to promote the group.

1988, May Hermening leads emotional protests at Big Arbor Vitae Lake.

1989 Midwest Treaty Network and Witnesses for Non-Violence organize training while STA launches concrete walleye decoy contest.

1989, May 5 Emotional and violent protests at Trout Lake and Nokomis Lake.

1990, April A calmer season, maybe due to Witnesses for Non-Violence presence.

1989, Oct. Tribal Council Resolution 369 to lease treaty rights for $50 million rejected by the LDF.

1990, Nov. Holperin recall fails and Tommy Thompson re-elected Governor.

1991, March Judge Crabb reverses 1987 ruling and decides that Indians are entitled to 50% of a lake's fish. She also puts out an injunction against anyone who gets in the way of spearers.

1991, Summer LDF sues STA and Dean Crist for abusing their civil rights. A federal investigation leads to the breakup of STA.

1992, April PARR holds a peaceful rally in Minocqua but does not meet protestors at boat landings.

1993 Ladysmith mine opens despite objections by the LCO and neighbors in Hayward.

1996, Oct. The Minocqua Wal-mart opens, capping off an era of rural gentrification.

1998, April Gov. Thompson signs the mining moratorium bill into law, shutting down the Crandon proposal.

2011-2013 Spearing controversies bubble up again as GLIFWC ups bag limits and the DNR lowers theirs.

Abbreviations

AIM	**American Indian Movement**
ALEC	**American Legislative Exchange Council**
BIA	United States **Bureau of Indian Affairs**.
DNR	Wisconsin **Department of Natural Resources**, enforced hunting laws since 1967.
ERFE	**Equal Rights for Everyone**, a grassroots anti-treaty organization active from 1985-6.
GLIFWC	**Great Lakes Indian Fish & Wildlife Commission**
LCO	**Lac Courte Oreilles**, a band of the Lake Superior Chippewa with a reservation near Hayward, WI.
LDF	**Lac du Flambeau**, a band of the Lake Superior Chippewa and/or their reservation in Vilas Co., WI.
LPP	The **Larry Peterson Papers**, a collection related to PARR and ERFE housed in the WHS.
NAPC	**Native American Policy Correspondence**, a collection of records held at the WHS Archives, Madison, WI.
PARR	**Protect Americans' Rights and Resources**, a grassroots anti-treaty group led, in part, by Larry Peterson.
STA	**Stop Treaty Abuse- Wisconsin**, an aggressive grassroots anti-treaty organization headed by Tom Crist.
VCNR	***Vilas County News-Review***, newspaper published in Eagle River, WI.
WARR	**Wisconsin Alliance for Rights and Resources**, active in 1984 and based in Superior, WI.
WCD	**Wisconsin Conservation Department**, enforced hunting laws from 1927 to 1967.
WHS	**Wisconsin Historical Society**
WPRI	**Wisconsin Policy Research Institute**
WSJ	**Wisconsin State Journal**, a newspaper published in Madison, WI, and distributed state-wide.

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