THE ACTING SOLICITOR MAINTAINED THAT:

> "...A PERSUASIVE ARGUMENT MAY BE ADVANCED THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE TRIBE NOT AFFILIATED WITH THE RED LAKE BAND HAVE THEMSELVES BEEN RECOGNIZED AS A SINGLE TRIBE OR BAND. CONVINCING EVIDENCE IS FOUND IN THE (ALLOTMENT ACT). THAT ACT DEALS WITH ALL OF THE CHIPPEWA INDIANS IN THE STATE OF MINNESOTA AND PROVIDES FOR THE CESSION OF ALL THEIR LANDS EXCEPT SO MUCH OF THE WHITE EARTH RESERVATION AND RED LAKE RESERVATION AS IS NEEDED TO MAKE THE ALLOTMENTS PROVIDED FOR IN THE ACT."

HE WENT ON TO ADD THAT ONLY THE RED LAKERS WERE ALLOTTED ON THE RED LAKE RESERVATION AND THAT THE REMAINDER OF CHIPPEWAS WERE TO BE ALLOTTED ON WHITE EARTH AND MOVED TO THAT RESERVATION. HE GOES ON TO ADD:

> "ONE OF THE PURPOSES OF THE ACT, THEREFORE, WAS THE CENTRALIZATION AND CONSOLIDATION ON THE WHITE EARTH RESERVATION OF ALL THE VARIOUS BANDS OF CHIPPEWA INDIANS IN MINNESOTA OTHER THAN THE RED LAKE INDIANS. IT IS TRUE THAT A GREAT MANY OF THE INDIANS REMAINED IN THE CEDED RESERVATION AND TOOK ALLOTMENTS THERE UNDER THE PRIVILEGE ACCORDED THEM SO TO DO BY THE ACT: NEVERTHELESS, THEY AND THEIR BRETHREN WHO REMOVED TO WHITE EARTH ARE STILL CLOSELY UNITED BY BLOOD AND COMMON INTEREST IN TRIBAL PROPERTY."

IN CONCLUDING HE ADDED THAT, "ACCORDINGLY, IT WOULD APPEAR TO BE PROPER AND CONSISTENT WITH THE PURPOSES OF THE ACT OF 1889, TO ORGANIZE THESE BANDS AS ONE TRIBE UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE ACT OF JUNE 18, 1934."

HE WARNED THAT, "ORGANIZATION OF THE ENTIRE MINNESOTA CHIPPEWA TRIBE WOULD INVOLVE THE LEGAL PROBLEM OF SAFEGUARDING LOCAL AUTONOMY AND LOCAL BAND RIGHTS, THROUGH SUBORDINATE DISTRICT ORGANIZATIONS." HE WENT ON TO ADD, A REASONABLE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM CAN BE MADE ONLY IN THE LIGHT OF CAREFUL ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES, INDUSTRIAL, FINANCIAL, AND SOCIAL, WHICH ARE TO BE UNDERTAKEN BY THE MINNESOTA CHIPPEWA INDIANS." IN SUMMING UP HIS COMMENTS THE ACTING SOLICITOR SAID, "THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION WOULD SEEM TO BE WHETHER THESE ACTIVITIES REQUIRE A CENTRAL COORDINATION."

THIS OPINION WAS FOLLOWED, OF COURSE, ENDING ANY HOPE OF A SETTLEMENT WITH RED LAKE. ALL THAT REMAINED FOR THE CONSOLIDATED CHIPPEWAS TO DO WAS TO SEGREGATE THE FUNDS HELD IN COMMON BY ALL CHIPPEWAS.

THREE MONTHS AFTER THE SOLICITOR'S OPINION BURNS WROTE TO COLLIER THAT DEALING WITH ONE ORGANIZATION WAS BETTER THAT SEVERAL BECAUSE, "THIS WOULD INVOLVE THE DEPARTMENT BOTH AT WASHINGTON AND THE FIELD AND ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF WORK BY DEALING WITH THE SEVERAL CORPORATIONS WHEREAS IT IS POSSIBLE TO DEAL WITH ONE.

BEFORE GOING ON TO TALK ABOUT REPRESENTATION IN THE TRIBE ONE SMALL MATTER MUST BE BROUGHT TO LIGHT. IN THE 1934 ELECTION TO ACCEPT OR REJECT THE I.R.A. FOND DU LAC DIDN'T HAVE THE 30% REQUIRED BY LAW TO MAKE AN ELECTION ON I.R.A. LEGAL. THE SOLICITOR SAID, "IN THE DISCRETION OF THE SECRETARY, THEREFORE, A SECOND ELECTION MAY BE CALLED WITHIN THE TIME PRESCRIBED FOR HOLDING ELECTIONS, IRRESPECTIVE OF WHETHER THE MAJORITY OF VOTES CAST AT THE PREVIOUS ELECTION WAS IN FAVOR OF OR AGAINST THE ACT." IN A LETTER TO BURNS FROM ZIMMERMAN SAID THAT, "SINCE IN THE CASE OF THE INDIANS MENTIONED HEREIN A MAJORITY OF THE VOTES CAST WAS IN FAVOR OF THE ACT, THE OFFICE SHALL HOLD OFFICIALLY THAT THEY HAVE NOT VOTED TO EXCLUDE THEMSELVES AND THEREFORE, ANOTHER ELECTION WILL NOT BE AUTHORIZED OR CALLED FOR THESE INDIANS."

BURNS NOTED IN 1934 THAT, "THIS IS A SOMEWHAT LIGHT VOTE, THERE BEING 723 ELIGIBLE VOTERS ON THIS ROLL. IT MUST BE RECALLED HOWEVER THAT THE INDIANS ON THIS RESERVATION WERE VERY MUCH OPPOSED TO THE LAW AT THE BEGINNING AND NO DOUBT ACCOUNT FOR THE LIGHT VOTE."

ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEM NUMBER TWO:
REPRESENTATION AMONG MINNESOTA CHIPPEWAS

A. TRIBAL DELEGATES

AT THE INCEPTION OF TRIBAL GOVERNMENT FOR THE CONSOLIDATED CHIPPEWA A SYSTEM OF TRIBAL DELEGATES WAS ESTABLISHED FIRST INFORMALLY FOR THE PURPOSE OF FORMING A GOVERNMENT AND THEN FOLLOWING THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS THE SYSTEM WAS FORMALIZED AND ESTABLISHED. BRIEFLY THE DUTIES OF THE TRIBAL DELEGATES WAS TO A) BRING ANY GRIEVANCES BEFORE THE TRIBAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OR TRIBE AS A WHOLE AND B) TO ELECT TWO COMMITTEEMEN FROM EACH RESERVATION TO SERVE ON THE T.E.C.

IN IMPLEMENTING PART B THE PROCEDURE WAS AS FOLLOWS:

AT THE FIRST DELEGATES' MEETING IN MAY THE T.E.C. IS ELECTED. THE DELEGATES BREAK UP ACCORDING TO RESERVATION AND CHOOSE TWO COMMITTEEMEN, THE GROUP THEN VOTES TO ACCEPT THE MEN AND THERE FOLLOWS NOMINATION FROM THE DELEGATES, FROM AMONG THE COMMITTEEMEN, FOR PRESIDENT, ETC.A VOTE IS THEM TAKEN AND THE MAJORITY RULES.

THAT'S IT. THE DELEGATES WERE SUPPOSED TO BE REPRESENTING INDIAN COMMUNITIES EACH COMMUNITY WAS GIVEN NOT MORE THAN TWO DELEGATES TO THE COUNCIL. IN 1940 THERE WERE 58 DELEGATES REPRESENTING 29 COMMUNITIES.

THIS SYSTEM WAS GRADUALLY PHASED OUT. ORIGINALLY THERE WERE DELEGATES FROM MINNEAPOLIS AND WISCONSIN DURING THE EARLY ORGANIZATIONAL DAYS BUT THEY WERE EVENTUALLY REPLACED BY THE SUB-CHARTERS AND ITS FORM OF REPRESENTATION.

ONLY FUNCTION THE DELEGATES PERFORMED WAS TO ELECT THE TRIBAL OFFICERS. WILLIAM ANYWAUSH IN 1939 COMPLAINED, "WHEN WE CAME HERE LAST SUMMER AS DELEGATES ALL WE DID WAS SELECT OUR OFFICERS. WE DIDN'T KNOW WHAT TRANSPIRED AFTER." THE REASON FOR THIS LACK OF COMMUNICATION WAS THE T.E.C. HAD NO MONEY TO BUY STATIONERY OR EVEN STAMPS. THEY HAD NO OPERATIONAL MONEY AND WERE ENTIRELY DEPENDENT UPON THE GOOD GRACES OF THE INDIAN OFFICE.

DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR TRIBAL FUNDS WERE SCARCE AS DELEGATES. A LARGE TREK WAS ACCOMPLISHED TO CENTERS OF DEFENSE IN SEARCH FOR JOBS. THE SUB-CHARTERS FORM OF REPRESENTATION WAS BRIEF CALLING FOR NINE LESS COUNCILMEN AND NINE FEWER DISTRICTS. EVENTUALLY IT REPLACED THE DELEGATES SYSTEM.

IN REGARDING THE LOSS OF REPRESENTATION OF THE TWIN CITIES OF TRIBAL DELEGATES. ZIMMERMAN WROTE TO RODGERS IN 1941 MAINTAINING:

"THE CHIPPEWA INDIANS RESIDING IN MINNEAPOLIS AND SAINT PAUL ARE INDIVIDUAL INDIANS ASSOCIATED BY ACCIDENT AND ARE NOT TO BE CONSIDERED AS MAKING UP A TRIBAL COMMUNITY THEN SEE NO REASON WHY THEY SHOULD BE ENTITLED TO ELECT DELEGATES. THE CONSTITUTION USES THE WORD COMMUNITY."

HE ADDED THAT, "WHILE THE ELIMINATION OF VOTING DISTRICTS OFF THE RESERVATION MAY IMPOSE A HANDICAP ON THE ELIGIBLE VOTERS RESIDING IN SUCH PLACES, THEIR RIGHT TO VOTE IS NOT DESTROYED BY THE ACTION, SINCE THEY MAY STILL PRESENT THEMSELVES AT A RESERVATION POLLING PLACE OR THEY MAY CAST THEIR VOTES BY MAIL."

WHAT HE FAILED TO ADD WAS THAT THE INDIANS IN MINNEAPOLIS LOST THEIR RIGHT TO REPRESENTATION, IN 1939 THE INDIAN OFFICE APPROVED A DELEGATION OF CONSOLIDATED CHIPPEWA'S REQUEST TO VISIT WASHINGTON. A.C. BEAULIEU AND E.M. WILSON PRESENTED THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTION:

"BE IT RESOLVED THAT A DELEGATE-AT-LARGE FROM THE NON-RESERVATION DELEGATES, WHO HAVE ATTENDED THE GENERAL COUNCIL, BE APPOINTED AS A MEMBER OF THE WASHINGTON DELEGATION IN ORDER TO GIVE THE CHIPPEWAS WHO DO NOT LIVE ON THE RESERVATION PROPER REPRESENTATION AND THEREFORE CONSIDERATION OF THEIR NON-RESERVATION PROBLEMS."

HOWEVER, ON MAY 6, 1940 NO DELEGATES WERE CHOSEN FROM WISCONSIN OR THE TWIN CITIES ON DEPARTMENTAL RECOMMENDATION.

IT IS PERHAPS APPROPRIATE HERE TO COMMENT. THE DELEGATE SYSTEM AS DEVELOPED BY MUNNELL CREATED A GROUP OF TRIBAL OFFICIALS, THE T.E.C., TO RUN THE OPERATION OF THE TRIBE. ARCHIE PHINNEY, INDIAN OFFICE ORGANIZER, SAID THIS FORM OF ORGANIZATION BUILT FROM THE TOP DOWN. ALL OF THE POWER IN THE TRIBE HAS BEEN VESTED WITH THIS GROUP WHICH HAS NOT CHANGED IN ITS STRUCTURE SINCE THE BEGINNING. FOR THE MOST PART IT IS AN INSULATED GROUP. BY THAT I MEAN WHEN A CHAIRMAN IS IN THE T.E.C. HE LOSES HIS RESERVATIONAL CHARACTER. HE IS NOW A "TRIBAL" OFFICIAL AND HIS ACTIONS IN THE T.E.C. ARE A MATTER OF GENERAL CONCERN. HIS OWN RESERVATION CANNOT HOLD HIM ACCOUNTABLE FOR WHAT HE DOES WHILE SERVING IN THE T.E.C. ONLY WHEN HE IS SERVING ON THE RESERVATION BUSINESS COMMITTEE CAN THE LOCAL GROUP EFFECTIVELY REQUIRE HIM TO BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE TO THEM.

WE CAN SEE HERE THAT THE EMPHASIS OF THE T.E.C. ISN'T LOCAL BUT INTR-RESERVATIONAL IN CHARACTER. THE E.T.C. IS NOT HELD ACCOUNTABLE TO THE RESERVATIONS THEY ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE TO IT. IN THEORY ALL OF THE LAND ON THE SIX RESERVATIONS IS HELD IN COMMON BY ALL OF THE INDIANS OF THE SIX RESERVATIONS. UNTIL THE ADOPTION OF THE LOCAL CHARTERS OF ORGANIZATION IN 1938 THERE IS NO RECOGNIZED LOCAL ORGANIZATION REPRESENTING THE RESERVATIONS OR CONTROLLING THIS LAND. EVEN THOUGH THE LOCAL COMMUNITIES NEVER INTENDED THE T.E.C. TO BE THE FOCAL POINT OF THE RESERVATIONS.

PHINNEY WROTE TO COLLIER IN 1938:

"THE GENERAL SENTIMENT OF ALL THESE MEETINGS WAS STRONG FOR GAINING GREATER LOCAL AUTONOMY. IN A FEW CASES TO MENTION THE CLOQUET, GRAND PORTAGE, AND ONIGUM A RATHER DEFINITE DISSATISFACTION WITH THE TRIBAL ORGANIZATION WAS EXPRESSED. AT GRAND PORTAGE IT WAS STATED THAT A VOTE OF THE GRAND PORTAGE - GRAND MARAIS INDIANS IF TAKEN TODAY WOULD BE AGAINST AN INTER-RESERVATIONAL ORGANIZATION. AT FOND DU LAC DISCUSSION AROSE SPONTANEOUSLY OF GAINING AS NEAR FULL POWER AND INDEPENDENT POWER AS POSSIBLE TO CONTROL AND MANAGE THEIR OWN RESERVATION AFFAIRS, WITH MINIMUM INTERFERENCE FROM THE TRIBAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. AT ONIGUM, THE QUESTION WAS PUT TO ME POINT BLANK OF WHAT STEP THEY COULD TAKE TO "SECEDE" THEM FROM THE TRIBAL ORGANIZATION."

THE LOCAL RESERVATIONS BELIEVED THAT YES THEY HAD A COMMON INTEREST BUT THAT THEY NEVER INTENDED TO GIVE THE T.E.C. AS MUCH CONTROL AS IT SUBSEQUENTLY ACQUIRED THROUGH THE MUNNELL CONSTITUTION.

THIS CONSTITUTION WAS USED BY THE INDIAN OFFICE AS THE BASIS FOR ITS ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORTS AMONG THE CHIPPEWAS. EVEN THOUGH THEY KNEW FULL WELL THAT ONE OF THEIR OWN EMPLOYEES WROTE IT. THE CONSTITUTION WAS, HOWEVER, IN KEEPING WITH THE CONCEPT USED TO INITIALLY INCORPORATE THE "TRIBE." THE CHIPPEWAS WERE ONE "TRIBE" AND THEIR LANDS WERE "TRIBAL" AND NOT "BAND" LANDS,I.E. RESERVATION LANDS.

ACTUALLY THERE WERE NO "BANDS" TO THIS NEWLY CREATED "TRIBE" UNTIL 1938 AFTER THE SUB-CHARTER ELECTIONS PROVIDING FOR THE RECOGNITION OF THE FOND DU LAC <u>BAND</u> AND THE GRAND PORTAGE <u>BAND</u>, ETC. THESE "BANDS" WERE ORIGINALLY ADMINISTRATED DESIGNATIONS OF BANDS OF INDIANS WHO SIGNED TREATIES WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND RESIDED IN AREAS OF LAND ADJACENT TO ONE ANOTHER. FOR INSTANCE, LEGALLY THE CURRENT LEECH LAKE RESERVATION IS CONGLOMERATE OF THREE RESERVATIONS THOSE OF THE WINNIBIGOSHISH, CASS LAKE, AND LEECH LAKE BANDS OF CHIPPEWA INDIANS. (SEE CHART # 10) OVER THE YEARS THESE BANDS INTERMARRIED AND WERE CONSIDERED ADMINISTRATIVELY WAS A GROUP, ALTHOUGH THEY WERE STILL CONSIDERED BANDS WHO HAD THE RIGHT TO CLAIMS AS BANDS IN THE INDIAN CLAIMS COMMISSION.

RESIDENCE IN THESE "BANDS" WAS THE DETERMINING FACTOR IN IDENTIFYING "BAND" MEMBERS. THAT IS TO SAY THAT A PERSON BORN AND RAISED ON WHITE EARTH RESERVATION COULD BE CONSIDERED A MEMBER OF THE FOND DU LAC "BAND" IF HE ESTABLISHED HIMSELF IN ONE OF THE COMMUNITIES BEFORE THE ADOPTION OF THE LOCAL SUB-CHARTER OF <u>ORGANIZATION.</u>

IT MAY CONFUSE SOME OF THIS DIFFERENCE BETWEEN AN ORGANIZATION AND A CORPORATION. BRIEFLY, A CHARTER OF INCORPORATION WAS ISSUED TO THE "TRIBE" COMPRISING THE PEOPLE ON SIX RESERVATIONS. THIS WAS THE I.R.A. CHARTER. WITHIN THE I.R.A. PROVISION IS MADE FOR THE CHARTERED TRIBE TO MAKE RULES TO GOVERN ITSELF VIA A CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS. THE SUB-CHARTERS WERE ISSUED BY THE "TRIBE" TO AN INTERNAL "BAND" AS ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITTEES WITHIN THE CONSTITUTION. THEY WERE NOT CORPORATIONS THEY WERE ORGANIZATIONS. THE CONSTITUTION DID NOT ENFRANCHISE A RESERVATION BUT INSTEAD IT RECOGNIZED GROUPS OF INDIANS IT CHOOSE TO CALL "BANDS" FOR THE PURPOSES OF PARTICIPATING IN LOCAL AFFAIRS. THESE "BANDS" CREATED BY THE ADOPTION OF THE SUB-CHARTERS DID NOT ELECT THE T.E.C. THE TRIBAL DELEGATES STILL HAD THE AUTHORITY TO ELECT THE TRIBAL OFFICERS. FOLLOWING THE 1938 SUB-CHARTER ELECTIONS THERE WERE ACTUALLY TWO SETS OF REPRESENTATIVES WITH TWO DIFFERENT SETS OF ELECTION DISTRICTS. THERE WERE 58 TRIBAL DELEGATES REPRESENTING 29 INDIAN COMMUNITIES AND 49 COUNCILMEN REPRESENTING 20 TOTAL "BAND" DISTRICTS.

ARCHIE PHINNEY, FIELD AGENT, PROPOSED ON MARCH 8, 1940 THAT THE TWO SYSTEMS BE MERGED. THIS WAS DONE FOR THE 1939 ELECTION AND THE RESULTS WERE SATISFACTORY. WHAT HE PROPOSED WAS THAT THE TWO DISTRICTS BE MERGED AND THE PEOPLE ELECT ONE SET OF OFFICIALS (TRIBAL DELEGATES) ON THE BASIS OF POPULATION WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THEIR CHOICES WERE TO ACT IN A DUAL CAPACITY. THEY WERE TO CHOOSE AMONG THEMSELVES TWO COMMITTEEMEN FOR THE T.E.C. AND IN THE CASE OF WHITE EARTH, FOR EXAMPLE, CHOOSE NINE COUNCILMEN IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION OF DISTRICTS PROVIDED IN THAT SUB-CHARTER.

A FINAL WORD ABOUT THE CONSTITUTION BEFORE MOVING ON TO THE SUB-CHARTERS. ALL LOCAL FRICTION WITH THE CENTRAL TRIBE STEMS FROM THE CONSTITUTION AS ORIGINALLY WRITTEN BY MUNNELL.

IN ARTICLE V, SECTION I, OF THE MUNNELL CONSTITUTION (DRAFT) SENT TO THE INDIAN OFFICE READS, IN PART:

> "(THE) TRIBE...SHALL MAKE ALL NECESSARY RULES AND REGULATIONS NOT INCONSISTENT WITH THE LAW AND REGULATIONS AS MAY BE PROSCRIBED BY THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR OR COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF THE BUSINESS AND GUIDANCE OF THE OFFICERS, EMPLOYEES, AND AGENTS OF THE TRIBE."

THE INDIAN OFFICE IN A LETTER FROM ZIMMERMAN TO BURNS ON MARCH 3, 1936 ASKED THAT THE SECTION BE REWORDED OR CHANGED.

> "THIS LIMITATION ON THE RULE-MAKING POWER OF THE TRIBE IS NOT NECESSARY AND IS OUT OF LINE WITH THE POLICY OF THE INDIAN REORGANIZATION ACT WHICH IS TO PLACE THE EXERCISE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS OF THE TRIBE ON PAR WITH REGULATIONS MADE BY THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT AND NOT SUBORDINATE TO SUCH REGULATIONS."

THE REASON WHY SOME LOCAL COMMUNITIES WANTED TO "SECEDE" FROM THE T.E.C. WAS BECAUSE OF SUCH TIGHT CONTROL BY THE T.E.C. OF LOCAL DECISIONS. THE ABOVE ILLUSTRATION POINTS TO THE ZEALOUS EFFORTS ON THE PART OF MUNNELL, AND TO A LESSER DEGREE RODGERS, TO TAILOR THE CONSTITUTION TO THE NEEDS OF THE INDIAN OFFICE AND THE T.E.C. RATHER THAN LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS. IN SEPTEMBER 1938 IN NAYTAHWAUSH JOE MORRISON EXPRESSED THE GENERAL FEELING:

> "YOU (MR. BROKER) KNOW AS WELL AS I DO THAT THE CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS HAVE TIED THE INDIANS HAND AND FOOT IN SUCH A WAY THAT WE CAN HARDLY WRIGGLE, OF COURSE, NATURALLY SINCE THE INDIAN OFFICE MAKE THIS CHARTER WE ARE KIND OF AFRAID THAT IT WILL GIVE THE GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES MORE AUTHORITY THAN IT SHOULD. BEFORE WE DID NOT HAVE OUR ATTORNEY EXPLAIN THIS THING TO US, BUT CAN CONSTRUE THE WORDS TO SUIT THE GOVERNMENT OFFICE AND IF THIS IS THE CASE, WE DO NOT WANT THE CHARTER."

MORRISON MAKES ONE VERY SERIOUS CHARGE AGAINST THE INDIAN AGENCY. HE CHARGES THAT THE DELEGATES WERE ILL-INFORMED BECAUSE THEY DID NOT HAVE THE BENEFIT OF AN ATTORNEY TO TELL THEM OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF ORGANIZING AS THEY DID. IN THE AMERICAN INDIAN JOURNAL, PUBLISHED IN DULUTH, LOUIS ALLEN YOUPE, EDITOR, CHARGED THE INDIAN OFFICE OF RUSHING THE INDIANS INTO FORMING THE ORGANIZATION AS THEY DID.

> "CONSIDERING THE FACT THAT MINNESOTA INDIANS WERE INVEIGHED TO ACCEPT THE WHEELER-HOWARD ACT, TO "ADOPT AND ORDAIN" THE CONSTITUTION DRAWN UP FOR THEM UNDER INDIAN OFFICE DIRECTION, AND TO ACCEPT THE TRIBAL CORPORATE CHARTER, BY FRENZIED CAMPAIGNS WHICH SMACKED OF WARD BOSS TACTICS, THOSE INDIANS WHO BLINDLY ACCEPTED THE CONDUCT OF THE INDIAN BUREAU OFFICIALS HEAPED VITUPERATION AND ABUSE UPON INDIANS WHO QUESTIONED THE SINCERITY OF THE MUCH HERALDED HOME RULE EXTENDED TO THEM AND TO INDIANS WHO OTHERWISE HOLD DIVERGENT VIEWS FROM THE BUREAU."
>
> --VOLUME 1, NO. 1, MAY 1938

YOUPE ADDED THAT, "THERE IS MUCH IN THE NEW DEAL INDIAN LEGISLATION (I.R.A.) THAT IS PRAISEWORTHY. YET MUCH OF THE REAL VALUE OF SUCH LEGISLATION HAD BEEN WEAKENED BY IMPRACTICAL THEORIES CONCERNING INDIANS." JACOB MUNNELL TENDERED HIS RESIGNATION TO THE TRIBAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON MAY 29, 1937. HIS LETTER SAYS NOTHING OF THE REASONS FOR HIS RESIGNATION IT ONLY WISHES THE T.E.C. WELL IN THE FUTURE. IT WAS TABLED UNTIL THE MEMBERS COULD TALK WITH MUNNELL AND ENTICE HIM BACK INTO THE ORGANIZATION. IN ADDITION IT PRAISED HIS WORK AMONG THE CHIPPEWAS, "...THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WISHES TO EXTEND TO YOU THEIR DEEP SENSE OF APPRECIATION FOR THE USEFUL AND VALUABLE SERVICE YOU HAVE PERFORMED AND THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR. NO SIGNIFICANT ACTION COULD BE TAKEN LOCALLY WITHOUT APPROVAL OF THE T.E.C. AS PAST PRESIDENT PEMBERTON PUT IT, "IF A CERTAIN COMMUNITY ON WHITE EARTH PETITIONED OUR RESERVATION COUNCIL AND THEY O.K.'ED IT WE WERE UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT WAS ALL THAT

WAS NEEDED." IF MR. PEMBERTON'S PROPOSED PROJECT INVOLVED MONEY FROM EITHER THE CONSOLIDATED CHIPPEWA AGENCY OR THE CHIPPEWA IN MINNESOTA FUND, THE T.E.C. WOULD HAVE TO APPROVE OF IT. PEMBERTON, PAST PRESIDENT, AND TRIBAL OFFICIAL SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE TRIBAL GOVERNMENT DID NOT UNDERSTAND THIS CONCEPT UNTIL A YEAR AFTER THE SUB-CHARTERS WERE ADOPTED.

IN ADOPTING THE SUB-CHARTERS, AS ALLUDED TO EARLIER, IT NECESSITATED THE CREATION OF "BANDS" OF CHIPPEWAS. IN A LETTER TO REPRESENTATIVE KNUTSON ON APRIL 5, 1939 JOHN COLLIER OUTLINED THE ACTION:

> "RESERVATIONS IN RATIFYING THEIR CHARTERS TAKE THE SAME ACTION TO INCLUDE AS MEMBERS ALL CHIPPEWA RESIDENTS REGARDLESS OF AFFILIATION WITH OTHER LANDS BY PLACE OF BIRTH OR BY REGISTRATION ON THE TRIBAL ANNUITY ROLL. IN THIS WAY THE EARLIER DISTINCTION OF CHIPPEWA INDIANS BY ORIGINAL BANDS WAS ELIMINATED IN FAVOR OF A CLASSIFICATION BASED UPON THE PRACTICAL REQUIREMENTS OF PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY ACTIVITY."

THIS NEW CLASSIFICATION CHANGES THE TRADITIONAL GOVERNMENT VIEW OF INDIAN. IT IS MORE IN LINE WITH I.R.A.'S DEFINITION OF "INDIAN." FIVE MONTHS EARLIER PHINNEY WROTE TO COLLIER THAT THE LOCAL GROUPS WISHED, REGARDING SUB-CHARTERS,

> "TO HAVE SIX UNITS, CORRESPONDING TO THE SIX CHIPPEWA RESERVATIONS IN MINNESOTA, FORMED WITHIN THE TRIBAL ORGANIZATION AND TO HAVE THE CHIPPEWA INDIAN INHABITANTS OF EACH RESERVATION CONSTITUTION SEPARATE BAND. THERE WILL BE CREATED, THEREFORE SIX BANDS."

PHINNEY WANTED THE LOCAL RESERVATIONS TO BE STRENGTHENED BY THE SUB-CHARTERS.

THE LOCAL RESERVATION GROUPS WERE GIVEN PROMISES OF GREATER LOCAL CONTROL BUT WHEN THE SUB-CHARTERS WENT INTO EFFECT THEY WERE MORE THAT A LITTLE DISILLUSIONED. BY 1941 LEECH LAKE WAS CONSIDERING WITHDRAWING FROM THE MINNESOTA CHIPPEWA TRIBE AND INCORPORATING SEPARATELY. BY 1945 THREE RESERVATIONS WANTED TO LEAVE THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT BECAUSE OF THIS ISSUE OF LOCAL CONTROL.

B. SUB-CHARTERS

WILLIAM ANYWAUSH ASKED A VERY INTERESTING QUESTION OF HIS FELLOW DELEGATES ON THE SUBJECT OF SUB-CHARTERS. "OUR PEOPLE ARE VERY PARTICULAR. SOME OF THE OLD FELLOWS DON'T WANT TO SPEAK. WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO WITH (THE OTHER) CHARTER WHICH WE ALREADY VOTED ON? IF THAT WON'T WORK, WHAT IS THE USE OF MAKING ANOTHER CHARTER?" ANYWAUSH ALSO VOICED A SUBTLE CRITICISM OF THE DELEGATES MANNER OF APPROVING THINGS:

"MY FRIENDS, TRY TO SAY SOMETHING FOR THE INDIANS. WHEN I GET BACK HOME, I GOT TO LIVE UP TO MY PROMISE TO BRING HOME WHATEVER THEY DID UP HERE, THEN IF THE WHITE EARTH (VILLAGE) PEOPLE ACCEPT, WHICH I THINK THEY SHOULD, THAT IS UP TO THEM. I DON'T WANT THEM TO COME BACK AND SAY MANY YEARS FROM NOW THAT MR. ANYWAUSH ACCEPTED THAT CHARTER HIMSELF. I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THAT UNDERSTOOD. IF THEY ARE WILLING, WHICH I THINK THEY WILL BE IF THEY UNDERSTAND IT THOROUGHLY, THEY CAN HAVE IT."

9-17-38 MTG. NAYTAHWAUSH

FRANK BROKER, T.E.C. PRESIDENT, TOLD THE GROUP ASSEMBLED AT NAYTAHWAUSH THAT THE CHARTERS WERE TO BE TAILORED TO FIT THE RESERVATION.

> "THE CHARTERS WILL BE JUST A LITTLE DIFFERENT THAN YOURS TO MEET THEIR MODES OF LIVING. WHITE EARTH IS CONSIDERED AN AGRICULTURAL COUNTRY, LEECH LAKE IS A LUMBERING COUNTRY, GRAND PORTAGE A SUMMER RESORT COUNTRY, AND NETT LAKE ABOUT THE SAME, SO I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THERE WILL BE NO TWO CHARTERS ALIKE,"

ANOTHER THING BROKER TOLD THE WHITE EARTH DELEGATES WAS THAT THE CHARTERS WILL GIVE, "...YOU THE CHANCE TO ORGANIZE, YOU CAN APPOINT A LAND COMMITTEE TO TAKE CARE OF YOUR OWN LAND AND MAKE RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR YOUR OWN RESERVATIONS."

AS A MATTER OF FACT, THE SUB-CHARTERS WERE ALMOST IDENTICAL. THE SECOND STATEMENT BROKER MADE IS VERY MISLEADING. UNDER THE CONSTITUTION THE LANDS OF THE RESERVATION WERE TO BE MANAGED BY THE T.E.C. LATER LOCAL LAND COMMITTEES WERE ESTABLISHED BUT THEIR ACTIONS HAD TO BE APPROVED BY THE T.E.C. WHO IN TURN HAD TO HAVE THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR'S APPROVAL. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE "BANDS" AND THE "TRIBE" WAS MUCH THE SAME AS THAT BETWEEN THE TRIBE OF COURSE THE SUB-CHARTERS ARE NO LONGER MENTIONED IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE MINNESOTA TRIBE HAVING BEEN REPLACED IN ESSENCE BY THE RESERVATION BUSINESS COMMITTEE. THE R.B.C. LIMITS THE REPRESENTATIVES COMING FROM A RESERVATION. ONE THING IT DOES HAVE IN COMMON WITH THE SUB-CHARTERS IS THAT IT CAN MAKE FEW IMPORTANT DECISIONS WITHOUT THE T.E.C. APPROVING IT.

PHINNEY EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR STRENGTHENING LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT:

> "AS I SEE IT, IF THERE IS TO BE AN ADEQUATE MEASURE OF SELF-DETERMINATION LOCALLY AS OPPOSED TO TRIBAL GOVERNMENT ALMOST ALL OF THE RIGHTS AND POWERS NOW VESTED IN THE TRIBE MUST BE INVESTED IN THE BAND BY THE TRIBE."
>
> -- TO COLLIER 3-16, 1938

IT MAY BE ARGUED THAT THE PART AND PARCEL OF SELF-DETERMINATION IS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND EVENTUAL INDEPENDENCE FROM THE FEDERAL BUDGET. THE LARGEST AREA FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WAS, AND IS, LAND AND ITS CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT. PHINNEY IN HIS LETTER TO COLLIER QUOTED ABOVE ACKNOWLEDGED THIS:

> "IT IS CONTEMPLATED THAT EVENTUALLY TRIBAL PROPERTY WILL BE BROKEN UP, SUB-DIVIDED AND USED BY THE CHIPPEWA BANDS DIRECTLY. WHERE THE TITLE WILL BE OR WHAT THE NOMINAL JURISDICTION OF THE TRIBE OVER SUCH ASSETS WILL BE IS NOT, I BELIEVE, THE IMPORTANT DECISION NOW. THEREFORE, I STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT, IN THE GRANTING OF LOCAL CHARTERS NOW, AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE LOCAL BODY AND THE SIX BANDS BE EFFECTED AND PUT IN FORM OF AN ACT OF THE TRIBAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO ASSIGN TRIBAL LANDS TO THE VARIOUS BANDS BY UNITS CORRESPONDING TO THE RESERVATION THEY OCCUPY."

PHINNEY ADDED THAT, "THE MILLE LAC AND GRAND PORTAGE, WITH WHOM I HAVE TAKEN UP INFORMALLY THIS QUESTION OF LAND ASSIGNMENT IN PERPETUITY BY THE TRIBE TO THE BANDS WERE WHOLE-HEARTEDLY FOR IT."

AS HAS BEEN MENTIONED IN THE PRECEDING SECTION RESERVATIONS WERE IN EFFECT "ABOLISHED" WITH THE INCORPORATION OF THE M.C.T. AND THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION. BY GIVING THE BANDS BACK SOME AUTHORITY OVER THE LANDS IN THEIR AREA THEY COULD RESTORE WHAT PHINNEY CALLED, "MUCH OF THEIR LOST RESERVATION CHARACTER."

A FINAL WORD ABOUT SUB-CHARTERS. THE LOCAL CHARTERS WERE SET UP POLITICALLY TO RESEMBLE THE HOME RULE CONSTITUTION OF THE M.C.T. IN EFFECT THE SUB-CHARTERS PUT THE T.E.C. INTO THE SAME APPROVING POSITION AS THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR. OBVIOUSLY THERE WAS A NEED FOR LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT BUT THE PROBLEM WAS THAT THERE COULD BE NO "RESERVATIONAL" ESTABLISHMENT SINCE THE RESERVATION WAS A CORPORATE BODY EXTENDING OVER THE SIX "RESERVATIONS." THE LAND ON THE LEECH LAKE RESERVATION DID NOT BELONG TO THE LEECH LAKERS BUT TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE OTHER SIX RESERVATIONS AS WELL.

OCTOBER 1934 CONTINUED

LEECH LAKE	YES	NO
ONIGUM	91	4
INGER	38	9
FEDERAL DAM	39	0
BALL CLUB	26	2
BREVIK	16	3
SQUAW LAKE	13	5
CASS LAKE	124	16
CASS RIVER	3	0
RED LAKE	5	1
NETT LAKE AGENCY	1	1
C.C. CAMP L.L.	10	0
BENA	6	19
MAILED C.C. CAMP L.L.	3	0
TOTALS	375	60

NETT LAKE	YES	NO
C.C.C. CAMPS	1	0
N.L. AGENCY	105	3
TOWER	44	4
GRAND MARAIS	1	0
INGER	1	0
MAILED BALLOTS	7	0
TOTALS	159	7

FILE 066-9559 U.S. ARCHIVES
OCTOBER 29, 1934

STATISTICS FROM RECORD GROUP NUMBER 75 U.S. ARCHIVES.

NOVEMBER 13, 1937 ELECTION RESULTS: TO ACCEPT OR REJECT THE I.R.A. CHARTER FOR M.C.T.

CHART #1	VOTES BY RESERVATION:	YES	NO	"TOTALS"
	WHITE EARTH	802	202	1,004
	LEECH LAKE	236	178	414
	FOND DU LAC	74	120	194
	NETT LAKE	171	24	195
	GRAND PORTAGE	57	23	80
	MILLE LAC	140	63	203
	TOTALS	1,490	710	2,200

CHART #2 COMMUNITIES VOTING AGAINST THE I.R.A. CHARTER -- NOVEMBER 16, 1937 CONSOLIDATED CHIPPEWA AGENCY

	NO	YES
BENA	73	7
BALL CLUB	10	5
SQUAW LAKE	30	0
BREVIK	20	1
WALKER SANITORIUM	20	19
SAWYER	28	27
INDIAN VILLAGE, CLOQUET	62	7
EAST LAKE	9	3
PINE BEND	11	4
WAUBUN	12	11
DANBURY	26	24
BOY LAKE	8	0
GRAND PORTAGE CAMP	39	36

OCTOBER 29, 1934 ELECTION RESULTS: TO ACCEPT OR REJECT I.R.A ON THE RESERVATIONS.

CHART #3

VOTES BY RESERVATIONS:	YES	NO	ELIGIBLE VOTERS	ABSENTEE BALLOTS "YES"	ABSENTEE BALLOTS "NO"
WHITE EARTH	1,122	245	4,169	45	2
LEECH LAKE	375	60	960	3	0
NETT LAKE	159	7	318	7	0
GRAND PORTAGE	75	4	179	0	0
FOND DU LAC	167	28	725	13	0
TOTALS	1,898	344	6,351	68	2

TOTAL VOTES CAST....2,242

CHART #4 LEECH LAKE, WHITE EARTH, AND GRAND PORTAGE

TOTAL ELIGIBLE VOTERS..... 5,626

TOTAL VOTES CAST..... 2,047

TOTAL "YES" VOTES..... 1,731

TOTAL "NO" VOTES..... 316

FEBRUARY 22, 1939 ELECTION RESULTS: SIX RESERVATION SUB-CHARTER TO ACCEPT OR REJECT

CHART #5

	YES	NO	TOTAL
WHITE EARTH	253	45	298
LEECH LAKE	162	32	194
FOND DU LAC	82	47	129
NETT LAKE	99	3	102
GRAND PORTAGE	67	11	78
MILLE LAC	82	16	98
TOTALS	745	154	899

JUNE 25, 1936 ELECTION RESULTS: RATIFIED CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

CHART #6

VOTES BY RESERVATIONS:	YES	NO	TOTAL	TOTAL ELIGIBLE VOTERS
WHITE EARTH	927	216	1,143	6,662
LEECH LAKE	170	218	388	31% CAST VOTES
FOND DU LAC	114	24	148	30% NECESSARY
NETT LAKE	115	36	151	1998 IS 30% OF VOTE
GRAND PORTAGE	65	30	95	OF 180 ABSENTEE BALLOTS 10 VOTED
MILLE LAC & DANBURY	137	10	147	NO.
TOTALS	1,528	544	2,072	

TOTALS TRANSMITTED TO SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR ICKES AND APPROVED JULY 24

CHART #7

COMMUNITIES VOTING TO REJECT:	NO	YES
SUGAR POINT	25	5
BREVIK	9	4
SQUAW LAKE	17	2
BENA	84	2
GRAND PORTAGE CAMP	18	16
INGER	31	22
SQUAW POINT	31	5

OCTOBER 1934 ELECTION RESULTS: VOTING TO ACCEPT OR REJECT I.R.A. INDIAN COMMUNITIES

CHART #8

WHITE EARTH INDIANS IN:	YES	NO
INGER	5	1
CASS LAKE	61	13
ONIGUM	35	6
CASS RIVER	3	0
FEDERAL DAM	11	0
ISLE	34	0
BREVIK	3	8
BENA	0	2
MCGREGOR	37	2
PONSFORD	191	7
CALLOWAY	18	0
ROUND LAKE	27	0
BEAULIEU	74	0
RICHWOOD	14	1
TWIN LAKES	124	11
ELBOW LAKE	34	0
SQUAW LAKE	2	0
WHITE EARTH VILLAGE	67	103
WAUBUN	35	5
DETROIT LAKES	23	0
PINE BEND	35	15
RED LAKE	31	0
MAHNOMEN	40	12
PERCH LAKE	54	4
NETT LAKE C.C. CAMP	18	25
DAIGLES MILL	44	1
NETT LAKE AGENCY	4	0
DANBURY	1	27
GRAND MARAIS	2	0
VINELAND	50	0
MAILED BALLOTS	45	2
TOTALS	1,122	245

GRAND PORTAGE	YES	NO
GRAND PORTAGE	45	4
GRAND MARAIS	27	0
C.C.C. CAMPS	3	0
TOTALS	75	4

OCTOBER 3, 1936 DESIGNATED DISTRICTS AND COMMUNITIES T.E.C. FIRST DELEGATES ELECTED UNDER APPROVED CONSTITUTION

CHART #9 - WHITE EARTH AND MILLE LACS

PONSFORD

WAUBUN

RICE LAKE

WHITE EARTH VILLAGE

NAYTAHWAUSH

PINE BEND

EAST LAKE

MINNEAPOLIS

MILLE LAC TRADING POST

MAHNOMEN

ISLE

CALLOWAY-OGEMA-RICHWOOD

BEAULIEU

DANBURY, WISCONSIN

LEECH LAKE

CASS LAKE

BALL CLUB

INGER-SQUAW LAKE

SUGAR POINT

CASS LAKE MISSION
ONIGUM
BENA
FOND DU LAC

CLOQUET
SAWYER
SUPERIOR, WISCONSIN

GRAND PORTAGE

GRAND PORTAGE

GRAND MARAIS

NETT LAKE

VERMILLION

NETT LAKE INDIAN VILLAGE

CHART # 11 NETT LAKE AGENCY

THE NETT LAKE AGENCY WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1908 FOR THE MINNESOTA CHIPPEWAS LIVING ON THE BOIS FORTE RESERVATION IN MINNESOTA. THESE INDIANS HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN UNDER THE LA POINTE AGENCY. IN 1919 THE AGENCY WAS CONSOLIDATED WITH THE FOND DU LAC AGENCY.

WHITE EARTH AGENCY

THE WHITE EARTH AGENCY WAS THE SUCCESSOR TO THE CHIPPEWA AGENCY, WHICH WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1851. THE CHIPPEWA AGENCY HAD BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CHIPPEWA INDIANS LIVING IN MINNESOTA. IT WAS MOVED TO THE WHITE EARTH RESERVATION IN 1872. IN 1873 A SEPARATE AGENCY WAS ESTABLISHED AT LEECH LAKE FOR THE PILLAGER AND LAKE WINNIBIGOSHISH CHIPPEWAS LIVING IN THAT AREA AND THE CHIPPEWA OF THE MISSISSIPPI (INCLUDING THOSE LIVING AT MILLE LAC). THE OTTER TAIL PILLAGERS AND THE PEMBINA CHIPPEWA. BEGINNING IN 1878 THE NAME "WHITE EARTH AGENCY" WAS USED INSTEAD OF "CHIPPEWA AGENCY." IN 1879 THE RED LAKE AND LEECH LAKE AGENCIES WERE CONSOLIDATED INTO THE WHITE EARTH AGENCY. THE WHITE EARTH AGENCY WAS NOT SUBORDINATE TO ANY SUPERINTENDENCY.

IN 1889 A SEPARATE AGENCY WAS AGAIN ESTABLISHED AT LEECH LAKE. IT WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE LEECH LAKE, CASS LAKE, LAKE WINNIBIGOSHISH, WHITE OAK POINT, AND RED LAKE CHIPPEWA. (EXCEPT THOSE WHO HAD MOVED TO THE WHITE EARTH RESERVATION.) THE WHITE EARTH AGENCY WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR WHITE EARTH, GULL LAKE, REMOVAL AND NONREMOVAL MILLE LAC, REMOVAL WHITE OAK POINT, PEMBINA, REMOVAL FOND DU LAC, OTTER TAIL, REMOVAL LEECH LAKE, AND REMOVAL CASS LAKE AND WINNIBIGOSHISH CHIPPEWA. MOST OF THESE INDIANS LIVED ON THE WHITE EARTH RESERVATION. THE TERM "REMOVAL" DENOTES INDIANS WHO HAD MOVED FROM CEDED RESERVATIONS TO WHITE EARTH, MAINLY UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE CHIPPEWA COMMISSION. IN 1922 THE WHITE EARTH AGENCY WAS ABOLISHED, AND THE INDIANS WERE ASSIGNED TO THE NEW CONSOLIDATED CHIPPEWA AGENCY.

CHIPPEWA COMMISSION

THE CHIPPEWA COMMISSION WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1889 TO CARRY OUT PROVISIONS OF AN ACT OF CONGRESS OF JANUARY 14, 1889(25 STAT. 642). THIS ACT REQUIRED THE PRESIDENT TO APPOINT A COMMISSION OF THREE MEMBERS TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE CHIPPEWA BANDS OR TRIBES IN MINNESOTA FOR THE CESSION AND RELINQUISHMENT OF ALL THEIR RESERVATIONS, EXCEPT WHITE EARTH AND RED LAKE, AND FOR THE REDUCTION OF THESE TWO RESERVATIONS TO THE AREA ACTUALLY NEEDED FOR THE INDIANS. THE INDIVIDUAL INDIANS COULD CHOOSE BETWEEN RECEIVING AN ALLOTMENT IN SEVERALTY OF THEIR OWN RESERVATIONS OR MOVING TO WHITE EARTH. THE COMMISSION WAS ALSO REQUIRED TO COMPILE A CENSUS OF THE INDIANS. THE INDIANS AGREED TO THE CESSION BUT MOST OF THEM DECIDED TO REMAIN ON THEIR OWN LAND. IN 1896 THE COMMISSION WAS REDUCED TO ONE MEMBER, AND IT WAS DISCONTINUED IN 1900. THE LAST COMMISSIONER TRANSFERRED THE RECORDS OF THE COMMISSION TO THE WHITE EARTH AGENCY.

THE CONSOLIDATED CHIPPEWA AGENCY

THE CONSOLIDATED CHIPPEWA AGENCY WAS ESTABLISHED ON JULY 1, 1922. IT WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CHIPPEWA INDIANS LIVING ON THE CASS LAKE, WHITE EARTH, LEECH LAKE, FOND DU LAC, GRAND PORTAGE, AND NETT LAKE (BOISE FORTE) RESERVATIONS IN NORTHERN MINNESOTA. THESE INDIANS HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN ASSIGNED TO THE WHITE EARTH AND LEECH LAKE AGENCIES. THE WHITE EARTH AND LEECH LAKE AGENCIES WERE ABOLISHED, BUT THE RED LAKE AGENCY CONTINUED TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RED LAKE CHIPPEWAS. THE CONSOLIDATED CHIPPEWA AGENCY WAS LOCATED ON THE CASS LAKE RESERVATION THROUGHOUT THE PERIOD COVERED BY THE RECORDS DESCRIBED IN 1060-1-64. MORE RECENTLY IT HAS BEEN REPLACED BY THE MINNESOTA AGENCY.

SINCE THE INDIANS OF THE AGENCY WERE SCATTERED OVER A WIDE AREA, AGENCY FIELD EMPLOYEES ON THE SEVERAL RESERVATIONS OFTEN ACTED AS SUB-AGENTS. THERE ARE NO RECORDS OF THE CONSOLIDATED CHIPPEWA AGENCY NOW IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES.

THE LEECH LAKE AGENCY

THE LEECH LAKE AGENCY WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1889 FOR THE LEECH LAKE PILLAGER, CASS AND WINNIBIGOSHISH PILLAGER, WHITE OAK POINT MISSISSIPPI, AND RED LAKE BANDS OF CHIPPEWAS LIVING ON RESERVATIONS ON MINNESOTA. THESE INDIANS HAD FORMALLY BEEN UNDER THE WHITE EARTH AGENCY. THERE HAD BEEN A SEPARATE LEECH LAKE AGENCY BETWEEN 1874 AND 1879, BUT THERE ARE NO RECORDS OF THIS AGENCY AMONG THE RECORDS OF THE B.I.A. NOW IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES.

THE AGENCY HEADQUARTERS WAS ON THE LEECH LAKE RESERVATION NEAR WALKER, MINNESOTA. THE TOWN ESTABLISHED THERE WAS NAMED ONIGUM. IN 1906 A SEPARATE RED LAKE AGENCY WAS ESTABLISHED. (IT WAS ABOLISHED IN 1922.)

THE MINNESOTA SUPERINTENDENCY

THE MINNESOTA SUPERINTENDENCY WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1849 WITH THE ORGANIZATION OF THE MINNESOTA TERRITORY, WHICH INCLUDED THE EASTERN PART OF WHAT LATER BECAME NORTH AND SOUTH DAKOTA. THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR AT SAINT PAUL SERVED AS EX OFFICIO SUPERINTENDENT THROUGHOUT THE EXISTENCE OF THE SUPERINTENDENCY.

THE INDIANS LIVING IN MINNESOTA WERE MAINLY SIOUX, CHIPPEWA, AND WINNEBAGO. THERE WERE SOME ASSINIBOIN AND MANDAN, BUT THESE INDIANS HAD FEW CONTACTS WITH THE SUPERINTENDENCY.

WHEN THE SUPERINTENDENCY WAS ESTABLISHED THE WINNEBAGO AND ST. PETERS AGENCIES WERE ASSIGNED TO IT. THESE AGENCIES PREVIOUSLY HAD BEEN ASSIGNED TO THE ST. LOUIS SUPERINTENDENCY. THE WINNEBAGO AGENCY WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WINNEBAGO INDIANS AND, UNTIL 1850, THE CHIPPEWA INDIANS LIVING IN MINNESOTA. THE ST. PETERS AGENCY WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SIOUX INDIANS.

IN 1850 THE LA POINTE SUB-AGENCY, WHICH HAD BEEN MOVED FROM WISCONSIN TO MINNESOTA, WAS PLACED UNDER THE MINNESOTA SUPERINTENDENCY. IN THE FOLLOWING YEAR IT BECAME THE CHIPPEWA AGENCY. IT WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CHIPPEWA OF THE MISSISSIPPI ALREADY LIVING IN MINNESOTA AND PREVIOUSLY ASSIGNED TO THE WINNEBAGO AGENCY AS WELL AS FOR THE CHIPPEWAS OF LAKE SUPERIOR WHO WERE BEING MOVED INTO MINNESOTA FROM WISCONSIN AND MICHIGAN.

THE MINNESOTA SUPERINTENDENCY WAS DISCONTINUED IN 1856, AND ITS THREE AGENCIES WERE TRANSFERRED TO THE NORTHERN SUPERINTENDENCY. THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE NORTHERN SUPERINTENDENCY WERE MOVED FROM MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN TO SAINT PAUL, MINNESOTA.