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## A Geographic Study of the Red Lake Chippewa Indian Band of Minnesota

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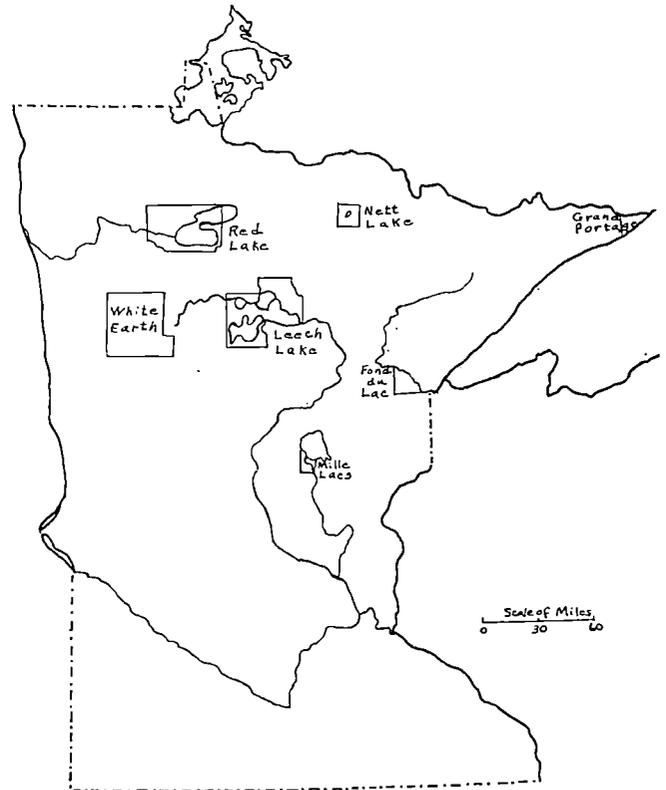
INTRODUCTION: The Red Lake band of Chippewa Indians in Minnesota occupy a position set apart from the other Indians of the state. They have a closed reservation with tribal instead of individual ownership of land. They are not a member of the corporate body known as the Minnesota Chippewa tribe which was organized under the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934 by the other Chippewa bands of the state. Their trust fund within the Bureau of Indian Affairs is separate from that of the Minnesota Chippewa tribe and their tribal earnings are used only for the enrolled members of their own band (Chippewa Indians, 1937).

During the last part of the nineteenth century as a result of treaties and agreements with the Chippewa Indians, six reservations<sup>1</sup> were established in northern Minnesota. All of the reserves were forested sites in the part of the state that the bands had occupied after forcing the Sioux to abandon the region during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Chippewa had just established their occupancy of the lake country of the upper Mississippi at the time of the Louisiana Purchase which added most of Minnesota to the United States. The Chippewa and the Sioux were in the midst of their feud when the white settlers began to enter the territory looking for farms. The first treaty, that of Prairie du Chien in 1825, tried to establish peace between the two tribes. Less than forty years later the Sioux had been removed to the Dakotas, and by 1889 all of the Chippewa were relegated to their present reservations. Map 1 shows their location.

The present reservations were established at a time when Congress felt that individual land ownership was the way to assure the assimilation of the Indian people into the ways of civilization. The allotment plan called for the settling of each Indian family on eighty acres or a quarter section of land with the expectation that they would in time become self supporting through agriculture. This made it possible, by various legal and illegal means, for the Indians on reservations that allotted their lands to dispose of their timber with or without their acres to non-Indians. Very few Indians in Minnesota ever became farmers and on none of the reservations except Red Lake has any alternative industry developed.

The Red Lake band has never allotted land to the individual members but instead the band as a whole retains title to the land of the reservation. In addition they

<sup>1</sup> A seventh reservation, Mille Lacs, is the result of land purchases by the Federal government since 1934 for the Indians who remained in the vicinity of their original reservation instead of removing to White Earth.



MAP 1: Location of the Chippewa Indian reservations in Minnesota at the present time.

have received through reversion of title much land outside the boundaries of their reserve. A cooperative commercial fishery provides an income for about 200 families and a sawmill that produces lumber for sale on the open market offers employment for more than 150 men. At present an attempt is being made to develop tourist attractions to provide further income.

This study traces the movement of the Chippewa Indians from Lake Superior into Minnesota and their organization into the separate bands with which the United States government treated to obtain cessions of land. It will take up the organization of the Red Lake Band as a distinct group, analyze their settlements around the Red Lakes and their uses of the resources of the reservation.

**THE CHIPPEWA INDIANS:** The Chippewa Indians, or Ojibways, are a tribe of the Algonquins, one of the major linguistic stocks of American Indians. The Algonquins occupied much of northeastern United States and southeastern Canada from the Atlantic Coast to the up-

per Great Lakes. They were kept to the north of the St. Lawrence and Lake Huron by the Iroquois, who controlled all of what is now New York state.

From studies of the Indians of the upper Great Lakes before 1600, it has been estimated that about 100,000 Indians or one-tenth of the total population in North America at this time lived around the lakes. The Chippewa, one of largest groups, occupied the territory north and south of Lake Superior. They depended to a large extent on fish caught in the lake for their sustenance and it was at the Sault that the French made their first acquaintance with this tribe.

Because the Chippewa were located both north and south of Lake Superior the two groups were designated as northern and southern Chippewa. The northern group were not as numerous and more nomadic than their southern kinsmen. They gradually occupied the north shore of Lake Superior to the mouth of Pigeon River and from there they spread along what is now the boundary of Canada and the United States. The French explored the route from Lake Superior to Lake of the Woods in 1688 and the northern Chippewa had a large village on Rainy Lake by 1700.

The southern Chippewa, though also fishermen, did some planting and gathered rice. They warred with the Fox, an Algonquin tribe who lived south of them, and with the Sioux to the west. With the advantage of the firearms secured from the French traders at the Sault they pushed the Fox out of northern Wisconsin and by 1736 had gained a foothold in Minnesota at Fond du Lac on the St. Louis River in Minnesota.

The Sioux Indians were in possession of most of Minnesota and southwestern Wisconsin in 1600. The Santee Sioux lived in the woods and depended on the rice beds for much of their food. Because of their location these Sioux had less contact with the French and did not secure the firearms that the Indians on the Great Lakes did and therefore were at a disadvantage when the Chippewa moved westward. In 1744 the Sioux suffered a decisive defeat at Sandy Lake and they withdrew south to the vicinity of the Minnesota River. Though the Chippewa and the Sioux were to keep up this feud for another hundred years the Chippewa were in control of all of northern Minnesota including the lakes and rice beds of the upper Mississippi by 1770.

After the establishment of Fort Snelling in 1819 at the juncture of the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers an attempt was made to end the constant warfare between the various tribes of Indians and especially of the Sioux and Chippewa. A grand council of the Minnesota, Wisconsin and Iowa Indians was held at Prairie du Chien in 1825. The tribes agreed to a boundary line between their territories and though the smoking of the peace pipe did not end the raiding the boundary line was recognized by the United States government when land was to be ceded by the tribes in Minnesota. This line, which cut across the St. Croix river at about the northern boundary of what is now Washington County in Minnesota, trended northwest through the state, crossing the Rum and Mississippi rivers. From there it continued to about the pres-

ent west boundary of Stearns and Todd counties and then down the Buffalo river to the Red river. The line can be identified on Map 2 as the boundary between the Chippewa and Sioux cessions.

**TREATIES AND LAND CESSIONS:** The United States government recognized the right of occupancy of the Indians to their lands but held that the right of ownership was in the government. Congress in 1783 enacted a law forbidding settlement on lands claimed or inhabited by Indians or from purchasing or receiving as gifts any Indian land. This meant the settlers in the territory west of the original states could not gain legal title to any land before the United States government had negotiated for the land with the Indians who inhabited or claimed the area (Thomas, 1899:639-43).

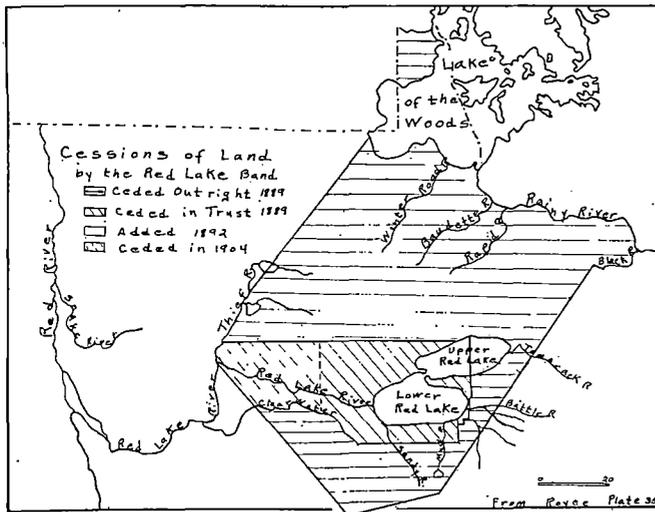
Map 2 shows the cessions of land that were made in Minnesota by the Sioux and Chippewa. The cession of 1837 opened for settlement a large tract in Wisconsin and the land between the St. Croix and the Mississippi rivers south from the vicinity of Mille Lacs in Minnesota. This cession required two treaties, one with the Sioux for the portion south of the Chippewa-Sioux boundary line, and the other was with the entire Chippewa tribe for the northern part. The other Chippewa cessions in Minnesota were made by separate bands which was recognition of the right of occupancy of the bands to certain tracts. The cession of 1847 was made by the Pillager and Mississippi bands, and that of 1854 by the Mississippi and Superior bands. In 1855 the Mississippi bands ceded their lands around the upper Mississippi and agreed to live on reservations and in 1866



MAP 2: Cessions of Indian land in Minnesota from 1830 to 1889. Source: Royce, plate 33.

the Bois Fort band ceded the last of their territory for the Nett Lake reservation.

The Red Lake band was the last to be approached for a cession of land. The negotiations of 1863 for the lands of the Red River Valley desired by settlers were with the Pembina and Red Lake bands. 23 years later the Red Lake band was asked for a cession of some two million acres and an agreement was worked out. In 1889 the Nelson Act legalized the cession and provided for the establishment of their reservation with provision for the allotment of land to the individual members of the band. In 1904 the reservation was reduced by a cession of eleven townships to its present size. Map 3 shows the formation of the Red Lake reservation.



MAP 3. Steps in the formation of the Red Lake Indian Reservation, 1889 to 1904. Source: Royce, plate 35.

**THE RED LAKE INDIANS:** The Chippewa tribe of Indians was composed of a large number of bands, all of which were partially nomadic. Usually each band would have a permanent encampment where they spent a major portion of the year. The large lakes of northern Minnesota were especially attractive because they provided an ample supply of fish. The lakes of the upper Mississippi and those along the Minnesota-Ontario border were part of the regular fur trading routes.

The Red Lake area was occupied by the Chippewa shortly after the Sioux were defeated at Big Fork and at Cut Foot Sioux near Lake Winnebigoishish in 1748. The last evidences of the Sioux around Red Lake were two encounters about 1765 at Battle river east of the lower lake and at Sandy river west of the present village of Red Lake. From fur trading records the first permanent settlement around the Red Lakes by the present band has been set as 1793.

The Red Lake band of Indians derives from the bands of seven chiefs who made the Red Lake area their permanent homes. Five bands were located on the south shore of the lower lake, and one band occupied the area between the lakes and were referred to as the Cross Lake Indians. Chief Red Robed, commonly called Moose Dung, and his band lived to the west of the lakes near

the junction of the Thief and Red Lake rivers. When a constitution was adopted in 1918 by the Red Lake band to establish a government for the reservation the General Council was composed of the seven chiefs from the original bands that resided at Red Lake.

The Red Lake Indians came from both the northern and southern Chippewa. Red Lake lies between the two paths followed by the Chippewa as they moved into Minnesota. This area is a part of the Red river drainage system and is not too easily reached from Rainy river which the northern Chippewa had used as their entry to the lands west of Lake Superior or from the upper Mississippi where the southern Chippewa had settled. Between Rainy Lake and Red Lake are extensive bogs and the trip from Cass Lake to Red Lake usually required much overland travel as well as an out-of-the-way canoe trip. The easiest way to reach Red Lake was from the west as the Red Lake river was a well traveled route to the Red river. It is likely that the largest number of Indians that made Red Lake their permanent home were from the northern Chippewa and came in from the west. Indians also came in from the south to make Red Lake their home. Little Thunder's band, one of the seven bands that made up the Red Lake band, came from Wisconsin.

Reverend Gilfillan, an Episcopal missionary to the Chippewa from 1875 to 1898, has described the Red Lake band of Chippewa as:

"... living on an island, that is, in a remote place, nearly fifty miles from any other Indians and nearly one hundred miles from the whites. Cut off from the world they maintained themselves by fish caught in their great lake, and by raising corn." (1885:551)

This picture of the Red Lake Indians was only partially true. They were off the main streams of travel and they could be self-sufficient; but these people had various contacts with other bands and with whites. Fur trade, seasonal migrations, visits to the Pembina and Leech Lake bands, and missionaries who brought religious services and schools prevented complete isolation from the world. The Congregational missionaries started their work at Red Lake in 1843 and remained until 1859. They opened a school as part of their missions and taught both Chippewa and English.

After the cession of land in 1863 by the band they began to lose their isolation. A resident physician was assigned to them in 1865. A government school was established in 1873 and a boarding school was started in 1877. In 1874 a road was completed from White Earth to Red Lake and in 1875 a post office was opened in the village of Redlake, the first in the territory that was to become Beltrami county. The Episcopal Church was started at Redlake in 1877 and a year later another congregation was organized at Redby. Ten years later the Catholic mission was established and the Sisters of St. Benedict opened a boarding school.

*The Lumber Industry on the Red Lake Reservation:* After the lumbering era began Red Lake could no longer be considered isolated. Logging started in the 1880's and the 1890's along the westward flowing Red Lake and

Clearwater rivers to supply the sawmills at Thief River Falls, Red Lake Falls, Crookston and Grand Forks. The Red River Valley was being settled and lumber was needed for the farms and trading centers. Timber from east of the reservation was floated down the Black Duck, Cormorant, Battle, and Tamarack Rivers to the Red Lakes. These logs were then towed by steamboat across the lake to the Red Lake river and floated down the stream. By 1890 steamboats made regular trips from Thief River Falls to many points on the two lakes bringing in supplies and new settlers for the lands being opened up south of the upper lake. Passenger service was provided and three hotels were in operation in Redlake. In 1901 four large steamboats were engaged in towing rafts which totaled about 75 million feet of logs. Logging was big business in the Red Lake area before it started farther south in the county because the Red Lake river flowed west.

During this time considerable timber was sold by contract from the Red Lake reservation. The Indian agent reported sales of about one and one-half million board feet of timber in 1890 for \$9,406 and in 1891 six million board feet were sold for \$35,930. At first contracts were let on Indian land which allowed the purchaser to pay on the basis of the estimated amount of timber on the tract. After the passage of the Morris Act in 1902 all logs cut were marked and scaled so payment was made on the actual volume of timber harvested. The plan was also tried of having the Indians cut under the supervision of the agent. Because no land was allotted to the individual members of the band on the Red Lake reservation lumbermen were unable to get title to the timber.

The first sawmills on the reservation, one of which was a portable mill at Shell lake, were erected to provide lumber for Indian homes and Agency buildings. The first mill of any size was built in 1907 on the lake shore near Redlake. This mill cut an average of 1,000,000 board feet a year and this amount was gradually increased to 2,000,000 board feet. In 1917 the Indians working under the supervision of the Agency cut enough timber to process 7,000,000 board feet at the mill. The



GRAPH 1: Employment at the Redby sawmill: 1936-1960. (Source: Minneapolis Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs.)

mill was equipped with only a circular saw but its operation proved that a sawmill could be a profitable enterprise on the reservation and provide work for many men.

In 1924 an act of Congress was passed which enabled the Red Lake band to use \$75,000 of their funds to construct and equip a band mill at Redby. In 1926 another \$30,000 was appropriated to add a planing mill, a box factory, a cottage and an office to the plant. All boxes for the fishery are constructed at the mill. Later a lath mill was added and recently facilities and equipment were acquired to provide for the smooth double end trimming of lumber, and to manufacture moulding. About half of the timber is delivered to market in mill owned trucks and trailers. When the industry was started on the reservation about seventy percent of the crew was white. By 1938 this had changed to 288 Indians and 90 whites and now only one non-Indian is employed in a crew that averages 200 yearly. Graph 1 shows the change which has taken place since 1936.

In 1950 most of the commercial pine timber on the reservation had been utilized so attention was turned to the stands off the reservation owned by the band. Cutting was started on Little Pine Island in Koochiching County and the logs were trucked to Redby to be sawed into lumber. The band also has title to a large portion of the Northwest Angle. A contract for cutting this tract was let to Minnesota and Ontario Paper Company of International Falls because of its isolated location and distance from Redby.

In 1956 W. Parker Arthur, manager of the mill, made this summary of the production of the Redby mill since it started operation in 1924.

TABLE 1. Production from the operation of the Redby sawmill, 1924-1956 (Mittelholtz and Graves, 1957:92).

Logs cut .....	127,834,330 board feet
Lumber manufactures .....	149,284,439 board feet
Wages paid to workers on payrolls.....	\$3,864,778.11
Profits earned by the mill.....	\$1,822,636.98
Total value of the stumpage cut.....	\$1,121,695.84
Distribution in the form of per capita payments to enrolled members of the band has amounted to.....	\$1,729,875.00

If the band had disposed of their timber by contract to a logging company they would have received the value of the stumpage or \$1,121,696. By having a mill on the reservation the Indians also received more than \$5,600,000 in wages and the profits earned by the mill.

At the present time the supply of merchantable pine on the reservation has been depleted and the second growth is not ready for lumber production. For ten years or more the end of sawmilling at Redby has been predicted. The forestry service of the Red Lake reservation has been studying the problem of a changing forestry industry for a number of years. In 1958 a continuous forest inventory was put into operation to secure the basic data needed for future forest management. The immediate purpose of the inventory was to determine if a sufficient

saw-timber resource existed to continue sawmilling on the reservation. Another purpose was to determine the feasibility of milling hardwoods.

In 1961 a plan was approved by the Tribal Council for the economic development of the reservation. They felt that the timber resources of the reservation offer the greatest opportunities for the future and can serve as a means of inducing the establishment of new industries. The construction of a new, modern mill capable of converting both hard and soft woods into the finished and semi-finished wood products needed by such industries was approved by the Tribal Council. The mill is expected to cost approximately \$230,000 and will be financed from tribal funds which accumulated from reserves for depreciation in the past years' operations. The new mill will afford an economical means of cutting sawtimber of the grades and species now available on the reservation but will not provide any additional employment.

*Commercial Fishing on the Red Lake Reservation.* The fishing industry of the Red Lake band is at present their second greatest source of income and one that gives every evidence that it can continue to be depended on as a means of earning a livelihood. On an average the total catch each year is over 1,000,000 pounds of fish which sell on the market for approximately \$250,000. About 200 families participate and a few families earn as much as \$3000 to \$4000 for a season's work. (Smith, 1958:45). From the time the cooperative was incorporated in 1929 more than \$5,500,000 worth of fish have been sold from the Red Lakes. This compares with a catch on Lake of the Woods (Minnesota only) of 1,500,000 to 3,000,000 pounds for a fishing season. However, Lake of the Woods does not produce as many walleyes as the Red Lakes.

The lakes are remnants of old Lake Agassiz which once covered all of northwestern Minnesota. They are shallow lakes with an average depth of 20 to 25 feet for the lower lake and of only eight to ten feet for the upper lake. There is no thermal stratification and this type of lake is most productive of fish because the whole bottom is available for the growth of food. Each lake is approximately 24 miles in length but the lower lake has the greater average width. About 90% of the commercial fishing is done on the lower lake.

Commercial fishing on the Red Lakes was not established for the special benefit of the Indians of the reservation or through their initiative. The enterprise was started by the state of Minnesota in 1917 as a food conservation measure during the first World War. Because of the high price of meat there was a demand that unrestricted fishing be allowed on all lakes within the state. The Commissioner of Game and Fish formulated a plan for commercial fishing on some of the larger inland lakes and for wholesaling the catches under his supervision. The state hired crews and started commercial fishing on the Red lakes. Collecting stations were also set up and Indian fishermen delivered their catches to these stations for sorting, packing, and marketing with the state catches.

In 1919 after the war was over the abandonment of

the fisheries was proposed. However, the legislature that year decided to continue the operations in order to provide employment for the Indians and for white settlers who lived in the vicinity of the eastern half of the upper lake. Operations continued under a series of contracts between the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the United States Department of the Interior and the State of Minnesota from 1921 to 1929. These contracts set the quota of fish to be taken each season, the prices to be paid, the amount and size of net to be used by each family, and for royalties to be paid to the Indian Bureau for all the fish taken. These royalties were added to the tribal funds of the Red Lake band. Though the Indians received employment they were not satisfied with a business on the reservation over which they had little control.

Private produce concerns rather than the Indians forced the state of Minnesota out of the commercial fish business. In 1927 the legal right of the state to conduct such an operation was challenged by a licensed wholesaler and fish buyer. The case was appealed to the State Supreme Court and in 1929 the state was restrained from engaging in the fish business in competition with private enterprise. The legislature of Minnesota passed a bill authorizing the Commissioner of Game and Fish to lease the Red Lake Fisheries to the United States or one of its agencies. This act is the legal basis on which the Red Lake Fisheries Association has operated.

The Red Lake Fisheries Association is a cooperative marketing organization which sells the fish the Indians catch. Members of the Red Lake band who are heads of families or are single men over 21 years of age may engage in commercial fishing. If one sells over \$50.00 of fish during the season one becomes a member of the association and has the right to vote for the directors of the association, who hire the manager. The manager is the only employee of the fishery who may be a non-member of the band. The manager is in charge of marketing and he must decide on the basis of the demand for fish on which nights fishing is to be done. An average of 200 of the 500 families on the reservation participate each season. The average number of fishermen per night in 1960 was 162 while the average in 1959 was 192. The length of the fishing season varies each year because fishing continues until the quota of 650,000 pounds of game fish (walleyes and northerns) has been filled.

The summer fishing season is a busy time on the reservation. Many of the families move out of the villages to their fishing camps on the lower lake. The shore line of the western part of this lake is low and sandy so access to the lake is easier here. Some of the families have built cabins, others use more temporary shelter. When commercial fishing first started on the lakes the Indians used rowboats to set their nets. Now they employ skiffs powered by outboard motors and their nets are made of nylon which can withstand two seasons of use before being replaced. The nets are set in the late afternoon two to five miles offshore and lifted very early in the next morning. The fish are packed with ice into boxes that are constructed especially for the fishery at the lumbermill. Fish-

ery trucks pick up the catch and deliver ice and supplies for the fishermen.

When the fish arrive at the fish plant at Redby they are weighed and credited to each fisherman. The fish are sorted and graded, then prepared for shipment. The walleyes, northerns, perch, and white fish are trucked out as fresh iced fish and more than 95% goes to the Chicago market. The goldeyes are sent to Winnipeg for smoking and the cull and rough fish such as sheepshead and suckers and the waste are sold for mink feed. The amount of perch in the catch may determine the success of the fishing season because perch do not count in the quota and many years make up a third of the catch. While the market price is half that of walleyes the demand for them is constant.

Table 2 shows the production of fish at Red Lake since commercial fishing started in 1917. Fluctuations in the production of certain species is evident but the increase in the decade of the forties is due to an increase in the quota. This was decreased to 650,000 pounds in 1952. It is evident that it is possible to maintain commercial fishing on these lakes so they will provide a stable income year after year for members of the Association. The addition of a processing plant on the reservation would provide more opportunities for employment of the labor available.

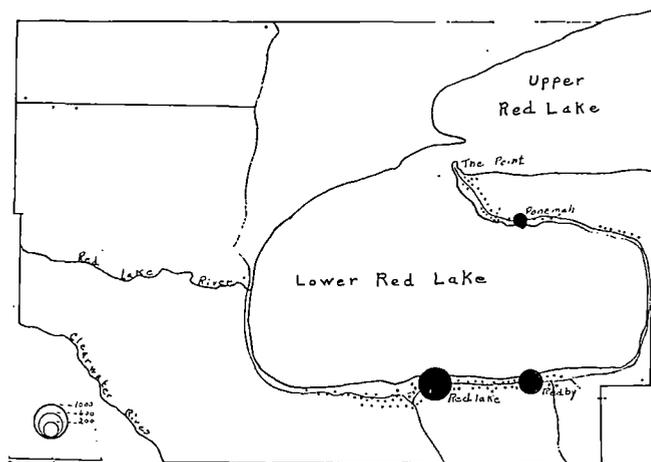
TABLE 2. Average production in thousands of pounds of fish of the Commercial fishery at Red Lake, 1917-1959.

Species	1917-1929	1930-1939	1940-1949	1950-1959
All species	769	895	1,336	1,082
Walleyes	541	544	881	587
Yellow perch	51	163	243	277
Whitefish	79	68	29	105
Northern Pike	35	22	59	27
Goldeyes	41	72	80	28
White sucker	27	4	27	5
Bullhead	1	1	2	2
Sheepshead	26	20	15	20

(Source: Minnesota Department of Conservation: Division of Game and Fish; Section of Fisheries.)

*The Settlement Pattern of the Reservation:* The settlement pattern of the reservation has never been very different from what it is at present. (Map 4) Only three parts of the reservation are occupied and more than two-thirds of the entire population live on the south shore of the lower lake. For a distance of fifteen miles, from the Beltrami-Clearwater county line to a point one and one-half miles beyond Redby along the highway south of the lake there is continuous settlement. Two concentrations, the villages of Redlake and Redby, are found in this ribbon of homes. On the north shore of the lower lake and on the Point is another elongated settlement with a slight widening at Ponemah village. The third area of settlement on the reservation is the northwestern part where seven families have developed some excellent farms and have oriented themselves to the non-Indian community west of the reservation.

Redlake is the largest village on the reservation with a population of about 1000. It also has the distinction



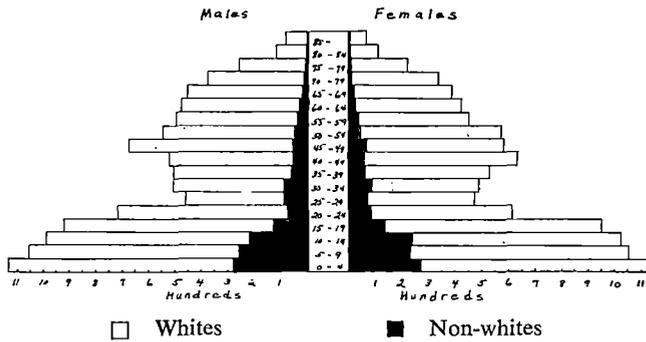
MAP 4: The settlement pattern on the Red Lake Reservation in 1950. Each dot represents ten people.

of being the oldest village of Beltrami county and one of the oldest settlements of northern Minnesota. The village has never had railroad connections but during the lumbering era it was the terminus of a number of roads that linked the lakes to the railroads to the southwest. The first schools and missions and the agency were located here. At present, though the agency has been removed to Bemidji, Redlake is still regarded as the center for reservation activities. All the schools, both mission and public, except the Ponemah grade school are located here. The highway, welfare, credit, and forestry departments of the Indian Service have their offices in the agency buildings. The Tribal Council meets at Redlake and it is here that the pow-wows, fairs, and other celebrations are held.

Redby, the second largest village on the reservation has a population of about 600. The village is located five miles east of Redlake and had railroad connections to Bemidji until 1939. The sawmill and the fishery were located at Redby for this reason but now these two industries depend on trucks for transportation.

*The Population of the Red Lake Reservation:* The population of the Red Lake reservation is a growing one with the present population estimated at 2,900. The special census taken in 1889 gave the total as 1,168. In 1910 it was 1,429; in 1930 it was 1,927 but in 1940 it had increased to 2,640. The next decade was a period of out-migration because of the war and increased opportunities for employment off the reservation. The increase during the 1940's was only 24 and during the 1950's it was 236. The population of the reservation is a young population. The median age of the non-white population in 1960 in Beltrami county was 14.6 years compared with a median age of 28.1 for the white population. Graph 2 compares the age distribution of Caucasians (whites) and non-Caucasians (non-whites) in Beltrami county in 1960.

Members of the Red Lake band will continue to leave the reservation to seek employment because there are not sufficient job opportunities for the 500 families who reside there. Much of the employment on the reservation



GRAPH 2: Age pyramid of the white and non-white population of Beltrami County in 1960. The non-white pyramid is superimposed on the white pyramid. Source: Bureau of Census, Preliminary Report for 1960, Characteristics of the Population for Minnesota.

is seasonal and the surrounding area has little to offer for either skilled or unskilled workers. Minneapolis attracts many Red Lake Indians and others have gone to Milwaukee and Chicago. A survey of the news items in the Bemidji newspaper about Redlake and Redby residents show how widely their relatives have scattered throughout the United States.

CONCLUSION: The Red Lake band of Chippewa Indians is organized as a separate group from the other bands in Minnesota. The greatest difference between this band and the other bands is the tribal ownership of land and this distinction has made possible the exploitation of resources for their own benefit. Private property in land is foreign to the culture of the Chippewa Indians. This tribe has always lived in villages and each of the seven bands that located at Red Lake settled in village groups. The Red Lake Indians expressed their opposition to allotment when they ceded their lands and were able to resist the pressure for division. Allotment on reservations established earlier had not proved too successful so the Indian service did not insist.

By not allotting their lands the Red Lake Indians were able to keep their resources intact. They had sufficient timber on their reservation to make the establishment of a sawmill a paying proposition. Because the band owned the timber the Indian Forest Service did not have to work with many individual owners and fragmented holdings. The band was in a position to take over the commercial fishery without competition from non-whites after the state of Minnesota had established the business.

The reservation has limited resources and a growing population. It is necessary to increase the utilization of these resources and provide for more processing on the reservation in order to increase job opportunities and to develop skills that can help those who leave the reservation to obtain employment.

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