MINNESOTA CHIPPEWA: WOODLAND TREATIES TO TRIBAL BINGO

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> The transvaluation of roles that turns the despised and oppressed into symbols of salvation and rebirth is nothing new in the history of human culture, but when it occurs, it is an indication of a new cultural direction, perhaps of a deep cultural revolution. (Robert Bellah, *The Broken Covenant*.)

Foreword

The White Earth Reservation has become a dubious measure of rapacious federal policies that dominated the land and dislocated communal cultures at the same time. The first part of this essay considers mutable racial attitudes at the turn of the last century and reviews institutional strains from treaties to allotments and bingo; the second part is a presentation of tribal religious and educational experiences from shamans to boarding schools and peyote ceremonies, an essential parallel to untouchable bureaucracies. These two overtures to tribal histories—federal administration and personal visions—become a political discourse in the translated responses of those tribal people who testified before the committee that investigated fraudulent land allotment at the White Earth Reservation.

Hyperrealities and Racial Expositions

Minnesota Governor Alexander Ramsey reported that "education and agricultural efforts can only hope for useful results when Indians are removed in pursuance of treaties. . . and when manual-labor schools" are established "to educate their rising generation in the arts, conveniences, and habits of civilization." Ramsey expressed the racial preconceptions of his time; the nation, at the turn of the last century, had removed tribal cultures to federal reservations and then condoned imperialism with romantic notions that the tribes would vanish.

The last "savages" were captured in emulsion by celebrated photographers, "specimens" were paraded at international expositions, and tribal cultures were revised in colonial histories and dioramas. At the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, for example, Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt visited a Native American Indian concession and named a new-born tribal child Pan-Anna.[1]

W. J. McGee, an anthropologist at the Bureau of American Ethnology, advanced his theories of racial progress at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in Saint Louis. His aim, as head of the anthropology department at the fair, was to "present human progress from the dark prime to the highest enlightenment, from savagery to civic organization, from egoism to altruism." McGee, who was identified as the "overlord of the savage world" in a local newspaper, believed in "cephalization" and emphasized "Indian school work, America's best effort to elevate the lower races."[2]

Stephen Jay Gould, in *The Mismeasure of Man*, points out that "racial prejudice may be as old as recorded human history, but its biological justification imposed the additional burden of intrinsic inferiority upon despised groups, and precluded redemption by conversion or assimilation. . . ." Christian credence and conversions seldom embraced tribal cultures with a sense of human sameness; the tribes were to be saved from their color and delivered to the thresholds of colonialism.

Outsized Shoes at Boarding Schools

The time is twelve minutes before twelve at the turn of the last century; the window shades are drawn in a classroom at a reservation boarding school where sixteen students are posed with their heads down for a photograph. The words "crayfish," "crusty fill," "streams," "stones," and "sand" are written on the blackboard; two bird nests and broken branches are mounted near a window. The open door at the right of the photograph reveals a private residence, with a chest of drawers. The classroom is heated with wood and coal.

In the back rows of the classroom eight boys with short hair, dressed in uniforms, dark coats and vests, concentrate on manual skills, perhaps basket weaving. The eight girls in the front rows are sewing; their hair is braided. New readers or textbooks are stacked in two neat rows on the front bench.

The girl in the left front seat is distinguished from the others in the photograph by a laced boot that appears to be *twice the size of a normal foot* for her age; she would not complain. The outsized boot is a sign that implies federal domination on reservations—never a proper meet. Lewis Meriam reported that the shoes provided to children at federal boarding schools were "bought on the lowest bid" and were of poor quality. "Another serious factor is the fitting of shoes to the individual child. In some instances accurate measurements are not taken."[3] The student in the front row with the outsized boot might have been Mahgeet, Isabelle, Catherine Goodman, or Be Be Shank.

Catherine Goodman testified on Friday, July 28, 1911, before the House of Representatives committee that investigated the White Earth Reservation. She was questioned by James Graham, chairman of the committee, and Marsden Burch, an attorney with the Department of Justice, about the sale of allotments on the reservation; the interpreter was Margaret Warren.[4]

"Catherine Goodman is my English name," she said.

"What is your Indian name?"

"Kah deen," she answered.

"How old are you?" asked Burch.

"Seventeen. . . ."

"Do you have an allotment of land?"

"Yes. . . ."

"Whom did you sell it to?"

"Some one at Waubun. . . ."

"Do you remember the color of his hair?"

"His hair was almost white. . . ."

"How much did you get for the land?"

"Two-hundred dollars. . . ."

"Are your father and mother full-blood Indians. . . .?"

"My father, I think is a full-blood," said Catherine Goodman through the translator, "and my mother a mixed-blood."

"How much white blood. . . .?"

"I do not know."

"Does she show the white blood in her face. . . .?"

"I do not know," she answered.

"What did you do with the two-hundred dollars that you received that day for your land?" asked a committee member.

"I paid two dollars each trip to Waubun and back for a hired team," answered Catherine Goodman. The committee members were eager to understand who bought the allotment and what became of the money.

"What did you do with the rest of the money?"

"I bought a sewing machine and a bed and some provisions and clothing. . . ." Catherine had learned to sew at school and the sewing machine was a sign of civilization.

"Can you read English?"

"A little," she answered.

"What reader were you in School?"

"In the third reader."

"Can you write your name?"

"I can write my English name."

"Why did you not write your name at the time you were at the bank and put your hand to the pen?" asked James Graham, the chairman of the committee. Catherine testified that the bank held some of her money but did not give her a record of the amount on deposit.

"I could not write then. . . ."
"Who asked you to come to Washington?"
"My mother."
"What did she say to you?"
"My mother told me that some one had come for me to come here, and advised me to come to try and get my land back," she answered.

Lewis Meriam reported in 1928 that the "allotment acts opened several ways through which the whites could obtain possession of the Indian lands. The surplus land remaining after allotments had been made was sold and the proceeds paid into the tribal funds. When an allotted Indian was declared competent, he received a fee patent to his land and could thereafter sell it without government supervision. . . . In some instances acts of Congress have resulted in the wholesale exploitation of the Indians, as was the case among . . . the Chippewas of Minnesota."[5]

Be Be Shank was sworn by the chairman of the committee and she was questioned by Marsden Burch, an attorney with the Justice Department, and other committee members:

"Have you been to school?"
"Yes, sir."
"Where?"
"At White Earth."
"How many years?" asked Burch.
"Probably three years."
"Can you give the Indian name of your father?"
"His name was Kah don shis."
"Can you give the name of your mother?"
"Nah zhe wah quay," she answered.
"Can you read or write?"
"No, sir."
"How long were you at school at White Earth?"
"Three years."
"Did you ever see the land you owned?"
"No, sir."
"Who told you that you owned land?"
"My mother."
"Did you sell this land?"
"Yes, sir. . . ."
"Whom did you sell it to?"
"To a man at Waubun . . ."
"Did you make out any paper or sign any paper?"
"I signed one by a thumb print. . . ."
"What part of the year was it?"
"It was in the summer time," answered Be Be Shank.

"Do you know the Fourth of July?"
"Yes, sir."
"Was it before the Fourth of July?"
"It was probably after the Fourth of July."
"Do you know how to count money?"
"No, sir. . . ."
"Was the money paid, then, to anybody by this man?"
"The money was paid to me."
"What did you do with it?" asked the attorney.
"I went to the store."
"Did you spend the money. . . .?"
"Yes, sir."
"What did you buy, if you remember?"
"One horse and a colt. . . ."
"What did you do with the horse?"
"He died."
"Did it have a colt?"
"Yes, sir," answered Be Be Shank.
"Did the colt die, too?"
"Yes, sir; it died, too, when it was quite big."[6]

Nine Treaties with the Chippewa

The Chippewa [Anishinaabe] tribe participated in nine treaties and several legal agreements with the United States. These treaties, signed in one generation between 1826 and 1867, are the legal foundation of tribal and government relationships; specific articles in these treaties defined boundaries, ceded land, granted minerals, natural resources, and other rights to the tribe and to the federal government. For example, the right to gather wild rice, to hunt and fish in ceded territories, was "guaranteed to Indians."

In 1837, in consideration of vast land cessions in the Territory of Wisconsin, the federal government agreed to provide the tribe, annually for twenty years, "nine thousand five hundred dollars, to be paid in money; nineteen thousand dollars, to be delivered in goods; three thousand dollars for establishing three blacksmiths shops, supporting the blacksmiths, and furnishing them with iron and steel; one thousand dollars for farmers, and for supplying them and the Indians, with implements of labor, with grain or seed, and whatever else may be necessary to enable them to carry on their agricultural pursuits; two thousand dollars in provisions; five hundred dollars in tobacco."[7]

In 1847 the Pillager Band of Chippewa Indians received annually, for five years, three-point blankets, cloth, kettles, tobacco, five barrels of salt, and other sundries, for land cessions. Moreover, the "parties

to this treaty, shall receive as a present two hundred warranted beaver-traps and twenty-five northwest guns."

The 1867 treaty with the Chippewas of the Mississippi created the White Earth Reservation. In consideration of ceded land estimated at two million acres the government agreed to the following: "Five thousand dollars for the erection of school buildings upon the reservations. . . . Four thousand dollars each year for ten years, and as long as the President may deem necessary after the ratification of this treaty, for the support of a school. . . . Ten thousand dollars for the erection of a saw-mill, with grist-mill attached. . . . Five thousand dollars to be expended in assisting in the erection of houses. . . . Five thousand dollars to be expended, with the advice of the chiefs, in the purchase of cattle, horses, and farming utensils, and in making such improvements as are necessary for opening farms. . . . Six thousand dollars each year for ten years, and as long thereafter as the President may deem proper, to be expended in promoting the progress of the people in agriculture. . . . Twelve thousand dollars each year for ten years for the support of a physician, and three hundred each year for ten years for necessary medicines. . . . Ten thousand dollars to pay for provisions, clothing, or such other articles as the President may determine, to be paid to them immediately on their removal to their new reservation."[8]

The schools and houses on the new reservation were meager and bare, according to several investigative reports. Children were in need of clothing and medical care; there were few real improvements in farm operations, as the treaties had promised to provide. Lewis Meriam reported that tribal people did not know the value of the land they were allotted; they did not know how to use their allotments and "the government as a rule did not send to them persons competent to teach them its uses. . . ."[9]

Meanwhile, unscrupulous land dealers and bankers bought individual allotments while government agents worried about mixed bloods on the reservation—those who were "competent" to sell their allotments. The cash from the sale of "surplus" tribal land was deposited in government accounts and used to cover the maintenance of schools on the reservation. In 1911 the tribe had almost four million dollars in the United States Treasury which had "accrued from the sale of land and timber." Some of this money was used for the "support and civilization of the White Earth Indians."[10]

Mixed Bloods and Land Allotments

In 1887, after a decade of public debate, the Dawes Severalty Act, or the General Allotment Act, was passed; the act divided communal

reservation land into allotments and individual ownership was advanced as an operative measure of civilization. Meanwhile, betterment was no more than a colonial connivance; lumber companies penetrated the reservation with legislation that favored their interests, and, at the same time, released a new wave of racism based on the perverse arithmetics of white and tribal mixed blood—the division of "blood quantum" as a racial measure of "civilization."

The tribe had no choice in the land allotment laws on the reservation, and no real choice in the location of allotments; despite the vast land cessions and promises in treaties, tribal money, from the forced sale of "surplus" communal land, paid the cost of education and other services on some reservations. Furthermore, boarding schools are "supported in part by the labor of the students. Those above the fourth grade ordinarily work for half a day and go to school for half a day."[11]

James Graham, chairman of the committee that investigated the White Earth Reservation, reported that tribal "people are the descendants of a race which for centuries had held trade and commerce in contempt. . . . Indeed, the real Indians seem to be without what might be called the business instinct. On the other hand, the white men and the 'near white' Indians are the descendants of a race which for thousands of years has followed trade and commerce" and struggled for "political advantage or supremacy." His racist notion of "political advantage" would include the Clapp amendment which was approved in 1906; the act allowed mixed bloods to sell with no restrictions their timber and allotments on the White Earth Reservation. This legislation provided that the restrictions on "full bloods . . . shall be removed when the Secretary of the Interior is satisfied that . . . full-blood Indians are competent to handle their own affairs. . . ."[12]

Marsden Burch, the attorney who questioned Catherine Goodman and Be Be Shank, told the committee that tribal people formed two lines when they assembled for allotments on the reservation: "When the allotments came to be made, it is a singular circumstance that the most valuable of the pine was allotted to the mixed blood." He pointed out how difficult it was to know "who was an adult of the mixed blood or who was minor of the mixed blood." Catherine Goodman, a mixed blood, testified that she was fifteen years old when she sold her allotment; she had been to school but she was not able to read or write at the time.

E. B. Linnen, an inspector with the Department of the Interior, reported to the committee that no "reliable list of full bloods had been established" on the reservation. When mixed bloods were allowed to sell their allotments "the full bloods sold theirs as well; not only

their lands but the pine timber, and a concerted effort seems to have been made by the land buyers to establish every full-blood Indian who had valuable land or timber as an adult mixed blood, which was done by false, fraudulent, or forged affidavits. . . ."

"It is safe to say that these Indians, as a whole, did not receive one-tenth of the value of their lands or timber. The land men were aided by numerous educated mixed bloods, who act as interpreters and aid in defrauding these Indians. In scarcely any instance was the Indian paid the amount promised him. In numerous cases they sold their lands when intoxicated, and in many cases the Indian was put under the influence of liquor in order to defraud him out of his land. They were traded old, worthless horses, wagons, buggies, harnesses, and other articles at excessive prices for their lands in lieu of cash. Mortgages were placed on their lands running for periods of ten years and the interest collected in advance from the moneys advanced to them. The persons who secured these mortgages invariably got title to the lands within a short period."[13]

These problems were investigated by government committees; general news and editorial articles appeared in local and metropolitan newspapers. *The Progress*, a newspaper edited by two mixed bloods on the White Earth Reservation, published controversial editorials and critical comments on government policies. "The novelty of a newspaper published upon this reservation may cause many to be wary in their support, and this from a fear that it may be revolutionary in character," the editor wrote in the first number, March 25, 1886. Later, this headline appeared: "Is it an Indian Bureau? About some of the freaks in the employ of the Indian Service whose actions are a disgrace to the nation and a curse to the cause of justice."[14]

Prior to 1934 and the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act, "two goals had guided federal Indian policy: the acquisition of Indian lands and the cultural transformation of Indians into Euro-Americans—in a word, 'assimilation.' Those goals were enshrined in the Dawes Act (1887), which heralded the age of 'allotment.' Washington broke up much of the tribal land base, withdrawing some property from Indian ownership and distributing other, often marginal, lands to individual tribal members. 'Surplus' lands, more often than not the richest, were then sold off to white settlers."[15]

The *Minneapolis Journal*, more concerned with manners and social behavior, reported on July 16, 1906, that "with the minds of the White Earth Indians muddled by liquor, and their eyes dazzled by money, of which they know little, the White Earth mixed-bloods are in a fair way to lose all the Government allotments recently given to them. The land is fast passing into the hands of scheming land-grabbers,

and if the present campaign of sharks is maintained the White Earth Indian Reservation will soon be a thing of the past."

At the turn of the last century tribal newspapers published stories on government intrusions and dubious resolutions to reservation problems; at the same time, metropolitan newspapers supported racialism and notions of savagism and civilization; and reported on tribal members as tragic victims. In the past two decades, on the other hand, those romantic testimonials attributed to bourgeois white liberals, a sentimental bereavement over the assumed loss of "traditional" tribal cultures, now seem to echo a new narcissism, or an ideological variation on a structural theme in public media—the simulation of the past to serve neocolonialists in the present.

American Indian Movement leader Vernon Bellecourt, for example, wrote that his "real name, Wabuninini, translates to Dawn, New Day, or Day Break Man. . . . I am a member of the White Earth Anishinabe nation and of Anishinabe Akeeng, which means 'the people's land.' We are a coalition of allottees and heirs to the White Earth Anishinabe nation organized to stop the further taking of our treaty-guaranteed lands and to recover what has been illegally taken from us. . . ." His editorial article was adapted from testimony given before congressional committees.[16]

Louise Erdrich, in a recent article on the same issue, attempted to explain the legal and political disputes over original federal allotments and the current ownership of land on the White Earth Reservation. Erdrich, a novelist, with her husband, an anthropologist, wrote that the "acrimonious conflict over land ownership" involves several tribal factions, "small farmers against bureaucrats, and politicians against their constituencies. No one disputes that decades ago local Indians were unfairly deprived of hundreds of thousands of acres that were guaranteed to them in perpetuity by solemn treaty; yet no one can agree about what should be done to correct that injustice today."[17] Erdrich reviews the most obvious voices of contention, but she neither explains the various allotments in the past century nor does she elucidate the complications of more than three generations of heirs to disputed reservation land; some allotments were sold by tribal members and are neither solemn nor disputed.

Erdrich concludes that the protagonists in the "dispute see themselves as righteous and heroic, for each is in the position of defending a birthright, a territory paid for by labor and affection and long residence, the immutable inheritance they have hoped to pass on to their children." She construes a romantic resolution, a simulation of the past.

Mock Victims in Federal Court

Nine treaties, and numerous other written agreements with state and federal governments, are material connections to historical identities; however, in the tribal oral tradition these chronicles are dubious interpretations of tribal dreams and experiences. Tribal cultures have been rendered indistinct in the racist binaries of savagism and civilization; various romantics, autistic conservatives, and culture cultists, have homogenized tribal philosophies and transvalued tribal visions into counterculture slogans and environmental politics.

Meanwhile, reservations and new tribal governments endure with assured democracies and favorable decisions on treaties in federal courts. The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, a federation of six reservations in the state (White Earth, Mille Lacs, Leech Lake, Fond du Lac, Nett Lake, Grand Portage), was established under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Fifty years ago, John Broker became the first president of the federation; since then, the responsibilities of an elected representative on the reservation have multiplied with new programs and legal interpretations—from child care, tribal courts, and water rights, to bingo and new measures of tribal sovereignties.

In January 1972, for example, Federal Judge Edward Devitt ruled that members of the Leech Lake Reservation had the right to hunt, fish, and gather wild rice on reservation treaty land without state restrictions. The state had assumed jurisdiction over the reservation in violation of treaties. In 1972 Leech Lake created an independent conservation department and reached an agreement with the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources that allows "a licensing system permitting the Indian Band to charge for extra fee for non-Indian hunting and fishing within the reservation." Governor Wendell Anderson, who negotiated the agreement with tribal representatives, said that while the "accord applies only to the Leech Lake area, we are hopeful that the pattern established here will be adopted for all open reservations in Minnesota." Tribal leaders, however, are more cautious in negotiations than were their grandparents and distant relatives who signed treaties with the federal government.

The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe opposed the proposal for special state licenses that could be used on six reservations. Tribal leaders argued that not all reservation governments in the state are interested in opening their lands and resources to public tourism and recreation.[18]

The White Earth Reservation maintains a conservation program under state law but has never reached an agreement with the state to issue special licenses to hunt and fish on the reservation. Other reservations continue to negotiate with the state, and there is at least

one new federal lawsuit over tribal rights to hunt and fish on land that was ceded in treaties.

Curtis Gagnon, a member of the Grand Portage Reservation, was arrested by a state game warden for hunting moose on treaty land. The hunter and the reservation claim that the state does not have the right to control hunting and fishing in that treaty area. Kent Tupper, the attorney who represented the Leech Lake Reservation in a similar federal lawsuit, said in 1985 that he did not "expect as much community backlash in the Arrowhead region as there was a Leech Lake and White Earth."[19]

In the past century, or three generations, tribal cultures have moved from colonial domination, isolation, and deprivation on reservations, to independent elected governments, assertive remedies in state and federal courts, high-stakes bingo, and educated constituences—and, for the first time in tribal histories there are more tribal people living in urban areas than on reservations, according to the last census.

Bingo Sovereignties and Paved Roads

Al White, head of the Prairie Island Sioux Tribal Council, is the assistant manager of the new Island Bingo. Martha Thomas asked him in an interview, "Does bingo for profit go against the grain of your heritage?" White, who is a sculptor and graduate of the Institute of American Indian Art in Santa Fe, responded with allegoric stories:

"Before our students get on the bus to go to school," he said, "they're really open and really boisterous. But when they get in the classroom, the teachers will say, 'That kid's a slow learner. He's not even looking at me when I talk to him. . . .' Actually, a lot of our children were classed as slow learners. But they were really putting on a face to cope with the classroom."[20]

Island Bingo has earned millions of dollars for this small tribal community near Red Wing, Minnesota; roads have been paved, each child in the community has a trust fund, health and dental care are provided, and members of the tribal community receive a cash dividend once a month. Where other economic development ventures have failed, high-stakes bingo has resolved the unemployment problem in the first few months of operation.

Bingo, however, is a dubious economic resolution on some reservations; this high-stakes game, unlike simple fund raisers in church basements, is much less than a tribal vision or a cardinal virtue whispered on the altar. The enormous cash returns, according to some critics, has attracted organized crime. Behind the wild cash and instant fiscal power in tribal communities, a serious concern has been voiced

by several scholars: should tests of tribal sovereignties be tied to games of chance?

The Little Six Bingo Palace and Lounge, owned by the Shakopee Sioux, "grossed about twelve million, earning three million dollars in profits for the tribe and management company" in 1984, according to an article in the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*. The Shakopee Sioux filed suit in federal court "seeking to oust the company that manages . . .two bingo parlors, charging that money has been wasted by the firm's executives [Pan American Management Company] and that secret payments were made to former tribal chairman Norman Crooks."[21]

Jim Parsons reported that auditors "discovered that Norman Crooks, the controversial chairman of the Shokopee Sioux Reservation, has been paid at least $104,500 in a secret agreement with the company" that runs the twelve million dollar a year tribal bingo operation. "The agreement also calls for Crooks to get another $91,000 over the life of the contract with the company."[22]

There are close to a hundred bingo operations on reservations in the nation; these games generate an estimated three-hundred million a year; there are eleven bingo centers on or near reservations in Minnesota. The Little Six Bingo Palace is involved in a lawsuit over alleged contract violations by an outside management company. The Island Bingo operation, however, is managed by Red Wing Amusements, a corporation of local investors. During the ten year contract to manage the operation, according to the tribal attorney, "we select the accountant who has the right to audit anytime, unannounced."[23] Other reservation governments have negotiated more control over the operation of games and cash accounts.

Federal courts have ruled in favor of certain tribal rights based on treaties; for instance, state regulations over taxation and overdue tax foreclosures, licenses, hunting and fishing, and now bingo, have been issues based on treaties and advanced as tests of tribal sovereignties.

The critical question is whether state and local governments have the right to regulate high-stakes bingo on reservations. Several states have argued in favor of some control over bingo, while tribal governments argue against state regulations; their arguments are based on the sovereign interpretation of treaties. On the one hand, bingo profits have rescued tribal programs and services at a time when federal funds have been reduced; on the other hand, state governments are concerned that high-stakes reservation bingo is an invitation to organized crime and that the tribes will open casinos, horse racing, and other gambling operations.

"The tribes argue that their land should be seen as entirely separate from state territory," said Karen Funk, an analyst for the National Congress of American Indians, "and that states should have no more authority to regulate gambling on Indian land within the borders of the state than they should on gambling that occurs in adjacent states."[24] Notwithstanding the new wealth on reservations, some leaders are troubled that tribal sovereignties will be argued, tested, and lost on a bingo game. The concern over gambling in tribal communities, however, could be resolved with legislation: some public officials favor the creation of a federal gambling commission to control bingo and other games on reservations. Others, more concerned with the threat of organized crime on reservations, have argued that existing federal laws, such as the Organized Crime Control Act passed in 1970, are enough to protect the public from coordinated criminal activities on reservations.

Climbing Learners' Hill

Julia Spears moved to White Earth in 1870, two years after the reservation was created and opened the first school there; forty students attended her first class on the new reservation. The following year the federal government established an industrial boarding school; other buildings were completed, she wrote in a letter, "including the large school-house and boys' building, also industrial hall where the Indian women were taught housework, including cooking, sewing, knitting, carpet-weaving," and other domestic duties in the dominant culture.[25]

Way quah gishig, like many other tribal children, was forced to attend a federal boarding school where he was given the name John Rogers and taught that his traditional tribal language was inferior, his spiritual solace pagan, and his culture irrelevant in the new white world.

Rogers is an unusual person, not because he learned to read and write under colonial duress—thousands of tribal children have survived cultural disunities in federal and mission boarding schools—but because he used his new language to write a sensitive book about his experiences. Rogers was born on the White Earth Reservation at the turn of the last century. He returned from boarding school after six years and learned that his parents had separated; his mother lived alone in a wigwam.

"I was anxious to see my mother and be home again," he wrote in *Red World and White: Memories of a Chippewa Boyhood*. "Mother was seated on the ground working on some fish nets. . . . As she stood up with outstretched arms her eyes sparkled as does the sun on laughing water. . . ."

Rogers, despite his adverse experiences in a racist world, wrote with a sense of peace about the changes he observed on the reservation when he returned. He seemed suspicious at times, dubious of the promises made by white people, but his published remembrance is not ideological, bitter, or consumed with hatred; rather, he made use of his time at boarding school and seems to approach the world with a sense of adventure. His brothers and sisters were also forced to attend boarding school.

"She started talking joyously, but we couldn't understand very well what she said," Rogers wrote about his mother, "for we had forgotten much of the Indian language during our six years away from home. . . . During the days that followed we had a happy time getting acquainted after those long years of separation. . . . I was pleased to feel that I would grow into a strong young brave, and so I tried very hard to please her and to learn once more the Chippewa language.

"Mother promised to teach me the ways of the forest, rivers and lakes—how to set rabbit snares and deadfalls, how to trap for wolves and other wild animals that roamed this land. . . . Soon came the time for the leaves to turn brown and yellow and gold. The forest was beautiful and the wind rustled the dry leaves. We just couldn't resist the temptation to gather those beautiful colored leaves and the empty bird nests.

"At school, if we brought in a nest or a pretty leaf, we were given much credit, and we thought we would also please mother by bringing some to her. But she did not like our doing this. She would scold and correct us and tell us we were destroying something—that the nests were the homes of the birds. . . ." Rogers moved in nature without philosophical hesitation; his thoughts were gentle, and his metaphors were simple and direct. "I had learned to love the primitive life which had for so many, many generations influenced and shaped the existence of my ancestors. . . . Nothing the white man could teach me would take the place of what I was learning from the forest, the lakes and the river.

"I could read more in the swaying of the trees and the way they spread their branches and leaned to the wind than I could read in any books that they had at school. I could learn more from the smiling, rippling waters and from the moss and flowers than from anything the teachers could tell me about such matters."

Rogers remembered the time he climbed to the top of the tower to oil the gears on the windmill: "As I stood there breathing hard from my climb upwards, I noticed how some trees were taller than others. And then I knew for the first time how the forest and fields and lakes looked to the bird that sailed so freely and happily about. . . . Looking

down again on the school grounds, the children appeared like dolls as they walked along the paths or ran about at play.

"As I observed these things, I did not, for a moment, regret my leaving the forest home. . . . Perhaps there were advantages that would make up for what I had left behind!"[26] Indeed, there were some advantages, but the tribal past seemed hard to hold in common when survival in the white world demanded so much attention.

Will Antell, one generation later, shared similar "advantages" in public schools; he was born in a small shack on the White Earth Reservation. Now, with degrees from several universities and experience as a public school teacher, he has become an important administrator in state education. "When I was young I rejected my Indian ancestry," he said in an interview, "because in the school I attended which was predominately white, I found out that it wasn't to my advantage to be an Indian. . . ."

"In a sense they assimilated me at a cost; I lost something in the heart, and it wasn't until I had a family that I fully realized what had happened. . . . When I was young it was not a good thing to be an Indian; a student would feel much better about being Indian if he could see more Indians around. . . ."[27]

Lewis Meriam, in his 1928 report, argued that tribal families were strained when the government "sacrificed real and vital adult education to the formal education of children in institutions . . . Indians have little to show to repay them for the sorrows of broken homes.

"The loss of children tends still further to disrupt the family through the loosening of marital ties. Normally husband and wife have a strong bond in their common responsibility for children." John Rogers learned that his parents were separated when he returned home. While boarding school was an adventure for some tribal children, it was not the best education. Meriam reported that "the teaching taken as a whole is not up to the standards set by reasonably progressive white communities." He wrote that "several of the industries taught may be called vanishing trades. . . ."[28] John Howard, superintendent of the White Earth Indian Agency, testified in 1911 that the principal of the reservation school earned $720 a year; the assistant matron, a tribal woman, $45 a month; the assistant teacher about $40 a month; and the seamstress, the cook, and the laundress, about $35 a month. Howard reported that the farmer at Pine Point, an "expert farmer" and instructor on the reservation, was paid $1,200 a year; he earned $480 more than the principal.[29]

Maggie Hanks remembered the ride on the old hog cart down the hill from the mission boarding school; as a child she first attended the federal school and when the building burned she moved to the

White Earth Catholic school where she made her first communion at the turn of the last century.

Sister Carol Berg interviewed Maggie Hanks on the reservation and writes in her dissertation, "Climbing Learners' Hill: Benedictines at White Earth 1878–1945," that "she also remembers learning to knit and crochet, nothing that she and her classmates did well enough to be able to have their work exhibited at fairs."

Alice Clark, who was a student at the mission school, also remembered the hog cart ride down the hill. Seventy years later she could repeat the processional lyrics which the students chanted as they moved in columns to and from the school:

> We are climbing learners' hill, march along, march along; we are climbing learners' hill, march along, march along. We are climbing learners' hill, we're climbing with a will: we are climbing learners' hill, march along, march along.

Rose Shingobe Barstow, a former language teacher in the Department of American Studies at the University of Minnesota, told Sister Carol Berg that she remembered the boarding school with some sadness but not with bitterness. "Asked to describe what the mission school did for her in the long run, Rose says the school aimed at giving a general education. The sisters taught basic skills. . . . Rose recalls that the curriculum focused on reading, writing, arithmetic with a heavy concentration also on catechism and bible history. . . . Her amusement still evident, Rose told of a small deception played with the collaboration" of two sisters. "Rose's father regularly sent fifteen dollars a quarter for piano lessons but Rose did not care to take them. She let another girl take the lessons in her place. A skill Rose did care for and excelled at was that of crocheting. For three and a half years she worked at crocheting an altar lace, seventeen feet long, which was later used for the first time at a solemn High Mass. Since she was supposed to 'preserve' her hands, Rose was not allowed to do the usual chores other students did at the time. . . ."[30]

Father Aloysius and The Mixed Blood Choir

Father Aloysius Hermanutz, one of the first missionaries at White Earth, delivered monotheistic assimilation to the tribal people on the reservation. He was born in Germany and ordained two years before he arrived in the woodland, at age twenty-three, to begin his dedicated conversion of tribal dreams and oral traditions.

Father Aloysius, who had been a priest on the reservation for thirty-three years, testified on February 9, 1912, at the hearing on the

"Investigation of the White Earth Reservation." He was questioned by James Graham, chairman of the committee, and later, by Gustav Beaulieu, a mixed blood who published the reservation newspaper.

"Are your parishioners mostly of Indian blood. . . .?"

"They are mixed blood."

"Have you any white people in your congregation?"

"In my parish at the present time there are six white families who are located somewhere in the mission. . . ."

"What is your income, or do you mind telling?"

"Well," said Father Aloysius, "I don't mind, but I can say my regular income comes from what we call the mixed bloods, they supply me. . . ." He testified that there were seven Sisters of Saint Benedict at the mission school and about a hundred students, four were boys. The school maintained a farm—about ninety acres in cultivation—with poultry and livestock.

"Have you a choir connected with your church?"

"Yes."

"All Indians?"

"All my school children. . . ."

"Are they efficient as singers?"

"They are excellent singers."

"They enter into the spirit of it, do they?"

"They have talent, musical talent, especially the mixed bloods," responded the mission priest. . . .

"Lessons on the piano?"

"Yes."

"Do they learn quickly?"

"They learn quickly."

"Become capable performers, do they?"

"Yes, sir."

"The full-bloods as well, the full-blood children?"

"Well, they are a little slower on account of the fingering, and so on," he answered, "but the mixed bloods are especially talented in regard to music. They are often passionately fond of music. . . ."

"Do you still speak in Chippewa?"

"I preach every Sunday, Chippewa and English in the parish."

"For those who understand both languages, which one do they prefer that you preach in?" asked the chairman of the committee.

"Well," the priest answered, "the older Indians, of course, and the older mixed bloods, they prefer Chippewa. . . ."

"You think, then, it is a good thing for Indians and whites to come together, that is, mix up and live together?" asked Gustav Beaulieu.

"Yes, sir."

"It is, in fact, the only way to teach the Indians to become civilized and self-sustaining?" asked Beaulieu.

"That is one reason, and the other reason is more or less like it—on account of intermarriages between them, especially the mixed bloods. That would improve that situation."

"There are nearly all mixed bloods upon the White Earth Reservation—largely in the majority?" asked Beaulieu.

"They are in the majority now."[31]

Sister Carol Berg pointed out that tribal languages were not taught in the mission school on the reservation. Several missionaries, however, learned a few words and phrases, enough to communicate their compassion over rites of passage with the school children and their families. "During their many years at White Earth," Sister Carol Berg concluded, the pioneer "Benedictine missionaries grew to know and respect some aspects of Ojibway [Chippewa or Anishinaabe] culture, but their own goals, like those of most of their fellow Americans working with Indian people, were directed strongly toward change. Perhaps if they had been introduced to Indian traditional religion and culture, and if they had considered the idea of missionary adaptation to Indian culture as well as the ideals and aims of Indian mission work, the process of change might have been different for both the Ojibway and the missionaries."

Father Aloysius noted later, "We made no wholesale conversions among the Indians, such as we read of being made in Asia and elsewhere. Soul after soul had to be gained by hard fight, patience and prayer, and many of these were converted from their heathen views and practices only after years of hard work. . . . The largest number baptized by me on one day was seventy, and this after a preparation of one week with the help of four catechists."[32]

Finding the Word for Religion:

"American Indians lack a word to denote what we call religion," wrote Åke Hultkrantz in *The Religions of the American Indians*. "Of course, nothing else is to be expected in environments where religious attitudes and values permeate cultural life in its entirety and are not isolated from other cultural manifestations."[33]

Tribal cultures denote in their languages the distinctions between what is traditional or sacred and what is secular or profane. Stories, told in an oral tradition, are both sacred and secular; however, the stories that have been recorded, translated, and published as scripture, are impositions in tribal religious experiences. The formal descriptions of tribal events by outsiders, such as missionaries, explorers, and anthropologists, reveal more about the values of the postcolonial observers than the imagination of tribal people.

Paul Beaulieu, the government interpreter and one of the first farmers on the White Earth Reservation, told about his experiences with a *jessakkid*, a shaman or healer, who had performed at Leech Lake. Beaulieu, a Catholic mixed blood, had little faith in the elusive powers of tribal shamans.

Walter James Hoffman, in "The Mide Wiwin; or 'Grand Medicine Society' of the Ojibwa,"[34] wrote that reports of the "wonderful performances" of a local shaman "had reached the agency, and as Beaulieu had no faith in jugglers, he offered to wager $100, a large sum, then and there, against goods of equal value, that the juggler could not perform satisfactorily one of the tricks of his repertoire. . . ." The shaman erected a lodge for the occasion. "The framework of vertical poles, inclined to the center, was filled in with interlaced twigs covered with blankets and birchbark from the ground to the top, leaving an upper orifice of about a foot in diameter for the ingress and egress of spirits and the objects to be mentioned, but not large enough for the passage of a man's body. At one side of the lower wrapping a flap was left for the entrance of the *jessakkid*.

"A committee of twelve was selected to see that no communication was possible between the *jessakkid* and confederates. These were reliable people, one of them the Episcopal clergyman of the reservation. The spectators were several hundred in number, but they stood off, not being allowed to approach.

"The *jessakkid* then removed his clothing, until nothing remained but the breechcloth. Beaulieu took a rope," which he selected for the purpose, Hoffman wrote, "and first tied and knotted one end about the juggler's ankles; his knees were then securely tied together, next the wrists, after which the arms were passed over the knees and a billet of wood passed through under the knees, thus securing and keeping the arms down motionless. The rope was then passed around his neck, again and again, each time tied and knotted, so as to bring the face down upon the knees." A flat black stone from a river, the sacred spirit stone of the shaman, "was left lying upon his thighs."

"The *jessakkid* was then carried to the lodge and placed inside upon a mat on the ground, and the flap covering was restored so as to completely hide him from view.

"Immediately loud, thumping noises were heard, and the framework began to sway from side to side with great violence; whereupon the clergyman remarked that this was the work of the Evil One and 'it was no place for him,' so he left and did not see the end. After a few minutes of violent movements and swayings of the lodge accompanied by loud inarticulate noises, the motions gradually ceased when the voice of the juggler was heard, telling Beaulieu to go to the house of a friend, near by, and get the rope.

"Now, Beaulieu, suspecting some joke was to be played upon him, directed the committee to be very careful not to permit any one to approach while he went for the rope, which he found at the place indicated, still tied exactly as he had placed it about the neck and extremities of the *jessakkid*. He immediately returned, laid in down before the spectators, and requested of the *jessakkid* to be allowed to look at him, which was granted, but with the understanding that Beaulieu was not to touch him.

"When the covering was pulled aside, the *jessakkid* sat within the lodge, contentedly smoking his pipe, with no other object in sight than the black stone *manidoo*," or manitou, a spiritual stone. Beaulieu paid his wager of one hundred dollars.

Shamanism and tribal spiritual events were often explained in economic terms, the dominant metaphors of the dominant culture. Others have interpreted tribal religious events from secure carrels in libraries. Christopher Vecsey, for example, wrote in his dissertation, "Traditional Ojibwa Religion and its Historical Changes," that the "Ojibwas have lost their trust in their aboriginal" *manidoog*, or manitou, the spirits, "and in themselves. . . . They have changed many of their religious rituals and today hold very few shaking tent ceremonies . . . their traditional religion no longer exists. . . . They stand between their collapsed traditional religion and Christianity, embracing neither." Vecsey seems to perceive tribal cultures in a museum diorama; his monologue is with social science and not a discourse with tribal religious imagination.[35]

William Warren, the mixed blood historian, was more serious in his observations of religious tribal events. He wrote, in *History of the Ojibway Nation*, that certain rites had been held from the whites. Some tribal healers believe that death would come to those who revealed sacred rituals. "Missionaries, travellers, and transient sojourners amongst the Ojibways, who have witnessed the performances of the grand Me-da-we ceremonies," he wrote with reference to the Midewiwin, "have represented and published that it is composed of foolish and unmeaning ceremonies. The writer begs leave to say that these superficial observers labor under a great mistake. The Indian has equal right . . . to say, on viewing the rites of the Catholic and other churches, that they consist of unmeaning and nonsensical ceremonies. There is much yet to be learned from the wild and apparently simple son of the forest, and the most which remains to be learned is to be derived from their religious beliefs."[36]

Harold Hickerson, on the other hand, wrote that "Chippewa culture is a shambles, so much have the people everywhere had to accommodate to the new conditions imposed by their relations" with the white

world. Nowhere, he asserted, does the tribe depend upon goods of their own fashioning; much of the traditional material culture has been lost or "replaced and enriched by the introduction of mass-produced commodities from outside."[37]

Wild Conversion in a Thunderstorm

George Copway, in *The Life, History, and Travels of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh*, revealed that his conversion took place when he was twelve years old. One of the first published tribal authors, he wrote that his mother had been bedridden with consumption for several months, and then, "just before her death she prayed with her children, and advised us to be good Christians, to love Jesus, and meet her in heaven. She then sang her favorite hymn: *Jesus ish pe ming kah e zhod, Jesus, my all, to heaven is gone.*

"This was the first hymn she heard or learned; and it is on this account that I introduce and sing this sweet hymn whenever I lecture on the origin, history, traditions, migration, and customs, of the Ojebwa nation. . . ."

Copway remembered that sublime moment of his own conversion which took place at a religious camp where he had gone with his father. There was a thunderstorm, he mentioned lightning and rain, and wrote, "My father held me by the hand. . . . We had to walk thirty miles . . . in order to reach the place of destination. Multitudes of Indians, and a large concourse of whites from various places, were on the ground when we arrived. In the evening, one of the white preachers spoke . . . of the plain and good road to heaven; of the characters that were walking in it; he then spoke of the bad place. . . ."

"I now began to feel as if I should die; *I felt very sick in my heart* . . . I was deeply distressed, and knew not the cause," he wrote. Then he knelt at the roots of a tree while his father prayed for him. The storm ended, and the frightened child recollected that he felt like a "*wounded bird*, fluttering for its life. . . ."

"The small brilliant light came near to me, and fell upon my head, and then ran all over and through me, just as if water had been copiously poured out upon me . . . my head was in a puddle of water, in a small ditch. . . .

"I clapped my hands, and exclaimed in English, *Glory to Jesus*." Copway wrote about the instant of his conversion, when "I looked around for my father, and saw him. I told him that I had found Jesus. He embraced me and kissed me. . . . I felt as strong as a lion, yet as humble as a poor Indian boy saved by grace, by grace alone. . . ."[38]

Following his conversion in the woods, he studied with his father, attended numerous evangelical meetings, and in time he traveled to

the east for more instruction and direction. Copway studied with white religious leaders, and returned to the woodland, to the tribal communities he knew as a child, with a new mission. He became a religious reformer with the single ambition to convert the tribes. He became a stranger in his own land.

"During my residence of six years among the pale faces," Copway wrote, "I have acquired a knowledge of men and things, much, very much more I have yet to learn, and it is my desire that my brethren in the far west may share with me my crust of information. . . . Education and Christianity are to the Indian what wings are to the eagle; they elevate him; and these given to him by men of right views of existence enable him to rise above the soil of degradation, and hover about the high mounts of wisdom and truth. . . ."[39]

Peyote and Urban Evangelism

Mitchell Whiterabbit, the late minister in the United Church of Christ, and Iver Grover, leader in the American Evangelical Church, were inspired to serve the religious and social needs of tribal people in urban areas—the need for solace in the cities. These, and other ministries, became more critical as urban tribal populations increased.

The United States census in 1980 reported 35,016 Indians in Minnesota, according to the League of Women Voters in their publication *Indians in Minnesota*. "Minneapolis had the third highest percentage of Indian population" of all major cities in the United States. "Within Minneapolis, the Phillips neighborhood has by the largest concentration of Indian population. It is sometimes called 'the largest reservation in the state.' In an area one and one-half miles square, 3,026 Indians were living in 1980." Minnesota had 2.6 percent of total national population of Indians, the twelfth largest in the country. "The Indian communities are certain that the 1980 census did not count all Indians in the state. . . . The director of the Indian Affairs Council estimated the state's Indian population at 45,000 in 1982."[40]

Mitchell Whiterabbit directed the Council of American Indian Ministry; he was one of the founders of the Native American Theological Association, an ecumenical coalition that encouraged tribal people to attend seminaries. Whiterabbit was a pastor at the Winnebago Indian Mission in Wisconsin, and during the Second World War he was the first Native American Indian chaplain in the Navy.[41]

Iver Grover, in a testimonial, told how he "took part in all the religious ceremonies of my Indian people—the feast offerings of wild rice and berries. . . . I had a sack full of idolatrous objects which I reverenced—skins of animals and birds and carved wooden images.

For all those years I followed this form of false worship faithfully. . . . Since my conversion, God has called me to witness Him and to win souls for Christ among my own people—the Indian American. I preach in Chippewa and English."[42]

The Native American Church of North America is the most controversial and misunderstood of modern tribal religions; the members chew peyote, which contains the hallucinogen mescaline, to commune with their creator. The tribal use of peyote in religious practices has been protected in federal courts. In 1974 the United States Supreme Court declined to review a lower appeals court decision that the tribal ceremonies were permissable. That, however, has not settled the issue of peyote and religious freedom.

Judge Edwin Mechem, in a recent federal court decision, ruled that employers cannot refuse to hire people who use peyote as part of their religious practices. Wilbur Toledo, a member of the Native American Church, was not hired as a truck driver because he used a religious hallucinogen. "Church peyote users believe that peyote is a sacred and powerful plant," wrote Mechem. "Peyote is seen as a medicine, a protector and a teacher."

Emerson Jackson, chairman of the Native American Church, explained that peyote must be used in ceremonies. "It's like going to church, you have a Bible, you pray to God, to Jesus, but you cannot have the ceremony without that Bible. It's like the peyote," he told a newspaper reporter.[43]

Certain traditional tribal spiritual practices, such as herbal and symbolic healing, are culture specific, limited to one cultural experience. The sacramental use of peyote, and other religious events, have been successful in the treatment of alcohol problems; the Native American Church, pantribal evangelical movements, herbal spiritualism, radical and other authoritarian ideologies, have been operative methods of rehabilitation.

Relocation and the Vanishing Trades.

Lewis Meriam, in *The Problem of Indian Administration*, reported there were many mixed bloods in Minneapolis, Saint Paul, Duluth, and Superior. In fact, one gets the impression, "that most of the persons claiming to be Indians have but a slight degree of Indian blood. From 'lists of Indians' furnished by the several reservations, many were reached whose personal appearance indicated French or Scandinavian blood rather than Indian." Meriam estimated, in the twenties, there were about six hundred tribal people in Minneapolis and Saint Paul.

"Inquiry into the reasons for migration from the reservation was almost invariably met with the answer, in one form or another, from

every migrated Indian man questioned: 'No way to make a living on the reservation.' The alternative was starvation or pauperism," wrote Meriam.[44]

Tribal populations in these same urban areas have increased about forty times in the past generation; there are now more tribal people in cities than on reservations. Education, and the search for employment, motivated tribal people to move to urban areas; the reasons are similar to those given in the past but the historical circumstances were not the same—the depression and then the war. Tribal women were needed in munitions factories; at the end of the war, their men returned with aspirations a reservation could not sustain. Later, thousands of tribal people were relocated in cities to attend various trade schools—these new assimilation programs, which provided initial subsistence stipends, trained most relocatees in the "vanishing trades," such as refrigeration repair.

"In what the Interior Department described at the time as 'the greatest exodus of Indians from reservations that has ever taken place,' some 25,000 Indians joined the armed forces and saw action in Europe and the Pacific. Some 40,000 quit the economic desert of the reservations for jobs in war industries. For many Indians, experiences in the factory or on the battlefront constituted their first real exposure to the larger American society."[45]

Paulette Fairbanks Molin, who was born on the White Earth Reservation, wrote that the 1950s "brought yet another attempt to abolish reservations. This time the idea was called "termination." The government wanted to end its legal ties with reservations and 'get out of the Indian business.' One way to do that, lawmakers decided, was to move Indians into cities, where the government would no longer be responsible for them." In 1952 the Bureau of Indian Affairs created a program called Indian Relocation Services.

"Although the war and relocation account for most of the Indian movement to urban areas, many Indian people moved for reasons of their own. Some hoped to find better living conditions. Others left reservations to attend school or join family members in the city. Indian children who were placed in non-Indian foster or adoptive homes grew up off the reservation. Other children were born and raised in cities by parents who had migrated" earlier.[46]

Meanwhile, as urban populations increased, new leaders, some of them radical, expanded their demands for tribal services in cities; new organizations were established outside the direct control of reservation politics.

"The Pueblos, Navajos, and Apaches are among those who have retained a large measure of their tribal life, customs, and language,

while the Chippewas, Klamaths, Omahas, Yakimas, Winnebagoes, and many of the Indians of Oklahoma, are among those who have discarded most of their primitive habits in favor of the typical manner of life of the surrounding white community," reported Meriam. Tribal people in the cities maintained "friendly relations with their white neighbors, but naturally their closer friendships are made with their former classmates in the Indian schools."[47]

Notes

The concept of "hyperreality" is borrowed from *Travels in Hyperreality* by Umberto Eco. He writes that Americans live in a "more to come" consumer culture. "This is the reason for this journey into hyperreality, in search of instances where the American imagination demands the real thing and, to attain it, must fabricate the absolute fake; where the boundaries between game and illusion are blurred. . . ." Tribal people, in this sense, have been invented as "absolute fakes" in social science models, cinema and popular media—consider "powwow" dancers at a shopping mall on the Fourth of July.

"In the humanization of animals," Eco writes, "is concealed one of the most clever resources of the Absolute Fake industry, and for this reason the Marinelands must be compared with the wax museums. . . . In the latter all is sign but aspires to seem reality." On the other hand, "In the Marinelands all is reality but aspires to appear sign." Tribal cultures are signs that aspire in social science dioramas to be hyperrealities; at the same time, and like the "humanization of animals," the real tribal cultures were colonized and "civilized" into signs. For instance, the organization "Indian Guides" has transvalued tribal cultures as signs—there is "more to come" in new racial hyperrealities.

Chippewa, Ojibwa, Anishinaabe, and orthographic variations on these words, are names for the same woodland tribal culture. *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* defines Ojibwa as a "tribe of Algonquian speaking North American Indians inhabiting regions of the United States and Canada around Lake Superior. . . . Also called 'Chippewa,' and 'Chippeway.' "

John Nichols, a linguist and editor with Earl Nyholm of *Ojibwewi-Ikidowinan: An Ojibwe Word Resource Book*, writes that the "Ojibwe language is one language of a wide-spread family of North American Indian languages known as the Algonquian language family, one of many such families of languages. Ojibwe is spoken by perhaps forty-thousand to fifty-thousand people in the north-central part of the continent. Although the English name 'Chippewa' is commonly used both for the people and their ancestral language in Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, and Wisconsin, in the language itself the people are the *Anishinaabeg* and the language is called *Anishinaabemowin* or *Ojibwemowin*. . . ."

1. Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1984), 149.

2. Rydell, 162. McGee gained scientific credence from the contributions and advice of distinguished anthropologists such as Franz Boas, Frederick Starr, and Aleš Hrdlička. Starr, a professor at the University of Chicago, lectured and arranged field research on tribal cultures at the exposition. Other anthropologists, including Clark Wissler, respected the racial theories demonstrated at the cultural exhibitions. These racist notions of "cephalization" are based on theories of an "upward movement" and a "gradual increase in the cranial capacity of different races." Moreover, McGee believed that "cheirization" or the "increase of manual dexterity along racial lines . . . is a matter of common observation that the white man can *do* more and better than the yellow, the yellow man more and better than the red or black." Rydell points out in a note, "As a consequence

of cheirization and cephalization, the 'advance of culture' proceeded along lines of racial achievement. . . ."

3. Lewis Meriam, Institute for Government Research, *The Problem of Indian Administration* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1928), 333.

4. *Investigation of the White Earth Reservation*, Committee on Expenditures in the Interior Department, House of Representatives, (62d Congress, 3d Session, Report 1336, Volume 1, 1913), 72–86.

5. Meriam, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 471.

6. *Investigation of the White Earth Reservation*, 93–99.

7. *Minnesota Chippewa Tribal Government* (Cass Lake, Minnesota: The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, 1978), 58.

8. *Minnesota Chippewa Tribal Government*, 79–80.

9. Meriam, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 471.

10. *Investigation of the White Earth Reservation*, 139.

11. Meriam, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 12.

12. *Investigation of the White Earth Reservation*, XVIII, 14.

13. *Investigation of the White Earth Reservation*, 731–732.

14. Gerald Vizenor, "Tribal Newspapers," *Minneapolis Tribune*, August 25, 1974. Reprinted in *Tribal Scenes and Ceremonies* (Minneapolis: Nodin Press, 1976), 159–162.

15. Stephen Cornell, "The New Indian Politics," *Wilson Quarterly*, New Year's 1986, 114–115.

16. Bellecourt, Vernon, "An angry response at White Earth: 'Our land is not for sale,' " *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, October 6, 1985.

17. Louise Erdrich and Michael Dorris, "Who Owns the Land?" *The New York Times Magazine*, September 4, 1988.

18. Gerald Vizenor, "Hunting and Fishing Agreement," *The Walker Pilot* [Walker, Minnesota], June 22, 1972; and "Treaties and Tribal Rights," *Minneapolis Tribune*, June 15, 1974. Reprinted in *Tribal Scenes and Ceremonies* (Minneapolis: Nodin Press, 1976), 99–104.

19. Jim Parsons, "U.S. suit could alter Indian rights to hunt in northeast Minnesota," *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, October 21, 1985, 4A.

20. Martha Thomas, "Sioux Chief Al White on Prairie Island's bingo jackpot," *City Pages* [Minneapolis, Minnesota], November 13, 1985, 5.

21. Dave Anderson, "Tribe sues to oust bingo hall company," *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, February 10, 1985, 1B.

22. Jim Parsons, "Bingo pact paid N. Crooks thousands," *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, January 8, 1985, 1A.

23. Martha Thomas, "High Stakes Bingo: The Sioux Community at Prairie Island Is Playing for Keeps," *Minnesota Monthly*, December 1985, 41–44, 106.

24. *New York Times*, "New Issues in Congress: Gambling and Indians," July 1, 1986.

25. Alvin Wilcox, *A Pioneer History of Becker County* (Saint Paul: Pioneer Press Company, 1907). Reprinted in *Escorts to White Earth, 1868 to 1968, 100 Year Reservation* (Minneapolis: The Four Winds, 1968), edited by Gerald Vizenor.

26. John Rogers, *Red World and White: Memories of a Chippewa Boyhood* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1957). First published as *A Chippewa Speaks*.

27. Gerald Vizenor, *The Everlasting Sky: New Voices from the People Named the Chippewa* (New York: Crowell-Collier Press, 1972), 34–38.

28. Meriam, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 13, 14.

29. *Investigation of the White Earth Reservation*, 1221.

30. Sister Carol Berg, "Climbing Learners' Hill: Benedictines at White Earth, 1878–1945," unpublished dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1981.

31. *Investigation of the White Earth Reservation*, 1241–1261.

32. Sister Carol Berg, "Agents of Cultural Change: The Benedictines at White Earth," *Minnesota History*, Winter 1982, 158.

33. Åke Hultkrantz, *The Religions of the American Indians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

34. Walter James Hoffman, "The Mide wiwin; or 'Grand Medicine Society' of the Ojibwa," *United States Bureau of American Ethnology* (Seventh Annual Report 1885–86), Government Printing Office.

35. Christopher Vecsey, "Traditional Ojibwa Religion and its Historical Changes," unpublished dissertation, Northwestern University, 1977.

36. William Whipple Warren, *History of the Ojibway Nation* (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, 1957). First published by the Minnesota Historical Society, 1885.

37. Harold Hickerson, *The Chippewa and Their Neighbors: A Study in Ethnohistory* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970).

38. George Copway [Kahgegagahbowh], *The Life, History, and Travels of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh* (Philadelphia: James Harmstead, 1847).

39. George Copway [Kahgegagahbowh], *The Traditional History and Characteristics of the Ojibway Nation* (London: Charles Gilpen, 1850).

40. Elizabeth Ebbott, *Indians in Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 40–44.

41. Roman Augustoviz, "Mitchell Whiterabbit, 70, United Church of Christ minister, dies," *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, April 21, 1968, 12A.

42. Gerald Vizenor, *The Everlasting Sky*, 20.

43. Sue Major Holmes, "Indians' Peyote Use Continuing Source of Misunderstandings," *Albuquerque Journal*, April 20, 1986, C7.

44. Meriam, *The Problems of Indian Administration*, 727–728, 736.

45. Stephen Cornell, *Wilson Quarterly*, 118–119.

46. Paulette Fairbanks Molin, "Places Where I've Lived," *Roots: On the Reservation*, Minnesota Historical Society, Spring 1986, 22–23.

47. Meriam, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 705, 763.

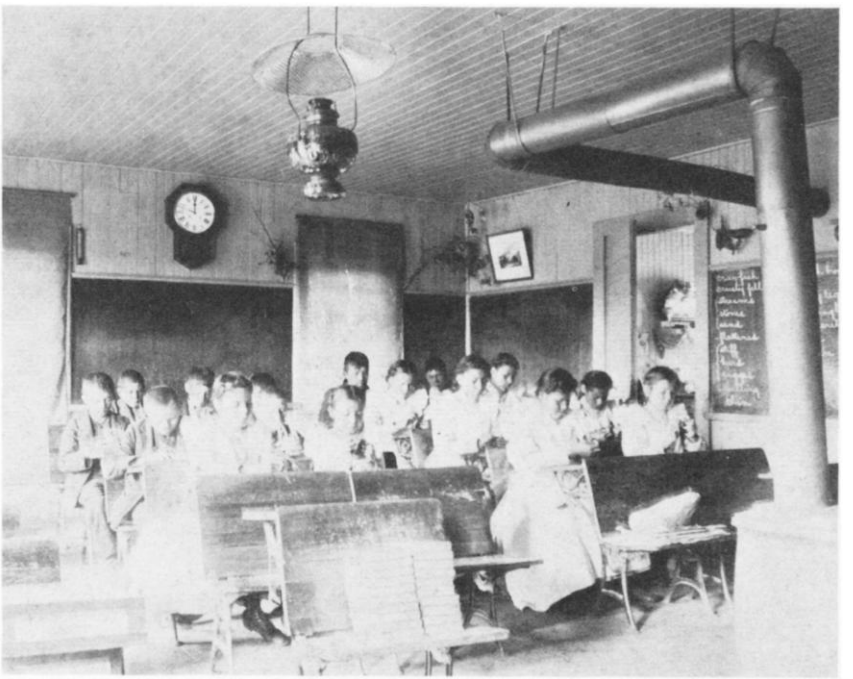
35. Ekkehart Malotki and Michael Lomatuway'ma, *Hopi Coyote Tales: Istutuwutsi* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1984), 43–55, 22–31.

36. Roland B. Dixon. "Maidu Myths" Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History XVII, part 2 (Washington, 1902).

37. Stories in which Trickster marries his daughter are relatively common. See Dorsey and Kroeber (82) and Hill (335) for bibliographical information on a few versions.

38. Dorsey, *Ibid.*, 428.

39. Paula Gunn Allen, "The Sacred Hoop: A Contemporary Perspective" in Paula Gunn Allen, ed. *Studies in American Indian Literature* (New York: Modern Language Association, 1983), 10.



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