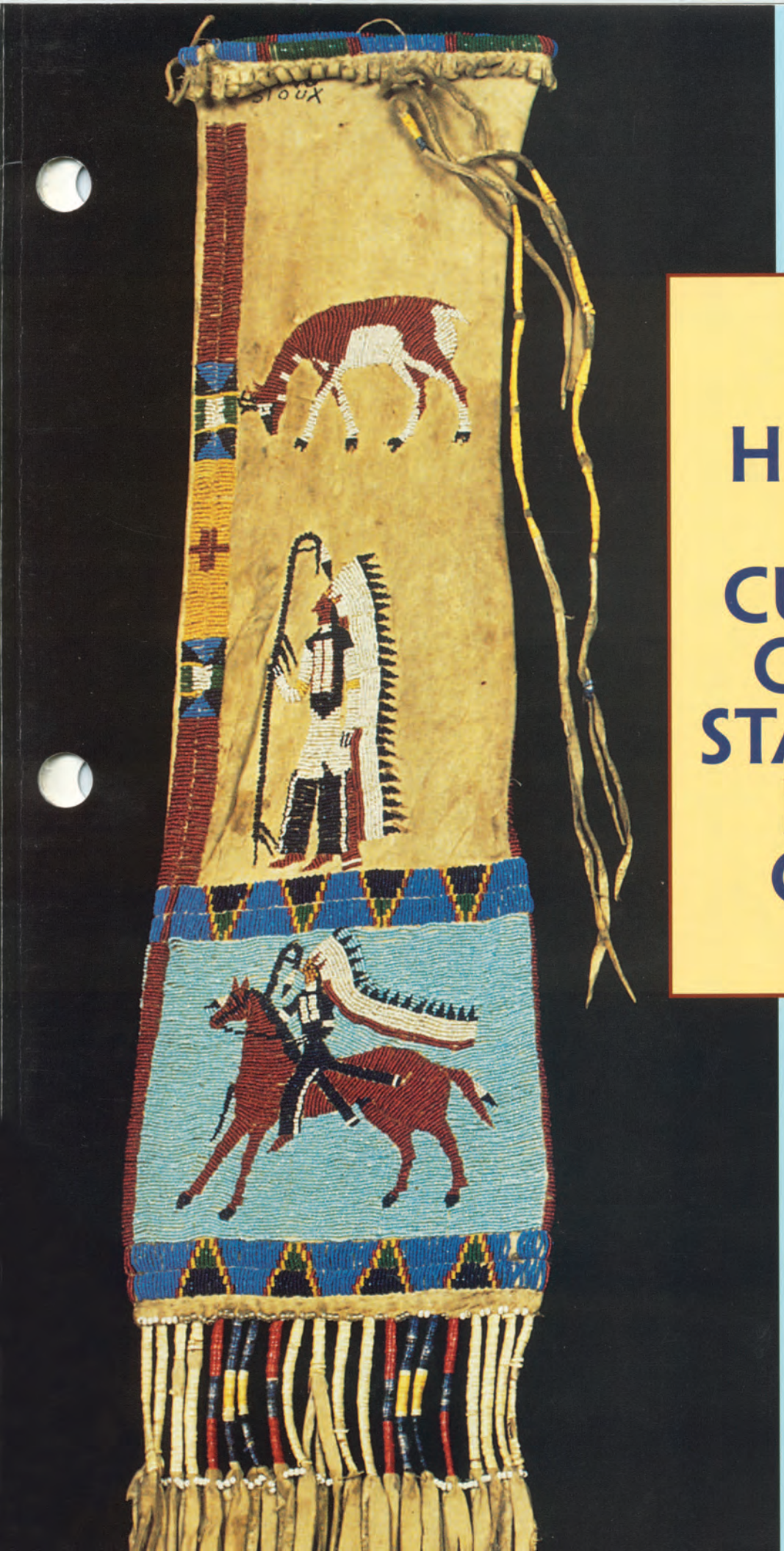

THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE STANDING ROCK OYATE

North Dakota Department of Public Instruction

Dr. Wayne G. Sanstead, STATE SUPERINTENDENT

Bismarck, North Dakota

Front cover photo

Lakota pipe bag

circa 1880

State Historical Society of North Dakota
SHSND 11727

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FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS:

- Migration
- Creation Narratives
- Time
- Land Ownerships
- Treaties and Treaty Making
- Reservations
- Boarding Schools
- Indian Policy and Federal Legislation

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Where did the Lakota people originate?
2. Over what period of time did their migration occur?
3. According to documented history, how long have the people lived in their present location?
4. How did the Lakota people record the events of their existence?
5. What is the long-term effect of the treaties made with the Lakota people?
   For both parties?
6. What effect did language have on the treaty-negotiations process?
7. What are the differences and similarities between how land and property is held or owned by native and non-native peoples?
8. Why were reservations created?
9. What was the impact of federal legislation on Native peoples?

TRIBAL HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

LAKOTA MIGRATION TREATIES

- 1851 FT. LARAMIE TREATY
- WHITESTONE HILL
- 1868 FT. LARAMIE TREATY

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GREAT SIOUX RESERVATION

- STANDING ROCK AGENCY
- BATTLE OF THE LITTLE BIG HORN
- TAKING OF THE BLACK HILLS

BREAKING UP OF THE GREAT SIOUX RESERVATION

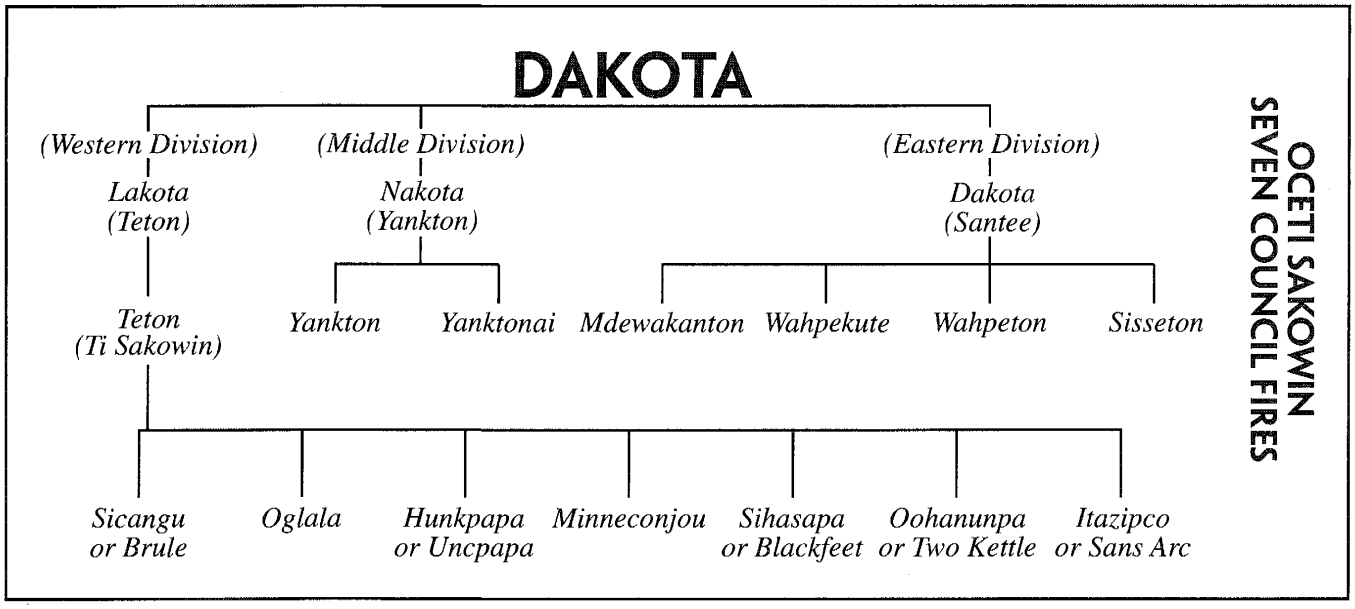
- THE GHOST DANCE
- THE SIOUX CLAIM

IMPACT OF FEDERAL POLICY

- ALLOTMENT
- CITIZENSHIP
- INDIAN REORGANIZATION
- OAHE DAM

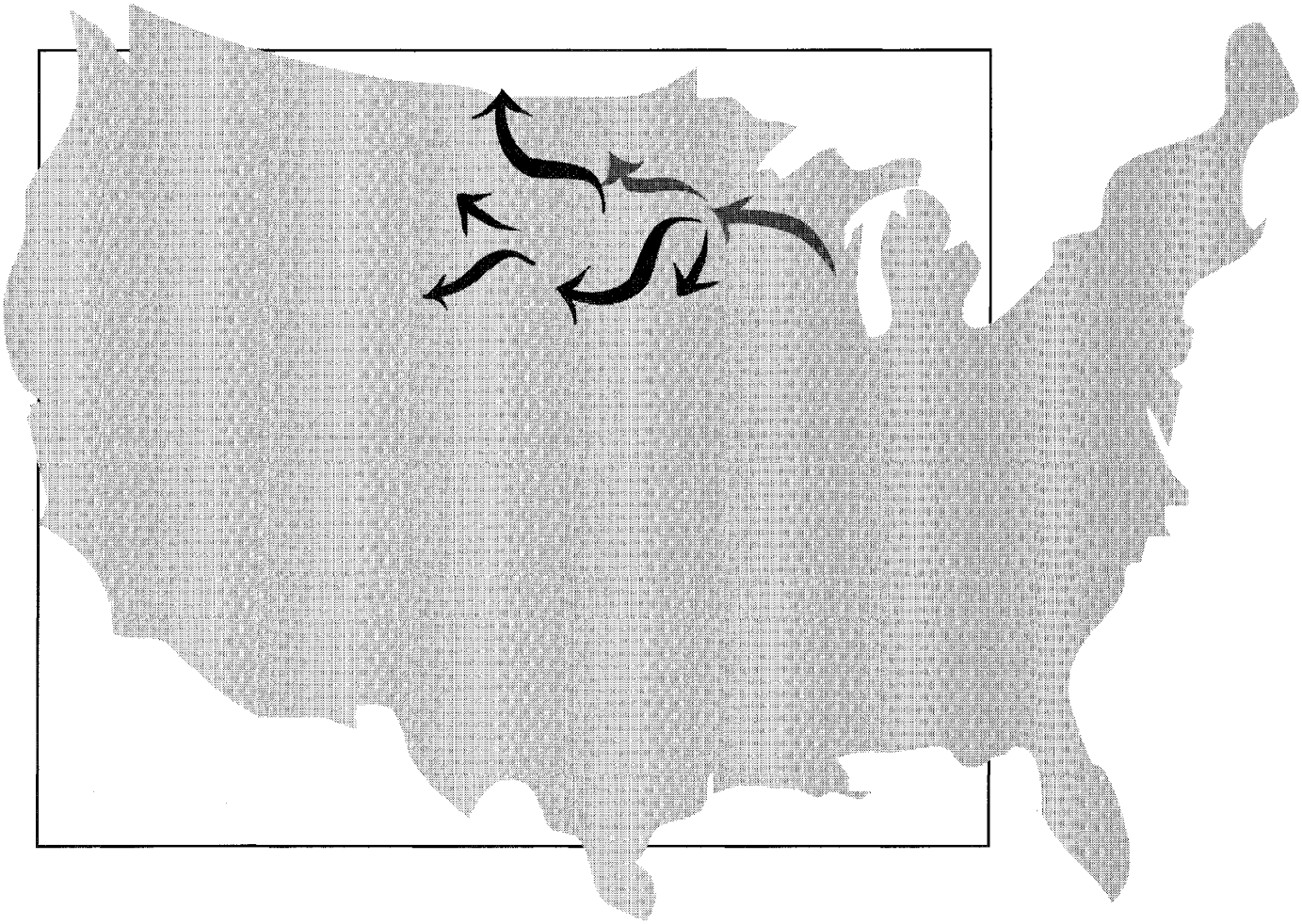
TRIBAL HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The Standing Rock Sioux Reservation is situated in North and South Dakota. The people of Standing Rock, often called Sioux, are members of the Dakota and Lakota nations. "Dakota" and "Lakota" mean "friends" or "allies." The people of these nations are often called "Sioux", a term that dates back to the seventeenth century when the people were living in the Great Lakes area. The Ojibwa called the Lakota and Dakota "Nadouwesou" meaning "adders." This term, shortened and corrupted by French traders, resulted in retention of the last syllable as "Sioux." There are various Sioux divisions and each has important cultural, linguistic, territorial and political distinctions.



The Dakota people of Standing Rock include the Upper Yanktonai in their language called **Ihanktonwana** which translates "Little End Village" and Lower Yanktonai, called **Hunkpatina** in their language, "Campers at the Horn" or "End of the Camping Circle". When the Middle Sioux moved onto the prairie they had contact with the semisedentary riverine tribes such as the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara. Eventually the Yanktonai displaced these tribes and forced them upstream. However, periodically the Yanktonai did engage in trade with these tribes and eventually some bands adopted the earthlodge, bullboat, and horticultural techniques of these people, though buffalo remained their primary food source. The Yanktonai also maintained aspects of their former Woodland lifestyle. Today Yanktonai people of Standing Rock live primarily in communities on the North Dakota portion of the reservation.

The Lakota, as the largest division of the Sioux, subdivided into the **Ti Sakowin** or Seven Tents and Lakota people of the Standing Rock Reservation included two of these subdivisions, the **Hunkpapa** which means "Campers at the Horn" in English and **Sihasapa** or "Blackfeet," not to be confused with the Algonquian Blackfeet of Montana and Canada which are an entirely different group. By the early 19th century the Lakota became a northern Plains people and practically divested themselves of most all Woodland traits. The new culture revolved around the horse and buffalo; the people were nomadic and lived in tepees year round. The Hunkpapa and Sihasapa ranged in the area between the Cheyenne and Heart Rivers to the south and north and between the Missouri River on the east and Tongue to the west. Today the Lakota at Standing Rock live predominantly in communities located on the South Dakota portion of the reservation.

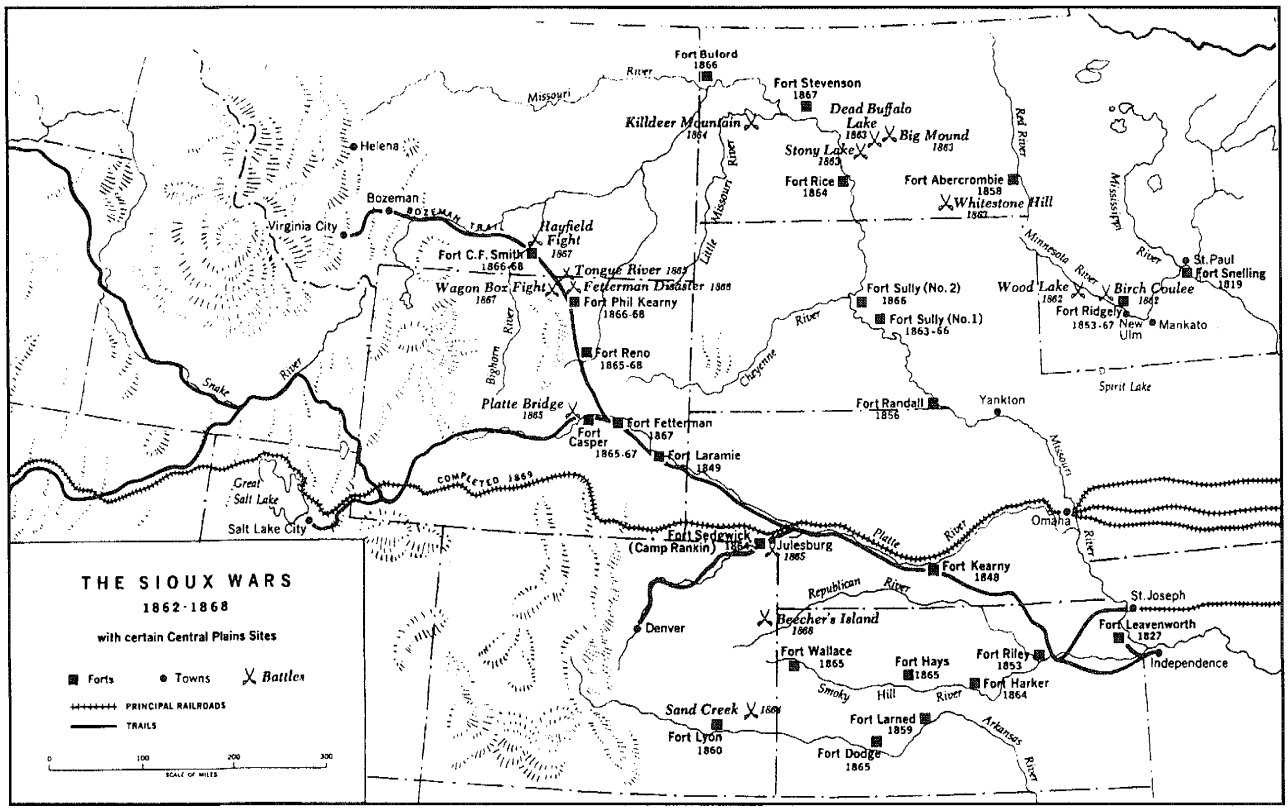


LAKOTA MIGRATION

Originally located in the Great Lakes or Woodland area the people were allied in what was known as the Seven Council Fires or **Oceti Sakowin** comprised of the Santee division (Dakota speakers) with four groups, the Middle division (Nakota speakers) with two groups, and the Teton or Western division (Lakota speakers) originally consisting of one group. These subdivisions were not culturally distinct from each other in their Woodland home, but became more distinct as the people moved westward. In the Woodland region the people were semisedentary and their Woodland economy was based on fishing, hunting, gathering, and some cultivation of corn. In the 17th century the Sioux were pushed westward by tribes, particularly the Ojibwa and Cree, who obtained guns through the French fur trade. The Teton and Middle Sioux began a trek westward with the Teton in the lead. With the emergence onto the Plains the people became almost totally involved in a buffalo hunting economy. The buffalo supplied the main source of food as well as many material needs such as housing, clothing, and implements. With the acquisition of the horse in this same period the Teton quickly developed a culture that centered around the horse and buffalo. By 1750 the Middle Sioux were settled along the Missouri River while the Teton pushed further west into the Black Hills and beyond to present day states of Nebraska, Wyoming, and Montana. By the early nineteenth century political and cultural differences between the Sioux groups became pronounced and true Eastern, Middle and Teton (Western) divisions emerged.

Both the Dakota and Lakota at Standing Rock relied almost exclusively on the buffalo as a major source of food, shelter, and material items. Both groups had complex spiritual ceremonies, and placed much emphasis on family and doing things that benefitted the people rather than the individual; these cultural and spiritual values remain important among the people into the present day. Once the people acquired the horse, in the mid 1700's, there was an impact on the material culture as well as the social customs of the people. Tepees became larger, there was greater mobility, and hunting became more productive. Additionally, the horse had a direct impact on the integration of warfare in the fabric of the people's lives. It is important to understand the main object of Plains Indian warfare was never to acquire land or to control another group of people. Plains Indian warfare focused on raiding other tribes' camps for horses and acquiring honors connected with capturing horses. In these raids, very much like contests, men sought to outbeat the enemy and gain individual honors by counting coup or striking the enemy with the hand or a special staff. Plains warfare emphasized outsmarting the enemy, not killing them. With the advent of the horse onto the Plains warfare traditions became institutionalized among the Northern Plains tribes and there were constant raids and counter-raids among tribes. This style of warfare, described by one author as comparable to a rough game of touch football, changed dramatically after encounters with the United States Army in the 1850's.

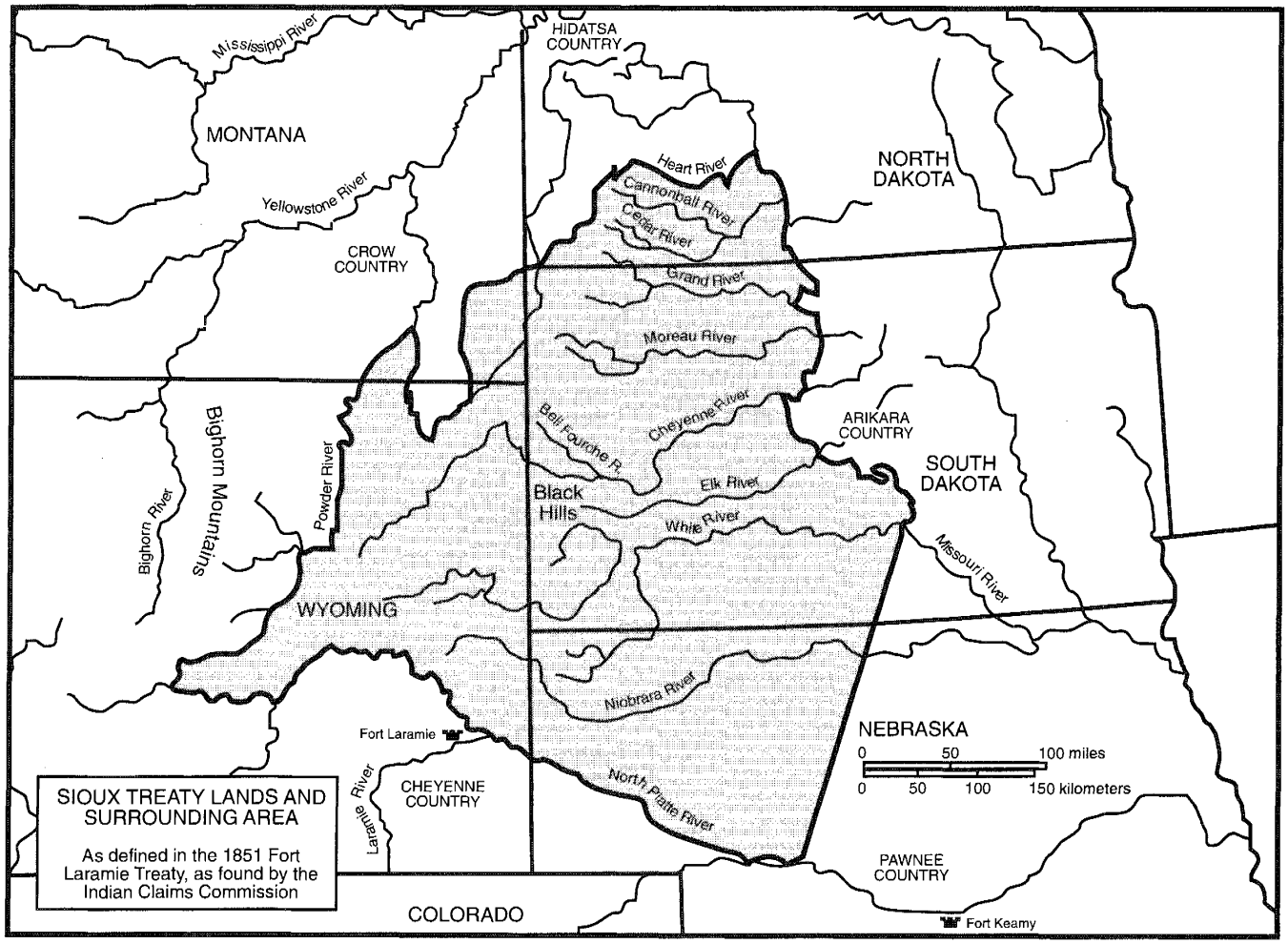
These lifeways and warfare customs were followed until the discovery of gold in California in 1849. Up until this time the U.S. government considered the west a "permanent Indian frontier" – an inhospitable land with little economic value inhabited by Indians. In the early 1850's overland travelers enroute to gold fields began to cross through Lakota territory. However, the discovery of mineral wealth in the west caused the U.S. to extend its boundaries to the Pacific, encroaching on Indian lands and threatening the buffalo herds. This in turn set off a series of confrontations between whites and Indians of the trans-Mississippi West. Fortune seekers moving along the Platte River Road cut right through traditional Lakota territory and although generally left alone, the white travelers were frightened by the turmoil and commotion caused by the intertribal raids and they demanded government protection.



1. – Map of the Sioux Wars. From Utley, Robert, The Indian Frontier...p. 121.

THE 1851 FORT LARAMIE TREATY

As a result, in 1851 the federal government brought many of the Plains tribes together at Fort Laramie, including many Lakota and Dakota bands and sought to establish peace among the tribes so settlers could continue to move across the area and not fear for their safety. The government solution was to assign each tribe a defined territory which they were to remain on. Government negotiators had the various Indian nations appoint head chiefs to these councils so they could deal with a small group of men rather than the entire nations. This sort of negotiation was meaningless to the Lakota, Dakota and other Indian nations. Decision-making among the Lakota and Dakota was based on participation of all until consensus was reached, and in this form of democracy a few men could not speak for all or bind all people to treaty promises. Nonetheless, the government insisted on negotiating with appointed chiefs and through the treaty process sought to define its relationship with the various tribes. The 1851 Treaty defined territory for each tribal group in order to end intertribal rivalry and it permitted travelers and railroad workers on the Platte River road. The Yanktonai, covered by an earlier 1825 treaty, were omitted from the treaty because their traditional areas were far removed from the overland route to the Pacific coast which the treaty aimed to safeguard.



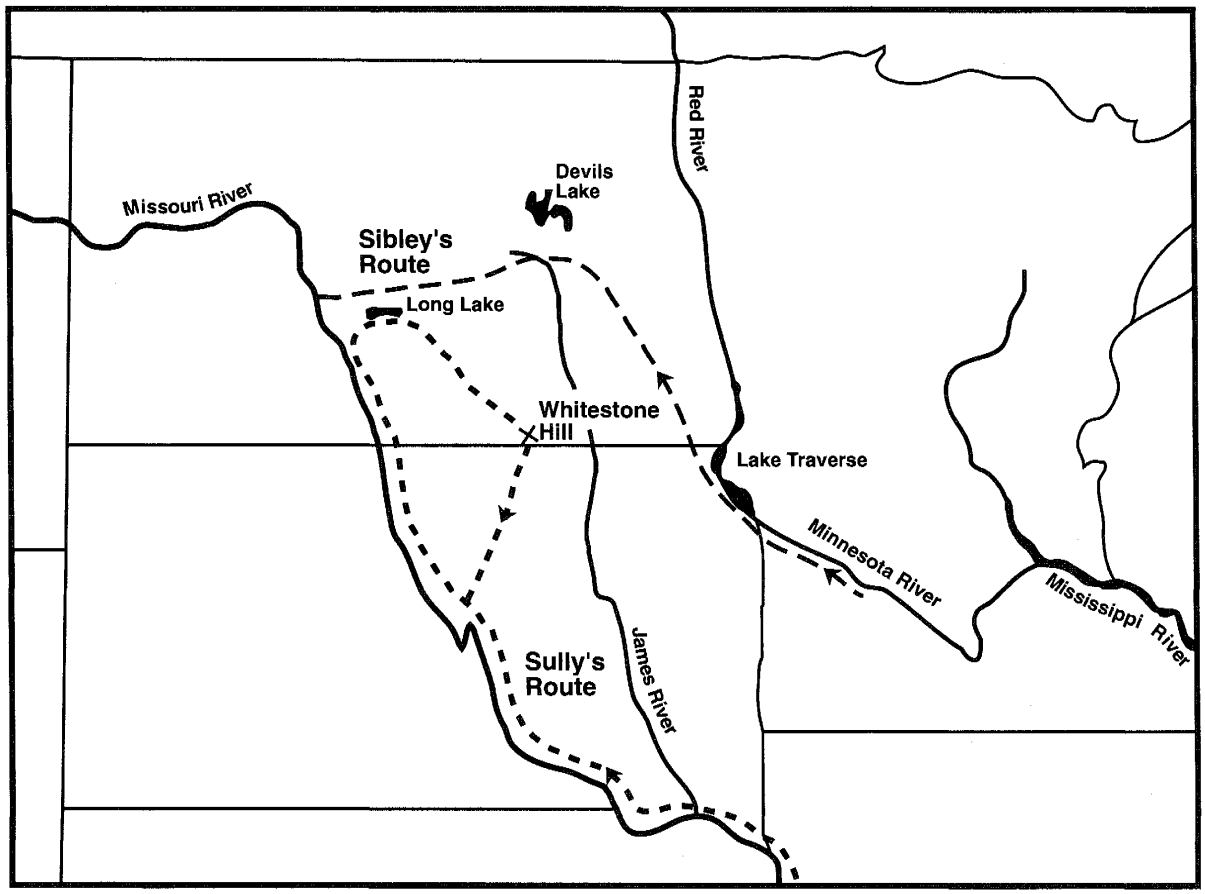
2. – Map adapted from Lazarus, Black Hills, White Justice, p. xvii.

Ultimately, many Lakota and Dakota never knew of the existence of the 1851 treaty and they continued their intertribal raiding. The U.S. regarded this a breach of treaty, however, the U.S. government could not compel its own countrymen to respect the treaty either. Travelers continuously passed through defined Indian territories and ignored the treaty though no major incidents occurred until the numbers of travelers increased.

A number of events that occurred in 1861 directly impacted both the Dakota and Lakota who would later come to be part of the Standing Rock Reservation. In 1861 when Dakota Territory was established the Yanktonai and Hunkpatina occupied much of the area east of the Missouri River. Events which followed the Minnesota Indian War of 1862 rapidly changed this. Also, in 1861, gold was discovered in the headwater of the Missouri River and this had and immediate impact on the Lakota living on the west side of the Missouri River.

The Santee, located on an ever-shrinking homeland in Minnesota, were dissatisfied with federal policies and when they received no redress of their grievances some men precipitated a confrontation in 1862. Some Santees raided settlements, attacked a military installation, and ultimately caused 40,000 settlers to flee. Federal response to the trouble was quick and all Indians in the area were considered potentially dangerous, so many Indian people who had no connection to the troubles were punished. Many of the Santees, fearful of retribution, fled into Dakota Territory and Canada. Settlers on the Dakota frontier, fearful of trouble, demanded government protection. Generals Sibley and Sully were assigned to round up "hostiles" in the Dakotas. They found no "hostiles" but followed some hunting bands at various times. Despite the apparent peace in the Dakotas wild rumors of dangerous Indians continued and the military was under great public and political pressure to keep up its campaign.

WHITESTONE HILL.



"1863 Campaign, Two military expeditions entered Dakota Territory during the summer of 1863. One column of soldiers was led by General Henry H. Sibley and originated from Minnesota. The other expedition, commanded by General Alfred Sully, followed the Missouri River north from Iowa. Sully's campaign culminated in the Battle at Whitestone Hill." 3. – Map from Jacobson, Whitestone Hill, p. 18.

In early September, 1863, General Sully discovered a large hunting camp of Yanktonai at Whitestone Hill. These people had nothing to do with the Minnesota problems and they were not posing a threat to homesteaders in Dakota Territory. The Yanktonai people at Whitestone Hill were preparing food for the winter months ahead. Sully's troops never determined who these people were and on September 3, 1863, 650 soldiers attacked the Yanktonai, killing at least 300, including many women and children. Twenty soldiers were killed, many caught in army crossfire. The Yanktonai who were able, fled the area, abandoning all their household goods and stores of food. The scene of the battlefield and Indian camp the next day was recorded by F.E. Caldwell, a soldier with the Second Nebraska Cavalry:

> *Tepees, some standing, some torn down, some squaws that were dead, some that were wounded and still alive, young children of all ages from young infants to eight or ten years old, who had lost their parents, dead soldiers, dead Indians, dead horses, hundreds of dogs howling for their masters. Some of the dogs were packed with small poles fastened to a collar and dragging behind them. On the poles was a platform on which all kinds of articles were fastened on – in one instance a young baby. (Jacobson, p. 99).*

The next two days Sully rounded up Yanktonai survivors who were in the vicinity of the battle because they had no horses. They were taken and held as prisoners. Sully also ordered the destruction of all food and equipment left behind by the Yanktonai. Caldwell described that process:

> *Sully ordered all the property destroyed, tepees, buffalo skins, and all their things, including tons and tons of dried buffalo meat and tallow. It was gathered in wagons, piled in a hollow and burned, and the melted tallow ran down the valley into a stream. Hatchets, camp kettles and all things that would sink were thrown into a small lake. (Jacobson, p.101).*

Sully's men were congratulated by the U.S. for their distinguished conduct, and the Indian story never came out though it was told among their own people. In November, 1863, Sam Brown, a 19-year-old interpreter at Crow Creek, presented the Indian side of Sully's battle at Whitestone Hill in a letter to his father:

> *I hope you will not believe all that is said of "Sully's Successful Expedition" against the Sioux. I don't think he aught to brag of it at all, because it was, what no decent man would have done, he pitched into their camp and just slaughtered them, worse a great deal than what the Indians did in 1862, he killed very few men and no hostile ones prisoners...and now he returns saying that we need fear no more, for he has "wiped out all hostile Indians from Dakota." If he had killed men instead of women & children, then it would have been a success, and the worse of it, they had no hostile intention whatever, the Nebraska Second pitched into them without orders, while the Iowa Sixth were shaking hands with them on the other side, they even shot their own men. (Jacobson, p.105).*

1 (For an Indian pictographic account of this battle see Appendix, Document 1)

Sully and his troops wintered in the newly constructed Fort Rice while plans were being launched to force the Indians to cede large areas of their territory. In July, 1864, Sully set out for the Killdeer Mountains where Yanktonai, Sihasapa, Hunkpapa and other Dakota were in a large hunting camp. On July 23, 1864, Sully's troops, aided by artillery, killed about 100

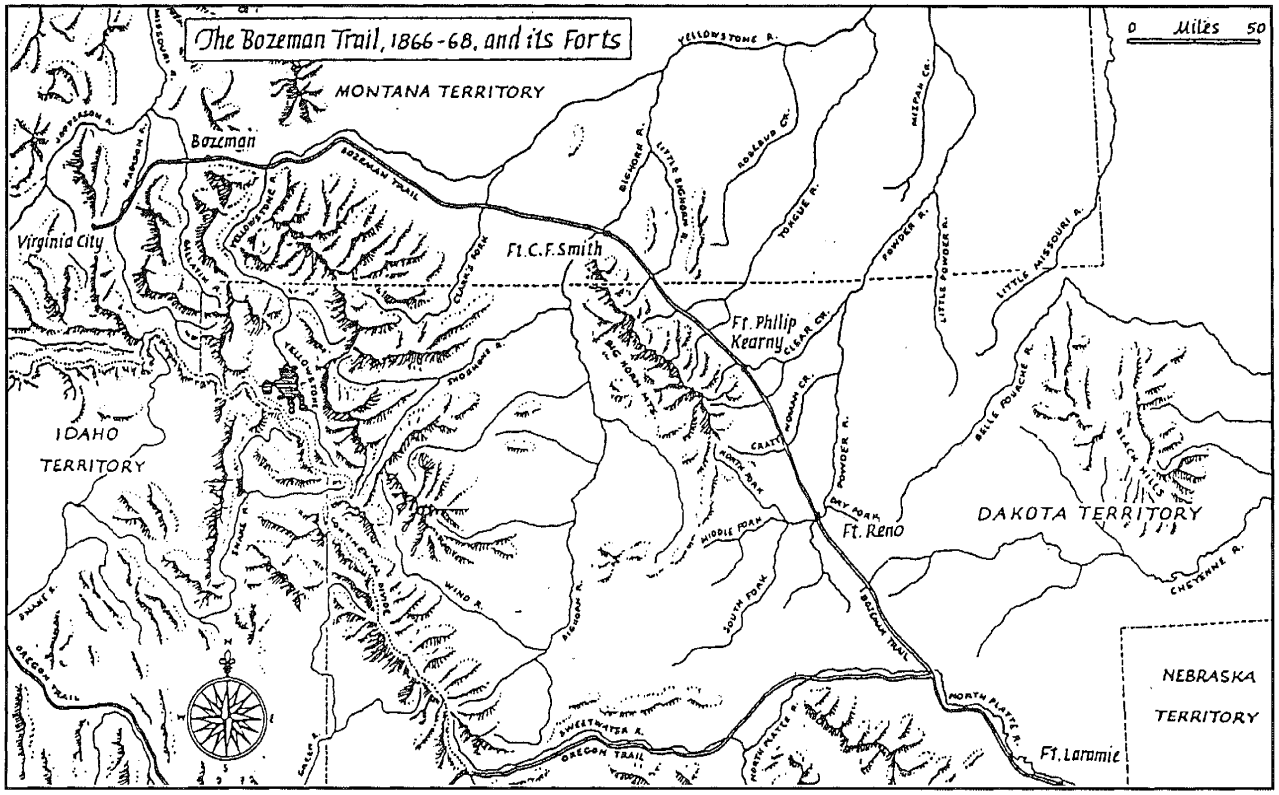
Indians and the people from their camp and forced them to abandon all their food and household goods. Again, all Indian property was destroyed. This is known as the Battle of Killdeer Mountains. Sully chased down some of the stragglers from the battle along the Yellowstone River in the Badlands, and in August, 1864, soldiers attacked some of the survivors of the Killdeer Mountains. By fall, 1864, the commander at Fort Sully assessed the situation of the Yanktonai, Hunkpatina and others,

> *"Their severe punishment in life and property for the last two years is an excellent groundwork for a peace I believe would be lasting..." (Jacobson, pp.110-111).*

With little other recourse, the Yanktonai signed a treaty with the U.S. government at Fort Sully in October, 1865. The tribes agreed to be at peace with the U.S. and other tribes, withdraw from overland routes through their territory, and in return for these concessions the U.S. provided monetary reparation and agricultural implements to the tribes.

In 1861 the Union was desperate for gold and silver to fund the Civil War effort. Indian rights were not a consideration when the destiny of the union was at stake, so when gold was discovered in Montana little was done to hold back the flood of fortune seekers who overran Sioux treaty lands along the Bozeman Trail.

Continued traffic through Sioux lands caused disruption in the lifeways of the people and cut through the heart of the Sioux buffalo ranges in the Powder River area. The Sioux repeatedly objected to intrusions in their territory and demanded government recognition of the 1851 treaty. Ultimately their protests fell on deaf ears. With no peaceful solution in sight the Sioux began to retaliate against trespass in their country. The government's need for gold coupled with demands for protection by travelers along the Bozeman Trail increased so the army moved in to protect non-Indian people, property, and rights of way through Dakota-Lakota territory. Thus began the era commonly referred to as the Plains or Sioux Wars of 1865-1876. *(See Map, page 6. from Utley's: The Indian Frontier).*



4. – Map from Prucha, Atlas of American Indian Affairs, 1990, p. 128.

Treaty signing by William T. Sherman and the Sioux at Ft. Laramie Wyoming. Taken by Alexander Gardener. - Photo courtesy of the National Archives - Smithsonian Institute.

THE 1868 FORT LARAMIE TREATY

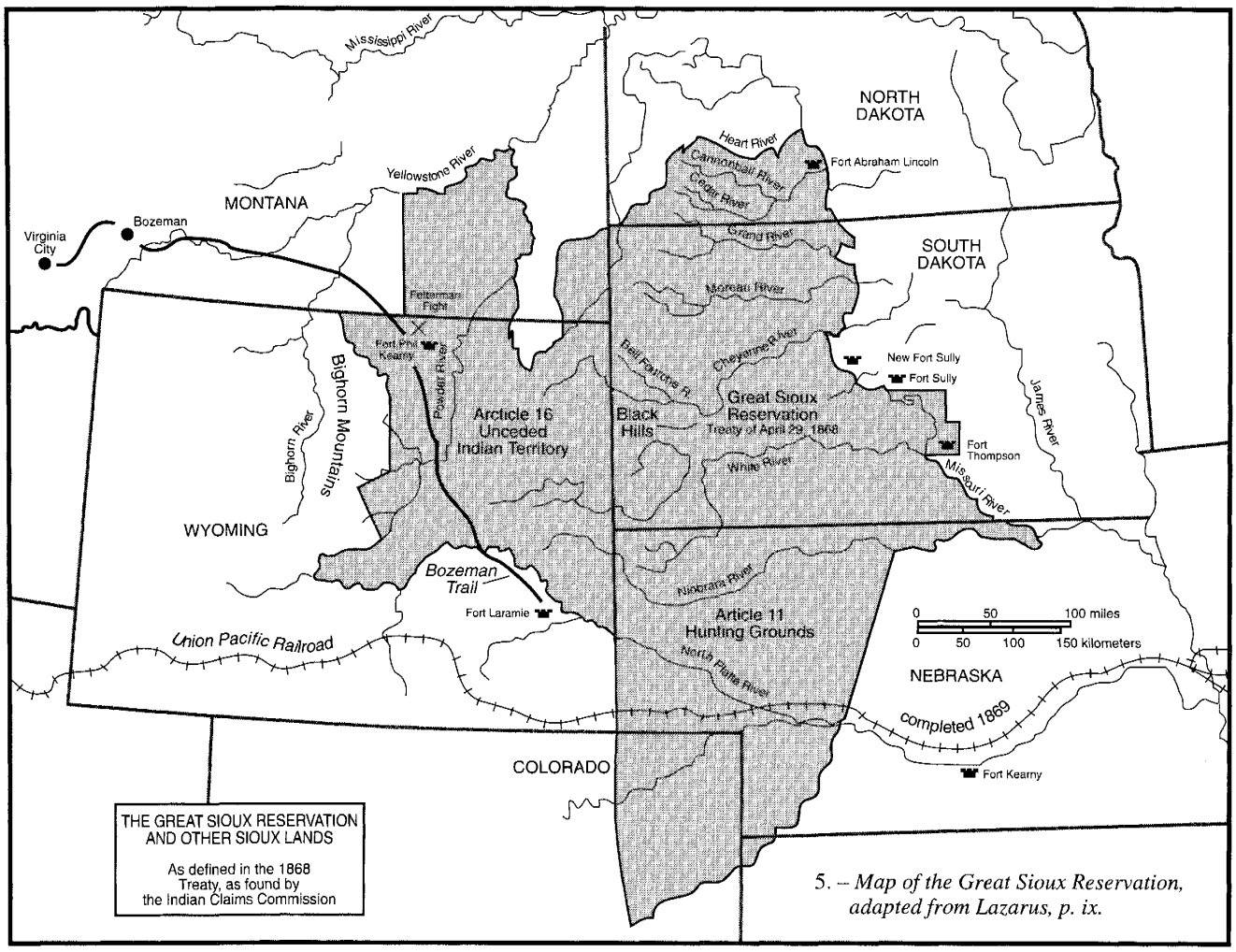
Rather than addressing the issue of trespass in Sioux country the government responded with talk of yet another treaty with the Sioux. Historically the federal government has had a poor record of honoring treaties negotiated with Indian tribes. As the need for land or resources developed, the federal government simply moved to change the provisions of previous treaties. Treaties are legal documents the United States government, as a sovereign nation, negotiates with another sovereign nation. Initially, treaties with tribal nations sought to define the relationship that existed between the U.S. and a tribe, but as time went on, the U.S. used treaties as a way to extinguish Indian rights to ancestral homelands. And so when Sioux treaty lands were overrun with goldseekers, the U.S. simply sought to modify rather than honor the existing treaty. Tensions along the Bozeman Trail continued to escalate, then in June of 1866 the U.S. held a talk at Fort Laramie with various Lakota bands. The government promised many gifts and benefits to the Sioux and glossed over the object of the government's interest – to negotiate a new treaty which would close off the Powder River area and the Bozeman Trail to the Indians in order to insure continued gold supplies and emigration into Montana. In the middle of the treaty talks, a military man informed some of the Indian negotiators he had orders to build forts along the Bozeman Trail to protect settlers moving into Montana. The Sioux were outraged at this news, as it was in direct violation of the 1851 treaty and had not been mentioned in the council meetings. Thus the treaty talks ended abruptly. Red Cloud delivered a speech about white betrayal and treachery and led the Sioux delegation north vowing to fight all who invaded their territory as set down in the 1851 treaty.

The troubles in 1866-1868 in the Powder River region, often called "Red Cloud's War," resulted in a clear victory for the Lakota. The Lakota had denied the Bozeman Trail to virtually all immigrant travel, Army supply trains had to fight their way through, and soldiers were bottled up in their forts. The Indians had little need to negotiate a treaty and so ignored all government overtures to do so. Finally in 1868 the soldiers abandoned their forts along the Bozeman Trail as a way to restart treaty negotiations. By this time the U.S. government was set on confining the Sioux to proscribed territory but first it needed a treaty.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GREAT SIOUX RESERVATION

Government policy by the mid 1860's was to confine all Indians to defined land areas called reservations. The United States government proposed what became known as the 1868 Laramie Treaty to deal with the Sioux issue. This treaty proposed to:

- set aside a 25 million acre tract of land for the Lakota and Dakota encompassing all the land in South Dakota west of the Missouri River, to be known as the Great Sioux Reservation;
- permit the Dakota and Lakota to hunt in areas of Nebraska, Wyoming, Montana, and North Dakota until the buffalo were gone;
- provide for an agency, grist mill, schools to be located on the Great Sioux Reservation;
- provide for land allotments to be made to individual Indians; and
- provide clothing, blankets, and rations of food to be distributed to all Dakotas and Lakotas living within the bounds of the Great Sioux Reservation.



5. – *Map of the Great Sioux Reservation, adapted from Lazarus, p. ix.*

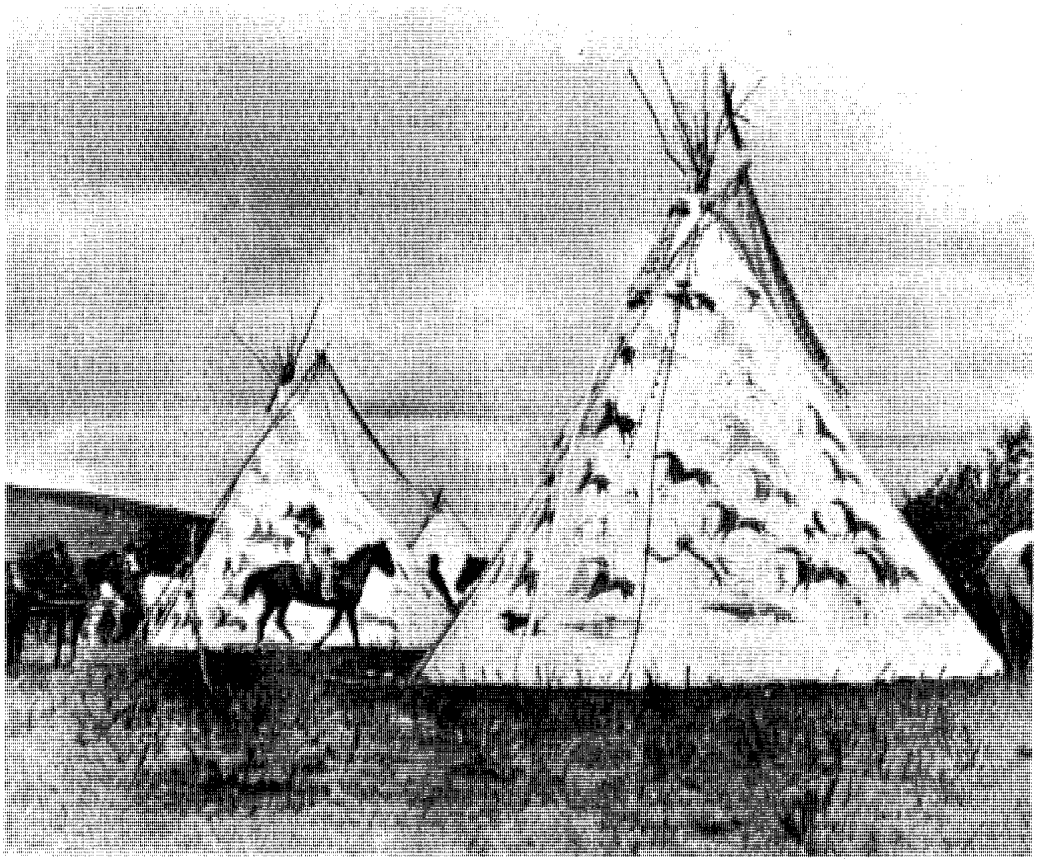


Photo courtesy of The Fiske Collection, ND State Historical Society

In return, if the Sioux agreed to be confined to this smaller land area, the federal government would remove all military forts in the Powder River and prevent non-Indian settlement in their lands. The treaty guaranteed that any changes to this document must be approved by three-quarters of all adult Sioux males. Red Cloud seemed to have won his point since the forts along the Bozeman Trail were abandoned so, in good faith, he signed the treaty. Those Lakota and Dakota who lived south or east along the rivers also signed the 1868 treaty because they were already living within or near the bounds of the newly established Great Sioux Reservation. However, three quarters of the Sioux males did not sign this treaty. Most of the Lakota living north of Bozeman Trail including the Hunkpapa and Sihasapa bands, did not sign. In particular, Sitting Bull, a Hunkpapa, rejected all overtures to sign this treaty. Sitting Bull soon became a recognized leader of the Sioux who refused to give in to government entreaties to change their lifestyle and live in a confined area.

After the 1868 Treaty was negotiated some Hunkpapa, Sihasapa, and Yanktonai moved onto the northern part of the Great Sioux Reservation, the area designated for their bands. Yanktonai, under Two Bears, who lived and farmed on the east side of the Missouri River, refused to move across the river onto the new reservation because they had good land for farming. However, they maintained a friendly relationship with the agent. Many Lakota, among them many Hunkpapa, refused to recognize the 1868 Treaty saying it provided little to the people and pointed out non-Indians continued to use their land, and the government did not honor treaty provisions which promised rations, clothing and schools. These people continued to live in their traditional areas in the unceded lands, followed the buffalo and maintained their traditional lifeways.

As a way to monitor the Dakota and Lakota who lived on the vast Sioux Reservation the federal government established agencies. In 1868 the Grand River Agency was established on the west bank of the Missouri River above the confluence of the Grand and Missouri Rivers to handle matters on the northern part of the Great Sioux Reservation. As protection to the Indian agent and support staff, army forts were built near the agencies so in 1870 a fort was built near the Grand River Agency. Bands served by the Grand River Agency were primarily Yanktonai, Hunkpapa, and Sihasapa.

U.S. federal Indian policy in the 1870's sought to enforce the reservation system and to confine Indians to certain areas apart from settlers; federal policy also encouraged Indians to abandon their nomadic lifestyle in favor of farming. By confining Indians within designated reservation areas the federal government relentlessly pursued a policy described as "christianizing and civilizing the savages." The goal of this policy was to "make Indians fit to live in the presence of the [white man's] civilization." This would be accomplished by replacing Indian spiritual tradition, cultural values, and lifeways with those of mainstream American society. In fact, as a way to encourage christianization of the Indians the federal government assigned various religious denominations to administer the reservations beginning in 1869. By 1870 Standing Rock was run by Catholics. The various denominations established schools and generally carried out the "civilizing" policies of the federal government.

Those Lakota living off the reservation in the unceded territory complained bitterly when the federal government permitted Northern Pacific Railroad survey crews into this area in direct violation of the 1868 Treaty. Sitting Bull opposed this incursion in Lakota lands and interference in Lakota life, and asserted his people's rights to defend their homelands.

The U.S. government's response to these complaints of treaty violations was to build more forts to protect settlers and railroad crews. Forts dotted the Missouri River near Indian settlements and treaty lands. Near the Grand River Agency forts McKeen, and Abraham Lincoln, joined Fort Rice along the Missouri. The federal government continued to openly violate the 1868 Treaty throughout designated Sioux territory.

The most famous and well-documented violation of Sioux rights was the 1874 Black Hills expedition of geologists and soldiers under George Custer who were sent in by the federal government to explore the Black Hills and report on the extent of gold deposits. The Dakota and Lakota angrily protested the direct violation of the 1868 Treaty. Although the government admitted this expedition was illegal it justified the survey stating it was only to gain information about mineral wealth in the Hills.

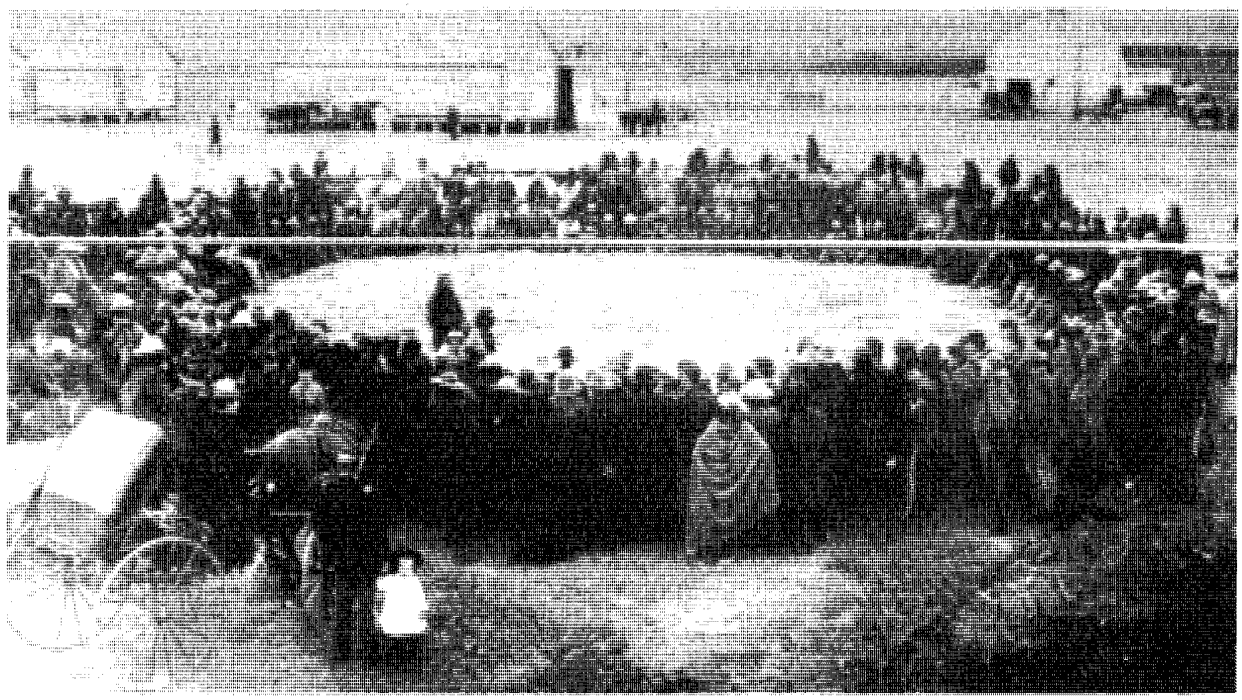
Almost at once geological reports of gold in the Black Hills leaked to the general public and a stampede of miners poured into the area. By law these goldseekers were trespassing in area defined as Sioux country in the 1868 Treaty. Half-hearted attempts by the military to keep miners out of the area were unsuccessful and by the spring of 1875 the Black Hills were overrun by prospectors. Rather than enforce the 1868 Treaty and remove intruders from the Hills as the Dakota and Lakota vehemently demanded, the federal government's response was to call together a council to again change the terms of the treaty. This time the government proposed to purchase the Black Hills.

The Grand River Agency representatives to this council were highly irritated at the invasion of the Black Hills and initially refused to attend the council meeting. They made their case by saying, "It is no use making treaties when the Great Father [President] will either let white men break them or not have the power to prevent them from doing so." *(John Burke, to E.P. Smith, September 1, 1875, BIA).* The Lakota and Dakota bands from all agencies overwhelmingly rejected any proposal to sell or negotiate away their rights to the Black Hills. Tension between the Indians and government officials were high, but past experience taught the tribes the government would not accept their decision not to negotiate away anymore rights or territories.

ESTABLISHMENT OF STANDING ROCK AGENCY

At the time gold was discovered in the Black Hills the United States government was beginning in earnest to implement its policy to confine all western Indians on reservations. The government wanted all Lakota and Dakota within the bounds of the Great Sioux Reservation and out of the unceded territories. In order to make the Grand River Agency more functional the Indian agency and its army support moved 55 miles up the Missouri River to a high tableland at a point where the river was narrow and deep. This new site had a river landing accessible to steamboats, an abundance of cottonwood timber, and good farming land. This area was outside the bounds of the Great Sioux Reservation but an Executive Order signed March 16, 1875, extended the reservation's northern boundary to the Cannonball River. Fort Yates became the military support for the agency and late in 1874 the agency officially became known as Standing Rock Agency.

Since the Standing Rock Agency's new location at Fort Yates was to be a permanent location, the Yanktonai, under Two Bears, living and farming on the eastern side of the Missouri River were forced to move across the river. The federal agent at Standing Rock implemented government policies aimed at "civilizing" the Indians; these included encouraging Indians to construct log homes and take up farming. The federal government also distributed rations of food to all Indians living within the bounds of the Great Sioux Reservation. These rations consisted of flour, lard, bacon, sugar, coffee, and beef. Rations were used as a way to keep people on the reservation and discourage the people from pursuing a traditional lifestyle of hunting; only those Indians living on the reservation were eligible for rations. In time, when Indians changed to a farming economy the government planned to end the rationing system. As another way to encourage adaptation of the "white man's civilization," as it was referred to in government documents, the federal government distributed clothing, blankets, and cloth to the Indians on an annual basis. This too was done to discourage pursuit of the old lifestyle with cloth replacing leather for clothing. But more importantly to the government, the clothes made the Indians look more like their counterparts in the majority society and less like Indians. Nonetheless, winters were harsh and rations were often late so Indians continued to leave the reservation to hunt in the unceded territory as provided in the 1868 Treaty.

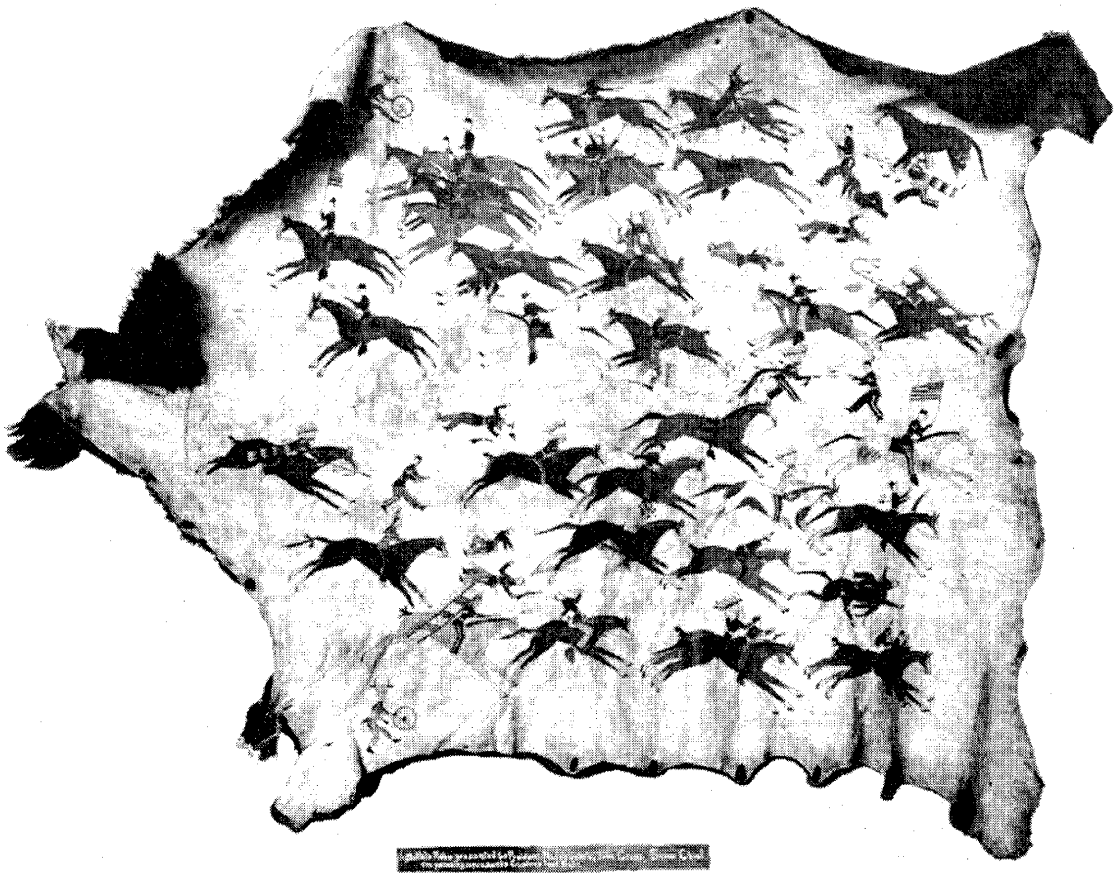


Council meeting at newly established Standing Rock Agency. Photo courtesy of ND Historical Society.

THE BATTLE OF THE LITTLE BIG HORN

The flood of miners into the Black Hills continued unabated, and the federal government did little to discourage these trespassers. The Sioux refused to negotiate another treaty, so rather then uphold the 1868 Treaty the government instituted a policy that declared the ceded lands off-limits and sought to force all Dakota and Lakota living in the unceded areas between the Black Hills and Big Horn Mountains within the confines of the Great Sioux Reservation. In December, 1875, the government plan became official policy. The people living in winter camps in the unceded territory were ordered to report to their agencies by January 31, 1876, or they would be regarded as hostile and the army would drive them in. The winter of 1875-1876 was bitterly cold, however, runners were sent to the winter camps in the unceded lands to inform the people of this new policy. The runner from Standing Rock left in December, 1875 and he did not return to the agency until February 11, 1876. He reported that Sitting Bull's people were near the mouth of the Powder River and had received him well, but they could not come in at that time. At the very time the government was trying to gather Indians onto the Great Sioux Reservation many Indians settled at the Standing Rock Agency, and were given permission by the agent to go into the Powder River country to hunt since there was a shortage of food supplies and rations on the reservation. Due to the cold weather, these people did not return by the January 31st deadline so they too were considered hostile even though they had permission to be off the reservation.

The cold weather prevented the army from embarking on the planned winter campaign to round up the so-called hostiles. However, when warmer weather came the military prepared to converge on the Dakota and Lakota in the unceded lands and force them onto the Great Sioux Reservation. In June, 1876, the military campaign against the Sioux became intense. Sitting Bull, a Hunkpapa, and Crazy Horse, an Oglala, were prominent leaders of the



Buffalo Robe, presented to President Theodore Roosevelt by John Grass, Sioux Chief. The painting represents Custers last fight. Fiske. Collection

people living outside the bounds of the Great Sioux Reservation and they asserted their legal right to be in the unceded territory. In June, as was tribal custom, the Dakota and Lakota people came together in a large group to hunt and to conduct a sun dance ceremony. During the sun dance Sitting Bull told of a strong image he saw, of many soldiers falling into camp and he saw a big Indian victory. Within days after the sun dance, on June 17, 1876, General Crook attacked Sioux and Cheyenne camped along the Rosebud River. The soldiers were held at bay until they finally retreated. This, however, was not the event foretold by Sitting Bull. The Dakota and Lakota bands moved their camp along the banks of the Little Big Horn River, and on June 25, 1876, Custer and his troops stumbled on a large Indian encampment that included many women, children and old people. Custer ordered an attack and within 45 minutes all men under his command were dead. Fearful of reprisals after the Battle of the Little Big Horn the Indian camp divided and fled in many directions.

"Custer's Last Stand," as the fight was popularly known, shocked and outraged Americans, and brought a flood of soldiers into Indian country.

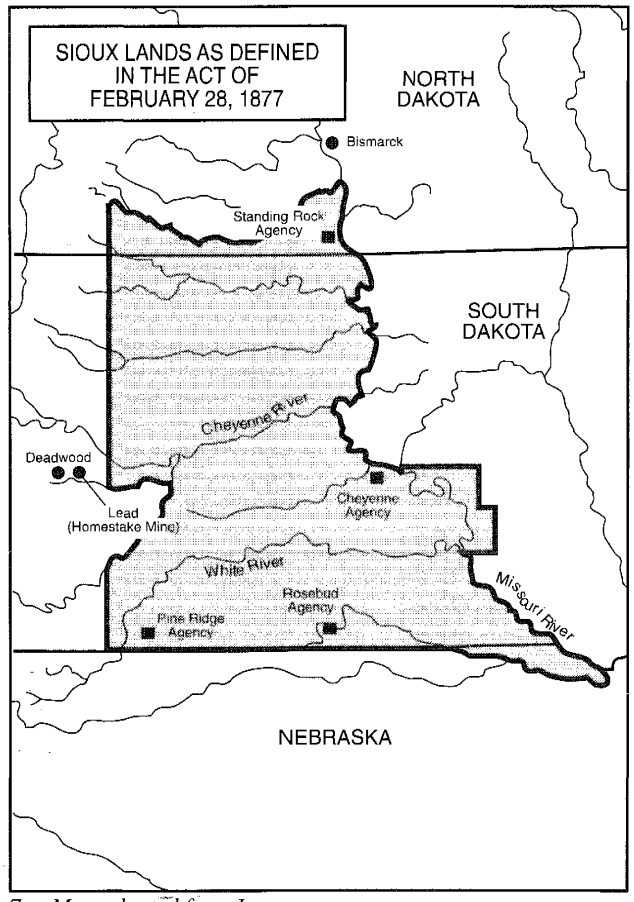
During the summer and fall of 1876, many Indians filtered back to their various agencies while those who stayed in the unceded lands were relentlessly hunted down by the army. In a tense meeting with government officials in October, 1876, Sitting Bull refused to surrender and stated that the Great Spirit had made him an Indian, but not an agency Indian. Rather than go to the reservation, he led his people northward into Canada in January, 1877.

In the fall and winter of 1876 and 1877 all Indians returning to their agencies had to surrender their guns and horses to the army. At Standing Rock all Indians who lived some distance from the agency had to move closer to the administrative office so the agent and soldiers could watch them. The Sioux were now confined to their reservation and were regarded as prisoners of war. Firm control was exerted on all the inhabitants of the Great Sioux Reservation, including those people at Standing Rock Agency.

THE TAKING OF THE BLACK HILLS

In the late summer of 1876, partly in retaliation for the Battle of the Little Big Horn, the United States government moved to annex the Black Hills from the Great Sioux Reservation. According to the 1868 Treaty three quarters of the adult Sioux males had to approve this change so the federal government had to send commissions to each agency to explain the proposal and obtain the necessary signatures. By this point the Lakota and Dakota people were not willing to negotiate for more loss of land. The process was regarded as a sham; there was no true negotiation, the treaty commission was powerless to change the document – they could only carry concerns to the Senate who had final approval. And the Indians knew, through past experience, the Senate often ignored all Indian concerns or wishes.

At Standing Rock the government commission obtained only forty-eight signatures of men agreeing to relinquish the Black Hills, and the commissioners fared no better at the agencies. Despite the fact that the 1868 Treaty was legally binding and the Sioux overwhelmingly refused to sign the new treaty, the U.S. Congress ratified the 1876 Act in February of 1877, taking the Black Hills from the Dakota and Lakota and extinguishing their hunting rights in the unceded territory. Upon hearing of the annexation of the Black Hills, Henry Whipple, the government appointed chairman of the commission that was unsuccessful in obtaining consent of the Sioux to relinquish these lands and rights, said, "I know of no other instance in history where a great nation has so shamefully violated its oath." The commission's report to Congress elaborates with this statement and underscores the commission's lack of power in the process:



7. – Map adapted from Lazarus, p. x.

Our country must forever bear the disgrace and suffer the retribution of its wrongdoing. Our children's children will tell the sad story in hushed tones, and wonder how their fathers dared so to trample on justice and trifle with God.
(BIA, Annual Report, 1876).

By 1877, the Indians at Standing Rock agency were left with no alternative but to try and accept conditions imposed on them by the government. Government control of the Sioux was harsh and unbending. Access to hunting grounds was firmly denied and with no horses or guns the people were forced to accept government food rations and clothing distributions. The government encouraged self-sufficiency by imposing farming on the Sioux, something that was culturally new to them and something they resisted. In addition, drought, grasshoppers, and alkaline soil made it almost impossible for the Indians at Standing Rock to become self-sufficient farmers. The lands authorized by the government were not suitable for farming, while much of the better land was preserved for a time when the reservation would be open to homesteaders. Still, by 1877 at Standing Rock, there was progress toward "civilization" as the government termed it: as buffalo skin tepees wore out, many Indians moved into log cabins, Two Bears and John Grass purchased mowing machines, and Catholic missionaries opened a school for boys and a school for girls. To government officials these outward trappings of American life made them confident the people of Standing Rock were abandoning their traditions.

Provisions for education were contained in treaties and agreements. Many of the Dakota and Lakota people at Standing Rock felt schooling would be beneficial for their children and for the tribe. Indian people understood they would be living in the presence of the white man's culture and they felt it was important to have children learn English so the people could communicate on an equal basis with the white people. Indian people believed this education would provide their people with new skills and abilities, and did not suspect that education as envisioned by the federal government would seek to erase their Indian languages and traditional values. Government officials supported a system of off-reservation boarding schools for Indians in order to "educate them in the civilization of the white man." Boarding schools were looked upon as the best way to educate Indian children because they removed the child from the family environment and permitted total immersion in the English language and Euro-American values. Once the Sioux were confined to the Great Sioux Reservation, boarding and day schools sprang up quickly at Standing Rock Agency. Off-reservation boarding schools also sprang up and many young people from Standing Rock were placed at Hampton Institute, a non-sectarian Christian boarding school in Virginia; others went to Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, a federal school that was the prototype for government run Indian boarding schools.

All schools, whether local or distant, had the overriding goal of assimilation of Indians into the white man's ways. Education and farming were keystones of federal policy to assimilate Indians. In the schools the young people learned English, as well as some skills in mathematics, reading, and writing; they spent a good deal of time learning vocational skills such as sewing, making butter, baking, managing a garden, homemaking for the girls and farming, animal husbandry, shoemaking, carpentry, and blacksmithing for the boys. All the schools imposed harsh military discipline on the children, forbade the use of Indian languages, and intentionally forbade any teaching of Native American culture or history. Since the federal government's plan for Indians was to settle them on individual plots of land and make farmers of them, the education programs emphasized practical skills needed for this life.

Government officials felt rapid progress toward assimilation of Indians would occur with school systems in place. However, at Standing Rock Agency and elsewhere, the Indian people did not readily sacrifice the values, traditions, and language which define them as a people and give them strength. For a time after moving onto the reservation the people continued their spiritual teachings and practices and they held social dances and giveaways. In 1880 the Dakota and Lakota of Standing Rock Agency combined to hold a sun dance and this caused great controversy. Government officials and some military personnel accused the agent of letting his charges sink into barbarism rather than keeping them on the path to civilization.

In 1883 the government issued a set of so-called Indian Offenses that strictly forbade all traditional ceremonies and aimed straight at the center of Dakota and Lakota spiritual life. All traditional lifeways and ceremonies were banned by law. These include giveaways, the sun dance, rites of purification, and social dancing, to name a few. (Appendix Document 2).

Indians were confined to the reservation and needed to have written permission if they left the reservation on business. Parents who kept their children out of school were subject to arrest and to having food rations withheld. In Fort Yates the government-run trading post was divided by a five foot wall - one side for Indians, the other side for whites. Government interference in all facets of Indian life made the Dakota and Lakota of Standing Rock Agency virtual prisoners on their own land, subject to government policy that sought to crush their cultural ways and distinctiveness as a people. Some of the ceremonies continued infrequently and secretly, away from the eyes of the agent. But the stringent laws coupled with removal of children from families for education and a host of other stresses such as poor health and disease caused a sadness to settle over the people.

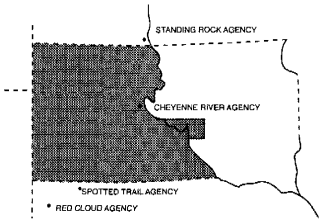
BREAKUP OF THE GREAT SIOUX RESERVATION

Sitting Bull, a Hunkpapa, returned to the United States from Canada in 1881. He was held as a prisoner at Fort Randall, Dakota Territory, by the army until he was returned to Standing Rock Agency in June, 1883. The Indian Agent at Standing Rock, Major James McLaughlin, disliked Sitting Bull because Sitting Bull openly spoke against government intrusion in Indian life. Sitting Bull never signed a treaty and he always urged his people to maintain their identity as Indian; he advised the Standing Rock people to be open but cautious in their dealings with white people.

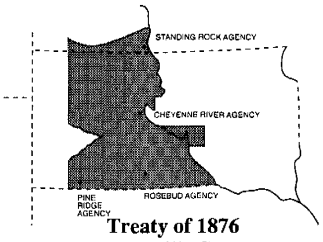
> *"If you see anything good in the white man's road, pick it up and keep it, but if you find something that is not good, or turns out bad, leave it alone...." (Vestal, New Sources, p. 273).*

McLaughlin and other government officials viewed that as tantamount to the complete rejection of "civilization"; there was no room for compromise in government policy. When Sitting Bull first returned to Standing Rock, McLaughlin insisted he live near the agency offices but in time Sitting Bull moved further south and lived along the Grand River in a spot between the present day communities of Rock Creek (Bullhead) and Little Eagle. McLaughlin viewed Sitting Bull as a threat to his authority as agent.

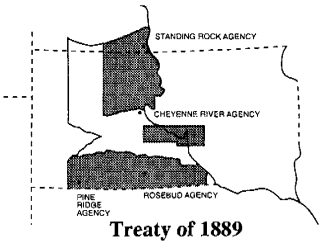
As it became evident North and South Dakota would be admitted to the Union, Dakotans insisted on a reduction of the Great Sioux Reservation. These Indian lands blocked more than 43,000 square miles to settlement and economic development but any attempts to reduce the Sioux land base were unsuccessful to this point. In 1888 and 1889 federal commissions were sent once more to various Sioux agencies in attempts to get Indian approval of the Sioux Bill which called for the break-up of the Great Sioux Reservation into smaller reservation, forfeiture of nine million acres of land, allotment of lands to individual families, and opening of non-allotted land to homesteading. The 1888 commission began its work at Standing Rock and then sought signatures of three-quarters of the adult Sioux males, as required by the 1868



Treaty of 1868
Establish Great Sioux Reservation



Treaty of 1876
Black Hills Ceded



Treaty of 1889
8 – Map from Utley, p. 42.

Treaty. There was organized opposition to the Sioux Bill at Standing Rock, and it became evident to the government appointed commissioners that even if other agencies were more receptive the commission would still lack the necessary signatures for passage. The government retreated and planned new strategy.

In 1889 North and South Dakota were holding statehood conventions and constituents of the soon-to-be states again demanded reduction of the Great Sioux Reservation. So, government commissioners were once again on the Great Sioux Reservation seeking the break-up of this land base.

The Dakota and Lakota at Standing Rock overwhelmingly opposed the reduction of their reservation. Appointed spokesmen, John Grass, Gall, and Mad Bear spoke eloquently in opposition to the Sioux Bill. However, the commissioners, aided by Agent McLaughlin, applied unrelenting pressure to the Dakota and Lakota of Standing Rock to get their assent to the break-up of the Great Sioux Reservation. Sitting Bull, though not an appointed spokesman, openly opposed the land cession and urged the people not to be intimidated and not to sign away the land.

There was a great deal of Indian opposition to the Sioux Bill and the government officials repeatedly warned the people of Standing Rock that the government would seize the land if the Indians did not sign it away. Great pressure was exerted on the people and after much resistance approximately half of the Standing Rock Sioux males, eighteen years and older, signed assent to the Sioux Bill. Standing Rock was the last agency visited and when these signatures were combined with those at the other agencies it was enough to cause the break-up of the Great Sioux Reservation into six smaller land areas and resulted in the loss of nine million acres of land. The Sioux Act also set in motion allotment and opening of the reservation to non-Indians. With passage of the Sioux Bill in the United State Congress, Standing Rock Reservation came into being in 1890.

THE GHOST DANCE

In 1889 the Lakota and Dakota at Standing Rock, and on all the newly defined Sioux reservations, were in poor health, starving, and were witnessing relentless assaults on their tribal way of life. The signing of the Sioux Bill of 1889 accentuated the grievances of the Sioux people and caused sharp division between signers and non-signers. Sitting Bull openly spoke against those who signed the Sioux Bill, and he predicted the government would not honor its promises and those Indians who signed would live to regret giving in. Sitting Bull continued to be the leading opponent of the government's civilizing policies. Against this backdrop, word of the Ghost Dance was spreading among the Sioux the summer and fall of 1889. The Ghost Dance was a pan-tribal religious movement originating from the vision of a Paiute man in Nevada named Wovoka. The Ghost Dance was basically Christian in its tenets but Indian in ceremonial trappings. The Ghost Dance was not part of spiritual traditions of the Lakota or Dakota, but it had appeal to some Lakota and Dakota people because it promised a return to older traditions and values. Indian people were in terrible straits by 1889 and to some, the Ghost Dance promised many good things. Some Sioux, primarily on the Rosebud, Pine Ridge, Cheyenne River and Standing Rock reservations became interested in the Ghost Dance.

Wild and unfounded rumors of the Ghost Dance and an impending Sioux outbreak spread to non-Indian communities throughout the Dakotas in the spring of 1890. Fear of the Ghost Dance apparently played into Agent McLaughlin's hands. Some people in Sitting Bull's camp participated in the Ghost Dance although Sitting Bull did not take part in it. McLaughlin considered Sitting Bull a malcontent who refused to accept government policy and clung "tenaciously o the old Indian way...slow to accept the better order of things..." so McLaughlin seized on local fear of the Ghost Dance to order the arrest and removal of Sitting Bull from Standing Rock.

The real issue of importance at Standing Rock in the fall of 1890 was not the Ghost Dance but the survey of lands for allotments. Sitting Bull and his followers let it be known they would not take allotments when the time came; they stated they had not signed the Sioux Bill and would therefore "continue to enjoy their old Indian ways."

In late fall McLaughlin devised a plan to arrest Sitting Bull and by December he was able to implement it. In the pre-dawn hours of December 15,1890, Indian police from Standing Rock were sent to arrest Sitting Bull and take him to Fort Yates. By daybreak Sitting Bull, eight of his people, and six Indian police lay scattered about Sitting Bull's camp, dead or dying. Many of those involved in this melee were related, a fact McLaughlin was aware of and commented on.

Sitting Bull's death caused his people to scatter, many headed south to relatives on the Cheyenne River Reservation and joined with Hump's or Spotted Elk's bands. Some joined relatives living with Big Foot whose band was attacked on the morning of December 29, 1890, along the Wounded Knee Creek on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Sitting Bull's death, followed soon by the deaths of almost 300 men, women, and children in the barren gullies and draws of Wounded Knee, was a profound sign that indeed, a new way of life was upon the people.

By 1890 federal policy sought to erase all traces of Indianness. A report from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs clearly sets forth this policy:

> *The Indians must conform to the "white man's ways" peaceably if they will, forcibly if they must. They must adjust themselves to their environment, and conform their mode of living substantially to our civilization. This civilization may not be the best possible but it is the best the Indians can get. (BIA Report, 1889).*

ALLOTMENT

After Sitting Bull's death and the troubles at Wounded Knee, Standing Rock Indians were dispirited and under strict government control. The people planted small gardens, raised some livestock, and began to settle on small plots of land, though large numbers of official allotments were not made until 1906. As always, farming was problematic on the Great Plains; Standing Rock farmers were challenged by drought, grasshoppers, and poor land. Indian children continued to attend on and off reservation boarding schools. Parents who objected to sending their children to boarding schools were dealt with harshly. Often food was withheld and fathers were jailed until they relented and put their children in school. Children sent to the on-reservation boarding schools were often kept from seeing their parents from September until spring and the children cried a lot for their families. Off-reservation boarding schools were even harsher – children often did not see their families for many years, discipline was strict, many children at the schools died of homesickness or disease. Captain Pratt, founder of Carlisle Indian school, the federal prototype for Indian schools, stated his philosophy of education:

"We accept the watch word. There is no good Indian but a dead Indian. Let us by education and patient effort kill the Indian and save the man."

The hope and purpose of this education was to give the Indians skills to become self-sufficient farmers and live on their own allotment of land. When this goal was reached the government would then terminate the reservation system.

Allotment provisions affecting most tribal groups were contained in a federal law, the Dawes Allotment Act of 1887. Special provision for the allotment of Dakota and Lakota

lands was also contained in the Sioux Bill of 1889. It was the goal of the federal government to allot 160-320 acre farmsteads to each Indian family, then throw open the reservation to non-Indian settlement dissolving the Indian landbase and ending the reservation system. Government officials placed much hope in the allotment of individual plots of land to Indian families. Allotment shaped the education policy and government policy for Indians. The government believed the surest way to bring about the assimilation of Indian people was to make them self-sufficient farmers, much like their non-Indian neighbors. Individual land ownership, an important provision of allotment, would also break up tribalism in which lands were used in common with no sense of ownership. The prevailing wisdom of the day was that Indian people would suddenly drop their values, teachings, language, and cultural practices if they could be moved onto individual plots of land, learned English, and dressed in the fashion of mainstream Americans. However, many Indian families continued to live in large kinship groups, speak the language, and keep alive many of the traditions even after they received their allotment. In fact, agent reports indicate that farming at Standing Rock was done cooperatively by kinship groups and they purchased and used farm equipment cooperatively. Later government policy sought to separate allotments of related families to enforce the concept of individuality among the Standing Rock people. The federal government saved the best, most productive lands for homesteading by non-Indians, and allotted poor, barren lands to the Indians. So federal practice doomed its own policy.

In many ways, government policy which sought to blend Indians in with the general population only served to bind Indian people together. At Standing Rock, as on so many reservations, the people seemed to follow Sitting Bull's advice – they chose to accept aspects of the white man's world but they never gave up those essential values which defined them as Dakota and Lakota. To the Indian people, the reservation is homeland – a place guaranteed and set aside by treaty and agreement for their use and occupancy. Over the years there has been a real struggle to hold onto the land base as well as maintain the culture, lifeways, spiritual traditions, and language. So, even as non-Indians established homesteads and moved within the boundaries of the Standing Rock Reservation, outward changes came about in the lifestyle of the Dakota or Lakota people - now the people lived in log cabins, they wore "citizen's dress," and their children attended schools. But high value was still put on maintaining language and through language maintaining those unique qualities that identified the people as Dakota and Lakota – emphasis on generosity and sharing with others, a spiritual attachment to the land, emphasis on strength derived from extended family networks, an overall identity as a people with unique cultural traditions.

Still the federal government relentlessly enforced policies on the reservations aimed at assimilating the people into mainstream society and with the express goal of eventually ending the reservation system. Citizenship for Indians was a major long term goal of the Dawes Allotment Act. Twenty-five years after being assigned an allotment those families showing "competence" in managing their own affairs were given clear title to the land and citizenship in the U.S. The Department of the Interior devised a **"Ritual on Admission of Indians to Full American Citizenship"** (Appendix, Documents 4 & 5) in which Indians shot off a last arrow, denounced their Indian ways and pledged to "live the life of the white man" or "white woman." For those Indian people not yet deemed competent to mange their own affairs, federal agents continued to rule with an iron fist. However, the people of Standing Rock, though under many cultural stresses, continued to organize along more traditional patterns – it was what they knew and for them it was the natural way to do things.

SIOUX CLAIM

At Standing Rock, as well as on the other Sioux reservations, the loss of the Black Hills was a source of great indignation and grief. The Black Hills, referred to as "the heart of everything that is," were known to the people as a sacred area long before they moved permanently onto the Plains, and their taking through the 1876 Agreement was illegal – nowhere near three-quarters of the adult Sioux males had signed the document. The treaty of 1868 was still enforced. In the 1890's the Sioux began to organize Black Hills Councils on their various reservations. At Standing Rock, the Dakota and Lakota also organized and met to discuss the illegal taking and ways of pressing their claim for return of the hills. Members of the Black Hills Council lobbied Congress and sponsored activities to raise money to fund meetings, trips to Washington, and other Black Hills claims expenses.

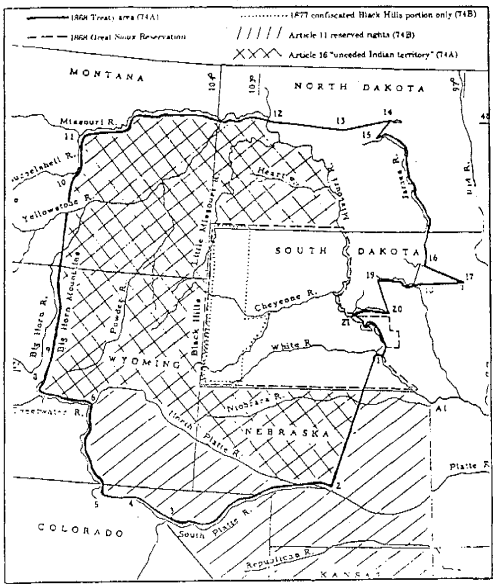
Despite all these pressures and setbacks the people at Standing Rock and on other Sioux reservations had never lost sight of the Black Hills claim. In 1923 this claim was filed in the federal Court of Claims. The tribes gathered data, hired lawyers, and continued to meet and plan strategy in this case which was so important spiritually and culturally for the people. Hopes for a quick resolution on this case were not realized. In addition to the Black Hills Council in 1914 the people of Standing Rock formed a general council of men to oversee the needs of the people and communicate these to the agent. In fact, that very year, the council complained that white stockmen were ranging cattle on their lands and destroying crops.

CITIZENSHIP

When World War I began Indian men from Standing Rock, as well as many other reservations in the United States, enlisted in the armed services even though most were not citizens. Richard Blue Earth of Cannonball was the first North Dakota Indian to enlist. When soldiers returned home their people greeted them as warriors, much as in the old days, and each community honored its men with victory dances and songs. Additionally, Indian communities supported the war efforts by buying bonds and contributing to the Red Cross. In 1919, in appreciation for Indian service in World War I, all Indians who served in the armed forces were granted citizenship. In 1924, all remaining Indians were made citizens of the U.S.

By the 1920's a number of Dakota and Lakota people on Standing Rock were raising cattle or running farm operations, but due to problems with the subdivision of allotments upon death of the original allottee many heirs were forced to lease their small land holdings to local ranchers. By the late 1920's Standing Rock lands were dangerously overgrazed. A severe drought had caused widespread crop failure. Livestock was wiped out and the land was severely eroded. The once lush and bountiful lands of the Plains, after 50 years of federal management, were a barren, desolate and dusty land. The Depression forced some of the Standing Rock people to sell their allotments to survive, and many were again forced to accept rations or die of starvation.

ALL LAND CLAIMED BY THE SIOUX IN DOCKET 74
SIOUX LAND AREAS IN DOCKET NO. 74A & 74B



Map courtesy of Lazarus, Black Hills, White Justice p. 141

INDIAN REORGANIZATION

In the 1930's President Roosevelt's New Deal, with its public works programs and conservation projects, extended to Indian reservations as it did to all of rural America. For the Sioux of Standing Rock, these programs made possible the survival of the people on the land. Many public works projects were begun on the reservation. Between 1933 and 1936, the Indian Civilian Conservation Corps dug wells, strung fences, planted gardens, constructed roads and established a community ranching program. However, the Bureau of

Indian Affairs controlled the sales and many families lost money since the cattle were sold below market value. During this time a mood of political reform was sweeping across the U.S. and this impacted Indian country. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, proposed altering the way the U.S. government did business with the tribes through the Indian Reorganization Act (1934). Among other things, Collier proposed formal recognition of the tribal councils that existed on reservations and more tribal input into federal decision-making that affected Indian people. Tribes had the choice to reorganize under a constitutional form of government which, at least in theory, gave the tribes greater autonomy. Unfortunately, most of the IRA constitutions were written in Washington and were presented to the people for approval or disapproval with little or no local input. The IRA constitutions more often mimicked county forms of government rather than reflecting traditional Indian governance. In the IRA constitutions majority rule would replace consensus which is the way the Dakota and Lakota made decisions, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs reserved the right to approve or disapprove all decisions made by the tribal councils. Reservations were economically depressed and desperately needed funds for land consolidation and economic development and so as a way to make re-organization under the IRA attractive, those tribes that accepted the IRA were eligible for revolving loans.

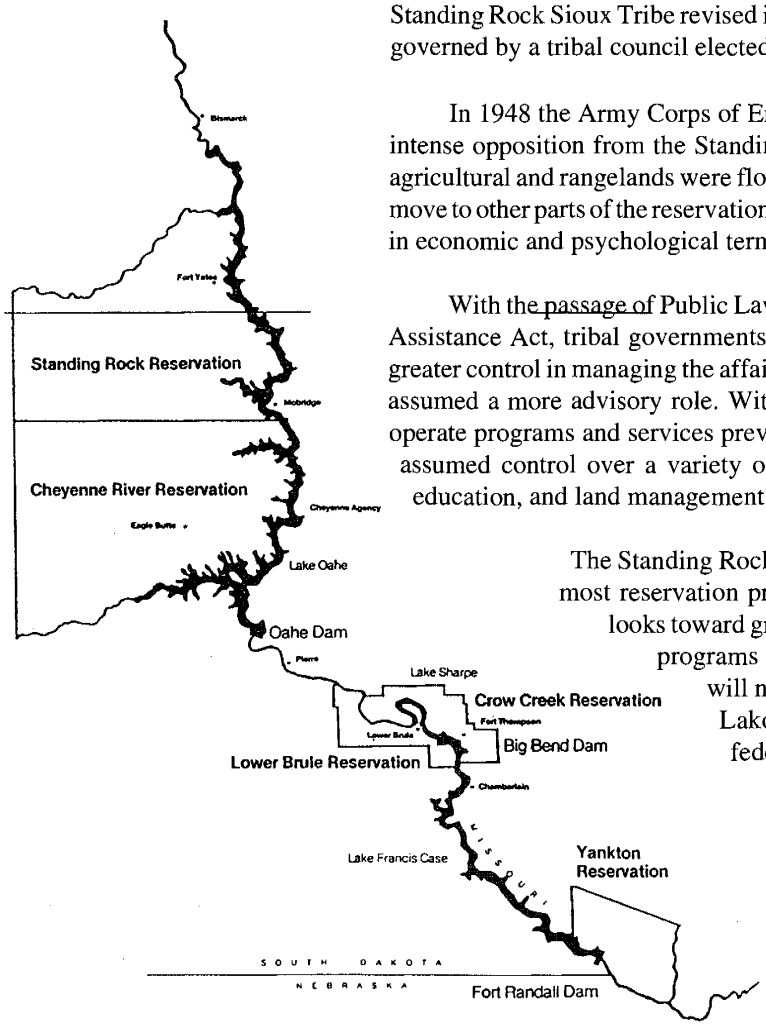
The members of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe were mistrustful of provisions in the IRA that gave the Secretary of the Interior authority over certain areas of tribal affairs.

Learning that the IRA would limit the tribe's sovereignty, Standing Rock people did not choose to reorganize under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. In 1914 the tribal council adopted a constitutional form of government and even without accepting the IRA, this council would have more authority to make decisions on a local level. Over time, the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe revised its constitution. Today the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe is governed by a tribal council elected from eight districts on the reservation.

In 1948 the Army Corps of Engineers began construction of the Oahe Dam. Despite intense opposition from the Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Council 160,889 acres of prime agricultural and rangelands were flooded and 25% of the reservation populace was forced to move to other parts of the reservation. The impact on the reservation has been significant both in economic and psychological terms.

With the passage of Public Law 93-638, the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, tribal governments were permitted by the federal government to assume greater control in managing the affairs on their reservations and the Bureau of Indian Affairs assumed a more advisory role. With the Self-Determination Act, tribes could contract to operate programs and services previously run by the BIA. At Standing Rock the tribe has assumed control over a variety of programs including areas of social services, higher education, and land management programs.

The Standing Rock Sioux tribe seeks to gradually assume management of most reservation programs, including reservation schools. The tribe also looks toward greater economic development on the reservation. Tribal programs that reflect local needs and concerns insure programs will not conflict with tribal cultural values of the Dakota and Lakota people as was so predominant in the past when the federal government ran the reservation.



FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

- Pictographs
- Wintercounts
- Oral Tradition

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Historically, how did many plains tribal people record history?

2. How are events recorded in contemporary times?

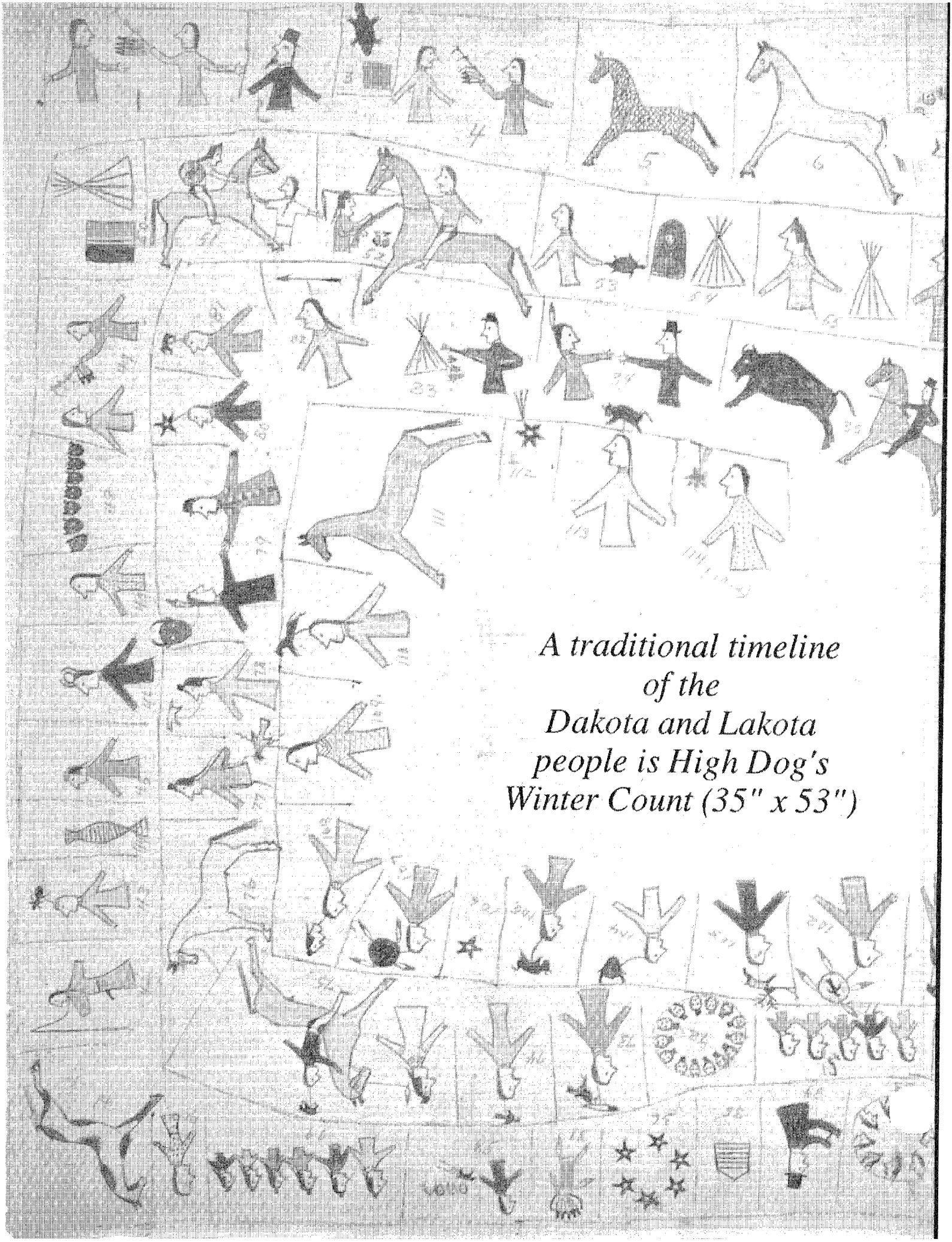
3. How did plains Indian recordkeeping differ from records kept by ancient societies?
   Immigrants?
   How were they similar?

4. What is ledger art and how is it significant in recording history?

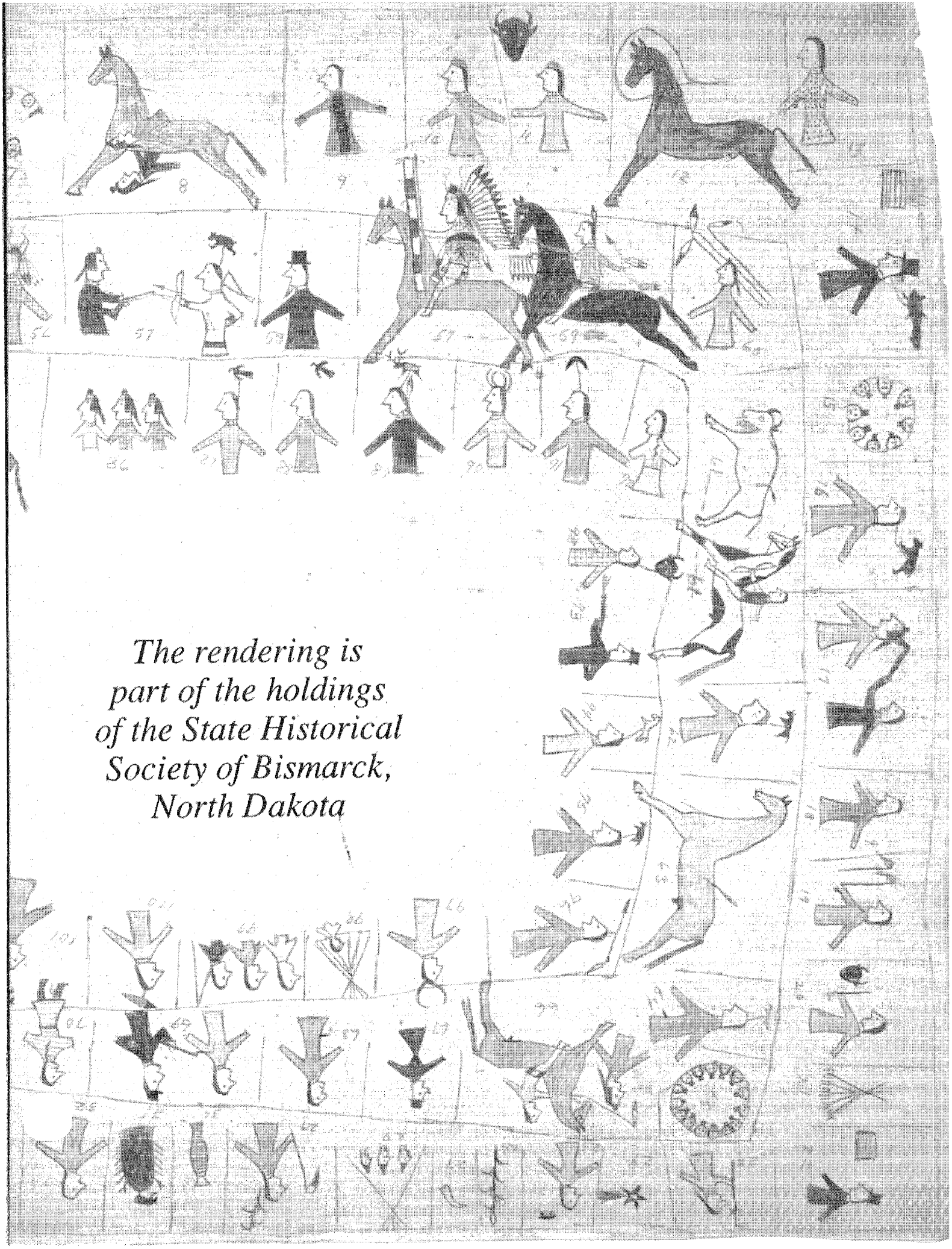
6. Why is oral tradition crucial to cultural survival?

7. What role does oral tradition play in maintaining culture and culture practices?

TIMELINE



A traditional timeline of the Dakota and Lakota people is High Dog's Winter Count (35" x 53")



The rendering is part of the holdings of the State Historical Society of Bismarck, North Dakota

A traditional time line of the Dakota and Lakota people is High Dog's Winter Count (35' x 53') rendered on unbleached muslin. It is part of the holdings of the State Historical Society of Bismarck, North Dakota.

WANIYETU WOWAPI

(High Dog's Winter Count, 1798-1912)

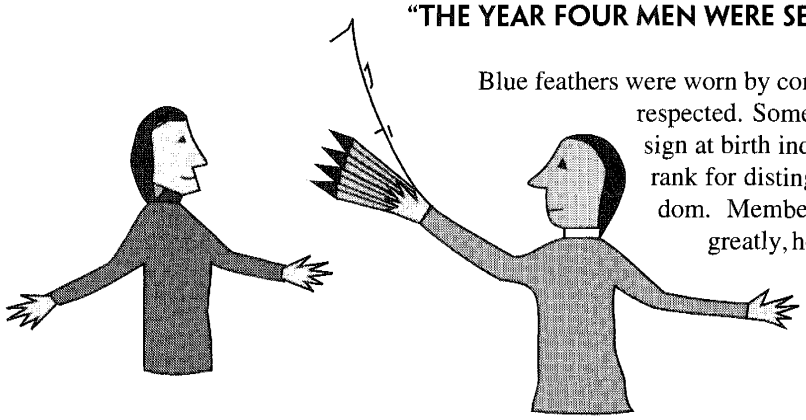
Many indigenous groups in the Americas have used mnemonic devices - carvings, beaded belts, or drawings - to reinforce memories of tribal history. One type of record common among native people of the Plains is the pictographic **waniyetu wowapi**, or winter count, painted on animal hide and later on unbleached muslin. The tribal historian with the counsel of the old men of his tribe, decided on some event that distinguished each year and then drew an appropriate symbol for that year. Every adult could describe the events portrayed and used the calendar-like device as a visual aid when educating the tribe's children or retelling the tribe's history at gatherings. The Dakota and Lakota refer to these documents as waiyetu wowapi or "winter counts" because the people counted their years by winters, and so the Dakota year covered portions of two calendar years.

High Dog, a Hunkpapa from the Standing Rock Reservation kept such a winter count which is now part of the holdings at the State Historical Society of North Dakota. High Dog's winter count represents the years 1798 to 1912. An earlier version of this count (probably drawn on animal hide) was passed on to High Dog from a previous tribal historian. As was common practice, High Dog then copied the images from the past and learned the meaning of each thus insuring that his tribe's history would survive for succeeding generations.

In many winter counts painted before Native Americans were restricted to reservations, the drawings moved in a spiral from inside out. Most winter counts painted during the reservation years – including High Dog's – move from outside in. Some observers have remarked that this change in pattern seems to symbolize the shift in Native American life: from the early days, when the traditions and values were intact, to the reservation period, when a new time was upon the people and the old time was fading away, and the days of traditional Native American life appeared to be numbered.

1. 1798

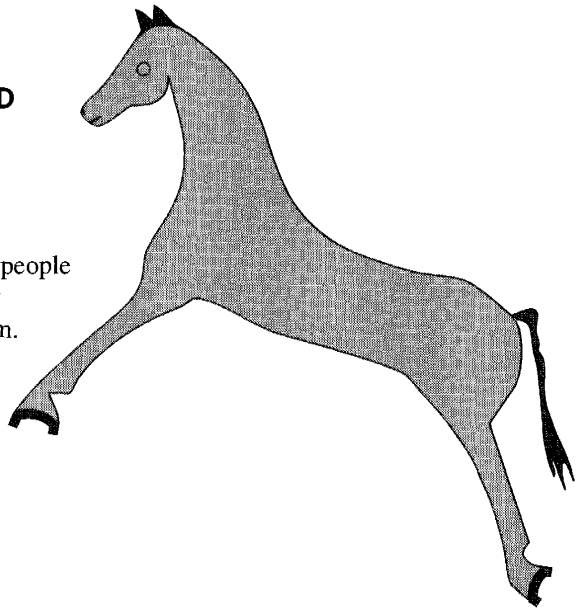
"THE YEAR FOUR MEN WERE SET APART WITH BLUE FEATHERS."



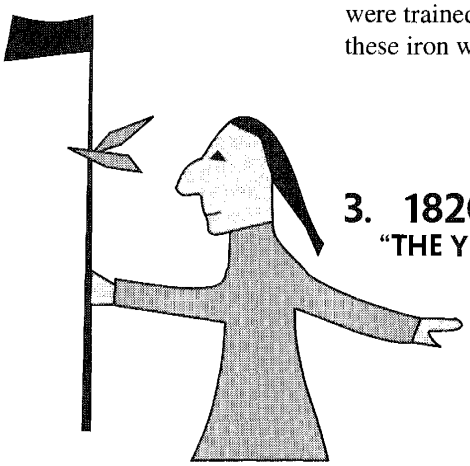
Blue feathers were worn by community leaders or elders whom the people greatly respected. Sometimes a child was given a blue feather because some sign at birth indicated superior wisdom. Adults were raised to this rank for distinguished service to the tribe or for outstanding wisdom. Members of this group were expected to admonish others greatly, honor and respect older people, be kind to humans and animals, be generous and be example of virtue and goodness to others.

2. 1803

"THE YEAR THE SIOUX CAPTURED SOME SHOD HORSES FROM THE CROWS."



This was the first time High Dog's people had seen shoes on horses, although they knew that white men's horses wore them. Some believed that white men's horses were trained to strike an enemy with these iron weapons.



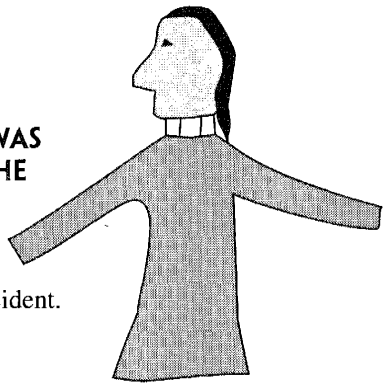
3. 1820

"THE YEAR THEY CELEBRATED THE SUN DANCE."

The Sun Dance is one of the seven sacred rites brought to the Lakota people by the White Buffalo Calf Woman. The time of the Sun Dance is a very holy time when the people come together and offer prayers.

4. 1829

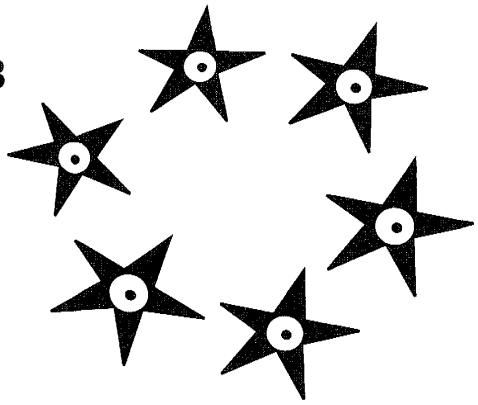
"THE YEAR A MAN LOOKING FOR A BUFFALO WAS FOUND ON THE PRAIRIE SHOT AND FROZEN. HE IS CALLED FROZE ON-THE-PRAIRIE."

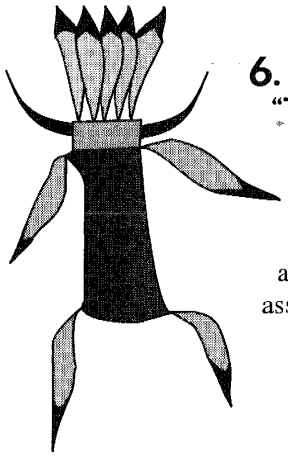


Suicide at this time was practically unknown among the Plains Indians. The man probably shot himself by accident.

5. 1833
"STARS-ALL-MOVING YEAR."

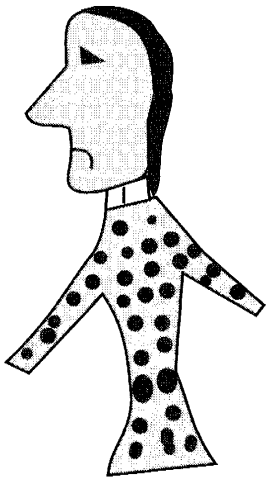
Falling stars were a cause of great wonder this year.





6. 1834
"THE YEAR THE FIRST WAR BONNET WAS MADE WITH HORNS ON IT."

The story of this drawing is not clear. The war bonnet was undoubtedly part of warrior society or medicine society regalia. In any case, a man who wore such a headdress had responsibility to assist his people.

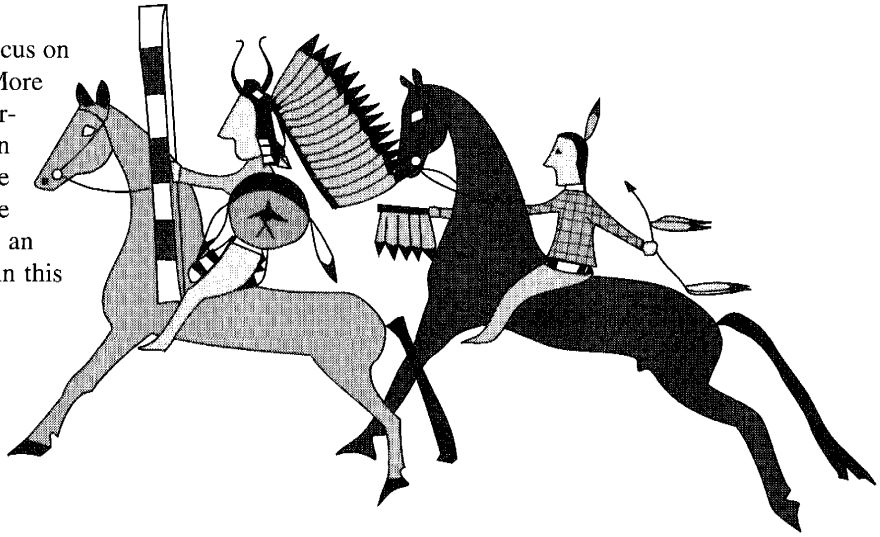


7. 1837
"THE YEAR SMALLPOX CARRIED OFF TO WANAGI YAKONPI (THE OTHER WORLD) MANY OF THE SUFFERING PEOPLE."

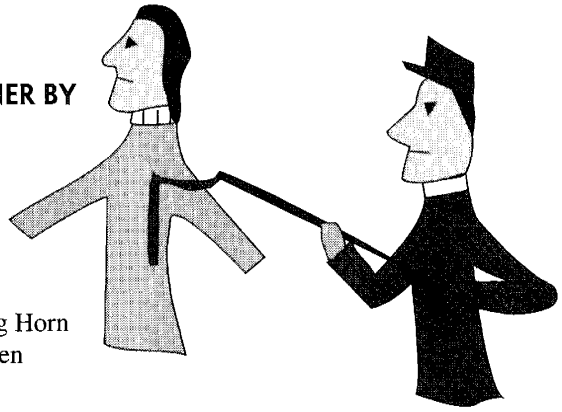
The devastation caused by white men's diseases including smallpox and measles is often referred to in this winter count.

8. 1856
"THE YEAR GOOD BEAR TORE A WAR BONNET FROM A CROW'S HEAD IN A FIGHT."

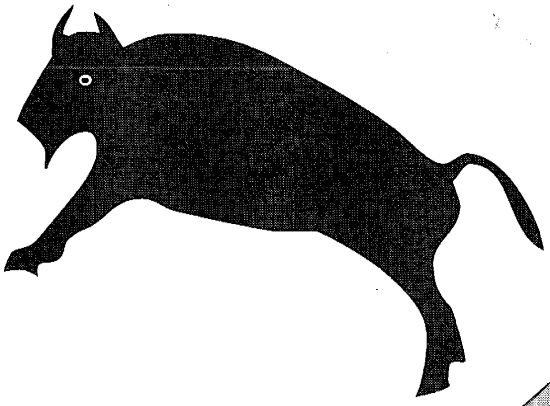
Many drawings in the winter count focus on the tribe's rivalry with the Crows. More than thirty images reflect individual skirmished or full-blown battles between the two tribes, with the Sioux more often portrayed as the victors. Warfare at this time was pointed at besting an enemy by counting coup on him, or in this case, taking his war bonnet.

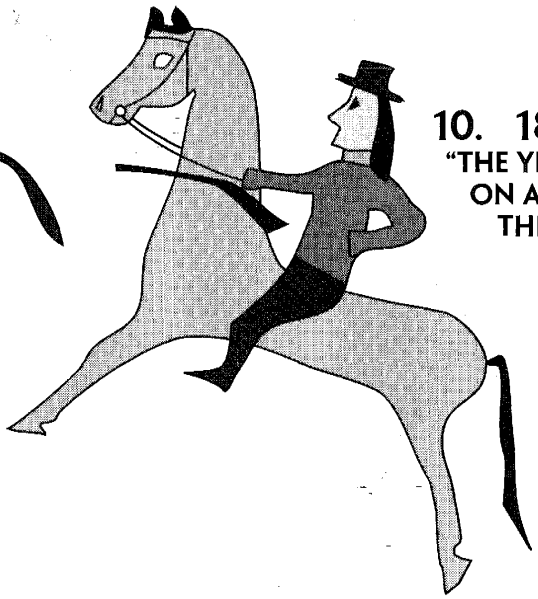


9. 1866
"THE YEAR PIZI WAS HELD PRISONER BY GENERAL NELSON MILES."



Pizi or Gall was a great warrior among his people, the Hunkpapa. Many of his people feared Miles killed him. Gall became most famous for his exploits on the battlefield of the Little Big Horn on June 25, 1876, when Custer and his men were defeated.

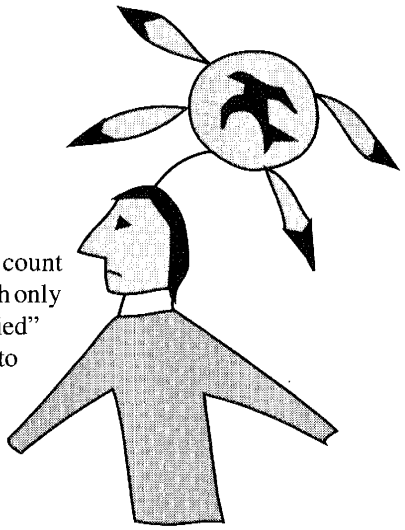




10. 1883
"THE YEAR WHITE BEARD WENT ON A BUFFALO HUNT WITH THE INDIANS."

"White Beard" refers to Standing Rock Indian agent James McLaughlin who went on the last big buffalo hunt in North Dakota with the Sioux of Standing Rock Agency. This was a happy, though brief, interlude for the people who were now forced to eat government rations most of the time.

11. 1900
"THE YEAR HAWK SHIELD DIED."



The last twenty-seven years of High Dog's winter count (from 1885) is primarily a list of individuals who died. With only a few exceptions (including "The sun turned black and died" and "A star died"), individual deaths are the only events to mark these years. As the Hunkpapa transitioned to the new way of reservation life those people who knew and lived the old ways were memorialized for their wisdom and knowledge of the traditional life, and their contributions to their people were marked as they passed from this world.

TIMELINE
STANDING ROCK SIOUX RESERVATION

1650'S Dakota and Lakota bands hunted buffalo on the Plains in summer, lived in north woods area of Minnesota in winter.

1700 Teton bands living full-time in northern Plains as nomadic buffalo hunters.

1742 Probable date for acquisition of horse among the Tetons.

1750 Yanktonai (Middle Sioux) settled along eastern side of Missouri River. They pursued the buffalo, acquired horses and tepees; eventually some bands farmed and lived in earthlodges.

1787 July 13 - The Northwest Ordinance is passed by the Continental Congress, stating that *"the utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property rights and liberty, they never shall be invaded or disturbed."*

Sept. 17 - The U.S. Constitution is adopted. Article I, section 8, grants Congress the power to *"regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes."* This establishes a government to government relationship with tribes. Consequently the federal government, rather than states, are involved in Indian affairs.

1789 Congress gives the War Department authority over Indian affairs.

1794 First Indian treaty to include provisions for education of Indians by the United States and the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, and Stockbridge.

1802 The U.S. Congress appropriates ten to fifteen thousand dollars annually to promote "civilization" among the Indians. This money goes to Christian missionary organizations working to convert Indians to Christianity.

1803 United States negotiates Louisiana Purchase with France, thereby acquiring vast amounts of land inhabited by Indians in Northern Plains. The Purchase increases American contact with Yanktonai and Hunkpatina living east of the Missouri River.

1804-1806 Lewis and Clark expedition to the Pacific Northwest makes first American contact with many northern tribes.

1804 On October 18th the Lewis and Clark expedition had contact with Yanktonai band in the area of present day Cannonball, North Dakota.

1819 Congress appropriates money for the "Civilization Fund," the first federal Indian education program. Christian missionary societies received this money to establish schools among Indian people.

1824 The secretary of war creates a Bureau of Indian Affairs within the War Department.

1825 General Henry Atkinson and Major Benjamin O'Fallon met with a number of Missouri River tribes to establish treaties of peace and friendship. In actuality the U.S. wanted to curtail British trading with tribes in the area. Treaty negotiated with Teton, Yankton, and Yanktonai at Fort Lookout along Missouri River on June 22, 1825. In the treaty the Indians acknowledged the right of the U.S. to regulate trade and intercourse with them, promised to return horses stolen from Americans, and promised not to furnish guns to tribes hostile to the U.S. In return, U.S. promised to provide friendship and protection, to furnish licensed traders in their territory.

August 19 - some Yanktonai from the Dakotas sign Prairie du Chien Treaty. It established specific boundaries and territories for tribes involved: Yanktonai, Chippewa, Sac and Fox; Menominee, Iowa, Winnebago, Ottawa, and Potawatomi. Each tribe gave up any claims to be in designated territory of another tribe or hunt in that territory without permission. The U.S. was interested in establishing one tribe in one area to facilitate land cessions. The government soon began dealing with each tribe to acquire their treaty lands.

A German prince, Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied, and Swiss artist Karl Bodmer, traveled up Missouri River, spent the winter at Fort Clark (northwest of the present city of Bismarck, North Dakota). Yanktonai visited and Bodmer painted a portrait of Psihdje-Sahpa. **1833-1834**

Smallpox epidemic kills more than 15,000 Indians in the Upper Missouri area including over 400 Yanktonai. **1837**

Bureau of Indian Affairs is transferred from the War Department to the newly created Department of the Interior. **1849**

Santee negotiate Treaty of Traverse des Sioux and Treaty of Mendota with U.S. ceding much of their Minnesota homeland to the U.S. in return for annuities payable over 50 years. Four Santee tribes were left with a reservation 150 miles long and 20 miles wide across the Minnesota River. The Yanktonai were angered by the cession, asserting they too lived in these lands and should have been part of the negotiations. **1851**

Sept. 17 - After gold was discovered in California in 1849, traffic across Indian lands increased. U.S. holds Fort Laramie (Wyoming) Treaty Council with Plains and Mountain tribes to open central plains for transportation routes through Kansas and Nebraska. Tetons attend. Yanktonai omitted from treaty because their traditional areas were far removed from the overland route to the Pacific Coast which the treaty aimed to safeguard. **1851**

Alfred J. Vaughn, agent for Upper Missouri tribes, reported a band of Yanktonai headed by Little Soldier built a permanent earthlodge village on the east bank of the Missouri, above the mouth of Spring Creek, near present day Pollock, South Dakota. **1856**

Winter - Smallpox epidemic among Yanktonai killed many. **1856-1857**

Santee negotiate treaty with U.S. and their reservation as established in 1851 treaty is cut in half. The Yanktonai, along with the Tetons, oppose this treaty and claim rights in the ceded lands. **1858**

Dakota Territory established. Yanktonai and Hunkpatina occupy areas on the east bank of the Missouri River. **1861**

Gold discovered on the headwaters of the Missouri River.

Unresolved grievances lead to Santee Sioux uprising in Minnesota. Traders and agents defraud Indians of annuity monies, government annuities late and not distributed once they arrived. Dissatisfaction with 1851 Treaty in general. **1862**

Settlers in Minnesota and Dakota Territory, fearful of further troubles with Indians, demand protection. Many rumors of Santee Sioux from Minnesota fleeing onto Dakota prairies. Rumors and reports indicate unrest among Sioux who traditionally lived in Dakota Territory, including Yanktonai and Teton. Public pressure from newspapers, politicians, and general population demand Army action to protect frontier settlements.

1863 January 1 - Dakota Territory opened for homesteading.

September 3 - 600-700 soldiers under General Alfred Sully attacked Yanktonai hunting camp at Whitestone Hill, North Dakota. At least 300 Indians killed. 20 soldiers killed, some from their comrades' bullets. Sully mistook the Yanktonai for Indians involved in the Minnesota uprising.

September 4 and 5 - Sully ordered all Indian property at Yanktonai camp at Whitestone Hill destroyed as well as tons of dried buffalo meat and tallow. Entire winter meat supplies as well as all household goods of Yanktonai burned. Yanktonai taken to Crow Creek Agency as prisoners of war.

General Alfred Sully, in charge of about 2,200 troops, traveled up the Missouri River and selected a spot south of present day Mandan, North Dakota, for the construction of Fort Rice.

1864 July - General Alfred Sully leaves Fort Rice in search of Indian encampments.

July 28 - Sully found a hunting camp of about 1,600 Yanktonai, Hunkpapa, Sihasapa, and other Teton groups near a branch of the Little Missouri at Killdeer Mountain. Sully's troops attack, killing about 100 Indians, and force them to leave behind most of their property at the campsite. The soldiers gather into heaps and burn tons of dried buffalo meat, great quantities of dried berries, buffalo robes, tepee covers and poles, and household utensils.

Sully chases remnants of the Sioux bands from the Killdeer Mountains into the North Dakota Badlands and attacks them along the Yellowstone River on August 12. The U.S. government is hopeful these Dakota and Lakota people will now be interested in a treaty after *"their severe punishment in life and property for the last 2 years..."*. (letter to Sully from John Pell, October 26, 1864).

1865 Treaties with Hunkpapa and Yanktonai at Fort Sully on October 20th. Treaty with Upper Yanktonai on October 28 at Fort Sully. Signers included Two Bears, Big Head, Little Soldier, Black Catfish. In these treaties the Indians agree to cease all hostilities with U.S. citizens and with members of other tribes. They also agree to withdraw from overland routes through their territory. They accept annuity payments and those who take up agriculture will receive implements and seed. Yanktonai hunting territories limited by treaty and this often led to starvation.

1866-1868 Red Cloud's War. Red Cloud opposed the opening of the Bozeman Trail to travel by whites and the staffing of forts in the traditional hunting lands of the Teton. For two years he led the Oglalas and other Teton bands in battles against the United States Army and forced the U.S. to abandon the forts.

1868 U.S. signs Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 with Lakotas and Dakotas, Arapaho and Cheyenne. This treaty confirms a permanent reservation for the Sioux in all of South Dakota west of the Missouri River and the Indians in turn released all lands east of the Missouri except the Crow Creek, Sisseton and Yankton Reservations. In this treaty the government promised that no whites would enter the Sioux reservation without Sioux permission and that further negotiations must be ratified by the signature of three-fourths of the adult Sioux males. The Yanktonai under Two Bears voiced objections to the reservation proposal since they wish to remain on the east side of theMissouri River.

1869 Three agencies established along Missouri River to handle affairs on Great Sioux Reservation. These were Grand River Agency (moved and renamed Standing Rock in 1874), Cheyenne River Agency, and Whitestone Agency (renamed SpottedTail in 1874).

Federal Indian policy, backed by military support, forces Indians onto reservations. Since Indians are confined to the reservation area the government begins to distribute food rations and clothing to the Indian people. The government withholds food rations from any Indian who opposes government policy, criticizes the agent, or practices Native American ceremonies or customs. **1870-1886**

Congress passes a law prohibiting army officers from being appointed Indian agents, prompting President Grant to turn control of Indian agencies over to various Christian denominations to hasten christianization of the Indians. **1870**

Grand River Agency (Standing Rock) assigned to Catholic church. William F. Cady was the first agent. He assumed his duties in December, 1870. Military post established at site of Grand River Agency to provide military support to government appointed agent.

March 3 - Congress passes legislation formally ending treaty making with Indian tribes. From now on the federal government will negotiate acts or agreements ratified by both the House and Senate. Acts and agreements have the force of law. All treaties remain legal. **1871**

June - Jesuit priests travel to Grand River Agency to determine if prospects are favorable for establishing a mission. After witnessing a sun dance they recommend no mission be established as the people are too entrenched in their traditional beliefs.

73 surveyors for the Northern Pacific Railroad invaded the Great Sioux Reservation in direct violation of 1868 Treaty.

Grand River Agency moved to present day Fort Yates, near military fort. Land better for farming and natural boat landing at this site. **1873**

Census at Standing Rock Agency reveals: Upper Yanktonai, 1,386; Lower Yanktonai, 2,534; Hunkpapa, 1,512; Blackfeet, 847.

Census figures reveal the following populations: Upper Yanktonai, 1,406; Lower Yanktonai, 2,607; Hunkpapa, 1,556; and Blackfeet, 871. Many of the people still living in the unceded lands as provided in the 1868 Treaty are uncounted. **1874**

December - Rain In The Face, Hunkpapa, arrested for killing two civilians under clouded circumstances on Sioux treaty lands. Blackfeet and Hunkpapa bands angry, more troops move onto agency to prevent problems. Tensions mount among Dakota and Lakota at Standing Rock after illegal intrusion into Black Hills.

Under government orders George Armstrong Custer left Fort Abraham Lincoln, Dakota Territory, to lead a geological expedition into the Black Hills. Expedition illegal according to the 1868 Treaty. Discovery of gold led to a stampede of goldseekers into the area indirect violation of the 1868 Treaty. Sioux protest to no avail. Bad feelings between federal officials and Sioux escalated.

December 22 - Standing Rock Indian Agency officially named. Name comes from a legend important to both Dakota and Lakota people.

Census figures reveal these populations at Standing Rock: Blackfeet, 1,019; Upper Yanktonai, 1,473; Hunkpapa, 2,100; Lower Yanktonai, 2,730. Many remain uncounted as they live in unceded lands.

June 6 - The Grand River military post officially abandoned and transferred to site of Standing Rock Agency. Post was named Fort Yates in December, 1878, to honor Captain George Yates, killed at the battle of the Little Big Horn. In 1878 it became the largest Missouri River military post.

A federal commission meets to discuss proposed sale of the Black Hills. Standing Rock Sioux initially refuse to attend conference stating it is a sham. Eventually they attend and join other members of the Sioux Nation in refusing to cede sacred Black Hills. Federal authorities continue to work on strategies in order to take the Black Hills.

1875-1876 Winter - All Lakota and Dakota living in unceded territory described in the 1868 Treaty were ordered to report to the Great Sioux Reservation. Bitter cold weather prevents army from embarking on winter campaign and forcing Indians onto reservation. Many Dakota and Lakota from Standing Rock Agency in unceded lands that winter.

1876 August - Catholic priest, Father Martin Marty arrives at Standing Rock Agency to begin missionary activities.

Census figures at Standing Rock reveal: Upper Yanktonai, 469; Lower Yanktonai, 794; Hunkpapa, 418; Blackfeet, 492; halfbreeds, 93; Indian scouts, 51. Significant numbers from all bands left reservation in early spring, as was their custom and right by law, to hunt in the unceded territories. Army ordered to force all Indians onto the Great Sioux Reservation.

June - George Custer left Fort Abraham Lincoln to take part in Army plan to gather all Sioux into the bounds of the Great Sioux Reservation.

June 17 - General Crook attacks Lakota bands in the Battle of the Rosebud (Montana). Crook's troops are held back.

June 25 - Lt. Col. Custer's force of 267 men is annihilated by Lakotas and Cheyennes at the Little Bighorn River, in Montana.

After the Battle of the Little Bighorn U.S. Army troops pour into the Northern Plains to force all Dakota and Lakota onto Great Sioux Reservation. All Indians must surrender their guns and horses and are held as prisoners of war on the reservation. U.S. begins to negotiate cession of the Black Hills with various bands of the Sioux Nation. Sioux people refuse to give up sacred Black Hills. Coercion, threats and force by government officials cannot produce requisite signatures.

1877 Congress votes to take Black Hills from the Sioux in open violation of the 1868 Treaty which requires three-fourths of the adult Sioux males to approve. Government officials obtained few signatures.

Catholic boarding schools for boys and separate one for girls open at Standing Rock. Bishop Marty initiated these efforts.

Benedictine priests opened another Catholic boarding school for boys at Standing Rock Agency. All boys had hair cut short and wore uniforms.

1878 Industrial farm school for boys established and located 15 miles south of Standing Rock Agency by Benedictine priest.

Hampton Institute in Hampton, VA, a non-sectarian Christian vocational school for educating ex-slaves admits Indian students. It's motto is *"Education for the Head, the Hand, and the Heart."* Many young people from Standing Rock are sent to Hampton.

December 16th. Standing Rock creates Indian police force as permitted by federal government. Police under direct orders of federally appointed agent.

Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, PA, opens. It's motto, *"To Kill the Indian and Save the Man."* This is the first federally sponsored Indian school and it serves as a prototype where Indian children are removed from the home environment in order to hasten their *"civilization into the white man's world."* Young people from Standing Rock are sent to Carlisle.	**1879**
Drought causes sparse crops at Standing Rock. Standing Rock Sioux farm communal plots according to band affiliation. They purchased mowers cooperatively and assist each other with tasks.	**1886**
Severe winter causes Standing Rock Sioux to lose 30% of their cattle and horses. Average loss among non-Indian stockmen in Dakota-Montana area 75%.	**1886-1887**
Winter - Severe weather causes heavy losses of livestock at Standing Rock. Over one third of cattle and horses die. Weather wreaks havoc with efforts by Indians to farm or ranch.	**1880-1881**
Catholic girls' boarding school moved 15 miles south of Standing Rock Agency because Fort Yates soldiers annoy the girls.	**1880**
Indian Offenses Act passed making practice of many Indian customs and all religious ceremonies illegal. The federal government outlawed these aspects of Indian life to hasted assimilation of Indians into the mainstream society and encourage acceptance of Christianity.	**1883**
Hot winds and drought cause crop failure at Standing Rock Agency.	
Catholic mission established at Cannonball.	
Rev. T.L. Riggs of American Missionary Society opens a day school at Antelope Settlement on the Grand River.	
Sioux at Standing Rock had 1,900 acres under cultivation. Each family at the agency had an individual plot.	**1884**
Sept. 1 - Haskell Institute Training School sponsored by the U.S. government opens in Lawrence, Kansas.	**1885**
Commissioner of Indian Affairs requires English to be used in all Indian schools because *"it is believed that teaching an Indian youth in his own barbarous dialect is a positive detriment to him."*	**1886**
Feb. 8 - Congress passes Dawes Allotment Act, providing for allotment of Indian lands in severalty. Few allotments are made on Standing Rock at this time. The purpose of this law was to break up the Indian land base, the reservation. After individual allotments were made the government would open the remaining reservation land to homesteading. Most Indians allotted very poor quality lands.	**1887**
Pressure from citizens in the Dakotas results in a federal commission to break up the Great Sioux Reservation. Standing Rock, the first agency visited, overwhelmingly rejects the plan. Standing Rock's firm stance against the bill kills it at this time.	**1888**
500 Standing Rock Sioux attend Fourth of July parade in Bismarck.	**1889**

1889 Word of the Ghost Dance religion, a pan-tribal religion, is heard on the Great Sioux Reservation. The religion, with origins among the Paiute in Nevada, promises a return to the old ways and is attractive to some Lakota and Dakota.

North and South Dakota are admitted to the Union.

Pressure from citizens of the Dakotas results in a federal commission which seeks to break the Great Sioux Reservation into 6 smaller reservations, open up 9 million acres of land to homesteading. Despite opposition from the various bands, just over requisite three quarters of adult Sioux males agree. Standing Rock reduced to 2.4 million acres. Most good farmlands lost. The bill causes great dissention between signers and non-signers at Standing Rock.

Federal government outlawed butchering of rationed beef in public. The government deemed it offensive to Indian women and children. Standing Rock Agency complied by building slaughter-houses at issue stations.

Land surveys begin on Standing Rock in anticipation of break–up of Great Sioux Reservation. Sitting Bull and others protest to no avail.

Health poor among Standing Rock Sioux. Agent reports deaths exceed births. Food rations cut sharply and Standing Rock agent reports many children and adults near starvation.

1889-1890 Severe drought strikes the Dakotas. Crops at Standing Rock are a total failure.

1890 December 15 - Sitting Bull, Hunkpapa, killed at home on Grand River by Indian police acting under government orders. Supporters and family of Sitting Bull killed as well as police.

December 29 - Massacre of over 300 Lakota at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, by U.S. seventh cavalry.

1890'S Sioux begin to organize Black Hills Councils on their reservations for the purpose of seeking return of this sacred area. Standing Rock contingent is active in this effort.

1894 Gall dies. He was noted as a great warrior, particularly at the Little Bighorn. Later he became a judge in the Court of Indian Offenses. Buried at St. Elizabeth's Mission, Wakpala, South Dakota.

1903 Fort Yates military post abandoned; men sent to Fort McKeen; military graves relocated at this time.

1908 Town of McLaughlin established; named after Major James McLaughlin's family.

1914 Sioux County organized on September 3; named after the non-Indian term Sioux Indians; county seat at Fort Yates; area 1,169 square miles.

Standing Rock men form a general council to represent their peoples' needs and concerns to the government agent on the reservation.

1914-1918 Many Indian men throughout U.S. enlist in armed services to fight in World War I even though they are not citizens. Richard Blue Earth of Cannonball, North Dakota, was the first North Dakota Indian to enlist. Albert Grass, also from Cannonball, died in the war.

1915 Another wave of homesteading approved on Indian lands. Standing Rock Reservation opened to homesteaders May 13th. Ferry boat operating near Fort Yates, fare 25 cents to Mandan or Bismarck.

Indians who served in military in World War I recognized as citizens of the United States and entitled to vote in federal elections.	**1919**
Black Hills claim filed by Sioux Nation in U.S. Court of Claims.	**1923**
Snyder Act confers U.S. citizenship on all Indians.	**1924**
Indian Civilian Conservation Corps active on reservations. Standing Rock Sioux contingent active on the reservation planting gardens, stringing fences, building dams, etc. during the Depression.	**1933-1936**
June 18 - Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) passed, ending allotment, providing for limited tribal self-government, and launching Indian credit program. Standing Rock did not adopt an IRA government.	**1934**
Sun dance at Little Eagle, (South Dakota), on Standing Rock Sioux Reservation. Indian Reorganization Act permits greater religious freedoms for Indian people.	**1936**
Sun Dance at Cannonball, (North Dakota), on Standing Rock Sioux Reservation.	**1937**
U.S. government repeals act prohibiting the sale of alcoholic beverages to Indians.	**1940**
U.S. Court of Claims dismisses Black Hills Claim brought by Sioux Nation.	**1942**
August 1 - Indian Claims Commission established to end Indian land claims by making monetary compensations. Black Hills claim can be refiled.	**1946**
Army Corps of Engineers began construction of Oahe Dam. Despite intense opposition from Standing Rock Sioux Tribe 160,889 acres of prime agricultural lands were flooded. 25% of reservation population had to relocate out of flood area.	**1948**
Indian Relocation Program established for all Indians. This program was part of the termination program initiated by the federal government. The government sought to end the reservation system and in preparation, relocated Indian families to urban areas.	**1952**
June 9 - U.S. Representative William Henry Harrison of Wyoming introduces House Concurrent Resolution 108, which states that Congress intends to *"terminate"* at the *"earliest possible time"* all Indians, meaning that Congress will no longer recognize individuals as Indian and will remove all Indian rights and benefits.	**1953**
April 11 - American Indian Civil Rights Act passed, guaranteeing reservation residents many of the same civil rights and liberties in relation to federal and state authorities.	**1968**
Indian Claims Commission awards Sioux $17.5 million plus interest for taking of the Black Hills pending determination of government offsets.	**1974**
January 4 - Congress passes the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, expanding tribal control over reservation programs and authorizing federal funds to build needed public school facilities on or near Indian reservations.	**1975**
U.S. Court of Claims reverses Indian Claims Commission decision thereby removing monetary award from Black Hills Claims case.	

1976 October 8 - Congress passes a bill to terminate the Indian Claims Commission at the end of 1978. The U.S. Court of Claims is to take over cases that the commission does not complete by December 31, 1978.

1978 Congress provides for new hearing in Black Hills Claim.

August 11 - Congress passes the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA), in which Congress recognizes its obligations to *"protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express and exercise [their] traditional religions."* This reverses official government policy prohibiting the practice of Native American spirituality passed in 1883.

November 1 - Congress passes the Education Amendments Act of 1978, giving substantial control of education programs to local Indian communities.

November 8 - Congress passes the Indian Child Welfare Act, establishing U.S. policy to promote the stability and security of Indian tribes and families by giving tribal courts jurisdiction over Indian children living on or off the reservation.

1979 U.S. Court of Claims award Sioux Nation $17.5 million plus interest for taking of the Black Hills.

1980 U.S. Supreme Court affirms Court of Claims ruling in Black Hills claim and awards Sioux $106 million. The court decries the taking of the illegal seizure of the Black Hills by the U.S. government, *"A more ripe and rank case of dishonorable dealings will never, in all probability, be found in our history."* Sioux overwhelmingly reject money settlement in the Black Hills case and seek return of the land. Work on land return continues; no tribe has accepted any monetary compensation.

1988 Legislation enacted to repeal the 1953 termination policy established by House Concurrent Resolution 108.

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS:

- Traditional land base
- Subsistence vs. Development
- Ownership vs. Severalty

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What were tribal communities like in the past?
2. How have the geographic and environmental forces influenced the distribution and concentration of state and tribal populations and resources?
3. How has the environment affected the community?
4. How is the community unique and special?
5. Where are the cities located?
   How do they compare in size, population, business and industry, to other North Dakota Communities?
6. Do a comparative analysis of the distribution of agricultural land to native peoples and non-native peoples. Based upon data, what are the consequences of land distribution?
7. How have native peoples adapted to their current environment?
   Assess and report.
8. Compare and contrast the economy on the reservation to neighboring communities.
9. Does the tribe have a stable economic infrastructure? (Private business sector).
10. How long has the tribe had a stable economic infrastructure?
    If so, what has been the impact on the community?
    On neighboring communities?

DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE STANDING ROCK RESERVATION

LAND STATUS
LAND BASE
TOPOGRAPHY & CLIMATE
POPULATION
NATURAL RESOURCES
TRANSPORTATION
INFRASTRUCTURE (SERVICES)

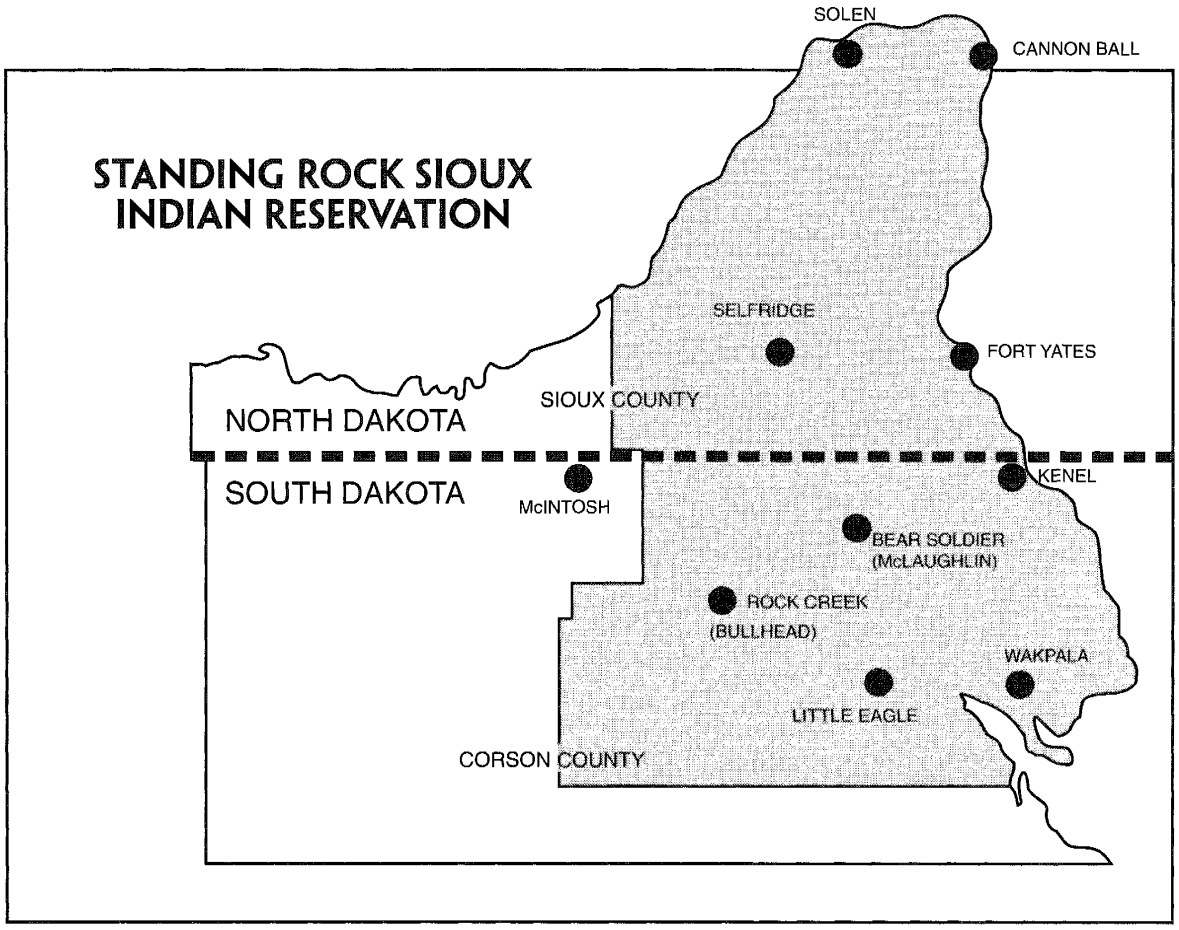
LAND STATUS

The Standing Rock Reservation was established by the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty, and was a part of the Great Sioux Nation. The center of the Reservation was the Black Hills, the "paha sapa" sacred to all Lakota.

The size of the reservation has been reduced through various ways. The 1868 Fort Laramie treaty broke the Great Sioux Nation and divided the land for some of the tribes, but took the Black Hills. The series of allotment acts that began in 1868 and ended in 1915 divided the land even further, alloting to individuals and families timber allotments, to provide for fuel and homesites. Finally, nearly one million acres of western reservation lands were opened for White settlement.

LAND BASE

The Standing Rock Reservation is situated in southwest North Dakota on the North-South Dakota border. The Reservation encompasses all of Sioux County in North Dakota, and all of Corson County, and small portions of Dewey and Ziebach Counties in South Dakota.



Map courtesy of the Bismarck Tribune.

The size of the reservation is over 2.3 million acres. As of 1994, there are approximately 980,000 acres of land that is Indian owned, trust land. The remainder of the land is fee land over 1.5 million acres, primarily non-Indian owned lands, school and township lands, and approximately 50,000 acres that was reservoir taking area as a result of the creation of the Oahe Reservoir.

TOPOGRAPHY & CLIMATE

Most of the Standing Rock Reservation is comprised of rolling hills, eroded outcropping areas "badlands" and vast grasslands. The soil along the Missouri and Grand Rivers varies from sandy soil along the bottomlands along the river to heavy gumbo in the higher elevations. The lands that are used for farming are irrigated with Missouri River water, or through a minimal annual rainfall of 16 - 17 inches. Cattle ranching and grazing is generally reserved for higher elevations. The vegetation on the prairies is comprised of short grasses, and ravines are filled with shrub trees. Cottonwood trees once lined the river bottomlands, the remnants of which can still be seen.

Allotted Land	2.300,000
Trust Land	980,500
Government Owned	50,000
Subtotal	3,330,500
State & Private	1,500,000
Total Acreage within Reservation	4,830,500

POPULATION

The Standing Rock Reservation has about 11,672 enrolled members. According to 1995 statistics, there are approximately 5,860 tribal members living on the reservation. The lack of jobs on the reservation is one of the major reasons why tribal members leave the reservation.

According to the 1990 census, Indian reservations in North Dakota were the only areas where there were population increases by county. Normally, the age distribution of a population is important when determining the labor supply in the area. Age distributions do not change significantly in the short-term unless there has been a large population change in the area. With the growth of economic activity generated by the establishment of casinos and other facilities associated with the industry, population statistics are likely to increase.

**Population and labor statistics of the Standing Rock Reservation, include Corson and Walworth counties in South Dakota and Sioux County in North Dakota.*

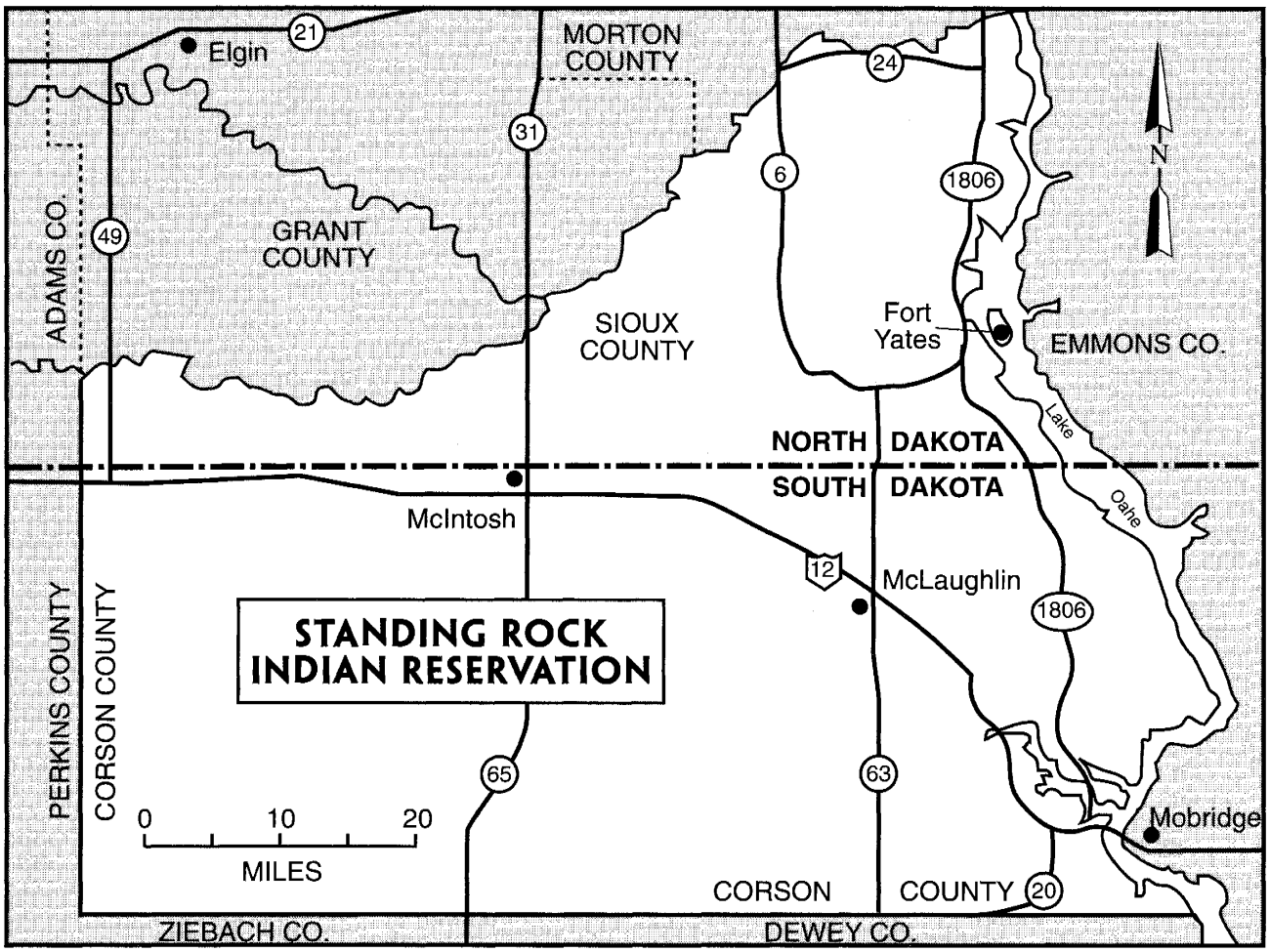
Graph 1.
RESERVATION LABOR FORCE

Local estimates of resident Indian population and labor force status of Indians living on and adjacent to the reservation. Nubers are for the whole of the Standing Rock Reservation (North and South Dakota).
Source: Bureau of Indian Affairs. 1992

Standing Rock Indian Population		**5,860**
Years of Age	**Under 16:**	1,990
	16 to 64:	3,601
	65 & over:	269
Unable to Work	**Students:**	557
	Other:	538
Employed		601
Employed earning $7,000 a year or more		480
Not employed and able to work:		2,174
Seeking Employment and able to work:		1,015

TRANSPORTATION

The transportation system on the Standing Rock Reservation consists of state paved highways, county and Bureau of Indian Affairs graveled or dirt roads. The Reservation has access to several major highways, all of which are in good condition. North Dakota highways 6 and 24 and South Dakota 63 and 65 provide north/south transportation to the cities of Bismarck/Mandan and Mobridge/Pierre and Rapid City to the south. Highways 1804 (the historic route of Lewis and Clark) borders the east riverbank of the Missouri River going north, across from the Standing Rock Reservation. Its counterpart, highway 1806, follows the Missouri River south through the Standing Rock Reservation, and serves as the main transportation route for the communities of Cannonball and Fort Yates. The other main Indian communites are located some distance from major transportation networks. Since there is no mass transportation system on the reservation, residents rely heavily on privately owned vehicles or secure rides where available.



NATURAL RESOURCES

The Standing Rock Nation is attempting to build their national grasslands. Many of the mineral rights of the lands, currently under lease, are owned by the Standing Rock Sioux. Along the Missouri River, there are approximately 15,000 acres above the 1620 contour lands, (lands that are in excess of project needs). The Tribe is seeking to have those lands returned to tribal ownership.

Many Indian ranchers/farmers have lost their lands, through business failure. Within the last 20 years, 150 Indian cattle operators have gone out of business. There were only 19 Indian cattle operators in existence on the reservation in 1994. In contrast, four-hundred fifty

(450) non-Indians are leasing Indian land on the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation. (White Lightning, 1994). The Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) as a matter of practice takes those lands out of trust. The Standing Rock D/Lakota are seeking (under the Indian Land Consolidation Act) to reaquire of lands under FMHA control. Through the use of cooperative agreements, they hope to assure that Indian lands remain in Indian ownership. The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe is seeking to acquire the Shadehill Dam and Reservoir.

INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES

West River Telecommunications provides telephone services, but few residents have this service. Residents use community services when available. Electricity is provided by rural electric cooperatives, in this case, Mor-Gran-Sou Electric, Flasher, ND. Heating fuels are provided by vendors from local or nearby communities.

The Standing Rock Tribe, through its Housing Office provides low rent, mutual-help, and scatter-site homes in many of the reservation communities. Homes are provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for employees of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Each community has a sewer system with a lagoon maintained by the city, BIA, or the Tribe.

STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

TRADITIONAL TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

MODERN GOVERNMENT

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

Traditional Forms of Governance
Modern Forms of Governance
Self Governance

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. How does governance differ in traditional and modern forms of tribal governments?

2. What characteristics of limited and unlimited government apply to tribal governments?
   To state governments?
   To the federal government?

3. There are several kinds of relationships between the central government of a nation and other units of government within that nation. What is the relationship between tribal, local, state, and the federal government?

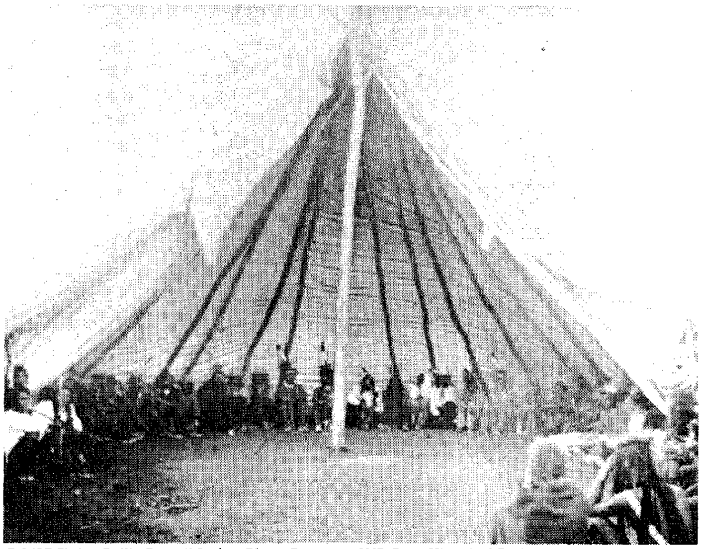
4. How are tribal governments the same as municipal and state governments?
   How do they differ?

5. There are alternative ways of organizing constitutional governments - representation, electoral. How are tribal governments organized?

6. Can tribal governments be defined as confederal, federal, or unitary systems of governments?
   Why?
   Why not?

TRADITIONAL TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

After permanently moving onto the Plains, the Lakota and most Dakota were nomadic hunters who traveled over vast areas of land in pursuit of the buffalo. The buffalo provided the basic needs of the people – food, hides for shelter and clothing, and bones for weapons and utensils. Dependence on the buffalo required that the people be highly mobile so most of the year they lived in small, related family groups called the ***tiyospaye.*** The tiyospaye was the basic unit of Dakota and Lakota society. Each tiyospaye, which consisted of approximately thirty households, was lead by one or more headman, or leader. A headman was recognized as a leader by fully living a spiritual existence and demonstrating the values of his people – bravery, fortitude, generosity, wisdom. Headmen sponsored ceremonies and sought to preserve the well-being of all the people. Among the Dakota and Lakota the headman guided the people; they did not order people around. The position of a headman was not permanent. A man served at the will of the people and if a man did not prove to be a good leader he was replaced. Decision making was by consensus, all members of the tiyospaye contributed their input and a collective accord was reached. The process of achieving consensus insured all the people had a say in decision making. Initially the men came together to discuss a matter; then they returned home and discussed it with their families; then at a later time the men reconvened to discuss the issue again. Although women did not customarily attend council meetings, their ideas and input were solicited and represented. This pattern would repeat until everyone was able to agree on a direction to take.



C-1427 Sitting Bull's Council Lodge. Photo Courtesy of ND State Historical Society.

At least once a year the headmen from the various tiyospaye would come together to discuss issues that affected them as a whole. This level of governance, acting to promote the best interests of the various tiyospaye, was on a band level. The Hunkpapa and Sihasapa are different bands of the Lakota, and Ihanktonwana and Hunkpatina are bands of the Yanktonai. When the headmen from the various tiyospaye came together they functioned as a tribal council and were known as the ***Naca Omniciye.*** Here too the council could act only by consensus. They had a responsibility to look out for the needs of all the people and preserve the harmony of the group. Responsibilities of the Naca Omniciye were broad, and included determining and coordinating the time and place of tribal hunts and tribal moves, appointing men to assist around camp in various ways, and approving raids against enemies.

Seven to ten members of the Naca Omniciye who were thought to possess the greatest wisdom and maturity were appointed as ***wicasa itancan***. Members of this group acted as an executive committee and were responsible for interpreting and making sure council decisions reflected the will of the people. Two to four ***wicasa***, or *"shirt wearers,"* headed up this smaller council. The wicasa were highly respected and their duties involved those things that insured the well-being of all the people. Duties of wicasa ranged from reconciling quarrels between individuals or families to negotiating with other tribes or nations.

During the summer months, the bands came together to visit and renew social bonds, conduct various spiritual ceremonies, and hunt. At these large summer encampments a national council, four men designated as ***wicasa yatapika*** lead the discussions about matters that had national importance and affected all the people. Here too the decision making was by consensus. The men designated wicasa yatapika were responsible for formulating national policy, providing guidance to the headmen and band leaders, and making sure the good of the people was preserved. They, like all leaders among the Dakota and Lakota served at the will of the people and could be replaced if they ignored the people's wishes. In return these leaders were highly respected by the people and their advice and council was sought out and carefully weighed before the people made decisions. (O'Brien, Sharon, 1989, pp. 23 - 26.)

In a traditional Dakota and Lakota government group, well being was paramount to individual need, and at all levels group harmony was insured by a government run by consensus. Achieving consensus is slow and deliberate, and it insures all people are given a chance to have input and it prevents rash decisions.

MODERN GOVERNMENT

When European nations, and later the United States, had need to conduct business with Indians they looked for a single individual or a centralized government rather than dealing with the whole tribal group. Traditional tribal governments which operated by consensus incorporated guards against concentration of power to preserve values of freedom, respect, and harmony. Consensus making is a slow process and simply did not fit Euro-American needs or ways of conducting business. Since the time of initial contact Europeans sought out or appointed one individual to deal with, a *"chief."* Americans continued this practice in their dealings with tribes.

As relations with the tribes changed over the years, the U.S. government continued to look to ways to centralize Indian governments. In their government system, Indian people as members of a tribe attempt to meet the needs of all the people and so they seek to govern by consensus. This tension between centralizing and maintaining tribalism still exists today in relations between tribal groups and the federal government.

When Indian people were forced onto reservations the federal government attempted to dissolve the traditional government, extinguish the languages and the spiritual beliefs and practices of the people. Still, many of the people continued conducting their own business according to more traditional patterns.

Early in the reservation era, before 1890, the Standing Rock people banded together in a council to work on issues related to the illegal seizure of the Black Hills. The Black Hills council followed a traditional pattern; it met on a local or band level; it met in various districts on the reservation, then the district representatives would come together on a reservation-wide level. At intervals representatives from the various Sioux reservations would meet as a Sioux Nation Black Hills Council. This traditional council model is still operational in the Black Hills issue today.

By 1914 the people of Standing Rock took initiative and formed a tribal council. This early council had little authority in influencing the federal government but it met to discuss matters of importance among the people, to plan social events, and to represent the concerns of the Standing Rock reservation to the federally appointed Indian agent. This council met in local districts then came together as a whole to discuss matters. At all levels council meetings were open and input from the people was solicited.

In 1934 with the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act the federal government sought to shift its relationship with tribes throughout the United States. By 1934 the Bureau of Indian Affairs was directing much of the day-to-day business on the reservations as well as influencing national policy in Indian Affairs. The federal government sought to get out of micro-management of reservation affairs by proposing that tribes establish constitutional forms of government and elect officials who would then govern their reservation and make some decisions that affected reservation residents on a local level. In actuality, the Bureau of Indian Affairs still maintained a strong presence on the reservations. The IRA gave the tribes greater voice in stating opinions, but it did not give them much real power. Even with the IRA the Bureau of Indian Affairs had to approve most tribal council decisions, certify elections, and so on.

In 1934, the Indian Reorganization Act was passed by Congress and all tribes in the U.S. were encouraged to set up governments under this act. Those tribes who accepted provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act and adopted constitutions were able to borrow money from a revolving fund for consolidation of lands and economic development. Only tribes organizing under the IRA had access to this revolving loan fund. In 1934 Indian tribes, like the rest of the U.S., were in desperate depression, so the IRA with its loan fund seemed attractive. Yet

many tribal groups objected to provisions that required those tribes organizing under IRA constitutions to get approval of the Secretary of the Interior in many tribal matters. The tribes objected to continued federal interference.

At Standing Rock there was much controversy over whether or not to accept the IRA – loan funds were attractive but the lack of real tribal decision making authority was not. Although in a general election tribal members agreed to organize under the IRA the tribal council never did write a constitution that conformed to IRA provisions. Instead the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe continued operating under the rules of the 1914 council. In 1959 the Standing Rock Sioux re-wrote and updated the 1914 constitution and it is this document that is the basis of government on the Standing Rock Reservation today. The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe is not organized under provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act.

Currently the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation consists of eight districts in both North and South Dakota. Fort Yates, Porcupine, Kenel, Wakpala, Little Eagle, Bear Soldier (McLaughlin), Rock Creek (Bullhead) and Cannonball. The Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Council consists of a chairman, vice chairman, secretary, and fourteen additional councilmen. The chairman, vice chairman, secretary and six of the fourteen councilmen are chosen by a reservation-wide vote. Each of the remaining eight councilmen must be residents of the district from which they are elected. All members of the Tribal Council serve four year terms.

The Tribal Council, as the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe's supreme governing body is constitutionally empowered to enter into negotiations with federal, state, and local governments on the tribe's behalf; to employ attorneys and to protect tribal land and political rights; to appoint tribal officials, boards, and organizations; to evict non-enrolled people whose presence may be detrimental to the tribe; to administer the tribal budget; to regulate property; and to pass laws and establish courts for the administration of justice. Although the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe has considerable authority, federal law mandates the Secretary of the Interior approve or disapprove certain actions by the Tribal Council.

Fiske 7385 Fort Yates, ND - Tribal Council - Circa: 1948-1952. Photo courtesy of the ND State Historical Society.

The people of each of the eight districts on the Standing Rock Reservation comprise a local District Council which elects officers to consult, makes recommendations to and advises the tribal council, the Bureau of Indian Affairs agency superintendent, and the Secretary of the Interior, on all matters of local or tribal interest. Tribal Council members are obligated to attend local District Council meetings and report tribal business to the local people. Those council members elected by the districts must attend monthly meetings in their district; council members elected reservation-wide attend one district meeting a month. The District Councils insure input on a local level is heard.

The judicial branch of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe is composed of a Supreme Court and Tribal Court. Initially the judges are appointed by two-thirds majority of the Tribal Council. At the time of the next general tribal election members can vote on retaining each judge. Once approved by the electorate, judges hold a four year term. The Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Court has power to hear civil, criminal, and juvenile cases.

The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe seeks to preserve its inherent tribal sovereignty and to preserve the Dakota/Lakota heritage, doing things in the best interests of all the people and representing the people's wishes in conducting business and making decisions. The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe exerts tribal sovereignty by pursuing legislation in Congress on behalf of the tribal members, managing a variety of programs formerly run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, establishing laws and rules of conduct on the reservation, investing tribal capital in business ventures, and so on. As the government of a tribal nation the Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Council seeks to maintain a continuity with the past and always works to preserve and encourage the best interests of all the people.

CULTURAL OVERVIEW

INTRODUCTION
PRE-RESERVATION LIFE
WAYS OF LIVING
DWELLING
CLOTHING
UTENSILS
FOOD

WAYS OF BELIEVING
LEGEND OF THE PIPE
CEREMONIES
KINSHIP
WORLDVIEW

THE IMPACT OF RESERVATIONS
CULTURE IN TRANSITION
LEARNING THE NEW

THE CULTURE TODAY
THE WACIPI
A CULTURAL RENAISSANCE

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

- Subsistence
- Harmony with nature
- Family and clan structures
- Impact of boarding schools
- Culture in transition

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What is subsistence and why was it important to native cultures?

2. How did the environment and geographic region form lifestyles and traditions of native peoples?

3. How are lifestyles affected by changing seasons?

4. What are some similarities and differences between native and non-native family structures?

5. What are clans, bands, and why were they significant to Lakota/Dakota people?

6. What are some differences between historical and contemporary divisions of work for both native and non-native people? Your family? In the past and in the present?

7. Why were native students taken from their homes and sent to boarding schools?

8. How would you feel if you were taken from your family and placed in a boarding school?

INTRODUCTION

The Lakota/Dakota people were the last to battle the United States government and surrender their homelands. Hence, it is these people who most often epitomize all American Indians. The image that most people have of an American Indian is either that of a stoic warrior sitting on a horse wearing a "warbonnet" and "warpaint" or that of a beautiful "Indian princess" wearing braids and sitting in front of a tipi.

Today, we should know that this Hollywood stereotype of the L/Dakota people is not only inaccurate but is also only one image of the many diverse American Indian nations across this continent. Each tribal nation had – and still has to some degree – their own manner of dress, their own type of dwelling, their own language and their own customs and traditions. This section will briefly discuss some of the cultural lifeways of the Lakota/Dakota people.

PRE-RESERVATION LIFE

Although the migrations of the earliest L/Dakota people are hazy, it is generally agreed that they were once a woodland people who made their homes east of the Missouri. Warfare with other tribes and the advent of the horse, however, shifted and expanded their territory to the northern plains.

The introduction of the horse significantly changed and enhanced the entire lifestyle of the L/Dakota people. Called "*sunkawakan*" or "mysterious dog", the horse made it possible for the people to travel over a larger area, become adept raiders and warriors and more effectively hunt the ever-roaming buffalo.

It would be difficult, indeed, to talk about the subsequent life of the L/Dakota people without mentioning the importance of the buffalo. In fact, the lifestyle of the people depended upon and revolved around the buffalo. Campsites were chosen based partly on their relation to the buffalo herds, homes were made to accomodate the roaming of the buffalo and every part of the buffalo was used in some way. "*Pte*", as the people called them, were the primary source of food, utensils, clothing and homes.

WAY OF LIVING

The L/Dakota people were the first to invent and own "mobile homes". For the nomadic hunters of the plains, the portability of the tipi made it the ideal dwelling. Basically, the tipi consisted of several buffalo hides sewn together and wrapped around a conical frame of poles. A small tipi would take seven or eight hides to fit while a large, family tipi or council lodge could take up to eighteen hides.

In addition to portability, the shape of the dwelling was ideal for cold northern plains winters. Because of its conical shape, the air volume at the top of the lodge reduced the amount of heat required to warm the lower living space. In the summer months, the edges of the tipi could be rolled and tied up to allow the cool summer breezes to flow through the lodge.

While providing skins for tipi covers, the buffalo also provided skins for clothing. The L/Dakota women wore mid-shin length dresses made of elk, deer or buffalo hides, knee-high leggings and moccasins. The L/Dakota men wore a leather breechcloth and moccasins during the hot summer months. In the winter months, the men wore long buckskin leggings and a buckskin shirt. Both men and women also wore thick buffalo robes in winter.

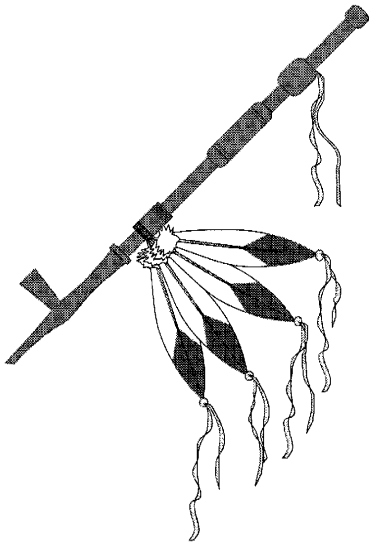
Like most utilities in the L/Dakota lifestyle, clothing and robes were decorated with either porcupine quills or paint derived from various plants or berries. Later, fur trappers and traders brought the quickly-adopted beads.

The buffalo provided more than clothing and shelter, though. Various parts of the buffalo provided everything from eating utensils to sewing thread. For example, buffalo

bones were used for a myriad of items such as knives, arrowheads, fleshing tools, scrapers, awls, paintbrushes, toys, shovels, sleds, shovels, splints and war clubs. The buffalo horns were used for such items as spoons, cups, ladles and fire carriers. Even buffalo chips were used for fuel.

Although the buffalo was the primary food source for the L/Dakota people, their diet was varied. Deer and other wild meat was also cooked with a variety of native plants, berries, roots and herbs. For example, chokecherries and wild turnips were used in many different dishes. In addition, the people would either trade with or raid other tribes for agricultural items such as corn or beans.

WAYS OF BELIEVING
"THE LEGEND OF THE PIPE"



One day, two men were out hunting. Suddenly, a beautiful young woman stood before them. One hunter recognized that she was "*wakan*" (a mystery) but the other hunter saw only a beautiful woman and had lustful thoughts about her. This man was immediately enveloped in a cloud of smoke. When the smoke cleared, a pile of bones was left in the place where the man had stood.

The other hunter became very afraid but the woman reassured him. She told him that she came bearing a gift for the people and instructions for a good and sacred way of living. She told the hunter to return to his people and tell them to prepare for her to visit. The next day, the woman returned bearing the sacred pipe and instructed the people in the sacred ceremonies of the people.

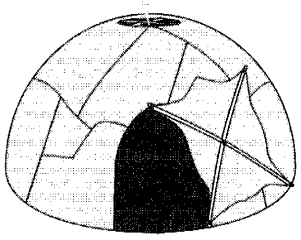
After the woman instructed the people for four days, she left the pipe and walked away from the camp, making four transformations in appearance until she became a white buffalo calf.

The legend of *Ptesanwin*, or White Buffalo Calf Woman, explains how the L/Dakota people came by the sacred calf pipe and their most important ceremonies. This specific pipe, which is still kept to this day, is considered the most sacred possession of the L/Dakota people. Pipes are used in ceremonial manner to represent truthfulness between those who smoke it. Because the pipe was used in meetings set up to resolve conflict between the L/Dakotas and the U.S. army, it was often mistakenly called a "peace pipe".

CEREMONIES

The ceremonies given to the L/Dakota people have been maintained for hundreds of years. One of major importance to the L/Dakota people is the Sun Dance. The Sun Dance is a sacred ceremony of prayer and sacrifice. It lasts approximately one week and involves piercing the skin of the breast, shoulders or back.

The second ritual that is important to the L/Dakota people is the "*inipi*" or sweatlodge ceremony. The sweatlodge is a willow frame covered by buffalo skins. Inside, participants sing and pray while water is poured over hot rocks. The sweat is meant to cleanse and purify the mind and body.



Third, the becoming-woman ceremony celebrates the time when a young girl begins her menstrual cycle and officially becomes woman.

Fourth, the "spirit keeping" ceremony keeps a deceased relative's spirit for one year. After that time, it is "released" with a feast, give-away and ceremony.

The fifth well-known L/Dakota ceremony is the "*hanbleca*" or vision quest. In this ceremony, a young man goes upon a hill to fast and pray for a vision that will tell him the purpose of his life.

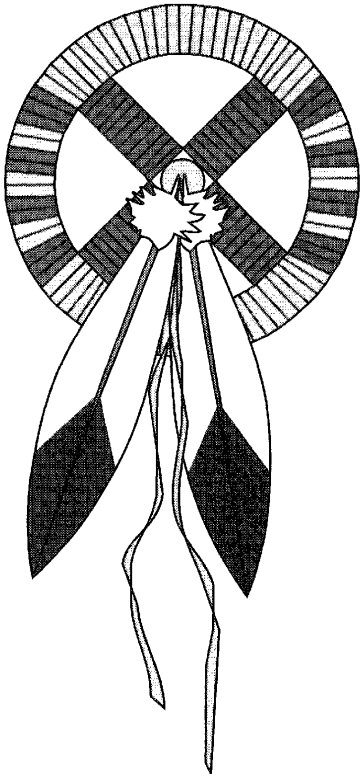
Sixth, the making-relative, or "*hunka*", ceremony is used to adopt a non-blood relative and, finally seventh, the throwing of the ball ceremony is a symbolic "game" that showed thankfulness for life.

These ceremonies all contained elements of the traditional L/Dakota values that were so important to living a good life.

KINSHIP

For the L/Dakota people, the greatest responsibility of a human being was being a good relative. In a society that depended on social order and community cooperation to survive, the rules that governed behavior needed to be strict. In order to avoid friction within an extended family, one rule was to avoid certain relatives. A dutiful son-in-law, for example, avoided talking to or about his mother-in-law.

Being a relative also meant taking care of all of your relatives. For example, if a woman lost her husband to war or sickness, her husband's brother would often take her into his home as a second wife. Children were raised with a wealth of relatives around to help guide them through life and, if any became orphans, they were quickly taken in by their relatives.



In light of the cultural emphasis on being a good relative, it should not be surprising that the L/Dakota people viewed the world holistically. The people believed in the interdependence of all life forms. They believed that all living things – the four-legged, the two-legged, the winged, trees and plants – were related. All of these were fashioned by the Creator for a specific purpose and therefore deserved respect.

The L/Dakota people used - and continue to use - the phrase "*mitakuye oyasin*" ("we are all related" or "all my relations") at the end of prayers to express this belief that all living things in this world are interconnected.

WORLD VIEW

The L/Dakota people do not consider themselves to have a "religion" so much as a way of life. Prayers and spirituality were not separate from everyday life but were an integral part of each day and each activity. The word for God in the L/Dakota language is "*wakan tanka*" meaning "great mystery".

Some specific values that were significant to the L/Dakota people were honesty, generosity, bravery and respect for elders and children.

Honesty was a cornerstone of the culture. The people did not have respect for one who would lie and, outside of raiding in a war party, it was unthinkable for one to steal from another. As the Lakota leader Lame Deer said, "Before our white brother came to civilize us, we had no jails. Therefore, we had no criminals. We had no locks or keys, and so we had no thieves. If a man was so poor that he had no horse, tipi, or blanket, someone gave him these things...."

Generosity was a greatly admired trait among the L/Dakota people. In fact, a man's status in his band or tribe was greatly determined by his generosity with others. A L/Dakota ceremony called the give-away demonstrates the importance of generosity. Traditionally, when a family or family member was honored for some reason, a family would give away gifts and possessions such as horses, robes and moccasins. In addition, they would treat the entire camp to an elaborate feast.

Today, the give-away is still an important ceremony. Important occasions such as graduations or naming ceremonies are celebrated with a feast and the giving away of horses, blankets, linens, cloth goods and money.

Another important cultural value was bravery. In fact, warriors in the traditional L/Dakota society earned more respect for doing brave deeds, such as counting coup (striking

an enemy with a coup stick or with a bare hand), than for killing another. The L/Dakota also recognized the importance of elders and children. They believed that wisdom comes with age and so elders earned and deserved respect. In fact, another word used for God was "*tunkasila*", which means grandfather. Children were called "*wakan yeja*" which means "sacred beings" and were never hit as a means of punishment. Children were expected to learn by example and were reprimanded through shaming or teasing.

THE IMPACT OF RESERVATIONS

The culture of the L/Dakota people changed dramatically with the encroaching settlements. Traders brought rifles to replace bows and arrows, cloth to replace tanned buffalo skins and iron kettles to replace traditional cooking methods. In addition, the constant skirmishes and wars between the people and the U. S. Army and the near-extermination of the buffalo took a heavy toll on the L/Dakota way of life.

In the late 1800's government policy shifted from "removal" of American Indians to "assimilating" the American Indian people into the white society. This policy had a devastating effect on the L/Dakota culture.

After the L/Dakota people were relegated to reservations, the solution to the new "Indian problem" was to turn them into farmers and ranchers. Indian agents were appointed to oversee individual reservations and reform "their" Indians. The agents, who also served to undermine the traditional leadership of the L/Dakota people, sought to do this by discouraging the "heathen" and "barbaric" cultural practices.

Soon, however, it seemed that discouragement was not enough. In 1883, Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller (with support from some Christian religious organizations) established what came to be known on Indian reservations as "courts of Indian offenses". These offenses consisted of all public and private traditional religious and cultural activities such as the Sun Dance, give-aways, naming and becoming-woman ceremonies. Although practicing their own cultural ways was considered criminal, many L/Dakota people continued to hold their ceremonies and events in secrecy. While the people outwardly adopted the trappings of non-Indian life, such as the clothing and the log-cabin dwellings, they continued to live and teach the traditional L/Dakota culture.

During this same time period, the philosophy was that the American Indian people would assimilate faster and more thoroughly by going to school. Thus began a most destructive experiment for the L/Dakota culture: the boarding school. Colonel Richard Pratt, founder of the first Indian boarding school, revealed the prevalent attitude in his statement, *"I believe in immersing the Indians in our civilization and when we get them under, holding them there until they are thoroughly soaked"*. In addition to teaching another way of life, boarding schools also made it difficult for parents to teach their children their cultural lifeways since parents rarely saw their children.

THE LAKOTA/DAKOTA CULTURE TODAY

THE WACIPI

Although the assimilaition period had a great impact, the culture of the L/Dakota people has endured and adapted. There are certain aspects of the culture that are lost or fragmented such as some specific ceremonies, stories and bits of language. But the basic values that the L/Dakota people lived by hundreds of years ago are still being taught today. One way that the American Indian culture survives today is through what the L/Dakota people call the "*wacipi*", more commonly known as a "pow-wow". The wacipi celebration is a cultural and social event that is still very important as a means of sharing and perpetuating cultural values and beliefs.

Contrary to the belief that they are summer events, pow-wows are held throughout the year. Winter pow-wows are usually one day events held in a local gym or large community building. They are generally smaller than summer pow-wows with the majority of the participants coming from the local area.

The summer pow-wows last from three to five days on the weekends. Participants in the summer pow-wows usually include visitors from other communities, states and countries who camp around the bowery (dance arena) throughout the weekend.

At a nothern plains pow-wow, spectators will see six different types, or styles, of dancers. The men will dance traditional, fancy bustle or grass. The women will dance traditional, fancy shawl or jingle dress.

Although the pow-wow is an important cultural event, it is not the only one. Many L/Dakota families still participate in a variety of important ceremonies such as namings, adoptions, the Sun Dance and the sweatlodge.

A CULTURAL RENAISSANCE

The L/Dakota culture, and Native American cultures in general, have been experiencing a cultural "renaissance" in several ways. Families are now seeking tribal elders, asking them to teach about the old traditions. There is also a greater emphasis on learning and preserving the native languages. Further, some schools and social programs now include and emphasize the teaching of traditional cultural ceremonies, such as the sweatlodge, and of traditional cultural values, such as generosity and being a relative.

LEADERS

TRADITIONAL LEADERS
CONTEMPORARY TRIBAL CHAIRPERSONS

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

- Forms of leadership
- Ascendancy
- Role of religion in leadership
- Heredity Leadership
- Styles of leadership

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. How were leaders chosen in historic times?

2. How are leaders selected in contemporary times?

3. Compare and contrast historic and contemporary leadership.

4. What benefits were derived from traditional forms of leadership?

5. Many native cultures believe that it is critical for their survival to maintain traditional forms of leadership.
   What elements are important?
   How do they benefit the people?

TRADITIONAL LEADERS OF THE HUNKPAPA LAKOTA

When describing leadership among the tribal nations, it is important to know that the traditional American Indian concept of leadership was quite different than that of the Euro-American concept of leadership.

Unlike the Euro-American concept of formal majority vote, American Indian leaders were chosen simply by the people who chose to follow them. For example, a leader of a traditional Indian encampment would be a leader only as long as the people agreed with his decisions. If he made a major error in judgement or began to make unfavorable decisions, the people would no longer listen to him. If some of the people still agreed with him, however, they might continue to recognize him as leader and might even have gone so far as to break away from that encampment to create their own little band.

Historically, treaty agreements and peace talks between the Indian people and the U.S. government were extremely difficult to coordinate because of this fact. Indian people did not consider it appropriate for one person to make decisions for everyone else. This frustrated government officials, who were hard-pressed to find an "official spokesman" for an entire tribe.

It is important to understand this concept of voluntary leadership among Indian people since some of the historical figures who were considered "leaders" were not considered leaders by all tribal members. Even today, there is debate over who was a true leader among the Lakota and Dakota people.

There are, however, many prominent figures among the ancestors of the Standing Rock Nation.

SITTING BULL

Perhaps the most famous leader among the Hunkpapa and, indeed, throughout the world, is Sitting Bull. Sitting Bull was born on the Grand River in 1834. As a youth, historical accounts assert that Sitting Bull was already a deep thinker and a strong warrior.

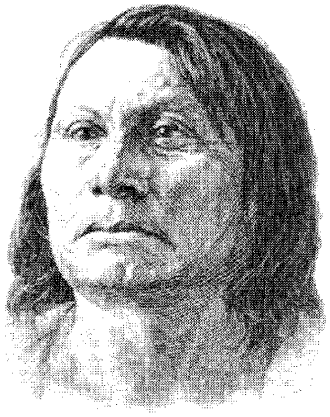
Sitting Bull, *Tatantanka Iyotake*, was known best for his part in the Battle of the Little Bighorn. Before the battle, Sitting Bull had a vision of soldiers falling into camp. This vision reinforced the belief in the strength of Sitting Bull's medicine. Sitting Bull was commended, by Indian and non-Indians alike, for his generosity and his concern for people. In his later years, when he traveled with the Buffalo Bill Wild West Show, Sitting Bull was often seen giving money to the street urchins of the cities he visited. He once commented that he could not understand how there could be so much poverty in the midst of such wealth.

Sitting Bull strongly protested against any cessions of Indian land and opposed the confinement of reservations. In fact, after the Battle of the Little Bighorn, Sitting Bull fled to Canada and remained there with his band of followers until 1881. After he returned to the reservation, he remained an outspoken advocate for his people until his murder in 1890.

RAIN IN THE FACE

Chief Rain-in-the-Face was a brave warrior and stood firmly in preventing killing of game and buffalo of the Lakota. His warriors once attacked railroad survey crews. Captain Yates and Tom Custer and 100 cavalrymen arrested Rain-in-the-Face for killing two trespassers on Lakota land. He later escaped from the guardhouse at Fort Lincoln. He was a key leader who fought Custer in the Battle of the Little Big Horn on June 25, 1876. On a buffalo hunt in 1877 a gun he was carrying accidently discharged hitting him in the knee and crippling him. True and loyal to the Lakota people, Rain-in-the-Face died at Little Eagle, on the Grand River, September 12, 1905. (Cross H. 1927, p.57).

GALL



Renowned Chief of the Hunkpapa Sioux, was born near the Moreau River, S.D., in 1840. As a young man he was recognized as a great warrior. He gained chieftaincy by his own daring exploits and superiority in statesmanship and oratory, and became one of Sitting Bull's most trusted counsellors. Although not actively engaged in the Battle of the Little Big Horn, June 25, 1876, he was in command of one wing of the Lakota, and from a distance ingeniously outlined the movements that defeated General Custer and his command. He fled to Canada, but on January 1, 1881, voluntarily surrendered to Major Ilges at Polpar River Camp, Montana. He travelled America and Europe with Buffalo Bill. He died at Oak Cree, S.D., December 5, 1894, and was buried with military honors. (Cross H. 1927, p.24).

JOHN GRASS

Chief of the Sihasapa Sioux. His indian name was Matowatakpe. As an orator he had no equal as he understood and spoke all the tribal languages. Grass was a proficient interpreter of sign language which was practically universal with all tribes on the plains. He was principal advisor to Sitting Bull and has been given credit for assembling the 7,000 warriors which fought and defeated General Custer. John Grass was born in 1839 and was only 37 years of age at the time of the Custer Battle. He died at Fort Yates, N.D., May 10, 1918, at the age of 79 years. (Cross H. 1927, p.32).

TWO BEARS

Two Bears (Mato Nopa) was one of the prominent chiefs of the Upper Yanktonais Lakota. The Yanktonais hunting territory ranged from the eastern Dakota territory to the Missouri River. Around 1865, Two Bears' band camped near Fort Rice. Two Bears served as interpreter at the July 1867 treaty commission meeting at Fort Rice with the Lakota. At the council at Fort Rice, on July 2, 1868, Chief Two Bears voiced his objections to the reservation proposal:

"Now I will tell you one thing that I don't like; you are going to put all the tribes together and I do not approve of it. I speak for my own band; our country is on the other side of the river - we are Yankctonais...The trouble was begun by the whites rushing into our country...There is one thing that I must tell you; though I want to make peace, yet I don't want to sell my land to the whites. It is the whites who will break the treaty, not us. I don't give permission to any white men to chop wood and get hay in our country." By 1873, the Burnt Lodge, Lower Yanktonais settled 40 miles above the Grand River Agency on the East Side of the Missouri River. Two Bears' band included 55 lodges (families).[1]

THUNDERHAWK

Though little is written about Chief Thunderhawk, it is known that as a young man he was a companion of Sitting Bull, and a warrior of prominence. Since the Hunkpapa were a small band, Thunderhawk figured importantly in Hunkpapa and Lakota affairs. He was Chief of his band, a position which he retained all his life. His band followed the buffalo. During the 1870's, Thunderhawk was a dominant leader of the Reservation Hunkpapa people at the Grand River Agency. After allotment, his band moved to 20 miles below the Agency where his band constituted 28 lodges. He is credited, along with Mrs. Galpin, with saving the life of Father DeSmet. He, along with several other Hunkpapa, represented the Hunkpapa at the Sioux Indian delegation in Washington, D.C. in October, 1888.[2]

RUNNING ANTELOPE

Running Antelope, in his earlier years, was closely allied with Sitting Bull, who was eleven years his junior. Running Antelope, a band chief, was prominent among the Lakota. In 1851, Running Antelope was elected one of four "shirt wearers" of the Hunkpapa. A shirt wearer served to intercede between the council and the headmen and *akicita* who carried out tribal policy and decisions. He was a brave warrior and accomplished diplomat. Under the influence of James McLaughlin, he became a dominant leader of the reservation Hunkpapa people at the Grand River Agency. After the allotment period, Running Antelope established a settlement of about sixty families in the Grand River valley and opened a store. In his later years, he regretted signing the 1868 Treaty and longed for the time when the Lakota were free, and realigned with Sitting Bull. It was often said that Running Antelope was the greatest orator of the Sioux Nation.[3]

CONTEMPORARY TRIBAL CHAIRPERSONS OF THE STANDING ROCK NATION

Most of North Dakota's Tribal Nations had not accepted the 1934 Wheeler-Howard Act, also known as the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) as a form of tribal governance mandated by the legislation. However, the Standing Rock Nation as early as the middle 1940's the Standing Rock Nation operated under the leadership of a tribal business council. A Tribal Constitution was adopted in 1959.

The following is a partial* list of those chairpersons who were prominent from the period of the middle 1940's to the present.

**list of tribal chairpersons, was gleaned from the memories of the Lakota/Dakota people at Standing Rock. Most of the information gathered was reconstructed from selected news articles from the Bismarck Tribune, between the period of 1934 and 1991.*

**Jack Iron Road, Dist. of Porcupine
Martin Medicine, Dist. of Wakpala
Richard Ramsey, Dist. of Cannonball
Eugene Young Hawk, Dist. of Bullhead
John Gates Sr., Dist. of Ft. Yates 1947–1948
Jospehine Kelly, Dist. of Ft. Yates 1948–1951
David S. Blackhoop, Dist. of Ft. Yates 1951–1953
Whitney J. Agard, Dist. of Ft. Yates
J. Dan Howard, Dist. of Bullhead 1955–1956
Edward Loon, District of Ft. Yates
Marguerite Fiddler, Dist. of Wakpala
Theodore Jamerson, Dist. of Porcupine 1958–1959
James McLean, Dist. of Wakpala 1959–1960
Clayton Brown Otter, Dist. of Bullhead 1960–1961
Aljoe Agard, District of Ft. Yates. 1961–1969
(Agard served as interim chairman, replacing Clayton Brown Otter).
Douglas Skye, Dist. of Porcupine 1969–1970
Melvin White Eagle, Dist. of Cannonball 1970–1971, 1973–1975
Pat McLaughlin, Dist. of Wakpala 1975–1979
Frank A. Lawrence, Dist. of Bear Soldier 1979–1981
Pat McLaughlin, Dist. of Wakpala 1981–1984
Charles W. Murphy, Dist. of Porcupine 1983–1991
Jesse "Jay" Taken Alive, Dist. of Bear Soldier 1991 to present

*** List Non Validated: Conversation with Earl Silk, BIA Tribal Operations, presently Contracting Administrator for the Standing Rock Sioux Agency. April 12, 1995.*[4]

JOHN GATES 1938 - 1948

John Gates served as Chairman of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe during the period following the Indian Reorganization Act. In 1944, Gates won three times the ND state light heavyweight boxing title. Prior to serving in the military, Gates represented North Dakota at the Minneapolis Golden Gloves tournament. In 1945, John Gates, then Marine Corporal, at the age of 25, received the Bronze Star for aiding wounded comrades on the beach of Sai Pan on D-Day. Gates was wounded and spent 2 years in the Pacific and Guadalcanal.

During his tenure as tribal chairperson, he, along with Willis Mountain, Secretary for the Tribe met with John Collier, Indian Bureau Commissioner, to relate the severity of conditions on the Reservation which had been bad for several years. They related that $270,000 allocated for the tribe had been spent by the Indian agent in 4 months on equipment and administration. In later years, he worked for the candidacy of John Vucuvevich, a Rapid City banker and served as a member of the South Dakota Indian Affairs Commission.[5]

JOSEPHINE GATES KELLY 1948 - 1951

Josephine Gates Kelly was born in 1888 or 1889. She became chairwoman of the Standing Rock Business Council in 1948 serving consecutive one-year terms until 1951. Her father was Frank Gates and her mother was Nellie Two Bears, daughter of chief Two Bears. She was raised at Standing Rock until the age of 12. She attended Carlisle Indian school from 1902 to 1909. She was the first woman from Standing Rock to finish at Carlisle. She was elected to the tribal council in 1940 and elected Chairperson in 1946-1947-1948, yearly terms. In 1940, she hitchhiked to Washington D.C. with another woman to protest the Indian Reorganization Act.

Kelly, and F. David Blackhoop, Secretary for the Tribe traveled to Washington D.C. to oppose the consolidation of the Standing Rock and Cheyenne River agencies, proposed by the Indian Bureau in 1951.[6] She spoke before the Senate Appropriations Committee in Washington, DC on behalf of US Women's Day with the coming of the Freedom Train. (She died October 23, 1976.[7])

F. DAVID BLACKHOOP 1951- 1953

F. David Blackhoop, from the Fort Yates district, succeeded Josephine Kelly as tribal chairperson.[8] Blackhoop, in 1949, forced the removal of James E. Curry, tribal attorney who ill advised the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe in the settlement of the Oahe Reservoir negotiations. Blackhoop served as the chairman of the negotiating committee of fifteen (15) which negotiated the $1.6 million for the 54,000 acres in the Missouri River Basin flooded by the Oahe Reservoir.

Blackhoop was instrumental in framing the Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Constitution, adopted in 1959. He later became one of two tribal judges appointed in 1962.[9]

WHITNEY J. AGARD 1953 - 1955 *(unconfirmed)*

J. DAN HOWARD 1955 - 1956

Howard served on the Standing Rock Tribal Council during the time period when the Sioux Nations were seeking restitution for the taking of the Black Hills. The Black Hills Claim had been brought twice before the newly established Indian Claims Commission (1946), and been rejected. Two tribes, the Standing Rock Sioux and the Rosebud Sioux travelled to Washington, D.C. on November 30, 1955 to meet with Ralph Case, attorney who initially brought forward the initial Black Hills Claim in September of 1911, litigated the claim for 32 years. It was with the intent of asking for Case's dismissal from the claim, that J. Dan Howard, Chairperson, James McLean, and Isaac Hawk, of the Standing Rock Tribal Council, met to register the Tribe's opposition to the Indian Claims Commission decision, and to ask the Court of Claims to retain jurisdiction.[10]

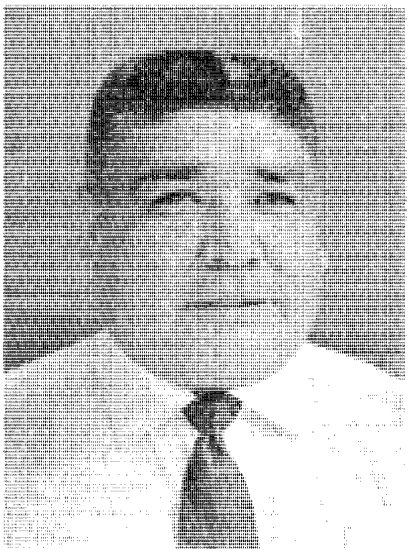
THEODORE JAMERSON 1958 -1959

Theodore Jamerson was born June 18, 1919, in Fort Yates, to James and Susan (Twiggs) Jamerson. He attended school in Fort Yates and Mayville State College. After serving in the Navy in World War II, and Korea, Jamerson became chairman of the Standing Rock Tribal Council in 1958. He also served as councilman from the Ft. Yates district. Jamerson organized United Tribes Development Corporation of North Dakota, and was prime organizer of United Tribes Educational Technical Center (later to become United Tribes Technical College). He also served for a time as United Tribes Educational Technical Center's Director. In 1971, he joined the Bureau of Indian Affairs as a special assistant to the area director. In 1970, he told a House subcommittee in Washington, D.C., that Indian tribes and reservations should be allowed to deal directly with the federal government in manpower development programs. A consummate and energetic man, Jamerson died at the age of 54 on June 29, 1973 in Fort Yates.

JAMES MCLEAN 1959 - 1960

CLAYTON BROWN OTTER 1960 - 1961

ALJOE AGARD 1961 - 1969



Alfred Joseph Agard, whose Lakota name is "S'unka Hakin" - One Who Stalks Wearing Wolf Skin" was born at Black Horse, South Dakota on June 12, 1928 to James and Isabelle (Shoestring) Agard. His grandfather was Moses Old Bull. His parents died when he was very young, and he was sent to Fort Yates boarding school at a young age. He enlisted in the U.S. Army on July 17, 1946, and served two tours of duty, the second during the Korean War from 1951 - 1953. He received the Korean Service Medal, the Bronze Star, and the U.S. Service Medal.

Active in Tribal Affairs, "Aljoe" as he was known, supported the authorization of the Indian Child Welfare Act in 1978 and was instrumental in securing an Indian reservation housing provision to the Public Housing Act. He became tribal chairman in January of 1961, a position which he held for nine years. During his chairmanship he was active in securing appropriations for the Tribally Controlled Community Colleges Act, was co-founder of United Sioux Tribes of South Dakota, and a delegate to the Black Hills Steering Committee, which supported legislation to recover the Black Hills. He was active in the National Congress of American Indians.

From 1984 to 1992, he was instrumental in the Joint Tribal Action Committee (JTAC) to seek compensation for lands lost in the construction of the Oahe Reservoir, which resulted in passage of P.L. 102-575, the Standing Rock Economic Recovery Fund, providing $90.6 million in additional compensation. He remained actively involved in his community of Fort Yates as a community representative on the gaming commission, local district planning commission, and treasurer for elderly resident organization. Throughout his 40 years of tribal leadership, he was a staunch believer in the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the Standing Rock Nation, a position which he reinforced at every opportunity. A modest, quiet, kind and committed leader, his dream was to help the underprivileged in captivity of the welfare system to achieve human dignity. He served on the Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Council until his death in 1994.

DOUGLAS SKYE April 1969 - October 1970

Douglas Skye, 65 year old retired BIA land officer was elected Standing Rock Tribal chairperson in the spring of 1969. Skye retired from the BIA after 36 years of service. Douglas Skye was born and raised in the Porcupine District near Shields where his father was a rancher. He attended rural schools, Flandreau, SD Indian school and Haskell Institute at Lawrence, Kansas. His first job was as a clerk-steno in the ND attorney general's office in the 1930's. He began working for the BIA in 1935 and was made property officer in 1956. He was committed to tighten up the structure of the tribal council and its committees, and for making the tribe more responsive to the people. Jobs were on top of his list and he deplored the breakdown of Indian society. *"Our people had a pretty good life in the first part of the century. It was simple, but there was dignity in our living. A man looked at this quarter section, his 20 head of cattle, and his horses, big garden, and said, "that's mine"*. The drought and depression of the 1930's and the taking of the rich bottomlands for Lake Oahe and increased use of alcohol in the 1950's contributed to the problems. Skye, a respected Indian leader, was the first to help organize the Standing Rock Commission on Alcoholism and served as a member of the National Indian Commission on Alcoholism. [13]

MELVIN WHITE EAGLE 1970 - 1971, 1973 - 1975

Melvin White Eagle was born at Cannonball, ND, September 27, 1926. His education was begun at Pierre Indian school. He joined the Army, and served in World War II and two combat tours in Korea, during which he completed high school. Married in 1953, he and his wife, Blanche, moved to Mountain View, California. Returning home in 1962, Melvin worked for the Cannonball School, and later served on the School Board. From 1965 - 1970 he served on the Standing Rock Tribal Council as tribal secretary and vice-chairperson. In 1970 he was elected to as Chairman of the Tribe. During his leadership, Melvin continued the 30 Master Plan for Economic Development, initiated under the Skye administration. He was reelected for a second term from 1973 - 1975. During his administration the Tribe received a 2.6 million dollar contract to construct modular homes on the reservation. The homes were constructed by a locally developed enterprise, Standing Rock Development Corp. The tribe also received 3.5 million to build the Douglas Skye Retirement Complex for the elderly. Melvin served on the Tribal Council from 1980 - 1984. From 1970 to the present Melvin commuted to Bismarck North Dakota where he was a staff member of United Tribes Technical College. During this time he served as Chairman of the Board for Theodore Jamerson Elementary School, and Chairman of the Board of Directors of UTETC. He retired from United Tribes on June 9, 1995. A quiet soft-spoken leader, Melvin resides at Cannonball, ND and continues to be active in community affairs.

PAT McLAUGHLIN 1975 - 1979, 1981 - 1983

Pat McLaughlin served his first term as tribal chairperson in 1975. During that time elections for district councilman were held on odd number years. In July of 1977, McLaughlin brought together the Governor of North Dakota, Art Link, and Richard Kneip, Governor of South Dakota to iron out problems of inequality of the welfare systems. McLaughlin also advocated for the consolidation of tribal lands on the reservation. In December of 1977, the Tribe went on record opposing a bill which would limit tribal jurisdiction and water rights. During his administrations, ground breaking ceremonies were held for the 7.2 million Standing Rock High School. The existing school had been build in 1942 and enlarged in 1956. In by December of 1977, the Tribe began dialogue with the U.S. Forest Service to explore the ownership and recision to the tribe of 34,342 acres of national grasslands on the western portion of the reservation to the tribe. In September of 1981, Pat McLaughlin returned to office for a third term. Voters approved a 1.5 million federal land claims. During his third term, the Douglas Skye Retirement Complex was sold to the Tribal Housing Authority and funds were provided by HUD to renovate the facility. Pat McLaughlin did not seek reelection in 1983. McLaughlin has served intermittently on the tribal council, serving as vice-chairman in 1995.[15]

FRANK LAWRENCE 1979 - 1981

Frank Lawrence, a resident of McLaughlin, was born December 23, 1941. A graduate of Fort Yates Community high school, he served in the Air Force from 1965 to 1969. He graduated from Black Hills State College, Spearfish, South Dakota in 1973. In October of 1979, Lawrence was sworn in as Tribal chairperson of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe succeeding Pat McLaughlin who had held the post for 4 years. It was Lawrence's first elected office. Lawrence served as assistant general manager of Standing Rock Housing Corporation, and Executive Director of United Sioux Tribes Development Corp.. He also served as Indian Education Director for United Sioux Tribes of South Dakota. He was instrumental in forming the South Dakota Indian Education Association. He campaigned for better management of the tribe, advocating for greater accountability and control of the tribes financial situation. He died, April 16, 1989.[16]

CHARLES MURPHY 1983 - 1993

In September, 1983 Charles Murphy was elected chairman of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. Murphy served four consecutive terms in office from 1983 to 1991. During his term in office, Murphy testified before Congress on the social and economic impact of the Oahe Reservoir on Standing Rock tribal lands. The Tribe, under his leadership, developed a comprehensive Substance Abuse Treatment Center at Chief Gall Inn, near Mobridge, SD; saw the completion of an irrigation facility for tribal farm; and planned a tribal irrigation system under the Garrison Reformulation Act. The Tribe initiated construction of a new rural water system for the reservation. Murphy advocated for a higher education fund for Standing Rock Community College. Murphy believed in the principle that the tribe should solve its own problems and maintain the culture and language of the people. In January of 1991, Murphy was appointed by Secretary of Interior, Manuel Lujan, a member of the federal Task Force for the reorganization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In April of 1991, Congress drafted a bill to provide $91 million to ND Tribes for payment of land taken by the Garrison Dam Project.[17] Charles Murphy did not seek reelection in 1993.

JESSE "JAY" TAKEN ALIVE 1993 - Present

Jesse "Jay" Taken Alive was born in Fort Yates on May 1, 1955. His parents are the late Pete Taken Alive and Imogene Taken Alive. He received his education at the BIA elementary school and Fort Yates Public high school. He is married and has five children. A fluent Lakota Speaker, Jesse is a descendent of Rain-in-the-Face. During his early years, Jesse Taken Alive worked with Standing Rock Community College, the BIA elementary school, and chemical prevention program. In 1991, at the age of 38, he was elected to the Tribal Council. In 1993, he became Tribal Chairman. A believer in leadership by example, one of his first actions as tribal chairperson was to hold an ethics retreat for the Tribal Council. During his administration, the Tribe saw the completion of the Prairie Knight Casino and Lodge located on the reservation; establishment of a Tribal Veterans Administration Office, elderly protection team office, creation of a tribal department of education, conversion of the BIA school to a tribal grant school, and revival and restoration of the Gall Inn in Mobridge, SD, nearing the renovation stage as a regional youth treatment center. During this time period, the tribe received notification it would share in $906 million in compensation for lands lost as a result of the Oahe Reservoir. The Standing Rock Tribal Nation continues planning for the construction of a bridge over the Missouri River, construction of a new tribal administration building and four community buildings on the reservation, support for a local radio station planned for implementation in 1995, and anticipates the establishment of a branch bank to be located on the reservation.[18]

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

SOVEREIGNTY
JURISDICTION
LAND

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS:

- Sovereignty
- Gaming
- Economic Survival
- Culture Maintenance

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How has the dynamic of cultural change worked for North Dakota Tribal communities?

2. What problems do tribal communities face? How do they compare to the problems that other North Dakota communities face?

3. How has the tribal community specialized in meeting the peoples needs?

4. What are the challenges and opportunities facing tribal, local, national and global communities today?

In order to understand the future of American Indian people and their tribal governments, it is necessary to first understand their past. Unlike any other minority group in the United States, the American Indian people are firmly bound to their history and to the promises made to them in the past. Unlike any other minority group in the United States, the American Indian people have a unique legal and political status that affects their relationship to the federal and the state governments. It is this unique legal and political status, born out of treaty agreements made at the first contact between the Native Americans and the "discoverers" of North America, that compels and guides contemporary issues.

In their book "The Nations Within" (Pantheon Books, 1984), Vine Deloria, Jr. and Clifford Lytle offer some insight into the American Indian view of treaties and how they affect contemporary issues: In almost every treaty...the concern of the Indians was the preservation of the people, and it is in this concept of the people that we find both the psychological and the political keys that unlock the puzzling dilemma of the present and enable us to understand why Indian people view the world as they do today. When we understand the idea of the people, we can also learn how the idea of the treaty became so sacred to Indians that even today, more than a century after most of the treaties were made, Indians still refer to the provisions as if the agreement were made last week. The treaty, for most tribes, was a sacred pledge made by one people to another and required no more than the integrity of each party for enforcement. That the United States quickly insisted that the treaties should be interpreted rigidly as strictly legal documents has galled succeeding generations of Indians and made permanent peace between Indians and the federal government impossible.

Today, American Indian tribes must deal with a myriad of issues on their own tribal level, on the state level and on the federal level. There are several issues that dominate the current debates and each is made more complex by the interconnected relationships of the tribal, state and federal governments.

SOVEREIGNTY

By far, the most pressing issue that will face the American Indian people is the blanket issue of sovereignty. Indeed, the statement that Indian tribes are sovereign nations is still frequently challenged. The assertion that Indian tribes are "sovereign", "quasi-sovereign" or "domestic dependent nations" depends on whom one talks to and how one defines those terms.

In order to understand the discussion of sovereignty, it is necessary to understand where sovereignty, as it relates to the American Indian tribes, originated. From the beginning of contact between the indigenous people of North America and the newcomers, the non-natives recognized the inherent sovereignty of the native people. Since the native people had already established cities, trade routes, laws and leaders, they were considered independent and governed their own affairs. Since the Indian tribes also had the military strength and a superior knowledge of the land, the immigrants to North America began to make treaties with the Indian tribes. These initial treaties recognized that the Indian tribes were separate political entities that were not subject to U.S. laws or decisions. In fact, some of the acts established, but never implemented, rules that would require non-Indians to obtain passports in order to pass through Indian lands.

Throughout the ensuing years and escalating conflicts, the U.S. government continued to make and ratify treaties with the Indian tribes. Almost all of the treaties were those in which the Indian tribes made some sort of land cession in exchange for peace, money, goods or services. The first treaty made between the U.S. and an Indian tribe was the treaty with the Delawares in 1778 and the last treaty to be made was a treaty with the Nez Perce in 1868.

Today, the services provided to most American Indian tribes, such as the Indian Health Service hospitals and health care, are a direct result of the treaty agreements made by their

ancestors. In fact, some Indian leaders have stated that the land cessions in exchange for government health services was the first pre-paid health plan in the U.S. The problem with sovereignty and the treaty issues, however, is that tribal and federal officials often disagree over the extent of the services, the amount of payment given to the tribes or whether the treaties are being adhered to at all.

JURISDICTION

Along with sovereignty, jurisdiction is an issue that is difficult to explain and to understand. The Standing Rock Nation, for example, is served by several different law enforcement entities - the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Standing Rock Police Department, the Sioux County Sheriff's Department and the N.D. State Highway Patrol - and which entity has jurisdiction over a particular offense is often unclear and complicated to say the least. The jurisdictional maze that has clouded the Indian system of justice has confused layperson, lawyer, judge, and bureaucrat alike. The basic question to be resolved is which level of government assumes jurisdiction over criminal offenses in Indian country....The answer to this question revolves around the interrelationship of three factors: (a)the location where the crime is committed, (b) the particular statute that has been violated, and (c) the type of persons involved in the crime (Indian/non-Indian). The Bureau of Indian Affairs is the federal agency designed to deal with Indian affairs. The BIA has been criticized by many Indian tribes as being a cumbersome and unneccesary agency which serves little purpose. Other tribes, however, see the BIA as an unwieldy, but necessary, central liaison office and as an official affirmation of treaty obligations. With the federal mandate to downsize the Bureau, tribal leaders fear a loss of services and a loss of government funding for important programs.

LAND

The boundaries of the Standing Rock Nation encompass approximately 1.2 million acres of land in southern North Dakota and northern South Dakota. Since the General Allotment Act of 1887 fragmented tribal lands and allowed for Indian-owned allotments to be sold to non-Indian homesteaders, the tribal land base of Standing Rock has dwindled considerably.

The tribal government of Standing Rock has been concerned with the loss of land base for many years. In recent years, an effort has been made to expand the land holdings of the tribe. Recently, for example, the Standing Rock Nation purchased 15,500 acres of land through the purchase of the Shambo Ranch in Corson county on the South Dakota side of the reservation.

APPENDIX

WHITESTONE HILL

About 50 years after the battle at Whitestone Hill, an Indian pictograph of the battle was drawn by Richard Cottonwood, as directed by Takes-His-Shield. A photostatic copy of this pictograph is displayed in the Whitestone Battlefield Historic Site museum.Photo from State historical Society of North Dakota

The following interpretation of this pictograph was later written by Rev. Beede. Interpretation from Shimmin-Tveit Museum, Forbes, ND

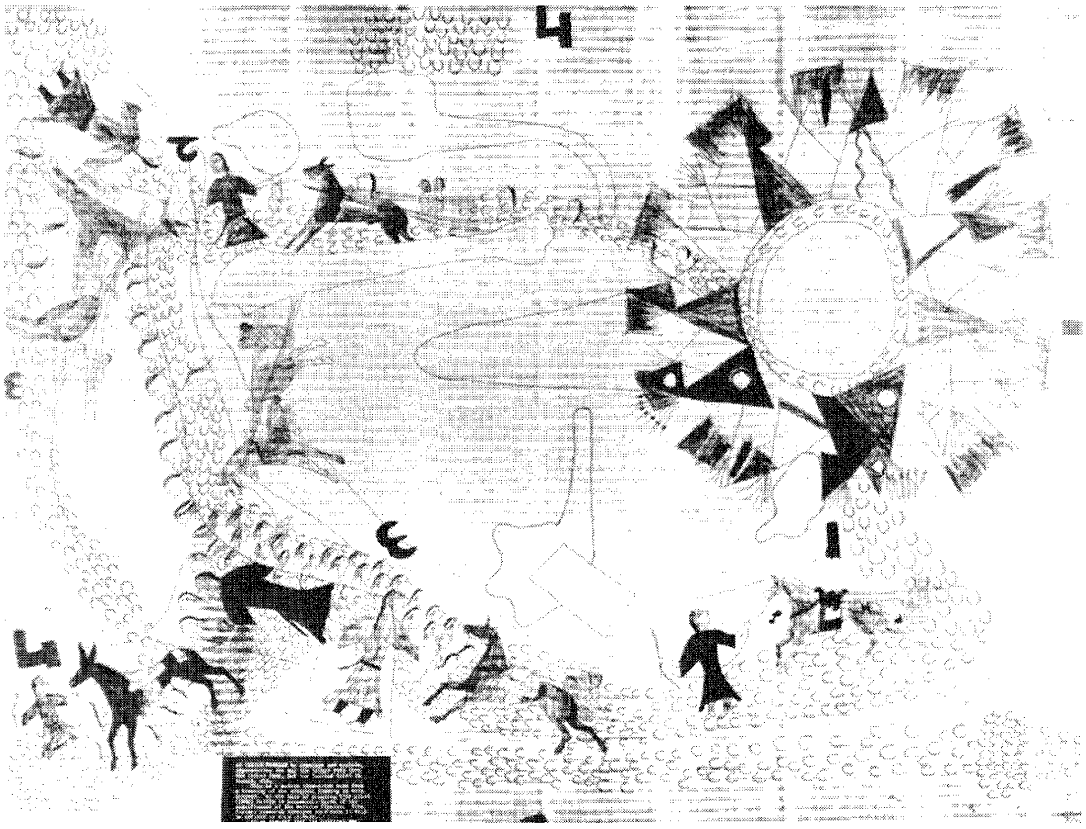


Photo courtesy of the North Dakota State Historical Society

SIOUX PICTOGRAPH OF THE BATTLE

The pictograph presents the Sioux Indian tradition of the conflict at Whitestone Hill. It was drawn about 50 years after the battle by Richard Cottonwood, as directed by Takes-His-Shield who was apparently at Whitestone Hill in 1863. The following explanation of the pictograph, or "Map-History," is summarized from an interpretation written by Rev. Aaron McGaffey Beede in 1932, almost 20 years after the pictograph was drawn. Beede served as an Episcopal missionary among the Sioux at Fort Yates in North Dakota for many years.

The explanation begins near the number "1" on the pictograph, beside the circle of tipis. The many Sioux heads show that Indian men, women, and children were at the camp. They were on their autumn buffalo hunt and frying meat for the winter, as indicted by the jerked meat hanging from poles supported by forked posts near the tipis. The camp was in the broken prairie country beside a small lake. The lake is shown, along with lines indicating hill ridges and a sort of squarish table land.

The camp consisted of two groups of Sioux, one accustomed to war and to spears, and the other using only arrows. War scalps are drawn on the tops of the tipi poles of some tipis and these tipis are shown with spears, while other tipi poles have no scalps and are shown with arrows. The two groups of Sioux were so friendly that they are all shown camped in one circle, not in two circles.

A large army of mounted white soldiers suddenly swooped down upon the Sioux, with the horse tracks of white soldiers shown in an orderly array or pattern. The soldier's attack is shown coming from the lower right corner of the map. Most of the Indians started to run away, fleeing in the direction opposite the army. A fleeing woman has hitched a travois to a horse which has no rider, and three children are crowded onto this travois.

Now the perspective changes on the pictograph to the opposite corner labeled with number "2". An Indian reading this large pictograph on the floor would typically walk around the map to the opposite corner.

A small lake or hilly rise is shown near the "2". A large part of the army is rushing, shown by hoof prints in well-formed order, to encircle the fleeing Indians and cut off their escape. A smaller number of soldiers pursue the fleeing Indians without killing any of them. An Indian woman catches a get-away horse, places an old woman in the saddle, and hitches her travois loaded with children to the horse. No one has been killed yet.

A column of troops turns down near the outside of the "2", chasing Indians who had gone that way. Another woman with a get-away horse, together with many other Indians, swings by a circular route back toward the "1". So far no one has been killed, and these Indians have not put up a fight or any type of defense.

Now the viewpoint changes to the number "3" area. The troopers have the Indians between them and are killing the Indians, but the Indians are not fighting: not one arrow is in the picture. The mark that looks something like "R" on the face means the person was killed, and the fact that 25 or 30 of these marks are present in this part of the pictograph indicates a slaughter of the Indians.

Now the story moves to the number "4" area of the map. After killing the Indians, a large number of soldiers went away, with their horse tracks crossing the ones made earlier. Some of the Indians escaped at this time, indicated by the faces with no marks showing that they were killed. Then darkness came, so that no eyes actually saw where the troopers went or where the Indians escaped. The only events shown in the picture are those that could be seen, and what happened after darkness set in could not be seen. No Indians had fired arrows or fought the soldiers in any way, according to the pictograph.

Beede also wrote that he had once asked Takes-His-Shield why he was not in the map, as is usually the case with the Indian who makes the pictograph. According to Beede, Takes-His-Shield "said that since that time he had been in the other life...the same as dead, and so he must not put himself into it. There was a slight tremble in his voice, but other wise no emotion, firm set face and jaws....He was a man of few words & seldom talked with people about the matter."

It should be noted that as a historical source, this depiction of the Whitestone Hill conflict is only as accurate as the memory of one participant a half century after the event occurred, plus the still later interpretation by someone who was not there at all. The pictograph is valuable, however, because it does present the Indian tradition of the engagement." (Beede, pp. 97-98). Interpretation from Shimmin-Tveit Museum, Forbes, ND).

DOCUMENT 2

97. COURTS OF INDIAN OFFENSES

Extract from the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior
November 1, 1883

Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller instigated the establishment on Indian reservations of so-called courts of Indian offenses. His goal was to eliminate" heathenish practices" among the Indians, but the courts came to be general tribunals for handling minor offenses on the reservations. His directions to the commissioner of Indian affairs in regard to the courts were given in his annual report of 1883.

.....Many of the agencies are without law of any kind, and the necessity for some rule of government on the reservations grows more and more apparent each day. If it is the purpose of the government to civilize the Indians, they must be compelled to desist from the savage and barbarous practices that are calculated to continue them in savagery, no matter what exterior influences are brought to bear on them. Very many of the progressive Indians have become fully alive to the pernicious influences of these heathenish practices indulged in by their people, and have sought to abolish them; in such efforts they have been aided by their missionaries, teachers, and agents, but his has been found impossible even with the aide thus given. The Government furnishes the teachers, and the charitable people contribute to the support of missionaries, and pended by their elevation, and yet a few non-progressive, degraded Indians are allowed to exhibit before the young and susceptible children all the debauchery, diabolism, a savagery of the worst state of the Indian race. Every man familiar with Indian life will bear witness to the pernicious influence of these savage rites and heathenish customs.

On the 2d of December last, with the view of as soon as possible putting an end to these heathenish practices, I addressed a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs which I here quote as expressive of my ideas on this subject:

> *I desire to call your attention to what I regard as a great hindrance to the civilization of the Indians, viz, the continuance of the old heathenish dances, such as the sun-dance, scalp-dance, &c. These dances, or feasts, as they are sometimes called, ought, in my judgment, to be discontinued, and if the Indians now supported by the Government are not willing to discontinue them, the agents should be instructed to compel such discontinuance. These feasts or dances are not social gatherings for the amusement of these people, but, on the contrary, are intended and calculated to stimulate the warlike passions of the young warriors of the tribe. At such feasts the warrior recounts his deeds of daring, boasts of his inhumanity in the destruction of his enemies, and his treatment of the female captives, in language that ought to shock even a savage ear. The audience assents approvingly to his boasts of falsehood, deceit, theft, murder, and rape, and the young listener is informed that this and this only is the road to fame and renown. The result is the demoralization of the young, who are incited to emulate the wicked conduct of their elders, without a thought that in so doing they violate any law, but on the contrary, with the conviction that in so doing they are securing for themselves an enduring and deserved fame among their people. Active measures should be taken to discourage all feasts an dances of the character I have mentioned.*

The marriage relation is also one requiring the immediate attention of the agents. White the Indians were in a state of at least semi-independence, there did not seem to be any great necessity for interference, even if such interference was practicable (which doubtless

was not). While dependent on the chase the Indian did not take many wives, and the great mass found themselves too poor to support more than one; but since the Government supports them this objection no longer exists, and the more numerous the family the greater the number of the rations allowed. I would not advise any interference with plural marriages now existing; but I would by all possible methods discourage further marriages of that character. The marriage relation, if it may be said to exist at all among the Indians, is exceedingly lax in its character, and it will be found impossible, for some time yet, to impress them with our idea of this important relation.

The marriage state, existing only by the consent of both parties, is easily and readily dissolved, the man not recognizing any obligations on his part to care for his offspring. As afar as practicable, the Indian having taken of himself a wife should be compelled to continue that relations with her, unless dissolved by some recognized tribunal on the reservation or by the courts. Some sytem of marriage should be adopted, and the Indian compelled to conform to it. The Indian should also be instructed that he is under obligations to care for and support, not only his wife, but his children, and on his failure, without proper cause, to continue as the head of such family, he ought in some manner to be punished, which should be either by confinement in the guard-house or agency prison, or by a reduction of his rations.

Another great hindrance to the civilization of the Indians is the influence of the medicine men, who are always found with the anti-progressive party. The medicine men resort to various artifices and devices to keep the people under their influence, and are especially active in preventing schools, using their conjurers' arts to prevent the people from abandoning their heathenish rites and customs. While they profess to cure diseases by the administering of a few simple remedies, still they rely mainly on their art of conjuring. Their services are not required even for the administration of the few simple remedies they are competent to recommend, for the Government supplies the several agencies with skillful physicians, who practice among the Indians without charge to them. Steps should be taken to compel these imposters to abandon this deception and discontinue their practices, which are not only without benefit to the Indians but positively injurious to them.

The value of property as an agent of civilization ought not to be overlooked. When an Indian acquires property, with a disposition to retain the same free from tribal or individual interference, he has made a step forward in the road to civilization. One great obstacle to the acquirement of property by the Indian is the very general custom of destroying or distributing his property on the death of a member of his family. Frequently on the death of an important member of the family all the property accumulated by its head is destroyed or carried off by the "mourners," and his family left in desolation and want. While in their independent state but little inconvenience was felt in such a case, on account of the general community of interest and property, in their present condition not only real inconvenience is felt, but disastrous consequences follow. I am informed by reliable authority that frequently the head of a family finding himself thus despoiled of his property, becomes discouraged, and makes no further attempt to become a property owner. Fear of being considered mean, and attachment to the dead, frequently prevents the owner from interfering to save his property while it is being destroyed in the presence and contrary to his wishes.

It will be extremely difficult to accomplish much towards the civilization of the Indians while these adverse influences are allowed to exist.

The Government having attempted to support the Indians until such time as they shall become self-supporting, the interest of the Government as well as that of the Indians demands that every possible effort should be made to induce them to become self-supporting at as early a day as possible. I therefore suggest whether it is not practicable to formulate certain rules for the government of the Indians on the reservations that shall restrict and ultimately abolish the practices I have mentioned. I am not ignorant of the difficulties that will be encountered in this effort; yet I believe in all the tribes there will be found many Indians who will aid the government in its efforts to abolish rites and customs so injurious to the Indians and so contrary to the civilization that they earnestly desire.

In accordance with the suggestions of this letter, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs established a tribunal at all agencies, except among the civilized Indians, consisting of three Indians, to be known as the court of Indian offenses. The members of this tribunal consist of the first three officers in rank of the police force, if such selection is approved by the agent; otherwise, the agent may select from among the members of the tribe three suitable persons to constitute such tribunal.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, promulgated certain rules for the government of this tribunal, defining offenses of which it was to take cognizance. It is believed that such a tribunal, composed as it is of Indians, will not be objectionable to the Indians and will be a step in the direction of bringing the Indians under the civilizing influence of law. Since the creation of this tribunal the time has not been sufficient to give it a fair trial, but so far it promises to accomplish all that was hoped for at the time of its creation. The Commissioner recommends an appropriation for the support of this tribunal, and in such recommendation I concur... [House Executive Document no. 1, 48th Congress, 1st Sess., serial 2190, PP. x-xiii.]

98. EX PARTE CROW DOG

December 17, 1883

When the Brule' Sioux chief Crow Dog was sentenced to death by the First Judicial District Court of Dakota for the murder of Spotted Tail, he brought suit for release on the grounds that the federal courts had no jurisdiction over crimes committed in the Indian country by one Indian against another. The Supreme Court upheld his petition and released him.

.... The petitioner is in the custody of the marshal of the United States for the Territory of Dakota, imprisoned in the jail of Lawrence County, in the First Judicial District of that Territory, under sentence of death, adjudged against him by the district court for that district, to be carried into execution January 14th, 1884. That judgment was rendered upon a conviction for the murder of an Indian of the Brule Sioux band of the Sioux Nation of Indians, by the name of Sin-ta-ge-le-Scka, or in English, Spotted Tail, the prisoner also being an Indian, of the same band and nation, and the homicide having occurred as alleged in the indictment, in the Indian country, within a place and district of country under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States and within the said judicial district. The judgment was affirmed, on a write of error, by the Supreme Court of the Territory. It is claimed on behalf of the prisoner that the crime charged against him, and of which he stands convicted, is not an offence under the laws of the United States; that the district court had no jurisdiction to try him, and that its judgment and sentence are void. He therefore prays for a writ of habeas corpus, that he may be delivered from an imprisonment which he asserts to be illegal ...

It must be remembered that the question before us is whether the express letter of § 2146 of the Revised Statutes, which excludes from the jurisdiction of the United States the case of a crime committed in the Indian country by one Indian against the person or property of another Indian, has been repealed. If not, it is in force and applies to the present case. The treaty of 1868 and the agreement and act of Congress of 1877, it is admitted, do not repeal it by any express words. What we have said is sufficient at least to show that they do not work a repeal by necessary implication ...

... It is a case involving the judgment of a court of special and limited jurisdiction, not to be assumed without clear warrant of law. It is a case of life and death. It is a case where, against an express exception in the law itself, that law, by argument and inference only, is sought to be extended over aliens and strangers; over the members of a community separated by race, by tradition, by the instincts of a free though savage life, from the authority and power which seeks to impose upon them the restraints of an external and unknown code, and to subject them to the responsibilities of civil conduct, according to rules and penalties of which they could have no previous warning; which judges them by a standard made by others and not for them, which takes no account of the conditions which should except them from its exactions, and makes no allowance for their inability to understand it. It tries them, not by their peers, nor by the customs of their people, nor the law of their land, but by superiors of a different race, according to the law of a social state of which they have an imperfect conception, and which is opposed to the traditions of their history, to the habits of their lives, to the strongest prejudices of their savage nature; one which measures the red man's revenge by the maxims of the white man's morality.

27 J.D.C. ATKINS / THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN INDIAN SCHOOLS

Great emphasis was placed upon the use of the English language in schools attended by Indian children. One of the strongest advocates of the policy was J.D.C. Atkins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1885 to 1888. His directives to agents and to superintendents of Indian schools reflected his belief that the Indian vernacular had to be replaced entirely by English. In his report to the Secretary of the Interior in 1887, Atkins gives a brief history of the movement for English in the Indian schools and his arguments in favor of that policy. He supplies as well testimonials from other reformers in support of his position.

In the report of this office for 1885 incidental allusion was made to the importance of teaching Indians the English language, the paragraph being as follows:

> *"A wider and better knowledge of the English language among them is essential to their comprehension of the duties and obligations of citizenship. At this time but few of the adult population can speak a word of English, but with the efforts now being made by the Government and by religious and philanthropic associations and individuals, especially in the Eastern States, with the missionary and the schoolmaster industriously in the field everywhere among the tribes, it is to be hoped, and it is confidently believed, that among the next generation of Indians the English language will be sufficiently spoken and used to enable them to become acquainted with the laws, customs, and institutions of our country."*

From Report of September 21, 1887, in House Executive Document No. 1, part 5, vol. II, 50 Congress, 1 session, serial 2542, pp. 18-23.

The idea is not a new one. As far back as 1868 the commission known as the "Peace Commission," composed of Generals Sherman, Harney, Sanborn, and Terry, and Messrs. Taylor (then Commissioner of Indian Affairs), Henderson, Tappan, and Augur, embodied in the report of their investigations into the condition of Indian tribes their matured and pronounced views on this subject, from which I make the following extracts:

> *"The white and Indian must mingle together and jointly occupy the country, or one of them must abandon it. ... What prevented their living together? ... Third. The difference in language, which in a great measure barred intercourse and a proper understanding each of the other's motives and intentions. Now, by educating the children of these tribes in the English language these differences would have disappeared, and civilization would have followed at once. Nothing then would have been left but the antipathy of race, and that, too, is always softened in the beams of a higher civilization. ... Through sameness of language is produced sameness of sentiment, and thought; customs and habits are moulded and assimilated in the same way, and thus in process of time the differences producing trouble would have been gradually obliterated. By civilizing one tribe others would have followed. Indians of different tribes associate with each other on terms of equality; they have not the Bible, but their religion, which we call superstition, teaches them that the Great Spirit made us all. In the difference of language today lies two-thirds of our trouble. ... Schools should be established, which children should be required to attend; their barbarous dialect should be blotted out and the English language substituted. ... The object of greatest solicitude*

should be to break down the prejudices of tribe among the Indians; to blot out the boundary lines which divide them into distinct nations, and fuse them into one homogeneous mass. Uniformity of language will do this — nothing else will."

In the regulations of the Indian Bureau issued by the Indian Office in 1880, for the guidance of Indian agents, occurs this paragraph:

"All instruction must be in English, except in so far as the native language of the pupils shall be a necessary medium for conveying the knowledge of English, and the conversation of and communications between the pupils and with the teacher must be, as far as practicable, in English."

In 1884 the following order was issued by the Department to the office, being called out by the report that in one of the schools instruction was being given in both Dakota and English:

"You will please inform the authorities of this school that the English language only must be taught the Indian youth placed there for educational and industrial training at the expense of the Government. If Dakota or any other language is taught such children, they will be taken away and their support by the Government will be withdrawn from the school."

In my report for 1886 I reiterated the thought of my previous report, and clearly outlining my attitude and policy I said:

"In my first report I expressed very decidedly the idea that Indians should be taught the English language only. From that position I believe, so far as I am advised, there is no dissent either among the lawmakers or the executive agents who are selected under the law to do the work. There is not an Indian pupil whose tuition and maintenance is paid for by the United States Government who is permitted to study any other language than our own vernacular — the language of the greatest, most powerful, and enterprising nationalities beneath the sun. The English language as taught in America is good enough for all her people of all races.

" Longer and closer consideration of the subject has only deepened my conviction that it is a matter not only of importance, but of necessity that the Indians acquire the English language as rapidly as possible. The Government has entered upon the great work of educating and citizenizing the Indians and establishing them upon homesteads. The adults are expected to assume the role of citizens, and of course the rising generation will be expected and required more nearly to fill the measure of citizenship, and the main purpose of educating them is to enable them to read, write, and speak the English language and to transact business with English-speaking people. When they take upon themselves the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship their vernacular will be of no advantage. Only through the medium of the English tongue can they acquire a knowledge of the Constitution of the country and their rights and duties thereunder.

Every nation is jealous of its own language, and no nation ought to be more so than ours, which approaches nearer than any other nationality to the perfect protection of its people. True Americans all feel that

the Constitution, laws, and institutions of the United States, in their adaptation to the wants and requirements of man, are superior to those of any other country; and they should understand that by the spread of the English language will these laws and institutions be more firmly established and widely disseminated. Nothing so surely and perfectly stamps upon an individual a national characteristic as language. So manifest and important is this that nations the world over, in both ancient and modern times, have ever imposed the strictest requirements upon their public schools as to the teaching of the national tongue. Only English has been allowed to be taught in the public school in the territory acquired by this country from Spain, Mexico, and Russia, although the native populations spoke another tongue. All are familiar with the recent prohibitory order of the German Empire forbidding the teaching of the French language in either public or private schools in Alsace and Lorraine. Although the population is almost universally opposed to German rule, they are firmly held to German political allegiance by the military hand of the Iron Chancellor. If the Indians were in Germany or France or any other civilized country, they should be instructed in the language there used. As they are in an English-speaking country, they must be taught the language which they must use in transacting business with the people of this country. No unity or community of feeling can be established among different peoples unless they are brought to speak the same language, and thus become imbued with like ideas of duty.

Deeming it for the very best interest of the Indian, both as an individual and as an embryo citizen, to have this policy strictly enforced among the various schools on Indian reservations, orders have been issued accordingly to Indian agents, and the text of the orders and of some explanations made thereof are given below:

December 14, 1886.

In all schools conducted by missionary organizations it is required that all instructions shall be given in the English language.

February 2, 1887.

In reply I have to advise you that the rule applies to all schools on Indian reservations, whether they be Government or mission schools. The instruction of the Indians in the vernacular is not only of no use to them, but is detrimental to the cause of their education and civilization, and no school will be permitted on the reservation in which the English language is not exclusively taught.

July 16, 1887.

Your attention is called to the regulation of this office which forbids instruction in schools in any Indian language. This rule applies to all schools on an Indian reservation, whether Government or mission schools. The education of Indians in the vernacular is not only of no use to them, but is detrimental to their education and civilization.

You are instructed to see that this rule is rigidly enforced in all schools upon the reservation under your charge.

No mission school will be allowed upon the reservation which does not comply with the regulation.

The following was sent to representatives of all societies having contracts with this bureau for the conduct of Indian schools:

Your attention is called to the provisions of the contracts for educating Indian pupils, which provided that the schools shall "teach the ordinary branches of an English education." This provision must be faithfully adhered to, and no books in any Indian language must be used or instruction given in that language to Indian pupils in any school where this office has entered into contract for the education of Indians. The same rule prevails in all Government Indian schools and will be strictly enforced in all contract and other Indian schools.

The instruction of Indians in the vernacular is not only of no use to them, but is detrimental to the cause of their education and civilization, and it will not be permitted in any Indian school over which the Government has any control, or in which it has any interest whatever.

This circular has been sent to all parties who have contracted to educate Indian pupils during the present fiscal year.

You will see that this regulation is rigidly enforced in the schools under your direction where Indians are placed under contract.

I have given the text of these orders in detail because various misrepresentations and complaints in regard to them have been made, and various misunderstandings seem to have arisen. They do not, as has been urged, touch the question of the preaching of the Gospel in the churches nor in any wise hamper or hinder the efforts of missionaries to bring the various tribes to a knowledge of the Christian religion. Preaching of the Gospel to Indians in the vernacular is, of course, not prohibited. In fact, the question of the effect of this policy upon any missionary body was not considered. All the office insists upon is that in the schools established for the rising generation of Indians shall be taught the language of the Republic of which they are to become citizens.

It is believed that if any Indian vernacular is allowed to be taught by the missionaries in schools on Indian reservations, it will prejudice the youthful pupil as well as his untutored and uncivilized or semi-civilized parent against the English language, and, to some extent at least, against Government schools in which the English language exclusively has always been taught. To teach Indian school children their native tongue is practically to exclude English, and to prevent them from acquiring it. This language, which is good enough for a white man and a black man, ought to be good enough for the red man. It is also believed that teaching an Indian youth in his own barbarous dialect is a positive detriment to him. The first step to be taken toward civilization, toward teaching the Indians the mischief and folly of continuing in their barbarous practices, is to teach them the English language. The impracticability, if not impossibility, of civilizing the Indians of this country in any other tongue than our own would seem to be obvious, especially in view of the fact that the number of Indian vernaculars is even greater than the number of tribes. Bands of the same tribes inhabiting different localities have different dialects, and

sometimes can not communicate with each other except by the sign language. If we expect to infuse into the rising generation the leaven of American citizenship, we must remove the stumbling blocks of hereditary customs and manners, and of these language is one of the most important elements.

I am pleased to note that the five civilized tribes have taken the same view of the matter and that in their own schools — managed by the respective tribes and supported by tribal funds — English alone is taught.

But it has been suggested that this order, being mandatory, gives a cruel blow to the sacred rights of the Indians. Is it cruelty to the Indian to force him to give up his scalping-knife and tomahawk? Is it cruelty to force him to abandon the vicious and barbarous sun dance, where he lacerates his flesh, and dances and tortures himself even unto death? Is it cruel to the Indian to force him to have his daughters educated and married under the laws of the land, instead of selling them at a tender age for a stipulated price into concubinage to gratify the brutal lusts of ignorance and barbarism?

Having been governed in my action solely by what I believed to be the real interests of the Indians, I have been gratified to receive from eminent educators and missionaries the strongest assurance of their hearty and full concurrence in the propriety and necessity of the order. Two of them I take the liberty to append herewith. The first is from a former missionary among the Sioux; the second from an Indian agent of long experience, who has been exceedingly active in pushing the educational interests of his Indians.

As I understand it, your policy is to have the Indian taught English instead of his mother tongue. I am glad you have had the courage to take this step, and I hope you may find that support which the justice and rightness of the step deserve. Before you came to administer the affairs of the country the Republicans thought well to undertake similar work in the Government schools, but lacked the courage to touch the work of the mission schools where it was needed. If the wisdom of such work was recognized in the Government school, why not recognize the wisdom of making it general? When I was in Dakota as a missionary among the Sioux, I was much impressed with the grave injustice done the Indian in all matters of trade, because he could not speak the language in which the trade was transacted. This step will help him out of the difficulty and lift him a long way nearer equality with the white man.

Seeing there is now being considerable said in the public press about the Indian Office prohibiting the teaching of the vernacular to the Indians in Indian schools, and having been connected with the Indian service for the past sixteen years, eleven years of which I have been Indian agent and had schools under my charge, I desire to state that I am a strong advocate of instruction to Indians in the English language only, as being able to read and write in the vernacular of the tribe is but little use to them. Nothing can be gained by teaching Indians to read and write in the vernacular, as their literature is limited and much valuable time would be lost in attempting it. Furthermore, I have found the vernacular of the Sioux very misleading, while a full knowledge of the English enables the Indians to transact business as individuals and to think and act for themselves independently of each other.

As I understand it, the order applies to children of school-going ages (from six to sixteen years) only, and that missionaries are at liberty to use the vernacular in religious instructions. This is essential in explaining the precepts of the Christian religion to adult Indians who do not understand English.

In my opinion school conducted in the vernacular are detrimental to civilization. They encourage Indians to adhere to their time-honored customs and inherent superstitions which the Government has in every way sought to overcome, and which can only be accomplished by adopting uniform rules requiring instruction in the English language exclusively.

I also append an extract on this subject from one of the leading religious weeklies:

English is the language overwhelmingly spoken by our sixty millions of people. Outside of these, there are two hundred thousand Indians old enough to talk who use a hundred dialects, many of which are as unintelligible to those speaking the other dialects as Sanscrit is to the average New England schoolboy. Why, then, should instruction in these dialects be continued to the youth? Why, indeed? They are now in the teachable age; if they are ever to learn English they must learn it now — not when they have become men with families, knowing no other tongue than their own dialect, with its very limited resources, a dialect wholly unadapted to the newer life for which they are being prepared. And they must learn English. The Indians of Fenimore Cooper's time lived in a terra incognita of their own. Now all is changed; every Indian reservation in the country is surrounded by white settlements, and the red man is brought into direct contact and into conflict with the roughest elements of country life. It is clear, therefore, the quarter of a million of red men on this continent can be left to themselves no longer ...

There are pretty nearly ten thousand Indian boys and girls who avail themselves of educational privileges. We want to keep right along in this direction; and how can we do so but by beginning with the youth and instructing them in the language by using which alone they can be qualified for the duties of American citizenship? ... If the Indian is always to be a tribal Indian and a foreigner, by all means see to it that he learns his own tongue, and no other. But if he is to be fitted for American citizenship how shall he be better fitted than by instructing him from his youth in the language of his real country — the English tongue as spoken by Americans.

As events progress, the Indians will gradually cease to be inclosed in reservations; they will mingle with the whites. The facilities of travel are being as greatly extended by rail, by improved roads and increasing districts of settlement that this intercourse between whites and Indians must greatly increase in future — but how shall the Indian profit by it if he is ignorant of the English tongue? It is said that missionaries can not instruct at all in the Dakota tongue. We do not so understand it. On the whole, when sober reflection shall have been given to the subject, we think many who have assailed the Indian Bureau for its recent order will see and will acknowledge that the action taken by the Interior Department is wise, and that it is absolutely necessary if the Indian is ever to be fitted for the high duties of American citizenship. (Prucha, Documents of United States Indian Policy, 1975. pp. 169-175.)

DOCUMENT 4

RITUAL ON ADMISSION OF INDIANS TO FULL AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

REPRESENTATIVE OF DEPARTMENT SPEAKING:

The President of the United States has sent me to speak a solemn and serious word to you, a word that means more to some of you than any other that you have ever heard. He has been told that there are some among you who should no longer be controlled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but should be given their patents in fee and thus become free American citizens. It is his decision that this shall be done, and that those so honored by the people of the United States shall have the meaning of this new and great privilege pointed out by symbol and by word, so that no man or woman shall not know its meaning. The President has sent me papers naming those mean and women and I shall call out their names one by one, and they will come before me.

C1589 Fort Yates: *Giving citizenship to Indians, shooting off last arrows, giving plows to farm.* Courtesy of ND Historical Society, Fiske Photo.

FOR MEN:

(Read name.)

_____ (white name). What was your Indian name? (Gives name.)

_____ (Indian name). I hand you a bow and an arrow. Take this bow and shoot the arrow. (He shoots.)

_____ (Indian name). You have shot your last arrow. That means that you are no longer to live the life of an Indian. You are from this day forward to live the life of the white man. But you may keep that arrow, it will be to you a symbol of your noble race and of the pride you feel that you come from the first of all Americans.

_____ (white name). Take in your hand this plow. (He takes the handles of the plow.) This act means that you have chosen to live the life of the white man — and the white man lives by work. From the earth we all must get our living and the earth will not yield unless man pours upon it the sweat of his brow. Only by work do we gain a right to the land or to the enjoyment of life.

_____ (white name). I give you a purse. This purse will always say to you that the money you gain from your labor must be wisely kept. The wise man saves his money so that when the sun does not smile and the grass does not grow, he will not starve.

I give into your hands the flag of your country. This is the only flag you have ever had or ever will have. It is the flag of freedom, the flag of free men, the flag of a hundred million free men and women of whom you are now one. That flag has a request to make of you, _____ (white name), that you take it into your hands and repeat these words:

"For as much as the President has said that I am worthy to be a citizen of the United States, I now promise to this flag that I will give my hands, my head, and my heart to the doing of all that will make me a true American citizen."

And now beneath this flag I place upon your breast the emblem of your citizenship. Wear this badge of honor always; and may the eagle that is on it never see you do aught of which the flag will not be proud.

(The audience rises and shouts: "_____ (white name) is an American citizen.")

FOR WOMEN:

_____ (white name). Take in your hand this work bag and purse. (She takes the work bag and purse.)

This means that you have chosen the life of the white woman — and the white woman loves her home. The family and the home are the foundation of our civilization. Upon the character and industry of the mother and homemaker largely depends the future of our Nation. The purse will always say to you that the money you gain from your labor must be wisely kept. The wise woman saves her money, so that when the sun does not smile and the grass does not grow, she and her children will not starve.

I give into your hands the flag of your country. This is the only flag you have ever had or ever will have. It is the flag of freedom, the flag of free men, a hundred million free men and women of whom you are now one. That flag has a request to make of you, _____ (white name), that you take it into your hands and repeat these words:

"For as much as the President has said that I am worthy to be a citizen of the United States, I now promise to this flag that I will give my hands, my head, and my heart to the doing of all that will make me a true American citizen."

And now beneath this flag I place upon your breast the emblem of your citizenship. Wear this badge of honor always, and may the eagle that is on it never see you do aught of which the flag will not be proud.

(The audience rises and shouts: "_____ (white name) is an American citizen.")

DOCUMENT 5

This song, composed at Standing Rock, demonstrates the wariness the people felt about becoming citizens. The song clearly shows the great value placed on the Dakota culture and traditions. COL-22H59

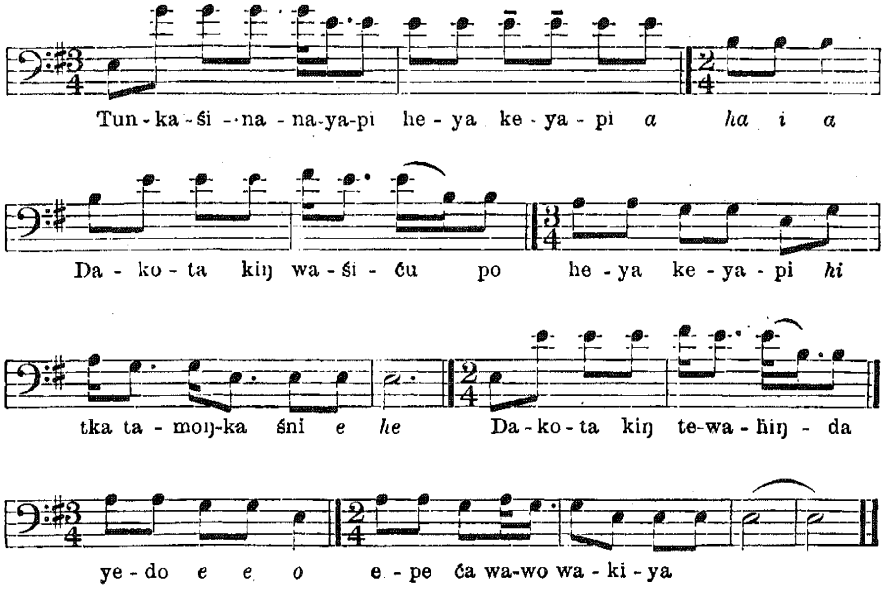
No. 239. Song Concerning a Message from Washington (Catalogue No. 646)

Sung by HOLY-FACE BEAR

VOICE ♩ = 88

DRUM ♩ = 88

Drum-rhythm similar to No. 5



WORDS

Tuŋka'śinayapi	The great grandfather (the President)
heya'	has said
ke'yapi	so they report
Dako'ta kiŋ	"Dakotas
waśi'ću po	be citizens,"
heya'	he said
ke'yapi	so they report
tka	but
tamoŋ'ka śni	it will be impossible for me
Dako'ta kiŋ	the Dakota (ways)
tewa'hinda	them
ye'do	I love
epe'	I said
ća	therefore
wawo' waki'ya	I have helped (to keep up the old ways)

Analysis.—This song is remarkable in its opening interval, which was uniformly given in three renditions, the fourth rendition beginning on the last part of the first measure. The song is melodic in structure, has a range of 10 tones, and lacks the sixth and seventh tones of the complete octave. This song was said to have been recently composed.

See plot of this melody on page 519.

Frosted, a Dakota, was imprisoned at Fort Yates military post for practicing his traditional religion _ he went on a hill, fasted, and made a prediction to his people. At all Indian agencies the practice of any Indian spiritual traditions was considered an offense that could land one in jail. Notice the ball and chain.

DOCUMENT 6

THE TREATY OF FORT LARAMIE WITH THE SIOUX, 1851

Articles of a treaty made and concluded at Fort Laramie, in the Indian Territory, between D.D. Mitchell, superintendent of Indian affairs and Thomas Fitzpatrick, Indian agent, commissioners specially appointed and authorized by the President of the United States, of the first part, and the chiefs, headmen, and braves of the following Indian nations, residing south of the Missouri River, east of the Rocky Mountains, and north of the lines of Texas and New Mexico, viz, the Sioux or Dahcotahs, Cheyennes, Arrapahoes, Crows, Assinaboines, Gros-Ventre Mandans, and Arrickaras, parties of the second part, on the seventeenth day of September, A.D. one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one.

Sept. 17, 1851.
11 Stats., p. 749.

ARTICLE 1. The aforesaid nations, parties to this treaty, having assembled for the purpose of establishing and confirming peaceful relations amongst themselves, do hereby covenant and agree to abstain in future from all hostilities whatever against each other, to maintain good faith and friendship in all their mutual intercourse, and to make an effective and lasting peace.

Peace to be observed.

ARTICLE 2. The aforesaid nations do hereby recognize the right of the United Sates Government to establish roads, military and other posts, within their respective territories.

Roads may be established.

ARTICLE 3. In consideration of the rights and privileges acknowledged in the preceding article, the United States bind themselves to protect the aforesaid Indian nations against the commission of all depredations by the people of the said United States, after the ratification of the treaty.

Indians to be protected.

ARTICLE 4. The aforesaid Indian nations do hereby agree and bind themselves to make restitution or satisfaction for any wrongs committed, after the ratification of this treaty, by any band or individual of their people, on the people of the Unites States, whilst lawfully residing in or passing through their respective territories.'.

Depredations on whites to be satisfied.

ARTICLE 5. The aforesaid Indian nations do hereby recognize and acknowledge the following tracts of country, included within the metes and boundaries hereinafter designated, as their respective territories, viz:

Boundaries of lands.

The territory of the Sioux or Dahcotah Nation, commencing the mouth of the White Earth River, on the Missouri River; thence in a southwesterly direction to the forks of the Platte River; thence up the north fork of the Platte River to a point known as the Red Butte, or where the road leaves the river; thence along the range of mountains known as the Black Hills, to the head-waters of Heart River; thence down Heart River to its mouth; and thence down the Missouri River to the place of beginning.

Sioux.

The territory of the Gros Ventre, Mandans, and Arrickaras Nations, commencing at the mouth of Heart River; thence up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Yellowstone River; thence up the Yellowstone River to the mouth of Powder River in a southeasterly direction, to the head-waters of the Little Missouri River; thence along the Black Hills to the head of Heart River, and thence down Heart River to the place of beginning.

Grosventre, etc.

The territory of the Assiniboin Nation, commencing at the mouth of Yellowstone River; thence up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Muscle-shell River; thence from the mouth of the Muscle-shell River in a southeasterly direction until it strikes the head-waters of Big Dry Creek; thence down that creek to where it empties into the Yellowstone River, nearly opposite the mouth of Powder River, and thence down the Yellowstone River to the place of beginning.

Assiniboin.

The territory of the Blackfoot Nation, commencing at the mouth of Muscle-shell River; thence up the Missouri River to its source; thence along the main range of the Rocky Mountains, in a southerly direction, to the head-waters of the northern source of the Yellowstone River; thence down the Yellowstone River to the mouth of Twenty-five Yard Creek; thence across to the head-waters of the Muscle-shell River, and thence down the Muscle-shell River to the place of beginning.

Blackfoot.

The territory of the Crow nation, commencing at the mouth of Powder River on the Yellowstone; thence up Powder River to its source; thence along the main range of the Black Hills and Wind River Mountains to the head-waters of the Yellowstone River; thence down the Yellowstone River to the mouth of Twenty-five Yard Creek; thence to the head waters of the Muscle-shell River; thence down the Muscle-shell River to its mouth; thence to the head-waters of Big Dry Creek, and thence to its mouth.

Crow.

Cheyenne & Ara-paho.

The territory of the Cheyennes and Arrapahoes, commencing at the Red Butte, or the place where the road leaves the north fork of the source; thence along the main range of the Rocky Mountains to the head-waters of the Arkansas River; thence down the Arkansas River to the crossing of the Santa Fé road; thence in a northwesterly direction to the forks of the Platte River, and thence up the Platte River to the place of beginning.

Rights in other lands.

It is, however, understood that, in making this recognition and acknowledgment, the aforesaid Indian nations do not hereby abandon or prejudice any rights or claims they may have to other lands; and further, that they do not surrender the privilege of hunting, fishing, or passing over any of the tracts of country heretofore described.'

Head chiefs of said tribes.

ARTICLE 6. The parties to the second part of this treaty having selected principals or head-chiefs for their respective nations, through whom all national business will hereafter be conducted, do hereby bind themselves to sustain said chiefs and their successors during good behavior.

Annuities.

ARTICLE 7. In consideration of the treaty stipulations, and for the damages which have or may occur by reason thereof to the Indian nations, parties hereto, and for their maintenance and the improvement of their moral and social customs, the United States bind themselves to deliver to the said Indian nations the sum of fifty thousand dollars per annum for the term of ten years, with the right to continue the same at the discretion of the President of the United States for a period not exceeding five years thereafter, in provisions, merchandise, domestic animals, and agricultural implements, in such proportions as may be deemed best adapted to their condition by the President of the United States, to be distributed in proportion to the population of the aforesaid Indian nations.

Annuities suspended by violation of treaty.

ARTICLE 8. It is understood and agreed that should any of the Indian nations, parties to this treaty, violated any of the provisions thereof, the United States may withhold the whole or a portion of the annuities mentioned in the preceding article from the nation so offending, until, in the opinion of the President of the United States, proper satisfaction shall have been made.

In testimony whereof the said D.D. Mitchell and Thomas Fitzpatrick commissioners as aforesaid, and the chiefs, headmen, and braves, parties hereto, have set their hands and affixed their marks on the day and at the place first above written.

D.D. Mitchell
Thomas Fitzpatrick
Commissioners.

Sioux:
Mah-toe-wha-you-whey, his x mark.
Mah-kah-toe-zah-zah, his x mark.
Bel-o-ton-kah-tan-ga, his x mark.
Nah-ka-pah-gi-gi, his x mark.
Mak-toe-sah-bi-chis, his x mark.
Meh-wha-tah-ni-hans-kah, his x mark.
Cheyennes:
Wah-ha-nis-satta, his x mark.
Nahk-ko-me-ien, his x mark.
Voist-ti-toe-vetz, his x mark.
Koh-kah-y-wh-cum-est, his x mark.
Arrapahoes:
Be-ah-té-a-qui-sah, his x mark.
Neb-ni-bah-seh-it, his x mark.
Beh-kah-jay-beth-sah-es, his x mark.

Crows:
Arra-tu-r-sash, his x mark.
Doh-chepit-seh-chi-es, his x mark.
Assinaboines:
Mah-toe-it-ko, his x mark.
Toe-tah-ki-eh-nan, his x mark.
Mandans and Gros Ventres:
Nochk-pit-shi-toe-pish, his x mark.
She-oh-mant-ho, his mark.
Arickarees:
Koun-hei-ti-shan, his x mark.
Bi-atch-tah-wetch, his x mark.

In the presence of
A.B. Chambers, secretary.
S. Cooper, colonel, U.S. Army.
R.H. Chilton, captain, First Drags.
Thomas Duncan, captain, Mounted Riflemen.
Thos. G. Rhett, brevet captain R.M.R.
W.L. Elliott, first lieutenant R.M.R.
C. Campbell, interpreter for Sioux.
John S. Smith, interpreter for Cheyennes.

Robert Meldrum, interpreter for the Crows.
H. Culbertson, interpreter for Assiniboines and Gros Ventres.
Francois L'Etalie, interpreter for Arickarees.
John Pizelle, interpreter for the Arrapahoes.
B. Gratz Brown.
Robert Campbell.
Edmond F. Chouteau.

This treaty as signed was ratified by the Senate with an amendment changing the annuity in Article 7 from fifty to ten years, subject to acceptance by the tribes. Assent of all tribes except the Crows was procured (see Upper Platte C., 570,1853, Indian Office) and in subsequent agreements this treaty has been recognized as in force (see post p. 776)

THE 1868 FORT LARAMIE TREATY

TREATY WITH THE SIOUX—BRULE', OGLALA, MINICONJOU, YANKTONAI, HUNKPAPA, BLACKFEET, CUTHEAD, TWO KETTLE, SANS ARCS, AND SANTEE AND ARAPAHO, 1868.

April 29, 1869
15 Stats, 635
Ratified Feb. 16, 1869
Proclaimed, Feb. 24, 1869

Articles of a treaty made and concluded by and between Lieutenant-General William T. Sherman, General William S. Harney, General Alfred H. Terry, General C. C. Augur, J.B. Henderson, Nathaniel G. Taylor, John B. Sanborn, and Samuel F. Tappan, duly appointed commissioners on the part of the United States, and the different bands of the Sioux Nation of Indians, by their chiefs and head-men, whose names are hereto subscribed, they being duly authorized to act in the premises.

War to cease and peace to be kept.

ARTICLE 1. From this day forward all war between the parties to this agreement shall forever cease. The Government of the United States desires peace, and its honor is hereby pledged to keep it. The Indians desire peace, and they now pledge their honor to maintain it.

Offenders against the Indians to be arrested etc.

If bad men among the whites, or among other people subject to the authority of the United States, shall commit any wrong upon the persons or property of the Indians, the United States will, upon proof made to the agent and forwarded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington City, proceed at once to cause the offender to be arrested and punished according to the laws of the United States, and also re-imburse the injured person for the loss sustained.

Wrongdoers against the whites to be punished.

If bad men among the Indians shall commit a wrong or depredation upon the person or property of any one, white, black, or Indian, subject to the authority of the United States, and at peace therewith, the Indians herein named solemnly agree that they will, upon proof made to their agent and notice by him, deliver up the wrong-doer to the United States, to be tried and punished according to its laws; and in case they wilfully refuse so to do, the person injured shall be re-imbursed for his loss from the annuities or other moneys due or to become due to them under this or other treaties made with the United States. And the President, on advising with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, shall prescribe such rules and regulations for ascertaining damages under the provisions of this article as in his judgment may be proper. But no one sustaining loss while violating the provisions of this treaty or the laws of the United States shall be re-imbursed therefor.

Damages.

Reservation boundaries.

ARTICLE 2. The United States agrees that the following district of country, to wit, viz: commencing on the east bank of the Missouri River where the forty-sixth parallel of north latitude crosses the same, thence along low-water mark down said east bank to a point opposite where the northern line of the State of Nebraska strikes the river, thence west across said river, and along the northern line of Nebraska to the one hundred and fourth degree of longitude west from Greenwich, thence north on said meridian to a point where the forty-sixth parallel of north latitude intercepts the same, thence due east along said parallel to the place of beginning; and in addition thereto, all existing reservations on the east bank of said river shall be, and the same is, set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians herein named, and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as from time to time they may be willing, with the consent of the United States, to admit amongst them; and the United States now solemnly agrees that no persons except those herein designated and authorized so to do, and except such officers, agents, and employees of the Government as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in discharge of duties enjoined by law, shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside in the territory described in this article, or in such territory as may be added to this reservation for the use of said Indians, and henceforth they will and do hereby relinquish all claims or right in and to any portion of the United States or Territories, except such as is embraced within the limits aforesaid, and except as hereinafter provided.

Certain persons not to enter or reside thereon.

Additional arable land to be added, if, etc..

ARTICLE 3. If it should appear from actual survey or other satisfactory examination of said tract of land that it contains less than one hundred and sixty acres of tillable land for each person who, at the time, may be authorized to reside on it under the provisions of this treaty, and a very considerable number of such persons shall be disposed to commence cultivation the soil as farmers, the United States agrees to set apart, for the use of said Indians, as herein provided, such additional quantity of arable land, adjoining to said reservation, or as near to the same as it can be obtained as may be required to provide the necessary amount.

Buildings on reservation.

ARTICLE 4. The United States agrees, at its own proper expense, to construct at some place on the Missouri River, near the center of said reservation, where timber and water may be convenient, the following buildings, to wit: a warehouse, a store-room for the use of the agent in storing goods belonging to the Indians, to cost not less than twenty-five hundred dollars; and agency-building for the residence of the agent, to cost not exceeding three thousand dollars; a residence for the physician, to cost not more than three thousand dollars; and five other buildings, for a carpenter, farmer, blacksmith, miller, and engineer, each to cost not exceeding two thousand dollars; also a school-house or mission-building, so soon as a sufficient number of children can be induced by the agent to attend school, which shall not cost exceeding five thousand dollars.

The United States agrees further to cause to be erected on said reservation, near the other buildings herein authorized, a good steam circular-saw mill, with a grist-mill and shingle-machine attached to the same, to cost not exceeding eight thousand dollars.

Agent's residence, office, and duties.

ARTICLE 5. The United States agrees that the agent for said Indians shall in the future make his home at the agency-building; that he shall reside among them, and keep an office open at all times for the purpose of prompt and diligent inquiry into such matters of complaint by and against the Indians as may be presented for investigation under the provisions of their treaty stipulations, as also for the faithful discharge of other duties enjoined on him by law. In all cases of depredation on person or property he shall cause the evidence to be taken in writing and forwarded, together with his findings, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, whose decision, subject to the revision of the Secretary of the Interior, shall be binding on the parties to this treaty.

Heads of families may select lands for farming.

ARTICLE 6. If any individual belonging to said tribes of Indians, or legally incorporated with them, being the head of a family, shall desire to commence farming, he shall have the privilege to select, in the presence and with the assistance of the agent then in charge, a tract of land within said reservation, not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres in extent, which tract, when so selected, certified, and recorded in the "land-book," as herein directed, shall cease to be held in common, but the same may be occupied and held in the exclusive possession of the person selecting it, and of his family, so long as he or they may continue to cultivate it.

Others may select land for cultivation.

Any person over eighteen years of age, not being the head of a family, may in like manner select and cause to be certified to him or her, for purposes of cultivation, a quantity of land not exceeding eighty acres in extent, and thereupon be entitled to the exclusive possession of the same as above directed.

Certificates.

For each tract of land so selected a certificate, containing a description thereof and the name of the person selecting it, with a certificate endorsed thereon that the same has been recorded, shall be delivered to the party entitled to it, by the agent, after the same shall have been recorded by him in a book to be kept in his office, subject to inspection, which said book shall be known as the "Sioux Land-Book."

Surveys.

Alienation and descent of property.

Certain Indians may receive patents for 160 acres of land.

The President may, at any time, order a survey of the reservation, and, when so surveyed, Congress shall provide for protecting the rights of said settlers in their improvements, and may fix the character of the title held by each. The United States may pass such laws on the subject of alienation and descent of property between the Indians and their descendants as may be thought proper. And it is further stipulated that any male Indians, over eighteen years of age, of any band or tribe that is or shall hereafter become a party to this treaty, who now is or who shall hereafter become a resident or occupant of any reservation or Territory not included in the tract of country designated and described in this treaty for the permanent home of the Indians, which is not mineral land, nor reserved by the United States for special purposes other than Indian occupation, and who shall have made improvements thereon of the value of two hundred dollars or more, and continuously occupied the same as a homestead for the term of three years, shall be entitled to receive from the United States a patent for one hundred and sixty acres of land including his said improvements, the same to be in the forms of the legal subdivision of the surveys of the public lands. Upon application in writing, sustained by the proof of two disinterested witnesses, made to the register of the local land-office when the land sought to be entered is within a land district, and when the tract sought to be entered is not in any land district, then upon is a application

and proof being made to the Commissioner of the General Land-Office, and the right of such Indian or Indians to enter such tract or tracts of land shall accrue and be perfect from the date of his first improvements thereon, and shall continue as long as he continues his residence and improvements, and no longer. And any Indian or Indians receiving a patent for land under the foregoing provisions, shall thereby and from thenceforth become and be a citizen of the United States, and be entitled to all the privileges and citizen of the Unites States, and be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of such citizens, and shall, at the same time, retain all his rights to benefits accruing to Indians under this treaty.

Such Indians receiving patents become citizens of the United

ARTICLE 7. In order to insure the civilization of the Indians entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially of such of them as are or may be settled on said agricultural reservations, and they therefore pledge themselves to complete their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the Untied States agrees that for every thirty children between said ages who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians, and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher. The provisions of this article to continue for not less than twenty years.

Education.

Children to attend school.

Schoolhouses and teachers.

ARTICLE 8. When the head of a family or lodge shall have selected lands and received his certificate as above directed, and the agent shall be satisfied that he intends in good faith to commence cultivating the soil for a living, he shall be entitled to receive seed and agricultural implements for the first year, not exceeding in value one hundred dollars, and for each succeeding year he shall continue to farm, for a period of three years more, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and implements as aforesaid, not exceeding in value twenty-five dollars.

Seeds and agricultural implements.

And it is further stipulated that such persons as commence farming shall receive instruction from the farmer herein provided for, and whenever more than one hundred persons shall enter upon the cultivation of the soil, a second blacksmith shall be provided, with such iron, steel, and other material as may be needed.

Instructions in Farming.

Second blacksmith.

ARTICLE 9. At any time after ten years from the making of this treaty, the United States shall have the privilege of withdrawing the physician, farmer, blacksmith, carpenter, engineer, and miller herein provided for, but in case of such withdrawal, an additional sum thereafter of ten thousand dollars per annum shall be devoted to the education of said Indians, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs shall, upon careful inquiry into their condition, make such rules and regulations for the expenditure of said sum as will best promote the educational and moral improvement of said tribes.

Physician, farmer, etc., may be withdrawn,

additional appropriation in such cases.

ARTICLE 10. In lieu of all sums of money or other annuities provided to be paid to the Indians herein named, under any treaty or treaties heretofore made, the United States agrees to deliver at the agency-house on the reservation herein named, on or before the first day of August of each year, for thirty years, the following articles, to wit:

Delivery of goods in lieu of money or other annuities.

For each male person over fourteen years of age, a suit of good substantial woolen clothing, consisting of coat, pantaloons, flannel shirt, hat, and a pair of home-made socks.

Clothing.

For each female over twelve years of age, a flannel skirt, or the goods necessary to make it, a pair of woolen hose, twelve yards of calico, and twelve yards of cotton domestics.

For the boys and girls under the ages named, such flannel and cotton goods as may be needed to make each a suit as aforesaid, together with a pair of woolen hose for each.

And in order that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may be able to estimate properly for the articles herein named, it shall be the duty to forward to him a full and exact census of the Indians, on which the estimate from year to year can be based.

Census.

And in addition to the clothing herein named, the sum of ten dollars for each person entitled to the beneficial effects of this treaty shall be annually appropriated for a period of thirty years, while such

Other necessary articles.

persons roam and hunt, and twenty dollars for each person who engages in farming, to be used by the Secretary of the Interior in the purchase of such articles as from time to time the condition and necessities of the Indians may indicate to be proper. And if within the thirty years, at any time, it shall appear that the amount of money needed for clothing under this article can be appropriated to better uses for the Indians named herein, Congress may, by law, change the appropriation to their purposes; but in no event shall the amount of this appropriation be withdrawn or discontinued for the period named. And the President shall annually detail an officer of the Army to be present and attest the delivery of all the goods herein named to the Indians, and he shall inspect and report on the quantity and quality of the goods and manner of their delivery. And it is hereby expressly stipulated that each Indian over the age of four years, who shall have removed to and settled permanently upon said reservation and complied with the stipulations of this treaty, shall be entitled to receive from the United States, for the period of four years after he shall have settled upon said reservation, one pound of meat and one pound of flour per day, provided the Indians cannot furnish their own subsistence at an earlier date. And it is further stipulated that the United States will furnish and deliver to each lodge of Indians or family of persons legally incorporated with them, who shall remove to the reservation herein described and commence farming, one good American cow, and one good well-broken pair of American oxen within sixty days after such lodge or family shall have so settled upon said reservation.

Appropriation to continue for thirty years.

Army officer to attend the delivery.

Meat and Flour.

Cows and oxen.

Right to occupy territory outside of the reservation surrendered.

Right to hunt reserved.

ARTICLE 11. In consideration of the advantages and benefits conferred by this treaty, and the many pledges of friendship by the United States, the tribes who are parties to this agreement hereby stipulate that they will relinquish all right to occupy permanently the territory outside their reservation as herein defined, but yet reserve the right to hunt on any lands north of North Platte, and on the Republican Fork of the Smoky Hill River, so long as the buffalo may range thereon in such numbers as to justify the chase. And they, the said Indians, further expressly agree:

Agreement as to railroads.

1st. That they will withdraw all opposition to the construction of the railroads now being built on the plains.

2nd. That they will permit the peaceful construction of any railroad not passing over their reservation as herein defined.

Emigrants, ect.

3rd. That they will not attack any persons at home, or travelling, nor molest or disturb any wagon-trains, coaches, mules, or cattle belonging to the people of the United States, or to persons friendly therewith.

Women and children.

4th. They will never capture, or carry off from the settlements, white women or children.

White man.

5th. They will never kill or scalp white men, nor attempt to do them harm.

Pacific Railroad, wagon roads, etc.

Damage for crossing their reservation.

6th. They withdraw all pretence of opposition to the construction of the railroad now being built along the Platte River and westward to the Pacific Ocean, and they will not in future object to the construction of railroads, wagon-roads, mail stations, or other works of utility or necessity, which may be ordered or permitted by the laws of the United States. But should such roads or other works be constructed on the lands of their reservation, the Government will pay the tribe whatever amount of damage may be assessed by three disinterested commissioners to be appointed by the President for that purpose, one of said commissioners to be a chief or head-man of the tribe.

Military posts and roads.

7th. They agree to withdraw all opposition to the military posts or roads now established south of the North Platte River, or that may be established, not in violation of treaties heretofore made or hereafter to be made with any of the Indian tribes.

No treaty for cession of reservation to be valid unless, etc.

ARTICLE 12. No treaty for the cession of any portion or part of the reservation herein described which may be held in common shall be of any validity or force as against the said Indians, unless executed and signed by at least three fourths of all the adult male Indians, occupying or interested in the same; and no cession by the tribe shall be understood or construed in such manner as to deprive, without his consent, any individual member of the tribe of his rights to any tract of land selected by him, as provided in article 6 of this treaty.

ARTICLE 13. The United States hereby agrees to furnish annually to the Indians the physician, teachers, carpenter, miller, engineer, farmer, and blacksmiths as herein contemplated, and that such appropriations shall be made from time to time, on the estimates of the Secretary of the Interior, as will be sufficient to employ such persons.

United States to furnish physician, teachers, etc.

ARTICLE 14. It is agreed that the sum of five hundred dollars annually, for three years from date, shall be expended in presents to the ten persons of said tribe who in the judgment of the agent may grow the most valuable crops for the respective year.

Presents for crops.

ARTICLE 15. The Indians herein named agree that when the agency-house or other buildings shall be constructed on the reservation name, they will regard said reservation their permanent home, and they will make no permanent settlement elsewhere: but they shall have the right, subject to the conditions and modifications of this treaty, to hunt, as stipulated in Article 11 hereof.

Reservation to be permanent home for tribes.

ARTICLE 16. The United States hereby agrees and stipulates that the country north of the North Platte River and east of the summits of the Big Horn Mountains shall be held and considered to be unceded Indian territory, and also stipulates and agrees that no white person or persons shall be permitted to settle upon or occupy any portion of the same; or without the consent of the Indians first had and obtained, to pass through the same; and it is further agreed by the United States that within ninety days after the conclusion of peace with all the bands of the Sioux Nation, the military posts now established in the territory in this article named shall be abandoned, and that the road leading to them and by them to the settlements in the Territory of Montana shall be closed.

Unceded Indian territory.

Not to be occupied by whites, etc.

ARTICLE 17. It is hereby expressly understood and agreed by and between the respective parties to this treaty that the execution of this treaty and its ratification by the United States Senate shall have the effect, and shall be construed as abrogating and annulling all treaties hereto, so far as such treaties and agreements obligate the United States to furnish and provide money, clothing, or other articles of property to such Indians and bands of Indians as become parties to their treaty, but no further.

Effect of this treaty upon former treaties.

In testimony of all which, we, the said commissioners, and we, the chiefs and headmen of the Brulé band of the Sioux nation, have hereunto set our hands and seals at Fort Laramie, Dakota Territory, this twenty-ninth day of April, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight.

N.G. Taylor, [SEAL.]
W.T. Sherman, Lieutenant-General. [SEAL.]
Wm. S. Harney, Brevet Major-General U.S. Army. [SEAL.]
John B. Sanborn, [SEAL.]
S.F. Tappan, [SEAL.]
C.C. Augur, Brevet Major-General. [SEAL.]
Alfred H. Terry, Brevet Major-General U.S. Army. [SEAL.]

Attest:
A.S.H. White, Secretary.

Executed on the part of the Brulé band of Sioux by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereto annexed, they being thereunto duly authorized, at Fort Laramie, D.T., the twenty-ninth day of April, in the year A.D. 1868.

Ma-za-pon-kaska, his x mark, Iron Shell. [SEAL.]
Wah-pat-shah, his x mark, Red Leaf. [SEAL.]
Hah-sah-pah, his x mark, Black Horn. [SEAL.]
Zin-tah-gah-lat-skah, his x mark, Spotted Tail. [SEAL.]
Zin-tah-skah, his x mark, White Tail. [SEAL.]
Me-wah-tah-ne-ho-skah, his x mark, Tall Mandas. [SEAL.]
She-cha-chat-kah, his x mark, Bad Left Hand. [SEAL.]
No-mah-no-pah, his x mark, Two and Two. [SEAL.]
Tah-tonka-skah, his x mark, White Bull. [SEAL.]
Con-ra-washta, his x mark, Pretty Coon. [SEAL.]
Ha-cah-cah-she-chah, his x mark, Bad Elk. [SEAL.]
Wa-ha-ka-zah-ish-tab, his mark, Eye Lance. [SEAL.]
Ma-to-ha-ke-tah, his x mark, Bear that looks behind. [SEAL.]
Bella-tonka-tonka, his x mark, Big Partisan. [SEAL.]
Mah-to-ho-honka, his x mark, Swift Bear. [SEAL.]
To-wis-ne, his x mark, Cold Place. [SEAL.]
Ish-tah-skah, his x mark, White Eyes. [SEAL.]
Ma-ta-loo-zah, his x mark, Fast Bear. [SEAL.]
As-hah-kah-nah-zhe, his x mark, Standing Elk.. [SEAL.]
Shunka-shaton, his x mark, Day Hawk. [SEAL.]
Can-te-te-ki-ya, his x mark, The Brave Heart. [SEAL.]
Tatanka-wakon, his x mark, Sacred Bull. [SEAL.]
Mapia shaton, his x mark, Hawk Cloud. [SEAL.]
Ma-sha-a-ow, his x mark, Stands and Comes. [SEAL.]
Shon-ka-ton-ka, his x mark, Big Dog. [SEAL.]

Attest:
Ashton S. H. White, secretary of commission.
George B. Withs, photographer to commission.
Geo. H. Holtzman.
John D. Howland.
James C. O'Connor.
Charles E. Guern, interpreter.
Leon F. Pallardy, interpreter.
Nicholas Janis, interpreter.

Kapplers, Charles (1972). Indian Laws and Treaties. Interland Publishing Inc., New York. pp. 591-596.

Execution by the Ogallalah.

Executed on the part of the Ogallalah and of Sioux by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereto subscribed, they being thereunto duly authorized, at Fort Laramie, the twenty-fifth day of May, in the year A.D. 1868.

Tah-shun-ka-co-qui-pah, his x mark, Man-afraid-of-his horses. [SEAL.]
Sha-ton-skah, his x mark, White Hawk. [SEAL.]
Shat-ton-sapah, his x mark, Black Hawk. [SEAL.]
E-ga-mon-ton-ka-sapah, his mark, Black Tiger. [SEAL.]
Oh-wah-she-cha, his x mark, Bad Wound. [SEAL.]
Pah-gee, his x mark, Grass. [SEAL.]
Wah-non-reh-che-geh, his x mark, Ghost Heart. [SEAL.]
Con-reeh, his x mark, Crow. [SEAL.]
Oh-he-te-kah, his x mark, The Brave. [SEAL.]
Tah-ton-kah-he-yo-ta-kah, his x mark, Sitting Bull. [SEAL.]
Shon-ka-oh-wah-mon-ye, his mark, Whirlwind Dog. [SEAL.]
Ha-hah-kah-tah-miech, his x mark, Poor Elk. [SEAL.]
Wam-bu-lee-wah-kon, his x mark, Medicine Eagle. [SEAL.]
Chon-gah-ma-he-to-hans-ka, his x mark, High Wolf. [SEAL.]
Wah-se-chun-ta-shun-kah, his x mark, American Horse. [SEAL.]
Mah-hah-mah-ha-mak-near, his x mark, Man That Walks Under The Ground.[SEAL.]
Mah-to-tow-pah, his x mark, Four Bears. [SEAL.]
Ma-to-wee-sha-kta, his x mark, One That Kills The Bear. [SEAL.]
Oh-tah-kee-toka-wee-chakta, his x mark, One That Kills In A Hard Place. [SEAL.]
Tah-ton-kah-ta-miech, his mark, The Poor Bull. [SEAL.]
Oh-huns-ce-ga-non-sken, his x mark, Mad Shade. [SEAL.]
Saha-ton-oh-nah-om-minne-ne-oh-minne, his x mark, Whirling Hawk. [SEAL.]
Mah-to-chun-ka-oh, his x mark, Bear's Back. [SEAL.]
Che-ton-wee-koh, his x mark, Fool Hawk. [SEAL.]
Wah-hoh-ke-za-ah-hah, his x mark, One That Has The Lance. [SEAL.]
Shon-gah-manni-toh-tan-ka-seh, his x mark, Big Wolf Foot. [SEAL.]
Eh-ton-kah, his x mark, Big Mouth. [SEAL.]
Ma-pah-che-tah, his x mark, Bad Hand. [SEAL.]
Wah-ke-yun-shah, his x mark, Red Thunder. [SEAL.]
Wak-sah, his x mark, One that Cuts Off. [SEAL.]
Cham-nom-qui-yah, his x mark, One that Presents The Pipe. [SEAL.]
Wah-ke-ke-yan-puh-tah, his x mark, Fire Thunder. [SEAL.]
Mah-to-nonk-pah-ze, his x mark, Bear With Yellow Ears. [SEAL.]
Con-ree-teh-ka, is x mark, The Little Crow. [SEAL.]
He-hup-pah-toh, his x mark, The Blue War Club. [SEAL.]
Shon-kee-toh, his x mark, The Blue Horse. [SEAL.]
Wam-Balla-oh-con-quo, his x mark, Quick Eagle. [SEAL.]
Ta-tonka-suppa, his x mark, Black Bull. [SEAL.]
Moh-to-ha-she-na, his x mark, The Bear Hide. [SEAL.]

Attest:

S.E. Ward.
Jas. C. O'Connor.
J.M. Sherwood.
W.C. Slicer.
Sam Deon.
H.M. Matthews.
Joseph Bissonette, interpreter.
Nicholas Janis, interpreter.
Lefroy Jott, interpreter
Antoine Janis, interpreter.

Execution by the Minneconjon.

Executed on the part of the Minneconjon band of Sioux by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereto subscribed, they being thereunto duly authorized.

At Fort Laramie, D.T., May 26, '68, 13 names.

Heh-won-ge-chat, his x mark, One Horn. [SEAL.]
Oh-pon-ah-tah-e-manne, his x mark, The Elk that bellows Walking. [SEAL.]

At Fort Laramie, D.T., May 25, '68, 2 names.

Heh-ho-lah-reh-cha-skah, his x mark, Young White Bull. [SEAL.]
Wah-chah-chum-kah-coh-kee-pah, his x mark, One that is afraid of Shield. [SEAL.]
He-hon-ne-shakta, his x mark, The Old Owl. [SEAL.]
Moc-pe-a-toh, his x mark, Blue Cloud. [SEAL.]
Oh-pong-ge-le-skah, his x mark, Spotted Elk. [SEAL.]
Tah-tonk-ka-hon-ke-schne, his x mark, SlowBull. [SEAL.]
Shonk-a-nee-shah-shah-a-tah-pe, his x mark, The Dog Chief. [SEAL.]
Ma-to-tah-ta-tonk-ka, his x mark, Bull Bear. [SEAL.]
Wom-beh-le-ton-kah, his x mark, The Big Eagle. [SEAL.]
Ma-toh-eh-schne-lah, his x mark, the Lone Bear. [SEAL.]
Mah-toh-ke-su-yah, his x mark, the One who Remembers the Bear. [SEAL.]
Ma-toh-oh-he-to-keh, his x mark, the Brave Bear. [SEAL.]
Eh-che-ma-heh, his x mark, The Runner. [SEAL.]
Ti-ki-ya, his x mark, The Hard. [SEAL.]
He-ma-za, his x mark, Iron Horn. [SEAL.]

Attest:

Jas. C. O'Connor.
Wm. H. Brown.
Nicholas Janis, interpreter.
Antoine Janis, interpreter.

Execution by the Yanctonais Band

Executed on the part of the Yanctonais band of Sioux by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereto subscribed, they being thereunto duly authorized.

Mah-to-non-pah, his x mark, Two Bears. [SEAL.]
Ma-to-hna-skin-ya, his x mark, Mad Bear. [SEAL.]
He-o-pu-za, his x mark, Louzy. [SEAL.]
Ah-ke-che-tah-che-ca-dan, is x mark, Little Soldier. [SEAL.]
Mah-to-e-tan-chan, his x mark, Chief Bear. [SEAL.]
Cu-wi-h-win, his x mark, Rotten Stomach. [SEAL.]
Skun-ka-we-tko, his x mark, Fool Dog. [SEAL.]
Ish-ta-sap-pah, his x mark, Black Eye. [SEAL.]
Ih-tan-chan, his x mark. The Chief. [SEAL.]
I-a-wi-ca-ka, his x mark. The one who Tells the Truth. [SEAL.]
Ah-ke-che-tah, his x mark, The Soldier. [SEAL.]
Ta-shi-na-gi, his x mark, Yellow Robe. [SEAL.]
Nah-pe-ton-ka, his x mark, Big Hand. [SEAL.]
Chan-tee-we-kto, his x mark, Fool Heart. [SEAL.]
Hoh-gan-sah-pa, his x mark, Black Catfish. [SEAL.]
Mah-to-wah-kan, his x mark, Medicine Bear. [SEAL.]
Shun-ka-kan-sha, his x mark, Red Horse. [SEAL.]
Wan-rode, his x mark, The Eagle. [SEAL.]
Can-hpi-sa-pa, his x mark, Black Tomahawk. [SEAL.]
War-he-le-re, his x mark, Yellow Eagle. [SEAL.]
Cha-ton-che-ca, his x mark, Small Hawk, or Long Fare. [SEAL.]
Shu-ger-mon-e-too-ha-ska, his x mark, Tall Wolf. [SEAL.]
Ma-to-u-tah-kah, his x mark, Sitting Bear. [SEAL.]
Hi-ha-cah-ge-na-skene, his x mark, Mad Elk. [SEAL.]
Tall Bear, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Top Man, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Neva, his x mark. [SEAL.]
The Wounded Bear, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Thirlwind, his x mark. [SEAL.]
The Fox, his x mark. [SEAL.]
The Dog Big Mouth, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Spotted Worl, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Sorrel Horse, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Black Coal, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Big Wolf, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Knock-knee, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Black Crow, his x mark. [SEAL.]
The Lone Old Man, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Paul, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Black Bull, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Big Track, his x mark. [SEAL.]
The Foot, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Black White, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Yellow Hair, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Little Child, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Black Bear, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Wolf Moccasin, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Big Robe, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Wolf Chief, his x mark. [SEAL.]

Arapahoes:

Little Chief, his x mark. [SEAL.]

Witnesses:

Robt. P. McKibbin, captain, Fourth Infantry, brevet lieutenant-colonel, U.S. Army, commanding Fort Laramie.
Wm. H. Powell, brevet major, captain, Fourth Infantry.
Henry W. Patterson, captain, Fourth Infantry.
Theo. E. True, Second lieutenant, Fourth Infantry.
W.G. Bullock.
Chas. E. Guern, special Indian interpreter for the peace commission.

FORT LARAMIE, Wg. T., Nov. 6, 1868

Makh-pi-ah-lu-tah, his x mark, Red Cloud. [SEAL.]
Wa-ki-ah-we-cha-shah, his x mark, Thunder Man. [SEAL.]
Ma-zah-zah-geh, his x mark, Iron Cane. [SEAL.]
Wa-umble-why-wa-tuyah, his x mark, High Eagle. [SEAL.]
Ko-ke-pah, his x mark, man Afraid. [SEAL.]
Wa-ki-ah-wa-kou-ah, his x mark, Thunder Flying High. [SEAL.]

Witnesses:

W. McE.Dye, brevet colonel, U.S. Army, commanding.
A.B. Cain, captain, Fourth Infantry, brevet major, U.S. Army.
Robt. P. McKibbin, captain, Fourth Infantry, brevet lieutenant-colonel, U.S. Army
Jno. Miller, captain, Fourth Infantry.
G.L. Luhn, first lieutenant, Fourth Infantry, brevet captain, U.S. Army.
H.C. Sloan, second lieutenant, Fourth Infantry.
Whittingham Cox, first lieutenant, Fourth Infantry.
A.W. Vogdes, first lieutenant, Fourth Infantry.
Butler D. Price, second lieutenant, Fourth Infantry.

HEADQRS., FORT LARAMIE, Nov. 6, '68
Executed by the above on this date.
All of the Indians are Ogallalahs excepting Thunder Man and Thunder Flying Running, who are Brulés.

Wm. McE. Dye. Major Fourth Infantry, and Brevet-Colonel U.S. Army, Commanding.

Attest:

Jas. C. O'Connor.
Nicholas Janis, interpreter.
Franc. La Framboise, interpreter.
P.J. De Smet, S.J., missionary among the Indians.
Saml. D. Hinman, G.D., missionary.

Execution by the Uncpapa band.

Executed on the part of the Uncpapa band of Sioux, by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereto subscribed, they being thereunto duly authorized.

Co-kam-i-ya-ya, his x mark, The Man that goes in the Middle. [SEAL.]
Ma-to-ca-wa-weksa, his x mark, Bear Rib. [SEAL.]
Ta-to-ka-in-yan-ke, his x mark, Running Antelope. [SEAL.]
Kan-gi-wa-ki-ta, his x mark, Looking Crow. [SEAL.]
A-ki-ci-ta-han-ska, his x mark, Long Soldier. [SEAL.]
Wa-ku-te-ma-ni, his x mark, The One Who Shoots Walking. [SEAL.]
Un-kca-ki-ka, his x mark, The Magpie. [SEAL.]
Kan-gi-o-ta, his x mark, Plenty Crow. [SEAL.]
He-ma-za, his x mark, Iron Horn. [SEAL.]
Shun-ka-i-na-pin, his x mark, Wolf Necklace. [SEAL.]
I-we-hi-yu, his x mark, The Man who Bleeds from the Mouth. [SEAL.]
He-ha-ka-pa, his x mark, Elk Head. [SEAL.]
I-zu-za, his x mark, Grind Stone. [SEAL.]
Shun-ka-wi-tko, his x mark, Fool Dog. [SEAL.]
Ma-kpi-ya-po, his x mark, Blue Cloud. [SEAL.]
Wa-min-pi-lu-ta, his x mark, Red Eagle. [SEAL.]
Ma-to-can-te, his x mark, Bear's Heart. [SEAL.]
A-ki-ci-ta-i-tau-can, his x mark, Chief Soldier. [SEAL.]

Attest:

Jas. C. O'Connor.
Nicholas Janis, interpreter.
Franc. La Frambois[e], interpreter.
P.J. De Smet, S.J., missionary among the Indians.
Saml. D. Hinman, missionary.

Execution by the Blackfeet band.

Executed on the part of the Blackfeet band of Sioux by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereto subscribed, they being thereunto duly authorized.

Can-te-pe-ta, his x mark, Fire Heart. [SEAL.]
Wan-mdi-kte, his x mark, The One who Kills Eagle. [SEAL.]
Sho-ta, his x mark, Smoke. [SEAL.]
Wan-mdi-ma-ni, his x mark, Walking Eagle. [SEAL.]
Wa-shi-cun-ya-ta-pi, his x mark, Chief White Man. [SEAL.]
Kan-gi-i-yo-tan-ke, his x mark, Sitting Crow. [SEAL.]
Pe-ji, his x mark, The Grass. [SEAL.]
Kda-ma-ni, his x mark, The One that Rattles as he Walks. [SEAL.]
Wah-han-ka-sa-pa, his x mark, Black Shield. [SEAL.]
Can-te-non-pa, his x mark, Two Hearts. [SEAL.]

Attest:

Jas. C. O'Connor.
Nicholas Janis, interpreter.
Franc. La Framboise, interpreter.
P.J. De Smet, S.J., missionary among the Indians.
Saml. D. Hinman, missionary.

Execution by the Cutheads band.

Executed on the part of the Cutheads band of Sioux by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereto subscribed, they being thereunto duly authorized.

To-ka-in-yan-ka, his x mark, The One who Goes Ahead Running. [SEAL.]
Ta-tan-ka-wa-kin-yan, his x mark, Thunder Bull. [SEAL.]
Sin-to-min-sa-pa, his mark, All over Black. [SEAL.]
Sin-to-min-sa-pa, his x mark, The One Who Took the Stick. [SEAL.]
Can-i-ca, his x mark, Big Head. [SEAL.]

Attest:

Jas. C. O'Connor.
Nicholas Janis, interpreter.
Franc. La Frambois[e], interpreter.
P.J. De Smet, S.J., missionary among the Indians.
Saml. D. Hinman, missionary.

Execution by the Two Kettle band.

Executed on the part of the Two Kettle band of Sioux by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereto subscribed, they being thereunto duly authorized.

Ma-wa-tan-ni-han-ska, his x mark, Long Mandan. [SEAL.]
Can-kpe-du-ta, his x mark, Red War Club. [SEAL.]
Can-ka-ga, his x mark, The Log. [SEAL.]

Attest:

Jas. C. O'Connor.
Nicholas Janis, interpreter
Franc. La Frambois[e], interpreter.
P.J. De Smet, S.J., missionary among the Indians.
Saml. D. Hinman, missionary to the Dakotas..

Execution by the Sans Arch band.

Executed on the part of the Sans Arch band of Sioux by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereto annexed, they being thereunto duly authorized.

He-na-pin-wa-ni-ca, his x mark, The One that has Neither Horn. [SEAL.]
Wa-inlu-pi-lu-ta, his x mark, Red Plume. [SEAL.]
Ci-tan-gi, his x mark, Yellow Hawk. [SEAL.]
He-na-pin-wa-ni-ca, his x mark, No Horn. [SEAL.]

Attest:

Jas. C. O'Connor.
Nicholas Janis, interpreter.
Franc. La Frambois[e], interpreter.
P.J. De Smet, S.J., missionary among the Indians.
Saml. D. Hinman, missionary.

Execution by the Santee band.

Executed on the part of the Santee band of Sioux by the chiefs and headmen whose names are hereto subscribed, they being thereunto duly authorized.

Wa-pah-shaw, his x mark, Red Ensign. [SEAL.]
Wah-koo-tay, his x mark, Shooter. [SEAL.]
Hoo-sha-sha, his x mark, Red Legs. [SEAL.]
O-wan-cha-du-ta, his x mark, Scarlet all over. [SEAL.]
Wau-mace-tan-ka, his x mark, Big Eagle. [SEAL.]
Cho-tan-ka-e-na-pe, his x mark, Flute-player. [SEAL.]
Ta-shun-ke-mo-za, his x mark, His Iron Dog. [SEAL.]

Attest:

Saml. D. Hinman, B.D., missionary.
J.N. Chickering,
Second lieutenant, Twenty-Second Infantry, brevet captain, U.S. Army
P.J. DeSmet, S.J.
Nicholas Janis, interpreter.
Franc. La Framboise, interpreter.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Silk, Earl, (1995, April 12). Non-validated list. Silk is former Bureau of Indian Affairs Tribal Operations Officer, presently Contracting Administrator for the Standing Rock Agency Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Fort Yates, ND.
2. Blue Earth, Emma Jean (1973). Iyan Woslate Wo'Oyake - Standing Rock History, p. 168; Clair Jackson, Whitestone Hill, pp. 114.
3. Ibid, p. 169; Utley, 1993, The Lance and the Shield: The Life and times of Sitting Bull, pp. 5 -6.
4. Ibid, pp. 6-8.
5. Blackhoop letter to Indian Commissioner (1953, February 4).
6. Case, J. (1951, September 15). Standing Rock Indian protest agency merger. The Bismarck Tribune. Standing Rock Sioux Council resolution No. 53, (1951, September 18).
7. Interview with Josephine Kelly (1947, February 17). Librarian, The Bismarck Tribune.
8. Agencies agree on value. (1953, June 15). The Bismarck Tribune.
9. Standing Rock Council names Blackhoop, Zahn. (1962, November 2). The Bismarck Tribune.
10. Lazarus, (1991, p. 213). By signing an "Order to vacate", Howard was able to preserve Sioux rights by placing the claim back into the jurisdiction of the Court of Claims. This action was based upon the fact that although Case was a longtime friend of the Sioux, he had surrendered without a fight the tribe's claims to the Powder River hunting grounds and more than 25 million acres of land outside the Great Sioux Reservation reserved to the Sioux in the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty. Case had also needlessly conceded government payments of $57 million in offsets, based on the 1877 value of the Black Hills.
11. Tribal leader dies - Theodore E. Jamerson. (1973, July). The Standing Rock Star.
12. Sioux bid (1961, July 5). The Bismarck Tribune.
13. Obituary notice, Douglas Skye (1969, November 26). The Bismarck Tribune.
14. Kulas, C. (1995, July 20) Melvin White Eagle interview, Doublewood Inn, Bismarck, ND. Modular homes contract signed, (1971, August 10). The Bismarck Tribune., Indian planned projects chart Standing Rock destiny, (1971, June 21). The Bismarck Tribune.; Wolberg, Gary, (1971, November 21). Romney okays Sioux development.
15. Eight contesting Standing Rock chairman vote (1977, June 27). The Bismarck Tribune; States back uniform Indian aid (1977, July 14) The Bismarck Tribune; Turosak, Greg. (1977, December 24) The Bismarck Tribune; Ex-Tribal chairman elected, (1981, October 3) The Bismarck Tribune; Building may be transferred, (1983, May 24) The Bismarck Tribune.
16. Obituary Notice, Frank Lawrence (1979, December 14). The Bismarck Tribune.
17. Committee: Pay Indians for land loss (1986, July 9). The Bismarck Tribune; Imrie, B. (1989, April 2). Struggle continues for Indian people, The Bismarck Tribune; Land settlement up to Bush (1991, January 20). The Bismarck Tribune.
18. Kulas, C. (1995, July 20) Jesse Taken Alive interview, Doublewood Inn, Bismarck, ND.; Salter, P. (1992, December 23). Deadline nears in casino talks. The Bismarck Tribune; Tribes get compensation for lost land (1992, November 1). The Bismarck Tribune.

HANBLECA "Vision quest" or ceremony in which a young man fasts upon a hill and prays for a vision. This vision tells the individual his purpose in life. Hanbleciya - The Lakota term Hanble means "to dream". The term ciya was once ceya means "to cry. Literally Hanbleceya means "crying for a dream.

HUNKA A D/Lakota ceremony which is used to adopt a non-blood relative. The word for mother, when used in the 2nd person, is pronounced hunku. A Lakota story tells of this couple who loved children and often wished they could have a child. After a time, the father had a dream in which he was instructed to plant what was shown to him. He told his wife what he had seen and they both decided to plan and nurture this plan like a child, and they did. This plant became known as "wagmiza" (corn). As a part of the Hunka Ceremony - corn is very important symbol of growth and nurturing.

INIPI D/Lakota name for the ceremony wherein a sweat lodge is constructed of willow branches, and covered with buffalo skins. Inside participants pray while water is poured over hot rocks. The ceremony is meant to cleanse and purify the mind and body. The term "Inipi" means "to make life new".

MITAKU YE OYASIN A D/Lakota term translated to mean "my relatives" A D/Lakota belief that all living things in the world are interconnected. The term is used to demonstrate the unity of man, no matter what race, we are related.

NACA OMNICIYE The term given to the group which is composed of headmen, warriors, hunters, and shaman who served as the "tribal council". These individuals of each tiospaye came together to govern the activities of the group.

OYATE The term the D/Lakota given to themselves meaning "the people".

PTE The D/Lakota term for the female Buffalo.

SUNKA WAKAN Is the D/Lakota term for horse meaning "mysterious dog".

TATANKA IYOTANKA The name given to Sitting Bull, Hunkpapa Chief, later in life. Sitting Bull's first name was Jumping Badger, but was called Hunkesni or "Slow" because he was willful and deliberate in his ways.

TIOŠPAYE Basic unit of D/Lakota society comprised of small, related family groups. Ti means "to dwell" and Opaye means "part of" - litterally means to be part of a circle.

TUNKASHILA D/Lakota term for grandfather. The term is used in many cases in a spiritual sense, to indicate reverence and wisdom. A spiritual guide.

WACIPI The D/Lakota term for dance. More commonly known as a "pow wow", from the Algonquin word "paw wauh" which meant a gathering. In contemporary society, the wacipi celebrations are a cultural and social event for culture sharing.

WAKAN TANKA The D/Lakota word for God, meaning the "great mystery".

WAKAN YEJA The term for children meaning "sacred beings". Children are believed to be sacred or "wakan" and were never punished. They were expected to learn by example and were reprimanded through shaming or teasing.

WAKAN A great mystery".

WANIYETU WOWAPI D/Lakota term for the "winter count". The Winter count was a calendar-like device in which the D/Lakota used to record time. Generally events significant to the people were painted on animal hides.

WICAŠA ITANCAN Individuals responsible for making certain tribal council decisions based upon the will of the people.

WICAŠA YATAPIKA Grand/national council "supreme owners of the nation" - a council of respected leaders who were responsible for formulating policy, approved actions of separate bands, and set in judgement on offenses agianst the nations unity and security.

WICAŠA Highly decorated and respected individual. A "wise man" who insured the well-being of the people.

WOVOKA A Paiute man credited with having a vision of a dance called the "Ghost Dance" that would protect the people. The "Ghost Dance" was a pan-tribal religious movement which promised to protect the people from the destitute conditions they suffered in 1889. The followers of Wovoka believed that they would be returned to older traditions and values if they participated in the dance.