

brought classification as sibling. The totemic groups were patrilineal (membership was inherited through the father) and exogamous (marriage with a clan sibling was not permitted).

The basic cooperative group was the nuclear family, but there was always the possibility of forming a larger group consisting of related families as conditions permitted. Wider cooperation, when needed or desired, was possible through the mechanism of kinship. The band was not itself an organization with a readily definable function, but, since almost all members were related, it was the group the members of which might cooperate, and, aside from totemic values, intermarry.

Social and political controls were not highly developed, nor were they necessary in such small bands that were, for most of the year, divided into smaller kin groups. A man recognized as having stronger supernatural powers than most, often a shaman or medicine man, served as leader when necessary. Social control was maintained largely through fear of witchcraft, harm befalling those guilty of hostile acts or thoughts. Sickness was seen as a consequence of witchcraft, and often the cure involved, in effect, public confession of possible "sins." Interpersonal and intergroup hostility, to which fears of witchcraft relate, appears to be a marked characteristic of all Ojibwa groups. The fear and avoidance of individuals and groups not immediately related may have been functionally related to maintaining social and spatial distance under natural conditions in which interdependency had to be discouraged. It has, under other conditions, operated to prevent cooperation where such was desirable.

Among the southwestern Ojibwa of Minnesota and Wisconsin, the 19th Century saw the rise of chieftainship. Ecological conditions had permitted, continuous warfare the larger populations had demanded, and whites had insisted, that various types of chiefs be developed to deal with specific, recurring situations. Among the most important to develop were village chiefs, war chiefs, medicine society chiefs, and those who, like medieval heralds, dealt with the representatives of white society. It is incorrect to regard the Ojibwa leader (*ogema*) as a king or president in the Western sense, since his authority was dependent upon his followers and their acceptance of his leadership. Lack of confidence was expressed in refusal to follow and, in one case, a major chief (Hole-in-the-Day) was killed by his followers as they were dissatisfied with a treaty he had concluded on their behalf.

As indicated above, the settlement on reservations under the jurisdiction of the Indian Agency brought an end to the power of and need for the chiefs; the political superstructure collapsed with the decline of power and eventual death of the last of the pre-reservation leaders. The need for cooperation on a level above that of the kin group ended, except as it was organized and directed by the Indian Agency, and, to considerable degree, the system of social relations continues to resemble that prior to the development of chieftainship. Indeed, it is possible to see 19th Century developments as a superficial structure erected upon an unaltered base; the effect of the reservation was to bring about a return to the aboriginal base.

b. Present-Day Social Adjustment

That the present social structure of the White Earth Ojibwa is a product of the foregoing becomes clear from description of the present situation. Relevant demographic and economic statistics will be found at the beginning of the section pertaining to the CAP itself.

The reservation is a social rather than a territorial community that exists as a social system separate and distinct from the white communities that now lie within or adjacent to the original limits of the reservation. It exists as a single community only with respect to outside threats to the entire Ojibwa population of the reservation, or to take advantage of programs or opportunities of direct value to that population. The white population is separate, and though there is some social interaction, most of it is economic or political, for the White Earth Ojibwa are neither economically nor politically autonomous.

The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, of which White Earth is a part, is made up of six "open" reservations as noted, with a tribal government (the Tribal Executive Committee, or TEC, and tribal manager and staff) having responsibility for matters pertaining to two or more reservations, as well as to those of general tribal concern. Much of its activities have been concerned with management of property owned and/or administered by tribal authority and with responsibility for prosecution of claims. Each reservation has a governing council, or