THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE TURTLE MOUNTAIN BAND OF CHIPPEWA

North Dakota Department of Public Instruction
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Front cover photo

Chippewa, men's leggings
beads on black velvet

circa 1900

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This document is intended to serve as a resource about the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa from their origin to contemporary society. This guide, written in cooperation with the Turtle Mountain Community College and the ND State Department of Public Instruction, presents a generalized overview about the history and culture of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa for teachers and the young children of North Dakota. This is done with the hope that future generations of children will develop a better understanding of the Chippewa people and their role in the history of North Dakota.

Many people have assisted in gathering, researching, processing and editing of the information used in the development of this document.

CURRICULUM WRITERS

Patricia F. Poitra (deceased) and Karen L. Poitra

This guide is dedicated to the memory of Patricia F. Poitra and Irene Thomas Fox-Davis who believed so strongly in this project.

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TRIBAL HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

THE PEOPLE'S NAME

The Chippewa proudly referred to themselves as Anishinabe meaning "THE ORIGINAL PEOPLE." The Turtle Mt. Band of Chippewa are primarily members of the Pembina Band of Chippewa. Descendence may include intermarriage with other Chippewa bands, Cree, and other nations who make up the membership of the Turtle Mountain Band.

The name Chippewa, a mispronunciation of Ojibwa, Ojibway, Ojibwe, Saulteaux, and Anishinabe are all names that refer to the same group of people. The word "Ojibwa" refers to "something puckered up." One theory is that it comes from the way in which the people made their moccasins. For the purpose of this document, the term "Ojibway" is used in this guide when referring to the tribes early history. The term "Chippewa" is used, after European contact.

The Ojibway are members of the Algonquin language group which are located from Newfoundland to the Rocky Mountains, and from Hudson Bay to North Carolina. Other tribes in this language group are the Cree, Ottawa, Sauk, Fox, Menominee, Potawatomi, Miami, Shawnee, Delaware, Cheyenne, Blackfeet, and the Arapaho. This classification by language has been established by scholars, but this does not mean that the tribes were closely related or that they were allies.

INTRODUCTION TO CREATION STORY

The Ojibway of this continent have their own creation story. The following creation story has been recorded on birch bark scrolls and passed down orally through generations. The Ojibway believe they have always lived in North America. It was during the winter season that elders recounted tribal stories and events. The Ojibway describe their beginning in the following creation story.

OJIBWAY CREATION STORY

When Ah-ki' (the Earth) was young, it was said that the Earth had a family. Nee-ba-gee'sis (the moon) is called Grandmother, and Gee'-sis (the Sun) is called Grandfather. The Creator of this family is Kitchie Man-i-to' (Great Mystery or Creator). The Earth is said to be a woman. In this way it is understood that a woman preceded man on Earth.

Long ago, Kitchi Manitou had a dream. He saw the sky filled with the sun, earth, moon and stars. He saw the earth covered with mountains and valleys, lakes and islands, prairies and forests. He saw trees, flowers, grass and fruit. He saw all manner of beings walking, flying, crawling and swimming. He saw birth, growth, and death. And he saw some things that lived forever. Kitchi Manitou heard songs and stories, he touched wind and rain, and he experienced every emotion.

After his dream, Kitchi Manitou made rock, water, fire and wind. Into each he breathed life and to each he gave a different essence and nature. From these four elements Kitchi Manitou created the stars, sun, moon and earth. Kitchi Manitou gave special powers to all of his creations. To the sun he gave the power of light and heat. To the earth he gave growth and healing. To the water he gave the power to purify and renew. And to the wind, he gave the voice of music and the breath of life.

On the new earth, Kitchi Manitou made mountains, valleys, plains, lakes, islands and rivers. Everything had its place on the new earth. Next, Kitchi Manitou sent his singers in the form of birds to the

Earth to carry the seeds of life to all of the Four Directions. [He organized the world by the Four Directions: Wauban (east), Shawan (south), Ningabian (west) and Keewatin (north). Two other sacred directions were the Sky above and the Earth Below (Tanner 1992). In this way life was spread across the earth. The Creator made the plants. There were four kinds: flowers, grass, trees, and vegetables. To each plant he gave the spirit of life, growth, healing and beauty. And he placed each one where it would be most beneficial. Kitchi Manitou then created the animals and gave each of them special powers. All of these parts of life lived in harmony with each other...

...Kitchi Manitou then took four parts of Mother Earth and blew into them using a Sacred Shell from the union of the Four Sacred Elements and his breath, man was created.

It is said that Kitchi Manitou then lowered man to the Earth. Thus, man was the last form of life to be placed on the Earth. From this Original Man came the A-nish-i-na'-be people. In the Ojibway language if you break down the word Anishinabe, this is what it means:

ANI	*NISHINA*	*ABE*
from whence	*lowered*	*the male of the species*

Kitchi Manitou created us in his image. We are natural people. We are a part of the Mother Earth. We live in brotherhood with all that is around us. Although last and weakest of his creations, we were given the greatest gift of all the power to dream. Thus, Kitchi Manitou has brought his dream to life. (Benton-Benai 1979).

Man, as the last of Kitchi Manitou's creation, regarded plants, animals, and all of creation as elders because those life forms were created first.

THE GREAT FLOOD

Stories were always a way of teaching. The following legend refers to the Ojibway's oral legend of the great flood.

Sky Woman looked down upon the waters that covered the earth after the great melting of the ice. She saw a Giant Turtle (who was called Mekinok) in the water and came down to stand upon his strong back. Then, she summoned Muskrat whom we all know as a strong, determined swimmer. Sky Woman told Muskrat to dive down into the water as far as he could — to find a part of the earth. Three times he dived, but came up empty. The fourth time, Muskrat was gone a very long time. Sky Woman grew weary, but she waited patiently and prayed. Finally, she saw a gleam of bubbles far down in the depths. Soon, Muskrat broke the surface of the water gasping for breath, but he had a piece of mud in his paws. Sky Woman thanked Muskrat and told him that he would always have a home on the land and in the water as well. She then took the wet dirt into the palm of her hand, dried it and blew gently, to the north, to the east, the south and the west. Wherever the dust from the dirt went, land came up around the Giant Turtle. Soon the land completely encircled Mekinok. And Mekinok became Turtle Island, the center of the world and the birthplace of the Anishinabaug, the original people. As the land grew, even Mekinok became covered with top soil and the Anishinabug called him Mekinok Wajiw (the mound of earth that is a turtle). Today, it is called Turtle Mountain. (Turtle Mountain Community College Self-Study, 1993).

THE BIRTH OF NANABOZOHO

Many tribes have stories which include a "spirit or trickster" character. This character's role was to explain and teach lessons of value. Nanabozho is a spirit character of Ojibway legends.

> *An elderly woman lived with her daughter in a small home in the woodland country. The old woman warned her daughter not to sit facing the West. One day when the sun was warm and shining bright, her daughter forgot her mother's warning and went outside and sat facing West. Suddenly she felt the cool west breeze chill her body. She ran to tell her mother what had happened. "You should have listened to me," said her mother. Soon, the daughter became ill. Before she died, she dripped blood onto a piece of bark that was in the room. The old lady put her daughter to rest and placed the bark aside. One day she looked at the bark and found that the drop of blood on the bark had begun to grow. She watched it grow until it grew into a baby. "What is happening?" she asked. "O Nokomis! Do you know me?" asked the baby. "I am your grandson, Nanabosho." (Johnston, 1979).*

MIGRATION

The Ojibway moved from the great salt lake in the east to their westward locations in the center of America. William Warren (1885) told about the migration by sharing a story that was told during a ceremony he attended. According to Warren, the spiritual leader held a Me-da-wa-me-gis, a small white shell, in his hand as he related the following:

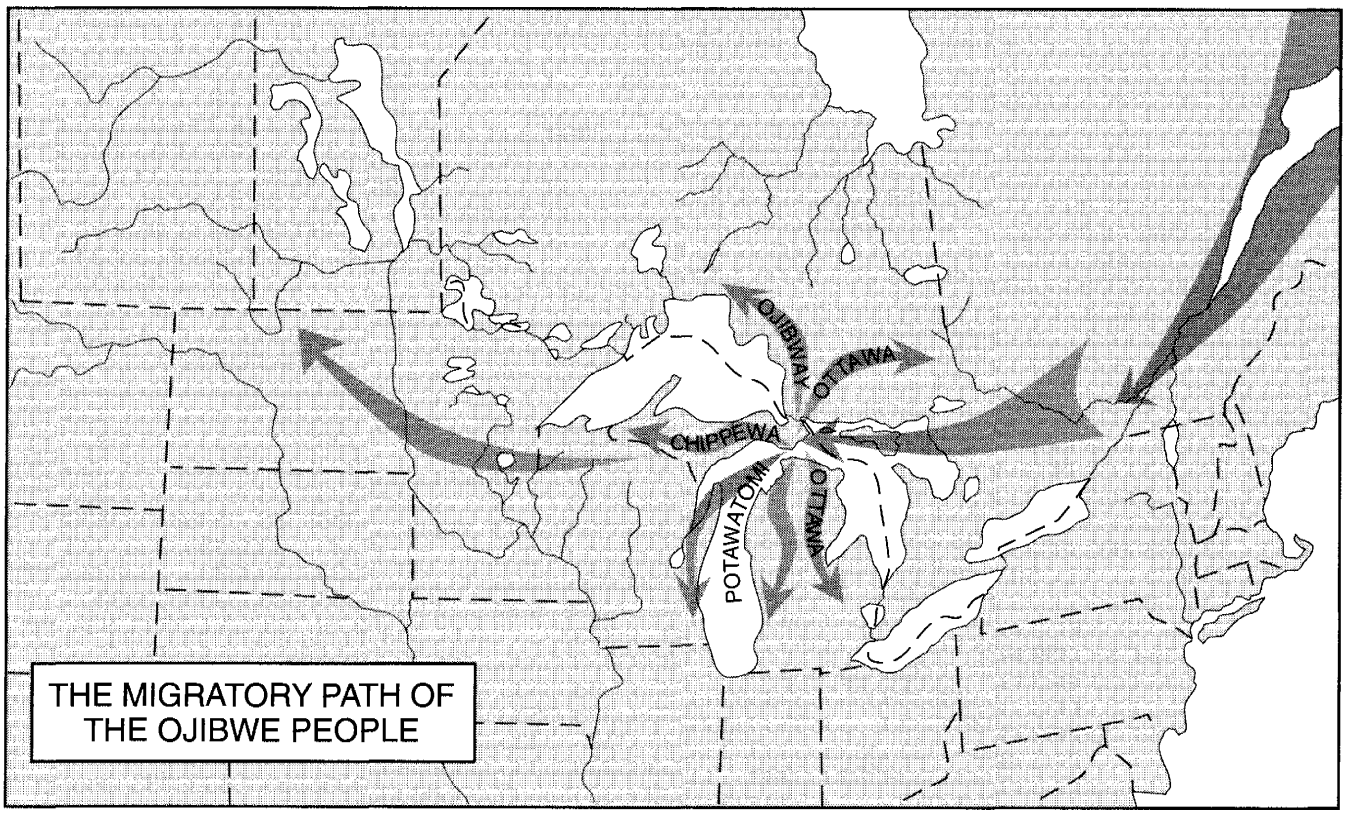
> *While our forefathers were living on the great salt water toward the rising sun, the great Megis (Sea Shell) showed itself above the surface of the great water, and the rays of the sun for some long periods were reflected from its glossy back. It gave warmth and light to the An-ish-in-aub-ag (red race).*
>
> *All at once it sank into the deep, and for a time our ancestors were not blessed with its light. It rose to the surface and appeared again on the great river which drains the waters of the Great lakes, and again for a long time it gave life to our forefathers, and reflected back the rays of the sun. Again it disappeared from sight and it rose not, till it appeared to the eyes of the An-ish-in-au-baug on the shores of the first great lake. Again it sank from sight, the death daily visited the wigwams of our forefathers, till it shown its back, and reflected the rays of the sun once more at Bow-e-ting (Sault Ste. Marie). Here it remained for a long time, and once more, and for the last time, it disappeared, and the An-sih-in-aub-ag was left in the darkness and misery, till it floated and once more showed its bright back at Mo-nig-wun-a-kuan-ing (La Pointe Island), where it has ever since reflected back the rays of the sun, and blessed our ancestors with life, light, and wisdom. Its rays reach the remotest village of the wide spread Ojibways. (Warren, 1885, 1984).*

The spiritual leader explained the story to Warren (1885):

The "Megis" he spoke of referred to the Me-da-we religion. According to the leader, each time the Me-da-we lodge was erected, it was indicated as the "Megis" in the story. The final lodge [in this narrative] was erected on the Island of LaPointe. This is where the Me-da-we-win was practiced in its purest form. It remained so until the Europeans appeared

among them. It is from this site that all of the Ojibway tribe first grew and like a tree it has spread its branches in every direction, in the bands that now occupy the vast extent of the Ojibway earth.

The Ojibway migrated in many directions. They lived on the eastern shores of Turtle Island (North America) around 900 A.D. and eventually established their aboriginal territory in the woodlands of Canada, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and eventually North Dakota and Montana. Around the beginning of the 17th Century or shortly thereafter, the Ojibway moved westward to the shore of Lake Superior. This migration was taking place on both the



1. Map adapted from Benton-Benai 1979 & Land of the Ojibwe, Minnesota Historical Society 1973.

north and south shores of Lake Superior. The tribes that were to the north of the lake were mainly Ojibway and Cree with whom they shared familial ties. The Ojibways to the south of the lake were called "Chippewa" - an English mispronunciation of Ojibway.

CONTACT

The shores of Lake Superior were vastly populated by the Ojibway when the Jesuits and French traders recorded contact in 1640. An Ojibway chief by the name of Copway stated first contact with Champlain traders occurred as early as 1610. Ongoing contact with the French missionaries and French traders during the 17th and 18th centuries had an enormous impact on the lifestyle of the Ojibway. Early settlement brought them in proximity to the Assiniboine and Cree, and in conflict with the Dakota over territory, as they moved into the location that is present-day Northern Minnesota.

Very early the Ojibway were involved in trade, first among other Ojibway bands, and later with the fur traders. The tools that the French traded consisted of such things as steel knives and copper kettles. The efficient tools of the French were easily adapted by the Ojibway. The previously used stone and bone utensils became necessary items.

The acceptance of the French fur trader had a social and psychological impact on the culture of the Ojibway. The Ojibway had always hunted and trapped for survival. They also traded among other tribes before Europeans. Originally, the Ojibway were middle men for the Mandan, Hidatsa and other tribes who bartered with the fur traders. As resources became scarce, the Ojibway were forced to adopt trading furs for goods to survive. The fur trade deepened the relationships between the Ojibway and Cree, and French traders, resulting in marriages between them. These associations were based on a sharing of economic, social, and physical resources. The first generations of offspring of these marriages were raised as their mothers' people. In time, some of the children of the Frenchmen and their Ojibway and Cree wives became known as "Métis" or "Metchif." Contact between the French, the Europeans, and their Woodland relatives brought about many alliances during the fur trade era. These people retained many of their tribal customs.

CHIPPEWA INFLUENCE AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE FUR TRADE

As the fur trade flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century, the Ojibway played a central role in its development. In 1670, the English Hudson Bay Company set up posts and obtained furs directly from the Indians who had an established trade system in the Great Lakes Region. The English were in competition with the French fur trade companies, who had trapped and traded with the Indians from as early as 1610. This competition was over the Indian trade in the Hudson Bay and the Great Lakes and their tributaries. A "head on" confrontation between these two countries was fueled by a swiftly diminishing supply of furs, resulting in a conflict known as the French and Indian War.

Photo of Pierre Bottineau, Courtesy of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

In 1763, the English gained control of the fur trade both in Canada and the Great Lakes area. As the Hudson Bay Company assumed many of the older French trading posts, new settlements came into existence. Grand Portage (the great carrying place), a well known trading center, came into existence.

All trading goods going east or west had to be (portaged) carried over rugged steep trails from Lake Superior to reach the chain of lakes along the northern border of Minnesota. In the summer, traders and Indians all gathered at Grand Portage to barter their goods. In order to withstand the rigors of portaging goods over land, and along the waterways, a group of skilled oarsmen evolved, known as the "voyageurs." The voyageurs were French Canadian, Cree, and Ojibway canoe men who became a critical link in the success of the North American fur trade. The voyageur portaged through the wilderness of rivers, lakes, and seaways in the Northwest Territory. Their appearance was colorful. They wore bright red caps, hooded cloaks, braided sashes, and beaded pouches. Their leggings and moccasins were made of deer hides. They were known as cheerful men capable of great endurance and physical strength.

Pierre Bottineau was an early trader among the Turtle Mountain Chippewa.

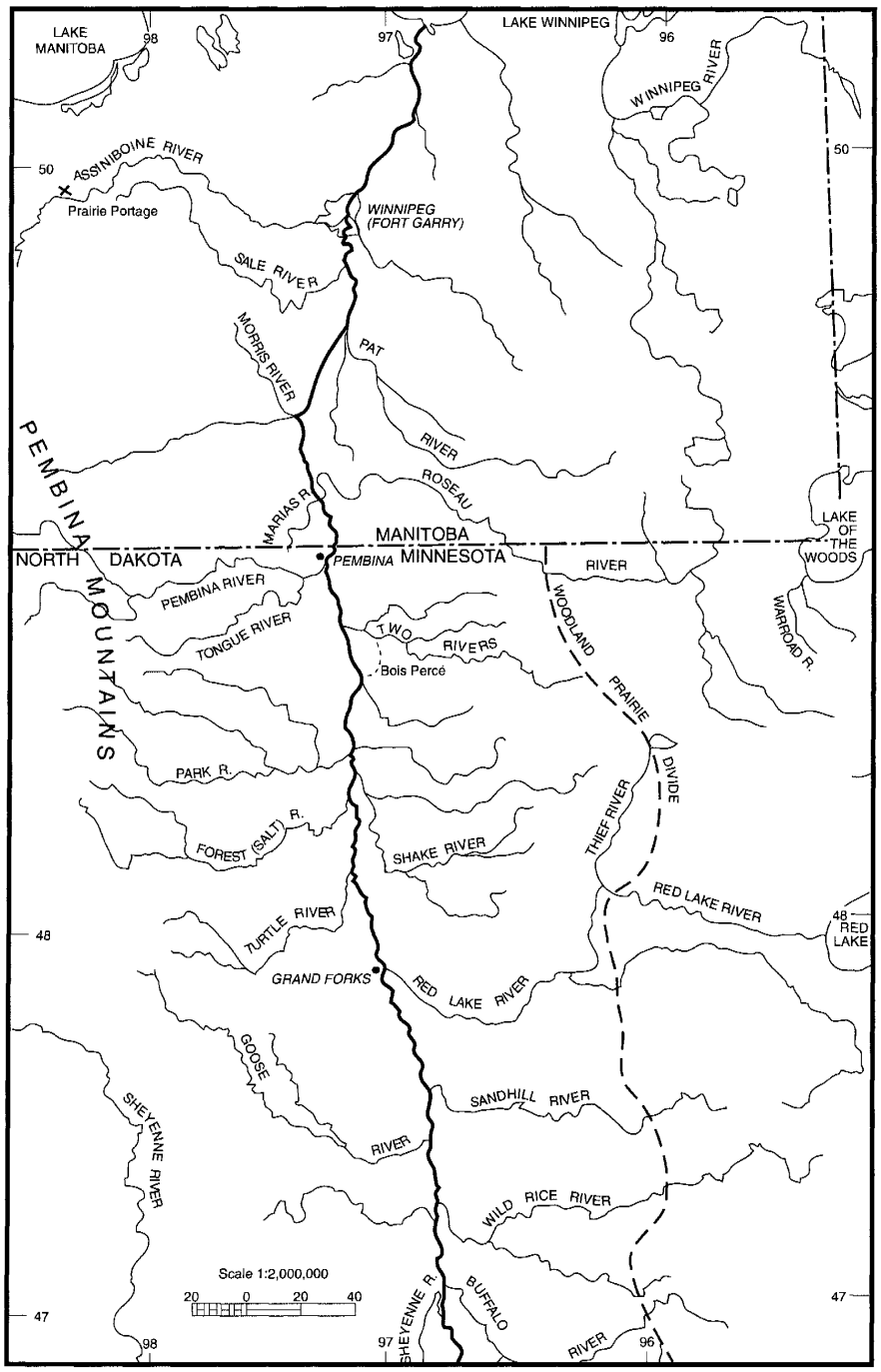
PEMBINA POST ESTABLISHED

The Red River became an arterial of travel for the trappers at the end of the 18th century. Trapping was done along the Assiniboine and Red rivers, and all their tributaries. The establishment of trading posts transformed the Red River into a commercial trade economy, to which many Chippewas were accustomed.

The Chippewa occupied the territory of northern Minnesota, from Red Lake, Leech Lake, Sandy Lake, Lake of the Woods, Rainy Lake, to Lake Superior and Lake Winnipeg Traverse. The regions around these lakes became their more permanent settlements. During the hunting/trapping season, the men canoed the Red and Assiniboine rivers and a vast number of tributaries. The numerous trading posts along the Red River assisted in the growth of fur trade and westward movement.

During the Pembina fur trade era, the Red River Territory was overly abundant with furred animals. In 1797, the Northwest Fur Company, from Montreal, established a major trading post where the Red River and Pembina River joined. This was the first post at Pembina. Peter Grant was the first proprietor, and Charles Jean Baptist Chaboillez of the North West Company was the second. Chaboillez operated his post from 1797 through 1798 where he had dealings with about 80 Chippewas from the Red, Rainy, Leech, and Sandy lakes area. Chaboillezs' post was one of three established along the Red River. The second post was located at the mouth of the Red River and was operated by the Hudson Bay Company. The North West Company set a post at the junction of the Forest (Salt) and Red rivers. (Hickerson, 1956, p. 303).

A second post at Pembina was opened three years later by a man named Alexander Henry. He operated the post at this site from 1801-1805, and recorded his dealings. He also set up many sub-posts along the Red River, depending on the supply of furs in each area. The post was the focal point of trade in the middle Red River region. Pembina became the chief Northwest Company trading post along the Red and Assiniboine rivers. The number of Chippewas who traded in the area increased each year, but the supply of fur was rapidly diminishing.



2. Map of the Red River. Courtesy of Ethnohistory. p.300, 1959

MOVE TO PLAINS 1790-1820

The transition of the Chippewa from the woodlands to the plains occurred near the end of the 18th century. French and English fur traders had traveled with the Chippewa as far as the Turtle Mountains. Having acquired guns and ammunition from the traders, and horses from the Mandan and Hidatsa, the Chippewa had an advantage in obtaining Dakota territory. They had spent a decade utilizing the rivers of the Red River Territory. However, by 1807 this region was virtually depleted of wild game and furred animals. Feeling the hard times, these bands returned to their woodland homes in Minnesota. One group, the Mikinak-wastsha-anishinabe, a band of Chippewa, left the Pembina settlement and established themselves in the Turtle Mountains.

The Pembina Band of Chippewa advanced westward for several reasons. First they had acquired the horse and developed the Red River Cart. Alexander Henry (Younger) stated in his *Journals* that one cart was as useful as five horses. The Turtle Mountains were plentiful in resources. Abundant in muskrat, beaver, fish, deer, and buffalo, the Turtle Mountains allowed the Chippewa to maintain a thriving fur trade. This region was filled with lakes and water resources as well as several types of medicinal and edible plants. At the same time the Turtle Mountains offered a refuge from the encroachment of white settlers. Although they moved to the plains, the Chippewa still traded at the posts in Pembina, as well as trading with the Mandans and other tribes at Ft. Union.

PEMBINA SETTLEMENT

Today, we know Pembina to be a small rural town in northeastern North Dakota. However, the region known as Pembina, and described by Fr. Belcourt in 1849, consisted of a much larger land base. The priest explains the boundaries of Pembina in a letter to Major Woods (who was in charge of the Red River Expedition in 1849):

> *We understand here, that the district or department called Pembina, comprises all of the country or basin which is irrigated or traversed by the tributaries of the Red River, south of the line of the 49th parallel of latitude. The prairies' rivers and lakes which extend to the height of land of the Mississippi, and the immense plains which feed innumerable herds of bison to the westward and from which the Chippewa and half breeds of this region obtain their subsistence, contains within their limits a country about 400 miles from north to south and more than five hundred miles from east to west. VV (Exec. Doc. 51, Pg. 37.)*

Photo of Métis family - Circa 1883. Courtesy of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

The ox-drawn Red River Cart was first introduced to the plains from Pembina around 1805. Within a few decades there were great trains of these carts, carrying buffalo hides and other trade goods to St. Paul, Minnesota, and Winnipeg, Canada. These famous carts were also widely used on buffalo hunts. Red River carts gave the Chippewa and their Assiniboine and Cree allies a method of transporting huge amounts of pemmican and hides for trade, and hunting in massive groups.

CONCERNS IN PEMBINA TERRITORY

The Chippewa first established themselves at Pembina in the early 1800's. They had in their company a resident Canadian priest. They built a church and many marriages and baptisms were recorded at this mission site. In 1849, this priest, Father Belcourt, through correspondence, interceded on behalf of the people. He informed Major Woods of the trade dealings of Hudson Bay Company. Although it was forbidden to trade alcohol, Father George A. Belcourt was aware that the previous year one-fifth of all imports from the Hudson Bay Company consisted of rum.

In addition, the smallpox epidemic had wiped out camps of Chippewa, leaving as few as one in ten alive. Father Belcourt wrote:

> *The small pox, not very long since, found its way among them and not only decimated, but in many of their camps did not leave one in ten alive. Here on the banks of the Pembina there is not a spot near the river where the plough share does not throw out of the furrow quantities of human bones, remains of the destructive scourge.*
> *(Executive Document 51, Pg. 37.)*

The priest categorized the people. Taking the posts of Red Lake, Reed Lake, Pembina, and Turtle Mountain into consideration, the priest believed there was a total of 2,400 Chippewas. He went on to comment that the Métis (French word meaning mixed-blood) were greater in numbers than the Chippewa. The priest believed there were more than 5,000 Métis in the Pembina Territory.

Included in his letter to Major Wood, Father Belcourt suggested that possibly the United States government could be the middleman for a treaty between the Chippewa and Dakota. He suggested the government declare imprisonment or other punishment for Indians committing hostilities against each other.

CONFLICT WITH THE DAKOTA

The Red River not only provided food and furs for the Chippewa. It also brought danger. The encroachment of white settlers to the east, and the westward movement of the fur trade, brought them closer and closer to their territorial rivals, the Dakota. The Chippewa camped in forests to the east of Red River in order to avoid confrontation with the Dakota, who held claim to the land along the Red River. With the acquisition of the horse, the Dakota had a big advantage over the Chippewa. Without horses the Chippewas were almost always out maneuvered. In 1798 a Chippewa Chief of Red Lake named Sheshepaskut expressed his view on the advantage of the Dakota:

> *While they keep to the Plains with their horse, we are not a match for them; for we being foot men, they could go windward of us and set fire to the grass; when we marched for the woods, they would be there before us, dismount, and under cover fire on us. Until we have horses like them, we must keep to the woods and leave the plains to them. (Hickerson, 1956).*

The Chippewa and Dakota had long been doing battle over territory. The Red River was almost a natural boundary line dividing the woodlands from the plains. Battles over this territory, with both sides receiving heavy losses, continued until the 1858 Sweet Corn Treaty, some 50 years later. (Hickerson, 1956, p. 296).

TREATIES

The history of treaty making began with European countries, mainly Great Britain. The premise for making treaties, had established precedence in two-hundred years of British law in America. These laws recognized aboriginal title [original ownership] and the inherent

rights attached to it. When the first colonists arrived in Massachusetts and Virginia, they were in desperate need of necessities including land to build their homes and communities. In order to obtain land, they made formal and informal agreements with the Indian tribes who occupied the land. This process was acknowledged and encouraged when the United States formed. The colonists and then the government adopted the practice of negotiating formal treaties with Indian tribes. In doing so, they upheld inherent rights attendant to ownership in land. In a series of proclamations and ordinances issued between 1783, 1786, and 1787, the Continental Congress defined the central role between Indian nations and the central government. The 1787 Northwest Ordinance, held that:

> *The utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and, in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made for preventing wrong being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them. (Utter, 1993, p. 245).*

The United State Constitution, ratified in 1789, confirmed the federal role in Indian policy by assigning Congress the authority to involve itself in Indian Affairs. The Commerce Clause (art. I, s. 2, cl. 3) and the Treaty Clause (art. II, s. 2, cl. 2) of the United States Constitution granted authority to the United States Government to enter into treaties with Indian tribes. The first treaty made with the United States was with the Delawares in 1778. After that time, 370 treaties were entered into between American Indian tribes and the United States. Through the treaty process the United States acquired lands and legal [trust] responsibilities. (Pevar, 1995, p. 37). The tribes ceded lands and obtained Federal commitments for annuities, provisions for education, and other forms of compensation in return. (Utter, 1993, p. 246). For further discussion, see the paragraph on Sovereignty in the Tribal Government Section.

SWEET CORN TREATY

In 1858 with the assistance of the US Government, the Chippewa and Dakota defined their boundaries within the Sweet Corn Treaty. The land defined as Chippewa land is described as:

> *Commencing at the mouth of the river Wahtab, thence ascending its course and running through Lake Wahtab: from thence taking a westerly course and passing through the fork of the Sauk River: thence running in a northerly direction through Otter Tail Lake and striking the Red River at the mouth of Buffalo River: thence following the course of the Red River down to the mouth of Goose River: thence ascending the course of Goose River up to its source: after leaving the Lake, continuing its western course to Maison au Chine: from thence taking a northwesterly direction to its terminus at a point on the Missouri River within gunshot sound of Little River.*

In the treaty between the Chippewa and Dakota, they agreed to abide by the boundaries, as well as allowing each other, in a neighborly manner, to hunt on each others land if game was scarce on either side. They also agreed, that depredations by members of each tribe, such as stealing horses, needed to be dealt with, either by return of property, or repayment for damages. These articles were agreed upon thirty-three years earlier by the forefathers of these two tribes, Chief Waanatan (He Who Rushes On) Dakota, and Chief Emay das kah (Flat Mouth) Chippewa. To bind the treaty, oral history states that there was an exchange of tribal members. "We will not make war against our grandchildren" was a statement made by the treaty signers.

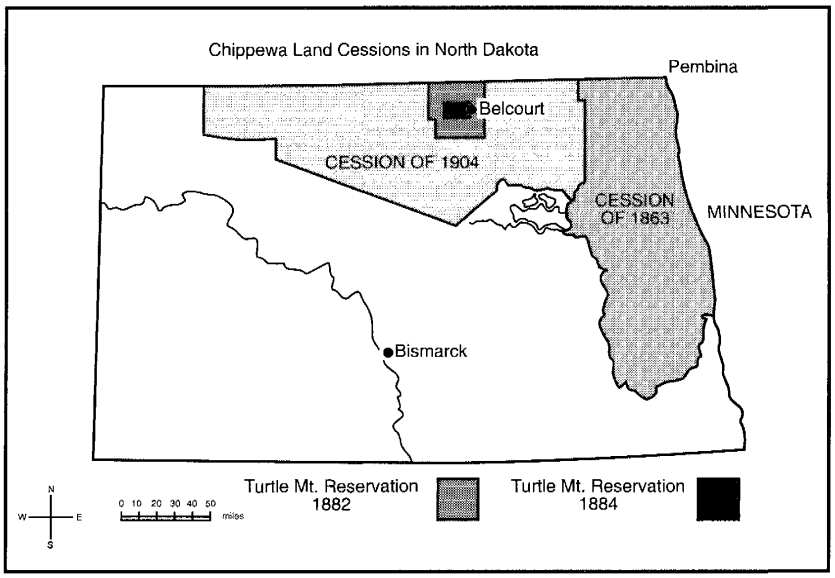
The United States Government and settlers wanted to prove that the Chippewa did not hold aboriginal claim to the land that was intended to become their reservation. A Grand Council meeting was held between the Chippewa and Dakota at a point north of the Sheyenne River and west of Devils Lake in July of 1858. Chiefs involved in the signing of this treaty were Mattonwakan, Chief of the Yanktons, and La Terre Qui Purle, Chief of the Sisseton Band. Also, signing was a large representation of braves and warriors of the Dakota Tribes. Representing the Chippewa was Chief Wilkie known as Narbexxa who was a well-respected follower of Little Shell.

Based on the documentation from the Sweet Corn Treaty, the Chippewa were able to claim 11 million acres of land that the government wanted for a public domain. The land described in the Sweet Corn Treaty was used later by the government and provided supportive documentation of Chippewa title in the Old Crossing Treaty and even later the McCumber Agreement.

OLD CROSSING TREATY

By 1863 the Chippewa occupied over one-third of what is now the State of North Dakota, which included the Red River Valley. With the American philosophy of manifest destiny and the Homestead Act, settlers petitioned Washington to pressure government officials to make treaties with the Indians who had the rights to the land. The settlers recognized that the Red River Valley was a rich and fertile agricultural area.

On October 2, 1863, at the Old Crossing of the Red Lake River in Minnesota, the Chippewa Chiefs, headmen, and warriors of the Red Lake and Pembina Bands met with Alexander Ramsey and Ashley C. Morrill, Commissioners for the United States Government. The purpose of the meeting was to obtain Chippewa land through the treaty process. The Chippewas were represented by the chiefs of Red Lake and Pembina. The Red Lake chiefs were: Monsomo, (Moose Dung) Kaw-was-ke-ne-kay, (Broken Arm) May-dwa-gum-on-ind, (He That is Spoken To) and Leading Feather. The Chiefs of the Pembina Band were Ase-anse (Little Shell II) and Miscomukquah (Red Bear).



3. Map adapted from Schneider, 1994, p. 139.

The Chippewa signed the treaty under protest. The government attained 11 million acres of land and opened it up to white settlers. The land extended about 35 miles on either side of the Red River from the Canadian border to near Fargo. The land was acquired at eight cents per acre.

RED RIVER UPRISING

After the Chippewa ceded the Red River Territory in the 1863 Old Crossing Treaty, the land to the south of the 49th parallel was opened as public domain lands. The Métis to the north of the boundary were being denied their land holdings on ancestral lands by the Government of Canada. For more than fifty years the Canadian Métis had made this northern territory their home. They had developed small river front settlements and began to use the land for agricultural purposes to supplement their livelihood. Prior to this time, many Métis had settled south of the International boundary line. In 1823, when Major Stephen H. Long surveyed the International Boundary, he established that Pembina was in United States territory. The Métis had settled in Pembina because of its proximity to the trade routes, and the relationships they had established at the Pembina trading post. The Hudson Bay

Company, on the other hand, was within the Canadian boundary. Because the Métis relied on the Hudson Bay Company as their market for trade goods, the Company was able to coerce many Métis traders to move north across the International Boundary into Canadian jurisdiction.

In 1865, the Métis were discontent. The Red River Métis were aware their land holdings were in jeopardy. The Canadian Government would not listen to their grievances. No longer satisfied, the Métis joined together, under the leadership of Louis Riel Jr., and rebelled against the Dominion of Canada. Canada was in the process of becoming its own country. The Hudson Bay Company had just surrendered title to these lands. In addition, Canada, at this time, was legally without a government. Riel developed a "Bill of Rights" and he and his supporters formed a Provisional Government in November of 1869, to represent the Métis. Riel also developed a list of grievances that would benefit Canadian, English, American, and Indian people alike. The document provided for religious, cultural, language, and land rights. Riel, and his supporters, formally declared the establishment of a provisional government in November of 1869, and demanded rights as loyal citizens of the Crown.

The situation got out of control for Riel and his followers. The provisional government took hostile locals as prisoners and one of them was executed. The opposing Canadian officials and the new Governor of Canada, commissioned troops and forced Riel and his armed followers to flee for their lives. Although the "Bill of Rights" Riel developed was implemented by the Canadian government and known as the Manitoba Act, Riel and his supporters were not granted amnesty for their actions. Louis Riel was exiled from Canada for five years.

1885 RESISTANCE

Louis Riel, became a United States citizen, married Margaret Monette, and was living in Montana in 1885, when he was approached by a group of Métis from Prince Albert, Canada, requesting help. Riel again drafted a petition which listed the grievances of settlers and Métis. Again, the petition was ignored. After actual battles with the British, Louis Riel surrendered himself and was brought to trial. This man, who fought so hard for the rights of the Métis, was accused of being a traitor. Riel, a French Métis Catholic, was tried for committing acts of treason against Canada and found guilty by a jury of English Protestants. Riel was hung at Regina, Manitoba, in 1885. With the death of Riel, many of his followers fled to the Turtle Mountains to seek political refuge among relatives. This event created an influx of Métis to the Turtle Mountains. (Howard, 1994, pp. 147-194).

MCCUMBER AGREEMENT

Throughout the treaty era, the Indian people witnessed the inconsistent behavior of the United States Government. They lived and witnessed the false hope of the government and were left with little or no land, and were poverty stricken. The trust between the Indians and the government had dissipated. The United States, following the civil war, could ill afford to continue its treaty making. As a result, the President established the Grants Peace Commission in 1868, and proposed a policy to make agreements with all of the tribal nations across the country. This policy was to bring about an end to the Indian wars on the plains, and to open the routes west for an ever-growing flood of emigrants. In 1871, Congress revised its policy of "treaty-making" and continued to negotiate, but called the process "agreements" rather than treaties. The era of making treaties was coming to an end.

The first agreement to be made with the Pembina Band of Chippewa was the McCumber Agreement. The Chippewa occupied the east and north central part of North Dakota, a favorite hunting and wintering ground. The hunting and trapping lifestyle of the Chippewa kept them moving throughout the year. During their absence settlers began to occupy Chippewa lands. There were requests from settlers to remove the Indians from North Dakota. Politicians even refused to credit the Chippewa for their aboriginal title to the lands. The government attempted to move the Turtle Mountain Chippewa to White Earth in Minnesota, but because of the provisions in the Sweet Corn Treaty with the Dakota, the Chippewas' claim remained valid.

Some of the people moved to White Earth. Little Shell III and his band stayed in the Turtle Mountains. White settlers, hungry for land, continued to encroach on the Chippewa's territory in the Turtle Mountains. In July of 1892, Little Shell III, and his followers, posted signs in the Turtle Mountains stating:

> *It is here forbidden to any white man to encroach upon this Indian land by settling upon it before a treaty being made with the American government.*

Little Shell's warning caused settlers to petition the government to open lands claimed by the Turtle Mountain Chippewa. By October of 1882, the Secretary of the Interior had opened up lands for settlement without negotiating with the Chippewa. When the government put the lands of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa into the public domain, and began to issue homesteads to white settlers, a delegation of tribal members went to Washington. Their task was to petition the government and be recognized to their right to nearly 10 million acres of land in North Dakota.

The Little Shell Delegation travels to Washington, 1892. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution.

Chief Little Shell III did not agree with the McCumber Agreement and refused to sign. Because of his refusal to sign, the government would not recognize Chief Little Shell and his Grand Council of 24 as hereditary leaders of the Band. Since they did not recognize Little Shell, U. S. Indian Agent John Waugh hand-picked a council of 16 full-bloods and 16 mixed-bloods to meet with the Commissioners. This group has been referred to as the "Council of 32." This process was all done while Little Shell was in Montana. During the absence of Little Shell, the second Chief, Red Thunder, presided over the 24 member council meeting. In this meeting they agreed to enlist John B. Bottineau as their attorney. They also decided that all the mixed-blood descendants were members of the band, an action that was agreed to by more than 300 members present. In 1892, Red Thunder addressed the McCumber Commission:

> *When you (white men) first put your foot upon this land of ours, you found no one but the red man and the Indian woman by whom you have begotten a large family. Pointing to the half-breeds present, he said: "Those are the children and descendants of that woman, they must be recognized as members of this tribe." (Executive Orders of 1882 and 1884).*

One of the provisions of the McCumber Agreement required a census be taken. McCumber's agent reported small numbers (about 25 full-blood families) were living in the Turtle Mountain areas. Because of the way the rolls were taken, many were not fairly represented. Little Shell and his followers were excluded from the rolls, leaving a total of 520 people stricken from the rolls. Little Shell and Red Thunder protested this action. Many of the people who were removed from the roll moved to Montana.

LITTLE SHELL PROTEST 1892

In the early 1880's, there were severe drought and several brutal winters. Many people starved. The McCumber Commission of September 21, 1892, was attended by P.J. McCumber, John Wilson, and W. W. Flemming at the Turtle Mountain Indian Agency. They met with Agent Waugh, and his "handpicked committee of 32," who had not been agreed upon or recognized by the Turtle Mountain Band. The purpose of the meeting was to negotiate with the Turtle Mountain people on the cession and relinquishment of lands claimed by them, and to determine the number who were entitled to be listed on the rolls. (Act of Congress, Chapter 164, p. 139, 1st Session, 52nd Congress).

The meetings were held at the agency storehouse, which was inadequate in size. After Agent Waugh and his group were inside only enough room was left for about one-forth of the tribe to be present. Those that were present were obstructed by partitions and supplies. As a result, the proceedings were difficult to hear or understand.

Upon their arrival at the meeting, Little Shell and his council were informed they were not invited and their people would not be fed. Waugh apologized to the commission saying that the Indians misunderstood his letter to them. However, his letter, in fact, stated the commission would be at the agency to meet with them. Little Shell and his followers were turned away, and told that if they had anything to do, they had better do it. Little Shell left the meeting.

John B. Bottineau, attorney for the Turtle Mountain Band, reported to Little Shell the action of the Commission regarding enrollment. The commission turned away many members of the band who were starving. Many desolate, starving people returned home. In spite of their pitiful condition, they took a collection amongst themselves to allow Little Shell and his council to represent them at the proceedings.

Little Shell addressed the Commission asking that Reverend Father J. F. Malo, their Catholic Priest, Bottineau, their attorney, and Judge Burke of Rolette County, to be present on their behalf. The Commission allowed their presence, and Little Shell expressed his hope for a successful settlement of both parties. He then introduced Red Thunder to the commission. In Red Thunders' address, he told of the inclusion of the mixed-bloods as members of their tribe and described the suffering of his people. In his concluding statements he said:

"We are all glad that our Great Father sent you here and we hope that you will relieve us from starvation, for we have nothing to eat."

The Commission justified not feeding the people by stating that the Chippewa misunderstood Major Waugh's letter and he would only feed those selected by the United States government. The Committee suggested that Little Shell stay and help with the rolls. However, Little Shell and his followers left, designating attorney Bottineau to act in their behalf. Bottineau, realizing a great injustice had been done concerning the rolls, requested the commission to give him a list of those excluded from the list, to appeal for them. They never provided him the information. Instead, they hung a list of people rejected from the roll on the church doors on September 24, 1892. Bottineau then requested access to the rolls. The commission agreed, but E. W. Brenner, Farmer in Charge, refused to provide access to Bottineau, only giving numbers of those eligible and numbers of those rejected.

Little Shell was unwilling to give up. He gathered lists from each family containing their family members, so they would be considered for the rolls. One hour before the next meeting of the Commission, they ordered that Little Shell withdraw from the reservation, or they would arrest him. They astonished the people. They felt the absence of Little Shell and Bottineau would be disastrous. In unison they shouted:

"You shall not go," meaning that their attorney Bottineau, should not go, some going so far as to utter, "This is death to us; better meet it now than starve to death."

After a discussion between Little Shell, his council, Bottineau, and Judge Burke, it was decided they should leave. Waugh's committee of thirty-two accepted the terms of the agreement. The tribe as a whole did not recognize this Committee. In customary fashion, the Chief appointed the council. Because they did not recognize the committee of thirty-two, they had no right to handle the affairs of the tribe. Upon conclusion of the meetings, the committee of thirty-two realized the grave mistake they had made and reported this to Little Shell. They knew what was taking place but offered no alternative to the situation.

On October 24, 1892, Chief Little Shell and his councilmen filed a protest with Congress against the ratification of the proposed McCumber Agreement. With the assistance of Bottineau, J.B. Ledeqult, special interpreter, and Judge John Burke, the protest outlined the grievances of the Turtle Mountain people. They disagreed with the government's negotiations with the committee of thirty-two, who were not the recognized Grand Council of the Band. They also protested to the inappropriate conditions of the meeting place, and the threats by Agent Waugh of removing them from their lands. The payment of the settlement was also considered inadequate. It discriminated against the Chippewa. Other treaties and tribes were getting anywhere from .50 cents to $2.50 per acre. In addition, non-Indian lands were valued even higher. The proposed ten cents per acre was unacceptable. Lastly, the agreement lacked sufficient assistance for education of the children. Congress never considered Little Shell's protest.

EARLY RESERVATION LIFE

THE TURTLE MOUNTAIN RESERVATION IS ESTABLISHED

It was not until December of 1882 that Congress designated a 24 by 32-mile tract in Rolette County as the Turtle Mountain reservation for the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa. The government thought they were dealing with about 200 full-blooded Chippewas, but there were more than 1,000 mixed-bloods that they had not counted. The government wanted to allot the members 160 acres as they had done for the non-Indians in the area. However, the Chippewas were against this arrangement and preferred to hold the land in common with all tribal members.

In 1882, president Chester Arthur, established the Turtle Mountain Reservation with 22 townships of land. By March of 1884, the original 22 townships were reduced to two townships. All of the best farm land was now open to the public domain.

THE RAILROAD

Between 1858 and 1862, the railroad appeared in Red River country. The man who was responsible for driving the first spike in the first railroad west of St. Paul was William Crooks in 1862. The railroad followed the Red River trails, accelerated the growth of agriculture, and led many settlers to the northwest. It is believed that the railroad colonized much of the west. Grace Flandrau, explains:

In all that country west from the Red River, the railroad truly was the pioneer, blazing the way and furnishing the conveyance for colonizing the land. That country never was in any true sense a "covered wagon" country, but was settled from the immigrant train drawn by the locomotive. (Pp. 29-33).

DAWES ACT OF 1887

In the year of 1887, the General Allotment Act (commonly referred as "the Dawes Act") was passed by Congress. They named it for the Chairperson of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, Henry L. Dawes. The government believed the Dawes Act to be a final solution to the "Indian problem." "Congress was convinced that the allotment of land to tribal

members would do the following: (1) destroy tribalism and reservations by individualizing Indians on allotments, (2) confer citizenship on all Indians, and (3) educate Indian youth to assure continuation of reforms . . ." (Prucha, 1975, pp171-174) The Act resulted in the allotment of lands to individual tribal members. Since there were many more members than lands available, the government allotted lands to tribal members on the Turtle Mountain Reservation, at Trenton, N.D., in Montana, and elsewhere in the Dakotas.

Throughout the late 1800's the Turtle Mountain Chippewa endured many hardships. The buffalo, a main source of food for the people, was now reaching extinction. The people throughout certain seasons would experience suffering and starvation. As early as the 1870's, poor conditions were reported in the Turtle Mountains.

Not only had the food supply diminished, there was encroachment of white settlers. On June 25, 1882, a group of white settlers decided to settle in the Turtle Mountains near what is the present town of St. John. Under the leadership of Little Shell, 200 Indians rode over to the settlement and informed them they must leave their land. The settlers did move, however, two of them were U.S. citizens who petitioned Washington to protect them from the Indians. On August 30, 1882, a Major Conrad from Fort Totten traveled to the Turtle Mountains with more than forty soldiers. He met with Little Shell and told him that he would kill him if he harmed any of the white settlers. After hearing the news from Conrad, the settlers moved back onto the reservation on September 3, 1882.

In the mid 1880's, there were severe winter storms and summer droughts. This harsh weather caused many pioneer farms to fail in the great plains areas. The influx of Métis from Canada following the second Riel Rebellion caused an overcrowding of the two townships. These circumstances took their toll and in the winter of 1887-88, 151 members of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa starved to death.

HARRASSMENT OF THE CHIPPEWA CONTINUES

In 1889 some Turtle Mountain people were raising cattle received from the U.S. Government. County officials tried to collect taxes on the cattle. The Chippewas refused to pay. When they refused, they took several head of cattle from them creating a hostile situation between the Chippewa and local officials. The Sheriff of Dunseith, Thomas Flynn, requested assistance from Major McKay of the National Guard. Major McKay and his 1st Battalion headed for the mountains. Because of the quick action of Mr. Salt and E.W. Brenner, Indian agents, they stopped the troop. They had received a telegram from Governor John Miller calling the troop back.

This situation heightened with the encroachment of white settlers. Few choices were left for the Turtle Mountain people. In 1888 Little Shell, Red Thunder, and Henry Poitras sent a letter to Father Genin at Bathgate, N.D. The letter was a request for his help and advice. They needed assistance with the illegal taking of lands, and the hunger of their people. Father Genin was a well-known man in the northwest. He devoted more than thirty years as missionary and priest to the Chippewa and Dakota of Minnesota and North Dakota. In 1897 he wrote a letter in response to an article printed in the Duluth Journal. The article dealt with the underlying causes of the problem:

> *I pledge to you my word as a priest who has known these people for over thirty years, that your informant is right, and there can always be found degraded white men who surround and follow the Indians even as wolves used to follow the buffalo herd in our old times, to make them their prey . . . The condition of these people is truly beyond all endurance. I can and will if necessary, furnish you proof of all I say. (Letter from Father Genin to U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1897.)*

The United States now dealt with Indians through the War Department. Considering the Indian as a military threat, Congress established an Indian agent system in 1896. Through this system, they assigned agents to different tribes whose responsibility it was to maintain friendships among the Indians, carry out treaty obligations, and mediate issues over land. They stationed agents, referred to as "Farmers in Charge," at small posts in different regions of the country. The agent who served at Turtle Mountain was E. W. Brenner. He was headquartered at Fort Totten.

By 1910, a Bureau of Indian Affairs office was established in Belcourt. The Turtle Mountains now had its own agent. The agent handled business weekly, one day of which was set-aside as "Indian Day."

In 1919, Indian men, who were not citizens, enlisted in large numbers in the first world war. Citizenship was granted to all Indian people with the passage of the Act of, June 24, 1924. This piece of legislation became known as the Indian Citizenship Act, and granted citizenship status to all Indian people born within the territoral limits of the United States.

WORK PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION (WPA) DAYS

The drought and the Great Depression had a devastating impact on all of America. Accustomed to continuous poverty, struggle, and hunger, the impact on Turtle Mountain was not as severely felt. Hardworking and resourceful people, the Chippewa adopted farming and gardening. Gardening was a means of maintaining a livelihood after the decline of their traditional occupations of hunting, trapping and trading. They raised cattle, pigs and fowl and supported themselves with limited hunting, trapping and fishing. Through ingenuity, work was found in a variety of areas such as selling berries, trading and bartering, chopping and selling of wood, farm work, and even collecting medicinal herbs for pharmaceutical companies. Resources were limited and the people continued to struggle economically.

It was under the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt that the Works Progress Administration (WPA) Act was passed in 1933. This program offered many economic options for the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa. Jobs were provided for men in road construction and home improvement on the reservation. Construction jobs entailed the building of small two and three-room houses to replace one-room cabins. Women were given jobs and training in sewing, cooking, canning, and gardening. Some felt the depression was a blessing for tribal members because it opened up job opportunities through the WPA.

Because of allotment, and lack of employment opportunities, many Chippewa left the Turtle Mountains. However, after the WPA program was off to a good start, people began to return. The Indian people in Rolette County numbered 2,400. Ten years later that number was up to 5,000. The work boosted the morale of the people, and their standard of living. Most of the jobs provided were of a seasonal type, leaving a big part of the year in unemployment where hardship prevailed.

INDIAN REORGANIZATION ACT OF 1934

Congress approved the first constitution of the Turtle Mountain Band in 1932. All of the subsequent revisions made by the tribe were approved by the Department of Interior. The Wheeler-Howard Act, known as the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934, was the attempt to undo the damage caused by the earlier allotment acts. The Act was envisioned by John Collier, who became Commissioner of Indian Affairs. This legislation allowed tribes the opportunity to draft their own constitutions and bylaws, to"reorganize" under the authority of IRA and devise their own system of governance. This legislation also provided funds to some tribes to help them in reorganizing. By a vote of the people, the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa chose not to accept the Indian Reorganization Act as its form of government.

During this time, the Turtle Mountain people, through their resourcefulness, had established and maintained a comfortable community. In 1922, a large merchantile store was built. Known as "the Big Store," this store, which was situated beside the lumber yard, served as a local gathering place. The town also supported a creamery, a grain elevator, privately-owned gas station and lumber yard. The people, returning to the reservation following the depression, required new opportunities. It was during this time that a hospital was built to accommodate the needs of the people.

TURTLE MOUNTAIN PEMBINA BAND CLAIM

Congress established the U.S. Court of Claims in 1948. This legislation allowed the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa to file a claim against the government for unfair market value of lands ceded under the McCumber Agreement. The Chippewa pursued this claim from 1892 to 1975. For nearly a century, Chippewa people gathered, discussed, and journeyed to Washington, D.C. to gain redress. The payment of expenses and countless years worth of time came from the hearts of the Pembina descendants.

This mercantile store served the Belcourt Community until the mid-1950's. Photo courtesy of Turtle Mt. School District. #1.

RELOCATION ACT 1952

The relocation program was established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1952. This program encouraged relocating Indians to urban areas in search of employment. The program offered vocational training, travel monies, moving expenses, one year of medical care, and assistance in finding employment. By the 1960's 2,900 Chippewa had moved away from the reservation. People were moving to California, Illinois, Washington State, and other urban cities. Many Chippewa, who moved away at one time or another, returned. This rate of relocation continued until President Kennedy's "War on Poverty." Many Chippewa, who took advantage of the relocation program, continued to return as the economy of the country fluctuated and urban communities decayed. The longing for family and cultural ties also drew them home.

PROPOSED TERMINATION OF 1954

In 1954 Congress attempted to end the reservation system. Two men in particular, Arthur Walkings, and E. Y. Berry, served on Indian Affairs committees. Congressman Walkings proposed the mainstreaming and assimilation of tribal people, thus freeing the federal government from its constitutionally-bound trust responsibility to tribal nations.

Before the passage of this bill, Congress undertook several studies. These studies swayed Congress away from federal policies supported by the Government under the "Reorganization Act." This shift in federal policy openly encouraged termination. One report, the Zimmerman report, proposed a four-part formula which assessed and ranked the tribes in terms of their relative level of economic readiness. They determined that ten (10) tribes were ready for termination. The Turtle Mountain Band was one of the names on the list of ten tribes to be terminated.

By 1954, Congress made it known to tribes that they were holding hearings concerning their termination. The Turtle Mountain Band raised funds locally to send a delegation to Washington. Tribal Chairperson Patrick Gourneau testified that the Turtle Mountain people were unprepared economically, still living in poverty, and that such a move would be devastating. Following the testimony of the Turtle Mountain group, the subcommittee decided that the Turtle Mountain Band was not economically self-sufficient, and was dropped from the list. Perhaps because the Turtle Mountain people have always been resourceful, Congress made a preliminary determination, based upon the BIA

Superintendents' reports, to terminate the Band. They did not consider the fact that the Chippewa were still poverty stricken, occupied an extremely limited land base, suffered from low education levels and high unemployment.

WAR ON POVERTY

Poverty was and still remains a concern for the Turtle Mountain people. In 1955 Dr. David Delorme described the socioeconomic conditions at Turtle Mountain as a "rural slum." Economic deprivation created poverty conditions requiring rectification. President Kennedy addressed many concerns involving civil rights and social reform. Even though Kennedy was assassinated in 1963, his successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, used his influence to put Kennedy's reform into action. Several efforts under the Johnson Administration provided new opportunity for Tribes. Congress passed laws forbidding racial discrimination. The President, in 1964, declared a "War on Poverty" and the "Great Society" reform was implemented.

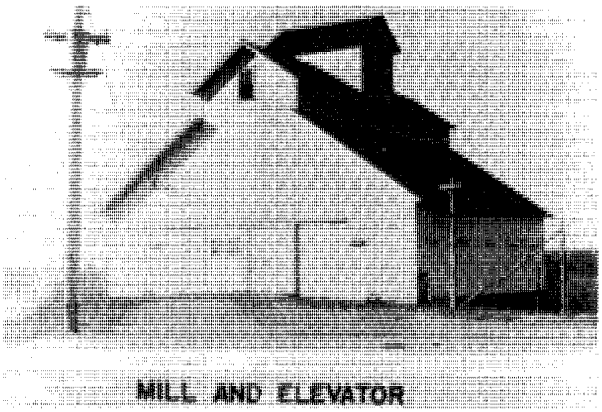


Photo courtesy of Turtle Mt. School District. #1.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1965, opened the door to "self-determination." The Economic Opportunity Act directed financial aid into the hands of tribal governments. Prior to this, monies were filtered through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Now, for the first time, Tribal governments would handle their own budgeted monies. The limited powers of Tribal councils were increased and supported by the passage of the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968. This legislation affirmed the rights of Tribal Nations and extended some provisions of the Bill of Rights to Indian people that had been afforded to all American citizens.

SELF DETERMINATION

The idea of self determination was first addressed by Lyndon Johnson in an address to Congress. Indian leaders advocated for a change from termination to self control, which meant, at some future point, tribes would assume control over their own affairs without bureaucratic interference. This did not mean the Federal Government would have less responsibility to tribes or end their federal trust relationship. President Nixon continued to support Indian self-determination. In 1975, Congress passed the Indian Self-determination and Education Assistance Act. This public law formally recognized the right of autonomy of tribal nations as a national Indian policy.

1978 TRIBAL COMMUNITY COLLEGE ACT
TURTLE MOUNTAIN COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Growing awareness that more college-educated tribal people were needed to provide necessary and effective services on the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Reservation led to efforts in the 1960's to bring college courses to the reservation. Efforts by local Indian citizens resulted in a charter from the Tribe to establish the Turtle Mountain Community College in 1972. In September of 1976, the college received a Certificate of Incorporation from the State of North Dakota. The founding mission of the college was to provide higher education services for tribal members, preserve and promote the history and culture of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa, and provide leadership and community service to the reservation. The College offers Associate of Arts, Association of Science, Associate of Applied Science, and Vocational Certificate programs.

In 1978, the Tribal Controlled College Assistance Act was significant in that it provided the financial support required to implement the tribe's higher education goals. Land Grant status was granted to the institution in 1994. Another achievement occurred in 1996 when the President of the United States signed the Executive Order directing that all federal agencies support tribal controlled colleges.

The College is fully accredited. In 1980, the College became a candidate for accreditation and received full accreditation in 1984 by the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools. The enrollment at Turtle Mountain Community College in Academic Year 1996-97 was 530 students; 505 were tribal members. To date more than 1,000 tribal members have graduated from the institution. Approximately 300 of them have gone on to earn bachelors and advanced degrees. While the reservation experiences 56% unemployment, the graduates of Turtle Mountain Community College experience a 13% unemployment rate.

In the spring of 1997, a ground-breaking ceremony was held and work began on a new, 10 million dollar facility that is designed to serve 800 students. Those who attended witnessed what many have called sacred messages...there were some special things happening around the sun, and an eagle floated above during the ceremony.

1982 TREATY SETTLEMENT (1892)

The United States Court of Claims in 1980 awarded a judgement to the Pembina Band of Chippewa for $52.5 million stemming from the McCumber Agreement. This payment (dockets numbered 113, 191, 221, and 246), was payment for more than 8 million acres of land in north central North Dakota. The ninety-seventh Congress of the United States passed an Act known as Public law 97-403 in December of 1982. The Act provided for the use and distribution of funds awarded to five Pembina Indian Bands. Awardees included the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa, Rocky Boy Chippewa-Cree of Montana, White Earth Pembina Band of the Minnesota Chippewa, Little Shell Band of Chippewa (Montana), and various Pembina descendants.

Congress appropriated funds to the Bureau of Indian Affairs whose responsibility it was to certify eligibility and distribution of funds. The Bureau distributed eighty (80) percent of the funds to eligible members and held 20 percent in trust for the benefit of the Turtle Mountain Band. The Act directed the Secretary of the Interior to authorize the Tribal Council to use the interest and investment income accrued from the 20 percent set-aside for economic development. The McCumber Agreement Award (for the Ten Cent Treaty) was invested by the BIA Branch of Investments. In a period of eight years the invested money grew to $102,013,842.91.

LE PAY

"Le Pay" is a French word meaning payment. Lands treated and agreed upon for nearly 100 years, had not been justly compensated. The people, who were now receiving the payment, expressed mixed feelings. They were reminded of the sufferings that their ancestors endured while they waited in anticipation of Le Pay. Writing to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Indian Agent F. O. Getchell described the torment of the Turtle Mountain people:

> *Such is the place and such are nearly 2,000 of the people who are besieged in their mountain fastness by the peaceful army of the plow that has settled their hunting grounds. Here they are held in worst than bondage while they are waiting, for a settlement with the government for the land so settled by the plowmen, waiting for a day that never comes. While their chance in the land that was their own is fading, fading away from them. God pity their patient waiting and appoint that it may not have been in vain.*
>
> *(Sen. Doc. No. 239, 54th Congress, 1st Session)*

Payment to the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa came through the distribution of three treaty checks. In 1984, members whose names appeared on the 1940 base roll, from the Old Crossing Treaty, received the first payment of about $43.81. They issued a partial payment on June 16, 1988, for $1,721.50, and a final payment on February 1994 of approximately $1,200. Tribal members of one/fourth or more degree of Indian blood and born on or before December 31, 1982 and enrolled before December 30, 1983 were entitled

to share in the claim as an enrolled member. Minors, entitled to the treaty payment, have monies held in trust until their 18th birthday. The Bureau will complete total distribution to this group by December 31, 2000.

TRENTON INDIAN SERVICE AREA

Around the early 1800's, the supply of food and game on the plains had grown scarce. As a result, the seasonal hunting of the Chippewa expanded westward in search of game. This took them into the confluence area of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers, a major crossing point of many other Indian tribes that hunted and traded through the territory. Fort Union, which the American Fur Company had established around 1828, controlled most of the Northwest trade. Around 1867, after the fur trade had declined, they abandoned Fort Union.

Fort Buford was established in 1866, at the juncture of the two rivers. It served as a supply headquarters for military campaigns against the Sioux. Many Indian people continued to hunt and trap around the area. In 1886, following the implementation of the General Allotment Act, there was not sufficient land available on the Turtle Mountain Reservation for allotments for all tribal members. Many had continued their migrational hunting patterns into western North Dakota and in Montana. The Dawes Commission, finding more Turtle Mountain tribal members than there was land, allotted nearly 6,698 acres in western North Dakota, in Williams County to tribal members. During this time, many Turtle Mountain Chippewa, who had hunted in the Williams County area took their allotments, and moved to the Fort Buford Area. The Fort was disbanded on October 21, 1895. Having settled and prospered on their allotments, the Turtle Mountain people continued to live in the area.

In 1884, when the Great Northern Railroad Company founded the town of Trenton, the community quickly became headquarters for the Turtle Mountain people who owned land near it. Trenton benefitted from the employment caused by the railroad construction. A growing and prosperous community, Trenton boasted a variety of mercantile and grocery stores, blacksmith shops, elevators and other establishments. Turtle Mountain people sold wood and coal to the workers. (United Tribes, 1975).

As the railroad industry declined, the Turtle Mountain people migrated to other areas in search of work. Many never returned to the Fort Buford area. During the early part of the 1900's, a group of Turtle Mountain Chippewa continued to live in the area. During the 1930's, many found work in government-sponsored programs, and worked on various development projects, including the Buford-Trenton Irrigation district. They maintained their ties with the Turtle Mountain Band, but received no assistance from them.

When crude oil was discovered in the early 1950's near Tioga, N.D., the resulting oil boom again created a flourishing environment for communities such as Williston and Trenton. The Turtle Mountain Chippewa again experienced prosperity. As the young people grew up, some began to move to the Williston area.

By the early 1970's, the Trenton community had become a community integrated with Indians and non-Indians. The population in Trenton during this time comprised approximately sixty-six white and 188 Indian families. Additional Turtle Mountain families moved to Williston and other nearby communities. (United Tribes, 1975, p. 62).

Because much of their work was greatly dependent upon the local economy, seasonal unemployment was a chronic concern. In the spring of 1972, the people of Williams County, formed the Fort Buford Indian Development Corporation. The purpose was to qualify for several economic recovery programs, and to insure the future of the people. They established the Corporation, and through it received several housing, health service, and employment programs.

During the mid 1970's, many of the Chippewa were concerned with maintaining and preserving their identity as Turtle Mountain Chippewa and their connection to the heritage

and culture. The Fort Buford Development Corporation sought designation as a formal extension of the Turtle Mountain Band. Designated as the "Trenton Indian Service Area," (TISA) was established by Ordinance 28 of the Turtle Mountain Tribal Council on March 25, 1975.

As a result, the people at Trenton formed their own governance structure. The Trenton Indian Service area lies in the northwest corner of North Dakota, and the northeast section of Montana. Much of the area consists of Williams and Divide counties, and the northern portion of McKenzie County. The area covers approximately 6, 200 square miles, is bounded on the north by the Canadian border, and on the west by the Fort Peck Indian Reservation in Montana.

Trenton, the center of operation for TISA, is located 14 miles southwest of Williston, North Dakota. A board of directors governs Trenton Indian Service Area, which consists of seven members, two from each of the three districts, and one chairperson. The chairperson is elected at-large. The enrolled members of the Trenton Indian Service Area elect the board members. The total service population of TISA is approximately 3,000, enrolled members number 2,600.

Today, the Turtle Mountain Chippewas at Trenton celebrate Trenton Indian Service Area Days each July.

TIMELINE

TURTLE MOUNTAIN BAND OF CHIPPEWA

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

- Pictographs
- Wintercount
- Oral Tradition
- Circadian rhythm

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Historically, how did many plains tribal people record history?

2. How are events recorded in contemporary times?

3. How did plains Indian recordkeeping different from records kept by immigrants to the frontier, ancient societies? How were they similar?

4. Why is oral tradition crucial to cultural survival?

5. What role does oral tradition play in maintaining culture and culture practices?

TIMELINE
TURTLE MOUNTAIN BAND OF CHIPPEWA

1300'S	According to Ojibway historical narratives, their forefathers lived on the great salt water, on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean near the Gulf of the St. Lawrence River. The history is told through the Ojibway religion - Me-da-we or Midewiwin. Originally the Ojibway were one tribe, but over three centuries became distinct separate tribes - the Ottawa, Pottawatomie, and Ojibway. All three are Algonquian speaking tribes.
1500'S	The Ojibway proper, after separating from the Ottawa and Pottawatomie, lived at the Falls of Sault Ste. Marie, at the outlet of Lake Superior. Here they established a large village. From this point at Sault Ste. Marie they migrated in all directions.
1608	First Métis are the offspring of men from Champlain's Company who founded Quebec. These men intermarried with Cree and Ojibway women.
1610	First written contact of European traders with the Algonquian tribes.
1653	The Amikwa and Missisauga Ojibway join tribesman at Sault Ste. Marie and go to war against an Iroquois war party. After defeating the Iroquois, the Ojibway retreat for a short time along the south shores of Lake Superior.
1662	United Bands of Ojibway again encounter Iroquois near Sault Ste. Marie and drive them from the territory.
1679	Alliance made between the Ojibway and Dakota. The Dakota agree to let the Ojibway hunt upon the eastern fringes of Dakota country in exchange for delivery of goods, and continued trade with the French. This arrangement lasts 50 years during which the Ojibway spread westward across northern Wisconsin along the shores of Lake Superior.
1693	Ojibway build a large village on Madeline Island at the mouth of Chequamegon Bay. At the same time, the French trading post, LaPointe, is established.
1700	Ojibway acquire firearms. The Missisauga Ojibway move into the area south and east of Lake Superior and their people spread through what is now southern Ontario, between Lake Huron and Lake Erie. Between 1700 and 1736 - the Ojibway establish a foothold west of Lake Superior.
1780	Between 1780 and 1800, the first Plains Ojibway began separating from the Woodland Ojibway proper. A part of this group, had a dialect similar to the Saulteur or "Saulteaux," and among these are Crees and some Ottawa.
1800	The Ojibway are established on the lower Red, Assiniboine, and Souris rivers, and become true Plains Indians.
1802 - 05	Ojibways form permanent settlements at Pembina. Alexander Henry's post is also established at Pembina, in the Red River valley. This band became the nucleus of the Turtle Mountain or Pembina Band Ojibway, or "Chippewa." The general pattern was for the Indians to establish a village, which later became the center of a trader's operations.
1803	First appearance of the Red River Cart. The Métis are credited with inventing this two-wheeled cart, which was considered a major invention. The cart played a major role in early transportation in the northern Dakota territory. The cart provided the first means of movement of goods and was used to transport tents, dried buffalo meat, and hides. Long trains numbering over 100 of the Red River Cart were commonly seen and heard, because of its distinctive sound, during hunting season.

Chippewa participate in the war of 1812.	**1812**
Chippewa sign a treaty of peace with the U.S. Government.	**1815**
First mission school and church established at the Pembina village by Father Severe Dumoulin.	**1818**
The Hudson Bay Company closes its only remaining trading post at Pembina and withdraws north of the border.	**1823**
Mass migration from Pembina to escape flood waters. Chippewa relocate to St. Joseph, site of the North West Company's Hair Hills post, founded in 1801.	**1850**
Fr. Belcourt, an early missionary who became prominent among the Pembina Chippewa, builds a mill at Pembina Mountains, 30 miles up the Pembina River, at St. Joseph's. There are 1,500 French-Canadian, Cree, Chippewa, Assiniboine, and Métis settled by this time. The present community of Belcourt, home of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa, is named after Father Belcourt.	**1856**
March 2 - Creation of the Territory of Dakota. The federal government recognizes the Red Lake and Pembina Chippewa claims for 10,000,000 acres in North Dakota.	**1861**
October 2 - a treaty is concluded between the United States and Red Lake and Pembina Bands of Chippewa at the old crossing of the Red Lake River. This treaty is known as the "Old Crossing Treaty." The Red Lake and Pembina bands of Chippewa cede a large tract of country comprised of the following boundaries: *Commencing at the intersection of the national boundary with the Lake of the Woods; thence in a southwest direction to the head of Thief River; thence following that stream to its mouth; thence southeasterly in a direct line toward the head of Wild Rice River, ad thence following the boundary of the Pillager cession of 1855 to the mouth of said river; thence up the cannel of the Red River to the North of the mouth of the Sheyenne; thence up said river to Stump Lake near the eastern extremity of Devils Lake, thence north to the international boundary; and thence east of said boundary to the place of beginning. (Kappler, 1972, p. 853).* This land embraced nearly all of the Red River valley in Minnesota and Dakota, and was estimated to contain eleven million acres. Little Shell II and Mis-co-muk-quah or Red Bear sign the 1863 treaty.	**1863**
May 5 - The Old Crossing Treaty with the Red Lake and Pembina bands of Chippewas (13 Stat. 667) is ratified by the United States, and signed by President Lincoln.	**1864**
Canada purchases a tract of land (Rupert's Land) in Manitoba, an area of high concentration of Canadian Métis. The Métis protest and claim the method of surveying the land is alien to the manner of Métis ownership. They believe their land base would be destroyed as well as the Métis way of life. This protest is led by Louis Riel, The son of a French father and a Chippewa mother. Riel establishes a provisional government in Manitoba. Of the three Riel requests, provincial status is declared. (Howard, 1952, 1994, p. 174). Riel is exiled to the United States and settles in Montana.	**1870**
March 12- The Manitoba Act is passed by the Parliament of Canada. The act provides for land to be set aside for Métis claims to their ancestral lands. The act allows the use of their native languages, English, and French. The act also provides for the creation of Manitoba as a province with its own legislature.	**1870**

1869 - 70 St. Joseph's is used by Louis Riel as a haven. Fr. Belcourt's bell hangs in the steeple of Walhalla area. St. Joseph's is renamed "Walhalla" with the arrival of Scandinavian settlers.

1870'S Many Métis migrate west to Saskatchewan. As settlers again move into Métis lands, Métis demand action. Riel is called back to act as spokesman. Riel and his followers, after numerous attempts to settle the issues through negotiation, revolt against the state and set up a provisional government in Saskatchewan.

1882 July 11 - Little Shell, residing at Wood Mountain, Manitoba, travels to Turtle Mountain Reservation, and calls a meeting. He warns white settlers not to settle on Turtle Mt. Chippewa lands because the treaty with the United States government had not been signed. While the federal government recognizes Kaishpau Gourneau as chief of the Turtle Mountain Band, in (US Docket 113), Little Shell does not.

1884 St. Mary's Indian Industrial School is built at Belcourt. The school is financed by Sister Catherine Drexel of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and administered by two sisters from Yankton, South Dakota. Two buildings, each 3 stories high, serve as a boarding school for 116 girls and 73 boys on the Turlte Mountain reservation. This Mission, first school built at Belcourt, burns down in 1910.

1885 Following several decisive battles - the second Riel rebellion is destroyed at the Battle of Batoche. November 16 - Louis Riel is hanged for treason at Regina. His followers are released or escaped across the border and settle in Manitoba and North Dakota.

1890 The federal government constructs several "day" schools on the Turtle Mountain Reservation. These schools are named Greatwalker, Roussin, Houle, and Dunseith Day.

1892 July 13 - A three-member commission is authorized to negotiate an agreement with the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa, known as the "McCumber Agreement."

October 22 - Through the McCumber Agreement, the Turtle Mountain Band lose their rights and title to 10,000,000 acres for which the government offers to pay 10 cents per acre. Classified as the best agricultural land in the state, the parcel of land reserved for the Turtle Mountain is insufficient in size (a 6 x 12 - two townships] to accommodate the number of Chippewa. The Commission also wants to extinguish Chippewa title, and remove the Chippewa to Berthold. The Chippewa protest. The "ten cent treaty" is amended and approved on April 21, 1904.

1894 Frame church built at Belcourt by Father Malo. This church replaces the small log church built by the Chippewa in 1880.

1901 - 30 Chief Kakenowash (Flying Eagle) serves a chief of the Turtle Mountain Band.

1906 The first health facility is constructed on the Turtle Mountain Reservation. It is a two-story wood frame building, which formerly served as housing quarters for Indian agency staff.

1916 An old army barracks is moved to Belcourt and renovated into a hospital for the Turtle Mountain Reservation. The hospital accomodates 20 beds, and is staffed with one doctor and two nurses.

Federal government agrees that the Indians would assume the responsibility for educating their own children. Two school districts are formed, Couture and Ingebretson. These two school districts substantively form the Turtle Mountain Community School system. It is not until July 1, 1984 that the two school districts reorganize and become Belcourt School District #1.

Turtle Mountain is severely hit by a flu epidemic. Whole families perish.	**1918**
The Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa continue to be governed by a traditional council. From the early 1900's through the 1920's - the tribal council had legal representation by John and Pierre Bottineau.	
A second hospital is built and replaces the first hospital built in 1916. This three- story concrete structure serves the reservation and off-reservation community for 25 years.	**1931**
A three-story concrete elementary school is built. This building is still in use as an elementary school on the Turlte Mountain Reservation.	
The Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa adopt a constitution, bylaws, and form a self-governing tribal council. The Turtle Mountain band still recognizes its hereditary Little Shell leaders. From 1932 to 1955 meetings are conducted with the Bureau of Indian Affairs Agency.	**1932**
St. Ann's church and Indian Mission school is built. In 1939 a gynasium is added.	**1935**
Belcourt School holds first high school graduation.	**1943**
January 12 - Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa file a claim with the Indian Court of Claims for just payment for lands ceded to the government under the 1863 Treaty and the 1892 McCumber Agreement.	**1948**
June 15 - The Secretary of the Interior approves the revised constitution and bylaws of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa.	**1959**
October - United States Claim Commission hands down a decision that the Red Lake and Pembina Bands are entitled to $3.3 million.	**1961**
February 7 - Turtle Mountain Housing Authority is chartered. The Turtle Mountain Housing Authority manages over 300 rental and mutual help homes.	**1962**
Turtle Mountain Reservation receives funding to build a 50 bed hospital for the community. While direly needed, this facility is unable to keep pace with growing health care needs.	**1968**
A local board of interested educators seek and receive recognition to begin planning and operation of a college on the Turtle Mountain Reservation. November 9 - by Tribal Council Resolution, Turtle Mountain Community College is chartered.	**1972**
Tribe contracts St. Ann's School and renames it the Ojibwa School.	**1974**
KEYA radio is established. The local school board acquires license to operate a radio station.	**1975**
Turtle Mountain Manufacturing Company is established. It is a 100% tribally-owned and operated business. In 1979, the Company's building is constructed.	**1978**
March 18 - U.S. Court of Claims awards $47.3 million to the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa, in compensation for lands taken under the "Ten Cent Treaty" (McCumber Agreement).	**1980**
Turtle Mountain Chippewa Historical Society is established.	**1981**

1981 December 4 - Additional $4.9 million is awarded for the 1905 value of the remaining Pembina lands ceded to the U.S. Government.

1984 Turtle Mountain Community College is granted full accreditation status by the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools.

1985 A new 8 million dollar high school is completed to accommodate the growing Turtle Mountain school age population.

1987 Turtle Mountain Chippewa Heritage Center begins operation.

Uniband, a 100 percent tribally owned enterprise is established. The firm provides data entry services to corporations and governmental agencies.

1989 Turtle Mountain community school system receives support to construct a new middle school on the reservation.

Turtle Mountain Motor Vehicle Department begins producing license plates.

1992 By referendum vote, the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa approve a separation of powers of the tribal government creating judicial and executive branchs of government.

The existing hospital is remodeled and expanded.

1993 The Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa construct a casino, the result of an agreement between the state and the Tribes. This agreement is made possible under the Indian Gaming and Regulatory Act, which allows tribes to negotiate with states for gaming operations.

1997 Turtle Mountain tribal offices move into new headquarters three miles west of the community of Belcourt.

Community fitness center established.

Tribe begins construction of new casino and lodge.

DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE TURTLE MOUNTAIN RESERVATION

LAND BASE

TOPOGRAPHY

CLIMATE

POPULATION AND LABOR FORCE

INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPT

- Aboriginal Title
- Subsistence
- Ownership in Common
- Stewardship

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. The traditional seasonal cycle by which the Chippewa supported themselves and structured their family life was dependent upon the land. What effect did placement on a limited land base have upon the people? Their lifestyles?

2. Where are the major communities located and how do they compare in size, population, business and industry to other North Dakota communities?

3. Very often tribes were placed in geographic areas in which the soil was not arable. Upon review of soil and growing maps, assess and report how the people adapted to their current land base.

4. Compare and contrast how North Dakota tribal peoples and immigrants adapted to their environments.

5. Describe the tribe's economic infrastructure. Is it stable? Why or why not?

6. Compare and contrast the economy on the reservation to neighboring communities and other North Dakota reservations.

LAND BASE

The Chippewas reside on the Turtle Mountain Reservation. The Turtle Mountains are near the geographic center of North America. Located southeast of the International Peace Gardens, the northern boundaries of the reservation run perpendicular to the Canadian Border along the 49th parallel. The land base of the Reservation is entirely within Rolette County, measuring 12 miles (from west to east) by six miles (from north to south).

The Turtle Mountain Reservation boundaries, as agreed upon in the McCumber Agreement, or "Ten Cent Treaty," consist of two townships. When allotments were issued by the Federal Government to individual tribal members, the land approved by Congress was insufficient to meet the allotment needs of the Turtle Mountain Band. As a result, Congress authorized the members of the Turtle Mountain Band to be issued allotments at Grahams Island, Trenton, North Dakota and at other locations in the Dakotas. Today, the land holdings of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa and individual tribal members are 72,255 acres of land on and immediately adjacent to the reservation in Rolette County. The Tribe and its members hold 6698 acres in trust at Trenton and there are individual allotments at other locations throughout North Dakota and other states. A large portion of the land base is in trust status consisting of tribal trust lands and individual trust lands (public domain allotments). The rest is land which is in unrestricted fee status and is mostly owned by individual tribal members. Most of the individual land allotments are fractionated because of heirship (e.g., many tribal members die without providing a will, perhaps because of the traditional belief that lands should be held in common). Another possibility is that the land has become so divided, any attempt to provide a will would be futile. This division of land makes economic development very difficult.

TOPOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

One million years ago during the Cenozoic era, North Dakota was covered by glaciers. These glaciers shaped the topography of the Turtle Mountains. The receding glaciers created an elevated terrain of rolling "turtle back" hills and scooped-out lakes, resulting in an area of scenic beauty unequaled in the state. The Turtle Mountain Reservation is in the Manitoba Escarpment. The hills of the Turtle Mountains range from 200 to 600 feet above the surrounding plains and from 1700 feet to 2300 feet above sea level. The last ice age sculpted the northern half of the Turtle Mountains with hills of sand and gravel. Trapped under these glacier deposits of sand and gravel are underground seas called aquifers. These bodies of water under the earth's surface were developed during this era. The Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa have a legend about the glacier. See Appendix.

The reservation is in an area of a temperate climate. The weather varies from severe winters to moderate summers. In the winter, the temperature averages from 0 degrees to 2 degrees F. The winter days average about nine hours of sunlight, while summer daylight stretches to 18 hours. Most of the rain occurs during the growing season which is anywhere from 90 to 116 days.

NATURAL RESOURCES

The habitat of the Turtle "Mountain" hills is filled with small deciduous trees such as birch, oak, elm, poplar, aspen, willow, and cottonwood. The Manitoba escarpment formed innate woodland lakes, which can be found on the average of one per square mile throughout the reservation. These lakes supply fishing of northern pike, walleye, and perch. The northern half of the reservation has an excellent habitat for wildlife. The southern portion of the reservation consists of rolling plains. These plains are suitable for farming.

The flora of the Turtle Mountains consists of several varieties of plants which attract numerous forms of wildlife (deer, the moose, wolves, fox, beavers, rabbit, to name a few). There are various types of water fowl such as Canadian geese, ducks, and pelicans. Birds such as eagles, hawks, crows, robins, bluebirds, and wrens return year after year to take up residence. Covering the landscape is the tiger lily, ladies' slipper, dog rose, and sage. The wooded region of the Turtle Mountains is home to wild berries such as strawberries, cranberries, choke cherries, a type of hazelnut called a "puk'on," a flat prune-like berry which the Chippewa called a "black hawk," and June berries. The natural resources of animals, plants and forests have provided food, medicine, water and shelter for its inhabitants.

POPULATION AND LABOR FORCE

The people of the Turtle Mountains are their own greatest resource. The Turtle Mountain Reservation has an estimated 26,000 enrolled members. There are approximately 13,151 tribal members living on or near the reservation. Recent statistics show that 40% of the population is under the age of 16.

In 1997 the BIA determined that there was a potential labor force of 5158 tribal members and that 2634 of these were unemployed. According to the 1990 U.S. Census 56.8% of the reservation residents had completed high school while 10.6% completed four or more years of college. The Turtle Mountain reservation has a relatively well educated population.

The labor force has different and diversified employment skills, training, and experience. These trades include: truck driver, carpenter, welder, farmer, farm or ranch hand, nurse or aide, construction worker, restaurant, or retail business employee, bookkeeper or accountant, and a number of other skills. The labor force has accumulated many skills for various economic activities. There are ever increasing numbers of tribal members who are classified as professionals and who have earned 2-year degrees, bachelors' degrees, masters degrees, and Ph.D's. There are at least 350 tribal members who have earned bachelors degrees living on the reservation.

The Turtle Mountain tribal labor force has a rich work ethic and is motivated to work for the private as well as the public sector.

ECONOMY

Major business sectors which employ tribal members in the Turtle Mountain reservation area include the Government: federal, state, and tribal, and the schools, which have a labor force of approximately 560; Turtle Mountain Manufacturing Company, a 100% tribally-owned and operated utility trailer manufacturing plant, employs 186 people; Uniband, a tribal owned data entry firm, employs 850 people nationwide, and has 350 employees at the Belcourt site; Indian Health Service has 245 staff members; Turtle Mountain Community College employs 60 people, and Turtle Mountain Chippewa Casino employes 300 people. Figures show there are 135 Indian-owned businesses existing on and immediately off the reservation that employ many tribal members. Tribal members have found employment in communities surrounding the reservation. For example, the Turtle Mountain Corporation, in Dunseith, employs 130 people who are mostly tribal members. In addition, private businesses, hospitals, nursing homes, schools, and other agencies and industries near the reservation employ approximately 800 tribal members.

For combating unemployment, the tribe established the Turtle Mountain Community College in 1972 to provide postsecondary opportunities to tribal members. Turtle Mountain Community College is directly involved with training of the labor force for industry and agencies located on and adjacent to the reservation. Industries are encouraged to locate in the area and have found the Turtle Mountain reservation's labor force to be abundant and free from various forms of state taxation. This is an added benefit for locating on the reservation. The Indian tribal Tax Status Act has afforded the tribe a much needed competitive and economic boost. The stability and reliability of the Turtle Mountain reservation labor force

are critical to the tribes economic livelihood. The tribal economy is characterized by low absenteeism and low staff turnover rates, as reported by major employers.

The Turtle Mt. Tribe also conducts employment and training activities through the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) Program, which is funded by the Department of Labor. The JTPA program is custom designed each year to fit the employment and on-the-job training needs of the Tribe.

INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES

Belcourt, an unincorporated community, is the only town on the reservation. The Tribal offices for the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa, are located approximately three miles west of the community on Highway 2. Belcourt is the largest Indian community in the state, claiming a population of about 9,000 residents.

EDUCATION

Belcourt's Turtle Mountain Community School system consists of a multimillion-dollar high school completed in 1985 that operates under a local school board of tribal members. The system supports a middle school (constructed in 1989), and a new modern elementary school. In 1974, the Tribe assumed control of the former Catholic mission school of St. Ann's. The new facility, named Ojibwa School, currently operates as a tribal contract school serving kindergarten through grade eight. A Head Start program which have been in existence for more than twenty years, is operated by the tribal government. While some of the facilities are relatively new, all reservation schools have inadequate space to serve the ever increasing enrollments. A small number of students attend boarding schools.

Turtle Mountain Indian Student Enrollments

Turtle Mt. Reservation School Enrollments*	
High School	560
Middle School	386
Elementary School	887
Ojibwa School	386
Dunseith Day School	237
TOTAL	**2,456**

* Figures from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1996-1997.

Public School Indian Enrollments*	
Rolla	102
Rolette	29
St. Johns	112
Dunseith	383
TOTAL	**626**

* 1996-1997 Johnson O'Malley statistics.

Headstart Program	
Belcourt Site	**325**
3 & 4 year olds	

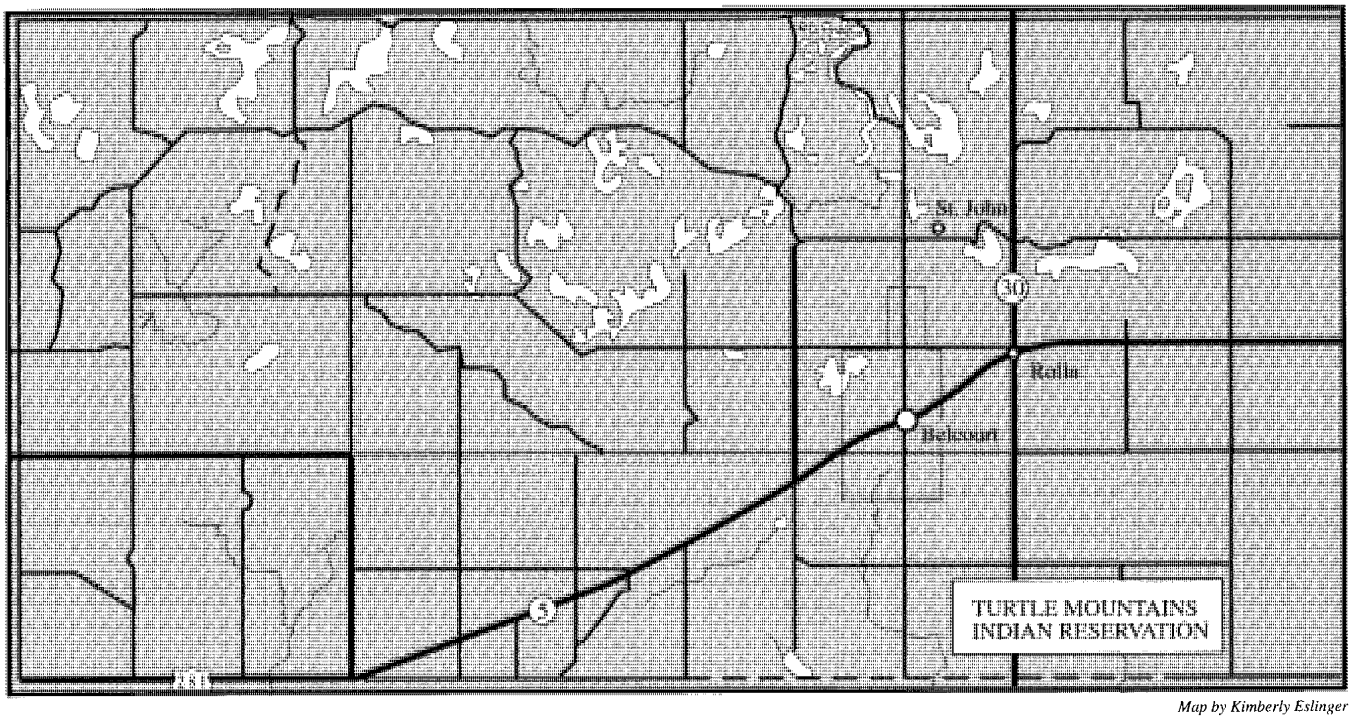
Turtle Mt. Community College	
Full-time students'	500
GED program	225
TOTAL	**725**

TURTLE MOUNTAIN COMMUNITY COLLEGE

The Turtle Mountain Community College was established by the tribal government through by resolution in November 1972. The College has as its mission to provide post secondary training to tribal members. The College seeks to preserve and promote the culture and heritage of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa by bringing the culture to bear throughout the curriculum and providing community service to the reservation. There are 500 full-time equivalent students each year in the colleges' post-secondary programs, and 225 in the GED program. The College is building a new campus facility near Belcourt Lake. The facility has a projected December 1998 completion date.

TRANSPORTATION

The Turtle Mountain reservation has excellent highway accessibility. Belcourt is bisected by U.S. 281, a major north-south route that passes east-west through the reservation, connecting with the Trans-Canada Highway 10, U.S. highway 2, and State highway 30. While the Bureau of Indian Affairs, tribal roads and other county roads make it possible to reach all areas of the reservation, roads on the reservation remain mostly unpaved and in poor driving condition.



Map by Kimberly Eslinger

Trucking, air, and rail freight services are available at Rolla and other nearby towns. The Rolla airport has a 3,300 foot blacktop runway and a 2,600 foot sod runway, which provides air taxi services. The United States Postal (USPS), Federal Express, and United Parcel Services (UPS) include the reservation in their delivery area. Regular commercial air and Amtrak passenger services are available at Devils Lake, Minot, and Rugby, with respective distances of 84, 105, and 45 miles. Taxi and limousine services are available on the reservation.

BUSINESS SERVICES

The Belcourt community provides a variety of services to its members and the surrounding area. Many tribal members own the service businesses on the reservation. The community has automobile repair shops, convenience stores, grocery stores, lumber yards, construction companies, restaurants, and cleaning service companies. The community also has a print shop, a business form distributor, laundromat, cable television, and garbage collection company. Tourists and shoppers enjoy tax free shopping on the reservation. Community members encourage and support one another by investing in local business ventures.

The Turtle Mountain tribal government and the federal government provide some utility services to the surrounding communities. The tribal public utility department provides and maintains a rural water system for people who reside on or near the reservation. Non-reservation telephone services and utilities are available as are three electric companies, several gas, fuel oil, and propane suppliers. The reservation also has an Indian Health Services center and a local agency office for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Both are located in the Belcourt community. The Bureau of Indian Affairs and the North Dakota State Highway Department provide road maintenance and repair of all local roadways.

INDIAN HEALTH SERVICE

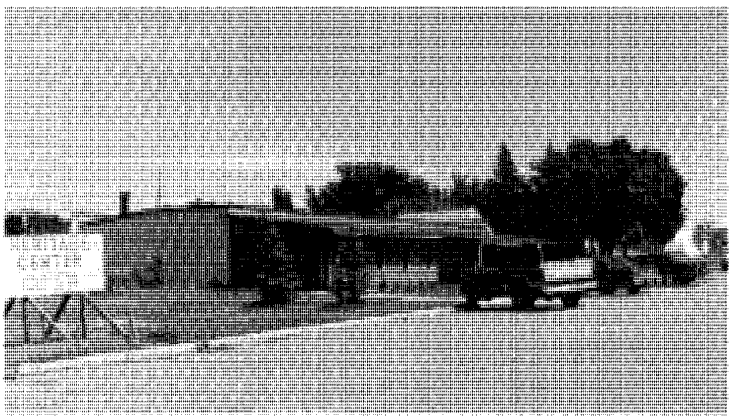
Health services began on the Turtle Mountain Reservation in 1906. Doctors were contracted through the Bureau of Indian Affairs to visit the reservation twice weekly. In 1955, the operation of the health facility transferred from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the United States Public Health Service. In 1968, a modern fifty-two bed facility was built. This facility served the reservation for 25 years. Unable to keep pace with a fast growing population and its health care needs, a large, more technologically sophisticated facility was completed in the spring of 1994. Many of the staff physicians, nurses, pharmacists, administrators, secretaries, lab. technicians, and other health professionals are enrolled tribal members.

TURTLE MOUNTAIN HOUSING AUTHORITY

The Turtle Mountain Housing Authority was chartered by the Tribe in 1962. This agency is governed by a local board of directors appointed to work with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. The Turtle Mountain Housing Authority has built numerous low-income rental units, 1,300 individually-owned homes, and a retirement center which include eighty (80) one-bedroom units. While housing conditions have greatly improved in the last thirty years, there are still an estimated four-hundred plus families without homes or are living in substandard conditions on the reservation.

TURTLE MOUNTAIN CHIPPEWA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A vision of preserving and promoting the culture and heritage of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa was the mission of the founders of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Historical Society. Through the commitment of dedicated individuals, the organization was formed in 1981. After many years of planning and fund raising, their dream of preserving the heritage of the people was realized with the completion of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Heritage Center which opened in July of 1987. Visitors from all over the world have logged their signatures into the Heritage Centers' guest book.



At the Center there are displays depicting the past of the Chippewa life ways. Contemporary area artisans have established themselves as world renowned artists, producing and exhibiting sculptures, paintings, quilts, willow baskets and birch bark containers. Visitors may purchase beadwork, jewelry, tapes and albums of local area artists. The Center also serves as an archive of tribal history and cultural resources. The overwhelming response to the heritage center has prompted a revival of Chippewa art. There is a need for a larger facility, not only for sales purposes, but for displays, dioramas, gallery showings, and visiting exhibits.

ANISHINAUBAG

"ANISHINAUBAG" is an Intercultural Center located along the southern shoreline of Belcourt Lake. The Center shares the facility with St. Paul's Indian Ministries Foundation, sponsored by the Lutheran Church. The Center's theme is to preserve the cultural heritage of the North Dakota tribes, including the Anishinabe and to eliminate the barriers of misunderstanding by sharing cultures. The surrounding environment offers visitors activities such as fishing, swimming, canoeing and hiking. Cabins are available for rent as are individual or group tours. The Center holds several summer camps for children of various ages. Hiking trails provide sites of wigwams, earth lodges, tipi's, and sweat lodges.

TURTLE MOUNTAIN MOTOR VEHICLE DEPARTMENT

To support and build the Tribe's infrastructure, the Turtle Mountain government formed a corporation to produce their own license plates. The Turtle Mountain Motor Vehicle Department began operation in 1989. Through agreement with the State, enrolled reservation members have a choice of purchasing tribal or state license plates. In January of 1993, 4,386 residents registered vehicles with the Turtle Mountain Motor Vehicle Department. The T.M. Motor Vehicle Department also provides licenses for boats, trailers, and other recreational vehicles.

KEYA RADIO STATION

KEYA is a public, nonprofit radio station, which was chartered and began operation in October of 1975. KEYA, derives its name from a Cree word meaning "you." The station was originally licensed under the Belcourt School Board, but currently operates under a Board of Directors consisting of tribal members and business leaders. The station has full-time staff and numerous volunteers, and exists with donations derived from annual pledge drives, business underwriting, and grants. Funding has come from such organizations as the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, the North Dakota Humanities Council, and the Tribal Council. It has the distinction of being the third oldest Indian operated radio station in the nation.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISES

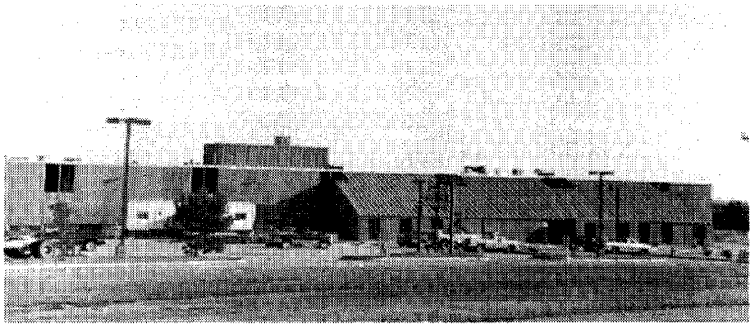
The Turtle Mountain Chippewa are successful entrepreneurs. Rolette county has 135 private owned and operated Indian businesses. These businesses range from grocery stores, gas stations, convenience stores, to construction, electrical, plumbing, and cable television companies. Many tribal members are self-employed as artisans. A mall, centrally located in the community consists of a grocery store, floral shop, branch bank, post office, barber shop, hair salon, restaurant and variety store. Adjacent to the Mall is an 8-lane bowling alley, lounge, casino, and restaurant.

TRIBAL INDUSTRIAL SERVICES

In the late 1950's a 40-acre industrial park was established three miles west of Belcourt on U.S. 281. Since that time, the Park has had steady activity and a proven track record of quality work. Two tribal industries, Uniband and Turtle Mountain Manufacturing Company are located in the Park. There is a large, available, trained labor force from which the employer can pick and choose, good transportation routes, ample utilities, and tax advantages available to prospective employers.

TURTLE MOUNTAIN MANUFACTURING COMPANY

Turtle Mountain Manufacturing Company (TMMC) has been in business since 1978. TMMC is 100% tribally-owned and operated and one of the reservation's largest employers. The Company employs 186 people full-time and grosses $19 million annually. The firm manufactures cargo trailers, truck boxes, and farm machinery. The Company has a production and storage area of 100,000 square feet.



In March of 1989, TMMC ended participation in the Department of Commerce's Small Business Administration's 8(a) program, a program which provides eligible minority firms with noncompetitive access to selected federal contracts. Since that time, the company has diversified into light steel fabrication.

UNIBAND DATA ENTRY CORPORATION

Founded in 1987, Uniband is a 100 percent tribally owned data preparation and information processing business. "Uniband" combined the names of the Unibase Corporation and the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians. Initially incorporated as a

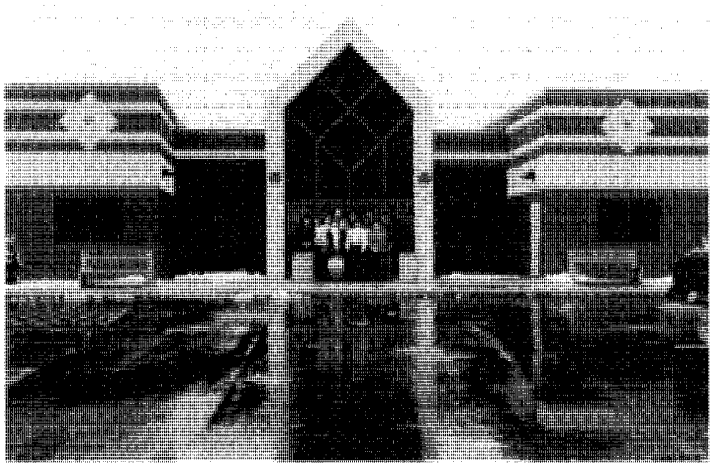


Photo Courtesy of Going Places Magazine, 1996.

joint-partnership with Unibase, of Salt Lake City, Utah, the Tribe bought out Unibase's 49% interest and is now sole owner.

The company employs approximately 900 employees, a number which has steadily grown since the business began. As a successful business of the Tribe, Uniband, in 1995, moved into a new facility constructed in the Industrial Park. The business does on-site data processing, but it has expanded to satellite work sites which include the immediate communities of Belcourt, Rolette, Leeds, White Shield, Bismarck, and Minot, ND. Other sites include Washington, D.C., San Diego, California, Chicago, IL, Miami, FL., Norfolk, VA, Tucson, AZ, Rockville, MD, and Albuquerque, NM. In 1996, when Uniband expanded to the community of White Shield, on the Fort Berthold reservation, the tribes hailed this historic venture as the beginning of an effort to help one another develop economic opportunities.

TURTLE MOUNTAIN CHIPPEWA CASINO

The Turtle Mountain Chippewa Casino, is a gaming enterprise started by the Turtle Mountain Band in 1992. In accordance with the National Indian Gaming and Regulatory Act of 1988, the Turtle Mountain Band entered into an agreement with the State of North Dakota, to conduct class three gaming. It was the first North Dakota tribe to enter into such a gaming compact. The Turtle Mountain Chippewa Casino operates two sites. The main Casino is located four miles west of the community of Belcourt, and includes poker tables, gaming tables, slot machines, lounge, gift shop, concessions, and bingo hall. A smaller casino is located in the Turtle Mountain mall.

CHIPPEWA DOWNS

Situated behind the Tribal Industrial Park is the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Downs. Built in the mid-1970's, Turtle Mountain Downs has space for rodeos and horse racing. Each summer the Downs offers parimutuel betting at the race track.

TRIBAL ARTISANS

The tribally-funded Turtle Mountain Artists Board was established to promote and publicize the abundant area talent of singers, song writers, musicians, and visual and performing artists. The Tribe funds the Traditional Culture and Pow Wow Committee. The Little Shell Memorial Pow Wow is held in Dunseith, ND during the month of July. The annual Turtle Mountain Powwow is held during the Labor Day weekend drawing participants from the United States and Canada.

TURTLE MOUNTAIN TIMES

In 1993, the Turtle Mountain Times, a tribally-owned weekly newspaper, began operation. Most of the staff are tribal members.

ST. ANN'S MISSION

In 1885, St. Ann's Catholic Mission was started at Belcourt. Its purpose was to serve the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa. The present church was constructed in 1935. It is the largest Indian parish in the diocese of Fargo, ND.

TURTLE MOUNTAIN TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

TRADITIONAL CHIPPEWA GOVERNMENT

DIVISIONS OF SOCIETY

CONTEMPORARY TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

SOVEREIGNTY

TRUST RESPONSIBILITY

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS:

- Traditional Forms of Governance
- Modern Forms of Governance
- Self Governance
- Sovereignty
- Trust Responsibility

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How does governance differ in traditional and modern forms of tribal government?

2. What characteristics of limited and unlimited government apply to tribal governments?
   To state governments?
   To the federal government?

3. There are several kinds of relationships between the central government of a nation and other units of government within that nation. What is the relationship between the tribe and the state? Between the tribe and the federal government?

4. Are tribal governments the same as municipal and state governments?
   Discuss and report.

5. There are alternative ways of organizing constitutional governments - representative and electoral. How are tribal governments organized?

6. Can tribal governments be defined as confederal, federal, or unitary systems of governments?
   Why?
   Why not?

TRADITIONAL CHIPPEWA GOVERNMENT

The Chippewa social system was structured to meet the basic need for tribal maintenance, growth, and longevity. This philosophy of the Ojibway Nation focused on mans five basic needs, as described by Basil Johnston (1990):

> *From mans five basic individual and social needs and endeavors, leadership, protection, sustenance, learning, and physical well-being, emerged the framework and fabric of Ojibway society.*

***TRIBE** - Chippewa

***BAND** - Turtle Mt. Band

***CLAN** - Totem

*Chippewa and Cree are examples of Tribes (Nations). Red Lake Band, White Earth Band, and Turtle Mountain Pembina Band are examples of Bands. The Bear, Fish, and Deer represent clans.

The Clan System was the framework and fabric of Chippewa Society. The totem identified a function for clan members based upon mans five basic individual and social needs and endeavors—leadership, protection, sustenance, physical well-being, and learning. Tribal members, who were born under the same totem, considered themselves brothers and sisters and this connected them into an alliance for the well-being of all members. Totems were descended through the male line (Warren 1985). In this way chieftainship sometimes passed on from father to son, when the son revealed the ability to prove himself in a manner that the majority agreed upon.

> *And whereas . . . it has been the custom, practice, and tradition among the [Chippewa] for the chief of the tribe to select his . . . councilmen from the members of the tribe. A councilman served only during the period in which he could act in harmony with the chief and the majority of the council, and when he could not do so he resigned. Such councils answered the same end and purpose as does the Cabinet and Congress of the United States. Those customs and traditions have always been respected by the United State Government in all its dealings with the Indians wherever located. And in accordance with said customs and traditions, Ays Sence or Little Shell, senior, appointed his council. (Senate Document 444 - October 24, 1892).*

These honorable positions were aspiring through the oral history that they passed from generation to generation. The purpose of the history was to provide an understanding of the origin of culture and values.

DIVISIONS OF SOCIETY

LEADERSHIP

The birds represented the symbol of the leadership totem. The crane, the echo-maker, was considered most eminent because of its infrequent unique call. The loon was next to the crane. They trained and prepared youth born into these totems for leadership duties. Not all those whom they trained were chosen. By custom, the elders invited the person of their choice, and offered them the Pipe of Peace. If the selected individual accepted the pipe, it showed acceptance of the responsibility. One who was a leader did not act on his own response. The leader talked with the consulting leaders in the band. They chose a person devoted to peace and harmony to lead.

SUSTENANCE

Those individuals born into the totems of moose, deer, caribou, beaver, martin, and muskrat were greatly respected for the responsibility they carried, because these totem members kept the villages supplied with food, articles for clothing, and shelter. A young hunters' first kill was an occasion that they celebrated (Johnston, 1990). The hunters walked for miles, sometimes days, carrying their kill great lengths, and facing many dangers along the way.

DEFENDERS

The animals with fierce dispositions made up the totems of the defenders—bear, lynx, and wolf. Having a warrior society was essential to the survival of the people. The Ojibway had a group of defenders who took over the leadership roles during times of war. After the battles were over, or the danger passed, the warriors gave up the leadership position. When the group encountered a war situation, the war chief invited warriors to participate by offering them the war pipe to smoke. A warrior could refuse, but if they smoked from the war pipe they had accepted their responsibility. The war chief blew a whistle to signal the beginning of a battle. War chiefs could come from any totem, although they were predominantly from the defender totem. (Johnston, 1979, p. 69).

TEACHERS

The totem associated with teaching was the fish. The tribe had a commitment to train each member to be an individual. They conducted training in three stages. From the time of birth, until the age of about seven years, women and elders looked after the children. After the age of seven, young boys went with the men and clan teachers to learn to hunt and fish, while the young women worked along the side of their mothers, tribal elders, and clan teachers. The third stage was the time when a young person began to seek wisdom from others around them. During this stage, the learner realized his quest of knowledge, and sought out those who had the wisdom to teach them. Knowledge did not come looking for the youth; one had to seek it. The grandmothers, grandfathers, tribal elders, and clan teachers taught the younger generation about life. The elders used stories, parables, fables, allegories, songs, chants, and dances to teach several values and life lessons to the young. The learning process was developmentally appropriate and about the season. (Johnston, p. 70).

HEALERS

The totem that symbolized the healing society was the otter and the turtle. Although one could be born into this clan, there was no guarantee that she or he would possess the healing gift. Some medicine men and women were herbalists; others became herablist-philosphers. Medicine men and women could identify healing qualities in children and prefer to select a youth with these abilities for apprenticeship. This mentor relationship would last many years while the chosen person learned the many herbs and roots, prevention and principles for a life of longevity. The practices of the medicine society encompassed psychology, metaphysics, morality, ethics and ceremony. (Johnston, pp. 71, 72). Powers associated with healing did not pass to the apprentice until the teacher moved onto the next life.

CONTEMPORARY TURTLE MOUNTAIN TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

Indian agents, placed at Turtle Mountain by the United States government, between 1892 and 1932, played a dominant role in the selection of Turtle Mountain tribal governments. This process ignored the tribes traditional forms of hereditary leadership. While some tribal members continued to recognize Thomas Little Shell as the hereditary chief, he never assumed those duties.

In 1932, the Turtle Mt. Chippewa adopted a constitution and bylaws and elected a tribal council. The Turtle Mountain people rejected the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) in a special election of the people. They chose to keep their own constitution. The people called

it self government. The Secretary of the Interior approved the revised constitution and bylaws of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa on June 16, 1959. They approved new amendments to the tribal constitution in 1962 and 1975.

Today, a council of nine elected tribal officials governs the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa. They hold an election every two years, and all enrolled members age eighteen and over who meet the residency requirements, are eligible voters. Two representatives from each of the four districts and a tribal chair are elected at large. The general election coincides with state and national elections in November.

The general responsibilities of the Tribal Council are to represent, negotiate, and legislate for an estimated 13,151 enrolled members of the Turtle Mountain Band who live on the reservation. The Tribal Council focuses on the interests of the tribe through ordinances and resolutions, and by overseeing the management of enterprises, lands, and funds held in common by the Tribe. As a sovereign tribal nation, the Turtle Mountain Band established their own court system and tribal laws. The tribal government has oversight of tribal development projects to ensure a stable economic future for the Chippewa people.

Until recently, the tribal council was under one branch of government. In a May 1992 election, the members of the Turtle Mountain Band voted for a separation of powers. There now exists executive, judicial, and legislative branches of government.

SOVEREIGNTY

The Commerce Clause (art. I, s. 2, cl. 3) and the Treaty Clause (art. II, s. 2, cl. 2) of the United States Constitution granted authority to the United States Government to enter into treaties with Indian tribes. As a result, the Supreme Court has upheld that Indian Tribes have inherent right to govern themselves. The Supremacy Clause of the United States Constitution embodies the right of tribal governments to maintain separate forms of government and enforces this provision through the plenary powers of Congress. (Monette, 1995). These rights include the power to decide the form of government, the power to define conditions for membership in the nation, the power to administer justice and enforce laws, the power to tax, the power to govern the domestic relations of its members, and the power to regulate property use.

The first treaties Indians made were with European countries, mainly the British. The first treaty made with the United States was with the Delawares in 1778. Since that time, 370 treaties were entered into between American Indian tribes and the United States. The Supreme Court has expressly held that an Indian treaty is not a grant of rights to Indians, but a grant of rights from them. (Pevar, 1995, p. 37). It is through the treaties and agreements between the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewas and the Federal Government that the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa has retained its sovereign status.

The Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa has sovereign authority within the boundaries of the reservation, on trust land adjacent to the reservation, and on allotted trust land off of the reservation. The Indian Citizenship Act, of June 2, 1924 recognized all American Indians, whom they did not recognize previously, as United States citizens. The dual citizenship status of native people of the United States assures that tribal people may vote in tribal, state, and national elections. (Davis, 1997, Monette, 1995, Monette, 1994).

TRUST RELATIONSHIP

The source of the trust relationship originates in international law, treaties, legislation, and judicial decisions. The law continues to change as laws are made and new court cases are heard. The trust relationship is constantly changing. Presently, the law states that the United States is responsible for protecting Indian lands, resources, and for providing resources such as health, education, and preserving tribal autonomy. These rights and benefits are guaranteed to tribes as a result of promises made by the federal government in return for the cession of more than 97% of Indian land to non-Indians (OBrien, 1962, pp. 261-262).

CULTURAL OVERVIEW

INTRODUCTION

WOODLAND WAYS OF LIVING

WAYS OF BELIEVING

LIFEWAYS ON THE PLAINS

CULTURE IN TRANSITION

THE CULTURE TODAY

ANNUAL SOCIAL EVENTS

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

- Subsistence
- Harmony with nature
- Family and clan structure
- Impact of boarding schools

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What is subsistence and why was it important to native cultures?

2. How did the environment and geography shape the lifestyles and traditions of native peoples?

3. How are lifestyles affected by changing seasons?

4. What are some similarities and differences between native and nonnative family structures?

5. What are clans, bands, and why are they significant to the Turtle Mountain people?

6. What are some differences between historical and contemporary divisions of work for both native and non-native people?
   Your family?
   In the past and in the present?

7. Why were native students taken from their homes and sent to boarding schools?

INTRODUCTION

The cultures of Native Americans on this continent have had an impact on America. Some aspects of the lifeways and cultures of native peoples have been adapted by contemporary American society. Native peoples contributed foods, medicines, and languages to the Europeans with whom they came into contact. Pumpkins, squash, wild rice, and pemmican are examples of foods which were introduced by Native Americans. Animal names such as chipmunk, muskrat, raccoon, and caribou are all Algonquin in origin adopted by American society. Many lakes, rivers, mountains, and states have Native American names.

Traditionally, the Chippewa people were primarily a hunting and gathering society. They hunted various animals for food and clothing. They gathered berries, nuts, roots, vegetables, fruits, and wild rice for food and medicinal purposes. The Chippewa have a legend about mun-dam-in (Corn) which indicates that they were sedentary to a degree. They coexisted in harmony with nature and had a special relationship to animals evident in the structure of tribal society which centered around the clan system. Each clan is symbolized by animals. Their legends describe natures phenomena.

There are many factors that facilitated the transition and evolution of the Turtle Mountain people into the unique culture that exists today. The transition from woodlands to plains people vastly influenced the culture of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa. Food, transportation, clothing, and housing were all adapted to meet the needs of the people and the tribe. In addition, the blending of other cultures greatly impacted their language and lifeways from social structure and language, to customs and dance.

WOODLAND WAYS OF LIVING

FISHING

For the Chippewa situated along the Great Lakes, the Minnesota lakes and rivers, and the Turtle Mountain lakes, fish were an abundant source of protein. Fishing was often done at night by canoeing the shallow waters and spearing fish. Torches, made of spruce pitch, lit the night waters for the fisherman and attracted the fish to the canoe. On summer nights the torches of the fishermen reflected upon the lakes and glowed for miles. Fish were trapped with basket traps, snares, wires, gill nets, and dip nets. Fish hooks were made of willow twigs. Strips of fish and meat along with berries were dried in the sun. The catch was then stored in six foot deep pits lined with dried grass and timbers. Filled with fish and other meats, these pits or caches provided provisions for winter.

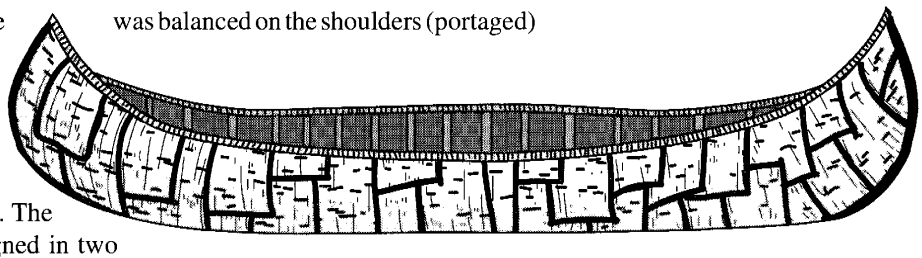
HUNTING

The making of Woodland bows and arrows required a lot of time, patience, skill, and craftsmanship. Arrow shafts were made out of different types of wood depending on what was being hunted. For example, arrows that were used for waterfowl were made of cedar because they would float. The stalks of Juneberry bushes were used mainly for making arrows. For the fetching of the arrow, feathers were utilized. Each warrior decorated his own arrows with individual markings so one could recognize another hunter's arrow. Bows were made from branches of ash trees, usually four-feet long in length. The fiber used for the bowstring was made of the Stinging Nettle plant or from a material found in the neck of a snapping turtle. A perfected bow made of these materials was capable of driving an arrow completely through an animal as large as a moose.

TRANSPORTATION

While living in the Minnesota lakes and rivers, the most useful form of transportation for the Chippewa was the canoe. They were expert craftsmen at building canoes. Birch bark was used as the outside covering for canoes. The frame was usually made from small strips of cedar wood. The outside lining of birch bark was sewn together with the root of pine trees, and covered with pitch derived from pine or balsam trees. Most traveling was done on

foot through the woods, and the canoe was balanced on the shoulders (portaged) from one lake to another.



CLOTHING

Many articles of clothing were made from the soft tanned hides of deer. The women wore dresses which were designed in two pieces. Women wore leggings that came to the knee. Jewelry was made from small pieces of leather and beads. Most dresses and other clothing articles were intricately decorated with floral designs or diamond shapes. Dyed porcupine quills were often used to decorate belts or jewelry. The women wore braids, and tied the ends with leather strips. Moccasins worn by women were similar to men's, in that they were often decorated with quills or beadwork. During the 1800's, contact and trade with the U.S. army was established, and women began using trade blankets and calico to make dresses.

Men wore tanned hide breech clothes, leggings, moccasins, and tanned robes. The men's leggings were worn from the ankle to the hip with a belt type strap used to secure the leggings. The robe was replaced by army blankets when trade with the United States government began. Men often wore braids and fastened the ends with leather ties. The women designed ornamented buckskins for their men with beading and quill work. The tanning of hides was a task performed by the women.

Photo courtesy of Minnesota Historical Society.

DWELLINGS

While the tribe was basically stationary, homes varied with the season. The homes they built in the spring were made from birch bark and called wigwams. In the winter, the structural designs of the homes were dome-shaped. The exterior was insulated with snow. The floors of the wigwam were layered with woven mats of balsam branches and covered with furs.

FAMILY LIFE

The people lived together in extended family units. Each group would settle in an area where their needs were best supported by the environment around them. The land was not owned, but collectively shared by those within a tribal group. The forest was always a source of game for hunting and gathering of berries or plants.

Their daily lives were guided by the seasons. With each change of the climate, a different phase of economic activity occurred. In the spring, those who had spent the winter together would set up camp near maple forests. The springtime work included the activity of maple camp or sugar making. These camps were enjoyed by all those involved in the processing and continue to operate in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Ontario. Other nearby wintering groups would meet up and cooperate in these festive springtime activities.

Engaving by Henry Schoolcraft, 1852. Minnesota Historical Society.

SEASONS

The Chippewa respected the cycle of seasons. In the fall, the tribe again split into extended family groups. Each group, consisting of about sixteen members, would hunt for a large quantity of food needed to be prepared for the winter's rations. On these hunts, spiritual leaders went along with family groups to pray for the success of the hunt.

The winter months were spent in wigwams. Snowshoes were imperative for winter travel. But often, the blizzards, deep snow, and cold temperatures confined the families to

their homes for weeks at a time. These long hours of winter darkness were spent telling stories, repairing clothes, making fish nets, preparing children for rituals, and long hours of warm peaceful rest. (MacDonald, 1991, pp. 28-32).

WAYS OF BELIEVING

All Ojibway people practiced the time-honored Midewewin religion. The Midewewin, Great Medicine Society, was an organization of medicine healers. The priests of the Midewewin contend that their religion began with their cultural hero Nanabozoho, the Great Hare, by order of the Great Spirit. Members of the Midewewin believe that Mother Earth is a living thing, and that all plants and animals upon her contain a spirit that is part of the Divine Creator. The Chippewa respected the cycle of seasons, the four corners of the earth, and gave thanks. Besides being a religious philosophy, the Midewewin is a practice of preserving the medicinal qualities of plants to aid the people's longevity. (Greatwalker, 1992). See Appendix for legend of how Nanabozoho brought the Midewiwin to the people.

The ethics of the Midewewin religion are simple, yet comprised the structure of family values. Midewewin philosophy is related to nature. Tribal members lived as one with all life. They honored the "Four Orders of Creation, physical, plant, animal, and human. Without the earth, plants, and animals, there would not be human life. The Chippewa believed they were the last form of life created on Mother Earth, and lived with respect for all life forms, often calling other forms of creation their elders. Respect was a value they honored. With the teaching of values, proper conduct was inspired. The Chippewa believed a long and balanced life was acquired through following the sacred teachings of the Midewewin.

The practice of the Midewewin instilled values to the individual and the tribe. Such characteristics as sharing, honor, and learning throughout ones life were attributes of proper conduct. The survival of Chippewa society depended on the success of the tribe as a whole. Cooperation is an important factor to maintain safety and well-being for everyone. Individuals were encouraged to develop personal skills. Through observation members acknowledged another's abilities and honored them. In this way, individuals built self-esteem and a strong sense of pride in oneself and in one's family.

LIFEWAYS ON THE PLAINS

The Pembina Band of Chippewa began movement to the Turtle Mountains where they wintered, and eventually adapted to a Plains culture. This included the semi-annual buffalo hunt, which was a common practice of the Plains tribes. The success of the hunt was necessary for the survival of all the tribal members during winter. The Chippewas were expert buffalo hunters. Several generations of hunting and trapping conditioned the Chippewa to become expert marksmen with flint-lock rifles. During these expeditions, captains were elected to carry out orders and to oversee the strategic plans. Everyone - men, women, and children participated in the buffalo hunt. While on the plains, the tepee became the mobile home of nomadic life. This cone-like structure, made from buffalo skins, could be set up in a matter of minutes. It was easy to carry, and could be used as a year-round home. This temporary shelter was extremely important for enabling the hunter to easily move with the grazing herds. The preservation of food was also a problem. Sun-dried buffalo meat was pounded into pieces, mixed with buffalo fat, and moulded into balls. Berries were sometimes added for

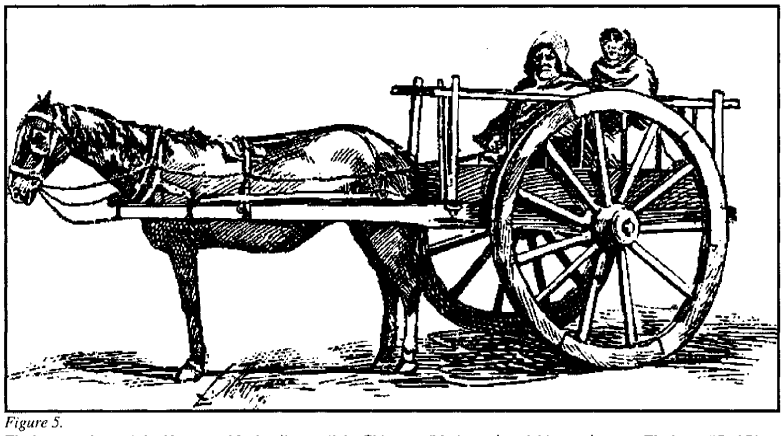


Figure 5.
The horse and travois had been used for hauling until the Chippewa/Metis produced this wooden cart. The large "Red River Cart" was effective for hauling up to a thousand pounds of supplies and roll easily over the grass-covered prairies. (Jelliff, p. 130) From Loundsberry, 1917. Vol. 1, p. 144a.

flavor. In later years this food staple, called pemmican, became a major food source for the fur trade, and developed into an economic commodity for the Chippewa. Although the buffalo was important, the Chippewa still continued to fish the rivers, and gather wild rice.

Drawing of the Métis Dancing by Voelkerer. #3360. Minnesota Historical Society.

At the turn of the 19th century, the Chippewa established a settlement near Pembina. Numerous families had developed small, river-front plots into workable farms, usually around fifteen acres. It was enough to support the extended family's needs. Gardens were grown, harvested, and traded or preserved for winter. Cattle were also raised and grazed on these families plots. Houses were made of earth (sod). Later, log cabins were the first homes built. When the Chippewa went on buffalo hunts, they continued to live in tepees made from buffalo hides.

As a result of hunting and trapping in the Red River Territory, a unique type of homemade horse and/or ox drawn carriage was developed by the Métis, called the "Red River Cart. This form of transportation was well suited for the Red River territory.

During the time the Chippewa made their home in the Red River Valley, another era of transition occurred. Lifestyles were once again modified to fit the needs of many of the people. The fiddle tune "Red River Jig" is an example of the blending of culture through music and dance. The fiddle was a strong symbol of Turtle Mountain culture for many Turtle Mountain Chippewa. The "Red River Jig" is a tune to which many people dance yet today.

Fiddle music, square dancing, jigging, and contemporary country music are all forms of the French influence in dance and music expressions that are seen today. The first mission came to Pembina in 1818 and many tribal members adopted the Catholic faith. Today, St. Anns, at Belcourt, is the largest Catholic parish in North Dakota.

THE IMPACT OF RESERVATIONS

Surviving the early days of reservation life was a test of individual and family strength. Life was simple, yet the struggle to maintain daily needs was a constant battle. The early years of reservation life lacked an economy, agricultural means, or social programs for the hungry. The people were dependent on whatever existence they could produce. The majority of the people lived in extended family homes where grandparents, parents, and other family members resided. During the summer, large gardens were planted, cultivated, and harvested by family members. Wild berries were picked and the women canned fruits, jellies, and made syrup. Some ground berries and dried them for future use. The surrounding lakes provided an abundant source of fish. People raised their own chickens, pigs, ducks, turkeys or cattle for meat. The men and their sons still hunted for wild game such as deer, moose, rabbits, and ducks. The family worked together all summer to produce enough food for the extended family to survive the winter. Since the only source of heat in the winter was from burning wood, families worked together throughout the summer to gather the winter supply. Being self-sufficient and adaptive was characteristic of the Chippewa people. Having the ability to be productive was an important family value. The Chippewas were resourceful. Bartering and trading for food and other objects of need, was quite common. (St. Ann's Centennial Book, 1985, 89-101). Baskets made of red willow, were made for home use or used for barter. These baskets are unique to the Turtle Mountain Reservation.

Aiaigiyig, wife of Kakapishkung, making willow baskets. (Circa 1929). Photo courtesy of Belcourt School District #1.

EDUCATION

Education was an all-inclusive system which continuously reinforced a lifelong process of learning and teaching among the Chippewas. Traditionally, Chippewa children received an education from their family, clans, and extended family. The missionaries were the first to institutionalize education for the Pembina Chippewa.

Through treaties, in exchange for lands ceded, the Federal Government promised to provide educational services for the Chippewa. The governments objective was designed to break down the cultures and traditions of Indian people and to urge their adoption of Western culture and economic practices.

Because the Chippewa population was growing faster than the community could accommodate, and schools and teachers were in short supply, children were sent or forced into boarding schools. Many school-age children were transported to Indian boarding schools throughout the United States where they remained for the school year, and in some cases a year round, for up to eight years or more or until their course of study was complete.

Traditional ways of preparing children to learn and live in their environment were gradually eroded. Within these institutions of education, children were isolated from their families, and forbidden to speak their language or continue their cultural practices. Some children had little or no contact with their families, and as a result, strong familial bonds and family roles and other family traditions were broken and lost. These separations were brought about in many cases because of the economic and social depression of early reservation years. Parents hoped their children would be provided with consistent food, shelter, and education through the boarding school system. However, it was the intent of the government to breakdown their culture and assimilate them.

The first reservation schools were small, one-room log structures, operated by the various religious orders. Boarding schools were built by the Federal Government and administered through agreements with religious groups. Schools operating on the Turtle Mountain Reservation were primarily run by the Catholic Church. Feelings today are mixed by those who attended boarding schools. Some believed it was a positive experience. For others, religion, rigid rules, and punishment had been imposed upon them. Some believed this practice was devastating and diminished the spiritual and traditional cultural practices which attributed to the spiritual health of native people.

In the late 1890's and early 1900, the federal government constructed several schools, known as day schools, on the Turtle Mountain Reservation: Greatwalker School, Dunseith Day School, Roussin School, and Houle School. The Dunseith Day School is the only remaining day school in operation. After 80 years of educational service to the community, the Dunseith Day School, in 1993, opened a new facility.

Day schools and boarding schools did not meet the needs of all Chippewa youth. In the 1930's a plan for a consolidated school system began. In 1931, a new elementary school was built. the early transportation system consisted of eight bus routes and 429 pupils. The first high school was created on the reservation beginning in 1938, when the 9th grade was added. In 1940, the next grade was added and each year thereafter until 1943 when the 1st high school graduation was held. That year five girls received thier diplomas. (St. Ann's Centennial Book, p. 150). It was part of the Turtle Mountain Community School system which has continuously expanded, and today accommodates more than 1,833 children. In 1974, St. Ann's, which had operated as a mission school in early reservation days, was assumed under the tribe as a contract school, and renamed the Ojibwa Indian School.

Throughout the history of educating Chippewa children, the Federal Government provided assistance through various programs and pieces of legislation. The Tribal Controlled Community Colleges Assistance Act was of major importance in implementing the Chippewas higher educational goals. This public law authorized Congress to fund community

colleges on reservations. Turtle Mountain Community College (TMCC) opened its doors in 1972. It was one of the first six tribally controlled community colleges established in the nation. In 1984, the college was granted full accreditation status by the North Central Accrediting Association. The college celebrated its 20th anniversary in November of 1992. In 1993, the College was renewed accreditation status as an accredited two-year community college and its success prompted community requests for movement toward a four year institution of higher education.

FLU EPIDEMIC

During the years 1918, and 1919, the Turtle Mountain Band was severely hit by a flu epidemic. Many believed this flu epidemic was directly related to the end of World War I and soldiers returning from Europe. Several young men from Rolette County were either inducted or volunteered into the armed services during World War I. American soldiers returning from European duty were possible carriers of the flu epidemic. Covered wagons carried off the bodies of dead, and sometimes whole families were struck down. Devastated by death, homes that were known to have the flu were quarantined by the local police. Doctors were under contract and visited the area twice weekly. Because the reservation lacked adequate medical staff, people had to care for themselves and their sick family members. (St. Ann's, p 224).

CUSTOMS

Important values were taught through the family or kinship system. Each family member had specific roles and responsibilities. In the extended family, the grandparent or elders shared their knowledge and wisdom with the family. Knowledge and wisdom were learned through their life experiences. It was the responsibility of the elders and clan members to see that the young were taught the old customs, serving as teachers and role models. Parents and young adults provided the family with the necessities for survival as well as teachings. Mothers of the family were responsible for the care of the infants and for teaching of skills such as cooking, sewing, tanning, setting up of wigwams, chopping wood, and other domestic chores. Fathers of the family were responsible for teaching values and morals to the children through life experience or story telling. Fathers taught survival skills by preparing their sons for hunting and warfare. Throughout the stages of growth, children were prepared physically, mentally, spiritually, and socially for adulthood. (Warren, 1984,1885) (Kitchi Gami, pp. 276-277).

Throughout one's life, individuals participated in many types of family and social events. During the course of one's life an individual was instructed and prepared for each stage of life. As one stage of life was successfully completed, a time of preparation began for the next stage. One learned the value of self sacrifice through fasting, whether it is for a vision, or a young girl entering adulthood.

NAMING

As an infant, a child is usually without a name for some time. The father of the newborn child had the responsibility for giving a name. The father determined the name through observing his dreams. If unsatisfied with his dreams, he could request assistance of an elder or friend to dream the name for him. The day the name was given, the parents provided a feast for family and friends.

PUBERTY

Young women and men underwent initiation rites at the age of adolescence. They entered puberty. When a girl matured into womanhood, she retreated to a lodge that her mother prepared. She was secluded for four days and four nights and also fasted at this time. Sometimes a sister or other relative would bring her a small amount of food. During the first summer of her womanhood, a test of discipline and patience was achieved by forbidding her to eat fresh fruit, vegetables, or berries. Yet, she was responsible for gathering these foods for her own feast. In this way she displayed discipline and patience.

At adolescence, young men would begin fasting in an attempt to obtain a vision. The young man was left alone for several days while he fasted and prayed. If successful, the dream or vision he received was symbolic throughout his life. The dream or vision was interpreted to the young man by a circle of elders. When the young man killed his first animal, he prepared a feast. The elder interpreters were invited to the feast. The elders conducted prayers asking Kitchi Manito to bless the young man and his family.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

The courtship of young women and men was a family event. If a young man wanted to court a young lady, he would have to present himself to the elders as he entered the lodge. After visiting with the elders of the family, he could then make his way to the center of the lodge and visit with the girl. Speaking was done in a low tone. The mother or grandmother acted as a chaperon. If the young man was sincere, he would bring the family a gift, usually of meat. If the parents accepted the gift, they were giving consent to the young man's intentions. The couple were then allowed to spend time together. The young couple could live with the wife's family until they built a lodge of their own. When a young person considered marriage, they followed the unwritten law that no one could marry of the same clan. This was forbidden by society as a whole. (Densmore, 1929/1979, pp. 72-28) (Warren, p. 42).

DEATH AND BURIAL RITES

In times of death certain tasks were performed for the burial. The body of the dead was washed and dressed in their finest clothing. Their hair was neatly braided and several beaded articles were left on the body. The face of the dead was painted brown. The blanket and moccasins were also streaked with brown paint. Articles that were significant in that person's life were placed with the body. Articles such as a tobacco pouch, medicine bundle, or pipe, could be placed with the deceased. The Chippewa believed this was the last journey so only provisions for a few days were left with the dead. They believe that the hereafter would provide all. The Midewewin priest performed a last ceremony for the deceased. On the fourth day after death, the body was wrapped in birch bark and secured with strips of basswood cord. The body was placed in a shallow grave with the feet pointed toward the west. The direction west represented the direction of the spirit's journey. Mourning was made evident by the appearance of the person mourning. Sometimes the hair was cut short, or if left long, they let it hang freely without braids or ties. They wore shabby clothes and avoided social events.

The drum is used by the Chippewa for spiritual and social gatherings. Tobacco continues to be used in many spiritual rituals. It is used as an offering to Kitchi Manito in prayers and is used when taking something of the earth for food or medicine. Sage, sweet grass, and cedar are used in ceremonies. Eagle feathers are used in many ceremonies and are symbols of honor. (Mishomis, pp. 80-82). The pipe is an important part of the Midewewin. It is used as a symbol of peace for all tribes and nations. [See Appendix for legend which tells how the Ojibway received the pipe.]

CULTURE IN TRANSITION

CULTURAL RENAISSANCE

In 1883, Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller, with the support of some Christian religious organizations, established a "court of Indian offenses, which forbade all public and private traditional religious and cultural activities such as the Sun Dance. The Sun Dance was widely practiced after the Chippewa moved to the plains. Although the Sun Dance and other religious practices were forbidden, and punishment for such conduct was severe, the Sun Dance was a yearly event at Turtle Mountain until 1904. Thereafter, it was heldsecretly. Religious freedom was not fully restored until Congress passed the Religious Freedom Act in 1978. For the first time in almost 100 years, native people were given the same religious freedoms enjoyed by other American citizens.

As traditional societies evolve and change, so have the Turtle Mountain Chippewa. A time of individual religious freedom is being restored. Although the majority of the Turtle Mountain Chippewas are of the Catholic faith, growing numbers of people are practicing traditional ceremonies. Today you may see a traditional ceremony at a funeral, marriage, blessings, graduations, and inaugurations. The people are entering a time of revived interest in tribal teachings. Elders who have preserved traditional customs, and who have maintained spiritual and cultural practices, are passing on these practices through modeling and through oral history. Many young people are exploring their ancestral roots. Today there is a rediscovery of what was lost, taken away, and forbidden.

THE CULTURE TODAY

ST. ANNS DAY

A gathering of spiritual unity, praying, and healing takes place in the last week of July each year. For more than a hundred hears on the Turtle Mountain Reservation, the Catholics have celebrated this annual celebration in honor of their patron, Saint Ann. The people's faith and its origin are eloquently expressed by the poem in the Appendix, Document 2. The dedication to St. Ann's Day celebration is evident in the community involvement. Many people who are enrolled members, but live off the reservation, return home yearly to participate in the St. Ann's Day activities.

"LA BONNE ANEE"

New Years, "La Bonne Anee" (we are looking for a better year), is a French word for saluting the New Year, and is a special celebration that is enjoyed by the Turtle Mountain Chippewa. It is a time of feasting, dancing, singing, and socializing. In a narrative written about the Chippewa Christmas and New Year celebrations on the Turtle Mountain reservation, the following description was provided:

> *The New Year Celebration is one that has been practiced since the era of French influence in the 1800's. Years ago, this event began on New Years Eve and extended until January 6th, All Kings Day (if a baby boy was born on January 6th, King was added to his name). If you stood outside , you could hear sleigh bells ringing through the cold night air as families gathered at the homes of their elders (parents or grandparents). Traditionally they would go from house to house to toast the New Year, and enjoy the feast. Upon arrival to someone's home you can hear the expression "La Bonne Anee," and receive a kiss and a handshake from everyone in the house young and old. The custom of kissing and shaking hands is an expression of good wishes for the coming year . . . The feast included foods such as le'boulete (ground beef made into meatballs, rolled in flour and boiled), bangs (fried bread dough), flat galette (a flattened bread), potatoes, pork, confitre - berries in sauce, beef, turkey, homemade pies, (touquiere pie - a ground pork meat pie served with cranberries, and pouchin (boiled cake). (Memories of Christmas and New Years on the Turtle Mt. Reservation. Bercier, M., Laverdure, P. and Davis, R., Culture Department, Turtle Mountain Community School, 1975). (In part from an interview with Fox-Davis, Irene, 1994, August).*

Besides feasting, there would be square dancing, jigging to fiddle music, and the singing of French songs. Furniture would be pushed out of the way so that the dancing could begin. This tradition of going from house to house, to feast and party, is still practiced today. Although the celebration no longer continues until the 6th of January, family and friends make their rounds on New Year's Eve, and New Year's Day. Usually the eldest female within a family prepares the meal. Friends and family members start arriving around midnight, and the flow of visitations continues until midnight on New Years Day.

ANNUAL SOCIAL EVENTS

THE POWWOW (PAUWAW, PAUWAU)

The concept of the pow-wow has always been misunderstood. The first (American Indian) word Europeans associated with Indian dancing was the Algonquin word pau wau. The Algonquin definition actually referred to Medicine Men and Spiritual leaders and meant "He Dreams." When the Europeans first saw the natives dance, they believed that all dances were referred to as Pau wau. This term was eventually accepted as a collective term by the Europeans to refer to dancing. A form of this word is still used today.

Today, many members of the Turtle Mountain Band follow the pow wow circuit. Pow wows are usually some three-day events. These annual celebrations are a time of dancing, singing, feasting, praying, teaching, learning and laughing. This time is considered to be a time of remembering the past, the old ways, and also a time of dreaming for the future. Area residents travel throughout the United States and Canada, participating in these events. Annual celebrations locally include the following: Little Shell Pow Wow, New Years Eve Pow Wow, Turtle Mountain Community College Graduation Pow Wow, Mothers Day Pow Wow, School Club Pow Wows, and Veterans Day Pow Wow.

LEADERS

TRADITIONAL LEADERS

CONTEMPORARY LEADERS

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS:

- Form of Leadership
- Ascendency
- Role of Religion in Leadership
- Hereditary Leadership
- Styles of Leadership

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How were leaders chosen in historic times?

2. How are leaders selected in contemporary times?

3. Compare and contrast historic and contemporary leadership.

4. What benefits were derived from traditional forms of leadership?

5. Many native cultures believe that it is critical for their survival to maintain traditional forms of leadership.
   - What elements are important?
   - How do they benefit the people?

TRADITIONAL LEADERS OF THE TURTLE MOUNTAIN BAND OF CHIPPEWA

LITTLE SHELL CHIEFS:

Throughout the history of the Turtle Mountain Band there have been three Little Shell Chiefs. They all held the same name of Little Shell (Ase-anse). They were also called Aissance or Little Clam.

LITTLE SHELL I

Little Shell I was considered a British Ojibwa Chief of the Red River. He lived in the area of the Red River and Spirit Lake (Devils Lake). The Dakotas killed Little Shell and the people of the camp at Spirit Lake.

LITTLE SHELL II

Little Shell II became the hereditary chief of the Pembina Band. Little Shell II was Chief during the time of the Old Crossing Treaty. Little Shell and other Chiefs of the Pembina Bands and the Red Lake Bands were against the treaty. This treaty allowed the government to take 11 million acres of land along the Red River. To Little Shell and the people, this was the land of their fathers. The treaty was signed under protest.

In 1807-1808 Ase-anse (Little Shell I) attempted to lead his followers to his ancestral residence at Man-e-to Sah-gi-e-gun (Spirit Lake presently Devils Lake). This party all met their death on the prairies at the hands of the Dakota. In 1808, Ase-anse was one of the most influential of the Chippewa Chiefs of Pembina. Tanner (a white Ottawa captive) states that Ase-anse was the last of the "considerable men of his age" among the Red River Chippewa. Prior to his death in 1808, his son Tabasnawa, and an old woman, were also killed by the Dakota at Wild Rice River.

Little Shell III. Photo courtesy of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

LITTLE SHELL III

Little Shell III was the last in line of the hereditary Chiefs. He was the Chief of the Turtle Mountain Band. Little Shell III is noted for his involvement in the McCumber Agreement. He did not agree with its terms and refused to sign the McCumber Agreement. This Little Shell had two wives. One of the wives died before Little Shell reached the age of 56. He had four children, Mary, Joseph, Genevieve, and Pierre. In the early 1900's records show a boy named Thomas died. Pierre took the name of his brother, who had died before him. Pierre was also known as Kiyon. Kiyon never married, had children, nor taken on the responsibilities of the Chief. With the death of Kiyon, the lineage of Little Shell line of hereditary Chiefs ended.

RED BEAR CHIEFS

In the history of the Turtle Mountains there were also two chiefs with the name Red Bear. The first Red Bear was involved with and is noted for signing the Old Crossing Treaty of 1863. He was also a sub-chief of the Pembina Band. His Indian name was Muskomaquah (Misko-mukwuh).

The second Red Bear was the son of the first. He was a Chief in Little Shell III's Band. They settled on the Turtle Mountain Reservation after the Executive Order of December 21, 1882.

RED THUNDER

Red Thunder was very important in the history of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa. He was a secondary chief to Little Shell III. He was appointed by Little Shell III to preside over his 24-member council in Little Shell III's absence. He was instrumental in the McCumber Commission. Red Thunder is recognized for the speech he gave to the McCumber Commission:

> *When you (the white man) first put your foot upon this land of ours you found no one but the red man, and the Indian woman, by whom you have begotten a large family and pointing to the half breeds present, he said: "These are the children and descendants of that woman. They must be recognized as members of this tribe." We are all glad that our Great Father sent you here and we hope that you will relieve us from starvation, for we have nothing to eat.*
>
> *Report of the Turtle Mountain Indian Commission Government Document 444.*

Photo courtesy of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

JOHN BAPTIST BOTTINEAU

John Baptist Bottineau was the nephew of Charles Bottineau, who co-owned a trading post with Charles Grant at Pembina. He was known as the first farmer of North Dakota. In his early years, John grew up in St. Anthony Falls, now Minneapolis, Minnesota where he studied law. He married Marie Renville, and moved to the Turtle Mountain area.

Little Shell III asked John Baptist Bottineau to represent the Turtle Mountain Band to negotiate the McCumber Agreement. As attorney for the Turtle Mountain Band, Bottineau traveled to Washington, D.C. on numerous occasions, on behalf of the tribe. Officials of the Indian Bureau once removed him from the Turtle Mountain reservation. He served for many years on the Turtle Mountain Tribal Business Council. Dedicated to the Turtle Mountain people, John Baptist Bottineau spent the last twenty years of his life in Washington, D.C. working on the Turtle Mountain Claim, during which he became a noted statesman. ("John Baptiste Bottineau," 1913).

KAISHPAU GOURNEAU

While there is little information available to document the transition in leadership during this period, it is reported that Kaishpau Gourneau was chief of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa in 1882. (It is documented that Little Shell II lived at St. Joe but died in 1874. Little Shell III, then became hereditary chief upon his father's death. Little Shell II lived near Plentywood, Montana, before coming to the Turtle Mountain in 1887). Meanwhile, Docket 113 states that in 1882, Kaishpau Gourneau was Chief of the Pembina Band. Kaishpau Gourneau traveled to Washington, D.C. and served on a treaty delegation from the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa.

Little Shell III, returned in 1882, called a meeting apparently not aware that Kaishpau as Chief.

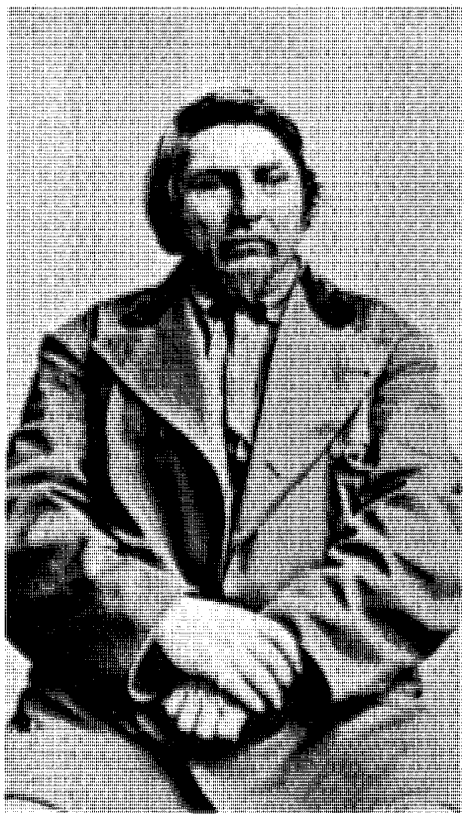


Photo of Kaishpa Gourneau. Courtesy of Star Printing, Rolla, ND

CHIEF KAKENOWASH (FLYING EAGLE) 1901-1930

Although not much information is, available, early sources indicate Chief Kakenowash as succeeding Chief Little Shell in 1901. Kakenowash, in the 1900's, was photographed, along with a tribal council member, Henry Poitras. A letter from the Turtle Mountain Agency superintendent indicate that in January of 1917, Kakenowash, with his interpreter, Eustache Roussin, went to Washington, D.C. to represent the tribe.

Photo courtesy of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

LOUIS RIEL 1844 - 1885

Louis Riel was born on October 22, 1844, in St. Boniface, Manitoba. His father was Louis Riel Sr., and his mother was Julie Lajimodiere. He married Margaret Monette and they had two children. Riel was a strong, colorful, enigmatic man, fluent in four Native languages, along with French. Similar to many Métis he spoke little English. Riel became an Oblate novice and studied in Montreal, but returned west to the Red River and the Métis people. By 1869, the disappearance of the buffalo herds, the influx of settlers, instructions of foreign cultures, and political and religious elements, resulted in rising tension and apprehension by the Métis people. (Contu, 1980, p. 63-64). Dissatisfied with the Canadian government, Riel and his Métis followers led two rebellions. Following the defeat at the Battle of Batoche, Riel chose to surrender and stand trial so that at last, the Métis case could be heard. Riel was charged with high treason on July 6, 1885, a charge that called for the death penalty upon conviction. The jury consisted of six men, all of Protestant English stock. Riel was found guilty and was hung for treason in the early morning hours of November 16, 1885, in Regina, Saskatchewan. Riel is buried at St. Boniface, Winnipeg, Manitoba. (McLean, 1987, P. 229-231).

GABRIEL DUMONT

Gabriel was born on the prairie southwest of Red River in 1837. His father was Isidore, or Ai-caw-pow (The Stander) Dumont. His mother was Louise Laframboise, a Sarcee (McKee, 1973, p. 3). Gabriel Dumont was famous for his skill in the hunt, and for his leadership ability and generosity among fellow Métis. At a young age, Gabriel became an expert marksman, and skillful horseman. His legend as a Métis grew as he distinguished himself as a buffalo hunter and a fearless warrior. Able to speak six native languages as well as French, he earned a reputation as a diplomat. (McLean, 1987, p. 110). Following the second Métis Rebellion, Gabriel fled to the United States. He eventually joined Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show. Gabriel Dumont died on May 19, 1906. He is buried in the cemetery at Batoche in Saskatchewan, Canada.

KANICK

Kanick was an early leader of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa. In 1892, he was given the English name of Walking Thunder. The October 1, 1911 Census he was listed as being 30 years old. His father was Little Crane who was chief Little Shell's brother. His mother name was Okeshewashicha (Flying Swift) and his father's name was Ochechakonsh. He had three children, Judy, Mary, and Nanapush. (St. Ann's Centennial Guide, 1985, p. 131).

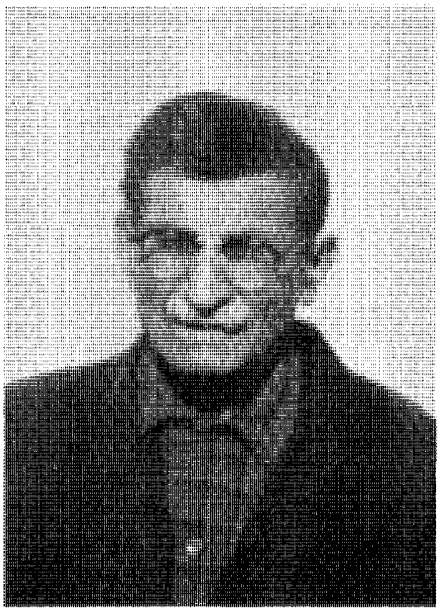
Historical documents indicate Kanick served on the council in the latter part of the 18th century and early 1900's. He travelled to Washington, D.C. with chief Kaishpa Gourneau.

CONTEMPORARY TURTLE MOUNTAIN LEADERS

When the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa adopted and approved a constitution and bylaws on June 16, 1959, it did so as an "unincorporated Band" - indicating the tribe did not reorganize under the 1934 Wheeler-Howard Act, known as the Indian Reorganization Act. By the middle 1940's, the Turtle Mountain Chippewa had established a tribal business council. The people, however, still honored their traditional chiefs and leaders and provided a role for them. Through 1964, the last direct descendant of the hereditary Little Shell chiefs served in his official capacity as chief. Thereafter, contemporary leaders emerged. Some leaders ascended from their work with agents, Indian police, and/or boss farmers, while others were descendants of traditional leaders, either Métis or Plains Ojibway/Cree.

LOUIS MARION 1940 - 1944

Born at Pembina, ND, February 11, 1870, Louis was the son of Maxim Marion and Elise Jerome, grandson of Narcisse Marion and great grandson of Francois Marion. His family moved to Turtle Mt. around 1886. In 1893, he attended school at Rensselaer, Indiana for four years, and St. Joseph's College in 1891, and later Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas. He served as mail carrier during World War I. He became chairman of the Tribal Council in 1940, and served one year terms in 1941, 1943, and 1944. He served as a councilman from 1945 - 1953. He is best remembered for keeping the Turtle Mountain people informed during World War I, for being an early entrepreneur, and for carrying on the tribes history.



Louis Marion
Photo courtesy of Dave & Phyllis Jollie Family, Belcourt, ND.

Photo courtesy of the Edward Jollie family.

EDWARD JOLLIE 1945 - 1948
1951 - 1953

Edward "Chick" Jollie was born in Belcourt, ND, on March 18, 1907. He was the youngest child of James and Mary (Belgarde) Jollie. He received his early education in Belcourt, ND and attended the Wahpeton Indian School, Wahpeton, ND for grades seven and eight. He attended grades nine and ten at the Flandreau Indian Boarding School, Flandreau, South Dakota. He graduated from high school in Wilton, ND in 1928. He also attended Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas.

He returned to Belcourt and was employed in the Roads Department. Later he worked as assistant to the "Boss Farmer." He was active in tribal affairs for many years and was chairman of the Tribal Council from 1945, 46, 48, and from 1951 to 1953. He served as councilman from 1955 through 1958.

Patrick Gourneau

PATRICK "AUN NISH E NAUBAY" GOURNEAU 1954 - 1958

Patrick Moses Gourneau was born in 1904. He was born on the Turtle Mountain Reservation. His parents were Joseph and Eliza Gourneau. His grandfather was one of the warriors who signed the Old Crossing Treaty of 1863, Joseph Gornan. During his early years, he started a truck farm business. The business proved successful and lasted 23 years supporting his large family.

Patrick Gourneau was elected as Chairman of the Council in 1954. At that time, the council was known as the "Chippewa Advisory Committee." As chairman he testified before Congress against termination of the Turtle Mountain Band. He served on a national committee on civil rights and was instrumental in putting together the charter for United Tribes Development Corporation. During his term he worked to secure 75% of the jobs for the Chippewa at the William Langer Jewel Bearing Plant.

He resigned from the Council in 1958 because of ill health. He wrote a history of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa and took a strong leadership role in revival of the traditional customs of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa. In 1986, he was awarded the North Dakota Heritage Profile Honor Award. He died in 1989.

LOUIS LAFOUNTAIN 1959 - 1961

Louis F. LaFountain was born December 9, 1918. His parents were Louis L. LaFountain and Julia Poitra. He lived in Belcourt all of his life. He was a retired carpenter. The father of one child, he and his wife raised 36 foster children. He served on the Turtle Mountain Tribal Council from 1959 through 1961. He was a strong advocate for the Turtle Mountain Chippewas' right to govern themselves. He died April 11, 1985.

FRANCIS CREE 1962 - 1963
1995 - 1996

Francis Cree (Eagle Heart) is a spiritual leader of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa. He is also a teacher of the Plains Ojibway traditions. He was born on July 24, 1920, in Dunseith, North Dakota. He lived all of his life in the Turtle Mountains. He currently lives with his wife Rose Machipiness Cree (Hunts Thunder) in Dunseith. They raised a family of seven boys and seven girls. At the age of 14, Francis left home and went to work in Montana. He was a self taught man, learning welding and construction labor skills. He joined the United States Army Reserve and served in World War I at the age of fifteen.

In 1962 Francis became Tribal Chairman. He served on the treaty committee. He strongly believed in better health care, which gained a new hospital for the tribal members. He also assisted in starting industry in the area. He helped secure resources for Chippewayan Authentics, an industry to reproduce native crafts, which opened in 1962.

After leaving the council, he remained involved throughout the 1980's and 1990's, and participated in such activities as the Save the Children's Committee, the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Heritage Center Board, and the Pow Wow Committee. He is a minister or the Alliance Church. Francis Cree also worked on the North Dakota Council for the Arts. He was given an award in 1985 by Governor Sinner for his work.

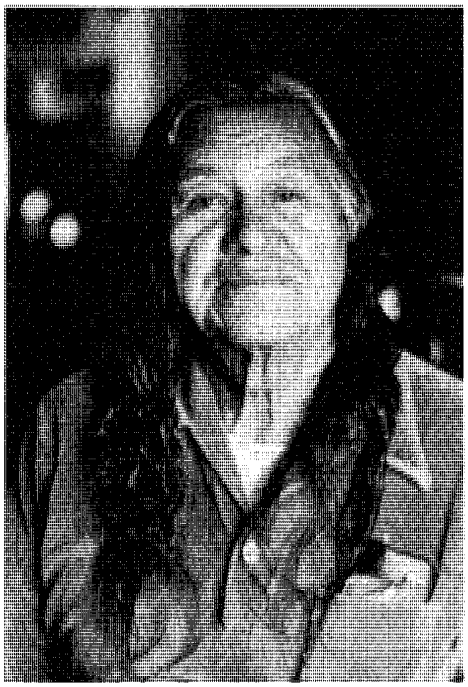


Photo: Courtesy of the North Dakota Historical Society.

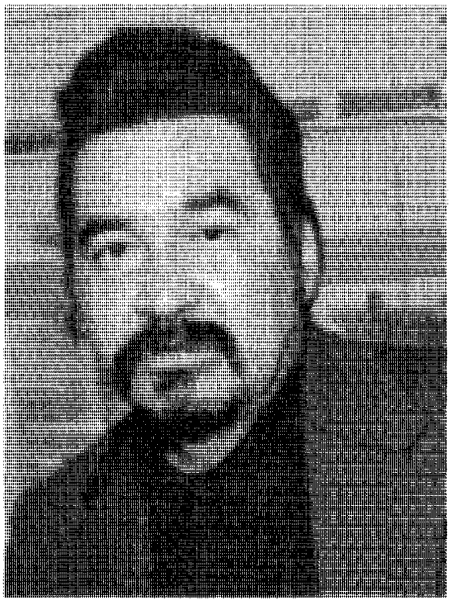
In 1993, under the Kekahbah Administration, Francis Cree was appointed to the tribal council. In his spare time, he continues to visit schools telling stories and teaching the history and traditions of the Plains Ojibwa to children.

ANDY TURCOTTE/REGINALD BRIEN 1964 - 1966

Little information is readily available at this time. Andy Turcotte was elected chairperson but was never seated. He was replaced by Reginald (Tiny) Brien.

MARY CORNELIUS/REGINALD BRIEN 1966 - 1968

Mary Cornelius was elected as chairperson but was not seated. Russell Davis, the Tribe's elected vice-chairman, replaced Ms. Cornelius. Mr. Davis later resigned and the council appointed Mr. Reginald Brien to fill the position.



Reginald Brien

Reginald "Tiny" Brien was born in Belcourt, ND on April 9, 1932, to William Brien and Rose LaFromboise Brien. He attended elementary school in Belcourt, North Dakota, and high school at Stephan, South Dakota, where he graduated in 1950. He attended one year of college at Stillwater, Oklahoma, but left to join the Army where he served a tour of duty in Puerto Rico. He returned to Belcourt North Dakota, married, and later attended Minot State University. There he completed all of his work for a degree in elementary education. Returning to the Turtle Mountains, he began working for the Turtle Mountain Tribe.

Between, 1966 and 1968, upon the recall of Mary Cornelius, he was appointed to fill her unexpired term as chairperson. During those days, council positions were not paid positions. After leaving his position at the tribe, he worked for a number of years coordinating the tribe's fuel assistance program. He was elected to the Couture School Board and served for 20 years in various capacities, including two terms as chairperson.

He was a strong advocate of sports activities for students, and faithfully attended school-sponsored sports events. He died on September 22, 1990. Each year a memorial athletic scholarship is presented by the family to a student who exhibits achievement in sports.

Peter Marcellais

MARY CORNELIUS/PETER MARCELLAIS 1968 - 1970

Peter Marcellais Jr. was appointed chairman of the Tribe when a conflict in self-government occurred in 1968. The elected chairwoman, Mary Cornelius, was removed from the office by a majority of the elected council. Marcellais was serving as vice-chairman of the council at the time.

Peter Marcellais Jr. was born in Belcourt, ND in July 12, 1929. His adopted grandfather, Chief Marcellais, was the first chief of police for the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa. Born the middle son in a family of six brothers and three sisters, all of his early education was received in the community of Belcourt. Upon completion of school he joined the Army but was honorably discharged for medical reasons. Upon his return to the community, he became involved in local politics, where he was elected to the Tribal Council representing district II - the Belcourt community. Upon the recall of Ms. Cornelius in 1968, he assumed the position of Chairman which he served until 1970.

During his term, his administration initiated a tribal comprehensive economic development plan for the reservation, and organized a committee to promote tribal economic development. He was one of the founding members of United Tribes Educational Technical Center. During his term, he was instrumental in establishing a state reservation-related office of economic

development. He worked on a plan for a tribal golf course, race track, and swimming pool, of which two projects have become a reality. He worked at reestablishing an equitable per acre lease rate for tribal farmers, and worked diligently to bring the tribal hospital up to standards. He believed in fairness, and established equitable salary guidelines for tribal employees. (Howard Frederick, 1996, Sept.).

In 1970, he chose not to run. After leaving the tribe, he established a road construction company, He moved to South Dakota where he worked as the lead foreman for a construction company. He left a large family of accomplished musicians and singers, passing on a legacy and love of traditional Metchif music. He died in April of 1991.

Photo courtesy of Akawasi, Turtle Mt. Community Schools Yearbook, 1974.

EDWIN JAMES HENRY 1970 -1976
1980 - 1982

Edwin James Henry, Hot-Day Man, was born on the Turtle Mountain Reservation in 1929. He is a direct descendant of Chief Red Bear. A lifelong resident of the reservation, he raised a family of ten children and worked throughout the state to provide for them.

In 1970 he ran for Tribal Chairman and won. During his years in office he oversaw his family-owned construction business. Edwin James Henry is recognized for many accomplishments: Projects he initiated were the Turtle Mountain Manufacturing Company, the Headstart Program, the Turtle Mountain Community College, the Turtle Mountain Mall, Uniband, and the tribe's rural water system. He did the ground work for the new high school, recreation areas (pow wow grounds and race track), 400+ housing units, a swimming pool, and the expansion of United Tribes.

He remained interested and active in tribe affairs after his term was over. In spite of an active political and business career, he continued to follow the traditional ways.

WAYNE KEPLIN 1978 - 1980

Wayne Keplin is the son of Earl Lawrence Keplin and Ida D. Allery. Wayne grew up in the Turtle Mountain community and graduated from Turtle Mountain High School in 1968. He received an undergraduate degree from Valley City State College, in 1970, and a Master's Degree in Vocational Education from the University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N.D. in 1981. He served for a time as tribal education director, and instructor of Industrial technology.

He served as tribal chairman from 1978 to 1980. During his chairmanship, he was responsible for computerizing the tribal finance department. He continued the tribes housing development programs, and was responsible for moving the tribe into its first large venture into manufacturing. He was responsible for the tribe assuming financial responsibility for the high school from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Through this action, he increased the capabilities of the tribe to assume responsibility for the education of its children.

After completing a master's degree he returned to the reservation where he was employed as athletic and vocational director for the Turtle Mountain school system. He was involved in the private sector and owned the first Pizza Shop in the community of Belcourt. He was the superintendent of the Turtle Mountain Community School District for a number of years.

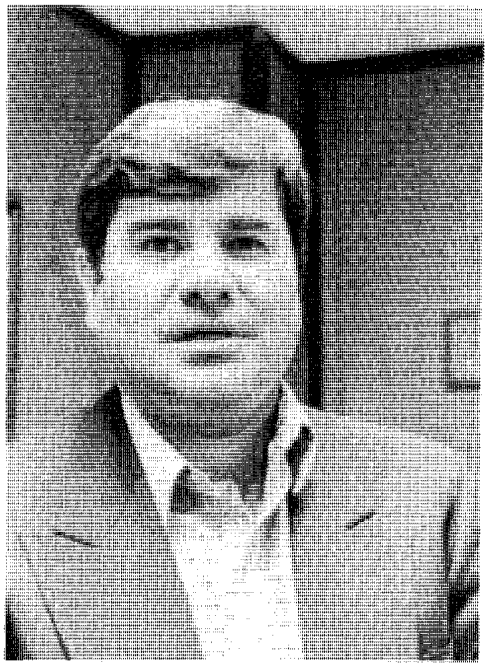


Photo courtesy of ND Dept. of Public Instruction

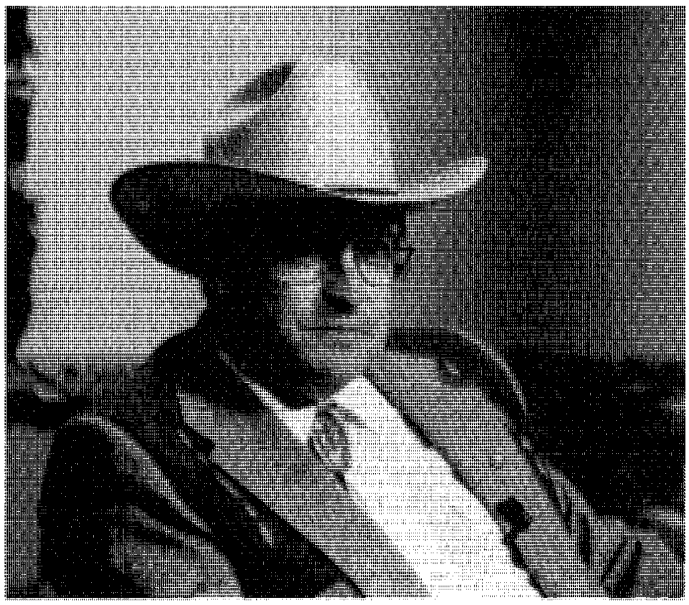


Photo courtesy of Turtle Mountain Times, 1997.

RICHARD J. LAFROMBOISE 1982 -1984
1984 - 1986
1986 - 1988
1992 - 1994

Richard J. "Jiggers" LaFromboise was born March 26, 1946. He attended elementary school at Ann's Mission in Belcourt, ND and graduated from high school in Glasgow, Montana in 1964. He served in the United States Air Force until 1969. He attended Central Michigan University receiving a B.S. in Business. He pursued and received a Juris Doctorate of Law from the University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK in 1977. He was employed as legal counsel for the Saginaw Band of Chippewa, Saginaw, Michigan, and the Omaha and Winnebago tribes of Nebraska. He is the father of one daughter, Cessily. He was elected tribal chairperson in 1982, and served through 1984. He was reelected for two additional terms from 1984 to 1986, and from 1986 to 1988. In his succeeding two terms, he played a major role in the successful economic explosion and development at the reservation level. He played a strong leadership role in national Indian affairs as well.

During his first term in office, LaFromboise spearheaded the payout of a treaty settlement that had laid dormant for many years. His concern for the economic stability of the tribe came to fruition by securing for a closed military plant a military contract for the supply of trailers. He was featured by the Department of Interior and Department of Defense as a breed of new Indians. This contract provided 200 new jobs for the Turtle Mountain Chippewa. At his direction, the Turtle Mountain Heritage Center was built with left-over funds from a block-grant.

In his second term as chairperson, he was instrumental in putting into place a community bowling-alley, and the expansion of mall businesses to local entrepreneurship. His administration sought support and secured funding for the construction of a new Dunseith Indian Day School and a school at St. Johns. Nationally, he served as a member o the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), and was elected and re-elected as chairperson of the National Tribal Chairman's Association (NTCA), an organization of over 542 tribes.

During his third term, from 1992 - 1994 his administration brought the tribes gross income from 23 million in 1992, to more than 200 million in 1994. Most of the tribe's growth was in its business sector, primarily Turtle Mountain Manufacturing Company and Uniband. Under his leadership, the Tribe initiated negotiations with the Governor of North Dakota for the Turtle Mountain Band's involvement in Indian gaming. Under his leadership, the tribes' private sector grew from 27 private entrepreneurs in 1982 to more than 200 by 1992. His administration was responsible for laying the groundwork for an improved tribal transportation system, increasing the availability of hard surfaced roads, from twelve to 30 miles of concrete highway, and extending the road system to St. Johns, North Dakota.

His forth term was marked by close work with Turtle Mountain Community College to secure funding for new buildings. As a team member he supported the colleges' accreditation. His administration's land acquisition efforts concluded the purchase of San Haven and 640 acres for the Tribe. His administration also saw the creation and expansion of Uniband, a data entry company. Since that time, the venture has experienced phenomenal growth, expanding into five North Dakota communities and several cities across the country. Richard "Jiggers" LaFromboise attributes the successful efforts of his tenure as chairperson to the councilmen with whom he served.

He resides in Dunseith, ND where he lives with his wife and two daughters. He is currently the Marketing and Public Relations Director of Uniband.

Photo courtesy of Minot Daily News.

TWILA MARTIN-KEKAHBAH 1988-1990 1990-1992 1994-1996

Twila Martin was born on May 22, 1947. Her father was Henry Martin and her mother is Flora Gourneau Martin. During her elementary school years she attended St. Ann's Catholic Mission School, and received a high school diploma from Turtle Mountain High School, Belcourt, ND. She graduated from the University of North Dakota with a Bachelor of Science degree and in 1973 received a masters' degree from Penn. State University, State College, PA.

During her career she served as co-director of the new Turtle Mountain Community College, educational consultant at Haskell Indian Junior College in Lawrence, Kansas, while her husband (Rollin Kekahbah, a Kansas Indian) taught there. She served as a fellow of the Kellogg Foundation.

In 1988 she ran for the chairmanship of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa and was elected. She became the first woman to serve as a tribal chairwoman in the history of the Band. She served three terms as tribal chairperson, serving consecutively from 1988 to 1990 and from 1990 to 1992. She was reelected from 1994 to 1996. Her leadership as tribal chairperson promoted the understanding and significance of tribal sovereignty as vested in the tribal constitution. She supported the development of the Turtle Mountain Community Development Foundation, leading the tribal council to appoint a foundation committee in 1987. She, along with others, were instrumental in securing a tribal set-aside of 20% of the treaty monies for community development. Under her suceeding administrations, she, along with her various councils, saw the leveraged buy-out from the management agreement between the Tribe and Unibase for 100% acquisition of Uniband as a tribal company; the negotiation of debt forgiveness with the Bureau of Indian Affairs of $3.9 million for Turtle Mountain Manufacturing Company; and the construction of numerous tribal facilities which required a concentrated effort of lobbying and testifying before Congress and many Federal Government agencies. Some of these facilities included the Quentin Burdick Memorial Hospital and Clinic, the Dunseith Day School, and the Indian Health Services staff quarters. Her administration asserted the tribes' sovereignty by filing a lawsuit against the Bureau of Indian Affairs for mismanagement of interest funds of the Pembina Claims, and for not upholding the Bureau's moral and legal responsibility to manage tribal trust funds. The tribe also asserted it rights by bringing suit prohibiting the Bureau of Indian Affairs from reduction-in-force notices without tribal consultation. It is her belief that respect for a government by the people could only be assured when the people were knowledgeable about tribal laws, and that the courts knew the laws. Only then could there be true accountability, a true separation of powers, and a true democracy. (Kekahbah, 1997).

Today, she continues to work, along with family members, with Kaishpau Enterprises, a family-owned local consulting firm, founded in 1992.

MELVIN L. LENOIR 1996-1997

Melvin was born at Belcourt, ND, June 7, 1938, the son of Michael Lenoir and Mary Belgarde. He was raised and educated at Belcourt, graduating from Turtle Mountain Community High School. On June 26, 1968, he married Joyce Lilley. He attended technical school, worked as a police officer for 20 years before resigning.

He began his political career in 1982, as elected councilman for District 1 of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa. In November 1996, Melvin was elected chairman of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa. He served a brief five months as chairman, and died in office.

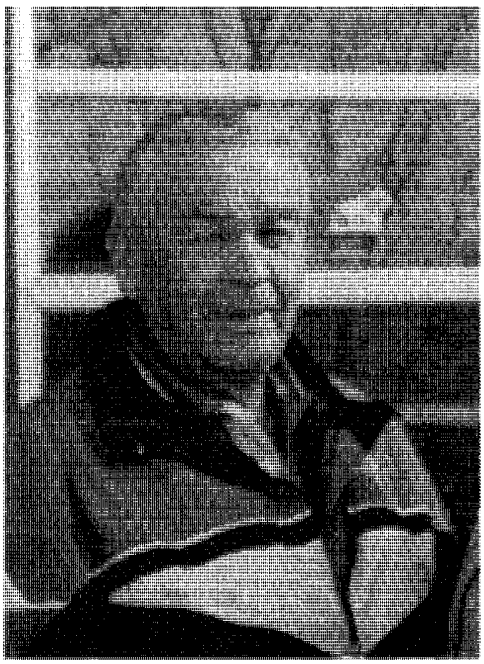


Photo courtesy of the Turtle Mountains Times, 1997

RAPHAEL JOHN DECOTEAU 1997-1998

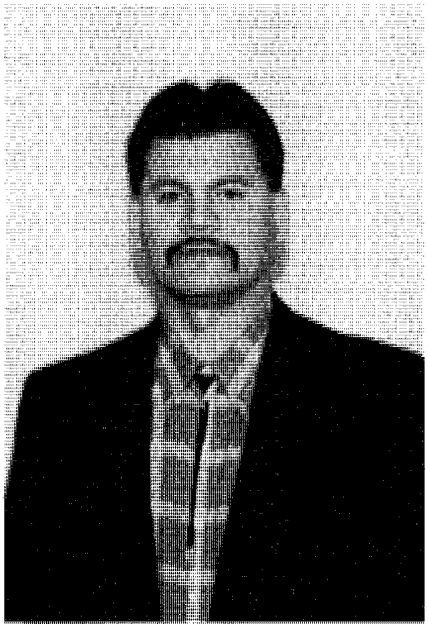


Photo: Courtesy of the Turtle Mountain Times.

Raphael was born in Belcourt, N.D. on April 16, 1955. His parents were the late Benjamin DeCoteau and Priscilla Rose St. Clair. He married the former Carla Davis, and has two sons, and two daughters.

He attended elementary school at the Dunseith Day School, Dunseith, N.D, and the Wahpeton Indian School, Wahpeton, N.D. He graduated from high school in 1974 from Flandreau Indian School, Flandreau, SD. His higher education includes graduation from the North Dakota State Police Academy, the Minneapolis Police Reserve Academy, Minneapolis, Minnesota, and a Supervisory School, Golden Valley, Minnesota in 1981. He completed the advanced course Supervision II.in 1982.

He credits successful leadership to his varied experiences and background in law enforcement. DeCoteau was a police officer for seven years, served as tribal prosecutor and public defender for the Turtle Mountain Tribal Court. This experience afforded him the opportunity to understand the legal system, setting and enforcing laws. He used his background to enter into politics and to run for political office in 1986 as a representative of District 4 on the tribal council. He attributes his success in the election and his leadership on the council to his 5-year involvement with the American Tae Kwondo Association, an experience that has taught him courtesy, respect, and discipline. He is a 2nd degree blackbelt.

Raphael DeCoteau served two terms on the tribal council from 1986 - 1988, 1988 - 1990. In 1994, He was elected as district #4 representative, but because of turmoil in tribal government, did not complete the term. In November of 1996, he was again elected as a district representative, and voted vice-chairman of the tribe by a majority of the tribal council. On April 22, 1997 by appointment of the tribal council, he assumed the position of tribal chairman to filling the unexpired term of the late chairman, Melvin Lenoir.

While councilman under the LaFromboise Administration, projects in which he assisted were: construction of the Quentin Burdick Health Care Facility, negotiations with Unibase to form Uniband, the tribe's data-processing firm; negotiations for funding for a newly constructed Dunseith Day School; negotiations in the gaming compact between the tribe and the state; rebuilding of the reservation road system; and Project 2000, which provides for new state-of-the-art facility for Turtle Mt. Community College.

Devoted to physical fitness and wellness, he was instrumental in the acquisition of the Dunseith Day School health addition, which includes $150,000 worth of weight and fitness equipment. In his spare time, he teaches students the martial art of Tae Kwondo.

In his role as chairman, the tribe will assume the responsibility for direct administration, and operation of its housing programs, which will include the construction of homes. His philosophy embraces an open-door policy - promoting partnerships with the state, other tribes, the private business sector, and the federal government. It is his conviction that economic development is vital for the reservation and that by building bridges for the rural areas, both the reservation and the entire state will benefit.

His personal belief is grounded in the conviction that the success of a leader is determined by the ability to balance mental, spiritual, and physical health, in order to lead with conviction and honesty. (Raphael DeCoteau, 1997).

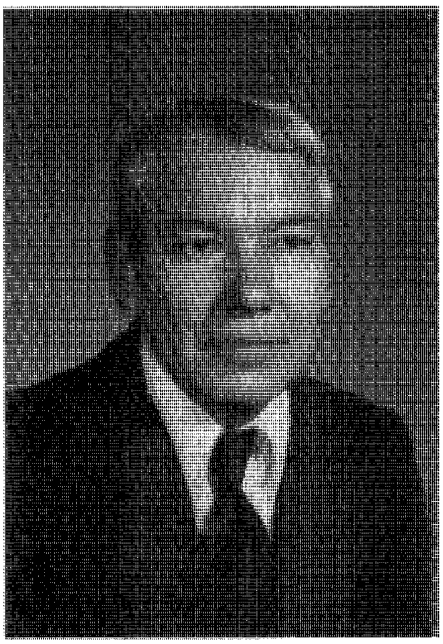


Photo courtesy of the Dan Jerome Family.

DAN JEROME

Daniel Oren Jerome was born the fourth oldest of 11 brothers and sisters, to Ferdinand and Emily LaFromboise Jerome on January 13, 1930 at Belcourt, ND. He began his schooling at St. Ann's Mission and then transferred to the Turtle Mountain Community School at the sixth grade level, graduating in 1949.

After attending high school at Belcourt Community Schools, he attended Haskell Institute at Lawrence, Kansas. In November 1950 he joined the US Navy, serving three and one half years overseas. He was honorably discharged on September 24, 1954.

From 1954- 1959, Dan attended the University of North Dakota majoring in mathematics, social studies, and education. After completion, taught at Carson, Fortuna, and Halliday, ND. He began work with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and taught high school mathematics at White Shield, ND. He accepted a school social work position in Belcourt in 1964, and in1967 became the Administrative Assistant for Belcourt High School. In October of 1969, he accepted the position of a school superintendent becoming the first school superintendent of Indian descent to be hired by the district, and the first district superintendent. He retired June15, 1990, having served as superintendent for 21 years.

He was elected to the North Dakota State Legislature in 1990, the first Native American to be elected to the North Dakota State Senate. He served a four-year term.

Dan has always had a deep appreciation for the artifacts of his Métis and Ojibwa heritage, researching Ojibwa plains survival needs. This developed in his hobby of studying and duplicating historical artifacts. He has become a master flute maker. He continues to visit groups and classrooms promoting understanding and acceptance on behalf of inter-community relationships.

An active member in St. Ann Catholic Church, Dan served on the Parish Council President, Finance Council Chairman and still serves as a current member. He has four children. He and his wife Bridget reside in Belcourt, ND.

LES LAFOUNTAIN

State Senator Les Lafountain, a member of the Turtle Mountain Chippewas tribe in Belcourt ND, is the representative of District Nine, located in the north central part of the state. He brings to the office an impressive political and educational background that includes a Secondary Education degree from North Dakota State University at Fargo, as well as a legislative aide to the late Senator Quentin Burdick and for Senator Byron Dorgan in Washington DC.

Currently, Les Lafontain is a teacher at Belcourt's Turtle Mountain Community High School. Lafountain is a life long resident of the Turtle Mountain area, briefly attending boarding school in Wahpeton but graduating from Dunseith High School in 1977. Lafountain's experience and hard work have paid off, as he is only the third enrolled Native American to serve on the State Legislature. The others were Dan Jerome, to whose legislative seat he was elected, and Representative Art Raymond, a Rosebud Sioux. (Bluestone, 1996).

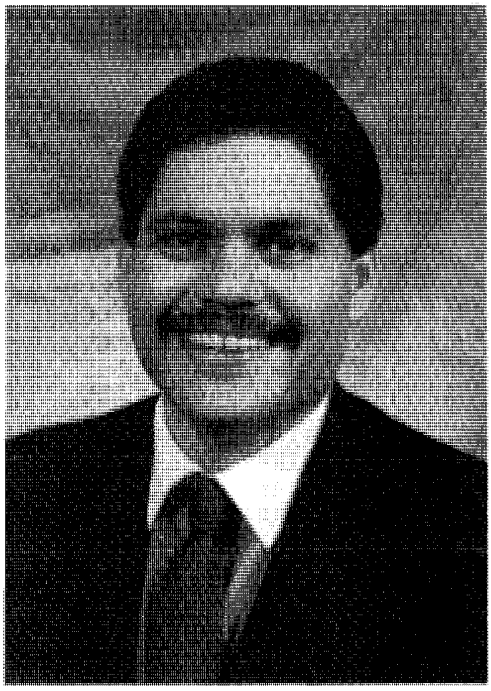


Photo: Courtesy of Anderson Photography, Crosby, ND.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

ECONOMIC ISSUES

TRIBAL GAMING

SOCIAL CONCERNS

EDUCATION

GOVERNANCE

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS:

- Governance
- Gaming
- Economic Survival

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What are the responsibilities of governments?
2. What are the additional responsibilities of tribal governments?
3. What are the positive and negative impacts of tribal gaming?
4. Why is it important for the Chippewa to maintain their culture and language?
5. Why is education an important part of economic survival?

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

ECONOMIC ISSUES

Similar to the issues faced by most tribal nations, the issue of sovereignty for the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa continues to be challenged. On the national level, issues materialize in disagreements between tribes and federal officials over the extent of services and appropriations given to the tribes resulting from treaty agreements. These services are generally funded through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The BIA has the responsibility for overseeing tribal funds. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, is a large cumbersome agency and must deal with 500 plus tribes nationally. As a result, this agency has difficulty carrying out some of its tasks. Tribes, on the one hand, are ambivalent about the role of the BIA. On the other hand, they fear loss of services so vital to tribal economic survival. States continue to challenge tribal sovereign rights, especially in light of an uncertain national economy.

Many tribes have entered into gaming, as a remedy for economic woes. The impacts of these business ventures are, as yet, undetermined. Because many of these ventures are new, especially to North Dakota, and have not had the luxury of stabilizing. The potential impact of these ventures on the economic condition on the reservation could be extensive. However, with a country confronted with a staggering national debt, downsizing of the federal government, and pressures applied by both states, individual and collective tribal members, and private interests, tribes will have difficulty in maintaining what little gains they may be seeing from gaming. The net effect of these ventures, both nationally and at the state level, have seen pressure applied to tribes over issues of accountability, jurisdiction, and tribal rights. In a time of dwindling federal resources, tribes will be faced with the challenge of assuming more federally administered programs,

Today, as in the past, the Turtle Mountain Chippewa continues to change and adapt to different social, cultural, and environmental influences. The Turtle Mountain Chippewa realizes their greatest resources are their people. The Turtle Mountain Tribe has gone through considerable effort to develop a commercial economy. While the Tribe has several very successful business ventures, many are dependent upon federal contracts. The local businessman's organization, has focused their efforts and have been successful at building one of the most thriving, Indian-owned private sectors in the state. A high level of diversification and entrepreneurship have contributed to the reservation's business sector.

TRIBAL GAMING

The Turtle Mountain Tribe along with the State of North Dakota agreed on a gaming compact authorized in October of 1992. Tribal gaming was made possible through the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, Public Law 100-407. This legislation, and Indian gaming, however, continues to be challenged by both private and state-level interests, both nationally and locally.

SOCIAL CONCERNS

The economic growth of the community, while prosperous for an isolated part of the State, does not seem to keep pace with the population growth. Around 40% of the population is under the age of 18, and the unemployment rate chronically remains about 42 percent. In spite of apparent success, the Turtle Mountain reservation continues to be an economically depressed area. Complex social problems which continue to plague the community are substance abuse, domestic and child abuse, suicide, teenage pregnancy, and the growing concern of AIDS. The community has implemented numerous substance abuse prevention and day treatment programs, as well as day care centers. However, many of the social problems are by products of phenomenal growth, and problems because of size.

EDUCATION

Education has always been a priority concern for the Turtle Mountain Chippewa. Providing sufficient services for one of the fastest growing tribal communities in the state is a concern for the Turtle Mountain Chippewa. With a large growing population, the education community must address the issues of sufficient space, revival and maintenance the languages and culture of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa. Faced with a phenomenal growth, the Turtle Mountain Chippewa are only able to construct facilities on an as-needed basis.

GOVERNANCE

Like all governments, growth requires growing pains. The Turtle Mountain Chippewa Tribal Nation must deal with the problems associated with phenomenal growth, as well as issues of maintaining a semblance of traditional Turtle Mountain Chippewa culture. The Turtle Mountain Chippewa are currently plagued with political and tribal finance issues.

The stability of any government has been marked by consistent long-term leadership. With dwindling federal resources, tribes, as are many governments, are faced with assuming more responsibility for the administration of programs formerly supported by the federal government and are faced with doing so without funds attached. Faced with these challenges, tribes will be defined by their ability to meet these challenges. Ultimately the survival of the people, both culturally and economically will depend upon it.

APPENDIX

REFERENCES

GLOSSARY

PHOTO CREDITS

DOCUMENT 1

CENTENNIAL POEM

One hundred years ago today
Our people gathered here to pray
They'd built a little church of gold
In which to pay and worship God

T'was not till 1882
That Father Malo was passing through
He stopped and blessed the families here
Saying he'd return another year

In 1885 he did come back
And made his home in the little shack
This time he said that he would stay
Thanking God they knelt to pray
Twelve years here he spent teaching
absolving sins, baptizing, and preaching

Then Father Malo had a plan
To name this church for good St. Ann
He told the people of her love
Her many graces from above
Soon they too became aware
Of St. Ann's powers and in her care
They placed their sorrows and their fears
Their faith increased throughout the years

The Novena to her first began
On the Feast day of St. Ann
In 1885 the 26th of July
100 years has since gone by

Many people came from far
With horse and buggy before the car
They brought their clothes and food supplies
At night they slept beneath the skies

They came for prayer and adoration
Nine days of worship and celebration
They brought the sorrowing and the weak
Healing and comfort they did seek
And as they prayed before God's altar
The weak and sick no longer falter
Those with ears so full of pain
Blessings and graces they did gain

And now in 1985
This undying faith is still alive
We still invoke her intercession
And honor her in a procession
St. Ann has been our loyal friend
Watching over us to the end.

Poem written in honor of St. Ann's Centennial by Stella Davis.

DOCUMENT 2

NANABOSHO RECEIVES THE PIPE OF PEACE

Nanabosho was born of a human mother and a spirit father, Epingishmook (The West). His grandmother, Nokomis, raised him. Although he loved his grandmother very much, he grew up feeling his mother would have lived if his father had not abandoned them.

When he became a young man, Nanabosho gave into his hurt feelings and went to find Epingishmook to avenge his mothers death. When he found Epingishmook, he called out his name and told him that he had come to challenge him. Epingishmook came forward and they fought. Nanabosho knew that the only way to hurt Epingishmook was to wound him with flint. As the battle raged on, Nanabosho used the flint to wound Epingishmook. Blood flowed form his wound. Epingishmook was alarmed and he stopped fighting. He knew Nanabosho was part spirit and had special powers. He took a pipe from his pouch and he gave it to Nanabosho. "This is the Pipe of Peace," he told Nanabosho. "Take it to the Anishinaubag to use as an emblem of peace and goodwill." Nanabosho took the pipe to the Anishinaubag. This is how the Chippewa got the Pipe of Peace. (Johnston, Legends of the Ojibway).

DOCUMENT 3

LEGEND OF HOW THE CHIPPEWA GOT THE FOUR SEASONS NANABOSHO AND THE WINTER GIANT

Many years ago, the country got cold. So cold that snow stayed on the ground all year around. Ice formed. Ice and snow were everywhere. Plants stopped growing. Some great mystery was happening. The sun just couldn't seem to warm up the world.

The Chippewa were suffering. They could not enjoy the foods they were accustomed to. The plants didn't grow. The animals were sparse and lean. Ceremonies performed for the purpose of bringing warmer weather led the people to seek Nanabosho's intercession. "The cold is coming from the north," Nanabosho stated. "I wonder why?" The elders and spiritual leaders held council with Nanabosho where they presented him with tobacco and asked him for help. Prayer ceremonies led Nanbosho to understand that he had to travel north to get the answers.

The whole village turned out to help him pack for his journey. Special songs were sung to give him strength. Special prayers were offered to ask for help from Gitchi Manito to help him on his voyage. Tribal members brought him warm clothing, food, and warm encouragement. Early one morning, several days after the council meeting, Nanabosho waved to the tribal members and set out to find answers about the cold weather. He felt the crisp, cold wind blow against his face as he traveled further and further north toward the cold howling wind. The further north he got, the colder it seemed to get. He met a man. The man opened hi mouth to speak, but there was no voice. There was only the sound of ice chunks falling tot he ground. Nanabosho pushed on. He walked for days and just when he thought he might freeze to death, he saw something in the horizon. It was hugh. As he approached the large ice man, he saw icicles coming from his eyes, nose and mouth. He continued to blow and the wind howled. Ice covered everything. It was cold! Suddenly the giant ice man spotted Nanabosho and screamed at him in the voice of a howling wind, "Who are you?" "How dare you come into my territory without permission."

Nanabosho tried to speak. His voice cracked. Ice chips fell from his lips. He tried again. This time he made a sound. "..i..i..I am Nanabosho. I was sent by the Chippewa." Shivering, he went on to say, "They are suffering in their homes because they are short on food and medicine. Some are sick. Others are hungry. The winter is too long. The plants grow. Food and medicine are growing short."

"What do you want me to do about it?" asked the Winter Giant. "I am here doing my job. I love the ice and snow. I am making plenty for everyone. Don't complain."

Nanabosh, realizing that he did not have a chance to convince the Winter Giant that he should stop, decided to try something else. "I have been walking for many days," began Nanagosho. "I am tired and hungry."

"I can't help that!" "I didn't invite you," said the Winter Giant.

Nanabosh put down his back pack. "Do you mind if I eat something before I journey back to Chippewa land?" asked Nanabosho.

"I don't care what you do, as long as you don't bother me," said the Winter Giant.

Nanabosho took some dried meat, turnips, and other vegetables out of his back pack. He made a small fire and began to make some stew. The Winter Giant watched from the corner of his glassy eye.

"What are you doing?" he asked Nanabosho.

"I'm fixing some stew. Would you like some?"

"No, thank you!" roared the Winter Giant.

Nanabosho began to smack his lips as he ate. The stew warmed his body.

The Winter Giant, taken in by the pleasure on Nanabusho's face, got curious.

"Maybe I'll take just a little taste," said the Winter Giant.

Nanabosho went over and gave him a taste of the warm soup.

"Delicious!" roared the Winter Giant. "Can I have more?"

Nanabosho began to feed the Winter Giant the hot soup. As the Winter Giant ate, he began to melt. But, the soup was so good that he could not stop. Soon, a weak voice said, "Nanabosho, you have made some delicious soup, and I have eaten too much. I am small and weak now. I need a nap."

The Winter Giant lay down. Nanabosho packed up his back pack and started south. He could hear the Winter Giant snoring as he left. A day or two into his journey home, the sun came out and the weather began to warm. He walked past the spot where he met the man on his journey north. He heard voices. He listened closely and he found the ice chunks were melting that had fallen form the man's mouth and words were coming out of the ice. "It's cold!" said the ice chunks!

When Nanabosho reached the village, the people had a feast prepared for him. They were pleased that Nanabosho had helped to bring back Spring at last.

This is how we got rid of the glaciers that covered our land many, many years ago.

Now, we have the four seasons because each winter, Nanabosho goes north to feed hot soup to the Winter Giant. When he melts away, we have Spring and Summer. When he wakes, he begins to grow and get colder until he blows ice and snow. This is when Nanabosho packs his bag and travels north to feed soup to the Winter Giant.

(ODJ16 Storyteller.) Oral History.

OLD CROSSING TREATY

TREATY WITH THE CHIPPEWA-RED LAKE AND PEMBINA BANDS, 1863.

Articles of a treaty made and concluded at the Old Crossing of Red Lake River, in the State of Minnesota, on the second day of October, in the year eighteen hundred and sixty-three, between the United States of America, by their commissioners, Alexander Ramsey and Ashley C. Morrill, agent for the Chippewa Indians, and the Red Lake and Pembina bands of Chippewas; by their chiefs, head-men, and warriors.

Oct.2, 1863
13 Stats., 667
Ratified Mar.1, 1864.
Proclaimed May 5, 1864.

ARTICLE 1. The peace and friendship now existing between the United States and the Red Lake and Pembina bands of Chippewa Indians shall be perpetual.

Perpetual peace and friendship.

ARTICLE 2. The said Red Lake and Pembina bands of Chippewa Indians do hereby cede, sell, and convey to the United States all their right, title, and interest in and to all the lands now owned and claimed by them in the State of Minnesota and in the Territory of Dakota within the following described boundaries, to wit: Beginning at the point where the international boundary between the United States and the British possessions intersects the shore of the Lake of the Woods; thence in a direct line southwesterly to the head of Thief River; thence down the main channel of said Thief River to its mouth on the Red Lake River; thence in a southeasterly direction, in a direct line toward the head of Wild Rice River, to the point where such line would intersect the northwestern boundary of a tract ceded to the United States by a treaty concluded at Washington on the 22nd day of February, in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-five, with the Mississippi, Pillager, and Lake Winnebigoshish bands of Chippewa Indians; thence along the said boundary-line of the said cession to the mouth of Wild Rice River; thence up the main channel of the Red River to the mouth of the Shayenne; thence up the main channel of the Shayenne River to Poplar Grove; thence in a direct line to the Place of Stumps, otherwise called Lake Chicot; thence in a direct line to the head of the main branch of Salt River; thence in a direct line due north to the point where such line would intersect the international boundary aforesaid; thence eastwardly along said boundary to the place of beginning.

Lands ceded to the United States.

Boundaries

ARTICLE 3. In consideration of the foregoing cession, the United States agree to pay to the said Red Lake and Pembina bands of Chippewa Indians the following sums, to wit: Twenty thousand dollars per annum for twenty years; the said sum to be distributed among the Chippewa Indians of the said bands in equal amounts per capita, and for this purpose an accurate enumeration and enrollment of the members of the respective bands and families shall be made by the officers of the United States: *Provided*, That so much of this sum as the President of the United States shall direct, not exceeding five thousand dollars per year, may be reserved from the above sum, and applied to agriculture, education, and the purchase of goods, powder, lead &c., for their use, and to such other beneficial purposes, calculated to promote the prosperity and happiness of the said Chippewa Indians, as he may prescribe.

Payment for lands ceded.

Proviso.

Amount reserved.

ARTICLE 4. And in further consideration of the foregoing cession, and of their promise to abstain from such acts in future, the United States agree that the said Red Lake and Pembina bands of Chippewa Indians shall not be held liable to punishment for past offences. And in order to make compensation to the injured parties for the depredations committed by the said Indians on the goods of certain British and American traders at the mouth of the Red Lake River, and for exactions forcibly levied by them on the proprietors of the steamboat plying on the Red River, and to enable them to pay their just debts, the United States agree to appropriate the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, it being understood and agreed that the claims of individuals for damages or debt under this article shall be ascertained and audited, in consultation with the chiefs of said bands, by a commissioner or Commissioners appointed

Amnesty for past offenses.

Appropriation for former depredations.

Claims, how to be audited.

Appropriations for powder, lead, etc.

by the President of the United States; furthermore, the sum of two thousand dollars shall be expended for powder, lead, twine, or such other beneficial purposes as the chiefs may request, to be equitably distributed among the said bands at the first payment: *Provided*, That no part of the sum of one hundred thousand dollars shall be appropriated or paid to make compensation for damages or for the payment of any debts owing from said Indians until the said commissioner or commissioners shall report each case, with the proofs thereof, to the Secretary of the Interior, to be submitted to Congress, with his opinion thereon, for its action; and that, after such damages and debts shall have been paid, the residue of said sum shall be added to the annuity funds of said Indians, to be divided equally upon said annuities.

Appropriation to encourage the adoption of habits of civilized life.

ARTICLE 5. To encourage and aid the chiefs of said bands in preserving order and inducing, by their example and advice, the members of their respective bands to adopt the habits and pursuits of civilized life, there shall be paid to each of the said chiefs annually, out of the annuities of the said bands, a sum no exceeding one hundred and fifty dollars, to be determined by their agents according to their respective merits. And for the better promotion of the above objects, a further sum of five hundred dollars shall be paid at the first payment to each of the said chiefs to enable him to build for himself a house. Also, the sum of five thousand dollars shall be appropriated by the United States for cutting out a road from Leach Lake to Red Lake.

For road from Leach Lake to Red Lake.

Board of visitors, their appointment; duty, pay.

ARTICLE 6. The President shall appoint a board of visitors, to consist of not less than two nor more than three persons, to be selected from such Christian denominations as he may designate, whose duty it shall be to attend at all annuity payments of the said Chippewa Indians, to inspect their field and other improvements, and to report annually thereon on or before the first day of November, and also as to the qualifications and moral deportment of all persons residing upon the reservation under the authority of law; and they shall receive for their services five dollars a day for the time actually employed, and ten cent per mile for travelling expenses: *Provided*, That no one shall be paid in any one year for more than twenty days' service or for more than three hundred miles' travel.

Spirituous liquors prohibited.

ARTICLE 7. The laws of the United States now in force, or that may hereafter be enacted, prohibiting the introduction and sale of spirituous liquors in the Indian country, shall be in full force and effect throughout the country hereby ceded until otherwise directed by Congress or the President of the United States.

Grant of 160 acres of land to certain of these Indians.

ARTICLE 8. In further consideration of the foregoing cession, it is hereby agreed that the United States shall grant to each male adult half-breed or mixed-blood who is related by blood to the said Chippewas of the said Red Lake or Pembina bands who has adopted the habits and customs of civilized life, and who is a citizen of the United States, a homestead of one hundred and sixty acres of land, to be selected at his option, within the limits of the tract of country hereby ceded to the United States, on any land not previously occupied by actual settlers or covered by prior grants, the boundaries thereof to be adjusted in conformity with the lines of the official surveys when the same shall be made, and with the laws and regulations of the United States affecting the location and entry of the same: *Provided*, That no scrip shall be issued under the provisions of this article, and no assignments shall be made of any right, title, or interest at law or in equity until a patent shall issue, and no patent shall be issued until due proof of five years' actual residence and cultivation, as required by the act entitled "An act to secure homesteads on the public domain."

Reservations of 640 acres each for the chiefs Moose Dung and Red Bear.

ARTICLE 9. Upon the urgent request of the Indians, parties to this treaty, there shall be set apart from the tract hereby ceded a reservation of (640) six hundred and forty acres near the mouth of Thief River for the chief "Moose Dung," and a like reservation of (640) six hundred and forty acres for the chief "Red Bear," on the north side of Pembina River.

In witness whereof, the said Alexander Ramsey and Ashley C. Morrill, commissioners on the part of the United States, and the chiefs, headmen, and warriors of the Red Lake and Pembina bands of

Chippewa Indians, have hereunto set their bands, at the Old Crossing of Red Lake River, in the State of Minnesota, this second day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty three.

Alex. Ramsey,
Ashley. C. Morrill, Commissioners.

Mons-o-mo, his x mark, Moose Dung, Chief of Red Lake
Kaw-wash-ke-ne-kay, his x mark, Crooked Arm, Chief of Red Lake
Ase-e-ne-wub, his x mark, Little Rock Chief of Red Lak(e).
Mis-co-muk-quoh, his x mark, Red Bear, Chief of Pembina.
Ase-anse, his x mark, Little Shell, Chief of Pembina.
Mis-co-co-noy-a, his x mark, Red Rob, Warrior of Red Lake.
Ka-che-un-ish-e-naw-bay, his x mark, The Big Indian, Warrior of Red Lake.
Neo-ki-zhick, his x mark, Four Skies, Warrior of Red Lake.
Nebene-quin-gwa-hawegaw, his x mark, Summer Wolverine, Warrior of Pembina.
Joseph Gornon, his x mark, Warrior of Pembina.
Joseph Montreuil, his x mark, Warrior of Pembina.
Teb-ish-ke-ke-shig, his x mark, Warrior of Pembina.
May-shue-e-yaush, his x mark, Dropping Wind, Head Warrior of Red Lake.
Min-du-wah-wing, his x mark, Berry Hunter, Warrior of Red Lake.
Naw-gaun-e-gwan-abe, his x mark, Leading Feather, Chief of Red Lake.

Signed in presence of-

Paul H. Beaulieu, special interpreter.
Peter Roy,
T.A. Warren, United States Interpreter.
J.A. Wheelock, secretary.
Reuben Ottman, secretary.
George A. Camp, major Eighth Regiment Minnesota Volunteers.
William T. Rockwood, Captain Company K, Eighth Regiment Minnesota Volunteers.
P.B. Davy, Captain Company L. First Regiment Minnesota Mounted Rangers.
G.M. Dwelle, Second Lieutenant Third Minnesota Battery.
F.Rieger, Surgeon Eighth Regiment Minnesota Volunteers
L.S. Kidder, First Lieutenant Company L, First Minnesota Mounted Rangers.
Sam. B. Abbe.
C.A. Kuffer.
Pierre x Bottineau.

Reprinted from Kappler, C.J. (1972). Indian Land's and Treaties 1778-1883. Vol. 1, 2nd Ed. pp. 853-855.

TREATY WITH THE CHIPPEWA-RED LAKE AND PEMBINA BANDS, 1864.

April 12, 1864.
13 Stat. 689.
Ratified Apr.21,1864.
Proclaimed Apr.25, 1864.

Articles supplementary to the treaty made and concluded at the Old Crossing of Red Lake River, in the State of Minnesota, on the second day of October, in the year eighteen hundred and sixty-three, between the United States of America, by their commissioners, Clark W. Thompson and Ashley C. Morrill, and the Red Lake and Pembina bands of Chippewa Indians, by their chiefs, head-men, and warriors, concluded at the city of Washington, District of Columbia, on the twelfth day of April in the year eighteen hundred and sixty-four, between the United States, by the said commissioners, of the one part, and the said bands of the Chippewa Indians, by their chiefs, head-men, and warriors, of the other part.

Assent to treaty of Oct. 2, 1863, as amended.

ARTICLE 1. The said Red Lake and Pembina bands of Chippewa Indians do hereby agree and assent to the provisions of the said treaty, concluded at the Old Crossing of Red Lake River, as amended by the Senate of the United States by resolution bearing date the first of March, in the year eighteen hundred and sixty-four.

Payment in lieu of annuity by former treaty.

ARTICLE 2. In consideration of the cession made by said treaty, concluded at the Old Crossing of Red Lake River, and in lieu of the annuity payment provided for by the third article of said last-mentioned treaty, the United States will pay annually, during the pleasure of the President of the United States, to the Red Lake band of Chippewas the sum of ten thousand dollars, and to the Pembina band of Chippewas the sum of five thousand dollars, which said sums shall be distributed to the members of said bands, respectively, in equal amounts per capita, for which purpose an accurate enumeration and enrollment of the members of the respective bands shall be made by the officers of the United States.

Annual expenditures for blankets, provisions, etc.

ARTICLE 3. The United States will also expend annually, for the period of fifteen years, for the Red Lake band of Chippewas, for the purpose of supplying them with gilling-twine, cotton mater, calico, linsey, blankets, sheeting, flannels, provisions, farming-tools, and for such other useful articles, and for such other useful purposes as may be deemed for their best interests, the sum of eight thousand dollars: and will expend in like manner, and for a like period, and for like purposes, for the Pembina band of Chippewas, the sum of four thousand dollars.

Blacksmith, physician, miller, farmer, iron, steel, etc.

ARTICLE 4. The United States also agree to furnish said bands of Indians, for the period of fifteen years, one blacksmith, one physician, one miller, and one farmer; and will also furnish them annually, during the same period, with fifteen hundred dollars' worth of iron, steel, and other articles for blacksmithing purposes, and one thousand dollars for carpentering, and other purposes.

Sawmill and millstones.

ARTICLE 5. The United States also agree to furnish for said Indians at some suitable point, to be determined by the Secretary of the Interior, a saw-mill with a run of millstones attached.

Modification of article 4 of former treaty.

ARTICLE 6. It is further agreed, by and between the parties hereto, that article four of the said treaty, concluded at the Old Crossing of Red Lake River, and the amendment to said article, shall be modified as follows: that is to say, twenty-five thousand dollars of the amount thereby stipulated shall be paid to the chiefs of said bands, through their agent, upon the ratification of these articles, or so soon thereafter as practicable, to enable them to purchase provisions and clothing, presents to be distributed to their people upon their return to their homes; of which amount five thousand dollars shall be expended for the benefit of their chief, May-dwa-gwa-no-nind; and that from the remaining seventy five thousand dollars the claims of injured parties for depredations committed by said Indians on the goods of certain British and American traders at the mouth of the Red Lake River, and for exactions forcibly levied by them on the proprietors of the steamboat plying on the Red River, shall have priority of payment, and be paid in full, and the remainder thereof shall be paid pro rata upon the debts of said tribe incurred since the first day of January, in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-nine, to be ascertained by their agent in connection with the chiefs, in lieu of the commissioner or commissioners provided for in the fourth article of said treaty concluded at the Old Crossing of Red Lake River.

ARTICLE 7. It is further agreed by the parties hereto, that, in lieu of the lands provided for the mixed-bloods by article eight of said treaty, concluded at the Old Crossing of Red Lake River, scrip shall be issued to such of said mixed-bloods as shall so elect, which shall entitle the holder to a like amount of land, and may be located upon any of the lands ceded by said treaty, but not elsewhere, and shall be accepted by said mixed-bloods in lieu of all future claims for annuities.

Scrip to issue to mixed bloods in lieu of lands.

In testimony whereof, the said commissioners, on behalf of the United States, and the said chiefs, headmen, and war[r]iors, on behalf of the Red Lake and Pembina bands of Chippewa Indians, have hereunto affixed their hands and seals this twelfth day of April, in the year eighteen hundred and sixty-four.

Clark W. Thompson, [Seal.]
Ashley C. Morrill, [Seal.]
Commissioners.

Principal Red Lake chief, May-dwa-gua-no-nind (He that is spoken to), his x mark [seal.]
Red Lake chief, Mons-o-mo (Moose-dung), his x mark, [seal.]
Red Lake Chief, Ase-e-ne-wub (Little Rock), his x mark, [seal.]
Principal Pembina chief, Mis-co-muk quah (Red Bear),his x mark, [seal.]
Red Lake headman, Naw-gon-egwo-nabe (Leading Feather), his x mark, [seal.]
Red Lake war[r]ior, Que-we-zance (The Boy), his x mark, [seal.]
Red Lake headman, May-zha-ke-osh (Dropping Wind), his x mark, [seal.]
Red Lake headman, Bwa-ness (Little Shoe), his x mark, [seal.]
Red Lake headman, Wa-bon-e-qua-osh (White Hair), his x mark, [seal.]

Pembina headman, Te-bish-co-ge-shick (Equal Sky), his x mark [seal.]
Red Lake warrior, Te-besh-co-he-ness (Straight Bird), his x mark [seal.]
Red Lake warrior, Osh-shay-o-sick (no interpretation), his x mark [seal.]
Red Lake warrior, Sa-sa-goh-cum-ick-ish cum (He that makes the ground tremble), his x mark, [seal.]
Red Lake warrior, Kay-tush-ke-wub-e-tung (no interpretation), his x mark, [seal.]
Pembina warrior, I-inge-e-gaun-abe, (Wants Feathers), his x mark [seal.]
Red Lake warrior, Que-we-zance-ish, (Bad Boy, his x mark [seal.]

Signed in presence of-

P.H. Beaulieu, special interpreter.
J.G. Morrison, special interpreter.
Peter Roy, special interpreter.

T.A. Warren, United States Interpreter
Chas. E. Gardell.
Charles Botteneau.

Reprinted from Kappler, C.J. (1972). Indian Land's and Treaties 1778-1883. Vol. 1, 2nd Ed. pp. 861-862.

"THE MCCUMBER AGREEMENT"
AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TURTLE MOUNTAIN INDIANS AND THE COMMISSION

Appointed under the provisions of the Indian appropriation act of July, 1892, to negotiate with the Turtle Mountain band of chippewa Indians in North Dakota, for the cession and relinquishment to the United States of whatever right or interest they have in and to any and all land in said State to which they claim title.

APPENDIX No. I

Articles of agreement and stipulations made and concluded at Belcourt, in the county of Rolette and the state of North dakota, by and between Porter J. McCumber, John W. Wilson, and W. Woodville Fleming, commissioners on the part of the Uited States, on the twenty-second day of October, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-two, and Ka-ki-ne-wash, Kanik, Ka-ish-pah, Conie, Caws-ta-we-nin, Oza-ah-we-kizik, John Baptist Wilkie, Augustine Wilkie Sr., John Baptisst Vandall, Joseph Rolette, Jerome M. Rolette, St. Mathew Jerome, and Martin Jerome, and others whose names are hereto subscribed, being a majority of the whole number of male adults belonging to and comprising the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians in North Dakota, on the part and behalf of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians.

Article I

The friendly relations heretofore existing between the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians and the United States shall be forever Maintained.

Article II

The Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, in consideration of the convenants and stipulations hereinafter contained, do hereby cede, alien, and convey to the United States all the claims, estate, right, title and interrest of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indains or any of them as members of said band of Indians, in and to all lands, tenements, and hereditaments, situate lying and being in the state of North Dakota. Excepting and reserving from this conveyance that tract of land particularly mentioned and set apart by an executive order of the President of the United states, bearing date the third day of June, A.D. eighteen hundred and eighty-four, to which reference is hereby made for more particular description, the said reserve being twelve miles in length and six miles in breadth, and now occupied as a reservation by the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians. It being expressly stipulated that the land now occupied and used for school, church, and Government purposes shall be held at the pleasure of the United States, and may, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior of the United States, be patented when the interest of the United States, the Indians thereon, or the efficient school conduct requires; the Secretary of the interior may, as occasion requires, set apart other land in said reserve for school and other public uses.

Article III

The land, woods, and waters above reserved for the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, subject to the stipulations contained in article II of this treaty and agreement, shall be held as common property of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, and it is agreed that the United States shall, as soon as it can conveniently be done, cause the land hereby reserved and held for the use of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians to be surveyed as public lands are surveyed, for the purpose of enabling such Indians as desire to take homesteads, and the selections shall be so made as to include in each case, as far as possible the residence and improvements of the Indian making the selection giving to each an equitable proportion of natural advantages, and when it is not practicable to so apportion the entire homestead of land in one body, it may be set apart in separate tracts, not less than

forty acres in any one tract, unless the same shall abut upon a lake - but all assignment of land in severalty shall conform to the government survey. The survey of this land shall be made as Government surveys and at no expense to the Indians.

Article IV

In consideration of the premises and the foregoing cession, the United States agrees to pay to the said Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians the sum of one million dollars, of which sum there shall be paid annually the sum of fifty thousand dollars for the period of twenty years, which sums shall be invested annually in food, clothing, bed clothing, houses, cattle, horses, all kinds of agricultural implements, and farm machinery and products, for seed for husbandry, and such things as may be approved by the Secretary of the Interior, who shall have the authority to direct such expenditures, and at such times in the building, improving, and repairing of houses as the needs of the Indians on the above reserve may require, except as hereinafter agreed.

Article V

The schools now located upon the above-named reserve are to be maintained in efficiency as at present and increased as necessity may require.

Article VI

All members of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewas who may be unable to secure land upon the reservation above ceded may take homesteads upon any vacant land belonging to the United States without charge, and shall continue to hold and be entitled to such share in all tribal funds, annuities, or other property, the same as if located on the reservations.

Article VII

So long as the United states retains and holds title to any land in the use or occupation of any member of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians or the title to other property in the possession of any Indian of said band, which it may do for twenty years, there shall be no tax or other duty levied or assessed upon the property the title to which is held or retained by the United States.

Article VIII

And in further consideration of the foregoing cession and stipulations, it is further stipulated that the six hundred and forty acres of land heretofore reserved to "Red Bear" a Chippewa Indian, by the treaty between the United States and the Red Lake and Pembina Bands of Chippewa Indian, concluded in Minnesota, October 2, amended March 1, 1864, proclaimed May 5, 1864, be patented to red Bear, a member of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa, who is the only son and heir of the "Red Bear: named in the eighth article of the treaty above referred to and mentioned.

Article IX

It is further conveyed and agreed that under no circumstances the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians nor any members of said band of Indians shall take up arms against or resist the established authorities of the United States; every person so violating this stipulation shall in the discretion of the United States be forever barred from the benefits of this agreement, and all rights of such person and persons hereunder shall be forfeited to the United States.

Article X

This agreement to be of no binding force or effect until ratified by the Congress of the United States.

Article XI

It is mutually agreed that the sum of five thousand dollars of the fifty thousand dollars above stipulated be annually paid to the Turtle Mountain Band of Indians, in cash, and that said sum be distributed per capita.

In testimony whereof the said Porter J. McCumber, John W. Wilson,and W. Woodville Flemming, commissioners, as aforesaid, and the members of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their official marks on the day and at the place above written.

Executed at Belcourt Agency, North Dakota, this 22nd Day of October, A.D. 1892.

P.J. McCumber (seal)
John W. Wilson (seal)
W. Woodville Flemming (seal)
Commissioners

We, the undersigned, separately and severally certify on honor that we have fully explained to the Indians whose names are hereto signed the above instrument, and that they acknowledge the same to be well understood by them.

John Baptiste Ledeault
Joseph Rolette
(Signed by Ka-kin-e-wash and over 200 others.) Ex. Doc. 229, 52nd Congress, 2nd session.

Appendix No. 2

Amendments to an original agreement between the United States and the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians made on October 22, 1892:

Article IV

Article IV as originally written is stricken, and the following is inserted to replace it:

In consideration of the premises and the foregoing cession, the United States agrees to pay to the said Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians the sum of one million dollars, such amount to be paid in cash in yearly installments, whichever the Secretary of the Interior deems best for the tribe. PROVIDED: if payment is made in yearly installments, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to spend the prorate share of each Indian as his need may require in building, repairing and improving the houses off the Indian people except as hereinafter agreed.

Article V

Article V is amended to read:

The schools now located upon the reserve are to be maintained at the present level, so long as the Secretary of the Interior feels it necessary but no longer than twenty years.

Article VIII

Article VIII as orginally written is removed from the agreement and not replaced.

Article XI

Article XI as originally written is removed from the agreement and not replaced.

(Senate document No. 471 (1904) pp. 2-6)

Ka-kin-ewash, his x mark	[seal].
Cawi-ta we nin, his x mark	[seal].
Kiji Kaak-ke-nija-wit, his x mark	[seal].
Ketakiwapetong, his x mark	[seal].
Amayatt Francais, his x mark	[seal].
J.B. Wilkie, his x mark	[seal].
Antoine Brien, his x mark	[seal].
Alexander Aiken, his x mark	[seal].
Gourneau, Louis, his x mark	[seal].
Peter Charbennan, his x mark	[seal].
Grant, Joseph, his x mark	[seal].
Gabriel Wilkie, his x mark	[seal].
Gourneau, Alexander, , his x mark	[seal].
M.J. Rolette, his x mark	[seal].
Albert Wilkie, his x mark	[seal].
Alexander Lucier, , his x mark	[seal].
Joseph Poitra, , his x mark	[seal].
St. Mathew Jerome, , his x mark	[seal].
Alexander Hermon, , his x mark	[seal].
Eugene Pepin, , his x mark	[seal].
Antoine Houle, sr., , his x mark	[seal].
Charles Houle, , his x mark	[seal].
Moses Dionne, his x mark	[seal].
Piere Peltier, his x mark	[seal].
Jospeh Lafrombois, , his x mark	[seal].
Joseph Wilkie, his x mark	[seal].
Nepate Kejik, his x mark	[seal].
John Baptiste Davis, jr., , his x mark	[seal].
Piere Charett, his x mark	[seal].
Piere Azure, , his x mark	[seal].
Theodore Belgarde, sr., , his x mark	[seal].
Gabriel Poitra, Sr., his x mark	[seal].
Gabriel Poitra, Jr., , his x mark	[seal].
Andre Azure, his x mark	[seal].
Joseph Azure, his x mark	[seal].
Kanik, , his x mark	[seal].
Conic, his x mark	[seal].
Skasitoness, his x mark	[seal].
Mishkomakwa, his x mark	[seal].
kaozawakezik, his x mark	[seal].
Joseph Langer, his x mark	[seal].
Alexander Wilkie, his x mark	[seal].
Joseph Gourneau, sr., , his x mark	[seal].
Gourneau, Batrice, his x mark	[seal].
Grant Riese, , his x mark	[seal].
Willian Grant, , his x mark	[seal].
Baptise Kline, his x mark	[seal].
Charles Poitra, his x mark	[seal].
Louis Arnyott, jr., , his x mark	[seal].
Gabries Banchimen, his x mark	[seal].
Kaishpa, his x mark	[seal].
Wahna Kivet, his x mark	[seal].
Ozawikonaya, his x mark	[seal].
Ka-kepiness, his x mark	[seal].
Mekwam, his x mark	[seal].
Roger Jerome, his x mark	[seal].
Archibald Aiken, his x mark	[seal].
John Aiken, his x mark	[seal].
Gourneau, Leon, his x mark	[seal].
Garbiel Azure, , his x mark	[seal].
Joseph Rolette, his x mark	[seal].
Jenor Biren, , his x mark	[seal].
Alexander Latraille, his x mark	[seal].
Modest Poitra, his x mark	[seal].
Phillip Goddon, his x mark	[seal].
Solomon Pepin, , his x mark	[seal].
Ambrose Wallet, his x mark	[seal].
Zachary Poitra, his x mark	[seal].
Louis Goddon, his x mark	[seal].
Alexander Martel, his x mark	[seal].
Knakomika, , his x mark	[seal].
Aki chita, his x mark	[seal].
Cha kasung, his x mark	[seal].
John Baptiste Dandall, his x mark	[seal].
O-za-was-kush, his x mark	[seal].
Andre Allery, sr., , his x mark	[seal].
Nottin, his x mark	[seal].
Gourneau, Joseph, jr., his x mark	[seal].
Edward Herman, his x mark	[seal].
Antoine Houle, jr., his x mark	[seal].
Joseph Thomas, Joseph Smith, jr., his x mark	[seal].
Baptiste Peltier, his x mark	[seal].
Thheodore Brien, his x mark	[seal].
John Baptiste Wilkie, , his x mark	[seal].
Daniel Turcott, his x mark	[seal].
Isadore Gramboise, his x mark	[seal].
Moses Charett, his x mark	[seal].
Henry Oncept, his x mark	[seal].
Louie Belgarde, his x mark	[seal].
William Poitra, his x mark	[seal].
Antoine Wilkie, his x mark	[seal].
Francois Langer, his x mark	[seal].
Francis Azure, his x mark	[seal].
Moses Wallet, his x mark	[seal].
Napoleon Houle, his x mark	[seal].
William Thomas, his x mark	[seal].
Israel Smith, sr., his x mark	[seal].
Moses Lapier, his x mark	[seal].
Augustine Wilkie, Sr., his x mark	[seal].
Joseph Decouteau, his x mark	[seal].
William Davis, Jr., his x mark	[seal].
Baptiste Charrett, his x mark	[seal].
Thomas Cluthier, his x mark	[seal].
Jerome Azure, his x mark	[seal].
Joseph Belgarde, his x mark	[seal].
Charles Poitra, 2nd, his x mark	[seal].
John Baptist Azure, his x mark	[seal].
Joseph Frederic, his x mark	[seal].
Isadore Azure, his x mark	[seal].
Mathais Lafromboixe, his x mark	[seal].
Gregory Martell, his x mark	[seal].
Joseph Martell, his x mark	[seal].
Edmond Rolette, his x mark	[seal].
Bacile Belgard, his x mark	[seal].
Gilbert Belgarde, his x mark	[seal].
Benard Delorme, his x mark	[seal].
Francios Vivier, 2nd, his x mark	[seal].
David Lavadure, his x mark	[seal].
Mazime Marion, his x mark	[seal].
Abraham Boyer, his x mark	[seal].
Alexander Jerome, his x mark	[seal].
Michael Gladue, his x mark	[seal].
Napoleon Allery, his x mark	[seal].
Louis Amyott, Sr., his x mark	[seal].
Benjamin Azure, his x mark	[seal].
F. X. Desjarlais, his x mark	[seal].
John B. Martell, his x mark	[seal].
Loius Thomas, his x mark	[seal].
Francios Montrail, his x mark	[seal].
Charles Du(?)ney, his x mark	[seal].
Joseph Nadeau, his x mark	[seal].
Andre Morin, his x mark	[seal].

Andre Morin, his x mark [seal].
Alexander Montriel, his x mark [seal].
St. Pierre Lavadure, his x mark [seal].
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Charles Gladue, Sr., his x mark [seal].
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C. Lafontaine, his x mark [seal].
Joseph E. Marion, his x mark [seal].
Skamistik, his x mark [seal].
Pakena-ke-wap, his x mark [seal].
Pat-wa-wi-nin, his x mark [seal].
She-she-we-ko-nip-,, his x mark [seal].
Nepasish, his x mark [seal].
Joseph Gourneau, his x mark [seal].
Behard Houle, his x mark [seal].
Joseph Smith, Sr., his x mark [seal].
Paul Peltier,, his x mark [seal].
Gabriel Lafromboise, his x mark [seal].
Augustine Wilkie, Jr., his x mark [seal].
J. B. Turcott, his x mark [seal].
Leonidas Davis, his x mark [seal].
Francios Charrett, his x mark [seal].
Peter Ducept, his x mark [seal].
Theodore Belgarde, jr., his x mark [seal].
Nobert Poitra, his x mark [seal].
Octave Lafontaine, his x mark [seal].
John Baptist Grant, his x mark [seal].
Alexander Azure, his x mark [seal].
Piere Lacert, his x mark [seal].
John Baptist Dejarlais, his x mark [seal].
Patrice Lafromboise, his x mark [seal].
John Baptist St. Antona, his x mark [seal].
Joseph Laframboise, his x mark [seal].
Antoine Gelgard, his x mark [seal].
Modes Caplett, his x mark [seal].
Jacques Peltier, his x mark [seal].
David Laverdure, his x mark [seal].
Napoleon Lavadure, his x mark [seal].
Amrase Vivier, his x mark [seal].
Joseph Gladue, his x mark [seal].
Julian Jerome, his x mark [seal].
Andre Allery, his x mark [seal].
Maartin Jerome, his x mark [seal].
John Baptist Lafromboise, his x mark [seal].
Narciss Lafrombois, his x mark [seal].
Charles Azure, Sr., his x mark [seal].
Thomas Thomas, his x mark [seal].
Michael Lafromhoise, his x mark [seal].
Batrice Delorme, his x mark [seal].
Octave Renville, his x mark [seal].
St. Piers Gladue, his x mark [seal].
Ozah-we-kijik, his x mark [seal].
Nachaiwe, his x mark [seal].
Ke-pesa-see, his x mark [seal].
Miskwangkay, his x mark [seal].
Medomoyaah, his x mark [seal].
Kamana-towe-to-kuah, his x mark [seal].
Patwewetung, his x mark [seal].
J.B. Jollibois, his x mark [seal].
Gilbert Kipling, his x mark [seal].
Norbert Landry, his x mark [seal].
Piere Lakat, his x mark [seal].
John B. Martelle, jr., his x mark [seal].
Ozawipijikens, his x mark [seal].
Joseph Allery, his x mark [seal].
We-nakowikapo, his x mark [seal].
Joseph Landeer, his x mark [seal].
John B. Laterregrass, his x mark [seal].

James Azure, his x mark [seal].
Joseph Lavadure, his x mark [seal].
William Lavadure, his x mark [seal].
Charles Page, his x mark [seal].
Charles Gladue, Jr., his x mark [seal].
J.B. Marion, his x mark [seal].
Baptiste Allery, his x mark [seal].
John Baptiste Ducept, his x mark [seal].
Ezear Lafountaine, his x mark [seal].
J.B. Ledeault, his x mark [seal].
John Baptiste Langer, his x mark [seal].
Oskino, No. 1, his x mark [seal].
Kat-we-hu-ta-wat, his x mark [seal].
Kekanowenet, his x mark [seal].
Nepis, his x mark [seal].
Amicens, his x mark [seal].
Makatemakwah, his x mark [seal].
Akash, his x mark [seal].
Piere Lavalle, his x mark [seal].
Joseph Kipling, his x mark [seal].
Piere McCloud, his x mark [seal].
Moses Decauteau, his x mark [seal].
Onizim Houle, his x mark [seal].
Henry Coitra, his x mark [seal].
Piere Lafontaine, his x mark [seal].
Andre Dejarlais, his x mark [seal].
Antoine Charboneau, his x mark [seal].
Sakanako-skung, his x mark [seal].
Wisheka, his x mark [seal].
Puyat, his x mark [seal].
Nwenapi, his x mark [seal].
Renaseekapajiekot, his x mark [seal].
Wapisketatik, his x mark [seal].
Napashish, No. 1, his x mark [seal].
Ambrose Ehattrand, his x mark [seal].
Maxime Landry, his x mark [seal].
George Baker, his x mark [seal].
Francois Vivier, jr., his x mark [seal].
Tepiskokejikkaneepawit, his x mark [seal].
Joseph Bottineau, his x mark [seal].
Ezear Lafontaine, his x mark [seal].
Fred, W. Schindler, his x mark [seal].
John Haves, his x mark [seal].
Piere Lessott, , his x mark [seal].
Exos, his x mark [seal].
Metonask, his x mark [seal].
Alexander Houle, his x mark [seal].
Napoleon Landry, his x mark [seal].
Monchan-a-te-sis, Louis Malaterre, , his x mark [seal].
Cemewetung, his x mark [seal].
Joseph Lyemouane, his x mark [seal].
Akewensie, his x mark [seal].
John Dejarlais, his x mark [seal].

We certify on honor that we were present and witnessed the signatures to this instrument by the Indians above.

Ernest William Brenner
Wellington Salt

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