THIS IS NOT A DEFINITIVE HISTORY OF THE WHITE EARTH RESERVATION.

For that, one must look to such books as William Warren’s History of the Ojibway People, Melissa Meyer’s The White Earth Tragedy, Michael McNally’s Ojibwe Singers, or Anton Treuer’s The Assassination of Hole in the Day, among others.

Rather these photos are vignettes that offer glimpses of some of the places as seen through the history of the Ojibwe at White Earth - at one time a communal reservation that encompassed nearly 1,300 square miles.

EZHI-BIMAADIZING
The nature of life

The seasons of the year are integral to the Ojibwe culture and closely tied to the seasons, as are the activity cycles practiced for survival; hunting, sugaring, fishing, gardening, gathering and riceing.
**BIBOON**

Winter

When the lakes froze over, familial hunting groups left their village in search of game areas. They carried with them very few items: newly woven mats made from bokshushes and reeds by the women, a kettle, some rice and dried berries. To set up winter camp the men shoveled snow away and the women erected wigwams in a circle. In the center food was cooked communally over an open fire. Each wigwam also had a central fire where meat was laid on large racks to dry. Customarily, each family hosted a feast to celebrate the first game killed. While the men hunted the women tanned hides and prepared furs that served for bedding or clothing and sometimes for trade. During the coldest months, when the men were often away hunting for weeks at a time, the women made fishnets from nettle-stalk fiber. The winter role of the elders was to tell stories about Nanaboocho, the trickster, and give instruction on Ojibwe values.

*The White Earth Tragedy*, Melissa Mayer, 1994

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**ZIIGWAN**

Spring

With the coming of spring, the groups returned to the main villages and prepared to journey to the sugar bush. Sugaring leaders, usually women, had the right of usage to a certain stand of maple trees to which they returned annually. Supplies and tools needed for the process were stored in a small lodge nearby. Women vigilantly kept the sap kettles boiling day and night until the thick syrup became granulated. They stored the sugar in birch bark cones and the super mandible of duck bills. Ziizibawad, maple sugar, served as an all-purpose seasoning and as a confection. While the women took primary responsibility for making maple sugar some men spent time fishing with lines, hooks, traps and spears. Fish was an especially important food resource during the spring.

*The White Earth Tragedy*, Melissa Mayer, 1994
NIIBIN

Summer

On the completion of the sugaring process, families returned to their villages to plant gardens. The summer bark wigwams were located along the lakeshore surrounded by a garden. Men broke new ground each spring to enlarge the garden. The women primarily cultivated corn, squash and pumpkins. When the gardeners completed their tasks, Middle priests and priestesses gathered and requested a blessing for the garden from the medicine, or spirit. Both spring and summer signaled a series of gathering activities. In the spring, roots were gathered. In the summer, women and children gathered blueberries, chokecherries, gooseberries, cranberries and raspberries. They dried and ground most berries for storage. "Boiling down" raspberries and spreading them to dry on pieces of birch bark. They also gathered basswood and birch bark and herbal specialists selected medicinal plants.

The White Earth Tragedy, Melissa Meyer, 1994

DAGWAAGIN

Autumn

At the close of summer, thoughts turned to harvesting manoomin, wild rice. Riceing leaders allocated a section of the rice field to each household to harvest. Women visited the rice fields at the end of summer to demarcate their area by tying some rice in sheaves and staking boundaries to show that they intended to harvest their area that year. Once ripened the rice was gatherings by women in canoes poled by men. They united the sheaves, shook loose the grains and used poles to gently knock the rice into the canoe. The rice was then spread out evenly on birch bark to dry, parched in kettles and pounded to remove the husks. Winnowing of the rice was done by men wearing clean moccasins. "Jigging" or treading on the rice. Finally the rice was tossed on birch bark trays so that the wind could carry away the chaff. Respectfully only a portion of the yield was kept. Some kernels were encased in mud and tossed back into the water to ensure next year’s crop.

The White Earth Tragedy, Melissa Meyer, 1994
GAA-ZHAAGAWIGAMI-ZAAGA’IGAN
Bad Medicine Lake

"A short way north of Rosford lies a lake, today commonly known as Bad Medicine Lake. The Indians have always called the lake Gaa-zhaagawiganzi zaaga’igan, Lake of the Valley, or Lake lying in a mountain-depression. The lake contains especially four well-known species of fish, i.e. pickerel (more properly styled piké), suckers, herring and a small species of trout. This is the only lake in the vicinity that contains herring. Formerly school after school of them were seen. The lake has neither inlet nor outlet, its water supply being replenished from the surrounding slopes. The lake is very deep. Its water is clear and of a greenish hue. Its fish are far and of good taste. The Indians, however, formerly refused to eat fish taken from this lake, calling them pajigjigugug or wild fish. The Indians were possessed with the idea that all fish here originated from snakes and did not spring from the ordinary species of fish. It was a principle amongst the Indians here never to eat fish taken from a lake without an inlet or outlet. Such fish were descendants of reptiles.

There was a belief among them that during the spawning season snakes were seen to mingle with fish of a lake containing an inlet or outlet.

It is said that the suckers of this lake have indeed a large head but a rather long and slender body. The pickerel and herring are naturally long and slender. Some even claim fish of this lake in spawning season have a snake smell and to eat thereof is nauseating.

This lake due to the lay of the land has a great tendency to rise and fall depending on the amount of precipitation in a season. The Indians were also once very busy about embarking of this lake with canoes for fear of meeting some horrible monster. Especially it was reported amongst them that huge pickerel, fifteen to thirty feet long and as large as a big log were seen from time to time within its waters.

Many Indians even today will not eat fish of this lake, declaring the white populations claims they are the best fish ever tasted. To convince oneself I suppose one had better go anchoring and try it out."

The Rosfordian, 1930, by Rev. and Mrs. Watkinson G.B.

GIYOSEWININI
The Hunter

"Some six or seven miles northeast of Rosford is a small lake known as Basswood Lake. From time immemorial, the Indians have called it Basswood Lake because it contains an island which grew many Basswood trees. In early days this island was a favorite resort of the Indian on their hunting expeditions. And since quite a legend has become attached to this spot.

Miskawdions (Little Fair Cloud) the grandfather of our present John and Mike Basswood, about 1850 settled on this island and was probably the oldest permanent Indian settler in these parts, coming from Leech Lake many years previous to the coming of the Otter Tail Pidgans. In constant fear of the Sioux and not noted for bravery, lonely and secluded he abode on this island. Here he kept a small garden, and around about him was plenty of game and fur. His expert trapping and hunting procured him an ample supply of latter and a well-filled bag of money. Often he went to Crow Wing and everywhere to sell a huge pack of valuable furs and in return took home money and necessary provisions. He tramped through the woods to the trading post with the immense pack of furs on his back but rode home in somewhat royal state by hiring an ox team and cart to convey himself and his purchases.

There is a tale that he kept his gold in a copper kettle hid upon the kild and that probably a kettle full of gold still lies buried somewhere on this island. Since his death about sixty years ago some have even hunted for this supposed treasure but naturally in vain."

Miskawdions lived to be about sixty-seven years old and died about 1870. He was buried on this island. His only surviving son, Jawanakamq (South Land) likewise abode on this island. His children became known as the Basswood Island boys and later simply as Basswood of whom John and Mike Basswood still survive."

The Rosfordian, 1930, by Rev. and Mrs. Watkinson G.B.
GAA-DAZHIKODAADING
The Battle Site

The contested hunting area between the Dakota and the Ojibwe followed a line from northwest Minnesota south and east. This was the line between the forest and the short-grass prairie. Its free-flowing streams and forest edge areas were ideal habitats for beaver, muskrat, and deer.

Since it supported both subsistence game and fur trade, hunters of each Nation were attracted to this area and entered only at great risk. Sporadic warfare between the two groups regulated exploitation of the transition zone by discouraging permanent habitation and creating a sort of game preserve.

Before Minnesota became a state, it was said that the Pine Point area was the camp headquarters for the Ojibwe in their warfare against the Dakota people for land and resources.

At the north end of Flat Lake on the Tamarac Game Refuge the last battle between these two peoples took place over the rich beds of wild rice. The fallen Dakota warriors were buried in a mound some 200 yards north of the battle site and the Ojibwe carried their wounded and dead back to the Pine Point area. From there the dead were taken back to their respective homes.

GAA-WAABABI GANIKAAK
White Earth

The White Earth Reservation is named for the layer of white clay underneath the surface on the western half of the reservation. The land is typical of the west-central Minnesota prairie in the west, rolling hills and many lakes and wet prairie in the middle, and conifer forest in the east. Indian communities include White Earth, Pine Point, Point Douglas, Nipawin, Elbow Lake, and Rice Lake. Other villages were built along the railroad track running south to north in the western part of the reservation, Callaway, Ogema, Wabun, and Mahnomen.

With the 1867 Treaty, great pressure was put on all bands in Minnesota to relocate onto one reservation. Never the historic homeland of any Ojibwe group, it became a reservation in a treaty with the Mississippi Band of Ojibwe. It was to become the home of all the Ojibwe and Lakota in the state, however not all bands wanted to move onto one reservation and give up their reservation. Mississippi Band members from Gull Lake were the first group to come and settle around White Earth Village in 1868. The 1920 census reflected those who had settled in White Earth: 4856 were from the Mississippi Band including 1308 from Gull Lake, the Pillager had 1210, Pembina Band 472, and 113 had come from Fond du Lac of the Superior Band.

The different bands tended to settle in different areas of the reservation. Gull Lake members moved to the northeastern part of the reservation, around Nipawin and Beau赉teau; Pillager Band members settled around Pine Point in the southeast. After 1873, Pembina Band members from the Red River Valley moved into a township on the western side of the reservation in the village of White Earth where the government agency was located.

Indian Affairs Council, State of Minnesota
March 19, 1867. Treaty of Washington, D.C., establishing the White Earth Reservation and providing for the removal of the Minnesota Ojibwe to the Red River Valley area in the central Minnesota. Chief Hole in the Day negotiated the treaty, which concluded the negotiations until the U.S. government built houses for the immigrants and constructed sawmill and gristmill. He hoped to negotiate the treaty before it was too late. He feared that the emigrant Ojibwe might suffer a difficult journey if these essential obligations were not met.

June 27, 1868. Bugous-gichig was assassinated. The migration to White Earth slowly began after that in the fall. The Assimilation of Ojibwe in the Prairie, 1848-1909.
GAA-DAZHISHINIKAAK
The Cemetery

In 1872, the United States built a government agency at White Earth village. The village soon became a kind of boomtown, where annuities were distributed and exchanged for supplies with the Metis businessmen.

In 1873, the Episcopalians entered into an agreement with the United States to construct a mission in what is now known as the White Earth Reservation. The mission was established by the Rev. W.H. White, who was a missionary for the American Indian Missionary Society. The mission was located on a hillside near the village of St. Columbus. The church was built in 1874, and it served the needs of the local Indian population.

In 1875, the Episcopalians expanded their mission to include a school for the children of the reservation. The school was located on the same site as the mission and was staffed by the Rev. W.H. White and his wife, Mary. The school offered education in both English and Dakota.

The school was successful, and by 1877, it had an enrollment of 100 students. The school continued to grow over the years, and by 1880, it had an enrollment of 300 students.

In 1881, the school was renamed the White Earth Indian School. The school continued to grow over the years, and by 1900, it had an enrollment of 600 students.

WAABAN
Sun Rise (also means East)

The Catholic Diocese based out of Crookston, Minnesota has six churches on the White Earth Reservation: St. Ann, Waubun, St. Anne, Natchez-Min, St. Francis Cabrini, Bigfork, and St. Joseph. The mission was established in 1871 and has served the community ever since.

According to Dr. Denise K. LaJoie, “Minnesota had scattered boarding schools that drew students from all eleven of the state’s reservations. The earliest was White Earth Indian School, began in 1871. It had room for 110 students. And it was the first school on the reservation to offer a four-year high school program.”

Also called industrial schools, these institutions prepared boys for manual labor and farming and girls for domestic work. The boarding school, whether on or off reservation, carried out the government’s mission to restructure Indian minds and personalities by severing children’s physical, cultural, and spiritual connection to their tribes.”

Sister Carol Berg, OSB noted, “The federal government, aided by church-sponsored missionaries, marched steadfastly toward its goal of assimilation for Indians. The drive was particularly strong between the 1880s and 1920s. Their aim was to absorb them in the white population and Americanize the American Indian.”

March 13, 1951, Congress authorized the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to create legal rules that required Indian children to attend boarding schools. It also authorized the Indian Office to withhold rations, clothing, and other annuities from Indian parents or guardians who would not send their children to school.

1978 - Indian Child Welfare Act was the first step in recognizing the disastrous results of boarding schools. The goal of this act was to keep Indian children on Indian reservations.
DIBENDAGOZIWIN

Belonging

In 1905 most of the 750,000 acres of White Earth Reservation in northwestern Minnesota belonged to members of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, either as individual allotments or as property held in trust for the tribe by the federal government. Over the next five years, in what historian William W. Pollock calls the "Tragedy of White Earth," most of that land was lost to non-Indians.

A variety of Euro-American interests were responsible for this wholesale transfer of property: timber companies wanting to log the reservation's pine lands, farmers desiring a share of the rich Red River Valley soil, speculators understanding the property's real value, and banks wishing to expand their businesses.

For those mixed-bloods who managed to retain their allotments despite all odds, tax forfeiture proceedings became a threat. Policy makers had interpreted the 1906 Cramer Rider to mean that White Earth mixed-bloods had been declared U.S. citizens and were liable to support public service. Mahnomen and Becker county officials levied high taxes and increasingly seized remaining allotted lands in tax forfeiture proceedings, which came to be the primary method of obtaining allotted lands.

Reports of rampant fraud brought the formation of the White Earth Indian Reservation Commission to investigate this situation. Claims evidence collected by the Indian Commission prompted five individuals to confer. The Commission, formed in 1904, examined the results of tax forfeiture proceedings and the allotment cases.

The White Earth: Tragedy, Melissa Meyer, 1914

A New Dawn: The Tragedy of the White Earth, Ken Petersen, 2012

A personal story

"At that time, I was working on construction, repairing a guy's home. One day I happened to be at my parents' house, and the sheriff stopped in and wanted to collect taxes on my grandfather's property. My grandfather had just passed away, and the sheriff came to the house and told my father he would have to pay $10,000 in taxes. My father didn't have that kind of money, so he went to a lawyer and asked for help. The lawyer told him he would take care of it.

"When my father and mother were getting married (Richard and Loraine) they wanted to get a loan and all they had to do was come up with $5,000 of land to qualify for the loan. So they went to the courthouse and got a loan from my grandfather's land. When they went there they found out that they no longer owned the property. So they went to court. My father hired a lawyer to help my grandfather. They went to court and because my grandfather's first husband and Bogadeen's logging company didn't show up they both lost by default. Since she was the only one that showed up she won her 80 acres, but the state kept 80 acres because of back taxes, tax forfeiture. The logging company just walked away.

The next day I went back to work and was talking with the older gentleman that I was working for. I told him the story and he just told me to ask. I used to work for Bogadeen Logging Company and I was one of the guys that spoke Ojibwe and went up to people and asked for permission to put a road in exchange for logging rights. There was no money, just a road. After the papers were signed I was ran off the property. I never understood that."

Richard Fox in interview with Wayne Goddard, 2012
MEGWAYAAK

The Woods

"Old Headquarters" is the name given to the base of operations of the Nichols-Oschehns Lumber Company. It was located near what is now called Long Lost Lake and functioned as the headquarters for the company’s logging operations in the area. It amounted to quite a little settlement out in the woods, employing about 250 men through the winter when the timber was being cut, although many men were employed there throughout the year, tending the fields, cutting the hay, laying out railroad grades and a host of other jobs.

All of the cutting was done by hand. Axemen notched the trees, sawyers cut them down, swampers trimmed the branches off and another team of sawyers cut them into the proper lengths. Once cut, they were hauled to a camp usually located on a side hill where they were loaded onto boats to be hauled to a landing on the railroad which ran through the logging area independent of the existing commercial lines.

The destination was the Commonwealth Landing on the north side of Elbow Lake, where in the spring the logs were boomed in preparation for the summer’s drive down the Ottertail to the mill at Frazee. A series of dams were built to accommodate the movement of thousands of logs.

By 1920 significant logging on White Earth and in most of Minnesota was done. The last lumber mill in Minneapolis closed in 1919. Smaller mills remained in northern cities and towns, but the great timber companies were focusing their energies on the Pacific Northwest.

The Nichols-Oschehns Lumber Company,
Tom E. Holtskann, 1973

Ranapen Pawel and the Tragedy of White Earth, Ken Peterson, 2012
Much land in the south half of the reservation was owned by influential hunting clubs. Their opposition to the Refuge delayed complete acquisition until the early 1940s. Land exchanges with the State completed acquisition of the present boundaries in 1948.

1934 - The Geller Agreement between the Biological Survey (later Fish and Wildlife Service) and Bureau of Indian Affairs allows White Earth members to hunt, fish and gather within the Tamarc.

1938 - Executive Order No. 7922, signed by Franklin D. Roosevelt as follows: The Tamarc National Wildlife Refuge (NWR) is established as a breeding ground and sanctuary for migratory birds and other wildlife.

1944 - Tamarc NWR Annual Narrative Report

2013 - Mike Swain and Al Fox in interview with Wayne Goodwin

GAA-WAAWIYEGAMAAG
Round Lake

Round Lake in the spring of 1901.9 it can be said, witnessed the last uprising of the Chippewas in the state. The United States Indian Department had given out orders to Captain Mercer, their Indian agent at White Earth, to cut all "dead and down" timber in the reservation. Captain Mercer gave the contract to the Commonwealth Lumber Company, and appointed a certain M. Sullivan, overseer. Ray W. Jones was acting president of the lumber company, whilst Jim McKaig was charged with the drive down the Otter Tail River.

The logs were floated to the Shore mills at Frazee. Mostly Indians were employed on the drive as they had not only legal preference but were expert drivers. The Indians soon became aware that green timber was also being floated along for which they were not receiving sufficient pay. McKaig and they decided to stop the drive until recompense was made. So one day some sixty or seventy Indians, moledy armed with rifles, shotguns, etc. appeared at the Round Lake dam and ordered the drive to halt under the threat of blowing up every dam within the reservation.

The foreman McKaig, at first ordered the drive to proceed but the Indians threatened to shoot on the spot the first man attempting to put a log through the dam and so no one dared to risk his life. Morever the workmen, both white and Indian sided with the Indians, proclaiming them in the right. Also the traders at Frazee upheld the Indian and supplied food and ammunition gratis.

Becoming alarmed, the Indian agent and the overseer did everything in their power to appease the wrath of the Indians even bringing them plenty of "goof" from their own storehouse. Dan Morrison and Charley Milesen were used as the mediators to pacify the Indians. After holding up the drive for three or four days, it was finally decided to let the drive move on and the stumps would be excised according to a promise of a United States inspector who happened to be in White Earth at the time. Namely in the spring the stumps of green trees were apparent from the floating wood.

Accordingly it was done, and a suit was filed against Captain Mercer, the Indian agent and the Nichols-Chisholm Lumber Company which had in the meantime succeeded the Commonwealth Company. The trial was held at Fergus Falls in the United States District Court, Charley Moulton being the interpreter for the Indians. The Indians were duly upheld in their contention and allowed $40,000 which was a very conservative estimate to be sure.

The Parkishation 1910 by Reverend Banno Warren CB.

MASHKIIKGWAATIG
Tamarc

One half of the Tamarc National Wildlife Refuge (NWR) lies on the south edge of the White Earth Reservation and the other half in Becker county and covers a total of 42,724 acres.

Historically, the refuge was a prized hunting, fishing, and migratory area for Indian tribes. The Dakota once controlled the area, living by the Ojibwe.

Between 1900 and 1930, the refuge's original stands of red and white pine were logged. Settlers followed the loggers, but farming never achieved much prominence due to the thick forest, marginal soil and numerous wetlands.

Following establishment in 1938, the north half of the Refuge was acquired mostly through purchases by the Migratory Bird Conservation Commission from settlers and county tax forfeited lands. In the mid-1930s the Indian owners of 13 allotments were told by the sheriff to leave. The next day their stands were leveled by bulldozers. These 13 parcels totaling 877 acres are still listed as White Earth Tribal land.
GITIGAN

Farm

Harvey B. Scheermanhorn was born in 1835, the same year that a distant cousin of his, John F. Scheermanhorn, signed the Treaty of New Oehota and oversaw the movement of the Cherokee to Oklahoma in what has become known as the "Trail of Tears."

H.R. Scheermanhorn was trained as a clergyman and after holding many prominent positions in New York he went as a missionary to serve the Choctaw in Indian Territory in new Oklahoma. He became the Principal of the Spencer Academy for the Tribe. Because of his significant contribution to the Choctaw people he was, by an act of Congress, given 80 acres of land in 1902. In 1913, J.B. Scheermanhorn died and became the founder of the Scheermanhorn Oil Corporation.

J.B. Scheermanhorn died in 1929 after which the farms were incrementally sold off.

Mahanery County Historical Society
Oklahoma Historical Society
Minnesota Historical Society

Waubun and White Earth in 1917, eventually totaling 23,000 acres. Scheermanhorn Farms, Inc. had five separate farms - the RANCH totaled 11,150 acres; OAK CREST, 2,655; ST. PIERRE, 2,050 acres; WEALEUH HILLS 886; and the TERMINAL (BROOKS FARM), 1,120 acres. The company produced grain, eggs, potatoes, and raised sheep. Hereford and pure breed Angus. In addition to the farm the corporation owned homes that were built in Minnetonka for management, an office building, machine shop, garage, potato warehouses and grain bas.

The Scheermanhorn summer home was built across the road from the RANCH in 1926. The semi-enclosed house contained twelve rooms, three baths and two fireplaces. A three-car garage adjoined the house along with a small office and a four-room apartment on the second floor.
MAKOONS

Little Bear

"Bungs Big Bear and the Pondford landings were rebuilt in the early 1950s. But in the 1930s there were nine rice camps on Lower Rice Lake, and anywhere from 800 - 1200 people showed up for the harvest. Being a big deal a huge deal, back in those days. The Indians came from the different villages on White Earth and from the Leech Lake, Mille Lacs and Red Lake. They all had their own camps then.

A few Indians would show up early August and gather bundles of brush and with horses drag them into the river to make a temporary dam. The lake level would go up and allow canoes to move around the lake. They just let them in because the higher water in the spring would push them out allowing the water to go out so that the new rice would get more sun and grow.

In the past when I worked the Mille Lacs Rice Mill, some of these guys who knew the lake really well and were good harvesters could, on an opening day, get three full canoes which would be about 1000 pounds of rice. But most folks would bring in around 300 or 400 pounds.

In the 90s I did some oral interviews with the old timers who I met when I was the mill. The one thing that stood out in all of them was that we were not taking care of the lake like we're supposed to.

The rice camps were about a lot more that just harvesting rice. They were one of the most important community events of the year. It was a time to re-group, a time to share stories, share language and pass along what was important about our culture."

Bob Shimp, in interview with Wayne Goodrundberg, 2012

MANKOMINI-OGIMAA

Rice Chief

Because the rivers were too shallow, lumbermen constructed a series of dams to catch the spring rains and snowmelt to float logs downstream. They chose Rice Lake, a major center for harvesting wild rice, as their main reservoir. This worked well for the logging concerns, but the irregular water levels devastated the wild rice crop. Floodwaters also silted low-lying Indian gardens or river-bottom land. Clear cutting timber caused erosion and muddyed streams, choking aquatic life.

Having lost land around Rice Lake to the logging companies, the Ojibwe also lost control of what was once one of the focal points of their survival and culture.

The WELSA Act transferred title to the land around Rice Lake back to the Indians and coupled with the establishment of the Lower Rice Lake Wildlife Management Area, the Tribe regained control of wild rice production.
Photographer Wayne Gudmundson, professor emeritus from Minnesota State University Moorhead, has his work in 10 books, several public television documentaries, numerous exhibits, and is part of many permanent collections including the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montreal, the Reykjavik Museum of Photography in Iceland, and the Center for Creative Photography in Tucson. Gudmundson is represented by the Joseph Bellows Gallery in La Jolla, California.

These photographs were made with a 4 x 5 view camera that, like the photographer, is sneaking up on 70 years of age. The technical processes employed here came into popular use around 1980, not long after the establishment of the White Earth Reservation in 1867.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Several years ago a neighbor and friend, Tim Holbrokham, recommended I look into the work of Joseph Gillian, an early Episcopal missionary who recorded more than 900 Ojibwe place names in Minnesota. My initial idea was to make photographs at these sites and use Gillian's work to accompany my photographs. The project stalled for many reasons.

Later quite by chance I heard an amazing interview on the radio with Dr. Anton Teuerl talking about Ojibwe place names. He agreed to talk with me about the Ojibwe experience on White Earth. Teuerl pointed me towards people I should talk with and books I should read. His help was invaluable in shaping this project.

Further, he provided Ojibwe translators for the photo titles and offered the exhibition's title.

In addition, the following folks have helped me along the way: Joe Allen, Karen Branden, Becca Dellinger, Bruce Engebretson, Andy Favorita, Al Fox, Rich and Fox, Tim Holbrokham, Joe LeGarde, Bad Parker, Bill Paulson, Bob Shinske, and Mike Swan.

The Arts Partnership in Fargo awarded me a grant to help with the cost of printing this exhibit. Cody Jacobson designed this catalogue.

And of course, without the ongoing help of my wife, Jane, I couldn't have completed this and so many other things.

To all those fine folks, I offer my sincere thanks.

// Wayne Gudmundson, 2018