

blooded Indian" and "mixed blood," so prominent at some reservations, is not here articulated. Perhaps this has been due to the fact that many full blooded Ojibwa, at the turn of the century, signed statements (with an "X") that they were part white in order to sell allotments—and also to a long history of intermarriages, beginning with the French fur traders. The terms "black Indian" and "white Indian" are sometimes heard in one village. They have no precise definitions of these terms and appear as much epithets as descriptions. There are some families which no one assigns to either category, and some members of a family may be termed one, some another. In general, the term "white Indian" refers to those who are employed, do not get into trouble, maintain clean and orderly homes, are better educated, and have a higher white "blood quantum." The term "black Indian" tends to refer to those who are unemployed, frequently in trouble, less well educated, with more Indian blood, and who live in a particular section of the village. A few also say that the latter is a term used by Roman Catholics to refer to Episcopalians, but there are too many exceptions to make this acceptable. In no case is any one of the characteristics noted the determining characteristic, and the terms have considerable elasticity and ambiguity. They do reflect, however, two major geographic divisions of the village concerned, and these geographic divisions do tend to include populations which have some of the characteristics noted.

d. Political Structure and Public Services

Political organization at the village level is variable. In all villages, and in Rice Lake Community, there have been village councils, the one at Naytahwaush having been most effective. The Council at White Earth was inactive for several years, was reactivated in the winter of 1965-66, but is apparently again inactive. The pressing problem of village government is the lack of responsibility and authority without which there cannot be meaningful government. A volunteer fire department, having definite responsibility and public moral and financial support, has been extremely successful at one village.

Village school boards exist at two villages. At another, the board is shared by the Ojibwa village and the adjacent white village. At the two with independent school boards, the boards are made up of Ojibwa elected by popular vote, although only in rare instances and under special circumstances do more than a very small number vote. High school students attend schools in Waubun, Mahnomen, Park Rapids and Detroit Lakes, where they participate with whites on a large scale for the first time, as the schools are located in white communities. This will be discussed at greater length in connection with the CAP.

Inter-village contact has declined in recent years as a consequence of the conversion of the hospital at White Earth village to an out-patient clinic in 1961. Previously, visitors to patients visited relatives and friends while in White Earth town, and were often accompanied by others in an informal "public transportation system." The hospital, then, was a covert center of a social network. With its closing, the number of inter-village contacts and the quantity of information disseminated decreased. Moreover, the closing of the hospital was viewed as a unilateral abrogation of Federal treaty, unjustified and further evidence of bureaucratic perfidy and disinterest in the people.

Township boards exist as agencies of the three Minnesota counties in which the reservation lies, and each has a representative from an Ojibwa village. One hears little of the functions or activities of these boards.

The constitution approved by the Interior Department in 1964 established Reservation Business Committees to replace the former reservation Councils, and a Tribal Executive Committee to replace the previous tribal executive.

The White Earth RBC consists of five members—a Chairman, a Secretary-Treasurer, and three Committeemen. Several of the present incumbents had been members of the earlier equivalents of the RBC and had been reelected to their new positions.

The Chairman and Secretary-Treasurer of the RBC are ex-officio members of the Tribal Executive Committee (TEC), and both White Earth members held office in the TEC. The TEC is concerned with matters pertaining to all the associated reservations, and with those of concern to more than one reservation. The activities and interests have, in the past, been concerned primarily with management of tribal-owned or operated lands, including permits for timber cutting and leasing land, and prosecution of the claims against the Indian Claims Commission. Matters of concern to a single reservation are left to the jurisdiction of the local RBC.