

An Analysis of Traditional Ojibwe Civil Chief Leadership

A DISSERTATION  
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
BY

Giniwgiizhig - Henry Flocken

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

Frank Guldbrandsen, Adviser

May, 2013

© Giniwgiizhig - Henry Flocken 2013

## **Acknowledgements**

My wife, Clarice Mountain, endured the weight of my absence. Her strength helps me succeed. I love her immensely.

My children, Terry, Tashina, Samara, Bobbi, Ricky, Ryan, Lisa, Ashley, and Desi, also felt my absence.

Marcy Ardito instilled in me that I was smart and could do anything.

Dr. Frank Guldbrandsen is a friend and an intellectual guerrilla emancipating cattle from slaughter.

## **Dedication**

This work is dedicated to the late Albert Churchill, a spiritual leader, and his great family. Albert kept traditional ceremonies alive and always shared knowledge with those who asked. Knowledge is useless unless it is shared. He said if we do not share our knowledge, then the flow of new knowledge will be blocked and we will not learn. He always said, "Together we can do anything."

### **Abstract**

Little is known about traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership. This critical ethnography is an analysis of traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership. Hereditary chiefs are interviewed. Chief leadership lies nested in the Anishinaabe Constitution. It is clan-based and value-based. It includes all of creation. Leadership is emergent and symbolic. Chiefs symbolized and are spokespersons for the will of the people. They were selected based on their virtues. The real power is in the people, in clans in council. Hunting groups had spokesmen in clans. Chiefs were chosen from the clan headmen in council. Larger area councils selected a chief from the chief-council. This system is spiritual, holistic, consensual, and egalitarian. It empowers the people. Colonial oppression has transformed what was a bottom-up structure to a Western top-down structure often filled with nepotism, favoritism, and corrupt and coercive leadership. Coupled with historic trauma, this engenders self-oppression and social dysfunction. Many activists call for a return to traditional Anishinaabe government, but little is known about what that is. The purpose of this critical ethnography is to know traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership, add to leadership knowledge, and use that knowledge in Anishinaabe leadership models for tomorrow.

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	i
Dedication.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
CHAPTER I. PROBLEM AND BACKGROUND .....	1
Introduction.....	1
Background of the Problem .....	1
Statement of the Problem.....	6
Purpose of the Study .....	6
Research Questions.....	7
Assumptions of the Study .....	7
Significance of the Study .....	8
Limitations and Delimitations.....	9
Definition of Terms.....	10
Summary .....	11
CHAPTER II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE .....	12
Introduction.....	13
Worldview.....	13
Etymology of Anishinaabe and Ojibwe .....	14
Creation and Re-creation .....	15
Clan System .....	17
Value System .....	18
The Great Spiritual Migration.....	20
Season-round Economy .....	22
Totemic Bands .....	24
Sacred Legends .....	25
Dreams and Vision Quests.....	25
Grand Medicine Lodge .....	28
Shaking Tent .....	29
Ceremonial Drum Society.....	30
Gift Giving.....	30
Bimaadiziwin – Reciprocal Relationship with Spirits and Creation .....	31
Leadership.....	34
Women as Leaders .....	34
Hunter as Leader .....	36
Spiritual Leaders .....	37
War Chiefs .....	39
Civil Chiefs .....	42
Councils .....	46
Social Control .....	50
Atomism and Nucleation .....	52

Summary – Ojibwe Leadership and Worldview.....	55
Colonialism, Paradigm Shift.....	56
Leadership Clash.....	56
French Trade, Infiltration, Dependency and Decentralization.....	60
English Trade, Chiefs’ Diplomacy with World Power Allies .....	64
American Trade, Loss of World Power Allies.....	66
Medallion Chiefs’ Disruptions.....	69
Alcohol and Disease .....	70
Economic Change and Dependency .....	71
Clan System Shift .....	75
Trade Summary.....	76
American Oppression and Systems Collapse .....	77
Loss of Land and Resources and Economic Collapse .....	77
Shift Towards Charismatic Leaders and War Chiefs.....	81
Religious Schisms, Oppression, and Division of Chiefs .....	88
Reservations Agents Usurp Chiefs and Council.....	90
Cultural Genocide .....	91
Indian Reorganization Act and New Constitutions .....	92
Elected Ojibwe Chiefs of Canada.....	94
Elected Ojibwe Chiefs of the United States and Self-Oppression.....	95
Colonization and Decolonization.....	98
Summary of Review of Literature .....	100
 CHAPTER III. METHODOLOGY .....	 103
Introduction.....	103
Qualifying the Research Topic .....	103
Research Design.....	105
Role of the Researcher .....	107
Selection Process of Participants .....	108
Instruments.....	110
Entrance Protocol.....	112
Recording Procedures .....	112
Data Analysis Procedures and Verification .....	115
 CHAPTER IV. ANALYSIS OF DATA .....	 117
Introduction.....	117
Geographical Background of Study Sample.....	117
Informant Backgrounds .....	118
Research Questions and Report Path .....	121
Data Report .....	122
What is Traditional Ojibwe Civil Chief Leadership? .....	122
What Do Chiefs Do?.....	137
What Must They Know?.....	140
What Do Chiefs Feel or Value? .....	143

How Do Chiefs Behave Toward Members? .....	145
How Do Members Behave Toward or Interact With the Chief? .....	151
Unexpected Findings .....	153
Summary of Traditional Ojibwe Civil Chief Leadership .....	155
CHAPTER V. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS .....	158
Introduction.....	158
Conclusions.....	159
Recommendations for Future Research .....	172
Suggestions for Change .....	173
Summary .....	174
References.....	176

## CHAPTER I. PROBLEM AND BACKGROUND

### Introduction

Little is known about traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership, or *Ogimaawiwini*. In the process of Anishinaabe systems change, much has been lost across the short time period of acculturation and colonization. Only fragmented knowledge remains within the memory of a few remaining hereditary civil chiefs. What has been written on this subject was almost exclusively by outside observers, such as traders, clergy, and government officials. Our spiritual prophecy as Anishinaabe is that we will retrace our footsteps and rediscover our traditional ways. This will lead us into a new era and we will then live healthy and happy (Benton-Banai, 1988). I will retrace our Anishinaabe footsteps by interviewing hereditary chiefs to find these fragments. This study then is a sacred journey. This paper searches to find what traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership is.

### Background of the Problem

Ojibwe leadership today is politically driven and self-oppressive to the communities they are meant to serve. A handful of popular elected officials have complete judiciary, legislative, and executive powers. Misfeasance, malfeasance, and nonfeasance are common everyday practices for today's tribal council leaders. Nepotism and favoritism prevail with each new regime. It is a system of spoils. Members vote for someone so they can have an *in* in order to access tribal resources (Peacock, 1989). Sweeping firings of department heads occur after each new election. High paying positions are filled with unqualified personnel. Laissez-faire is common for the capricious

leadership. High turnover rates in management puts systems in decay. Organizations can never reach their mission or vision without continuity, capacity building, or expertise (A. Treuer, personal communication, September 23, 2006).

Historic trauma has imbued many reservations with self-oppression and replaced Anishinaabe culture with poverty culture. The Anishinaabe have been oppressed for so long that they have become their own oppressors. Today, activists attempt to bring changes to this system. They call for a return to traditional leadership, but no one seems to know what that paradigm is.

Traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership was emergent, symbolic, and value-driven. Ogimaag (civil chiefs) were chosen by how they lived their lives and served their communities. War chiefs were chosen by bravery shown in battle. Spiritual leadership was concomitant with individual spiritual giftedness and ceremonial membership. Reputation for potential chiefs was gained in battle and with spiritual powers (Miller, 2003).

The family unit, usually an extended family, was the smallest political or economic unit. The woman was head of household and made everyday decisions. She was the boss. Issues that were outside the household or village were relegated to men. Men were the protectors and providers. The eldest or wisest male of the family served as sub-chiefs at council. Traditionally chief selection was hereditary. A chief would name his heir, looking within family ranks first and sometimes outside of the family for a worthy candidate.

A head chief would preside over the council chiefs. The head chief could be hereditary or chosen from the council chiefs through democratic consensus. If issues impacted larger regions, grand councils were called and the head chiefs would attend. At the various levels of councils the most articulate and charismatic chief was chosen to preside over the rest of the chiefs (Roufs, 2006).

The Ogimaag symbolized what each community stood for. They represented the people and iterated their voices. The best listeners and persuasive speakers were chosen. Ogimaag had little power over membership. The power of the chief was given to him by the people and they were free to replace him. Members were free to accept or reject chiefs. They could accept new chiefs by consensus, or they could simply move out of the community and start a new autonomous village. This societal atomism was true freedom. No laws restricted individual freedom. Major crimes were usually amended through restitution (Smith, 1973). The civil chief's job was to resolve conflict, look after the welfare of the constituents, and represent the interests of the people. This system empowered the people and their voice.

Imperialist European systems changed Anishinaabe cultural and leadership systems across time. Raw capitalist nations competed against each other for America's resources through trade and colonization. The external forces of new economies and technologies reshaped Native economic, social, and political systems. The Anishinaabe economy slowly turned from subsistence production to consumers dependent on manufactured European goods and technology. The fur trade and war with the Dakotas

were the primary leadership issues from contact until just before the reservation period (Treuer, 2010).

The Revolutionary War left the Americans as the sole sovereign dealing with indigenous nations in America. The War of 1812 marked the end of any unified Indian threat. The United States was an economically weak and new country. Land was needed for the new waves of immigrants and to pay off the debts accrued during the Revolutionary War. Treaties opened the Ohio Valley for settlement, and hordes of squatters and immigrants poured over the Appalachian Mountains. The chiefs in these transitional times had to deal with an onslaught of myriad new alien external forces (Mintz, 2003d).

From the Marshall trilogies of the United States Supreme Court in the early 1830s, America declared American Indians as no longer sovereign but rather as *sovereign dependents* of the United States, with Congress maintaining plenary powers. The United States became the trustee and American Indians were its ward. According to the United States, American Indians were no longer sovereign (Bradford, 2007).

It was not the gun, nor conquest, that brought the Anishinaabe to the treaty tables. Most of the Native population was lost to disease. Treaties conceded almost all Indian land to the United States. Eventually Native Americans were relegated to reservations from what little was left that was not conceded in treaties.

The reservation experience hosted perhaps the most traumatic events for the Anishinaabe. The reservations were established after the fur trade collapsed. Anishinaabe people were briefly able to rely on subsistence economies on the reservations. The

Allotment Act of 1887 brought an end to the traditional subsistence economy. It was designed to instill individualism and farming over communal living. Reservations were divided into checkerboarded land parcels for individual Indian ownership. *Surplus* parcels were sold to European Americans. Two thirds of Indian land on reservations was lost to non-Indians during the allotment era. Speculators, timber barrens, and opportunists preyed on the remaining Indian land until very little of most Anishinaabe reservations' land remained in Anishinaabe hands. Self-sustaining communitarian systems were replaced with dependency on government rations (Meyer, 1994).

The federal Indian agent replaced traditional governance on the reservations. Everything on the reservation had to be approved by the agent. The agents were usually corrupt and profiting off the plight of the Indian. Dispossession, depredation, degradation, and disease were rampant on the reservation. Extreme poverty and sickness was the norm.

The three most powerful institutes in the United States (education, government, and the church) colluded in cultural genocide of the Anishinaabe know as the assimilation policy. Political, economic, and family structures were destroyed. All Native children were mandated to attend boarding schools. The boarding schools were established to *kill the Indian, and save the man* (Mintz, 2003c).

The Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934 stopped the massive resource losses from the Allotment Act and started the beginning of elected tribal leadership. Most tribal governments adopted the United States' proposed governance model and incorporation (Mintz, 2003e). All of the power of the reservations was put into the hands of a few tribal

council members under this top-down model. Decades of colonial oppression had reframed the mind set of these new leaders. Oppression and corruption were their teachers. These new tribal leaders embarked in a litany of corruption and abuse. The IRA opened a Pandora's Box for corrupt tribal leadership as it is known today by giving them complete executive, legislative, and judiciary powers. With over a century of corruption, oppression, self-oppression, and many other historic traumas, Anishinaabe have become their own worst enemy.

In order to decolonize, the Anishinaabe need to understand their history of colonial oppression and historic trauma, create emancipating dialogue, and create a vision for the future. Towards this vision, new leadership models will be needed.

Only fragmented knowledge of traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership remains. By interviewing some of the few remaining hereditary chiefs and combing through literature, I hope to reconstruct a paradigm of Ogimaawiwin. With this paradigm discussions can occur for designing new leadership models to meet the needs of our ever changing systems.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Little is known about what Ogimaawiwin is.

### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of the study is to know about Ogimaawiwin. Ogimaawiwin was stripped from the Anishinaabe by the United States government. A Euro-American top-down form of government was put in its place. This form perpetuates the disempowerment of the Anishinaabe.

I hope that this study may lead to significant changes in the form and content of contemporary Ojibwe leadership and governance now and as it evolves in the future. These changes are intended to help in healing our nation from oppression and reconnect us to our innate wisdom and the power of our ancestral ties and empowering membership. I hope that youth and adult Ojibwe leadership academies will emerge incorporating development of an Ogimaawiwin paradigm.

### **Research Questions**

1. What is traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership?
2. What do the chiefs do? What is their job or function?
3. What must they know? What kind of training should they have?
4. What are chiefs supposed to feel in their heart? What kind of values should they have?
5. How do chiefs behave toward or interact with the community members?
6. How are the community members supposed to behave toward or interact with the chief?
7. Do you have anything else to add?

### **Assumptions of the Study**

In considering potential paths for this study, certain assumptions begin to come to light. My primary assumption is that Ojibwe people do not know or remember what traditional leadership is because they have been oppressed for so long. Colonial oppression enacted cultural genocide and destroyed Anishinaabe traditional social, political, and economic systems. The loss of traditional systems and ongoing cultural

amnesia has created a void, allowing hegemony of modern Western society to set in. I am assuming that what little traces of traditional leadership that remain are fragmented and miniscule.

It is assumed that the author is biased toward the Western worldview because English is his first language learned and Ojibwe is his second language which is in the process of being learned.

It is assumed that the reader and literature materials are biased towards a colonial mindset because of the dominant Western society in which we live.

It is assumed that the style and structure of this treatise, vacillating between first and third person and the metaphysical and empirical lens, will cause disequilibrium in the reader.

It is assumed the leadership questions asked in the interview are biased towards Western paradigms.

It is assumed informants will have only remnant knowledge of traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership.

### **Significance of the Study**

Little is known about traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership by researchers, practitioners, and policymakers.

This treatise on traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership will add to the scholarly research and literature in the field of Ojibwe chief leadership. This study may lead to more resources for American Indian research. It may contribute to the development of a

variety of Native leadership models. This study may give future American Indian scholars more foundation for their work.

This study may improve the practice of Ojibwe leadership. It may help clarify and reintroduce traditional values into leadership systems. The treatise may develop cultural ownership of leadership models. It may relieve internal cultural conflict of Ojibwe leaders. It may aid in decolonizing Native communities, and it may help emancipate Native communities from self-oppression.

The study may improve Ojibwe leadership and organizational policy. The findings may help build cultural foundations for new designs in tribal government structures. If Ojibwe Nations re-integrate traditional models of leadership, they may build ownership, self-identity, and self-esteem.

Research may contribute to and affect the main global body of knowledge of leadership.

### **Limitations and Delimitations**

The literature review is limited to documents closely related to the research questions. Research materials will include documentation of traditional leadership, external change forces, and historical trauma causing change in traditional leadership.

The study is confined to interviewing hereditary Ogimaag in and around Minnesota. Five hereditary chiefs will be narrowed by recommendations from a larger list of Ojibwe leaders. Qualifications for selection are: they (a) are hereditary chiefs, (b) speak the Ojibwe language, and (c) have knowledge of traditional ceremonies and culture. The reason for these filters is to preserve cultural insight, assuming that the

language allows for a deeper cultural insight via access to and participation in Ojibwe ceremonies and suggesting language ability means having been raised in a culturally rich community. Ojibwe language rich communities represent a small minority of Ojibwe communities and therefore the respondents reflect a smaller sampling of the history and evolution of Ojibwe leadership. These purposive qualifying factors will hopefully create quality culturally insightful responses.

### **Definition of Terms**

Acculturation – blending of juxtaposed cultures.

Anishinaabe – an Ojibwe speaking person, or in broader terms, any person indigenous to the Western hemisphere.

Assimilation – the dominant culture absorbs a susceptible culture.

Chief – a marginalizing colonial word denoting primitive leadership.

Clan – a set of animals assigned to symbolize and frame our social and political structure with each having a unique set of qualities and responsibilities.

Cultural Genocide – the extermination of another culture.

Historic Trauma – History of events and forces that continue to cause social mutations, alterations, or dysfunction in a group across generations.

Indian – the *N* word for Anishinaabe but used somewhat freely between Anishinaabe.

Indigenous – created and originated in area.

Ogichidaa – warrior, combat vet.

Ogimaa(g) – civil chief(s).

Ogimaawiwin – Traditional Ojibwe Civil Chieftainship.

Ojibwe – refers more to the language spoken by a group of the Anishinaabe but is often used synonymously.

Sovereign Dependent – American Indian legal status as autonomous to the degree allowed by the federal government.

Traditional – indigenous practices and beliefs.

Vision – a spiritual revelation.

### **Summary**

Little is known about traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership. The purpose of this study is to know traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership. By knowing traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership and its historical changes, we can reflect on the current state of leadership, begin decolonization, and look at designing new leadership models.

## **CHAPTER II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

### **Introduction**

Traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership was based on a patrilineal clan system. Each clan family or hunting group had a spokesperson at council where decision making and power rested. Within each clan, leaders emerged from warriors, hunters, and religious areas. Prominence in these areas was attributed to a strong spiritual connection to the Spirits and served as credentials for chief selection at various levels of council. Each clan housed areas of knowledge and responsibilities. The crane clan's was leadership, and chieftainship would default to the crane where applicable. Chiefs were hereditary through paternal lines, devolving to the oldest paternal male by default, but council could choose anyone who was a more qualified candidate if needed. The chief facilitated council and was a spokesman at greater area councils. The civil chieftainship system was spiritual, emergent, value based, egalitarian, and consensual democratic.

The colonial period introduced new technologies and dependency on the world trade economy. Contact also introduced top-down leadership, systematically changing the clan system. As tensions and exigencies exponentially increased with the influx of American settlers, leadership shifted towards the charismatic and emboldened warrior chiefs of the 1800s. The fur trade economic collapse, loss of global allies, land and resources loss to the Americans, alcohol, and disease found the Anishinaabe relegated to the reservations and under the autocratic rule of the federal Indian agents. New elected

tribal councils established by federal Indian Bureaus exacerbated life on the reservations by giving absolute power to a few top-down tribal officials.

This ethnological literature review of traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership identifies four major periods of leadership change: (a) indigenous, (b) colonial, (c) American, and (d) the current IRA era.

The author will begin with establishing the cultural context of indigenous Anishinaabe worldview as it relates to traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership.

### **Worldview**

Little is known about traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership. The few pieces of scholarly work on Ojibwe leadership have been by ethnohistorians who have drawn from postcontact observations of traders, missionaries, captives, and governmental agents. Views of aboriginal constructs can still be assessed through these bodies of work, assuming that little has changed in Anishinaabe Ogimaawiwin structure during the colonial period.

There is little to distinguish the Indian of 1827, from the Indians of 1534. They both exhibit the same patient endurance of human suffering, the same stoical indifference to pain and hunger, the same passion for warlike achievement in love of a wild forest independence, which have cost them so many battles, so many defeats, and so profuse a loss of numerical force, and territorial sovereignty. (Mason, 1997, p. 108)

### **Etymology of Anishinaabe and Ojibwe**

When the French first came into contact with the Anishinaabe in the early 1600s, many bands had individual names that described their land areas and unique characteristics of their groups. Algonquin was a generic term given to any band with the

same language family. Many of today's modern names evolved from European labeling (Rogers, 1978).

Respecting their belief of their own first existence, I can give nothing more appropriate than a minute analysis of the name which they have given to their race—An-ish-in-aub-ag. This expressive word is derived from An-ish-aw, meaning without cause, or “spontaneous,” and in-aub-a-we-se, meaning the “human body.” The word An-ish-in-aub-ag, therefore, literally translated, signifies “spontaneous man.” (Warren, 1885, p. 56)

The Ojibwe, Ottawa, and Potawatami specifically refer to themselves as Anishinaabe (Shields, 2001). “Anishinaubaek (singular Anishinaubae) is an Ojibwe word translating literally as ‘the good beings.’ It is the name the Ojibway people prefer to call themselves” (Johnston & Noel, 1993, introduction).

Ojibwe refers more towards their dialect group of the Anishinaabe (Warren, 1984). Ojibwe may have derived from the practice of torturing their enemies by burning them until their skin “puckered up” (Warren, 1984, p. 82). Ojibwe may have also come from the style of moccasins where the top is sewn puckered up (Copway, 1850).

### **Creation and Re-creation**

When the earth was created, the creator made the earth with the four elements of earth, wind, fire and water. Next the plants, swimmers, walkers, and flyers were put on the earth. Humans were made last. Humans were least important because, if removed, the others would continue to survive with little effect upon them. If any of the others were removed, it would greatly disturb the remaining beings in the web of life (W. Hardy, personal communication, 1986). These beings are called our first family and are addressed as relatives (A. Lussier, personal communication, 1987).

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 called Gi'-tchie Man-i-to' (Great Mystery or Creator). The Earth is said to be a woman. In this way it is understood that woman preceded man on the Earth. She is called Mother Earth because from her come all living things. . . . Gitchie Manito 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 the Gitchie Manito then lowered man to the Earth. Thus, man was the last form of life to be placed on the Earth. (Benton-Banai, 1988, pp. 2-3)

This was known as the first earth. After some time the Anishinaabe had angered the creator with their behavior and a great flood engulfed the earth. In the sacred stories or *Aadizokaan*, Wenaboozhoo was floating in the water holding onto a log. He had several animals attempt to dive down into the water and obtain some dirt to recreate the earth. Finally the muskrat was able to procure earth from the water's depth but gave his life in the effort. From this dirt, Wenaboozhoo recreated the earth on the back of the turtle (Loew, 2001). After the flood the Anishinaabe were given the Midewiwin medicine society and its code of ethics (Warren, 1885).

### **Clan System**

The English word for "doodem" is clan (Warren, 1885, p. 42). *De* refers to the heart or center and is expressed in many related Ojibwe terms. *Debwe* means to speak the truth, or from the heart. *Dewe'igan* or *sounding of the heart* is the word for drum, which is central to all Anishinaabe ceremonies. The word for fire is *Ishkode* which is at the heart of the wigwam, village, or ceremony (A. Treuer, personal communication, 2005). Francis Densmore (1979) continues that the suffix *m* in doodem is a possessive marker (p. 9). Bohaker (2006) finds that "Ote means 'to dwell together as a group/village' and nintotem [nindoodem] is 'my fellow clan-member' in reference to blood and affinal kin" (para.

8).The Doodem has spiritual significance as well. Doodems are patrilineal and marriage amongst the same Doodem is strictly forbidden (Steinbring, 1981). Aboriginal leadership is based on the Doodem or clan system.

Early in the second earth when the Anishinaabe lived by the ocean, six beings emerged from the waters and came to the Anishinaabe. One was too powerful and was sent back.

The others, who now numbered five, remained with the An-ish-in-aub-ag, and became a blessing to them; from them originate the five great clans or Totems, which are known among the Ojibways by the general terms of A-waus-e [Catfish], Bus-in-aus-e [Crane], Ah-ah-wauk [Loon], Noka [Bear], and Monsone [Moose], or Waubi-ish-ash-e [Martin]. (Warren, 1885, p. 44)

The five Doodem brought to the Anishinaabe a holistic system of governance from which each Doodem represented a praxis of specific core knowledge and responsibilities. The crane and loon were the chiefs, providing checks and balances between each other. The fish were the intellectuals and served as intermediaries between the crane and loon when needed. They cast a deciding vote when needed. The bear kept knowledge of the medicines and was the police force for the villages. The martins were military strategists and warriors. The moose or deer were peaceful artisans and poets (Benton-Banai, 1988).

A question of who were the leaders had arisen at a convention at LaPointe with the Americans. An allegorical response was given by chief Tug-waug-aun-ay to remind everyone that leadership resided in the loon and crane clans. In the allegory, the creator made the crane and sent it to live on the earth. All heard its voice as it circled looking for a place to live. The crane landed and resided at Sault Ste. Marie. Sounding its voice again, all of the other clan animals came and formed a town. Again the crane left in flight

and arrived at Shaug-ah-waum-ik-ong and sounded its voice. The loon answered its call (Warren, 1885).

The bird [crane] spoke to it in a gentle tone, “Is it thou that gives answer to my cry?” The Loon answered, “It is I.” The bird then said to him, “Thy voice is music—it is melody—it sounds sweet in my ear, from henceforth I appoint thee to answer my voice in Council.” “Thus,” continued the chief, “the Loon became the first in council, but he who made him chief was the Bus-in-aus-e (Echo Maker), or Crane.” These are the words of my ancestors, who, from generation to generation, have repeated them into the ears of their children. (Warren, 1885, pp. 87-88)

Clans were repositories of knowledge. Experience gained through reciprocal relationships with the Spirits and fellow clan members accumulated as it was passed on from generation to generation within clan groups. Each clan housed specific knowledge that members aspired to learn and was gained through fasting, visions, and intimate relations with the Spirits.

### **Value System**

There are many values among the Ojibwe but traditional teachings tell of seven primary values that were specific spiritual gifts given to the Anishinaabe that govern the clan system and their lives.

After the Clan System was given to the people, the Seven Grandfathers sent seven spiritual beings to Earth to clarify how the Clan System was to be used and to amplify the meaning of many gifts often taken for granted in life. (Benton-Banai, 1988, p. 78)

In this legend the seven spiritual gifts are (a) love, (b) respect, (c) bravery, (d) honesty, (e) truth, (f) humility, and (g) wisdom (Benton-Banai, 1988). These primary values or gifts, as well as other values, were perpetuated in the Midewiwin code of ethics. They molded the lives of the Anishinaabe, its culture, and leadership. “From his

correspondence (Enmehgahbowh) emerges a picture of a man deeply committed to a quarter of familiar Ojibwe values: generosity, sharing, mutuality, and consensus—and, most importantly, to political power exercised by the mature, deliberative civil leadership” (Kugel, 1998, p. 109).

Values were taught to the youth through modeling of these behaviors and by lecture. Children were brought together and a feast was given where an elder “admonishes them to be attentive and respectful to the aged, and adhere to their counsel; to obey their parents; never to scoff at the decrepit or deformed; to be modest in their conduct; to be charitable and hospitable” (Mason, 1997, p. 119).

### **The Great Spiritual Migration**

The Anishinaabe had originally lived in the Great Lakes, but by continual fighting they angered the creator and were told to move and migrated to the Atlantic Ocean (Loew, 2001). While living at the Atlantic the Ojibwe were given the Midewiwin or Grand Medicine Society.

Here it was, that while congregated in a great town, and while they were suffering the ravages of sickness and death, the Great Spirit, at the intercession of Manab-o-sho, the great common uncle of the An-ish-in-aub-ag, granted them this rite [Midewiwin] wherewith life is restored and prolonged. (Warren, 1885, p. 79)

After living here for many generations, seven prophets, each with a certain prophecy, came to the Anishinaabe. “Each of these prophecies was called a Fire and each Fire referred to a particular era of time that would come in the future” (Benton-Banai, 1988, p. 89). The seven fires told the Anishinaabe they must move; a little boy will restore traditions; they will arrive at a *land where food grows on water*; the coming of the White people; a false way of life promised by the Whites; disconnection between youth

and elders; and finally an emergence of a new Anishinaabe who will retrace their footsteps. They go on to state that during the seventh fire, the White man must make a decision to choose the earth over technology or the world will come to an end. If they choose the earth, then an eighth fire will be lit and peace will prevail across the earth for eternity (Benton-Banai, 1988).

The first fire stated, “If you do not move you will be destroyed” (Benton-Banai, 1988, p. 95). From this first fire a spiritual migration began back through the Great Lakes starting at about 900 A.D. This migration was led by a sacred Migis shell that rose in the sky leading the Anishinaabe in their great spiritual migration.

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 a long period 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. (Warren, 1885, p. 78)

The stopping points of the Migis along the migration were Montreal, Niagara Falls, the Detroit River, the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, Walpole Island, Manitoulin Island, Sault Ste. Marie, Spirit Island at the west end of Lake Superior, and then Madeline Island (Benton-Banai, 1988).

During the process of migration there was a major separation between the Anishinaabe at the Straits of Michilimacinac. The Potawatomi, Ojibwe, and Ottawa had all been one group, each referring to themselves collectively as Anishinaabe. Their stories, ceremonies, and history were all as one. It was here at Michilimacinac that the Ottawa remained and became the Eastern vanguard. They were the first to meet the

White traders and serve as middlemen in trade to the westerly Anishinaabe. They became known as the Ottawa, or traders. The Potawatomi moved south along Lake Michigan. They were the keepers of the sacred fire of the Anishinaabe Nation as denoted in the etymology of their name. The Ojibwe continued migrating westerly following the Migis along Lake Superior. The Ojibwe stayed for many years at Sault Ste. Marie before splitting north and south along Lake Superior (Warren, 1885).

### **Season-round Economy and Harvest Ceremonies**

The subsistence economy of the Ojibwe followed the four seasons of the year. In the spring they camped at the maple groves. The summer camp was around fishing and garden areas. Rice camp came in the fall, and in winter the hunting groups dispersed out into the forests.

The Ojibwe lived in a variety of bark-covered buildings; the most common was the dome-shaped wigwams. They were covered with birch bark sheets over 20 feet long, which they carried to each campsite. "The women built the houses, and a house 14 by 20 feet, comfortably housing eight persons could be constructed and ready for occupancy in less than one day" (Quimby, 1960, p. 124). During wintertime the wigwams were banked along the edges with pine boughs and snow for insulation. Floors were covered with mats and beds were made of cedar boughs covered with animal skin blankets. Textile and clothing consisted of leaf, nettle fibers, and animal hides. Sinew and nettle were used for twine (Densmore, 1979).

Along the industrial year, food was the driver for seasonal camp movement. In the spring, family groups moved together or in proximity of one another to the maple sugar groves. Sugar was a main staple used for seasoning almost all foods and beverages.

Maple sugar was used in seasoning fruits, vegetables, cereals, and fish, being used more freely than the White race uses salt. It was also eaten as a confection, and dissolved in cold water as a summer drink. It was frequently mixed with medicine to make it palatable, especially for children. (Densmore, 1979, p. 123)

After the maple sugar season ended, families moved to fishing and gardening areas. Gardens usually included pumpkin, squash, corn, and potatoes. Mide ceremonies were given to bless the gardens for a fruitful season. Foods were dried and cached for the winter and spring. In the fall, families moved to the rice camps. Fall was a time for mat making. Some returned to the gardens to harvest the crops. When the ice set on the lakes they dispersed out into their hunting areas in small hunting groups. Ceremonial feasts were given for each new seasonal food, such as sugar, berries, rice, or meat (Densmore, 1979). During the summer, "Ojibwe men fished intensively and hunted minimally, while the women gathered nuts, berries, and other foods and planted gardens in which they grew corn, beans, squash, and potatoes" (Loew, 2001, p. 56). While there was a variety of fish taken, whitefish, trout, and sturgeons were the main fish supply (Schoolcraft, 1848/1978).

Land was held in common by the band. Usufructuary rights were allocated in council to different families. In the harsh and scarce winter months, exclusive rights were allocated to small hunting family groups. In the spring and fall, maple sugar and rice camps were assigned to larger family groups with less stringent user rights. The largest gathering of extended families was during the summer months (Doherty, 1990). The

exclusivity of the hunting areas was less severe before the arrival of Europeans. In some instances, the winter hunting areas were squatted by a small hunting group and those areas were then known to be the habitual use area of that group (Jenness, 1954). In the waning summer months, families would go to the rice field and tie the stalks to preserve them against wind damage and also serve as family use markers. “Although there was no formal system of private property, families return to the same sections of rice beds year after year and reseeded their areas so they would have a crop the next year” (Loew, 2001, p. 56).

### **Totemic Bands**

Families bound together with the same Doodem formed the totemic band (Schenck, 1997). The totemic (Doodem) band varied in size throughout the year. During winter hunting months, the totemic band would disperse into extended or even nuclear families. In the spring and fall, the hunting groups would gather for fishing and other seasonal activities. Totemic bands occupied the same rice and sugar bush areas every year. The exclusive usufructuary rights for these areas were honored by other Anishinaabe and not disputed (Densmore, 1979). “This annual pattern was not interrupted or fundamentally altered in the seventeenth century, though the geographic locales in which they occurred changed for some groups” (Bohaker, 2006, para. 15).

Hunting groups were usually extended patrilineal family groups. Commonly they were dyads of father and son or two sibling brothers and their wives. These were flexible in size and affinal marriage groups could be included (Hallowell, 1976). “The hunting group was the core of the Anishinabek social organization from at least the time of

European intrusion to the nineteenth century and the summer villages should be understood as conglomerates of individual, autonomous hunting groups” (Shields, 2001, p. 13). “The preferred arrangement was a father with his eldest married son” (Shields, 2001, p. 13).

The nuclear family was the smallest social and economic entity, but was usually part of a larger household unit and was normally associated with other closely related families to form a small hunting group, or co-residential unit. The males of this larger group would normally belong to the same totem and would be led by a senior male; there is reason to believe that succession to leadership was in the male line, assuming the son had at least moderate ability. Several such hunting groups, linked by kinship, marriage, and totemic affiliations, formed the band. Leadership of the band was hereditary in the patriline, and probably also involved, or was based upon, leadership of the largest patrilineal totemic group represented in the band. The band might itself constitute a village or a major segment of a village. (Smith, 1973, p. 15)

There were no affinal kinship terms in the language. All kinship terms were consanguineous (Hallowell & Brown, 1992). “Kinship was the cement which held the band together” (Schenck, 1997, p. 33). The mother always had a different Doodem than the father because marriage to someone with the same Doodem was proscribed. Cross-cousin marriage was practiced until late in the colonial period. Children of the mother’s brother were eligible to marry children from the father’s sister because they had different clans (Shields, 2001). Paternal parallel cousins are considered brother and sisters. Paternal uncles and their wives had complete disciplinary privileges (Hallowell & Brown, 1992). Family groups could split off to form *daughter villages* when populations grew too large or there were political differences. These related villages, while autonomous, worked sometimes together and had a head chief (Smith, 1973). Villages averaged between 100-300 people (Bishop, 1974). Large bands of up to 600 members used land

areas greater than 1,200 square miles. They consisted of up to 30 hunting groups of about 20 members each (Quimby, 1960).

Properly speaking, when the clan was the local unit, as is usual where the local clan forms the society, leadership was exercised by elders who, by virtue of their superior experience, attested to by the attainment of the very status of elder, quite naturally influenced, most strongly, decisions affecting the welfare of the group: where to hunt, when to fish, whether to trade, and so forth. They were, in a sense, very much like heads of large families. (Hickerson, 1988, p. 53)

### **Sacred Legends**

Aadizokaan are sacred stories. Understanding different aspects of the Anishinaabe world and the Spirits was taught through sacred stories called *Aadizokaan*. The stories were usually told to children when families gathered in the winter hunting camps.

These *aadizookaanag*, or “sacred narratives,” were passed on orally from generation to generation precisely in order that the Ojibwa would always know who they were, where they had come from, how they fitted into the world around them, and how they needed to behave in order to ensure a long life. (Angel, 2002, p. 3)

They are considered true stories of immortal Spirits and their interactions with the Anishinaabe (Hallowell & Brown, 1992). Wenaboozhoo, mentioned earlier in the story of the flood, is the main cultural hero in the Aadizokaan (Schenck, 1997). No time frame is given in the Aadizokaan. “Once we enter the mythological world of the Ojibwa, linear chronology loses all significance” (Hallowell & Brown, 1992, p. 73).

Some of these tales, which I have heard, are quite fanciful, and the wildest of them are very characteristic of their emotions and customs. They often take the form of allegory, and in this shape appeared designed to teach some truth or illustrate some value. (Schoolcraft, 1851, p. 109)

Aadizokaan explain how animals came to be the way they are, or how different gifts were given to the Anishinaabe (Johnston, 1981). They also explain geography and Spirits that reside in the landscape (Bohaker, 2006).

By their conversation and familiar remarks, I observed that they were habitually under the influence of their peculiar mythology and religion. They referred to classes of monetos, which are spirits, in a manner which disclosed the belief that the woods and waters are replete with their agency. (Schoolcraft, 1851, p. 194)

Many of the characters are animals that intervened on behalf of the Ojibwe to assist them towards Bimaadiziwin. In one story, fisher went into the sky world and stole the sun to create seasons on the earth and bring warmth. "Such stories reinforce the notion that ancient Native people viewed animals not as inferior creatures intended solely for human exploitation, but as helper beings with their own spirits and purposes" (Loew, 2001, p. 5).

Aadizokaanag can only be told in the winter so as to not accidentally offend any of the Spirits mentioned in the story.

The spirits are then in a state of inactivity, and cannot hear . . . if they violate this custom, the snakes, toads, and other reptiles, which are believed to be under the influence of the spirits, will punish them. (Schoolcraft, 1851, pp. 678-679)

### **Dreams and Vision Quests**

The Anishinaabe worldview is deeply enmeshed in the dream world. Dreams are very significant and affect the behavior and actions of the Anishinaabe. In an Aadizokaan, the significance of dreams is told in an earlier time before Wenaboozhoo.

The ockabewis told them that they must fast and find out things by dreams and that if they paid attention to these dreams they would learn how to heal the sick. The people listened and fasted and found in dreams how to teach their children and do everything. The young men were taught that they must regulate their lives

by their dreams, they must live moral lives, be industrious, and be moderate in the use of tobacco when it should be given to them. (Densmore, 1979, p. 98)

One person with the gift of dream interpretation explains that there are four types of dreams. The first type is a generic meshing of current experiences. The second is a premonition dream of events to come. The third is a traveling dream where a person will fly or transport to different places and time. This is usually to learn about things. The fourth type is a power dream where you are gifted by an animal or Spirit (A. Lussier, personal communication, n.d.).

Dreams are a way of educating and building the collective knowledge of the Anishinaabe. An elder states,

In the old days our people had no education. They could not learn from books nor from teachers. All their wisdom and knowledge came to them in dreams. They tested their dreams, and in that way learned their own strength. (Densmore, 1979, p. 78)

Knowledge from plants, animals, and cosmology accumulated and was shared. Spiritual knowledge gained in the dream world was shared with one another in the shade of trees where groups gathered, at midewiwin, and during individual visitations. An old medicine man used to kid about how he *stole* his knowledge growing up. As a kid he would listen to the old men visiting by a tree and sharing their dreams and visions (J. Jackson, personal communication, 1985). Dreamers can travel forward or back in time to different places to learn about historical events or receive premonitions of events still to come (Densmore, 1979).

Dreams are a way for gifted individuals to contact the Spirits. Those with gifts for naming would dream and find the names the Spirits want to impart on the candidate.

Plant Spirits reveal cures and prescriptions to the medicine people (Jeness, 1954).

Warnings were given to individuals to keep them safe from harm in their travels or endeavors. A war party may be turned around and sent home by a dream from one of the warriors (Schoolcraft, 1848/1978). Sometimes dreams needed to be interpreted by gifted individuals such as the Jiisikid (Schoolcraft, 1851).

Vision quests were a major dream activity. Children were encouraged to practice fasting for a vision quest before they reached puberty. Fasting would happen in their youth while they were still pure from corruption of thought. They would fast in seclusion, under supervision of a spiritual leader, and seek a vision of an animal Spirit that would gift them with their characteristic powers (Densmore, 1979).

The Vision Quest is the search, through fasting and dreaming in isolation to experience a dream in which a Spirit or manito appears to the dreamer. This Spirit usually takes the form of an animal and has a special relationship to the dreamer: it is often called the Guardian Spirit because of the power, help and protection accorded. After the youth has had this dream, it is interpreted for him by older men, especially the medicine men. (Smith, 1973, p. 13)

Direct connection to the creator was too powerful for any person, so the Anishinaabe sought the animal Spirits who were the intermediaries for the creator (Warren, 1885). Fasting could last for many days without sustenance until a Spirit appeared (Schoolcraft, 1848/1978). Once the Spirit pledged assistance, a relationship was then built throughout life between the petitioner and the “Grandfather” (Hallowell & Brown, 1992, p. 84). These Spirits could bequeath many different spiritual powers to the Anishinaabe such as medicinal or spiritual leadership abilities and responsibilities (Vecsey, 1983). These gifts were used to contribute to the Bimaadiziwin of the community.

**Grand Medicine Lodge**

The Midewiwin is a religious society for the purpose of curing the sick and extending life. Members must pay to enter the different levels of the society. Each level has different types and amounts of medicinal and spiritual knowledge. Reasons for joining the Midewiwin may be through instruction to do so in a dream or when someone is sick and may be brought in to restore their health (Quimby, 1960). “The spiritual life of the Chippewa centered around the Midewiwin, or Grand Medicine Society. Sickness was thought to be the work of evil spirits, so medical practice was associated with the supernatural” (Crawford, 1967, p. 80).

Leadership in the Midewiwin was not hereditary. Leaders were chosen at each gathering (Miller, 2003). Ceremonies were held in the spring when families gathered at sugar bush, and again in the fall (Crawford, 1967).

The history of the Anishinaabe was preserved and recited during Midewiwin ceremonies, such as the story of creation, the great flood, and the spiritual migration of the Anishinaabe (Schenck, 1997). These stories and ceremonial procedures and its knowledge were inscribed on birch bark scrolls. Behavioral ethics were also teachings of the society (Crawford, 1967). “In particular Midewiwin . . . taught its members herbal knowledge for a price, honored the manitos and Kitche Manito in order to restore health, and emphasized ethical behavior” (Schenck, 1997, p. 156). It was the responsibility of everyone to look after the needs of orphans, widows, and the overall Bimaadiziwin of the community (Warren, 1885).

Membership was limited. Initiates underwent long periods of study in medicines, history, spiritual knowledge, and behavioral ethics. They served as repositories of this knowledge for their communities (Hickerson, 1988).

### **Shaking Tent**

The Jiisikid served the community as a spiritual leader with direct contact to the Manido.

I cannot better indicate the meaning of the word Jossakeed then to say that it is a person who makes oracular responses from a close lodge of peculiar construction, where the inmate is supposed to be surrounded by superhuman influences, which impart the power of looking into futurity. (Schoolcraft, 1851, p. 105)

They had “higher occult knowledge” than the Mide member because of their direct access to the Spirits (Emerson, 1965, p. 230). “In the shaking tent ceremony the djessakid summoned the manitos to answer the people’s questions” (Vecsey, 1983, pp. 164-165). They could speak directly to the Spirits. They were used to interpret dreams, find causes and cures for sickness, find lost objects, and identify perpetrators of crimes or spiritual attacks. Souls of the living or dead could be brought into the Jiisikid lodge for interrogation (Hallowell & Brown, 1992).

Sometimes Jiisikid skills were tested or demonstrated. In one display, a Jiisikid was bound by rope and placed in his lodge. He sent one of the witnesses to a specified place to find the transported rope that had bound him. He returned with the rope and the witnesses found Jiisikid sitting freely smoking his pipe (*Longman’s Magazine*, 1896).

The Jiisidik was a very powerful spiritual leader with direct contact and dialogue with the Spirits.

### **Ceremonial Drum Society**

During the mid-1800s a Dakota woman received a vision from the Creator to make the first ceremonial drum. Her village had been overrun by United States cavalry. In her vision the Creator told her this drum would protect the Indian people from the cavalry and she was to give the drum to their Ojibwe enemies so the Indian tribes would stop killing each other and bring peace. The drum society spread throughout Ojibwe country and bound communities in seasonal ceremonies. These drums represent the last major religious change to Ojibwe society (Vennum, 1982).

### **Gift Giving**

Life for the Anishinaabe was difficult. Survival in the harsh environment required sharing of resources and communal living (Doherty, 1990). “Basic to the resentment of the accumulation of wealth or power are the traditional ethos of egalitarianism and the pattern of generosity or sharing” (Smith, 1973, p. 32). “Ojibway leaders were often described as being generous: they shared whatever goods they had. For their generosity they received the goodwill, loyalty, and sense of obligation of followers” (White, 2013, p. 230). Chiefs gave their possessions willingly to those in need. It was not a position of power or wealth.

As a symbol of the sharing ethos, the ritual of gift giving was an integral part of Ojibwe culture (Miller, 2003). Gifts were offered to people and the Spirits when requesting their assistance. “Every request came with a gift, and every gift came with a reciprocal obligation of some kind” (Miller, 2003, p. 108). When a hunter killed an animal, he reciprocated with an offering or ceremony to honor the animal giving its life

(Miller, 2003). The Spirits desired tobacco the most of the overall offerings (Winter, 2000). Gift giving symbolized the Spirits sharing their gifts with humans (Shields, 2001). The Spirits share their power with humans, who in turn help each other with these spiritual gifts (Hallowell, 1975). Gift giving built an ongoing reciprocal kinship relationship between humans, animals, and the Spirits (White, 2013).

Gift giving was also used as a ritual to build alliances and obligations between families, communities, and nations. A considerable amount of time and effort was focused on building these alliances for military and political support. “Allies ate from the same dish, smoked from the same pipe. Allies exchange clothing, weapons, and tools with one another. Allies were assumed to share political and social objectives” (Kugel, 1998, p. 10).

### **Bimaadiziwin – Reciprocal Relationship with Spirits and Creation**

Manido means *spirit*. There are no negative or positive connotations (Schoolcraft, 1848/1978). The Creator created the Spirits as a medium between himself and the Anishinaabe. The Anishinaabe believe in a “Supreme Being,” but intervention and assistance comes from the Spirits (Crawford, 1967, p. 80).

The central goal of life for the Ojibwe is expressed by the term pimadaziwin [Bimaadiziwin], life in the fullest sense, life in the sense of longevity, health and freedom from misfortune. This goal cannot be achieved without the effect of help and cooperation of both human and other-than-human persons, as well as one’s own personal efforts. (Hallowell, 1975, p. 171)

There are a plethora of Spirits; all things and beings have a Spirit. Even emotions have Spirits (S. Sandman, personal communication, 2000).

The most powerful and important of the manitos were the Four Winds, the Underwater Manito, the Thunderbirds, other entities, the Windigo and Nanabozho

(Culture-Hero and Trickster). These and many other Spirits could bestow spiritual gifts upon individuals who beseeched them through a puberty vision quest. These gifts could be medicines, doctoring, or hunting abilities. (Vecsey, 1983, p. 73)

It is through close intimate relationships with the Spirits that Bimaadiziwin is achieved.

“Their power is infinitely greater than man’s, who can only bow his head in awe and entreat their favour and assistance” (Jenness, 1954, p. 28).

Anishinaabe do not separate the physical world from the spiritual world (Hallowell & Brown, 1992). Humans and Spirits are only different in power, not in kind (Hallowell, 1975). All things in nature have power and could be used for the benefit or detriment of the Anishinaabe. “Man does not know all the power that is imminent in the souls of animals, trees, and stones” (Jenness, 1954, p. 27). All things were treated as being alive, just like people, and were respected (Jenness, 1954).

Spirits are addressed in familial terms. Those in the physical realm are called “brothers” and “sisters” (Miller, 2003, p. 65). Other Spirits that are sources of power are called “grandfather” or “grandmother” (Hallowell, 1975, p. 144). The kinship terms reaffirm the intimate view of Spirits as family.

Not only do Anishinaabe converse with Spirits in dreams and ceremonies, but the Spirits and Anishinaabe also share the same set of values (Hallowell & Brown, 1992). Animal psychology is much the same as human. There is no one chief over any species but animals have chiefs in local areas, which are always white in color (Jenness, 1954). “Animals have chiefs for their species in Anishinaabe esoterica and mythology” (Barnouw, 1977, p. 160). “Plants, too, are imbued with human qualities and presented as helper spirits in Native American songs and stories” (Loew, 2001, p. 5). They presented

medicinal gifts for health and long life. “Thus, hunting and medical concerns were integral aspects of traditional Ojibwa religion” (Schenck, 1997, p. 5). If humans disrespect a certain animal, that animal group will let their kind know and they will shy away from helping the humans. When departing to go hunting, a person would be quiet about their intentions so the Spirits of the animal would not hear them. Animals could choose to stay away from the hunter and not let them have any success (Jenness, 1954).

These instances suffice to demonstrate that, at the level of individual behavior, the interaction of the Ojibwa with certain kinds of plants and animals in everyday life is so structured culturally that individuals act as if they were dealing with persons who both understand what is being said to them and have volitional capacities as well. (Hallowell, 1975, p. 160)

Anishinaabe are dependent upon the Spirits. The vicissitudes and variables for procuring food in the seasons of hunting and growing made necessary a close contact with the Spirits for their intercession and assistance (Miller, 2003). “Only the spirits could bring any certainty to the future” (Crawford, 1967, p. 80). The key then was to obtain some degree of “control-power” by working with the Spirits (Black, 1979, p. 169). Relationships with and receiving spiritual gifts from the Spirits were obtained primarily on an individual base through puberty vision quests (Schenck, 1997). Another important way was through dreams (Crawford, 1967). The plant or animal Spirit could take pity on an individual and give them a spiritual gift. If you used these gifts to harm someone else or you did not properly show respect to the Spirits, sickness could fall upon you (Rogers, 1978).

All political, religious, economic, and social life depended on and incorporated the Spirits (Miller, 2003). “Good conduct led to *pimadaziwin*—the Good Life—a feeling

of security and confidence in facing the hazards of existence by being able to cope with all eventualities” (Hallowell & Brown, 1992, p. 97). Children are taught about Spirits in all context and aspects of Anishinaabe life. “In this respect, every bark-built village is a temple, and every forest a school” (Schoolcraft, 1848/1978, p. 67). The structures of their religious traditions were taken directly from the world around them, from their relationships with other forms of life. Context is therefore all-important for both practice and the understanding of reality (Deloria, 1992). Bimaadiziwin was an ongoing everyday reciprocal relationship with the Spirits in the Spirit world and in all of creation.

### **Leadership**

#### **Women as Leaders**

Traditionally there was a balance between men and women in both spiritual and civil leadership. Women provided internal daily leadership. Men provide external and futuristic leadership. Spiritually, “Women were considered to have a deep, sacred connection with the water. Men had a special relationship with fire” (Treuer, 2010, p. 27). Water brings life and fire is destruction. This duality is present in all aspects of the Ojibwe worldview. Women are gifted with the power of creation to bring children into the world. This the greatest power in the universe. Men tend to be given more spiritual gifts by the Spirits because they are pitiful in comparison. Women are associated with creation and men with destruction, such as with war and hunting (W. Hardy, 1986, personal communication).

Spiritual leadership was greatly respected. Men and women had equal access to leadership roles in ceremony. Women serve as “Midewikwe” and “Ogichidaakwe” which

were the female ceremonial leaders; any person in the ceremonial realm could apprentice and take leadership roles (Treuer, 2010, p. 29). Historically there were medicine women, tent shakers, and instances of women as warriors and chiefs (Buffalohead, 1983).

In civil life the roles and responsibilities of males and females were divided. The male's job was to provide food through hunting. The female's job was to prepare the food. Men tended to the external affairs and women tended to internal affairs. Men protected against enemies and tended to male devices such as weapons and travel. The women were in charge of the lodge and everything with it (Schoolcraft, 1848/1978). Everything in the house belonged to the wife and was distributed how she decided (Mead, 1937).

The woman is the head of the house. She is the boss. The word "Ikwe" (woman) refers to your head. She has to always think about what is needed in the house, who is sick, who needs to be nurtured, calculating supplies. She is the center. She makes the everyday decisions. What she says goes. If someone is not being a good husband, she can just set his belongings outside the door and he cannot do anything about it. He was divorced. It is as simple as that. The woman is in charge of the inside circle. The man is in charge of the outside circle such as hunting and protection. The man's job is to make rare decisions such as should we move, should we go to war. (J. Clark, personal communication, n.d.)

The chiefs or male spokespersons spoke on behalf of those they represented. The women were an important part of decision making process providing dialogue, influence, input, and always consulted (Treuer, 2010). "Council speakers routinely reminded Euro-Americans that their views represented those of the entire community, specifically including women as an important component group whose support was crucial to the consensual decision-making process" (Kugel, 1998, p. 71).

When Europeans came into contact, they sought out the hunters and civil chiefs to increase fur trade profits. They also brought a male dominant worldview and wanted only to deal with men. Traditional economy shifted to that of the fur trade. These skewed the decision making balance towards the male hunter. With men gone for longer periods of time to trap fur for the fur trade, more and heavier work shifted onto the women, including hunting and fishing (Loew, 2001). Contact changed the traditional leadership balance between Anishinaabe women and men.

### **Hunter as Leader**

Anishinaabe religion centered on harvest and hunting. A continual reciprocal relation with the Spirits was prerequisite for success (Schenck, 1997). Young males were taught the arts and science of hunting. They were also taught self-restraint in order to endure hardship in lean periods of game (Schoolcraft, 1848/1978). Success was attributed to the hunter's close relationship to the Spirits and knowledge of the terrain and many Spirits of the forest. Hunting was very spiritual, and ceremonies needed to be performed before and after the hunt. "A successful hunter or warrior could brag among his peers of his exploits without seeming egocentric, since he was, in effect, praising his gods" (Schmalz, 1991, pp. 6-7). The Anishinaabe practiced polygamy (Bishop, 1974). How many wives they could support depended on their spiritual and hunting abilities (Landes, 1937).

Male leaders took extra wives to show the community their ability to support them. The leaders' desire to show off their wealth and power indicated their character. They were fiercely proud and individualistic persons who proved their close relation with the manitos by their successes in hunting, curing, and warring. (Vecsey, 1983, p. 163)

Hunting success brought prestige and leadership (Bishop, 1974). The hunter's expert knowledge of the terrain, flora, fauna, and their relationship to the Spirits also served in leadership of resource allocation for hunting areas and rice beds (Warren, 1885).

The eldest male of a hunting group served as its civil leader or headman. This was based on age, hunting skills, and spiritual abilities. It was contingent on group approval. When the hunting groups gathered, a chief was selected. His power was weak in comparison to the headmen in the hunting groups. Leadership was temporary. The chief's role ended when the hunting groups dispersed in their seasonal cycles. "A chief's authority was based on his age, his oratorical skills, and his ability to act as an arbitrator among band members" (Hansen, 1987, p. 45).

### **Spiritual Leaders**

Everyone received unique gifts from the Spirits. Other gifts could be obtained through vision quests. Some received more gifts than others, such as medicine men and the Jiisikid. Just as civil leaders, spiritual leaders emerged and served the community (Rogers, 1978). The Anishinaabe maintained personal autonomy and sought guidance from spiritual leaders only when necessary (Schmalz, 1991). Spiritual leadership was not hereditary. Each extended family had a spiritual leader who varied in levels of ability and type. They usually belonged to the Midewiwin society (Vecsey, 1983).

Midewiwin offered both men and women the opportunity to emerge as leaders through charisma and esoteric knowledge (Miller, 2003). The role of Midewiwin leaders was to maintain ceremonial knowledge, cure the sick, and teach ethics for Bimaadiziwin

(Smith, 1973). An informant was talking about some of the amazing powers of spiritual leaders such as exhibited by his father in a Midewiwin ceremony. His father got up and walked around the lodge, sat down, and then a rock began to move on its own, “following the trail of the old man around the tent, rolling over and over, I saw it happen several times and others saw it also” (Hallowell, 1975, p. 148). Sorcerers could metamorphose into different animals with the help of the Spirits (Hallowell, 1975). A Jiisikid was usually a member of the Midewiwin and wielded more power than a Mide member because they had direct personal communication with the Spirits (Miller, 2003). Another leader was the herbalist. They were also usually members of the Midewiwin. They had specific Spiritual knowledge of healing songs and compound medicines (Danziger, 1978).

Spiritual leaders were the most prominent person in a village. They could enlist the powers of the Spirits for good or bad. People feared them because of their potential for malevolence, but looked for their knowledge and power to aid in Bimaadiziwin. There were at times spiritual battles between medicine men. Sometime hostilities caused them to break off and establish a new village (Landes, 1937). Spiritual leaders such as the medicine man or a Jiisikid could communicate with Spirits and interpret their desires. The Spirits could take away spiritual gifts held by a human at any time rendering them powerless. Leaders were careful in their use of these powers (Vecsey, 1983). The role of spiritual leaders was to cure, convey with the Spirits, guide in war and hunting, and lead in ceremonies (Vecsey, 1983). Hereditary civil leaders expanded their influence by their

involvement and leadership in war and the Midewiwin. All areas exhibited connection to the Spirits (Miller, 2003).

### **War Chiefs**

War chiefs were ranked next after the civil chiefs. They had tremendous influence in their communities. That influence was always used to support the civil chief. War chieftainship was earned by success in battle, spiritual ability for battle, and oratorical persuasion. Sometimes war chieftainship was passed down hereditarily (Warren, 1885). Authority of a war chief depended on the number of warriors he could gather. These were gained by persuasion and not coercion (Miller, 2003). Warriors tended to be young, rash, and quick to action without thinking things out clearly (Kugel, 1998). Any warrior who had established a reputation could gather a war party. The civil chiefs had little control particularly when it crossed band lines (Smith, 1973).

Warriors were impulsive in action. They gained influence and sometimes vied for political power. The Ogimaa built consensus and unity. This was painstaking and took time. Because of their sagacity and deliberate decision making, the elder civil chiefs were given final authority (Kugel, 1998). Ogimaa could also serve as war chief. The positions were not always separate (Smith, 1973). The duality of civil and war chiefs was common throughout North America (Kugel, 1998).

To summon warriors, war chiefs sent their pipe with a messenger to the different villages (Diedrich, 1990). The messenger would explain the reasons for gathering warriors and present the pipe. Those who smoked from the pipe pledged assistance. When the warriors arrived, a feast was given. If the circumstance for gathering warriors

was of immense significance, a buckskin replica of a hand, painted red for blood, was presented with the pipe (Densmore, 1979). Other representations of war could be used such as a war club or wampum (Warren, 1885).

After the warriors were assembled, a war dance was given. Warriors would dance around a post and strike it, followed by a speech of their war exploits (Schoolcraft, 1851). The war chief paid close attention to their dreams. These dreams would tell who should go or not. Dreams predicted victory or defeat and when or where to fight (Miller, 2003). The last event before the warriors would depart was the dog feast. Only the head was eaten and only by members going off to war. When the warriors returned, a scalp dance was given. Acquired scalps were presented to the women who needed revenge. The victory dance went from village to village. After all of the dances, the scalp was placed at the grave of the slain victim (Densmore, 1979).

War was not permanent and leadership was temporary. Most war excursions were to seek revenge for the death of a family member. The soul of a murdered person would not rest until it was avenged. This is explained in chief Minavavana's speech to Alexander Henry,

. . . the spirits of the slain are to be satisfied in either of two ways; the first is by the spilling of the blood of the nation by which they fell; the other by covering the bodies of the dead, and thus allaying the resentment of their relations. This is done by making presents. (Henry & Quaiife, 1921, p. 44)

Another means of covering the dead is by replacing the family member with someone from the murderer's family (Treuer, 2010). "The Ojibwe conducted war for vengeance, that is, gaining captives or scalps to replace those whom they had lost to the enemy. Once they achieved this goal, the conflict was over" (Miller, 2003, p. 161).

It is seldom that a close, well contested, long continued hard battle is fought. To kill a few men, tear off their scalps, and retreat with these trophies, is a brave and honorable trade with them, and maybe boasted of, in their triumphal dances and warlike festivals. (Schoolcraft, 1848/1978, p. 139)

Vengeance parties were frequent and perpetuated ongoing conflicts between the Ojibwe and the Dakotas (Treuer, 2010). Large war campaigns did not stay together long.

Logistics were difficult and expensive. Fatigue was commonplace. War pursuits were relegated to the summer because of the scarcity of food in the winter, and the ease of the enemy finding tracks (Mason, 1997).

War leaders relied heavily on the Spirits for assistance (Miller, 2003). A Jiisikid would accompany the warriors to serve as an oracle, and warriors watched for omens around them (Schoolcraft, 1848/1978). Mis-qouna-queb was a Jiisikid and war leader. During a war trek, he turned himself into a dog. This allowed him to go into the enemy's camp for reconnaissance and lead to their victory. Because of his strength, abilities, and spiritual powers, he was appointed war chief by the civil chief (Redsky, 1972). One war leader would have everyone cover their heads at night with blankets so he could see into the future for what was in store (Skinner, 1914). Warriors also had to have expert knowledge of the terrain, "knowing every prominent stream, hill, valley, wood, or rock" (Schoolcraft, 1848/1978, p. 139). Anishinaabe warriors "were by far the most advanced in the arts and knowledge, and most distinguished for skill and war and hunting, of all the Nations in North America" (Schoolcraft, 1848/1978, p. 87). Success was ascribed to the spiritual ability of the war chief (Schmalz, 1991). As a war chief's achievement grew, so did the number of his followers. This influence spread across through other bands. Families who needed revenge services called upon successful war leaders (Miller, 2003).

War was a male-only endeavor. It was void of women who balanced men. War was destructive and did not serve to build communities (Kugel, 1998).

### **Civil Chiefs**

Leadership was not something contended for.

Leadership is a burden, not to be sought, but perhaps even to be avoided. A leader is chosen by consensus for his foresight to lead the way. He is, therefore, first in terms of showing the way and not in any other sense. (Johnston, 1990, p. 62)

The eldest male of the hunting group most frequently served as the group's headman. When other hunting groups gathered, he served on council. At council, a chief was selected from the headmen. This chief's role was weaker than that of a headman within its own group. When the band dispersed, the chief's role ended (Hansen, 1987). "In fact, over each separate community, one, either noted for courage in war, success in hunting, wisdom, or age, was recognized, as head man, or chief" (Warren, 1885, p. 318).

Civil leadership was almost always hereditary, which at one time was limited to the crane and loon clans. Later, as clan systems became devalued, members from other clans became chiefs (Treuer, 2010). Members of leadership clans were inculcated with the arts, science, and spiritual aspects of leadership (Johnston, 1976). The chiefs' eldest sons were primary candidates as successors because they were exposed to the chiefly responsibilities of their father (Shields, 2001).

Bagone-giizhig doted on Gwiiwizens and brought him on most of his diplomatic missions as soon as he was old enough to travel. Gwiiwizens would learn first-hand from his father the tribulations and challenges of Ojibwe leadership, accumulating experiences at a young age that would later help mold him into the powerful leader Bagone-giizhig the Younger. (Treuer, 2010, p. 51)

The community selected its leaders based on their merit. Leaders emerged. Leaders did not work their way to the top and then manufacture followers. Followership was given to the leaders they chose (A.I.R. Policy Center, n.d.). When a chief died, council chose a successor (Shields, 2001). Chiefs were hereditary through paternal lines by default, but council could choose a more qualified candidate if needed (Baraga, 1976). The criteria for selection were age, wisdom, headman, and oration (Smith, 1973). Performance as a leader in oration, sagacity, and equanimity had to be established well in advance (Waisberg & Holzkamm, 2001). Not all chiefs possessed oration skills. Those who did gained great influence within and beyond their band lines (Diedrich, 1990). A short ceremony was performed when transferring official chieftainship to the new officer. A pipe was offered to the candidate. If the candidate smoked from it, then he accepted the position and responsibilities (Johnston, 1976).

Leadership emerged from civil, military, and spiritual realms (Treuer, 2010). “Many of the structures that supported the hereditary ogimag, Midewiwin leaders, and war leaders were virtually indistinguishable” (Miller, 2003, p. 203). Chiefs were relied upon to steer community through trial and tribulation. This required spiritual assist. Those with greater spiritual powers emerged as leaders (Miller, 2003). “It is highly probable that chiefs were believed to control supernatural power, either through the Midewiwin or the Vision Quest” (Smith, 1973, p. 16). Mozojeed was a chief noted for his skill as Jiisikid (Schoolcraft, 1851). Before Mis-quona-queb was put into office as chief, he was tested by the community on his ability as a Jiisikid to use medicine to cure and to conjure Spirits (Redsky, 1972). “Almost every leader was a Midewiwin member” (Miller,

2003, p. 11). Leaders had more spiritual connection than most others and some were feared for the potential harm they could instill. Leaders who emerged within the community were acknowledged for using their gifts for the benefit of the group (Miller, 2003).

Civil chief leadership centered on working with the collective knowledge of the whole. Expert knowledge was focused on terrain, vegetation, animal life, weather, and the proximity of enemies and dangers. The chief worked with managing resources throughout the seasons and dealing with internal and external concerns such as trade, travel, diplomacy, and war (Miller, 2003). The chief always kept in mind the benefit of the whole.

His [Waub Ojeeg] views, were enlightened, compared with the mass of Indians who surrounded him. He saw the true situation, not only of his relatives, but of the whole Nation; and he resolved to use all his influence to rouse them to a true sense of it. With this view he admonished them to be active and diligent. To hunt well, and to fight well, were the cardinal maxims of his life, upon which he believed the happiness and independence of the Nation to depend. (Mason, 1997, p. 54)

Chiefs were not authoritarian (Shields, 2001). They had limited powers and duties. The Ogimaa called meetings on public issues, served as spokesman to outsiders, and facilitated council meetings. He served as mediator for internal conflicts. Direction was given by consensus of council. Individual freedom was the main ethos of community life. The chief was expected to give of his own resources when a family was in need or when he had any surplus (Jenness, 1954). Chiefs took a vow of poverty when they came into office (R. Jourdain, personal communication, 2001).

Furthermore as Chingquabe stated in 1695 the hereditary Chiefs did not even have authority to command obedience to their wishes. Rather, councils had to be

held allowing the man to speak out freely on the issues facing them. The Chiefs and headmen, or elders, refined the various viewpoints and came to an eventual decision on what position to take, particularly in regard to dealings with the Whites. When the meeting was to be held with important government officials, a speaker was appointed by the Chiefs and the headmen to convey their feelings. Again, if a chief was an orator, he was doubly influential. (Diedrich, 1990, p. 9)

Amassing power was also discouraged (Waisberg & Holzkamm, 2001). The chief could settle small internal disputes without needing to go to council (McIntosh, 1843).

The warriors were second in rank to the civil chief. Third in rank was the Oshkaabewis, or pipe bearer, “who officiated in all public councils, making known the wishes of his chief, and distributing amongst his fellows, the presents which the traders occasionally gave to the chief to propitiate his good-will” (Warren, 1885, p. 318). The Oshkaabewis delivered messages from the chief to the village and other villages (Miller, 2003). The Ogimaa usually had two Oshkaabewis chosen from the warriors who served as protectors as well (Densmore, 1979). These were usually relatives they could trust. They officiated meetings and feasts. Their arms were painted red to signify their position (Jenness, 1954).

The primary duty of the Ogimaa was to be a spokesman for the will of the people. He listened to the voice of members and council and brought their voice to larger councils.

A civil leader had certain prerogatives which he exercised not constantly or permanently but only on certain occasions and under certain circumstances. He was permitted.

One of the prerogatives of a leader was to speak, but when speaking he did not purport or even presume to speak on behalf of his people without first seeking their guidance and their own opinions upon the matters to be discussed. By deferring to custom and the will of the people the spokesman was seeking permission. (Johnston, 1976, p. 79)

Ogimaa Majigabo iterates the spokesman concept when he said, “It is not I alone who speak. The Chiefs and old men of my band put words in my mouth” (Diedrich, 1990, p. 10).

Leaders were influential and charismatic. Leadership was transitory, ending with the event they were called upon for. No one had to comply with the chiefs, and they were free to leave (Schenck, 1997). Quiet withdrawal was a common sign of lack of support for a chief (Smith, 1973).

Leaders were servants to the community. They did not seek this but rather were emerged and recognized by the community (A.I.R. Policy Center, n.d.). “Leadership was predicated upon persuasion; its exercise upon circumstances and need. It was neither permanent nor constant for a chief” (Johnston, 1976, p. 61). Chiefs were treated as regular citizens when not engaged in chief duties. Chiefs did not amass wealth and were expected to help others in need or else they would be frowned upon and lose influence (Miller, 2003). Leadership was temporary. When the function ended their leadership ended (Johnston, 1995).

### **Councils**

“An ethos of egalitarianism was pervasive, and the limited government was based upon consensual democracy” (Smith, 1973, p. 13). The band was the most important political unit. The headmen from the hunting groups convened at council where they allocated and managed resources (Hickerson, 1962). All adult males and elders were included in council (Landes, 1937). The chiefs always took important community

decisions to council to be made by everyone together. While the headmen represented the hunting groups, every adult had the right to speak (Shields, 2001).

The chief could call a council meeting for any reason he felt necessary (Landes, 1937). To summon a council with other villages, the chief would send his messenger to neighbor villages where he would present a bundle of sticks to keep track of the number of days until the meeting. The neighboring chief would then send his messenger with sticks to the next village (Johnston, 1990). Councils could be called at any time but were usually held annually for warfare and resource allocation. Meetings could be called to assist in youth puberty fasts or in dealing with nefarious medicine men. Council came to consensus but people could choose not to acquiesce, and if wanted they could freely leave the village and establish a new community elsewhere (Landes, 1937). Gossiping and politics were considered evil. If someone was straightforward they would bring their issues to council (Kugel, 1998).

During council a sacred fire was kept for the duration of the meeting. The pipe bearer offered the pipe to all the Spirits asking for unity and assistance in thought and speech. The pipe was passed around to all members in remembrance of the Aadizokaan where Wenaboozhoo was given the pipe by his father, the Spirit of the West, to evoke peace and unity. Because each meeting started with a smoking of the pipe, council meetings were called “Zuguswediwin” or smoking (Johnston, 1990, p. 159). The smoke from the pipe carried thoughts and prayers to the creator and all of the Spirits (Benton-Banai, 1988). The pipe was offered to the four directions, the stars, moon, sun, Mother Earth, the water, and all of creation to establish harmony and reciprocal thought between

humans and their first family (Schenck, 1997). “The most respected and powerful civil, religious, and military leaders would gather to share their thoughts, advice, and potential plans. The act of passing a pipe was central to any important meeting” (Treuer, 2010, p. 21).

All issues for council were discussed around the campfires, and information was collected (Miller, 2003). Grassroots discussions filtered in council meetings. All spiritual, civil, and war leaders were consulted. The pipe, and the spiritual aid it represented, was at the center. All deliberation aimed at consensus. Decision making included the entire community and Spirits (Treuer, 2010). Leaders did not have the power to coerce community members. Every family had input in community affairs (Waisberg & Holzkamm, 2001). Chiefs had influence but did not dominate proceedings. They followed whatever the community and council decided (Shields, 2001). All were allowed to speak in council, even the youth (Roufs, 2006). Councils usually lasted several days. Chiefs guarded against hasty decisions (Miller, 2003). For the Anishinaabe, serenity and equanimity were paramount in decision making.

It involves an intentional slowing down to conserve both physical and psychic energy, and to carefully consider all aspects of the new situation before acting. All possible responses are considered, walked through mentally before the commitment to a particular course of conduct is made. (Ross, 1992, p. 36)

Circumspection of all elements was vital (McIntosh, 1843). Illumination on various aspects manifested through mutual inquiry. Debate held no part in it (A.I.R. Policy Center, n.d.).

The chief served as intermediary in internal conflicts and spokesman with external parties. Secondary and tertiary chiefs filled in during the absence of the chief

(Miller, 2003). Duties of the council included “to judge wrong-doing, settle individual and family disputes, allocate hunting and fishing territories, decide where and when to move the community with the seasons, and did make decisions on issues of peace or war” (Peacock & Wisuri, 2001, pp. 118-119).

Traditionally there were four levels of council and concerns. The first level was the hunting group. They were concerned with their livelihood and autonomy. The next was common council where hunting groups banded together in the summer and managed resources. General council included representatives from various villages in a geographical area. The greatest council was council of the Three Fires of the Ojibwe, Potawatomi, and Ottawa for concerns of war (Shields, 2001).

Madeline Island had served as the epicenter for the entire Ojibwe Nation (Schoolcraft, 1848/1978). Great gatherings were also known as grand council (Waisberg & Holzkamm, 2001). The chief of the grand council was called “Nittum” (Waisberg & Holzkamm, 2001, p. 10). The grand council was closely linked with the Midewiwin. Grand council and Midewiwin usually happened concurrently during summary convergences. At council, members wore their finest clothing. Chiefs sat at the front smoking their pipes. Councils were calm and decorous (Diedrich, 1990). Members of the various bands sat by their chiefs (Densmore, 1979). When important meetings were held, chiefs selected a spokesperson to speak on their behalf. If a chief had oratory skills, their influence was multiplied (Diedrich, 1990). The village hosting the meeting was responsible for the care of their guests. Council meetings were great occasions for travel and visiting (Johnston, 1990).

American Indian leaders took their time when making a decision. When they gave their word on a decision it was a final, binding pledge (A.I.R. Policy Center, n.d.).

To be asked to make a decision was to be asked to give “word,” an awesome request. An answer or decision was final; a pledge, irrevocable and binding upon him who pronounced it. It was an extension of someone, a test of “being true.” Keeping word was the measure of a person’s integrity. (Johnston, 1990, p. 80)

“We have one mind and one mouth. It is the decision of all of us” (Waisberg & Holzkamm, 2001, p.1).

### **Social Control**

Continued success in any important activity was, in fact, evidence of the possession of supernatural power. Social control was based upon informal pressures within the kin group; fear of witchcraft, and gossip, but no formal structure is reported by which the band could exercise coercion. “Individuality was stressed through the vision quest. (Smith, 1973, p. 13)

Midewiwin codes of conduct warned that poor behavior would result in negative spiritual consequences. Behavior was governed “through inner controls rather than outward coercion . . . a necessary correlate of a sociocultural system in which, for adults, there are no superordinate modes of social control” (Hallowell & Brown, 1992, p. 97). There were no written laws that bound the liberties of individuals. Children were taught to be independent, self-sufficient, and not to be reckless. They were taught by example and encouragement and not by ridicule (Long, 1791/1968). Rights and responsibilities were passed down orally to each generation. The head of the household was responsible for the behaviors of its members (Jenness, 1954).

Offenses within families such as murder were taken care of by kinsmen (Smith, 1973). Relatives of a murder victim could execute the guilty party or they could adopt them into the family (Densmore, 1979). In one instance, a murderer was adopted by the

father of the victim and while being escorted to their home, one of the sons killed him. No one argued that right (Densmore, 1979). The Spirit of a murder victim could not travel to the Spirit world until it was appeased. One way this could occur was through a revenge murder. Another way was through costly ceremonies. Another was to have the murderer's family compensate the loss with gifts. The final option was to adopt the murderer or one of their family members to replace the lost relative (Treuer, 2010). When offenses went beyond family or group lines, they became more volatile and difficult to contend with (Ross, 1992).

Sometimes people were afraid to confront a suspect because they might use sorcery on them. The accuser might enlist a medicine man to avenge wrongdoings. Almost all misfortunes, including death, were ascribed to sorcery. Sometimes the chief or council had to intervene and pass judgment (Jenness, 1954). Long, drawn out spiritual feuds could enlist various medicine men, which could end up as battles between the medicine men themselves (Landes, 1937). Even the spiritual names given to individuals were concealed from public in fear of easier access to sorcery (Schoolcraft, 1848/1978). A long time ago you had to be careful in what you said. You could not even look sideways at someone because they might get offended. They would go home and get out their medicine and use it on you (J. Mitchell, personal interview, 2004).

All individuals with power were to some extent feared as much as they were perhaps loved because of their potential to use power in this way even if they never exercised it. Therefore a number of rules governed speech, as the chief medium of communication to avoid inadvertently showing disrespect. (Miller, 2003, p. 71)

**Atomism and Nucleation**

Scholars are divided on whether or not the Anishinaabe were an atomistic society. An atomistic society is where the “corporate organization and political authority are weak” (Barnouw, 1977, p. 7). Fission is common, and cohesion is not enforced. Landes, Bishop, and Rogers advance the idea of Anishinaabe as atomistic (Waisberg & Holzkamm, 2001). Hickerson and James argue that there is nucleation through numerous constructs (Barnouw, 1961). Families were free to move between bands or start their own band at any time. “Unsatisfactory leadership, disagreement over policies, dwindling natural resources, the rise of new leaders, and the characteristic, pervasive distrust were all factors that could lead to disaffection and fission” (Smith, 1973, p. 16).

Personal independence, has kept the petty chiefs from forming confederacies for the common good. Individuals have surrendered no part of their original private rights, to secure the observance of the rest. There has been no public social organization, expressed or implied. The consequence has been that the law of private redress in revenge prevailed. (Schoolcraft, 1848/1978, p. 68)

Warfare was one element that bound Anishinaabe society together. The Sioux and the Iroquois were common enemies for the entire Nation. In times of war, the Anishinaabe would unite, not only in regional areas, but as a unified Nation (Barnouw, 1961).

War and other public calamities bring them together, while prosperity drive them apart. They rally on public danger, with wonderful facility, and they disperse with equal quickness. All of their efforts are of the partisan, popular kind. And if these do not succeed they are dispirited. There is nothing in their institutions and resources suited for long continued, steady exertion. (Schoolcraft, 1833, p. 94)

Anishinaabe did not have a central government, but councils met on regional issues with council chiefs together making consensual decisions (Treuer, 2010). They had

“an egalitarian world view that valued autonomy informed political organization at all levels” (Shields, 2001, p. 14). Careful deliberation on all council issues disseminated into the separate communities and was discussed in individual households. Inclusion of all members in decision making tied bands together, especially when issues overlapped several bands or areas (Miller, 2003). Political authority of the chiefs was weak. They could not command obedience nor coerce a steady exertion, such as in a nation-state. Unity was based on a shared language, Doodems, and kinship ties (Quimby, 1960).

Clan villages spawned daughter villages. Growth of new villages had kinship ties and close proximity. The various totemic bands disbursed in the winter and appeared atomistic. During spring, family groups converged and then conglomerated into much larger villages for the summer. “On this account the size, composition, organization, and functioning of Ojibwa social groups must be conceptualized in relation to seasonal movements of population” (Hallowell & Brown, 1992, p. 33). Many clans congregated during summer in large villages at prime fishing locations such as at Sault Ste. Marie (Barnouw, 1961). Marriage within the same Doodem was proscribed and exogamous mates were procured from surrounding clans, further binding surrounding bands (Hickerson, Knuth, & U.S. Indian Claims Commission, 1974). All members of the same clan were treated as siblings. Clan networks stretched across the entire Nation and travelers were guaranteed hospitality by fellow clansmen wherever they traveled (Smith, 1973).

Almost any circumstance may cause people to drift to a given village or to leave it. Couples leave to visit the parents of the woman and remain. Hostilities and even murder may result from the refusal of a medicine man’s offer of marriage, with consequent removal of one of the parties concerned. A village may be

heavily depleted through war, a blood feud, or a succession of marriages which carry villagers elsewhere. Locations may be abandoned for sanitary reasons or for supernatural reasons or because the land is worn out. (Landes, 1937, pp. 3-4)

The epistemological ethos of sharing and communal living created reciprocal relations within band members, surrounding bands, and the Spirits (Miller, 2003).

Communal obligations were expected from surrounding bands (Shkilnyk & Shkilnyk, 1985). Village fission may happen for political reasons but they remain connected in Midewiwin obligation and kinship ties (Hickerson, 1962).

Every person who had been initiated into the secrets of this mysterious society from the first to the eighth degree, were imperatively obliged to be present on every occasion when its grand ceremonies were solemnized. This created yearly a national gathering, and the bonds which united one member to another were stronger than exist at the present day, when each village has assumed, at unstated periods, to perform the ceremonies of initiation. (Warren, 1885, p. 100)

National conventions at ceremony for Midewiwin and the Feast of the Dead brought clans and regions together that included political and recreational festivities (Schmalz, 1991). The Feast of the Dead served as an opportunity for reunited clan members to select new leaders when one passed away (Bishop, 1974). Later, when the Doodems system abated, the Midewiwin became the central ceremony (Schenck, 1997). Midewiwin “synthesized the natural world with spiritual beliefs” (Loew, 2001, p. 2).

Fusion and fission were choices of freedom and independence in Anishinaabe society. The fluidity of Anishinaabe society was a strength that allowed leaders to interface and reestablish common grounds between systems as changes occurred (Miller, 2003).

**Summary – Ojibwe Leadership and Worldview**

Anishinaabe life and leadership was egalitarian, familial, and spiritual. Plants, animals, and all of the Spirits are part of a large family. All of creation is referred to in terms of siblings or grandparents. Leadership emerged from hunter, warrior, and religious realms and became prime candidates for headman and chief selection. Success in each of these areas was attributed to having a close reciprocal relationship with the Spirits. Leaders were very spiritual.

Totemic bands disbursed in the winter in small hunting groups. The eldest male usually was the headman or spokesperson for the family at local council. Headmen selected a chief to facilitate council and represent the group when more groups of a larger geographic area met. When these chiefs convened, they selected a principal chief. By default, chieftainship was hereditary, and when available, the crane clan or loon clan filled the position. Chieftainship devolved to the eldest son. If not satisfied with this process, members could choose from other potential candidates. The chief's authority was weak. Individual freedom of persons and groups took precedence. If people were dissatisfied with their leadership, they could break away from the community and start their own, or elect a new leader. Decision making was made in council and consensual democracy. Issues were brought to council and discussed at the grassroots level with families and then brought back to council. Chiefs were spokespersons for their groups and symbolized the will of the people.

### **Colonialism, Paradigm Shift**

Colonialism in North America changed the indigenous economic systems of the Anishinaabe and the social clan systems. Old slower systems of creating weapons and tools were replaced by metal axes, knives, and kettles. Older laborious methods of cloth making were replaced with European manufactured goods that were faster and provided more mobility. Change grew as the new world supermarkets of the trading posts permeated Ojibwe country. Civil chiefs were diplomatically engaged with world imperialist superpowers.

Depletion of the natural resources followed, and more territory was needed to satisfy the dependency and economy of the fur trade. The diaspora of the Anishinaabe in quest of new furbearing territories disrupted the clan systems and national center of the Ojibwe. At the end of the fur trade era, exigencies surmounted and social and economic stressor exponentially grew. World powers were no longer in the political equation for chiefs, and the Americans were constantly expanding into Ojibwe country. Traditional elder clan chiefs began losing value and the brazen war chiefs rose to the forefront of leadership.

### **Leadership Clash**

Colonialism is the establishment, exploitation, maintenance, acquisition and expansion of colonies in one territory by people from another territory. It is a process whereby the metropole claims sovereignty over the colony, and the social structure, government, and economics of the colony are changed by colonizers from the metropole. Colonialism is a set of unequal relationships between the metropole and the colony and between the colonists and the indigenous population. ("Colonialism," 2013, n.p.)

In the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, imperialist colonial European nations were competing for wealth, power, and control of resources around the globe. Pope Nicolas V issued the papal bull *Romanus Pontifex* to allow the subjugation of indigenous peoples around the world. It charges explorers,

. . . to invade, search out, capture, vanquish, and subdue all Saracens and pagans . . . and all movable and immovable goods whatsoever held and possessed by them and to reduce their persons to perpetual slavery, . . . and to convert them to his and their use and profit . . . (Davenport & Paullin, 1967, p. 23)

Papal bull *Inter Cetera* allowed colonizers to use any means necessary to convert aborigines of discovered lands to Christianity. “Under this system, the Crown granted a group of Indians to a settler, who had the right to extract tribute or forced labor from them in exchange for religious conversion and protection” (Fagan, 1984, p. 83). These bulls were the foundations for the Christian Doctrine of Discovery to promulgate the Christian empire (Newcomb, 1992).

In their prophecies, the Anishinaabe knew beforehand the coming of the Europeans. They knew they would lose their lands and the “ending of the world” would be the end of their way of life (Warren, 1885, p. 117). First contact with Europeans marked the beginning of colonialism and the fur trade. Two different systems of leadership and worldview came together changing the aboriginal Anishinaabe.

The European leadership paradigm is top-down and aboriginal Anishinaabe was egalitarian. Karl Marx (1968) observes this historical top-down paradigm:

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed . . . The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie. . . . it has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound

man to his natural superiors . . . In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it is substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation (pp. 2-6)

Evidence of the top-down, *oppressed and oppressor* paradigm dates back to early European philosophy.

Hence we see what is the nature and office of a slave; he who is by nature not his own but another's man, is by nature a slave . . . some are marked out for subjection, others for rule. (*Aristotle's Politics*, 1923, p. 7)

The Anishinaabe were egalitarian and had councils of chiefs who were given permission to speak on behalf of their communities (Loew, 2001). Leadership was driven by consensus. Membership empowered leaders whose objectives benefited the whole. "This was in sharp contrast with European political systems, which formulated policy from above and seldom took into consideration the wishes of individuals below" (Schmalz, 1991, p. 12).

The Anishinaabe believe that you cannot own the land. Use of the land is a birth right to all human beings. "For the Europeans, the idea that land can be owned and exploited for profit is basic to their system. The European political and legal systems have been developed to reflect this concept of the land" (Plain, 1997, n.p.). Aboriginal Anishinaabe were holistically connected to the physical world around them and the Spirits. They did not separate or "compartmentalize" them (A.I.R. Policy Center, n.d., n.p.).

They lived much nearer to nature than most white men, and they looked with a different eye on the trees and the rocks, the water and the sky. One is almost tempted to say that they were less materialistic, more spiritually minded, than Europeans, for they did not picture any great chasm separating mankind from the rest of creation, but interpreted everything around them in much the same terms as they interpreted their own selves. (Jenness, 1954, p. 18)

An important illustration of differences in world view is language. “The structure of anyone’s native language strongly influences or fully determines the world-view he will acquire as he learns the language” (Brown, 1976, p. 128).

Human beings do not live in the objective world alone... the “real world” is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. (Sapir, 1929, p. 209)

Colonial languages evolved through top down paradigm while Ojibwe language grew through an egalitarian paradigm.

We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language. The agreement is, of course, an implicit and unstated one, but its terms are absolutely obligatory; we cannot talk at all except by subscribing to the organization and classification of data which the agreement decrees. (Whorf & Carroll, 1964, pp. 213-214)

Ojibwe language is gender neutral. Women and men are equal in the language.

Animals and Spirits are given familial terms. Many objects are animate in the

Anishinaabe worldview that would not be considered animate in European worldview.

In all language which separates all matter, the whole creation, in fact, into two classes of nouns – deemed animates and inanimates – the distinctions of gender are lost, so far as the laws of syntax are involved . . . the Indian mind has exercised its ingenuity, by creating classes and species of spirits, of all imaginable kinds, which, to his fancied eye, fill all surrounding space. (Schoolcraft, 1851, p. 443)

“We only see what we believe. The empiricist sees their view of reality. The Anishinaabe observe and compare spiritual phenomenon regularly. The Western world has limited truths and cannot see what we see” (K. O’Kelly, personal communication, 2005). The Spirits and the Creator dominated Anishinaabe epistemology. Through

dreams and visions they were taught how to sustain Bimaadiziwin. “Radical change was required to adjust to the incursions of the Europeans” (Schmalz, 1991, p. 6).

The Anishinaabe egalitarian system was juxtaposed against the top-down European system. Systems are affected by their external environment (Katz & Kahn, 1966). Anishinaabe acculturation of the European system was slow with compounding minute increments that exponentially increased at the very end of the fur trade. “Ojibwa culture at any moment in time, then, has been the product of multiple pressures. Internal, social, and economic relations have had to adapt to the external environment, both human and natural simultaneously . . .” (Bishop, 1974, p. 3).

### **French Trade, Infiltration, Dependency, and Decentralization**

The advent of the fur trade created many changes in the indigenous systems of the Anishinaabe. As the French made inroads throughout Anishinaabe country and westward, the Ojibwe became dependent on trade goods. As land resources were depleted there were incursions from the Iroquois from the East, and the Ojibwe began to battle and acquire new territories in the West.

The Anishinaabe had established reciprocal relationship with the Spirits and humans to ensure survival in times of hardship. Gift-giving was symbolic of reciprocation. When the French and English traders arrived, they were seen as potential allies and were incorporated into this system and expected “cyclical social obligations” (Miller, 2003, p. 81). The European traders saw their venture as economic (Peers, 1994). The French learned quickly the significance of gift-giving in Anishinaabe culture and used it to their advantage. To the Anishinaabe, credit was an extension of gift giving,

communal living, and the ethos of reciprocal systems. The traders did not view credit as symbolic but rather in financial terms (White, 2013). To build strong trading partners, the French adopted aspects of Ojibwe culture, learned their language, and married Ojibwe women to build family ties (Loew, 2001). “They respected their religious rites and ceremonies, and they ‘never laughed’ at their superstitious beliefs and ignorance [*sic*]” (Warren, 1885, pp. 132).

The French character and manners adapted themselves admirably to the existing customs of forest life. The common people, who went up into the interior to trade, fell in with their customs with a degree of plasticity and an air of gaiety and full assent, which no other foreigners have, at least to the same extent, shown. . . . they took the daughters of the red men for wives, and reared large families, who thus constituted a strong bond of union between the two races, which remains unbroken in this day. (Schoolcraft, 1848/1978, p. 134)

Trade items most often sought after by the Anishinaabe were used to adorn themselves and exhibit their relationship with the Spirits as successful hunters (Peers, 1994).

The French and their missionaries arrived in Anishinaabe territory around 1610. The Ojibwe were centrally located near Sault Ste. Marie. Trade was primarily through the Odawa (Bishop, 1974). Beaver pelts were sold to traders in 1631, at 1 “livre” each, who in turn sold them to merchants at 15 livres each (Morison, 1972, p. 183). This brought tremendous wealth to the French empire. By the mid-1600s the Ojibwe had expanded to the St. Louis River before any posts were on Lake Superior. The Ojibwe had been making annual trips to Quebec and then Montreal for trade goods. The French slowly started extending posts through the Great Lakes chain out to Detroit, Mackinaw, Sault Ste. Marie, and LaPointe (Warren, 1885). Ojibwes expanded their territories as outposts grew, and the Ojibwe became more involved in the fur trade (Hickerson, 1988). Ojibwe

trade centered at Sault Ste. Marie with the French, Huron, and Ottawa, creating greater social elaboration such as with the Feast of the Dead (Bishop, 1974).

The Huron were trade middlemen between the French and Anishinaabe. They served as a buffer between the Iroquois and Ojibwe. Smallpox ravaged the Hurons. The Iroquois, having depleted their fur resources and needing new hunting land, took advantage of this desolation and displaced the Huron in 1649 (Hodgins & Benidickson, 1989). Westward attacks by the Iroquois force many autonomous Algonquian bands to amalgamate (Rogers, 1978). Pressure forced many tribes to move west (Milwaukee Public Museum, 2007). The Iroquois were armed by both the Dutch and the English. To combat the fur monopoly developing by the Iroquois, the Ojibwe, Potawatomi, Ottawa, Osaukies, and Wyandot (Huron) formed an alliance (Warren, 1885). The Iroquois blocked the Ottawa River route to the St. Lawrence River. The Ojibwe and their allies were forced to organize massive flotillas and fight their way to bring furs to the French fur center at Montreal. Iroquoian incursions caused many refugee tribes to move into Wisconsin among the Menominee and Ho-Chunks (Loew, 2001). With guns procured from the traders, the Ojibwes expanded into Sioux country (Vennum, 1982).

The French then expanded trade posts into the Western Great Lakes following Ojibwe dispersion along the north and south shores of Lake Superior. Southern groups had denser populations and multi-clan villages due to the larger carrying capacity of the land and constant war threat from the Dakotas. The Ojibwe had been trade middlemen to the Assiniboin and Cree until the Hudson Bay Company was created in 1680 by Radison and Groseilliers (Bishop, 1974).

Traders Radisson and Groseilliers ventured through Lake Superior in 1659. Their furs were confiscated on their return for not having a license. Word of their success precipitated a massive influx of illegal traders, or *coureurs de bois*, into the area (Loew, 2001). In 1658, Daniel Greysolon, *Sieur duLhut*, traveled from Montreal through Lake Superior, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. He forged a peace treaty in 1659 between the Sioux and Ojibwe to stop their fighting in order to increase trade. The Ojibwe and their allies were now able to focus their attention on the Iroquois (Schmalz, 1991).

After the final defeat of the Iroquois in 1700, the Ojibwe and their allies moved back into southern Ontario and Michigan. In 1701 Antoine Laumet de Lamothe Cadillac established a trading post at Detroit, and with the Iroquois defeated, many of the refugee tribes repatriated the area as well (Rogers, 1978). The Ojibwe moved their center of operations to Madeline Island by 1690 and expanded territories to Fond du Lac followed by Red Lake and Pembina. In the 1740s they were at Sandy Lake and later into Crow Wing (Diedrich, 1986). Winter hunting groups spread westward into Minnesota and Wisconsin. In the spring, they returned to Madeline Island for Midewiwin ceremonies of the “Three Fires” (Loew, 2001, p. 57). Pierre Gaultier de Verennes de la Vérendrye established trading posts between Grand Portage and Lake Winnipeg in 1734. Ojibwes followed and migrated out to the western prairies (Vecsey, 1983). Between 1730 and 1780, the Ojibwe began to move into the interior and settle along waterways and trading posts (Bishop, 1974).

The French and English battled for colonial supremacy. The last battle was the French and Indian War that lasted from 1754 to 1763. English colonists were crossing the

Allegheny Mountains into the Ohio Valley and into French territory, threatening their trade operations. The final defeat of the French was followed by a flow of colonialist settlers into the Ohio (Mintz, 2003d).

The impact of the fur trade upon the northern Indians, as I have said, involved more than the acquisition of new types of tools, clothing, utensils, firearms, and foodstuffs. The Ojibwa are an example of an ethnic group which expanded their range tremendously both through warfare and peaceful movements. Some of them appear to have identified themselves more completely with the white fur traders than other Indians, so that their livelihood as well as their population movements became linked with the vicissitudes of the fur trade. (Hallowell & Brown, 1992, p. 20)

### **English Trade, Chiefs' Diplomacy with World Power Allies**

The Seven Years' War was a global struggle for imperial supremacy. The French and Indian War was a part of that struggle played out in North America. The English victory threatened a monopoly on the fur trade. The British occupied the newly acquired forts in the Great Lakes (Schmalz, 1991). The English did not gift-give like the French had (Loew, 2001). The English viewed the Anishinaabe with disdain and saw them only in economic terms. The English thought the Indians were conspiring and refused to give them credit or ammunition. This withholding threatened their very survival. Tensions were heightened by English contempt (Schmalz, 1991). The English met with the Anishinaabe and their allies at Fort Michilimackinac in 1761, where chief Minavavana's address to Alexander Henry summarized these feelings:

Englishman, although you have conquered the French, you have not yet conquered us! We are not your slaves. These lakes, these woods and mountains were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance; and we will part with them to none. Your nation supposes that we, like the white people, cannot live without bread—and pork—and beef! But you ought to know that He, the Great Spirit and Master of Life, has provided food for us in these spacious lakes and on these woody mountains. (Henry & Quaife, 1921, p. 44)

In 1763, Pontiac, with the help of the Ojibwe, Potawatomi, Sauk, and Fox, attacked 14 forts, capturing eight of them. The victories did not expel the English but forced them to make concessions. The Proclamation of 1763 restricted settlers from crossing the Appalachians into the Ohio Valley (Loew, 2001). The British were afraid to send traders into the Ojibwe interior. The chief at Madeline Island sent a request for the English to bring a trader to La Pointe. The Ojibwe had been dependent on trade for textiles and hunting supplies. The absence of trade greatly disrupted their new economic dependencies. When Alexander Henry re-established trade there, the Ojibwes were tattered in want of European goods (Warren, 1885).

As tensions subsided, numerous trade companies followed, such as the North West Company and XY Company. The Hudson's Bay Company continued its dominance in the North (Vecsey, 1983). Competition between the various fur traders forced companies to create posts deep into the interior, saturating the geography. Ojibwes' migration and expansion began to localize (Bishop, 1974). The trading posts started to become the center gathering place for religious and political activities as hunters brought in winter pelts (Hansen, 1987).

A prolific period of large game hunting lasted from 1780-1821. Chiefs helped manage the allocation of resources amongst families and distributing gifts given to them by the traders. By the turn of the century, the beaver and large game were becoming depleted. Hudson's Bay and North West Company merged and the Ojibwe could not pit companies against each other to maintain fair prices. The Ojibwe turned to small game

for subsistence and were dependent on posts for most of their economic necessities (Bishop, 1974).

British trade was short-lived with the American Revolution soon following. The presence of British trade companies remained for some time after the war (Treuer, 2010). The Ojibwe defeated the Dakota and Fox at St. Croix Falls in 1783 (Diedrich, 1990). By the end of the American Revolution, the Ojibwe had gained control of lands north of St. Anthony and east of the Mississippi (Warren, 1885).

### **American Trade, Loss of World Power Allies**

The 1783 Treaty of Paris concluded the American Revolution, turning British claims of land east of the Mississippi over to the Americans. The British military and economic presence continued in the Northwest Territory until the 1794 Jay Treaty removed British troops from forts in the United States. It allowed British settlers and traders to remain, and Indians to move freely across the United States and Canadian borders (Tanner & Hast, 1987). British influence was still strong and their companies continued operating posts until after the War of 1812. The Ojibwe had by this time become dependent on the fur companies. Ojibwe communities began to establish around the posts.

They needed the company's trade goods because they had ceased their aboriginal manufactures in the boom years . . . They had lost many of their skills in the course of a generation or more. Game became so scarce that they vied with one another for the meager rewards of the fur industry. (Vecsey, 1983, p. 17)

The United States sent Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike into the Northwest territory in 1805 to claim it as American territory (Milwaukee Public Museum, 2007).

Pike arrived at Cass Lake in February 1806. His objectives were to find the source of the

Mississippi, reconnaissance resources, replace English with American jurisdiction, and bring the chiefs down to St. Louis for a peace treaty with the Dakotas. Pike carried with him the pipe of Chief Wabasha as sign of Dakota peace. All smoked from it. They then traded in their English medals and flags. Pike was not able to persuade them to accompany him to St. Louis for a peace treaty. Pike erroneously cited Leech Lake as the main source of the Mississippi and Cass Lake as the upper source (Pike & Jackson, 1966).

In the War of 1812, the British tried to coerce the Ojibwe to ally with them by threatening the use of force. Keesh-ke-mun, the chief at Lac du Flambeau, replied:

You say, that you will keep me a prisoner in this your strong house. You are stronger than I am. You can do as you say. But remember that the voice of the Crane echoes afar off, and when he summons his children together, they number like the pebbles on the Great Lake shore! (Warren, 1885, p. 375)

The Americans had not been into the Great Lakes until after the Louis Cass expedition of 1820. American forts were then established in the region (Miller, 2003). Still, to the north and west, British trade ruled.

The great rivalry between the trade giants Hudson's Bay and North West Company ended in their merger in 1821. The Ojibwe lost their financial edge of being able to pit one company's prices against the other (Bishop, 1974). At the mercy of a monopoly the Ojibwe became more individualistic and exhibiting proprietorship of hunting areas in order to survive.

Cases of starvation grew more numerous after 1815 as game dwindled. During winter, hunting groups often splintered into family units to more effectively exploit fur and small game. Private ownership was exhibited through the staking of beaver lodges; and most hunters by 1815 were receiving credit as individuals. The withdrawal of many trading centers with cheap goods and the virtual

disappearance of large game animals considerably reduced the mobility of Indians who had to rely on a single post, and who were restricted to areas where hare and fish could be found. Often these were not the best places for trapping. (Bishop, 1974, p. 12)

The Americans continued their westward advance. In 1822, an Indian agency was established at Sault Ste. Marie (Mason, 1977). The Ojibwe did not care for the Americans but needed their trade goods to protect themselves against the Dakota and also to satisfy their dependency on trade goods (Treuer, 2010).

The United States forged a peace treaty between the Dakota and Ojibwe in 1825 at Prairie du Chien, and a follow-up at Fond du Lac in 1826 (Milwaukee Public Museum, 2007). The Ojibwe knew the power of the Americans was growing. In these treaties they were not releasing their sovereignty to the United States but understood they created “a reciprocal political relationship between equal partners” (Kugel, 1998, p. 199). The Americans understood this as a sign of “authority over Ojibwe people” (Kugel, 1998, p. 21). The Americans made no effort to establish a reciprocal relationship or establish bonds with the Ojibwe, as had the French, and only necessary amounts by the English. Their interests were purely possession of Indian land and resources (Doherty, 1990). When Joseph Nicollet came to Leech Lake to survey the area, he was told by Strong Ground why he hated Americans:

Yes, we hate them. Because wherever they establish military posts to protect the Natives, they keep them like dogs. Because for the slightest folly we commit, they drive us under the ground, whip us with rope, tie cords around our neck and hang us. Our fathers always said they would love to see the French from France again, they who discovered this land and were good to us. We long for the French of the other shore, that they may prevent our young ones from exterminating the Americans. (Diedrich, 1990, p. 34)

**Medallion Chiefs' Disruptions**

Medals were given to chiefs recognized by the traders. Medals were very prestigious because they crossed both boundaries of the two systems (Diedrich, 1990, p. 21). Chiefs, because of their influence in the bands, were awarded chief medallions and flags of the trader's nation. Traders married into chief families for financial advantage and chiefs encouraged these marriages to bolster their influence within the bands (White, 1982). The oshkaabewis, or pipeman, was a spokesperson for the chief. Since the pipemen officiated many of the ceremonies and often spoke on the chief's position in council, many of the traders mistook them as chiefs and awarded them medals (Kugel, 1998). The French were respectful of Anishinaabe leadership institutions and were careful in awarding medals to authentic leaders. The British and especially the Americans were reckless and self-serving in administering of their chief medallions. This created internal confusion and tensions within the bands. It changed the patterns of emergent leadership.

. . . there is nothing which has conduced so much to disorganize, confuse, and break up the former simple but well-defined civil polity of these people . . . This shortsighted system has created nothing but jealousies and heart-burnings among the Ojibways. It has broken the former commanding influence of their hereditary chiefs . . . (Warren, 1885, p. 135)

Traditional leadership was not formalized. Different leaders arose from different areas of society such as religious, military, civil, and hunting. Group consensus formed decision making. Prolonged relationships with European systems affected the Anishinaabe. Traders gave bonuses to hunters who produced more supply. These bonuses were distributed among the band and brought prestige to the hunter among his peers.

Traders appointed trading post chiefs among the Anishinaabe, especially those who were amiable to the trader and his motives. Some Anishinaabe families lived around the fort year-round, providing labor and services to the post. The trading chief was alien to aboriginal leadership roles. These chiefs were chosen with disregard to traditional leaders and their standing in the Anishinaabe community as well as disregard to leadership institutions in place. Traders preferred hunting chiefs with oratorical skills for trade chiefs because of their ability to influence others to remain loyal to that particular trader. Many times the trade chiefs were headmen among their groups. Most often appointed trade chiefs were those willing to cooperate most with the traders and bring the most financial return. Post chiefs were given preference in treaty negotiations even though their leadership did not emerge from aboriginal strands. Later, for the Canadian Ojibwe, when bands were assigned to their trading posts by the Indian Act, leadership became formalized and chiefs were given authority over the band (Hansen, 1987).

Trader influence on traditional leadership became more entangled. Many of the clans that centered at Sault Ste. Marie had disbursed west to new territories in pursuit of fur animals. While many new clans had evolved, the crane clan still held weight in choosing principal chiefs. A dispute in who was to be the proper principal chief was brought before the American government agent Schoolcraft for his decision on who would be chief. Both candidates were from the crane clan. He based his decision on who would be chief by eldest lineage (Schoolcraft, 1851).

### **Alcohol and Disease**

The system of trade, and the smallpox, has been the great and wholesale destroyers of these poor people, from the Atlantic Coast to where they are now

found. In this wholesale way, and by whiskey and disease, tribe after tribe sink their heads and lose their better, proudest half. (Catlin, 1841, p. 250)

Alcohol greatly affected the Anishinaabe in the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Internal violence such as murder increased (Schmalz, 1991).

We stayed here ten days, encamped by the side of the Lake; during which time a skirmish happened among the Indians, in which three men were killed, and two wounded, after a dreadful scene of riot and confusion, occasioned by the baneful effect of rum. (Long, 1791/1968, p. 50)

The French tried to control the amounts of alcohol being distributed to the Anishinaabe. The English and Americans did not restrict alcohol. They increased its use to break the will and resistance of the Anishinaabe. Alcoholism was also a symptom of an underlying understanding of their inevitable demise (Schmalz, 1991).

Alcohol became easier to obtain as settlers and shopkeepers came into Ojibwe country (Kugel, 1998). As conditions worsened from land loss during the treaty era and economic dependency, poverty-stricken Anishinaabe sold food, land, and trade items for alcohol. Even traditional leaders were turning to alcohol (Treuer, 2010). “Crow Wing was a whiskey trade center town comprised mostly of saloons. A lot of the Indians spent their annuities on alcohol” (Diedrich, 1990, p. 66). Chief Bagonegiishig died from alcohol use when he fell from his wagon and suffered injuries by being run over by the cart wagon he was driving (Treuer, 2010).

### **Economic Change and Dependency**

The Anishinaabe economic and technological systems changed drastically with the advent of colonial trade. Economic dependency grew with continued contact with Europeans. Technological change first altered the economic systems of the Anishinaabe.

Metal trade items such as the kettle and the axe increased mobility and precipitated the loss of traditional manufacturing sciences. The trade economy exhausted large game resources and shifted subsistence and reliance on small game. The Anishinaabe became dependent on annuities during the treaty period as a result of lost land and resources.

Their clay kettles, pots, and dishes were exchanged for copper and brass utensils; their comparatively harmless bow and arrow, knives and spears of bones, were thrown aside, and in their place they procured the fire-arm, steel knife, and tomahawk of the whites. They early became aware of the value of furs to the white strangers, and that the skins of animals, which they before used only for garments, now procured them the coveted commodities of the pale-faced traders, and the consequence was, that an indiscriminate slaughter, from this period commenced, of the beaver and other fur animals . . . (Warren, 1885, pp. 125-126)

Trade items relieved many of the time consuming domestic activities of the Anishinaabe. Firearms gave them the upper hand, militarily, over the Dakota, who were without arms, allowing them to expand into their territories to search for furs (Loew, 2001). More time was now spent hunting than before. Less time was spent on agricultural pursuits (Hallowell & Brown, 1992).

“In order to hunt for both food and furs, Ojibwa had to be properly outfitted. Files, hatchets, twine, and guns, were absolute necessities” (Bishop, 1974, p. 233). Eventually the Anishinaabe become dependent on trade items (Schoolcraft, 1851). Original textile materials shifted from plant and animal byproducts to those of manufactured cloth from the traders. Sewing instruments and supplies followed. Women saved considerable amounts of work time using trade goods. Food preparation was expedited with the axe for firewood. Guns increased kill accuracy. Trapping and fishing supplies were being supplied by the trader. Smoking tobacco became leisure rather than ceremonial with traders offering tobacco from the East. Dress changed as the

Anishinaabe emulated European dress (Schmalz, 1991). Dependency on trade food items began to develop as well (Kegg & Nichols, 1991).

Death by epidemics and alcohol made it difficult to maintain traditional manufacturing systems. Larger populations and extended family sizes allowed members to allocate time-consuming work to more individuals. Populations were decimated up to nine-fold. Trade items became more necessary (Peers, 1994). “Muskets, metal knives, hatchets, kettles, and other European goods had irreversibly changed the subsistent economy of the Ojibwa” (Schmalz, 1991, p. 35).

Throughout most of the 1800s, the Ojibwe had depleted most of the large game and were subsisting on small game and fish. This led to group competition and total reliance on the post. The communal social patterns of sharing food and trade items shifted to individualism and land proprietorship behaviors for hunting and gathering areas (Bishop, 1974).

They needed the company’s trade goods because they had ceased their aboriginal manufactures in the boom years. . . . They had lost many of their skills in the course of a generation or more. Game became so scarce that they vied with one another for the meager rewards of the fur industry. (Vecsey, 1983, p. 17)

Total dependency occurred during the reservation period (Peers, 1994). As resources disappeared, the Anishinaabe looked towards treaty annuities as an economic source to maintain their living standard. Traders were immediately finding profit in the treaties. Traders had close ties with the Indian agents and government officials. They inflated their trade prices and falsified debts which they recovered from treaty annuities. Debt and reliance on credit and annuities pushed the Anishinaabe further into poverty and dependency (Treuer, 2010). “At every yearly payment, commencing with the first in

1838, the traders collected the money they advanced over the past year. . . . Government employees and traders pocketed a shocking amount” (Kugel, 1998, pp. 64-66).

The Anishinaabe now totally dependent on annuities had to travel to specified allocation posts. Travel was costly and time-consuming. Some travels took weeks or months to complete. Time away from home meant travelers could not hunt or provide for their families. “The costs of their travels sometimes were more expensive than the annuities that they collected” (Diedrich, 1990, p. 45). American officials asserting more power over the Anishinaabe began using annuities as political weapons (Kugel, 1998). In an attempt to persuade the Anishinaabe to relocate west, annuity payments were moved to Sandy Lake (Loew, 2001). Over 3,000 Anishinaabe arrived in the fall to what would be known as the Sandy Lake fiasco. Annuities came two months late in the cold of winter. Spoiled meat was intentionally distributed. In conservative figures, 150 died from food poisoning and 300 more on their return home (Diedrich, 1990).

Treaties opened up vast amounts of land to immigrant farmers, homesteaders, and businesses. The influx of Europeans limited the range necessary for a viable subsistence economy. Mining, timber, farming, and railroad industries destroyed ecosystems and resources used for subsistence (Kugel, 1998).

The Ojibwe lost important seasonal foods such as berries, seeds and nuts, numerous medicinal plants, and the forest materials they relied on to construct their houses, tools and equipment ranging from mundane daily items such as bowls and spoons to larger items like cradle boards, snowshoes, and canoes. As forest resources declined, the daily quality of Ojibwe life became increasingly impoverished. By the 1850s, the Ojibwe could see a clear connection between selling their land and their growing poverty (Kugel, 1998, p. 59)

Not able to support themselves, many of the Anishinaabe looked for work in these timber and mining companies (Milwaukee Public Museum, 2007). Once on the reservations, destitute, many began to sell the very timber on their lands as well as the land itself (Kugel, 1998).

### **Clan System Shift**

Prior to trade, the Ojibwe lived in clan groups centered around Sault Ste. Marie (Bishop, 1974). Patrilineal totemic bands lived together in localized areas and worked in concert with one another (Rogers, 1978). Population, band sizes, and leadership were minimal. After European contact new competition for land and resources with the Iroquois and Dakota grew (Smith, 1973).

The clan-based society was shattered by the technology change from reliance on indigenous materials and manufacturing to trader items, the breakup of totemic bands around a national center, and the loss of large fur-bearing animals that caused dependency on the trade and their posts (Bishop, 1974). Bands migrated out into the interior in search of trade furs. They then regrouped in various decentralized areas strategic to the fur trade, forming multi-clan villages (Hickerson, 1988).

The clans, and communal behavior in general, broke down under the weight of contact . . .

In brief, the demands imposed by the fur trade and military and other conditions engendered by it resulted in the need for the permanent mobilization of much larger village groups than existed in pre-trade times when lake fishing and woodland hunting, with some limited trade with Indian neighbors, provided the means of subsistence. The large villages of the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries were made up of members of many clans who unified under village tribal councils. At first there were only a few large villages, but these later split into numerous smaller villages, not along clan lines, as might be expected, but in such

a way that each daughter village contained all or most of the kinship elements—a replica, so to speak, of the mother village. (Hickerson, 1988, pp. 49-50)

The Ojibwe migrating to the south of Lake Superior formed larger villages in defense against the Dakotas. Populations grew because of the carrying capacity of the land (Smith, 1973). Bands that had migrated from the former localized clan system now mixed together in new villages (Rogers, 1978). “Leadership [now] existed on the village level, even for warfare which was taking on a more important role in Ojibwa society as a means of gaining prestige. It appears that population was increasing rapidly and new totems were forming” (Vecsey, 1983, p. 14). “As clan mates became dispersed, clan functions, apart from regulating marriage, had totally atrophied by the middle of the last century” (Bishop, 1974, p. 345).

When large game was depleted, the Anishinaabe, in despair, became reliant on small game and the trading post for survival. Individualism increased, diminishing the social obligation to kin and community (Dunning, 1959). “Social and economic changes in Ojibwa culture can be directly related to the fur trade, population movements, and ecological shifts” (Bishop, 1974, pp. v-vi).

### **Trade Summary**

Before contact, the Anishinaabe lived in totemic bands that gathered together in summer and disbursed into small hunting groups in the winter. At the epicenter of totemic bands were the national ceremonies of Midewiwin and the Feast of the Dead. Contact brought a new top-down leadership paradigm that had minimal effect on aboriginal leadership at first. The fur trade disrupted the clan systems that had centered on national ceremonies. Bands then began economic migrations that spread around the

Great Lakes and then into the interior. Competing fur companies followed. Trade items, especially metal, changed the Anishinaabe lifestyle. Guns, kettles, traps, and manufactured textiles gave tremendous mobility to the Anishinaabe. Old manufacturing knowledge and skills were lost and the Anishinaabe became increasingly dependent on the fur trade and their posts. The French were more respectful and blended well with the Anishinaabe culture. The English and Americans were callous in their relationship. They appointed chiefs and gave medallions to those Anishinaabe who better served their economic objectives. The breakup of the centralized clan system through economic diasporas and appointing medallion chiefs greatly disrupted the traditional clan chief system.

### **American Oppression and Systems Collapse**

#### **Loss of Land and Resources and Economic Collapse**

“We are destroying them off the face of the earth. May God forgive us our tyranny, our avarice, our ignorance, for it is very terrible to think of!” (Schoolcraft, 1851, p. 568).

Dispossession of Anishinaabe land began as early as the beginning of the French trade when east coast land became depleted of large game and the French moved operations into the Great Lakes (Vecsey, 1983). Other imperial nations were pitting their Indian allies against the French allies in the West for land and resources (Mintz, 2003d). French colonies in Montreal and Quebec were competing for food and land with the easternmost Anishinaabe (Schmalz, 1991). After the French and Indian War, the English colonialists pushed for land and began crossing the Appalachians. The British were not

accommodating and were contemptuous to the Anishinaabe. They refused credit and ammunition necessary for survival and stopped the reciprocal ritual of gift-giving. This sparked the Pontiac War of 1763. The war ended with no clear victor but forced the English Proclamation of 1763, designed to keep the colonialists east of the Appalachians. This was short-lived with the advent of the American Revolution. Soon Americans began to pour across the Ohio River. The Anishinaabe and surrounding Indian Nations formed a confederacy led primarily by the Miami. Their effort to curtail encroachments remained strong until the loss to the Americans at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1793 (Schmalz, 1991). The loss forced the Anishinaabe and their allies to cede most of the Ohio to the Americans at the Treaty of Greenville (Mintz, 2003d).

After the defeat of Fallen Timbers, settlers continued encroaching, exhausting resources, and spreading a variety of disease. Tecumseh and his brother, Tenskwatawa the prophet, campaigned to unify all Indians and stop the Americans. Tecumseh campaigned from western Ojibwe country to tribes in the South to resist the flood of settlers into the Ohio. He understood the impact of trade on their lives. “The venerable chiefs Buffalo, of La Pointe, and Esh-ke-bug-e-coshe [Flat Mouth], of Leech Lake, who have been men of strong minds and unusual intelligence, were not only firm believers of the prophet, but undertook to preach his doctrines” (Warren, 1885, p. 324). Tecumseh understood the dependency on colonial technology and economy. In 1808, messengers from Shawano prophet arrived at Lac Courte Oreille telling them that the Great Spirit wanted them to stop using any of the White man’s goods and to cast away their old-time religion and practice the new way of the prophet and then the Creator would deliver them

from the genocide of the White man. Many headed out to help Tecumseh, but they were intercepted and turned back by the influential trader Michal Caddotte. A few did continue, but returned with stories of poverty and lies (Warren, 1885).

Tecumseh was extraordinary in his ability to enlist thousands of warriors from almost everyone he visited even his most dangerous enemies. He held a string of sacred white beads that everyone had to touch and pledge oath to fight for Indian rights. He used his medicine for safe passport. "He carried with him into every wigwam that he visited, the image of a dead person of the size of life." "The Shawanos, like most of the other remnants of tribes in whose countries the game has been destroyed and by the use of whiskey, have been reduced to poverty and absolute want. (Catlin, 1841, p. 118)

He warned his brother Tenskwatawa not to fight while he was away campaigning.

In 1811, Tenskwatawa attacked William Henry Harrison's battalion. Harrison destroyed their village and any hopes of gathering a great army (Ohio History Center, 2005). The British and Americans continued to struggle for supremacy until the War of 1812. The Americans were now in sole control of the Northwest Territory (Schmalz, 1991).

In 1820, Lewis Cass explored the Western Great Lakes and the Mississippi headwaters. "Several members of the expedition published letters and reports that hawked the economic potential of the region, especially mining, lumbering, and fishing" (Doherty, 1990, p. 7). In 1825, a treaty was signed with the Ojibwe and Dakota at Prairie du Chien demarcating their territories to stop hostilities (Diedrich, 1990). In reality it was drawn by the Americans to access land and prepare for settlers (Loew, 2001). "They seated the right to explore and take away the native copper and copper-ores, and to work the mines and minerals in the country.... and disclaimed all connection whatever with foreign powers" (Schoolcraft, 1851, pp. 244-245). Other treaties soon followed from 1829-1847 that ceded almost all of Michigan and Wisconsin (Densmore, 1979).

When the white men first came into this country and discovered us, we received them hospitably, and if they were hungry, we fed them, and went hunting for them. At first the white men only asked for furs and skins. I have heard from our old men that they never asked for anything else... For ten years they have asked from us nothing but land, and ever more land. We give unwillingly the land in which the graves of our fathers rest... The white men have grown rich by the bargain. (Kohl, 1985, p. 54)

By 1832, in the Marshall Trilogy, the U.S. Supreme Court had already ruled Indian Nations as sovereign dependents (Bradford, 2007). Under President Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal policy, plans were made to move all the Anishinaabe to reservations west of the Mississippi (Lurie, 1980). The Wisconsin Ojibwe in 1849 successfully petitioned President Taylor to remain (Milwaukee Public Museum, 2007).

The Anishinaabe Nation was divided into "bands" by the United States government to make treaty-making easier instead of dealing with the Anishinaabe as a whole (Schenck, 1997, p. 4). Large geographical areas were given band names such as Pillager, Mississippi, St. Croix, and Lake Superior (Smith, 1973). Pressure by industries for land continued.

Ojibwe lands in northern Minnesota contained some of the richest iron ore deposits and finest stands of white pine in the world. The Ojibwe also held some of the best agricultural land in the country along the Red River valley on Minnesota's western border. The economic interests of railroad and timber tycoons and white settlers brought unprecedented pressure to bear on the Ojibwe people to cede their homelands in northern Minnesota. (Treuer, 2010, p. 146)

Treaties of 1854 and 1855 opened up lands in Minnesota and settlers and companies flooded in (Shifferd, 1976). "Lumbermen, farmers, and petty merchants swarmed onto ceded lands without regard for the Anishinaabe population around them. The greater proximity of Euroamericans reignited episodes of epidemic diseases" (Meyer, 1994, p. 38). Confined to the reservations, surrounded by settlers, and deplete of

large game, the Anishinaabe could no longer continue their season-round economy. “In less than two decades the Ojibwe had seen their standard of living collapse, and they plunged into poverty. Alcohol abuse and other social pathologies had multiplied” (Kugel, 1998, p. 5).

The White Earth Reservation was created to move all the Ojibwe of Minnesota onto one reservation. Those who relocated were promised land allotments. Some refused to relocate and remained at their reservations (Rohrl, 1981). The Dawes Act of 1887 allotted tracts of land to individuals to encourage an agriculture economy. *Surplus* land was then made available to non-Indians. During this policy two thirds of reservation lands were lost to non-Indians (Mintz, 2003e). In 1920, only 15% of the reservation land was still in Indian hands, and today only 6% (Diedrich, 1990).

Timber companies exploited reservation timber. One Indian agent was disbursing annuity coupons only redeemable at the lumber company store. Lands were flooded by dams for “hydroelectricity, flood control, and timber flow, destroying Maple Groves, cranberry bogs, wild rice beds, cemeteries, and village land” (Loew, 2001, p. 67). “When tourism replaced timber as the area’s leading industry, some Ojibwe men found employment as hunting and fishing guides. Lac du Flambeau women earned income selling beadwork, weavings, and baskets to the appreciative visitors” (Loew, 2001, p. 71).

### **Shift Towards Charismatic Leaders and War Chiefs**

With the declension of the clan system, charismatic leadership moved to the forefront of Anishinaabe leadership. Totemic or clan bands were made up of consanguineous hunting groups radiating from a national epicenter. Traditionally,

chieftainship defaulted to the eldest hereditary male within the clan. Chiefs in larger councils defaulted to the crane or loon clan. Ojibwe leadership became more fluid in the 1800s with a shift away from the clan system due to economic diasporas and then increased with the exigencies of war with the Dakota and encroachment of the Americans (Treuer, 2010). Charismatic leadership that evolved through Midewiwin and warfare began to emerge and hereditary qualifications began to lose its strength (Miller, 2003).

Had Bagone-giizhig the Elder been born in the 1700s, he would not have been able to ascend in political authority in the same way. Membership in a particular clan had been far more important to leadership authority than military prowess or oratorical ability. Only men from certain families of the *maang doodem* (loon clan) and *ajijaak doodem* (crane clan) could become chiefs.... As clans devalued as a condition of leadership, political connections outside of the community became increasingly valued. Assent to civil chieftainship became more fluid, and Bagone-giizhig the Elder used that fluidity to his advantage. (Treuer, 2010, pp. 46-47)

Councils met more frequently and at greater levels involving more groups as external tensions increased (Shields, 2001). In Timothy Roufs' *Chiefs and Councils, When Everybody Called Me Gah-bay-bi-nays: "Forever-Flying-Bird," An Ethnographic Biography of Paul Peter Buffalo* (2006), Buffalo explains the late chiefs' system of government in the 1800s. "We had four kinds of chiefs: family or group field, division or band chiefs, high-rank or area chiefs, and the ó-gi-mah or great chiefs" (Roufs, 2006, n.p.). Local council was called a zagaswe'idiwin, or smoking, because they, like all events, commenced with a pipe smoking ceremony. It was attended by all headmen of the village. They selected a leader called a giigidowinini or spokesman who facilitated the meeting and represented the group at greater levels such as the general council. Several villages could send their giigidowinini to form a general/district council called a chi-

sagaswe'idiwin or great smoking. Here a chi-giigidowinini, or great spokesman, was selected to preside at and represent the group. The most respected and elder chiefs tended to preside over the groups. A convention of district chiefs formed the band council and an *Ogimaa* was selected to lead. There were *Ogimaa* for each major area in Anishinaabe country (Roufs, 2006).

The duties of a chief included the presiding at councils of his band, the making of decisions that affected their general welfare, and the settlement of small disputes. He represented the band at the signing of treaties, the payment of annuities, and any large gathering of the tribe. (Densmore, 1979, p. 132)

Chiefs were the spokespersons for the tribe. They were at liberty and emboldened to use all of their oratorical dexterity in defense of their tribal rights. But in making decisions for the people, the chief always deferred to council. After council he then brought their voice forward (Schoolcraft, 1848/1978). Speaking styles varied from the eloquence of Flatmouth II to the vehement gesticulations of Sits Ahead (Diedrich, 1990). The civil chief was always concerned with building unity, consensus, and envisioning the future of their people. They spoke for the people, as Enmehgahbowh states, "with one mind & with one heart" (Kugel, 1998, p. 85). Internally the chief works in council to settle disputes and management of land resources (Miller, 2003). Externally the chief works with issues of war, trade, government agents, and missionaries (Smith, 1973).

Leaders were selected on the basis of their benevolence and service to the people.

This is the case of Shingaba Wossin, selected for both qualities of *head and heart*.

His good sense enabled him to point out the proper course to be pursued by his band, in their emergencies. And his kindness and benevolence rendered him beloved. He was always the organ of expressing the wants of his band, and the medium through which they received advice and aid from the officers of government. He acted like a prudent ruler, who, was sensible of the true interests

of his tribe, and at the same time, moral boldness of conduct. (Schoolcraft, 1848/1978, p. 30)

Charismatic leadership flowed over band lines with the elaboration of greater councils. General council chose their spokesperson by merit. Default by clan, such as crane or loon, and heredity still weighed heavily, but charismatic leadership and merit began to move to the forefront.

Keesh-ke-mun was not only chief by hereditary descent, but he made himself truly such, through the wisdom and firmness of his conduct, both to his people and the whites. During his lifetime, he possessed an unbounded influence over the division of his tribe with whom he resided, and generally over the Lake Superior bands and villages. . . . and in fact over each separate community, one, either noted for courage in war, success in hunting, wisdom, or age, was recognized, as head man, or chief. (Warren, 1885, p. 318)

Concomitant with increased political tensions brought by American encroachment and warfare with the Dakotas, leadership shifted towards the militancy of the warriors (Kugel, 1998). Chiefs Bagonegiishig I and Bagonegiishig II epitomized the shift to charismatic and warrior leadership. They aided in changing the hereditary clan-based leadership to a more fluid and dynamic one in which powers of oratory, military leadership, and political connections to outside groups like the Dakota and Americans were paramount (Treuer, 2010).

Returning from an 1825 treaty signing at Prairie du Chien, the heirless chief Curley Head became terminally ill and appointed both of his pipe carriers, brothers Strong Ground and Bagonegiishig, to succeed him (Warren, 1885). Bagonegiishig, through his charisma, exceeded his elder brother and became the chief (Smith, 1973).

Bagonegiishig gathered tremendous influence through his military prowess and oratorical finesse. As a member of the Bear Doodem he would not have been considered

for principal chief in former times where that position was accorded only to chiefs of the crane and loon clans, but his charisma prevailed. Bagonegiishig took two wives with chief lineage to solidify his title and gain political support. He was bold in his position and proclaimed himself chief of all Ojibwe, even though no such office existed (Treuer, 2010). Other chiefs were intimidated by the “braggadocio” of Bagonegiishig and remained tacit in his presence (Schoolcraft, 1851, p. 610). Through his charisma and influence, Bagonegiishig welded incredible political power. “An astute and capable politician, Young Hole-in-the-Day utilized a far-flung network of relatives and friends to operate effectively in both the Ojibwe and American worlds” (Kugel, 1998, p. 70).

In 1847, Bagonegiishig I died from injuries sustained in a drunken fall from his cart (Warren, 1885). He appointed his son, Bagonegiishig II, chief, as hereditary heir. Continuing in the footsteps of his father’s braggadocio, he made his debut at the 1847 Treaty at Fond du Lac with an opprobrious epithet to all the chiefs attending with treaty commissioner Rice.

Our Great Father instructed you to come here, for the purpose of asking us to sell a large piece of land, lying on the west of the Mississippi River. To accomplish this you have called together all the Chiefs and headmen of the Nation, who to the number of many hundreds, who are within hearing of my voice: that was useless, for they do not own the land; that belongs to me. My father, by his bravery, took it from the Sioux. He died a few moons ago, and what belonged to him became mine. He, by his courage and perseverance, became head chief of all the Chippewas, and when he died I took his place, and am consequently chief over all the Nation. To this position I am doubly entitled, for I am as brave as my father was, and through my mother I am descent the legal heir to the position.

Now, if I say sell, our Great Father will obtain the land; if I say no, you will tell him he cannot have it. The Indians assembled here have nothing to say; they can but do my bidding. (Warren, 1885, pp. 497-498)

Immediately after his debut Bagonegiishig II became very busy in war diplomacy with the Dakota, the politics of the American officials, and businessmen focused on taking Ojibwe land (Treuer, 2010). His influence as war leader extended to warriors far beyond band lines (Smith, 1973). Bagonegiishig II used the press to sway the views of the American public and politicians, keeping them updated on the injustices placed on his people (Diedrich, 1990). Bagonegiishig II corresponded with legislative officials and traveled to the state and national capitals to lobby their congresses.

Just as the civil leaders had written to American officials, hole in the day had also sent letters requesting an investigation of long-standing frauds and abuses. Shortly before the outbreak of hostilities, he would travel to Washington to discuss matters personally with the president in Commissioner of Indian affairs. In contrast of the civil leaders, however, he was willing to back up courteous letters and visits of state with a show of Ojibwe strength when no remedial action was forthcoming. (Kugel, 1998, p. 82)

If he failed in his lobbying efforts, he used guerilla tactics to incise political pressure (Diedrich, 1990).

As the civil leaders grappled with the problems facing their people, the warriors advanced their own solution. They argued that the civil leaders' policy had failed, that their efforts to coexist peacefully with the Americans, adopting agriculture and accepting Christianity, were futile . . . Increasingly, when the civil leaders were unable to obtain results by peaceful means, the warriors took matters into their own hands. "The boys" harassed lumbermen, hounded settlers, broke into government warehouses and distributed stockpiled supplies to needy Ojibwe and countered Euramerican violence with their own. As the 1850s progressed, the Ojibwe looked more often to the warriors to redress grievances that the civil leaders had failed to remedy. (Kugel, 1985, pp. 34-35)

At the end of the late chiefs' tenure, consensual democracy began to fall apart. The economic collapse of the fur trade and subsistence economy and the onslaught of American settlers and business industries proved too much. Some chiefs began making decisions on their own without counsel of the people (Kugel, 1998). Bagonegiishig II

exemplified consensual sundries when at the 1847 Fond du Lac Treaty, without acquiesce of the other chiefs, he declared himself chief over all the tribes and that they had no right to sign (Smith, 1973). American officials, in efforts to separate the chiefs from their councils, began to bring the chiefs to Washington D.C. for treaty-making. This created hard feelings between the constituents and their chiefs (Miller, 2003). Hole in the Sky admonished the chiefs at the 1855 treaty, stating:

Our suffering is always brought about by the folly of our Chiefs. While we are negotiating, they are always influenced by other parties, and not by the Indians. They never consult the young men, although they are the owners of the soil, the same as the Chiefs. The hard feeling existing between the young men and the Chiefs is brought about by the Chiefs never advising with the young men in regard to their actions. My father, I came here to plead in behalf of our people. The Chiefs did not think of us when they made bargains; they look to their own interest, but their people must take care of themselves the best they can. Is it possible we should see ourselves starve on account of our Chiefs, and not open our mouths to speak? (Diedrich, 1990, p. 63)

A treaty signed in 1863 extinguished reservations created for the Mississippi bands in the treaty of 1855. Upon their return, two headmen and one chief were killed for their actions (Diedrich, 1990). In the 1867 treaty, Bagonegiishig bargained for a personal provision of a \$1,000 annual stipend and a substantial track of land. This was not viewed favorably by his constituents (Treuer, 2010).

In 1868, Bagonegiishig II was assassinated by fellow Ojibwe (Warren, 1885). Those who conspired in his assassination gained financial and political power (Treuer, 2010).

Hole-in-the-Day the Younger sought to expand the political role of the Warriors in the 1850s by involving himself in civil government. From the early 1850s until his death in 1868, he not only dominated meetings with United States officials, but was a powerful force in intra-Ojibwe affairs. (Kugel, 1998, p. 69)

Bagonegiishig II was the last bastion of political autonomy for the Anishinaabe before their final placement on reservations (Smith, 1973).

### **Religious Schisms, Oppression, and Division of Chiefs**

When missionaries first came with the French in the 1600s, they targeted only the Anishinaabe's spiritual beliefs, not the political or economic systems. They were "innocuous" at first and tolerated (Vecsey, 1983, p. 45). In time, missionary power grew with the increasing number of fur trade posts that saturated Anishinaabe country. Opposition to that power grew as well (Vecsey, 1983). "According to oral history, the intense effort by these 'Black Coats' to convert the Ojibwe to Christianity divided the people. Ojibwe converts were encouraged to reject the traditional teachings of the Midewiwin lodge. Factions developed" (Loew, 2001, p. 57). By the time of the Americans much had changed. Traditional medicine, extensively linked to spirituality, failed against epidemics that continuously ravished the populations. Missionaries, in whom these pathogens were endemic, remained healthy, appearing to have a more powerful religion. Additionally, hunting success was attributed to a close relationship with the Spirits. Overhunting depleted the large game. Hunting and medicinal failure, and their own newly impoverished society, caused many to abandon the Midewiwin and Spirits and convert to Christianity (Vecsey, 1983).

The policy of the American government was removal and assimilation of the Anishinaabe. "The government provided financial assistance to missionaries in order to Christianize and educate Native Americans and convince them to adopt single family farms" (Mintz, 2003a, n.p.). Early American missionaries failed because of their

pretentious attitude to *civilize* and Christianize the Anishinaabe. Unlike early Jesuits who simply wanted to change their spiritual beliefs, early American missionaries in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century failed to make many conversions because they wanted to change every aspect of Anishinaabe society to reflect theirs. Coming into the 1850s, due to mounting exigencies, leadership power had been shifting exponentially away from the civil chiefs and over to the warriors (Kugel, 1998). With the subsistence economy failing and the onslaught of settlers, many of the civil chiefs began looking to missionaries to maintain economic independence and political autonomy by using their agricultural technology and fiscal aid. War leaders wanted to maintain their traditional economy and resisted assimilation policies with military action. “Those who advocated belligerence gained the upper hand in the mid-nineteenth century because conditions warranted it” (Meyer, 1994, p. 66). The church wanted to concentrate the Anishinaabe on reservations to more effectively proselytize them. The state wanted them removed for settlers and corporate interests (Treuer, 2010). Both church and state prevailed in their plans. Military resistance disappeared after the death of Bagonegiishig II in 1868 and the Americans effectively concentrated the Anishinaabe onto reservations.

Absolute power of the church over the Anishinaabe occurred during the reservation era when President Ulysses S. Grant’s 1869 Indian Peace Policy gave Protestant churches total control of the reservations. They were given the power to appoint the Indian agents who manipulated and controlled resources, favoring Christianized Indians and withholding services to those who refused to convert. This was extremely powerful because the Anishinaabe were by this time totally dependent on

annuities, confined on the reservations, and under church rule (Mintz, 2003c). Control of the reservations reverted to government agents in 1873, but control over the lives of the Anishinaabe remained with the church inside government-funded boarding schools. Attendance was mandatory for all children. They were kept away from their families and culture year-round at distant schools (Vecsey, 1983).

### **Reservation Agents Usurp Chiefs and Council**

“Not until the reservation system undermined the authority of leaders in land and resource allocation were outsiders able to subvert the traditional system” (Miller, 2003, p. 118). The subsistence economy had collapsed. American assimilation policies of Christianization and civilizing (yeomanism) were promulgated through the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the reservation Indian agents. The agents became the autocratic ruler on the reservation, displacing the chief and council system (Smith, 1973). Criminal judicial powers were gained by the Bureau of Indian Affairs by stratagem of funding and pressing the 1883 Crow Dog (Indian against Indian murder) case which engendered the Major Crimes Act of 1885, giving criminal jurisdiction to the Bureau (McSloy, 2013). The Bureau of Indian Affairs commanded complete control over the lives of the Anishinaabe, proscribing religious and cultural activities punishable by imprisonment (Kugel, 1998). “Indian agents became responsible for operating schools, dispensing justice, distributing supplies, administering allotments, and leasing contracts. By 1900, the Indian agent had, in effect, become the tribal government” (O’Brien, 1989, p. 272). Indian agents used their positions to exploit the Anishinaabe. They controlled the reservation economy. Price rigging and collusion were commonplace between agents and companies doing business

on the reservation (Loew, 2001). Agents embezzled annuities and monies promised the Anishinaabe (Diedrich, 1986).

The dictatorship of the Indian agent did not change until the Indian Reorganization Act, which by then our traditional governmental institutions had already disintegrated. We then changed to a constitutional government with a popular vote. The Indian agent's role shifted more toward advisor. By this time the nature of communities changed as well. They moved from communal organizations to individuals taking care of self for survival. (A. Treuer, personal communication, September 23, 2006)

### **Cultural Genocide**

The 1887 General Allotment Act (Dawes Act) intended to transform the traditional communal system to one of individualism and capitalism. Reservation land was divided into 80-acre land tracts and allotted to the male heads of family. *Surplus* land was then sold to American settlers. The 1906 Clapp Act allowed mixed bloods to sell their timber and allowed allotted land to be taxed (Vecsey, 1983). Many full bloods became mixed bloods on tribal records. Allotted land was forfeited to local counties when allottees could not pay their property tax. The assimilation plan of the Allotment Act was to make individual farmers of the Anishinaabe. Most of the land was not suitable for the plow or livestock. By the time of the IRA of 1934, only one third of the reservation lands remained in Anishinaabe hands (Mintz, 2003e).

The boarding schools were one of the last great attempts at cultural genocide. "The boarding school experience did to Ojibwe culture what the General Allotment Act had done to the Ojibwe land" (Loew, 2001, p. 65). The American government funded mission schools between 1810 and 1917. In 1879, Charlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania was the first off-reservation boarding school (Archuleta, Child,

Lomawaima, & Heard Museum, 2000). The motto of the school was *kill the Indian and save the man*, and served as the national model for Indian schools (Mintz, 2003c).

Boarding schools were brutal and regimental. Children were beaten for speaking their language or practicing traditional cultural activities. Anishinaabe children were kept far away from their homes for many years. Students were put into forced labor, contracted out to farmers and businesses. The experience was traumatizing and created social dysfunction and pathologies. Boarding schools were in effect a tool of cultural genocide (Churchill, 2004). Students were abused physically, emotionally, mentally, and spiritually (Archuleta et al., 2000). Alex Skead spoke in an interview on boarding schools stating:

The residential schools are the reason why we are lost right now. They tried to make us one nationality, one people, but they cannot do that because it goes against God's will. Residential schools threw us off the balance. Parents can no longer teach their children, some grandparents cannot either. They have lost their way of life. Our young people are having a hard time. They are committing suicide, having problems with alcohol. (Angmarlik, Kulchyski, McCaskill, & Newhouse, 1999, p. 196)

The assimilation program never intended for the Anishinaabe to be successful capitalists. They intended for them to serve as laborers and simple farmers at the bottom the American social economic system (Meyer, 1994).

### **Indian Reorganization Act and New Constitutions**

Through the Allotment Act of 1887, land and resources were disappearing at an exponential rate. The cultural genocide of boarding schools were extinguishing the Anishinaabe culture and language. The Anishinaabe, totally dependent and under the control of the Indian agent, had become destitute by the 1920s. Many of the socially conscious Americans were aghast at the horrific conditions of the reservations. Led by

Indian Commissioner John Collier, pressure was put on Congress to change its assimilation policies and protect the reservations from the predatory capitalism (Peacock, 1989).

The Meriam Report of 1928 (Institute for Government Research, 1928) ascribed the failure of the General Allotment Act to the lack of sufficient funds and training. The report attributes the loss of land and resources to the Allotment Act as well. The report described the dire conditions of the reservations. Congress passed the IRA of 1934. It stopped the rapid loss of reservation land and depredation of its resources. It also stopped, for the most part, the boarding school systems that created a chasm in the generation-to-generation handing down of cultural knowledge, practices, and language. Tribal Constitutions with electoral government were charted by the United States. Funds were allocated for tribal business and land reclamation.

The newly created Ojibwe governments bore little resemblance to the traditional political structures of the past and instead reflected mainstream notions about democracy. The tribes were encouraged to adopt constitutions that resembled corporate charters with bylaws rather than statutes and a chairman rather than a chief of state. (Loew, 2001, p. 78)

Also included in the reform movement was the 1934 Johnson-O'Malley Act. It "promoted cooperation between the federal and state governments in improving Indian agriculture, education, and health care" (Mintz, 2003f, n.p.).

### **Elected Ojibwe Chiefs of Canada**

"The Government chief is called o gi'ma Kan" (Landes, 1937, p. 3). *Kaa* means to pretend to be something. Ogimaakaan then means *pretend chiefs* (A. Treuer, personal communication, 2005).

While the American Anishinaabe developed new constitutional governments under the 1934 IRA, the Canadian Anishinaabe fell under Canadian governance in the Indian Act of 1876. The Canadian government asserted control over all aspects of Anishinaabe life (Waisberg & Holzkamm, 2001). The Canadian Anishinaabe originally did not have a strong chief system. They were not faced with constant warfare and largely populated and multi-clan villages as with the United States Anishinaabe. The Canadian government wanted to deal only with a few individuals and appointed hereditary band chiefs (Landes, 1937). Canadian officials created a new electoral government system for the tribes called “chiefs and councilors” (Hallowell & Brown, 1992, p. 35). The Indian Act disenfranchised all women and discarded the Oshkaabewis and secondary chiefs (Waisberg & Holzkamm, 2001). Through the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Canadian Anishinaabe maintained a “Grand General Indian Council” (Shields, 2001, p. 141). This later became known as the “Grand Council” (Rogers, 1978, p. 766). The grand council dealt with issues pertaining to the Department of Indian Affairs but had little if any power over the Indian Act (Shields, 2001). “Subsidies and White influences have tended to weaken the authority of leadership, while households are growing increasingly independent” (Bishop, 1974, p. 73).

### **Elected Ojibwe Chiefs of the United States and Self-Oppression**

The Indian agents were autocratic dictators over the Ojibwe of the United States on the reservations. The factions between conservative and assimilationist Anishinaabe continued into the political arena with the assimilationists emerging dominant in American government relations and brokerage with surrounding businesses. These

assimilationists fought to preserve land and resources on the reservations but also exploited them for their own gain. They continued mainstreaming by joining pan-American Indian organizations in the early 1900s with similar interests (Meyer, 1994). Conservatives wanted to maintain communal land use and their traditional ways (Deloria, 1992). Land and resource loss continued at alarming rates as well as the cultural genocide by church and state at the boarding schools, all of which impoverished the Anishinaabe into destitution.

The IRA of 1934 replaced the autocratic agent with tribal elections. A reservation business committee and chairperson template structure developed by the federal government was adopted by most of the reservations in America. The elected chief now took control of day-to-day affairs on the reservations (A. Treuer, personal communication, 2001). The elected chief had control over internal matters, but had little control over external matters. The Bureau of Indian Affairs maintained the superordinate position as regulators of government programs.

During the period of direct rule by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the tribal government had little responsibility and only informal influence. After the creation of tribal and reservation government the tribal executive committee and the reservation committees were powerless political organs: the normal activities of government were diffused among the multitude of township, county, state, and federal departments and agencies. (Smith, 1973, p. 23)

Disempowered by former agents and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, few people participated in tribal elections, and larger families tended to hold office. Many argued they were not true representatives of the tribal membership. Communal living had shifted to atomistic individualism (Smith, 1973).

The World War II era changed life on the reservations. Many moved to major cities looking for work in the wartime industrial boom. After the war, the government policy shifted to termination of reservations and relocating reservation families to distant major cities in an attempt to assimilate and eradicate tribal status (Loew, 2001). National organizations for tribal leaders, such as the National Congress of American Indians, developed to maintain tribal resources and advocate for health and education (Mintz, 2003f).

In the late 1960s, monies from federal and state programs began to pour into the reservation and tribal officials gained tremendous power over tribal members (Peacock, 1989). Dollars came with the 1972 Indian Education Act and the Indian Health Care Improvement Act of 1976 (Mintz, 2003b). Title III Tribal Self-Governance in the 1988 Indian Self-Determination Act and Education Assistance Act gave tribal government fiscal and decision making control over federal program dollars, replacing the Bureau of Indian Affairs (“History of the Tribal Self-Governance Initiative,” 2013).

Despite the growing influence of tribal governments in handling their own affairs, Indians remain at the bottom of the educational, social and economic structure. Moreover, self-determination programs have given tribal leadership control over jobs and services, and some have used this growth in power to reward or punish their supporters and critics. (Peacock, 1989, p. 4)

Tribal members were afraid to speak out against nepotism and favoritism of elected tribal leaders in fear of losing their jobs (Smith, 1973). Tribal government corruption plagued Indian country. American Indian Movement dissidents rallied at the Pine Ridge Reservation in protest of tribal chairman Richard Wilson’s despotic leadership.

Wilson maintained a private army of about eighty heavily armed thugs, paid by government money that was meant for other, more positive programs. The government even supplied them with armor-piercing bullets. They did not hesitate to fire-bomb, maim, or murder Wilson's opponents. He handed out cushy jobs to family members, friends, and supporters. (Banks & Erdoes, 2004, p. 146)

One tribal member interviewed states, "There is no system of checks and balances on these reservations. These RBCs (reservation business committees) are judge, jury and executioner. They do what they want to do" (Peacock, 1989, p. 165).

Walter Hardy, lecturing at Rainy River Community College, described how the *regime* he was working with on the Leech Lake Reservation created the absentee ballot system for rigging elections. He, with the political leaders and their lawyers, sat in a hotel room drinking large quantities of alcohol and discussing a way to rig the elections. They created the first absentee ballot system. All enrolled voting members were mailed a generic public notification. The return-to-sender mail was collected. From this list absentee ballot requests were forged and someone with the *regime* would notarize their votes. Sometimes deceased members cast votes (W. Hardy, personal communication, 1986).

Today with tribal governments severed from the tribal religious life, the integrity of the governments is dependent only on the ability of outside forces to punish wrongdoers. If the people of the reservation see no wrong in the actions of their tribal government in a political sense, they generally keep them in office in spite of constant failures of that government or council to act on behalf of the reservation community. (Deloria, 1992, p. 212)

Nepotism continues to be a primary issue today. With each new election, jobs are redistributed to supporters whether they are qualified for the position or not. The continual turnover undermines the personnel infrastructure of programs and morale

(Tibbetts, 2006). The IRA of 1934 extinguished traditional egalitarian government and replaced it with the top-down reservation business committee system.

The way councils are today has totally eroded communal consensus building to majority rule. Majority rules and only a hand full of council members are making decisions for the reservation. One person, such as the tribal chair, or a collusion of council members, can get so much power without public accountability and public audits. The tribal chairperson is not required to keep in touch with people. In the former type of government you couldn't have major abuse because there would be no consensus. Rather than coming to consensus you would have break offs or non-consensus. Today people are non-participatory and dismissive of tribal government saying that the corruption is just the way it is. (A. Treuer, personal communication, September 23, 2006)

### **Colonization and Decolonization**

Colonial imperial Europeans brought with them a top-down paradigm. Their economy and technologies changed the aboriginal Anishinaabe system from egalitarian communal with emergent leadership to a top-down individualistic society. Colonization is the mental and physical oppression of people and land. Aboriginal people are dispossessed of their land and their resources and are exploited. The oppressor assumes judicial powers and instills religious indoctrination and economic dependency, spurring the process of cultural assimilation. Unity and cooperation are replaced by individual competition. Familial, national, and cultural network constructs collapse. Culture is lost and an inferiority complex evolves. Eventually the oppressed are reduced to a state of poverty. All of this leads to self-oppression—the abuse of oneself, family, and community (Zigzag & Keyway, 2011).

Papal and imperialists rewrote international law to steal land. Lots of things going on such as trade goods, disease, traders honoring those that could speak English and religion undermined traditional leaders. During the treaty periods we saw change in leadership such as with Bagonegiishig. After, we were subjugated by the Americans. When the Merriam report came out it changed things. It gave us a

popular vote. Now it is a power struggle with big families. The common person had no input. All of our mores are gone and the leadership is no longer our friend. Traditional leadership built consensus. Our current leadership and governance has very little connection to tradition. We need to stop oppressing ourselves. We have to unlearn it and find the strength within ourselves in our language and culture to bust out of our colonial oppression. This current system hasn't worked for decades and isn't going to work. (S. Peacock, personal communication, November 18, 2005)

Historic trauma perpetuates self-oppression. Historic trauma theory is the unresolved anguish felt by individuals, families, and communities in reaction to injustices such as genocide, disease, land loss, language loss, and religious indoctrination. The anguish negatively accumulates and is transmitted from generation to generation, compounding the distress (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998).

It is perhaps impossible to overstate the magnitude of the human injustice perpetrated against Indian people in denial of their right to exist, on their aboriginal land base, as self-determining peoples: indeed, the severity and duration of the harms endured by the original inhabitants of the United States may well exceed those suffered by all other groups domestic and international. (Bradford, 2007, n.p.)

Today the Anishinaabe are embedded in the manifestations of colonial oppression. "We need to understand the colonial paradigm so we can free ourselves from it" (P. Thomas, personal communication, 2006). Decolonization is the process of liberation from a state of oppression. This is accomplished by developing a metacognition of colonization, and reclaiming and rejuvenating indigenous language, history, values, and spiritual systems. As individuals reclaim identity and rebuild self-esteem, so too does family, community, and Nation. Asserting traditional government, law making, control of land and resources, social agenda, and economic independence is true sovereignty (Zigzag & Keyway, 2011).

### **Summary of Review of Literature**

Aboriginal Anishinaabe civil chief leadership was based on a patrilineal clan system with a national ceremonial convention epicenter. In the wintertime, small clan family hunting groups radiated out into isolated hunting grounds. The clan system was egalitarian. Spirituality was embedded in all aspects of social, political, and economic life. Plants, animals, humans, Spirits, and all of creation were considered equal and part of one large family. The Anishinaabe lived in a metaphysical conscious state that included the Spirits.

Leaders emerged as successful hunters, warriors, and healers. Success was attributed to a close relationship with the Spirits. These were credentials for potential chief candidates. Each patrilineal family unit sent their eldest male, or most competent, to council as their spokesperson and council member. A chief was selected to facilitate council and serve as their spokesperson, along with the help of an Oshkaabewis. The chief was spokesperson as council member at greater councils, made up of other chiefs from surrounding areas. They in turn selected a chief at this next level. By default, chieftainship devolved to the eldest patrilineal male following clan lines. At greater councils with multi-clan representation, chieftainship defaulted to the crane or loon clans. Council gave final approval for the new chiefs and could choose a nonhereditary chief if desired.

The colonial period brought an imperialist top-down paradigm of leadership, economy, and new technologies. The Anishinaabe broke from their epicenter clan system and expanded their territories in search of new hunting areas, having depleted their own.

New multi-clan villages developed in the South. Dependency grew on colonial technologies and economy. Traditional technologies were left behind and lost. Traders and government agents manipulated the traditional leadership system by appointing chiefs for their own economic and political benefit. The Anishinaabe manipulated competing colonial trade nations for fair trade prices. After the French defeat, the British enjoyed a brief trade monopoly before the American Revolution.

The American government dispossessed the Anishinaabe of land and resources. The fur trade failed at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Anishinaabe were dependent on the fur trade and trade items. Disease, alcohol, and the constant encroachment of American settlers contributed to the exigencies facing the Anishinaabe. Civil leadership shifted from the sagacious and deliberate elder chief towards the young and reactionary war chiefs due to the exponentially increasing tensions and social milieu of the mid-1800s. Destitute and dependent on trade goods, the sale of land and establishment of reservations were necessary for survival. Predatory American businesses and their political allies continued to deplete Anishinaabe resources on the reservations. American policies of *civilizing* and Christianizing the Anishinaabe served as cultural genocide. Federal and ecclesiastic officials appointed totalitarian Indian agents who replaced traditional leaders as governors of Indian affairs.

The 1934 IRA stopped the arterial bleeding of land and resources from the reservations. It returned the power of governance to the Anishinaabe in the form of elections modeled after the American representative democracy. The new political system was without checks and balances and left a handful of elected leaders all judicial,

legislative, and executive powers. During the early years, their leadership was merely as liaisons to state and federal agencies. When program dollars came in, starting in the late 1960s, nepotism and power went unchecked. Leaders oppressed members with threats of losing their jobs or services. The historic trauma of the Anishinaabe exacerbated the self-oppression top-down system.

Civil chief leadership has changed from clan-based, spiritual, value driven, egalitarian, and consensual democracy to a top-down nonconsensual system with a popular vote. Before, leaders proved successful at local levels and emerged through a filtering process. Elected leaders today are selected by family size in a popular vote. Rather than positions of responsibility they are now positions of power over others. No longer the oppressed, chiefs are now leaders of our own self-oppressor. To become healthy again, the Anishinaabe need to understand colonization and decolonization.

## **CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY**

### **Introduction**

The rationale for choosing my research method and what brought me to this point was presented in this chapter on methodology. My role as the researcher in the study and my bias were described. How the selection process evolved for participants was explained as well as how and why participants were chosen. The geographic parameters of the participants, instruments used in gathering data, protocol in gaining entrance to informants, and recording procedures were described. Finally, the data analysis procedures used for decoding and encoding data results and steps to verify authenticity and accuracy were explained.

The problem was that little is known about what traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership is. The purpose of this study was to know about traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership. Across time, colonialist leadership, which is a top-down directive form of government, supplanted traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership, which was emergent bottom-up and egalitarian. Since the inception of this top-down form of leadership into tribal government, nascent self-oppression has been perpetuated into its current state of being. It was hoped that this study may lead to changes in today's Anishinaabe leadership system and decolonization efforts.

### **Qualifying the Research Topic**

So much of our culture is being set along the wayside of time and obscured in the hegemony of dominant society. Often, I would wonder why I was sitting in class when I

could be sitting with *grandfather* drum at ceremony, learning and strengthening our culture, my passion. My master's thesis was, "Why Do We Need To Know Our Ojibwe Language." Thinking along the same lines, if I could spend my time researching a topic that I had a passion for, it would be in the Anishinaabe realm.

It has been said, in Ojibwe prophecies long ago, that today's generation of Anishinaabe would retrace their footsteps and find their traditional ways, which would help us to be strong and healthy again (Benton-Banai, 1988). "While many of our traditional ways have been put aside on a shelf collecting dust, they are not dead yet" (S. Sandman, personal communication, n.d.). I wanted to look at traditional leadership ways and revitalize them. Our traditional leadership system did not fade due to antiquation; rather, it was abruptly supplanted.

Since this doctoral program was a leadership program, I decided that research in this area would serve to temper and add to the quality and quantity of my, and perhaps others', leadership training. I wanted to look at traditional leadership. There is a broad spectrum of leadership roles in traditional Anishinaabe culture. There are leadership roles for women and men. There are spiritual leaders, war leaders, civil leaders, ceremonial leaders, and family leaders. I have chosen traditional civil chief leadership.

From personal experiences in Indian education and politics on the reservation, I knew that today we, as Anishinaabe, lack understanding of what traditional civil leadership is. Groundswell political movements seem forever bogged down at the brainstorm level of development. Whenever someone proposed a development plan model or an order process such as using parliamentary procedure, these ideas were

always shot down as being the *White man's way*. When asked what the traditional ways are, no one ever seemed to have an answer.

I was also quite familiar with the dearth of quality leadership from our present day elected tribal leaders, or *Ogimaakaan* (pretend chiefs). “Ogimaakaan are elected by popular vote, which usually means they belong to the largest family” (A. Treuer, personal communication, September 23, 2006). Selection of candidates today has little to do with leadership skills. There is no filtering system. This top-down leadership system does not empower the people; it only exacerbates the milieu. I am critical of a handful of elected leaders holding all of the power over reservations and the current top-down system that supports it.

Almost all of the primary literature sources related to traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership had been written by colonial observers. The handful of Anishinaabe scholars researching the topic today relied almost exclusively on those sources. I endeavored to go to the few remaining elder hereditary chiefs and ask them to share their knowledge on traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership. Their responses were in retrospect because we no longer use the tradition civil chief system. It was replaced by a Western system of election, almost a century ago.

It was with these understandings that I chose the topic of traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership.

### **Research Design**

Booth, Colomb, and Williams (1995) proposed a dichotomy of applied research and pure research. Pure research explores a finite answer for a product for someone to

know, while applied research asks questions to affect change. Creswell (1994) paralleled this dichotomy using the terms *qualitative* and *quantitative*, respectively. Qualitative questions ask, “a grand tour question followed by a small, limited number of sub-questions” (Creswell, 1994, p. 78). These questions are few and open-ended. Quantitative questions are numerous, predetermined to control variables, and are not open-ended. Quantitative questions focus on controlling variables.

Elder knowledge had been transmitted orally from generation to generation. Because this primary source of information had not been documented, or was extremely limited, and assuming that much of that knowledge has been lost and only fragmented information remains, a qualitative method seemed most applicable for exploring the views of elders who are hereditary chiefs.

John W. Creswell, in his book, *Research Design: Qualitative & Quantitative Approaches* (1994), suggested four qualitative design methods. The ethnography method studies a “cultural group” across time, observing within that group (Creswell, 1994, p. 11). Grounded theory discovers a theory through “multiple stages of data collection” (Creswell, 1994, p. 11). The case study “explores a single entity or phenomenon (‘the case’) bound by time and activity” (Creswell, 1994, p. 11). The phenomenological method studies a group of people’s “human experiences” (Creswell, 1994, p. 12). Additionally, these human experiences are tied to a “concept or *the phenomenon*” (Creswell, 1998, p. 51). Critical theory is a form of ethnography that is a “study of social institutions and their transformations through interpreting the meanings of social life; the historical problems of domination, alienation, and social struggles; and a critique of

society and the envisioning of new possibilities” (Fay, 1987; Morrow & Brown, 1994, as cited in Creswell, 1998, p. 80).

I chose to name my method of study *Qualitative Critical Theory*, because my literature review described a system of civil leadership that has been transformed by colonial domination and social struggles. The purpose of my study was to find and describe a paradigm of traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership that could be used in design for future tribal government structures to affect change for the Anishinaabe people.

### **Role of the Researcher**

My personal bias on this topic was that I have lived and worked on Anishinaabe reservations for over 24 years. Poor leadership, corrupt totalitarian power, nepotism, and favoritism are pervasive daily tribal conversational topics on the reservations. As a cultural insider, I have been both a political activist and an organizational leader in this tribal system. I participated in many protest meetings discussing how to fix the tribal government problem, and participated in organizational development meetings within the tribal government.

I have felt the *political ax*, having been fired from tribal jobs a couple of times without warrant or warning. A common saying on the reservation is that *if you have not been fired from a tribal job, then you are suspect*. I had worked as principal for a tribal school. When I was hired, I did not have an administrative license but the board paid for my coursework. I had just completed the coursework and was waiting for my license to be mailed to me when the reservation tribal council stepped in and fired me for not

having a license in hand. It is common for disgruntled employees to go past the chain of command straight to the tribal leaders for retaliation. Tribal schools are one of the few places where an office secretary has more political power than the superintendent (K. Baldwin, personal communication, n.d.). I am biased with personal resentment towards the current political system.

Another bias was that I belong to Anishinaabe groups that continue indigenous ceremonies. They are a minority amongst the majority Christian Anishinaabe today. One of the constant concerns is the view that we need to hold onto traditional ways and beliefs that have evolved and passed from generation to generation along a continuum of ancestors that goes back to the beginning of time. Traditional elders emphasize that when our language and ceremonies are lost, then we will no longer be Anishinaabe, only descendants of Anishinaabe. I am biased in standing for and maintaining our traditional ways.

My role as a researcher was to not allow these biases to contaminate the research data. I am an insider of an ethnic group researching latent knowledge within that same group. Hopefully this allowed easier access to informants and allowed me to gain the trust of the informants to divulge more detailed information. As an insider, this study presented a perspective that was uniquely different from what could be gained from an outsider and their potential biases.

### **Selection Process of Participants**

I talked with one of my advisors about my research topic on civil chief leadership. He advised me that there would be only a few remaining hereditary civil chiefs, and that

their knowledge would be fragmental because of the long dormancy period of traditional civil systems. There was concern that some of the hereditary civil chiefs would not have had civil chief knowledge passed on to them during this dormant period. Another concern was the authenticity of some of the reported civil chiefs, in that they may propose to be hereditary civil chiefs without rightful claim. These were issues of quality and quantity. My advisor suggested I limit my interviews to five participants to keep the data manageable.

In my literature review, I was only able to find information on traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership that pertained to the geographical locations west from Sault Ste. Marie into Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Western Ontario. I decided that I would keep my sample size in this geographical area. I called tribal offices in these areas to obtain a list of hereditary chiefs. I was only able to locate one hereditary chief still in office and that was at Buffalo Point, Ontario. I then decided I needed to go to the traditional elders to find who the chiefs were and where they were. To find these elders I went to the ceremonies and powwows where they congregate in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and western parts of Ontario. The areas of my travels were limited for ease of access and familiarity to the reservations: Red Lake, White Earth, Leech Lake, and Mille Lacs Lake in Minnesota; Round Lake, Wisconsin; and Northwestern Ontario Treaty 3 Reservation. I followed cultural protocol and offered elders tobacco, asking if they knew of any civil chiefs. Other selection criteria for consideration were fluency in the language and ceremonial and cultural knowledge in hopes of gaining indigenous perspective in responses. In Minnesota, they remembered some remaining civil chiefs. I visited a few of these civil

chiefs and offered them tobacco to see if they would be willing to be interviewed, and asked if they knew of others. This snowball process from chief to chief was repeated with only a couple more names suggested. At each stage we discussed the quality of candidates to narrow my list to five.

### **Instruments**

In the book, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*, Patton and Patton (1990) explained that open-ended questions are used to elicit perspective and background knowledge from the respondent, and at the same time to safeguard against putting thoughts into the respondent's mind. The authors proposed three types of open-ended questions: "(1) the informal conversational interviews, (2) the general interview guide approach and (3) the standardized open-ended interview" (Patton & Patton, 1990, p. 280). The informal conversation interview uses extemporaneous questions and is used repeatedly across time to discover and mine topics. The general interview has a set of common issues for exploration. The standardized open-ended interview has a predetermined set of open-ended questions used for each respondent, and is used to "minimize variation" (Patton & Patton, 1990, p. 281).

I did not use the informal conversation interview because I was not observing an unknown system to discover problems and insight. I did not use the general interview because I did not have a set of issues to address. I chose to use the standardized open-ended interview because the context of the system had already been described in the literature review and I wanted to keep the data manageable. I conducted single interviews with participants and provided opportunities for feedback.

I used Creswell's (1994) "grand tour question" (p. 78), and asked, "What is traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership?" I wanted to get the informants' initial response to find main points and also to get a feel for the content, or terrain, of their overall systems description. The second question I asked was, "What does a traditional Ojibwe civil chief do?" in order to define the function of the civil chief in that system. The third and fourth questions were, respectively, "What must a chief know?" in order to find what knowledge is needed, and "What must civil chiefs have in their heart?" to find internal values. The head and heart are prevalent center points in Anishinaabe traditional teachings and ceremonies, and I wanted to look through Anishinaabe eyes, rather than approach from a Western perspective. The fifth question was, "How does a civil chief behave?" This question was intended to continue to probe for roles and responsibilities and to understand how civil chiefs interacted with their immediate external environment. The sixth question was, "How is the community supposed to behave towards the chief?" The intent of this question was to find out how the external environment affects or contributes to the civil chief. These questions were thought of as an approach to chieftainship as a systems process that is dynamic with multifarious tensions (internal and external), affecting the behavior and ability to function as a civil chief. The final closing question was, "Do you have anything else that you want to add?" This question was intended to solicit any responses that they may have thought of and wanted to contribute before closing the interview.

### **Entrance Protocol**

The cultural protocol for gaining entrance to the informants (elders) is to offer tobacco and a gift to them and explain what is being requested of them. The elders can choose to accept the gifts and honor the request, or they can refuse or refer you to someone else. I offered tobacco to hereditary chiefs and told them about my study. I asked them if they would consider participating. Three said yes. One chief said he would be willing to sit down and talk about the subject but that I could not record in any fashion because it is cultural taboo to record. He explained that cultural information needed to be safeguarded against Western institutions such as universities, because this information would be used for profit. One chief, acknowledged by the community as the rightful heir to chieftainship, said he could not do the interview because he did not have knowledge on the subject.

I arranged by phone to schedule a meeting with each potential informant to give them tobacco and a small token gift to request an interview at a later date. If they accepted, I gave them a set of interview questions ahead of time to contemplate their thoughts. During the return date for the interview I again offered them tobacco to start the process and a larger set of gifts as honorarium.

### **Recording Procedures**

The recording procedure included the interview sheet, recording equipment, entrance and exit statements, and procedural check list. The interview sheet was one page with the header, "Traditional Ojibwe Civil Chief Leadership." The sheet listed the interview questions with numeric bullets. My master interview sheet included potential

probes for each question. My contact information was at the bottom of the sheet for future reference. The questions on the interview sheet were:

1. What is traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership?
2. What does a civil chief do? What is their job or function?
3. What must a civil chief know? What kind of training of knowledge should they have?
4. What must a civil chief have in their heart? What kind of values should they have?
5. How do civil chiefs behave towards or interact with community members?
6. How is the community supposed to behave towards or interact with the civil chief?
7. Do you have anything else that you want to add?

The recording equipment was a digital voice recorder and an analog audio cassette recorder for backup. I brought backup batteries for the recorders and condenser microphone, and extra audio cassettes. I made sure I only recorded on one side of the audio cassette because some transcribers may still be using transcription equipment for audio cassettes and they prefer taping only to be on one side to find their spot easier. If it is recorded on both sides and they are using a meter, they may lose their spot if they put the wrong side of the cassette into their equipment, moving their meter marker.

When I met with the respondents I offered them tobacco and gifts. If needed, I asked if there was a quiet space for the interview. When we were situated, I checked the recording equipment to ensure everything was working properly and had the backup

utilities set out. The recorders were placed on rubber mats to reduce vibration noises, and the tape meters were reset. I used a notebook to take notes as a tertiary backup. I asked the informant if it was OK to use a lapel microphone. The respondent was given an interview sheet with the questions, and I kept a master interview sheet with potential probes added on. I used a procedural checklist to make sure I had my backup systems ready so as to not interrupt the flow of the interview and to make sure I had completely informed the respondent of the process.

At the beginning of the interview, I stated what the intent of the study was, being careful not to give leading statements that may qualify the responses of the informant. I informed them that their anonymity would be kept. I asked them to sign consent forms. I stated the respondent's name and date into the recorders. I then started the interview questions. At the end of the session, I explained the data analysis procedures to the informant, the verification process, and opportunities to add input later through phone, email, or written response.

Procedural check list:

1. Tobacco and gifts.
2. Consent form signatures.
3. Quiet recording place.
4. Put in new cassette on side A. Label with respondent's name and date. Place recorders on rubber mats and reset tape meter.
5. Equipment sound recording check for both digital and analog recording devices. Backup batteries for recorders and condenser microphone.

6. Ask if OK to pin a lapel condenser microphone on respondent.
7. Notebook and two ink pens; check if pens are working.
8. Have interview question sheet for informant and a master interview sheet with probe questions for interviewer.
9. Give introductory statement.
10. State respondent's name and date into recorders.
11. Ask questions.
12. Give closing statements and explain verification feedback process.
13. The interview data will be given to a transcriber to put into digital text.

#### **Data Analysis Procedures and Verification**

I used the data analysis spiral described by Creswell (1998) in his book, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions*.

The first part of the spiral analysis process was to get an overall feeling for the data. I read all of the transcripts through several times with various time breaks across a couple of days to digest the information. I then randomly picked transcripts and read through each, with the interview questions set aside, keeping notes on potential themes and insights. I wanted to note on meanings and underlying topics rather than focus on the details of the data. The notes were tagged to identify which transcript they originated from. After I repeated this process for each of the transcripts, I gathered all of the notes and clustered them into evolving themes. I gave the themes names, using informants' words as much as possible to safeguard against bias. The themes were then given codes to codify the data.

After producing the first list of themes, I reviewed the transcripts, checked the data to see if they fit well with the codes, and identified any new themes that may be needed. When I was satisfied with my list of themes, I sent a copy of the individual transcripts and also findings on the evolving themes back to their authors for verification. I sent themes only to each original respondent. I did not want to bias their feedback with other informants' data. Responses could be phoned in, emailed, or mailed.

When the verification process was complete, I finalized the themes and gave them color codes. I went through the digital text codifying the data using the word processor-colored highlighter. Highlighted data were placed onto a spreadsheet for reorganization.

After all the data were organized, I presented the data findings where I would “describe in detail, develop themes or dimensions through some classification system, and provide an interpretation in light of their own views [researcher] or views of perspectives in the literature” (Creswell, 1998, p. 144).

This report draft was then sent to the informants to again verify the authenticity and accuracy of the findings, and provide feedback or additional comments.

## **CHAPTER IV. ANALYSIS OF DATA**

### **Introduction**

In this chapter on Analysis of Data, I will give a brief geographical background of the survey sample and introduce the respondents in order to build a conceptual framework and insight to their selection and dynamics of their responses. I will restate the research questions. I will explain the curriculum path of my report. I will report my findings. I will report any unexpected findings. Finally, I will summarize the findings.

All of the informants' names were changed in this report for purposes of anonymity. Because there was such an extreme limit of candidates and because of the descriptions given in this report, the informants might be easily identified. I discussed confidentiality with the informants and the possibility of them being identified before they signed the consent forms.

### **Geographical Background of Study Sample**

I briefly wanted to describe the sample area to provide a frame for the geographic response area. As stated in Chapter III of this dissertation, I was able to find only two informants in Canada: Henry, from Buffalo Point Reservation, and Philip, from Lac La Croix Reservation. Both were in the Treaty 3 area of Ontario located north of Minnesota. The other three informants were from Minnesota. George was from the Red Lake Reservation, and Edward and Charlie were from the Mille Lacs Reservation. Both informants from Canada were in executive positions as chief during the interviews. None of the United States chiefs held executive office. George, from Red Lake, served on a

district hereditary-chiefs board of advisors to the elected tribal council. Edward and Charles held no office or advisory roles in the elected tribal council, but were known throughout the reservation and respected as hereditary chiefs. Three of the five chiefs had college educations. The two oldest who were from the United States did not. Four of the five informants were fluent speakers of the language and steeped in traditional language and culture. All three of the hereditary chiefs in the United States, George, Charles, and Edward, were spiritual leaders also. They were ceremonial drum keepers and pipe carriers. Charles was an herbal medicine man as well.

### **Informant Backgrounds**

Henry was the last remaining hereditary Ojibwe chief in the United States and Canada to reside over a reservation as chief executive officer.

I guess historically and traditionally it was always the oldest son that would inherit the leader. Well for me, I am the middle of seven children. I have three older brothers and sisters, and I have three younger brothers and sisters. My dad spent a great deal of time, I think he seen it at an early age for me, but I was the only one who showed any interest in being our leader. I always took a very active approach in what my dad was doing. I always paid attention to him, always followed in his footsteps. So I think at the end of the day it was an easy decision on his part as to who was going to be our next leader. (Henry, personal communication, n.d.)

Henry did not fit the informant selection criteria of speaking the Ojibwe language, and his responses did not indicate knowledge of traditional ceremonies or cultural knowledge. But because he was the only remaining hereditary seated chief as executive of the tribe, he was included. Henry was the youngest of the informants in his early 50s. His major was in business and marketing. His reservation was the smallest. Its economy was primarily resort and tourism and is financially self-sustaining. His responses were very

business centric and Western yet supported hereditary chieftainship and independence from the federal government.

Philip was from the Lac La Croix Reservation in Treaty 3 area of Ontario. He was not a hereditary chief. He was an elected chief. He was highly recommended. His community was the epitome of traditions, language, and culture. They have been relatively secluded from Western society with only fly-in or portage access until dish television and the recently made new road.

Over the years, one of our biggest assets is our isolation. We are isolated from the mainstream of society and the mainstream of influences that were happening to our brothers and sisters in what is now known as the United States and Canada. So the system was in operations in terms of ceremonies, and to some extent our government as well. (Philip, personal communication, n.d.)

Philip was in his 60s. He was a certified counselor and therapist, with extensive work in human services. Unlike the United States chiefs who are relegated to honorary positions, he served as a local and national Grand Chief. He was a transformational leader who recently led a revolutionary change back to traditional government for the Treaty 3 Nation.

George was a hereditary chief from Ponemah, on the Red Lake Reservation. He was a member of a hereditary chief advisory board to the reservation's elected tribal council. He was chosen because Ponemah is the strongest district in language, culture, and ceremonies on his reservation, and perhaps in Minnesota. He was the eldest of the Red Lake chiefs. He spent his youth serving and learning from elders.

I didn't hardly play when I was a little boy. I worked for the elders instead. Where ever my job ended, that's where I slept, in the evening, they feed me. They feed me then they put me to bed. That was my pay. Then the next morning I had to move on to the next house. Drag the wood from the woods. Use a Swede saw. Get

wood for the elders, and stuff like that. My chums that grew up with me, they used to cry at the elders, because I wouldn't play with these guys. I was busy working for the elders. Now they're not around, they are all gone. They did not have any respect for the elders. I was the only one that had a lot of respect for the elders. All my buddies are gone. And I learned quite a bit from the elders, when I stayed at their house. I would mostly spend my time living with the elders, through my younger life. I worked, even this time of the year. I used to work in the woods, hauling wood, haul that sap there. Where they were going in that, stuff for making the sugar cakes and stuff like that. That was my pay in the evening, the sugar cake. I worked hard all day long working for the elders. That was hard. (George, personal communication, n.d.)

George was in his mid-70s. He was fluent in the Ojibwe language and steeped in traditional culture and ceremonies. He was a spiritual leader as well. He was a ceremonial drum keeper and pipe keeper. He gave spiritual guidance to people in and around the reservation, provided healing ceremonies, and traveled around helping in Minnesota and Canada. He helped community members by volunteering to make Spirit houses for gravesites, and stored extra firewood for community ceremonies and people out of heat. He helped out wherever he could.

Charles was a hereditary chief from the Mille Lacs Reservation in Minnesota. He was the oldest of all the informants being in his early 80s. He was a hereditary chief. He was second generation away from the last active in-office hereditary chief leader of the tribe. Charles held no political office or advisory role to the elected tribal council. He was well known as the hereditary chief of Mille Lacs Reservation. He was a spiritual leader and was commonly referred to for cultural knowledge by other elders. He was very active and was a leader in the ceremonial drum society. He was a ceremonial drum keeper, pipe carrier, and an herbal medicine man. Charles did not obtain a college degree.

I took my guidance from a medicine man. They had knowledge and stuff. This medicine man told me what I been telling you. That's how I know these things. If

you are in doubt, talk to the elders, listen to the elders. Listen, listen, listen, because that is what that old man told me. You listen. You listen. I was very young, 10, 12, 13 years old when the elders would tell me. I got my knowledge from my grandfather. He was a spiritual leader. Like Sam Mitchell, we used to go to Wisconsin at Round Lake, to go to drum ceremony, I would pick him up at his house. He would start telling me everything that I am telling you. He would talk to me all the way and I would listen. As I got older and start carrying that drum, he would tell me all these things that I am telling you. (Charles, personal communication, n.d.)

Edward was a hereditary chief from the Mille Lacs Reservation as well. He held no government office. He spoke his Ojibwe language and was steeped in his traditional ceremonies and culture. Mille Lacs, like Ponemah in Red Lake, is one of the last few strongholds of language and culture in Minnesota. Edward was a ceremonial drum keeper and an active participant in the ceremonial drum society. He was an Ogichidaa having served in the Vietnam War and was frequently used as Ogichidaa in many of the ceremonies in Minnesota and Wisconsin. He attended St. Cloud State University for his chemical dependency counseling degree. He worked many years in the chemical dependency field. He was well respected and was held in high regards by the community. Edward was in his 60s.

### **Research Questions and Report Path**

The problem was that little is known about what traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership. The interview questions reported on:

1. What is traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership?
2. What does the chief do? What is their job or function?
3. What must they know? What kind of training should they have?

4. What are chiefs supposed to feel in their heart? What kind of values should they have?
5. How do chiefs behave toward or interact with the community members?
6. How are the community members supposed to behave toward or interact with the chief?

In analyzing the data, I used the *data analysis spiral* as described in Chapter III on Methodology (Creswell, 1998). Themes emerged. Some responses were multifaceted and transcended out into other questions. In retrospect, some of the questions did not have separate boundaries as first thought. For example, “What is traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership?” also encompasses what chiefs do. Also, “What are chiefs supposed to feel in their heart?” is related to how they act towards members. The responses and themes were dynamic and fluid. To keep some linearity, I reported in terms of the question order. Responses to some questions centered more on other specific questions and were moved around until they settled into their emergent themes.

### **Data Report**

#### **What is Traditional Ojibwe Civil Chief Leadership?**

Most of the responses to this question were moved to the other questions where they centered more. Themes on traditional government structures and processes were saved for this section such as (a) chiefs, (b) clans in council, (c) Western Constitution, and (d) Anishinaabe Constitution.

**Chiefs.** Two types of traditional civil chiefs were found in this report: the first is the hereditary chief and the other is the selected chief. A third type of chief reported, the elected chief, is not considered a traditional chief.

When I first became the leader of this community, the elders of this community called me in. One of the first things they told me, they had a drum there, we were rich with elders at that time, is that you are not the chief and don't ever call yourself the chief. The chiefs are in the hills. The chiefs are in this community. The chiefs are in this river, in this lake, in the trees. Everything that you see around you is where the chiefs are. And if you govern yourself accordingly, you have to go and put tobacco to these places around this community, offerings every spring and every fall. That's your duty. You are giving your offerings to the real chiefs that live amongst us. Failure to do that you will be guilty or negligent of your sacred duty as part of this government and our way of life. And every spring you must do this, you must have a feast, you must be part of all these ceremonies to make sure that everything, all the ceremonies, ceremonies for the blueberries, ceremonies for the wild rice, ceremonies for everything before they are even born into in the spring, so the Spirits of those blueberries and the rice and so on and so forth that provided us with food, they would have a good crop, as well as there would be no illness in our people. So all of that is part of traditional Anishinaabe governance. (Philip, personal communication, n.d.)

There was a chief in every community. There was the local community chief and in Canada they had a Grand Chief of their Nations. Philip was a Grand Chief of the Treaty 3 Nation. "So, if you have 55,000 square miles, it was split in four areas there. It was the communities, and you had the tribal chiefs that would represent this group. Then you had your Grand Chief" (Philip, personal communication, n.d.). George noted that they sometimes had oskaabewisag (aides) if they had difficulties getting around or needed someone to help them out. Edward mentioned there even being a rice chief who oversaw the rice beds in the community.

The hereditary chief was an office passed down from generation to generation, usually to the oldest son of the chief or the best qualified of the in the male lines. Henry

was the last remaining hereditary chief in office. The father can announce his successor.

Often he would watch to see who was best suited for the responsibility.

I guess historically and traditionally it was always the oldest son that would inherit the leader. Well for me, I am the middle of seven children. I have three older brothers and sisters, and I have three younger brothers and sisters. My dad spent a great deal of time, I think he seen it at an early age for me, but I was the only one who showed any interest in being our leader. I always took a very active approach in what my dad was doing. I always paid attention to him, always followed in his footsteps. So I think at the end of the day it was an easy decision on his part as to who was going to be our next leader. (Henry, personal communication, n.d.)

Sometimes the selection went over to an uncle's side of the family. "And my dad was supposed to get it, he died early. And then Percy got the chief. Then he recommended me to take over the chief business" (George, personal communication, n.d.). You had to be careful in your selection.

Henry said that in today's society he thought perhaps women might be considered for a hereditary position. He said looking at his daughters, some of them would be qualified to lead. He explained that long ago the male physique was needed for protection and providing as warriors and hunters and that was the realm of the community chiefs. Now today we are not at risk of attack by our neighboring tribes and we do not need to be physically strong to provide for our families in today's economy.

Philip explained that there was more to the passing of hereditary chieftainship down family lines. As in the literature review, selection of the chief could be based on other leadership factors.

That hereditary system where you inherit the chief does not mean that you keep that. And it runs deeper than that. You run into the spirituality of the certain gifts that people receive. Say which clan you are from. What is the duty of that clan? What is their role in government? There are many measures that are there to

determine whether you go on or whether the people call for a reselection [impeachment]. (Philip, personal communication, n.d.)

All informants said that selection was based on earned respect as opposed to popular elections. Respect was earned at the ground level in the communities.

I did not want to become a chief. I had no intentions of being a chief. I believed that building, at the time, healing the person, was essential. And I was pretty comfortably doing that. But because I was on the ground all the time, I was at the bedside of people that were dying of cancer. I was in rooms all hours of the night working with people that have been affected by many forms of abuses. I had one of the biggest, hardest abuses that ever took place amongst each other, and that was sexual abuse. And that became very challenging. So there is two parts that I looked at. There's the social dysfunction, and go meet with it head on. But I am trying to understand where it is coming from. Not only where it is coming from, but how do you deal with it, once you find it? But because I was at the bedside, I was on the ground, I was assisting people on a regular basis, they decided I take on the role of a leader. (Philip, personal communication, n.d.)

Selection was not an election. As Philip explained, when there was a need for the reselection of a chief, the community would meet in the round house. Tobacco would be given to candidates that community members respected and wanted as chiefs. All of the selected candidates would move to center of the round house and the members would stand behind the ones they support. Candidates were not allowed to turn around and look back at who was supporting them or not. By process of elimination they would get down to the final two candidates. Whoever received the majority would have to face the membership for consensus or acclimation. You were judged by what you had done. "I got in as a Grand Chief. Just like that in twenty minutes it is over with. There is no campaigning and in twenty minutes it is done. It's that fast. And then I started" (Philip, personal communication, n.d.).

As Grand Chief, Philip challenged and convinced the current chiefs to all resign from office because they were selected through the laws of the federal Indian Act of Canada. He had them all go back to their reservations and come through the traditional process (previously described) back from the ground level. Philip was key in leading a revolutionary movement to change tribal government systems back to traditional systems.

When asked about impeachment, the hereditary chiefs said they had never heard of it. Charlie explained that if there were differences with members, the chief had to go with what the people wanted. Henry believed that if that was what the people wanted, then yes, they should have the right to remove a hereditary chief. In the selection process described by Philip, the membership called for a reselection and there were no terms of office such as four-year terms. When the membership felt they needed a new chief, they called everyone together and reselected.

I asked if chiefs had special spiritual powers that came with the position. George said some chiefs have spiritual gifts but not all. Edward talked about one of the old chiefs of the Mille Lacs Reservation:

I remember my mother and them talking about Chief Zhaabashkang. There was this one real bad thunderstorm, a lot of thunder a lot of lightening. And he told his wife he said to get under the covers and whatever you do don't look up, and don't come out of there. And she could hear the thunder was just booming, and lightening, and things going on. Then she thought she heard some people talking out there and she knew she was the only one there. But when she peeked through her blankets, she saw that he was talking to some people and she assumed they were manidoog [Spirits]. That's what my mom said that some manidoog must have come and visited him.

But that to me is what leadership was. He was not only a good leader but he was a medicine man, spiritual leader or advisor whatever. (Edward, personal communication, n.d.)

George grew up helping elders all the time. He remembered as a kid helping an elder. He didn't know that he was the chief. He was also a *Naandawi'iwed* [medicine man]. That chief told George, "Some of these days you are going to start helping the people like I do. You gotta help the people" (George, personal communication, n.d.).

George went on to say because he always helped elders throughout his youth, the Spirits gifted him with visions and sacred items such as healing drums, pipe, and other things.

You know I was glad I helped the elders. Now I had started having visions and stuff like that in my younger days. And I was glad I was chosen to be one of the pipe carriers and drum keeper, pipe carrier. I have seen the stuff what I have now when I was a little boy. But it took me thirty-five years to get all the stuff. I had to earn everything, work hard. I didn't hardly play when I was a little boy. I worked for the elders instead. Wherever my job ended, that's where I slept, in the evening, they feed me. That was my pay. (George, personal communication, n.d.)

Edward and Charles were also ceremonial drum keepers. They were both chosen by the community to be drum keepers. Edward was herbal medicine man.

Henry described a ceremony for officially passing the hereditary chieftainship to the next successor. There was a community assembly as well as visiting dignitaries. The traditional drum was brought in and the pipe was smoked. There were a variety of songs sung on the drum as well as leadership songs and chief songs. The chief headdress was ceremoniously passed to him and speeches were made by dignitaries and the new chief.

**Clans in council.** If the community needed to get together to plan or work something out, a council meeting was called. Council meetings were held in the ceremonial round houses along with the ceremonial drums and pipes. The pipes were smoked and offered to the Creator, Spirits, and ancestors, imploring their help and so everything went smoothly and correctly. Community families sat with their fellow clan

members in council. Clans were in charge of the safety and well-being of the community. Clans gave reports in council on what had been going on in the community and updates on clan activities and responsibilities. The clans had spokespersons. Everyone had the right to speak. Clans were responsible for the behaviors of their members during meetings such as keeping order or being respectful. Issues of the community or Nation were discussed and voted on at council. Members voted with their feet by standing in favor or not standing in dissent. This was true at local and national assemblies. Large contingencies from various communities could and did attend national councils with their chiefs. They did not sit together at national council, but again had to go sit with their fellow clan members. Clans in council made decisions or laws for the community. Each clan housed specific areas of responsibilities or expertise such as administration, health, police, military, education, welfare, arts, etc. In terms of crimes or transgressions at community levels, each clan was responsible for the behaviors of its members (Philip, personal communication, n.d.).

Philip recounted an old story in his community of a rape incident. All clans were present at the council, but the issue was between the clan of the rape victim and the clan of the perpetrator. The perpetrator's clan boiled a deer hide and wrapped it around the perpetrator, holding him as he screamed in pain and the victim and her clan watched. The spokesperson for the perpetrator's clan asked the victim if justice was served, and the answer was no, so he slit the rapist's throat right there and justice was served. "Whatever the families do, or don't do, is your clan's responsibility" (Philip, personal communication, n.d.).

When Philip first became elected as the local chief of his reserve he was asked by elders to do something about the drug problem. The Indian Act chief system only allowed chiefs to make resolutions and do miscellaneous token activities. Actual law was the sole privilege of the Minister of Indian Affairs and the Canadian Constitution. Philip challenged this by allowing the community council to make local decisions or laws regarding drug dealing and possession on the reserve which included banishment. He recused himself from the council decision because he felt he was an agent of the Indian Act at the time. The final vote was to accept the new drug law.

Everybody was screaming and yelling. Those that were going to hurt each other had all come together as one unit, hugging, crying, kissing, screaming and yelling. And I stood back and I watched this. Euphoria came over the people like I never witnessed before. What just happened? It's not so much the law, it's what was brought back, is what I think, the pride, the dignity, the honor, the life of their eyes coming back and starting to sparkle again, and children running and screaming and playing, and allowing them to be children. That was a clear demonstration to me that confirmed to me, what I was told years before, that the road to our freedom is giving the rebirth to something that was left for us. (Philip, personal communication, n.d.)

He empowered the people who for so long had felt powerless under the federal Indian Act. Later he became Grand Chief and used this model in changing the National Treaty 3 chief and council system.

During the drug issue of Philip's reservation, the question of whether children had a right to speak or be at council was discussed:

An example was used in prior to the influences of the other world; there was a circle of people that consisted of warriors, elders, women, and young youth. And in the center of this circle were the children. If there is any harm that is going to happen to this child, they are going to have come through us first. So the children, it has nothing to do with the Canadian method of law making, but our authority is coming from our Anishinaabe Constitution. That silenced everybody. Full authority is coming from our Constitution. And our Constitution according to our

elders passed on from generation to generation, that in law making, when it comes to safety of a community, when it comes to any kind of threat to the community, those children are the ones that have to, they also have a say in what they want. (Philip, personal communication, n.d.)

This paradigm of community was illustrated in concentric circles: the youth were in the middle, encircled by the women, then elders, and the warriors filled the outside circle.

Women were in charge of the inside circle and men were in charge of the outside circle.

The law of the drug dealer was brought to the national level for ratification. Philip said that laws had to be approved by the Nation. At the national level, the laws were not written but were witnessed by the national assembly, their clans, and the chiefs of all the reserves.

What came out of these salves was a national record of decision. That's what our people used. It was the memory, "I was there when this happened." That's a record of decision. That's basically how it happened. So everybody stands up when a decision is being made. So on the issue of the chiefs and leadership law, you had hundreds of people standing up. Next came the child care law. It's the same process. Again, you have everybody standing up. But now there is a place for everybody in this government. There is empowerment, there is power, and you have influence. The government fought us every step of the way. The power is returned to the people. (Philip, personal communication, n.d.)

**Western Constitution.** There are two constitutions in tribal government today: the Western Constitution of Canada and United States and the Anishinaabe Constitution. The elected tribal government and chief systems come from the Indian Act 1876 in Canada and in the United States, the IRA of 1934. Both systems are subordinate to federal agencies and laws.

Niizhinoon ni'inagakeyaa ezhi-bimaadizid anishinaabe. It means two ways of life. That is to say there are two constitutions in this country, the Canadian Constitution and the Anishinaabe Constitution, or, Owe gichi-inaakonigewin, the big Law. And I use the word Anishinaabe Constitution very loosely for those who

do not understand the language, to parallel the two. (Philip, personal communication, n.d.)

Federal policy was to assimilate the Indian into Western society to get rid of the *Indian problem*. The chiefs had a lot of power and influence.

They got rid of us. They wanted to control our people through elections and so forth, cause you know why they did that? They are scared of the chiefs. The chiefs had a lot of power in them days. You know Migizi, I heard my grandfather tell me Migizi used to go to Washington, D.C. to deal directly with the president. Now what do you have to do? You gotta go through the tribal council. The tribal council gotta take it to the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe. The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe has gotta take it to the BIA. The BIA has gotta take it, then it gets lost in there someplace. Right there, direct. Now chiefs don't mean nothing nowadays. (Charles, personal communication, n.d.)

Philip noted that in 1924, Duncan Campbell Scott, the superintendent of Indian Affairs of Canada, openly stated that the purpose of the Indian Act was specifically to assimilate the Indian so that *in the future there will be no Indian problem*.

“Current elections are more of popularity vote rather than a selection of those qualified for the positions or who have the best interest of the community at heart” (Henry, personal communication, n.d.). In the selection system, you do not have the opportunity to campaign or run out and buy votes common in the United States tribal elections. In the selection process, the community picks candidates by their merits at the grassroots level.

Elections divide communities. Those who support the winning candidate are rewarded. Those who supported the losing candidate drag their feet and resist efforts by the winning candidate and their supporters. The community knows who voted for whom and the division crosses many community systems and networks. The opposing group

waits for the next election in hopes of getting their candidate back in. If the vote is a close majority this can go on for decades (Edward, personal communication, n.d.).

Many of the elected officials are adopting the Western colonial superior/inferior attitude, that they know what is best for their inferior constituents and are making decisions without input from the community.

I think the old chiefs were for the people, you know, people first. Today we got these assisted living units we got in each district: Lake Lena, East Lake, and Mille Lacs. Again the community wasn't consulted. They said we are just going to build them, and they did. Mille Lacs is filled up, and the one in Lake Lena is filled up too, but the one at East Lake is not filled up. It sits empty. But those type of things, "Here's what is best for you." You know like the Bureau they don't say, "This is what I think is best for you," they just say, "This is what's best for you," and they go ahead and do it without going out there and asking, "What do you think?" A very simple thing, going out there and ask them. (Edward, personal communication, n.d.)

"Good leaders help those who really need help rather than helping those who would bring them more votes such as those with influence in the community or are part of large families" (Edward, personal communication, n.d.).

All of the informants pointed back to traditional government and traditional community systems as the direction that communities needed to go. Edward asked an elder, Albert Churchill, why he thought the treatment centers were increasing in clients rather than decreasing.

He said, "We live in two worlds. We live in the Western world and we live in the Indian world. We jump back and forth. I think once we get that Indian world, we won't have any of these problems." (Edward, personal communication, n.d.)

Philip, in his struggles to reinstitute traditional government, explained that there are two types of people: elected chiefs who hold onto the old federal systems for their

own personal benefit, and today's youth who are starving spiritually and can understand the need for change.

We pretend to be chiefs, but we are not real chiefs. We are an agent of the sitting government. So who do we really work for? Anyone will come to the conclusion that all you really work for is the government that put us in this prison in the first place. Is that a leader? That is not a leader. To continue to go down that road is absolutely insane. We have become what our ancestors did not want us to be. (Philip, personal communication, n.d.)

**Anishinaabe Constitution.** The Anishinaabe Constitution is not a written constitution; it is a worldview and its systems that constitute the Anishinaabe. It includes the clan systems, the chief and council systems, ceremonial systems, and the spiritual relationship with all of creation.

That is all the Great Spirit wanted from us, tobacco. I always remember, any time you see the drum, put out tobacco offerings. And the animals, the fish, birds, bear, deer, everything, everything the great Spirit put here we benefit from. Makwa [bear], makwa eats the roots that we use for medicine. They use that. They give us their fat. We use that for our pain and our medicine. I use that all the time. I can explain everything in detail, but without the fish, the Spirit of the water, we could not exist. Same way with the deer, the animals, the birds, duck, we eat duck, they give us their lives. And I explain this to the people, when you put tobacco out, always remember the animals. I do all the time. It's like I told you before, when I walk by the lake, I put tobacco out for the fish for what they give, what the water is like, what the tree is for. I talk for the tree. Not the tree itself, but what the Great Spirit put the tree here for. Where would this land be without trees, without the animals, without the water? No one would exist. That is why we exist now as Anishinaabe. (Charles, personal communication, n.d.)

This constitution can be referred to as *Bimaadiziwin*. *Bim-* means to be flowing by or along, and *-aadiziwin* means your life. So *Bimaadiziwin*, your life is flowing, you are healthy, or that everything is connected and grooving in your life.

I think a lot of us that are aboriginal descent will come to a place and a time in our lives where what is known as a journey *giga-nandone'aan owe gibimaadizi* [searching for your life]. I could never understand what that really meant, or what that word means. *Gibimaadiziwin* means a lot of things. In the Euro-Canadian

language it simply means life. But the words that we have, take in so many things. It takes in the earth, the four levels of the earth, it takes in the water, it takes in the hills, it takes in basically from the highest mountain to the smallest grain of sand in the beach, and everything in between. (Philip, personal communication, n.d.)

Most important in the constitution is the relationship between the Anishinaabe and the Spirit world which is in all of creation. This is a reciprocal relation. Tobacco is offered and prayers of thanks are given to the Spirit of every plant or animal that is taken. Tobacco is offered with prayers to Spirits in the heavens, earth, water, and fire. It is a constant dialogue. And these Spirits are remembered in daily and seasonal ceremonies such as drum ceremony and water ceremonies.

Whatever your parents did, you gotta keep that up; bagichige [spiritual offerings], to the water, make an offering; make an offering to the woods. Whatever you take, you just don't only take only. Whatever you take from the woods you gotta offer grandmother her stuff, whatever you take from the woods and stuff like that. That's what's happening way out there, all over. They're getting Grandmother Earth mad. Once in a while the Grandmother Earth comes and sees me, visits me, tells me a bunch of stuff. Even the Spirits come over and talk to me, telling what's going on and stuff like that. (George, personal communication, n.d.)

Edward talked about when they were first developing their own tribal court systems on the Mille Lacs Reservation, the elders wanted to have the ceremonial pipe incorporated in the courtrooms. "Once you have tobacco in the courtroom, now you have the Creator there, too" (Edward, personal communication, n.d.). No one can lie. They have to tell the truth.

You use the Great Spirit for guidance. That's spiritual. Everybody is spiritual. You are, because you use tobacco. You put tobacco on the drum. Tobacco is a spiritual. That's what the Great Spirit told us to do, "You need something, give me tobacco. That's all I ask. When you talk to the people for someone, first give me tobacco, for everything you want and need." (Charles, personal communication, n.d.)

The ceremonial drums play a big role in the Anishinaabe Constitution today.

Three of the informants were ceremonial drum keepers, and drums were mentioned throughout the responses by all informants.

Zhawenimad aw dewe'igan, zhawenimad aw dewe'igan[love the drum]. Da-zhawenimigonaan[the drum loves us]. That drum has a lot of compassion for us. That is why it is here. That is why we use it today. The old people used to tell me, hit that drum once in a while. It chases the bad Spirits away. Nobody knows that. I try to explain that, like I am explaining to you. Understand that this drum is here for our benefit. Cause I remember why these drums are here. We chased the Sioux out of here, because we had the gunpowder and so forth. Well, the Sioux had bow and arrows and spears. They were no match for us. So they went down south there in Minneapolis area and west. When they got there they got powder down there and everything. They were going to come back and wipe us out, which they could have. But the Great Spirit appeared before them, "Get this drum and take it to the people, your enemies." That's the Peacemaker. That's what the drums are about. And I try to explain that thing to people. Everything around the drum has something to do with the Spirits, has to do with everything. But anyway, you can't separate this 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, [interview questions] because it is all the same. You gotta forsake everything else when drums are going on. One thing you are never going to forsake is the tobacco and the drums. You never want to do that, cause that is our way of life. (Charles, personal communication, n.d.)

Another essential part of the Anishinaabe Constitution is the Ojibwe language.

The language is used exclusively in all of the ceremonies and in describing the Anishinaabe worldview. The evolution of the culture is woven into the language. The language is a key to accessing that worldview.

Our language makes us who we are. It's our spirit, it's our soul, it's our identity, it's everything about us. It's what connects us to everything that is living. "Eshpin wanitowin owe gidanishinaabemowin," we would be told when we were young, "if you lose your language you will be at a dangerous place, the crossroads of an existence of a people that occupied this land since the beginning of time. And you carry that responsibility and that duty to try and learn it, because every word means so much." (Philip, personal communication, n.d.)

Henry talked about how the Western world was starting to look at the Anishinaabe way of thinking and way of life. They were in admiration of the

Anishinaabe's relationship with Mother Earth, stones, rocks, land, and all the surroundings such as the wilderness.

I think the non-aboriginal is starting to realize that we're probably more understanding of the worldly views than their society was. And you are starting to see a lot of them embrace what we do because of that, because we are more aware of our surroundings and our Mother Earth. (Henry, personal communication, n.d.)

The Western world separates church and state. But for the Anishinaabe they are not separated. The Spirit world and the physical world are always together.

I can go on and on about the sacred part, because that is the paradigm, that is the heart beat that is essential to our government. It is all in one. Without that we are nothing but a shell. The difference is that we are circular thinkers and they are linear thinkers. That energy flows, the external use of all things that are natural. If the spiritual component of our culture, of our systems, our government, is not central, and if we do not follow all of these things that we are told to do, or these duties that we must perform, then it just self-destructs. (Philip, personal communication, n.d.)

The chiefs at the national level approached Philip about putting the Anishinaabe Constitution in writing. He told them it cannot be written because it could not be accurately described. He had the chiefs who were sitting all in a circle at their Grand Chief council pass a feather around and speak on their knowledge and teachings of the sacred feather. After it had gone all the way around they had heard 28 different perspectives on the feather. Philip explained to them:

That is why you do not write a constitution, not ours anyways. Because you will mess it up. We will mess it up. And it will open us right up to challenges, because now you are trying to define something that was never meant to be defined. Right now you are playing the role of the Creator. That's not how it works. (Philip, personal communication, n.d.)

**What Do Chiefs Do?**

There were many things that chiefs did in addition to facilitating council meetings. Many of the responses were reported later in the section titled, “How Do Chiefs Interact With Members?” The more general and overarching responses were saved for this section, which include (a) preserve and protect, (b) unify, and (c) lead.

**Preserve and protect.** “One of the main responsibilities of the chief is to preserve and protect” (Philip, personal communication, n.d.). Indian Nations are continuously under attack by outside agencies and governments trying to diminish tribal sovereignty and exploit native resources. The policies of the federal governments and their colonial attitudes have always been to assimilate the Indian and to assist big business. The federal Indian Bureau and its myriad of outdated policies in conjunction with provincial and national organizations and policies stymie tribal agendas. It is a constant process of fighting for sovereignty and usufructuary treaty rights (Henry, personal communication, n.d.).

Another part of protection was the safety of the members. The chief was constantly on guard worrying about the members if their safety was in jeopardy, if all of their needs were met, if they were hungry or had adequate shelter.

But I think about those chiefs, when I think about them, like they always looking at them, making sure their people were safe. Ya know safety was a big thing with them, and that their needs were met, either through food or keeping life in the community. (Edward, personal communication, n.d.)

All three chiefs talked about using the drum for spiritual aid and protection of the community. That is why the drums were given to the Anishinaabe for their well-being by

the creator. Tobacco, drums, and prayer are all an intricate part of Bimaadiziwin asking the Spirits to protect and aid in the well-being of the Anishinaabe.

Put tobacco on the drum because this drum here is here for our benefit. To keep us well. Try to make people understand the drum ceremonies are for our benefits, themselves, their families, their kids. That is the only thing I try to make people understand that we have to follow that way of life, otherwise it is meaningless. I asked the Great Spirit to guide me, today, every day, and in the evenings, I go put tobacco out thanking the Great Spirit for the drum. Keep me sober today. Keep me well tonight. And tobacco is always on my mind when I am, whatever I am doing. Like when I am walking down by the lake, I put tobacco out. I encourage people to do that. Do that because the Great Spirit gave us the water and the fish and the animals and the trees. And try to make them understand what tobacco is all about. And this is the way of life for me. (Charles, personal communication, n.d.)

Protection involves intellectual, emotional, physical, and spiritual safety.

**Unify.** Building unity and community happened at all levels of council and chieftainship. Edward talked about how the chiefs of old, even the war hawks, would acquiesce when out-voted by the other chiefs in the council of chiefs. Even though there was no law that chiefs had to follow the council of chief's wishes, the unity of the Nation was more important. Chiefs were also building community at the local levels.

In his effort to transform the tribal government systems, Philip pointed to unification as the critical point to its success. The groundswell of the communities' understanding and need for change was already at full strength. When all the bickering and petty politics were set aside, great change was possible.

So when you successfully lead people to a larger place and make it their duty to make this happen because your people are right there watching with scrutiny and cheering you on, there is no time for this because you are now virtually in a war. You now have to forget about these petty politics that got us nowhere. Now we are going to have to start talking and reprogram your mind, and your heart, and your soul to the bigger picture of how we are going to make this happen. So the

unification, you unify once you bring in, quit talking about it and do it. And start putting in the pieces. (Philip, personal communication, n.d.)

**Lead.** After the safety and unity, the next step was to lead. Find out what direction the community wants to go. Assess their needs. Get their input and direction. The chief was the spokesperson for the community and not the dictator. It was the community's will that powered the chief.

Always keep it in your heart and mind, everything that needs to be done is for the people, by the people. They always say, you know, by the people, not me. I get what you want and try to fill the people's needs. That is the old chiefs' leadership. That I know and that's what I talk about. There a lot of things that should happen for our people to be a good people. You try to lead them after you know what they want, then you try to lead them to the best you know how for the good of people the best we know how. (Charles, personal communication, n.d.)

Philip explicitly pointed out that the place to lead was back home, to Bimaadiziwin, into the center of the Anishinaabe Constitution. Colonial cultural displacement was unhealthy to the point of extinction, and the only way to becoming healthy again was return home to center. Reservations have built magnificent Western economies either through tourism or casinos, but the social dysfunctions and unhealthy manifestations continue.

You can build all the wonderful skyscrapers, you can build up the economy, you can do all these things, but the Spirit will continue to diminish. How can we in our conscientious minds believe that we are truly leaders when we are handcuffed by somebody else's laws? Can we meet the needs of our communities? No, we can't, because we have to follow the policy of somebody else. In a true sovereignty, and I am not talking about airspace, our own army, all these things, I am talking about the freedom and ability to be able to decide and allow the first government of this land to operate. The government is not going to give it to us. We must rebuild it ourselves. Nothing has changed in over a hundred years, nothing. It's like the sinking Titanic. Moving furniture around does not work. It's still going to sink. So the way to our own survival, there is a great difference between surviving, and living, and if it is life we are after, then something fundamental must change. (Philip, personal communication, n.d.)

In the long run, the long-term goal, after removing dysfunctional systems and becoming healthy intellectually, emotionally, and spiritually, was then to become physically independent. “And this is fundamental about going home. And the idea of course is to try and free ourselves so that we could be economically and socially and independent and begin to live” (Philip, personal communication, n.d.).

We are getting away from the Department of Indian Affairs and generating our own revenues with taxation and adding value to our resources and being able to be more business conscientious in regards to being able to make profits and being able to use those revenues to better our community. (Henry, personal communication, n.d.)

### **What Must They Know?**

Chiefs need to know the history of the Anishinaabe including knowledge of sovereignty and treaty rights and the effects of historical trauma from colonialism. Chiefs need to know the values, ceremonies, and worldview of the Anishinaabe Constitution. Chiefs need to have economic, business, and administrative skills. Chiefs need to know what the vision for the community and Nation is.

**History.** Chiefs need to know the history of creation, migration, clan systems, values, ceremonies, language, and worldview in order to understand the Anishinaabe Constitution and Bimaadiziwin. Chiefs need to know about colonialism and the effects of historic trauma as well.

And then on the traditional and historical side, like they say if you don't know where you came from then how do you know where you are going? So I think it is paramount that our leaders have the education of our history, where we came from, who we are, where we are going. (Henry, personal communication, n.d.)

Chiefs need to know their constituents. They need to understand who and how they are going to lead. They need to know what Anishinaabe values are. The Anishinaabe have been treated badly by the dominant society. Many Ojibwe have lost their language and identity and have suffered greatly from this. Some of that which was lost needs to be brought back to undo the damage of assimilation policies of the federal government and historic trauma (Edward, personal communication, n.d.).

Chiefs need to understand treaty rights. Despite the Indian Act or Indian Reorganization Act, the Anishinaabe are still citizens of the Anishinaabe Nation and have sovereign rights. The treaties did not diminish this.

Chiefs need to know what historic trauma is and how colonialism and the assimilation policies of the federal governments have damaged communities, families, and individuals.

I worked with people here in the community, my own community. The challenges were extremely difficult because, what colonization does, colonization is probably one of the worst assaults on individuals or societies that exist globally. The social damage, the spiritual damage, the mental damage, in some cases may seem like its irreparable. (Philip, personal communication, n.d.)

**Anishinaabe Constitution.** All of the informants talked about needing to know and advocated the use of traditional Anishinaabe ways in order to be healthy, Bimaadiziwin, as talked about throughout this report.

I took my guidance from a medicine man. This medicine man told me what I been telling you. If you are in doubt, talk to the elders, listen to the elders. That is what that old man told me. And I got my knowledge from my grandfather. He was a spiritual leader. Like Sam Mitchell, we used to go to Wisconsin at Round Lake, to go to drum ceremony. I would pick him up at his house. He would start telling me everything. He would talk to me all the way and I would listen. As I got older and start carrying that drum, he would tell me all these things that I am telling you. (Charles, personal communication, n.d.)

George talked about receiving extensive knowledge by helping elders throughout his life. Philip's community, due to its seclusion, was able to retain vast amounts of cultural knowledge and practice in traditional Ojibwe ways. All of the informants talked about coaching or guiding members towards Bimaadiziwin via our traditional ways and systems.

**Leadership skills.** The informants talked about a variety of leadership skills throughout this report such as listening, unifying, guiding, community building, and building economic and social independence.

Henry was groomed from youth as hereditary by his father who exposed him to and tested him on chief duties. He said this helped him to be able to have foresight and to anticipate and prepare for things before they happened.

Henry was adamant about chiefs needing formal education in business and economics. He said chiefs were a "Jack of all trades," and education was an ongoing lifelong process (Henry, personal communication, n.d.). He was a member of many boards and economic development committees and continued to receive trainings and attend workshops.

I have always thought it's rather funny in the fact that politics is probably one of the only careers where you are not required to have a degree or certificate. Because when I look at a lot of governments and how dysfunctional they are I think a lot of it comes from the fact that they are not qualified to do those jobs. I think sooner or later we are going to have to put some policies and procedures in place so that our leadership does have a strong background in education and knowledge in what they are doing. (Henry, personal communication, n.d.)

**Vision.** "Chiefs need know the concerns and issues going on in the community and issues that face the Nation by researching and assessments" (Henry, personal

communication, n.d.). Philip talked about local and national assessments and strategic planning sessions and having membership clearly state their visions for the future.

Edward talked about getting out into the community and asking them to find solutions and work together. Henry went on to say that all of planning needs to include foresight considering several generations ahead for relatives yet unborn.

All informants talked about Bimaadiziwin and a need to return home to these.

### **What Do Chiefs Feel or Value?**

The values that were stated by the informants were (a) love, (b) respect, (c) honesty, (d) bravery, and (e) giving.

#### **Love.**

You have to have in your heart for everybody that comes to you that talks to you. You open up your heart to them. First thing when people come to talk to me I have them go put tobacco on that drum so that the Great Spirit hears us, hears me. Try and follow that rule the Great Spirit gave us—always tobacco first, always tobacco first. Basically the same way I talk about it. There is no separation in values or traditional way of life. (Charles, personal communication, n.d.)

Henry pointed out that there were always those who are less fortunate and need help. Much of this was due to the social dysfunction caused by historical trauma. Regardless, chiefs needed to “keep a certain degree of compassion in their hearts and in their lives” for those less fortunate and plan for that faction in budgets and programming (Henry, personal communication, n.d.).

#### **Respect.**

And he has got to be kind and zhawenimaa [pity/love/bless] people, and respect people, all people. Not only old people, regardless of race, you gotta respect who they are, what they do. If you don't like what they do, that doesn't mean you criticize them. (Charles, personal communication, n.d.)

Respect was a constant throughout this report including respect for membership, traditions, creation, drums, Spirits, elders, fellow Anishinaabe, and all people.

**Honesty.** Edward told about his admiration for the unpaid chief. He recounted a story where the unpaid chiefs went to Washington and were offered an exuberant amount of money for some land and bribes on the side, but they refused and let the community decide. He said that was missing today in many of the leaders, and they would probably take the bribe. “I think because of that type of leadership now we are seeing our communities deteriorate” (Edward, personal communication, n.d.).

Henry stated that chiefs needed to be accountable, truthful, and be honest to the people and themselves in everything they do. Finances needed to be transparent and used appropriately for the benefit of the community. “As long as you are honest in everything that you do and you tell the truth, then I think to me, that is the most important thing we can do as leaders” (Henry, personal communication, n.d.).

**Bravery.** A number of the core values listed in the literature review came out in the interviews. Charles spoke of bravery, which is one of the core values. Charles said that chiefs needed to be brave and face their errors and errors of the community. If they made poor decisions, they needed to face up to the consequences. Chiefs needed to find out whatever was wrong and try to correct it. That was a function of the chief.

**Giving.** The chief was always giving of self and possessions, almost a vow of poverty. Their commitment was to the well-being of the community. “You know me, as a chief, I don’t take myself in being rich. You gotta help the people out” (George, personal

communication, n.d.). Edward told one of his favorite stories that illustrated chiefs being poor and always giving.

There was this story about Benjamin Franklin visiting a village. They had an Indian that could interpret a little, so they asked the first guy they met, "Where is your leader, where's your chief?" And the guy kind of looked at them kind of puzzled. And so that guy explained to him again what they meant. And he said, "Oh, oh, him." He said, "Yeah, right over there," and he pointed there, the poorest man, and those White people looked at that guy and they said, "No, no, we want the chief, the head of the village." And he said, "Yeah that's him," and they kept looking at that guy, like you know, his teepee is all run down, he doesn't have anything. Then they said, "No, no." They are so used to their leaders being you know the throne, the crown, covered in gold. Then they explained to them, "Yeah he is our leader. You notice how he doesn't have anything, cause he gives everything away, but that is our leader." (Edward, personal communication, n.d.)

The unpaid elected chiefs in the 1950s gave of their time freely because they wanted to see things accomplished for the betterment of the community (Edward, personal communication, n.d.). Giving was reiterated later in this report.

### **How Do Chiefs Behave Toward Members?**

Chiefs listen, build community, empower, guide, and help.

**Listen.** "The thing is, the way I understand it, when I talked to my grandfather, the chief has to listen to the people. Nothing else matters but what the people want" (Charles, personal communication, n.d.).

The most important thing that the chief did was to listen. Not just to hear but to be an active listener, getting out into the community, visiting, asking, and finding out what the issues are and the needs of the community, getting their input and direction.

What my grandfather told me when the chief went visiting the people he asked what can I do for you? Not saying what I am going to do for you. You tell me what we need to do for you for the good of the people. That tells you a lot of things I know of what should happen. Nothing else matters except for what the

people want. And that's the way that old medicine man told me. (Charles, personal communication, n.d.)

If concerns were growing the chief would call meetings to find out what the people want (George, personal communication, n.d.). Keeping an ear out in the community, gauging how the people were doing, if they were happy or not. What was the message they were giving? What were their needs? Were they healthy? What impeded them? Find out from them how you could meet their needs ask them how to meet the needs of the community, ask them, "Cause once you start dictating then you are not leading anymore" (Edward, personal communication, n.d.).

Get out into the community and interact and dialogue with members.

That's one of the things you are supposed to do, interact with the people. And I expect people to do that, out of respect, to have respect for what I do, not for what I am, what I try to do for the people. I try to interact with all the people, like what I have been telling you, all this stuff. (Charles, personal communication, n.d.)

Chiefs ask the people what they want. They don't decide for them. Edward was told by his supervisor, the commissioner, to start an inpatient treatment program, but he asked him who wanted it, him or the people? He didn't want another fiasco like the assisted living units where the whole building stood empty. It was very important to listen to what the people want. "We can put an outpatient here on the rez based on what you said but it will sit empty. So that's why you need to listen to them. Listen to all of them" (Edward, personal communication, n.d.).

Chiefs got out and did assessments that involved the people. Ask them what the current state of affairs were, what needed to be done. Create a strategic plan. Create a local and national vision.

We have to work from the ground with all of these communities as well as working with the larger picture stuff, and how it's going to fit together. So every community went through the process of envisioning what that was going to look like, what they wanted their community to look like. They had knowledge of that. When we started developing these larger structures, the government, the information from the ground is dictating what that would look like. (Philip, personal communication, n.d.)

Listen and compromise, don't dictate. Ask the people what they thought was best for them or their families. "If you know something is wrong for the community, then you explain that to them, but the community gets the final say in what direction they want to go" (Charles, personal communication, n.d.).

If you were unable to come up with solutions, then go out and ask other people who might know such as elders, professionals. Use your tobacco and ask for spiritual guidance (Charles, personal communication, n.d.).

**Build community.** "To me, a good leader needs to pull the community together" (Edward, personal communication, n.d.). Community building was essential for building healthy communities.

You gotta start talking to people how they're supposed to take care of their communities and stuff like that. They get together and start helping each other instead of feuding. That's all over all the time. Even one family can't start anything by themselves. Everyone's gotta join in there and start helping. (George, personal communication, n.d.)

Edward talked about continually instilling leadership in your family and in the community, by not trying to do better just for yourself but also for your community.

"Always try to dream to do better for your community" (Edward, personal communication, n.d.).

I think they had the power like, "We need to have a meeting." I hear a lot of people complaining about housing, you know, they are too cold, or whatever. So

you know what you need to do here is, “Let’s get together and found out what the problem is and solve it.” Now when we identify the problem, what are we going to do about it? What do we need to do to fix it? Or, can we fix it? But that has to come from them. So you say, “Hey I think I got it,” and then you have the people try to help you. Well, I got some people right here. This guy knows how to do this, and he knows how to do that. Now let’s get this done. You don’t have to worry because you have enough trust in them. But you need to get that from them. (Edward, personal communication, n.d.)

Another example that Edward gave on community building was chiefs compromising or acquiescing to the other chiefs. In his story about the war chief wanting to war and administer a final crushing blow to the enemy Sioux, he was overridden by the other chiefs in council. Instead of breaking off and going rogue, he submitted to the other chiefs.

**Empower.** Empowering was a common theme embedded throughout this report by listening, building community, clans in council, and so forth. The families were empowered by having voice with their clans during council meetings. Every member was allowed to speak in council. Membership at the grassroots levels were lawmakers and deciding the fate and destiny of their communities. They also gave direction to the Nation.

Philip talked about empowering membership by motivating with speech, mobilizing them to create movement, direction, and willpower.

See what you are doing is speaking to the Spirit of the person. So when I get up and speak, I would be speaking like this. I would do my very best to try to capture the Spirit of the individual or the audience. And once you can capture the Spirit, because it is embodied, you must believe that everyone in the audience is embodied with their ancestor from way back, so what you are doing is making that Spirit live. And if you can capture that, then it’s the people that are going to push the leadership that are going to push for change to happen, to go home. You use all these words. It’s empowering the people. It’s empowering yourself. And that’s what I did. And that is also how I was able to move the chiefs. Because,

understand, that's what the people want, that's what they want. (Philip, personal communication, n.d.)

Philip said that when you empower the membership that for so long has been downtrodden by Western colonialism, "a whole new energy starts to come out. People start to see a light at the end of the tunnel, as something may change" (Philip, personal communication, n.d.).

**Guide.** Chiefs provided guidance to members with constant messages of healthy living such as Bimaadiziwin, respecting each other and treating each other as family, positive parenting, and general counseling.

I am always telling the people how to respect all of creation and have a good relationship with the Creator and everything. To me that is good leadership. But anyway, like I told you before, that is one thing that the chief tries to do, make people understand what they need to do with their lives. Try to sorta guide them. Make them understand what life is all about. That is what life is all about—putting tobacco out for the Great Spirit, for everything he gives us, you know like I told you before, the water, the animals, the birds and the trees. I always come back to that. It's really hard to go into the specifics of our way of life. Everything I talk about is spiritual. That's what I try to do when I talk to people. Everything is spiritual beings that are above us. That Spirit that takes the place of our drums, those are the things that we try to rectify our life so we can do the right thing, the way of life. That is what these drums are for. (Charles, personal communication, n.d.)

Charles talked about how drugs and alcohol were not our way of life and they were killing us. "And most of the people know that. But they go right ahead and wipe themselves out" (Charles, personal communication, n.d.). He said that lots of kids grow up thinking this was their way of life, but it was not. George iterated this as well:

I try to talk to these youngsters around here. Even if you go ask a fifty-year-old, forty-year-old, you ask them anything about traditional ways, they wouldn't know. They wouldn't know. They don't care to learn. They must have visions, they must have dreams, but they don't use them. They would rather have smoke, drugs. That's ruining them. I have spoken to a lot of people that are lost. They did

a lot of drinking. They did a lot of smoking pot. I healed them with the drums that I have. They cry right here on the table, by the table here. Then when they get through crying they bring everything out what's bothering them. I tell them about visions, ceremonies, guidings, and stuff like that. People are lost. A lot of people that is lost. They don't know where to go. They don't know who to go to. I enjoy working with the people. No matter who it is. (George, personal communication, n.d.)

Edward talked about always teaching people to treat each other respect and dignity. He said people needed to treat each other like relatives. That kept people together.

We are all together. That is how we should be. Whether you are from White Earth or Cass Lake, well you're my relative and I will treat you that way. Rather than "aw those guys." We should be treating them like family, relatives. (Edward, personal communication, n.d.)

Henry instilled a constant message to the community to provide quality parenting, that they should instill in children to be productive citizens and contribute to the community economies.

Many of the spiritually gifted talked about guidance through prayer either with their pipes, ceremony actives for the good of the community, or with their drums.

Zhawenimaag ongow aakoziig [love/pity/bleed the sick]. Some time somebody tells me about their grandchildren were having a hard time, not gonna pull through, pretty sickly, I grab my pipe and smoked it and I talk to the Spirits. Guide this person from here. Take care of them. (Charles, personal communication, n.d.)

### **Help.**

When you are chief you gotta help out. No matter who comes here you gotta help em out.

You gotta start helping your people out. You have to work with the community no matter who it is. I got four districts I help all the time. I stay home and wait for the people too, they would just come here when they need help, and stuff like that. When I am given tobacco, I have to be over there, no matter where it is, to go help

them. Even when you are out there somewhere, you gotta help the people out. Seem like it's a twenty-four hour service sometimes. Someone calls. They're stuck. Then you go after them to where they are stalled, help them out, don't charge them anything, and stuff like that. That's a lot of work, being a chief. (George, personal communication, n.d.)

Henry pointed out that there was some social dysfunction as well in the community. A lot of it was manifestation of historic trauma such as abuse and addictions. There were some members dealing with fetal alcoholism and family structure breakdown, and this was part of the everyday dealings of being a chief and needing to help. That was part of being chief.

### **How Do Members Behave Toward or Interact With the Chief?**

Members needed to (a) respect the chief, (b) communicate with the chief their needs and what the issues in the community are, (c) build community, and (d) support and empower the chief.

**Respect.** "And the community members, they are supposed to respect the chiefs. Some people respect me as a drum carrier. That's alright, that's fine. And I appreciate that" (Charles, personal communication, n.d.).

Respect him. I mean you don't need to put him on a pedestal. You should show some respect. I think that if he is a chief he earned that respect. That's why he is there. If he walked in here we don't need to all jump up, but I think we should offer him a chair, or offer him something to eat. If he asks, we should answer respectfully. (Edward, personal communication, n.d.)

Henry noted that there needed to be respect from members and communities outside of the reservation and tribal areas for traditional forms of leadership. There were many benefits of hereditary chieftainship that helped communities in terms of independence and sovereignty.

**Communicate with the chief.** Community members let the chief know what was going on, what their needs were, and what the issues were in the community. If there were conflicts, they could ask the chief to help out. “Years ago they just hounded at them, the chief, to straighten everything out” (George, personal communication, n.d.). If issues warranted, there would be community meetings. A message was sent around that there would be a meeting and everyone would show up.

A lot of people come here for, to see what’s going on. We would certainly have a big meeting here too some times, lotta people would come through, straighten their angers, a lot of angry people would come here and we would, I would straighten it out. (George, personal communication, n.d.)

Edward respected Charles as a hereditary chief of the Mille Lacs Reservation.

“His dad is one of the last active chiefs we had here” (Edward, personal communication, n.d.). Whenever Edward saw him he always went over and talked to him.

**Build community.** Membership help build community. Charles used an analogy of the drum ceremonies where official members of the drums represented specific Spirits associated with the drum. When there were absentee issues during ceremonies, it was because of animosities they held towards each other, which they were not supposed to do. “The Spirits we take the place of as members of the drum, is the one that suffers, they do not like that” (Charles, personal communication, n.d.). He explained in the same way that community members should not hold animosities towards other community members because then the community suffered.

Another part of building community was strengthening its knowledge of Bimaadiziwin. Philip said that the men, elders, and women needed to pick up their sacred bundles and items and understand their constitution to bring that strength to the Nation.

By strengthening themselves spiritually and intellectually, they were building community and Nation.

**Empower the chief.** By being active members in council, treating each other good, building community, learning healthy systems and their place and roles in Bimaadiziwin, and communicating with the chief, they not only empowered themselves but they empowered the chief. The power was in the people. The chief was empowered by the will of the people. “So I can stand here and scream sovereignty all I want, but without the rest of my Nation, that’s all I am doing is screaming” (Philip, personal communication, n.d.).

The Sioux and some Ojibwe were going to attack Fort Ripley. Chief Zhaabaashkang told the people here that there were some Mille Lacs band members that were working at Fort Ripley and he was going to go over there to make sure they were not harmed in any way. He said if anybody wants to come with him they can. And the whole Mille Lacs band got up and went with him. (Edward, personal communication, n.d.)

Edward explained that membership should offer help. “Always be there for him. Say I am here and I am your servant” (Edward, personal communication, n.d.). Always avail yourself of service to help the tribe with whatever skills you have or strengths. He explained that by helping the chief you were helping the community.

### **Unexpected Findings**

By far the greatest unexpected finding of this report is Bimaadiziwin (Anishinaabe Constitution). All informants talked about the importance of traditional ways and traditional forms of government. Most important was the concept of healthy living through traditional ceremonies and practices. Most of the chiefs spoke of this when providing guidance to the people. Philip was very explicit that the only way to survive at

all is to return *home* to the Anishinaabe Constitution; otherwise it would simply be a slow, painful death for the Ojibwe.

The election of chief systems imposed onto the Anishinaabe by the federal governments in both Canada and the United States is a top-down Western leadership concept that has proven detrimental if not destructive. The hereditary system precluded that. The selection process is a bottom-up emergent leadership system based on earned respect for individuals and what they do for community at the local level. National chief selection would then be choosing from candidates who have already been distinguished as entrusted servants.

Also key to the Anishinaabe Constitution or Bimaadiziwin is spirituality. Tobacco prayers with the pipe and drum are integral parts of council meetings and community life. The Anishinaabe Constitution's history and community social systems are filled with ceremony and worldviews that globally and holistically incorporate Spirits and dialogues with and invocation of the Spirits daily and seasonally.

The second major finding that was unexpected was the clans in council. Families belong to clans. During community council meetings, families sat with other families with the same clan. At the national level councils, the chiefs and their delegates would separate and go sit with their clan groups. On the local level, clans were responsible for the behavior and actions of all their clan members. If a transgression occurred between clans, then they were responsible for justice and retribution amongst each other. Clans served specific functions as legislative and governing bodies of the whole such as administration, police, health, and so forth. Most importantly, the councils served as the

decision making body for the community and Nation. The chief was not a director over the council. The power was in the membership and the chief represented that power or ability or will.

### **Summary of Traditional Ojibwe Civil Chief Leadership**

Traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership involves chief and councils at both local and national levels. Chiefs were either hereditary chiefs or selected with traditional methods of being given tobacco at council during a reselection. There was no campaigning. Membership voted for a selected candidate by standing behind them until a final candidate remained. The final candidate was then presented for acclimation by the membership.

Local and national councils are the decision or lawmakers. Councils are composed of clans and their families. Clans form the legislative body and have areas of specific responsibility areas or expertise such as administrative, health, police force, etc. Power is in the council and members. The chief represents the council or community.

The Western Constitution of elected chiefs is detrimental to the Anishinaabe. Informants point to a need to re-establish traditional government and social systems or the Anishinaabe Constitution, which is spiritually based in ceremonies, language, worldview, and daily and seasonal activities.

Chiefs in general protect rights and lives of members. They constantly work at unifying membership at national and local levels. The chiefs lead by following the direction of membership. Leadership is toward healthy living such as returning home to Bimaadiziwin in the Anishinaabe Constitution, and towards economic and social

independence from the federal governments. Leadership is also toward the vision of the membership.

Chiefs must know their history and culture such as ceremonies, worldview, values, and traditional systems. Chief need to know what *Bimaadiziwin* or Anishinaabe Constitution means and entails. Chiefs need to be trained in leadership skills described throughout this report such as listening, community building, empowering, economics, management, speaking, guidance, and values of traditional leadership. Chiefs need to know what the issues, direction, and vision of the membership are.

The primary values of traditional Ojibwe civil chief leaders are respect, honesty, love, bravery, and a sense of giving.

Chiefs interact with their community members by listening, building community, empowering, guiding, and helping. Chiefs actively listen by getting out and visiting members. They actively listen by calling meetings and also through conducting formal surveys. Chiefs listen to the will and direction of the membership. Chiefs build community and empower membership by listening to them and by involving them in active problem solving and decision or lawmaking in council. Chiefs provide ongoing guidance towards *Bimaadiziwin* and away from poor lifestyle choices such as drugs and alcohol. The chief is constantly giving of self and property by donating and providing assistance where and whenever needed.

The community's responsibility or behavior towards the chief is to respect the chief and provide assistance wherever possible for the betterment of the community. The

membership communicates their needs, issues, and direction to the chief. Power is in the people. Members empower the chief.

## CHAPTER V. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

### Introduction

Little is known about traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership. In this treatise, I used a qualitative *critical theory* research approach to answer my research question, “What is traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership?” I asked elders and spiritual leaders who the hereditary chiefs are and whom should be interviewed.

I assumed that information gathered from the interviews would be limited and fragmented because traditional chief systems have been replaced by federal elected chief systems for most of the last century and because there are very few hereditary chiefs left.

I found that chief knowledge was fragmented but it was distributed amongst the interviewees. Each has strengths in difference aspects of that knowledge. Because of his community’s isolation, Philip has strong indigenous worldview, language, traditional ceremonies, and has the strongest, though remnant, knowledge of government systems. Philip was a national elected chief but transformed their systems back to traditional chief selection processes as much as could be remembered by the elders. Charles is in his 80s and was taught when he was young by elders and medicine men who can remember back to when chiefs were active, and so was George. Henry is the last hereditary chief in office devolved from a line of hereditary chiefs. Except for Henry and the historic anomaly of his reserve, hereditary chiefs in the Treaty#3 area of Canada have been absent for well over a century. The United States hereditary chief systems were absent much less. There

still are hereditary chiefs, but not in office. Collectively, all of the informant responses paralleled much that was found in the literature review.

### **Conclusions**

To know what traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership is, we need to first understand the Anishinaabe worldview, or what Philip calls the *Anishinaabe Constitution*, and then look closer at the chiefs' functions in context of that constitution.

Throughout history, major parts of governance were given spiritually to the Anishinaabe, including the clan system, values, ceremonies, and duties and responsibilities to the Spirit world. The Anishinaabe history, language, governance, and worldview are all based on spiritual events. All of this record is preserved and maintained in the Midewiwin society of the Anishinaabe and permeates throughout all of Ojibwe culture. This worldview is the background knowledge of clans, council, and traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership.

In the creation story, the creator made the earth with the four elements of earth, water, wind, and fire. The creator then made plants, swimmers, animals, and fliers. Humans were last in this web of life. The Anishinaabe were given two rules by the creator to live by: (a) respect all of creation, and (b) use tobacco offerings to show that respect. Across time, the Anishinaabe waned from these original instructions and the Creator flooded the earth and Anishinaabe land was recreated on the back of the turtle, or turtle island of North America. Constant in the mind of the Anishinaabe is to respect creation as instructed and to not forget these instructions again. The Anishinaabe are members of this original first family which is all of creation. As opposed to Western

worldview where humans have domain of all of creations, the Anishinaabe are equal members.

The clan system was given to the Anishinaabe by the Creator to establish the governing system. Six beings representing the clans emerged out of the ocean, but one was too powerful and returned into the ocean. So there were then five original clans: crane, bear, marten, deer, and bullhead. The people were then grouped into clans. Clans are patrilineal. Clan members cannot marry someone of the same clan. All Anishinaabe of the same clan across the nation are considered brother and sister. Today there are more clans that are outspurts of these original five. Each clan had a specific duty, responsibility, or area of expertise. The bird clans are the leaders because of their broad view of the terrain from above. Civil chief leadership is specific to the crane and loon clans. The bear are in charge of police and medicines. The clans with claws, such as the marten, are the hunters, warriors, and strategists. The bullhead or fish are the teachers and philosophers. The deer or the hooved are the artisans. These clans represent the basic structure of Anishinaabe government. There are branches of the executive, military, health, education, and the arts. The clans also represent the original beings placed on earth during creation such as the swimmers, animals, and flyers, who in turn represent the elements of earth, water, and air. Fire, being the light or Spirit of the Creator, is put in all of creation.

Seven values were given to the Anishinaabe to further clarify the clan system. Seven spiritual beings were sent to teach the seven values which are love, respect,

honesty, truth, bravery, humility, and wisdom. These values were reiterated by the chiefs in the interviews.

Clans radiated out from a national center. In the winter, they spread further out into smaller hunting groups and converged back again in the summer. As clans grew in numbers, they split into neighboring communities, but clans tended to stay together in the same general geographical area. During the fur trade era, multi-clan villages emerged in the military fronts of Western expansion, primarily for safety reasons. Clans form the council the chief facilitates. Clans are responsible for the behaviors and actions of their fellow clan members. If reparations are to be made to another clan, it is the entire clan's duty. The clans ultimately are responsible for the safety and well-being of the community.

In the season-round economy of the Anishinaabe, all of creation is considered and respected. The major seasonal camps are maple sugar in the spring, population convergence in the summer (gardening and berries), ricing camps and garden harvest in the fall, and population disbursal into small hunting groups in the winter. All of life's sustenance such as food, shelter, and clothing, comes from the first family. Whenever some being is taken from nature, such as an animal or plant, tobacco is offered and prayers are made. Thanksgiving feasts are given at the beginning of each harvest, such as berries, rice, and garden. These seasonal activities are still ongoing today, but migration no longer continues.

Different ceremonial lodges and ceremonies were given to the Anishinaabe throughout history. In the shaking tent lodge, the shaker talks directly to the spirits to find

truth or answers such as causes of sicknesses, cures, or even guilty parties. The Midewiwin lodge is for life and medicines. If someone's life force is low and they are sickly or dying, the ceremony charges up their life forces again. Ceremonial drums came in the 1800s. The original drums were for peace and protection. Other type ceremonial drums emerged later. These drums are used in the round houses. The sweat lodge is used for purification. There a variety of ceremonies for rites of passage, and daily and seasonal activities.

In the Treaty#3 area of Ontario, the chief and council meetings are held in the ceremonial round houses accompanied by the drum and pipe and tobacco. As Philip pointed out, the council is held to be honest and responsible to the community and the all of the spirits and ancestors as they convene in the sacred round house. He went on further, explaining all of these, such as ancestors, spirits, and spiritual knowledge, are innate in every individual human being. "And as for the Spirit world and who really is the chiefs, they would say 'we are one with everything'" (Philip, personal communication, n.d.).

Gift giving and reciprocity is intrinsic in this worldview. When taking a being's life from nature such as plants or animals, the Anishinaabe give offerings back to their spirits. George talked about Mother Earth becoming angry because people are not gifting back to Mother Earth. Every time something is taken from Mother Earth, mandatory and in the least, a tobacco offering is given to pay back for what was taken. That is the original instruction given by the Creator. It is a spiritual balance of give and take. If you do not give back, you are in debt spiritually and out of balance. Philip was lectured about

this by the elders on who the real chiefs are—the spirits in all of creation—and his duties to them to continually make offerings to them. Whenever the spirits are asked for help, tobacco, food, and gifts are offered. There are give-aways or gift giving during seasonal ceremonies such as drum ceremonies or honoring the water ceremonies; this is also common in community powwows. It is a thanksgiving for life that is obtained from creation. The ethos is to always be giving, helping, and sharing, and not to be accumulating or materialistic. This is the ethos of community, clan, and chiefs.

Bimaadiziwin is talked about by all of the chiefs throughout their responses. Bimaadiziwin literally means life flow. It also means that your life is good, you are healthy, and your life is flowing smoothly. In context of Anishinaabe worldview, it means you are doing what you are supposed be doing as instructed by the Creator in honoring and respecting creation. It means, as George said, continuing the ceremonies passed down from generation to generation. It entails using all of the spiritual tools such as sacred items, bundle, and lodges given to the Anishinaabe. It means interacting and reciprocating with the spirits and all of creation. Bimaadiziwin is when all aspects of Anishinaabe worldview and systems are flowing physically, spiritually, emotionally, and intellectually. Charlie used prayer with tobacco and drums and remembered all of creation when he was looking for guidance for himself or if he needed help finding clarity or answers to issues. George talked about his dreams and direction he got from the spirits, that he was always counseling members to us the drum and tobacco. All of the chiefs talked about having to return to Bimaadiziwin to become healthy again. This was

what Philip described as *going home*, in order to begin to live again. Anishinaabe worldview and history give the background and context for civil chief leadership.

When I first became the leader of this community, the elders of this community called me in. One of the first things they told me, they had a drum there, we were rich with elders at that time, is that you are not the chief and don't ever call yourself the chief. The chiefs are in the hills. The chiefs are in this community. The chiefs are in this river, in this lake, in the trees. Everything that you see around you is where the chiefs are. And if you govern yourself accordingly, you have to go and put tobacco to these places around this community, offerings every spring and every fall. That's your duty. You are giving your offerings to the real chiefs that live amongst us. Failure to do that you will be guilty or negligent of your sacred duty as part of this government and our way of life. And every spring you must do this, you must have a feast, you must be part of all these ceremonies to make sure that everything, all the ceremonies: ceremonies for the blueberries, ceremonies for the wild rice, ceremonies for everything before they are even born into in the spring, so the spirits of those blueberries and the rice and so on and so forth that provided us with food, they would have a good crop, as well as there would be no illness in our people. So all of that is part of traditional Anishinaabe governance. (Philip, personal communication, n.d.)

This worldview or constitution of the Anishinaabe then is based on a rich history of spiritual events describing a reciprocal familial relationship with all of creation. It includes clans, values, lodges, and ceremonies collectively to form Bimaadiziwin. By first understanding the underlying foundations of this constitution, we can now look at traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership in the context of community and government structure.

Community structure and roles and responsibilities of the people are diagrammed in a series in concentric circles. The children are in the center circle, surrounded by a women's circle, then by an elders' circle, with the outside circle being the warriors' or men's. The women are in charge of the inside circles, making everyday decisions, and are heads of the house, keeping everything running smoothly. The name for woman, *ikwe*,

refers to *head*, or the one who thinks about what all the needs are in the inside circle. The elders are the advisers and wisdom keepers of the inside and outside circles. The elder women's name, *mindimoye*, means the one who keeps everything together. The elder men's name is *akiwenzi*, meaning knowledgeable of the earth for food, medicines, hunting, etc. The warriors' or men's job is the outside circle. Their job is to know where the threats are from the enemy or outside environment. Their job is to provide for the community, to know where the food and resources are. The men's job is to provide and protect. Men make the rare decisions such as war, hunting areas, or relocating the village. They are in charge of decisions pertaining to outside the community such as grand councils and regional and national issues. So again, at the center of the community are the children, and as Philip illustrated, "If there is any harm that is going to happen to this child, they are going to have come through us first" (personal communication, n.d.). This community structure lies nested in and on the constructs of the Anishinaabe Constitution.

When the community needs to address issues or concerns, the chief calls a council meeting. At the start of each council meeting, the pipe is smoked and tobacco is offered. It is offered to the Creator and all of creation including air, land, and water. A fire is usually kept. All of the spirits are invoked for their presence, beseeching their assistance in thinking straight and making correct decisions for the benefit of the community. So when you are talking in council to someone in the bear clan, you are also talking to the bear Spirit who also represents the animals and represents the land. You are also standing in front of the Creator and you have to adhere to the seven values including being honest,

telling the truth, being respectful, and being humble. This is why Edward said the elders of Mille Lacs wanted the pipe in the court systems.

The clan chief or clan spokesperson was usually the elder patriarch of the clan. Civil chiefs were elder chiefs compared to younger war chiefs. Hereditary chieftainship devolved down clan lines to the eldest son first, but the selection could go across paternal clan lines or outside if needed. This system was maintained since the time the clan spirits emerged from the ocean.

In the literature review, chief selection was based on clan and respect earned by service to community as skilled hunter, war leadership, and/or spiritual leadership. Selection based on earned respect was iterated by Philip as well. The distinction between hereditary chief and the traditional selection process described by Philip is not evident, but in both cases, the final approval of the chief was by the community.

Chief selection was emergent starting at local levels. At the local level, the chief was called a *Gaagiigidowinini* or speaker man. If an issue affected more than one local area, a council of chiefs was convened with a head chief or *Ogimaa* selected from those chiefs. Greater area councils had a big chief or *Gichi-ogimaa*, and the grand chief at the national level was called *Nitam*, meaning foremost. Crane and loon clans were by default chief still where applicable. During the final and desperate years just before the reservation era of the late 1800s, the war chiefs—regardless of clan—had a brief audacious rise to the forefront of Anishinaabe civil leadership in the United States.

The greater area chiefs were situational only. The Anishinaabe were not a nation state. Former national events were limited to war and treaty signing. Members were not

bound by any law to follow the orders of the chief. If members did not agree with the leadership in the past, they could break away and start their own village elsewhere. Members were free to leave, but social structures such as clan, economy, safety, and values weighed in on conformity. Charles talked about the chiefs having to compromise and go with the will of the people. George talked about the people having to listen to the chief.

Today there are two constitutions, the Anishinaabe Constitution, and the Western European Constitution of the United States and Canada. The Western Constitution has been and continues to be oppressive to the Anishinaabe. It is part of a long, ongoing historic trauma based on European colonialism.

The Anishinaabe Constitution, in terms of governance, came to an abrupt stop at the start of the reservation era. On the reservations, historic trauma and colonial oppression came to a vortex in Anishinaabe life. Federal Indian agents vehemently controlled all activities on the reservation. A serious attempt of cultural genocide was placed on the Anishinaabe. Three of the most powerful Western institutes (church, education, and government) colluded to wipe out the Anishinaabe Constitution in order to assimilate the Anishinaabe into Western society. Ceremonies were outlawed and all of the children were taken away to boarding schools for many years to erase all language, spirituality, and worldviews of the Anishinaabe. This vortex was a magnet for predators of all sorts from sexual to economic, land, and resource exploitation. This ongoing historic trauma has created self-oppression and social sickness and dysfunction in Anishinaabe society.

Reservation election systems were created by the Canadian and United States federal systems. Recently, federal program dollars and services were moved into the control of tribes, creating jobs and resources. Elected tribal leaders today control and use these jobs and resources to reward or punish voters. Members are afraid to speak out against nepotism and favoritism in fear of losing their jobs. A handful of elected tribal council members have absolute power over the reservation with a simple majority of three votes.

Members are dismissive of and complacent with corrupt tribal government and see it as the norm and do not participate. Despite this corruption, community members continue to keep the officials in office in order to have personal access to limited resources for self-preservation. Election campaigns travel through the gang and drug networks of prisons and drug houses. Each new election brings in sweeping firings of directors in high-paying jobs to be replaced with supporters of the newly elected tribal council. Political hires with little motivation, expertise, or vested interest are put in charge of major departments. This ephemeral leadership is felt by subordinate workers and program decay. This type of self-oppressive government only exacerbates the social historic trauma milieu of the Anishinaabe today. People call for a return to traditional government, but no one seems to know what that is.

Philip worked as a counselor and therapist for his tribe. He worked with all of the dysfunctions and illnesses of historic trauma such as sexual, physical, and emotional abuse as well as addictions and other manifestations. He saw the damage done and what needed to happen to change it, and that was to return to the Anishinaabe Constitution. He

said that if you look at an abused person, “You will find a humiliated shattered Spirit that says ‘I want to live again. I want to go home to place of my ancestors. It is only in that place I will be able to live again’” (Philip, personal communication, n.d.). Philip saw the bottom of colonial oppression. Philip explicitly says we must return home as Anishinaabe or else we will continue on a path of death.

As the new chief, the elders said Philip had to do something about the pervasive drug problem on the reservation. Rather than looking to the federal government for intervention, Philip re-empowered the community. Based on the old stories of council such as the rape incident, he had the community decide the drug issue in council and in clans. He recused himself because he felt he was a federal agent as an elected chief of the Canadian Indian Act. The council decided three strikes and you would be banished for drug dealing. Philip brought the decision, or law, to the national assembly for endorsement. At the national assembly he was elected Grand Chief of the Treaty#3 Nation. He convinced all 28 of the grand council chiefs to resign their elected chief position and go back to their communities and go through the traditional selection process. What he did was to make a radical and revolutionary change to the elected tribal government system back to indigenous systems. He was empowering the people. He was leading people *home*.

The next step in understanding traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership is to look at how the chief functions in context of the Anishinaabe Constitution already described.

Governance is run by the clans in council. The chief facilitates council meetings. The chief is a tool for the community and works for the people, not for himself. The chief

is a symbol of the people's will. The power is in the people. They tell the chief their needs and what direction they want to go. Community members also help provide solutions and work in accomplishing tasks. Their job is much like the chief's job is towards them. They are responsible for building unity and community. They listen to and respect the chief. The people empower the chief and the chief empowers the people.

The chief's primary function to the people is to listen to them—listen to them as a whole. This means actively getting out and visiting with the people to survey, assess, and evaluate. Progress reports are heard from the clans as well—find out what direction they want to go. It also means advocating for what the chief knows or feels is right.

The chief builds community. One of the most important ways to do this is empower the people. Let them have community dialogue and make community decisions by processing issues or tasks. Let them set their own agenda, vision, or strategic plan. Provide guidance and conflict resolution. Work with people for solutions. Part of that community building is being willing to compromise with the people and with the other chiefs.

The chief also coaches members to provide service and leadership to the community, encouraging people to respect each other and help one another, follow healthy living styles, and to pray using tobacco, the drums, and ceremonies. This is a constant message of Bimaadiziwin.

The chief is value driven and has love and compassion for all members without judging who they are or what they have done. They are always helping and giving of themselves and their property to help meet the community's needs. The chief is honest

with himself, the people, and the Spirit world. The chief has to be brave and face the issues and the consequences of his decisions to continue to stay moving forward in a good direction.

There is a myriad of things the chief has to know. They need to know the Anishinaabe Constitution, which includes creation, clans, values, migration, ceremonies, the language, and traditional governance systems. They need to know historic trauma and its effects on Anishinaabe life. They need know sovereignty and treaty law. They need to have managerial and leadership skills. They must understand and appreciate the need for continual training and lifelong learning. They need to know what the concerns and issues are that the community faces internally and externally. The need to know the vision of the community they serve. They need to know how to speak on behalf of the community.

The chief's responsibility is to provide for safety, protection, and well-being of the people. This is the outside circle duty. Just as the hunters and warriors need to know the terrain outside the community in order to provide and protect, the chief needs to know and stand against social, political, and economic threats. This is accomplished by involving and empowering the people in the education and decision making processes. It is accomplished in prayers and ceremonies. The chief unifies and builds community at the local and national levels. The chief leads the tribe home to the Anishinaabe Constitution, so they can be healthy and independent socially, politically, and economically.

Traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership is part of the Anishinaabe Constitution. It is part of an organization of systems that includes the Creator, creation, clans, councils,

ancestors, spirits, language, and year-round ceremonies. The chief represents the people.

The people empower the chief.

The spiritual component of our culture is central to our government. That is the life force. Without it we self-destruct.... "Who is the chief? Who is the principal speaker, all of this?" And of course, our chiefs could not speak English at that time. But they kept saying "we are one with everything." That is how they would say it. (Philip, personal communication, n.d.)

### **Recommendations for Future Research**

Further research needs to be conducted looking at the selection process described by Philip in the Treaty#3 areas. Philip said that the elders were surveyed on traditional forms of government and the selections process and that is what they described. Evidence in the literature review spoke of spiritual leadership, war leadership, and clan lineage as major considerations in chief selection but, oddly only referred to hereditary chiefs and was silent on a selection process as described by Philip.

Historically, there was a split in the western migration of the Ojibwe along the northern and southern shores of Lake Superior. The southern migration was by far denser in Dakota, where enemies and multi-clans emerged for safety reasons. During the last few decades before the reservation era, war chiefs briefly moved to the forefront of civil chief leadership in the southwest portion of Ojibwe country. Any of these factors could have contributed to that selection process.

Further research should be conducted on traditional Ojibwe ceremonies, especially the non-lodge ceremonies such as the rights of passage and numerous seasonal ceremonies. Many are fading in the hegemony of dominate society. Research in this area

will help in maintaining the vitality of Anishinaabe culture and could retain and explain in greater detail the interrelationship between the Anishinaabe and the Spirit world.

### **Suggestions for Change**

Constitutional reforms need to change the entire system of governance, not just tweak the current ones that don't work or simply satisfy hidden agendas such as what is happening today. The system does not work.

New systems need to be bottom-up that have local Indian councils with local chief selected from their spokespersons. Heads of households (like the hunting groups) would have a spokesperson in local council. All members have a right to speak. Individuals would sit with same clan members. There are ceremonies for finding your clan if you don't know it. Local council chiefs could form a district council of chiefs and choose a head chief from their chiefs. This can be repeated up to grand council that crosses into and connects with Anishinaabe in Canada. Like in Canada, tribal council meetings in the U.S. might be held in the ceremonial dance halls with the ceremonial drums present.

Chiefs need to be selected at the local level using tobacco and not elected, and no campaigning. After a final candidate is selected they must be presented to the group for consensus or acclimation.

Local councils can develop restorative justice systems to deal with local issues when the local chief is not able to intervene.

Local councils need to be empowered to make local decisions such as housing and allocation of emergency monies, rather than elected officials. There needs to be a degree of local self-governance and decentralization of power.

Hire-and-fire authority needs to be removed from tribal council and **rested** in human resources or peer systems.

A simple tactic for change is to have a petition for a referendum for constitutional reform at each polling place during an election. The petition should clearly state a referendum for a change to traditional government.

New tribal leadership training institutes could focus on traditional leadership and governance research and models.

Language is essential to the Anishinaabe Constitution. Language is the glue that holds the Anishinaabe Constitution together. Immersion schools are being created in the U.S. because language loss is so extensive. Canada “Goshkoziyok” needs to create immersion schools before they follow in the footsteps of the U.S. in language loss. Language needs to be a top budget priority for tribal councils and not peripheral activities.

Tribal officials need to have and give trainings on traditional government and leadership and need to create change to traditional government.

### **Summary**

Traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership developed over a long history of cultural evolution and historical spiritual events. The clan system is the foundation and driver of the traditional governance system. Traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership could

probably better be called traditional Ojibwe clan council and chief leadership because the power is the people. The clan system is intricately connected to the elements and animals of creation, the Spirit world, and ceremonies. Traditional leadership is egalitarian and spiritually centered. Council meetings start with tobacco offerings and the invocation of the Spirit world for their help. The chief is emergent bottom-up leadership. The chief is spokesperson and servant to the people.

These systems were oppressed by Western colonialism. Historic trauma greatly affected the Anishinaabe. The Anishinaabe now understand this and are looking for change. The informants consistently referred to the need to return to Bimaadiziwin or the Anishinaabe Constitution. This treatise researches what traditional Ojibwe civil chief leadership is in order to add to the body of knowledge of leadership. It is hoped that this research may contribute to future tribal government restructuring.

We are connected to all of creation. That is who we are. I would sit all day when I was little, out in the woods, and just listen and watch everything, the grass, the ants, the sun and clouds. I would hear my grandma and the aunties say I was in-tune with everything. Even the deer would come up and sniff me while I sat there. I guess the deer would come by me because I was at peace, because I felt I was at home. (Clarice Mountain, personal communication, March 9, 2013)

### References

- A.I.R. Policy Center. (n.d.). *Traditional American Indian leadership*. Retrieved from <http://www.airpi.org/research/tdlead.html>
- Angel, M. (2002). *Preserving the sacred: Historical perspectives on the Ojibwa midewiwin*. Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada: University of Manitoba Press.
- Angmarlik, P., Kulchyski, P. K., McCaskill, D. N., & Newhouse, D. (1999). *In the words of elders: Aboriginal cultures in transition*. Toronto, Ontario, Canada: University of Toronto Press.
- Archuleta, M., Child, B., Lomawaima, K. T., & Heard Museum. (2000). *Away from home: American Indian boarding school experiences, 1879-2000*. Phoenix, AZ: Heard Museum.
- Aristotle's politics* (B. Jowett, Trans.). (1923). Oxford, England: Clarendon Press.
- Banks, D., & Erdoes, R. (2004). *Ojibwa warrior : Dennis Banks and the rise of the American Indian Movement*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Baraga, F. (1976). *Chippewa Indians, as recorded by Rev. Frederick Baraga in 1847*. New York, NY: Studia Slovenica, League of Slovenian Americans.
- Barnouw, V. (1961). Chippewa social atomism. *American Anthropologist*, 63(5, Part 1), 1006-1013.
- Barnouw, V. (1977). *Wisconsin Chippewa myths & tales and their relation to Chippewa life*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Benton-Banai, E. (1988). *The Mishomis book : The voice of the Ojibway*. St. Paul, MN: Red School House.
- Bishop, C. A. (1974). *The Northern Ojibwa and the fur trade: An historical and ecological study*. Toronto, Ontario, Canada: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada.
- Black, M. B. (1979). *An ethnoscience investigation of Ojibwa ontology and world view* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Stanford University, Stanford, CA.
- Bohaker, H. (2006). Nindoodemag: The significance of Algonquian kinship networks in the Eastern Great Lakes region, 1600-1701. *William and Mary Quarterly*, 63(1), 23.
- Booth, W. C., Colomb, G. G., & Williams, J. M. (1995). *The craft of research*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

- Bradford, W. (2007). *The claim for Indian redress: How the West was stolen*. Retrieved from <http://academic.udayton.edu/race/02rights/native14.htm>
- Brave Heart, M. Y., & DeBruyn, L. M. (1998). The American Indian holocaust: Healing historical unresolved grief. *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research: Journal of the National Center*, 8(2), 56-78.
- Brown, R. (1976). Reference: In memorial tribute to Eric Lenneberg. *Cognition*, 4, 125-153.
- Buffalohead, P. K. (1983). Farmers, warriors, traders: A fresh look at Ojibway women. *Minnesota History*, 48(6), 236-244.
- Catlin, G. (1841). *Letters and notes on the manners, customs, and condition of the North American Indians* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). London, England: Author.
- Churchill, W. (2004). *Kill the Indian, save the man: The genocidal impact of American Indian residential schools*. San Francisco, CA: City Lights.
- Colonialism*. (2013). Retrieved from [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonialism#cite\\_note-1](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonialism#cite_note-1)
- Copway, G. (1850). *The traditional history and characteristic sketches of the Ojibway nation*. London, England: Charles Gilpin.
- Countries and their cultures*. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.everyculture.com/North-America/Ojibwa.html#ixzz2Lm4J8j4p>
- Crawford, D. A. (1967). *Minnesota Chippewa Indians: A handbook for teachers*. St. Paul, MN: Upper Midwest Regional Educational Laboratory.
- Creswell, J. W. (1994). *Research design: Qualitative & quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Danziger, E. J. (1978). *The Chippewas of Lake Superior*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Davenport, F. G., & Paullin, C. O. (Eds.). (1967). *European treaties bearing on the history of the United States and its dependencies*. Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith.
- Deloria, V. (1992). *God is red: A native view of religion* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Golden, CO: North American Press.

- Densmore, F. (1979). *Chippewa customs* (Reprinted ed.). St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press.
- Diedrich, M. (1986). *The chiefs hole-in-the-day of the Mississippi Chippewa*. Minneapolis, MN: Coyote Books.
- Diedrich, M. (1990). *Ojibway oratory: Great moments in the recorded speech of the Chippewa, 1695-1889*. Rochester, MN: Coyote Books.
- Doherty, R. (1990). *Disputed waters: Native Americans and the Great Lakes fishery*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky.
- Dunning, R. W. (1959). *Social and economic change among the northern Ojibwa*. Toronto, Ontario, Canada: University of Toronto Press.
- Emerson, E. R. (1965). *Indian myths or legends, traditions, and symbols of the aborigines of America compared with those of other countries, including Hindostan, Egypt, Persia, Assyria, and China*. Minneapolis, MN: Ross & Haines.
- Fagan, B. M. (1984). *Clash of cultures*. New York, NY: W.H. Freeman.
- Hallowell, A. I. (1975). Ojibwa ontology, behavior, and world view. In D. Tedlock & B. Tedlock (Eds.), *Teachings from the American earth: Indian religion and philosophy* (pp. 144-144-173). New York, NY: Liveright.
- Hallowell, A. I. (1976). *Contributions to anthropology: Selected papers of A. Irving Hallowell*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Hallowell, A. I., & Brown, J. S. H. (1992). *The Ojibwa of Berens River, Manitoba: Ethnography into history*. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Hansen, L. (1987). Chiefs and principal men: A question of leadership in treaty negotiations. *Anthropologica*, 29(1), 39-60.
- Henry, A., & Quaife, M. M. (1921). *Alexander Henry's travels and adventures in the years 1760-1776*. Chicago, IL: R. R. Donnelley & Sons.
- Hickerson, H. (1962). *The Southwestern Chippewa; an ethnohistorical study*. Menasha, WI: American Anthropological Association.
- Hickerson, H. (1988). *The Chippewa and their neighbors: A study in ethnohistory* (Rev. and expand ed.). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Hickerson, H., Knuth, H., & United States Indian Claims Commission. (1974). *Ethnohistory of Chippewa of Lake Superior*. New York, NY: Garland.

- History of tribal self-governance initiative*. (2013). Retrieved from [http://www.tribalselfgov.org/Red%20Book/The%20History%20&%20Goals/history\\_of\\_the\\_tribal\\_self.htm](http://www.tribalselfgov.org/Red%20Book/The%20History%20&%20Goals/history_of_the_tribal_self.htm)
- Hodgins, B. W., & Benidickson, J. (1989). *The Temagami experience: Recreation, resources, and aboriginal rights in the Northern Ontario wilderness*. Toronto, Ontario, Canada: University of Toronto Press.
- Institute for Government Research. (1928). *Meriam report: The problem of Indian administration*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press.
- Jeness, D. (1954). *The Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island: Their social and religious life*. Ottawa, Ontario, Canada: J. O. Patenaude.
- Johnston, B. (1976). *Ojibway heritage*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Johnston, B. (1981). *Tales the elders told: Ojibway legends*. Toronto, Ontario, Canada: Royal Ontario Museum.
- Johnston, B. (1990). *Ojibway heritage*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Johnston, B. (1995). *The Manitous: The spiritual world of the Ojibway*. New York, NY: HarperCollins.
- Johnston, B., & Noel, M. (1993). *Tales of the Anishinaubaek*. Toronto, Ontario, Canada: Royal Ontario Museum.
- Katz, D., & Kahn, R. L. (1966). *The social psychology of organizations*. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Kegg, M., & Nichols, J. (1991). *Portage Lake: Memories of an Ojibwe childhood*. Edmonton, Alberta, Canada: University of Alberta Press.
- Kohl, J. G. (1985). *Kitchi-gami : Life among the Lake Superior Ojibway [Kitschi-Gami.]*. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press.
- Kugel, R. (1985). Factional alignment among the Minnesota Ojibwe, 1850-1880. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 9(4), 23-47.
- Kugel, R. (1998). *To be the main leaders of our people: A history of Minnesota Ojibwe politics, 1825-1898*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press.
- Landes, R. (1937). *Ojibwa sociology*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Loew, P. (2001). *Indian nations of Wisconsin: Histories of endurance and renewal*. Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society Press.

- Long, J. (1791). *Voyages and travels of an Indian interpreter and trader, describing the manners and customs of the North American Indians: With an account of posts situated on the River Saint Laurence, Lake Ontario, etc. to which is added a vocabulary of the Chippeway language*. New York, NY: Johnson Reprint Corp. (Original work published 1968)
- Longman's Magazine*, 29(XXIX). (November 1896-April 1897). Retrieved from <http://books.google.com/books?id=cVocAQAAIAAJ&pg=PA293&lpg=PA293&dq=wagered+one+hundred+dollars+against+a+jossakeed&source=bl&ots=9vpuKvQ9BB&sig=aKsKjRoh78fAMFzfddrs2xmtlpw&hl=en&sa=X&ei=zuwdUb-9J6Pg2gWy3YCwBQ&sqi=2&ved=0CDkQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q=wagered%20one%20hundred%20dollars%20against%20a%20jossakeed&f=false>
- Lurie, N. O. (1980). *Wisconsin Indians*. Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
- Marx, K. (1968). *The Communist manifesto* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). New York, NY: Monthly Review Press.
- Mason, P. P. (Ed.) (1997). *Schoolcraft's Ojibwa lodge stories: Life on the Lake Superior frontier*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press.
- McIntosh, J. (1843). *The origin of the North American Indians: With a faithful description of their manners and customs ... including various specimens of Indian elequence ... among the Indians of North America*. New York, NY: Nafis & Cornish.
- McSloy, S. P. (2013). *A bird's eye view of Native American law. Race, racism, and the law*. Retrieved from [http://racism.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=417:native15&catid=121:articles-related-to-indigenous-peoples&Itemid=140](http://racism.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=417:native15&catid=121:articles-related-to-indigenous-peoples&Itemid=140)
- Mead, M. (1937). *Cooperation and competition among primitive peoples*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill. Retrieved from <https://www.lib.umn.edu/slog.phtml?url=http://content.apa.org/books/2008-15335-000>
- Meyer, M. L. (1994). *The White Earth tragedy: Ethnicity and dispossession at a Minnesota Anishinaabe reservation, 1889-1920*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Miller, C. (2003). *Ojibwe leadership in the early nineteenth century* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC.
- Milwaukee Public Museum. (2007). *Ojibwe culture*. Retrieved from <http://www.mpm.edu//wirp/ICW-51.html>

- Mintz, S. (2003a). *Clearing the land of Indians: Native American voices: Digital history*. Retrieved from <http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/historyonline/handouts.cfm>
- Mintz, S. (2003b). *Indian power: Native American voices: Digital history*. Retrieved from [http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/native\\_voices/nav4.html](http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/native_voices/nav4.html)
- Mintz, S. (2003c). *Kill the Indian and save the man: Native American voices: Digital history*. Retrieved from [http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/native\\_voices/nav4.html](http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/native_voices/nav4.html)
- Mintz, S. (2003d). *Native Americans and European contests for empire: Native American voices: Digital history*. Retrieved from [http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/native\\_voices/nav2.html](http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/native_voices/nav2.html)
- Mintz, S. (2003e). *Native Americans at the turn of the century: Native American voices: Digital history*. Retrieved from [http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/native\\_voices/nav4.html](http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/native_voices/nav4.html)
- Mintz, S. (2003f). *Revivalization and renewal: Native American voices: Digital history*. Retrieved from [http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/native\\_voices/nav4.html](http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/native_voices/nav4.html)
- Morison, S. E. (1972). *Samuel de Champlain, father of New France*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown.
- Newcomb, S. (1992, Fall). Five hundred years of injustice. *Shaman's Drum*, 18-20.
- O'Brien, S. (1989). *American Indian tribal governments*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Ohio History Center. (2005). *Tecumseh*. Retrieved from <http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/entry.php?rec=373>
- Patton, M. Q., & Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Peacock, T. D. (1989). *Internal tribal disputes in the age of self-determination* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Harvard Graduate School of Education, Cambridge, MA.
- Peacock, T. D., & Wisuri, M. (2001). *Ojibwe waasa inaabidaa = We look in all directions*. Afton, MN: Afton Historical Society Press.
- Peers, L. L. (1994). *The Ojibwa of Western Canada, 1780 to 1870: 1780-1870*. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

- Pike, Z. M., & Jackson, D. D. (1966). *Journals, with letters and related documents* [An account of expeditions to the sources of the Mississippi]. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Plain, F. (1997). *First Nations international court of justice: A message from the elders/chiefs of Ontario Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://www.chiefs-of-ontario.org/magazine/1-03.html>
- Quimby, G. I. (1960). *Indian life in the Upper Great Lakes 11,000 B.C. to A.D. 1800*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Redsky, J. (1972). *Great leader of the Ojibway: Mis-quona-queb*. Toronto, Ontario, Canada: McClelland and Stewart.
- Rogers, E. S. (1978). Southeastern Ojibwa. In B. G. Trigger (Ed.), *Handbook of North American Indians* (Vol.15, pp. 760-771). Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Rohrl, V. J. (1981). *Change for continuity: The people of a Thousand Lakes*. Washington, DC: University Press of America.
- Ross, R. (1992). *Dancing with a ghost: Exploring Indian reality*. Markham, Ontario, Canada: Octopus Books.
- Roufs, T. G. (2006). *Chiefs and councils, when everybody called me Gah-bay-bi-nays: "forever-flying-bird": An ethnographic biography of Paul Peter Buffalo*. Retrieved from [http://www.d.umn.edu/cla/faculty/troufs/Buffalo/PB05.html#N\\_1\\_](http://www.d.umn.edu/cla/faculty/troufs/Buffalo/PB05.html#N_1_)
- Sapir, E. (1929). The status of linguistics as a science. *Language*, 5(4), 207-214.
- Schenck, T. M. (1997). *The voice of the crane echoes afar: The sociopolitical organization of the Lake Superior Ojibwa, 1640-1855*. New York, NY: Garland.
- Schmalz, P. S. (1991). *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*. Toronto, Ontario, Canada: University of Toronto Press.
- Schoolcraft, H. R. (1833). *Expedition through the upper Mississippi to Itasca Lake*. Retrieved from <http://www.library.wisc.edu/etext/wireader/WER1604.html>
- Schoolcraft, H. R. (1851). *The American Indians: Their history, condition and prospects, from original notes and manuscripts* (New rev. ed.). Buffalo, NY: G.H. Derby.
- Schoolcraft, H. R. (1978). *The Indian in his wigwam, or, characteristics of the red race of America. From original notes and manuscripts*. New York, NY: AMS Press. (Original work published 1848)

- Shields, N. D. (2001). *Anishinabek political alliance in the post-confederation period: The Grand General Indian Council of Ontario, 1870-1936*. Retrieved from <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk3/ftp05/MQ63366.pdf>
- Shifferd, P. A. (1976). A study in economic change: The Chippewa of Northern Wisconsin, 1854-1900. *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology*, 6(4), 16-41.
- Shkilnyk, A. M., & Shkilnyk, A. (1985). *A poison stronger than love: The destruction of an Ojibwa community*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Skinner, A. (1914). *Political organization, cults, and ceremonies of the Plains-Ojibway and Plains-Cree Indians*. New York, NY: The Trustees.
- Smith, J. G. E. (1973). *Leadership among the Southwestern Ojibwa*. Ottawa, Ontario, Canada: National Museums of Canada.
- Steinbring, J. H. (1981). Saulteaux of Lake Winnipeg. In J. Helm (Ed.), *Handbook of North American Indians* (Vol. 6, pp. 244-255). Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Tanner, H. H., & Hast, A. (1987). *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian history*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Tibbetts, J. (2006). Leech Lake candidate information. *De-Bah-Ji-Mon = Telling News*, 20(13), 11.
- Treuer, A. S. (2010). *The assassination of Hole in the Day*. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Press.
- Vecsey, C. (1983). *Traditional Ojibwa religion and its historical changes*. Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society.
- Vennum, T. (1982). *The Ojibwa dance drum: Its history and construction*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Waisberg, L. & Holzkamm, T. (2001). *We have one mind and one mouth. It is the decision of all of us. Traditional Anishinaabe governance of treaty #3*. Retrieved from [http://www.gct3.net/wp-content/uploads/2008/01/trad\\_gov.pdf](http://www.gct3.net/wp-content/uploads/2008/01/trad_gov.pdf)
- Warren, W. W. (1885). *History of the Ojibways: Based upon traditions and oral statements*. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press.
- Warren, W. W. (1984). *History of the Ojibway people* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

- White, B. (2013). *A skilled game of exchange*. Retrieved from <http://collections.mnhs.org/MNHHistoryMagazine/articles/50/v50i06p229-240.pdf>
- White, B. M. (1982). Give us a little milk: The social and cultural meanings of gift giving in the Lake Superior fur trade. *Minnesota History*, 48(2), 60-71.
- Whorf, B. L., & Carroll, J. B. (Eds.). (1964). *Language, thought, and reality: Selected writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Winter, J. C. (2000). *Tobacco use by Native North Americans: Sacred smoke and silent killer*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Zigzag & Keyway. (2011). *Unsettling America: Decolonization in theory & practice*. Retrieved from <http://unsettlingamerica.wordpress.com/2011/01/17/decolonization-101/>