

THE YANKTON SIOUX TRIBE: PEOPLE
OF THE PIPESTONE, 1634-1888

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Hetchitu yedo, it is so.

Tashunke Hinzi, Buckskin Horse.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This is an ethnohistory of the *Yankton Dakota*, or *Ihanktonwan* people.

Throughout time, critical events in a people's history necessitate many adaptations in their sociocultural systems. Responding to external forces affecting them, societies adapt their economic and political organizations and their social patterns to fit new realities and changed physical environments.¹ The process is both internal and external. When confronted with a change, societies (or individuals) observe its qualities, judge whether it is beneficial for their group, adapt it to their physical environment, and after a testing period decide if the change is compatible with their existence. Their ability to survive as a people through time is a mark of their adaptability. The *Ihanktonwan Dakota* are one tribe that meets the criteria that denotes their success.

Ihanktonwan history can be roughly divided into four periods, each marking an important stage in their transformation.² The first stage, pre-Columbian, or pre-

¹Serena Nanda, *Cultural Anthropology* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1984, 2d. ed.), pp. 58-62; for my interpretation of ethnohistory, I rely on Frances Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1976, orig. pub. 1975), pp. v-vii, 3-14.

²For a look at constructing new methods of writing Indian-White history, see Neal Salisbury, "American Indians and American History," in Calvin Martin, ed., *The American Indian and the Problem of History* (New York, NY: Oxford University

contact with non-Indians, exists in tribal memory alone. Western hemisphere history before Columbus consists of documented data painstakingly gathered by archaeologists, anthropologists, linguists, and historians. The second stage, occurring during the period 1492-1806, included written accounts of early encounters between Europeans and native people. Though often ethnocentric and one-sided, these records provide additional information about aboriginal life. From early accounts, contemporary non-Indian historians gained insights into the life of Indians as they adjusted to the consequences of 1492, when Christopher Columbus landed on this continent. Scholars, such as James H. Howard, learned to use Native American sources gleaned from archaeological and ethnohistorical records (such as oral traditions) to place Yanktons in their historically correct homelands. By incorporating American Indian oral history into their monographs, scholars are now presenting a more balanced and complete picture of the history of native peoples.³

The third and fourth stages of *Ihanktonwan* history revolve around the Louisiana Purchase and the subsequent Lewis and Clark expedition. After the United States established the first contacts with the *Dakota*, a series of treaties between the tribes and federal government brought them into closer contact. With large-scale western migration by non-Indians came forced removal of Indians to lands beyond the reach of the burgeoning immigrant population. For the *Ihanktonwans*, the move west halted when they signed the 1858 land cession treaty. They were fortunate to have the most successful leaders in the history of the tribe among the *Dakota Oyate* (allied

Press, 1987), pp. 46-50.

³James H. Howard, "Notes on the Ethnogeography of the Yankton Dakota," *Plains Anthropologist* (PA hereafter) 17 (November 1972): 281.

people), as their *Itanchans* (chiefs). *Padaniapapi*, or Struck By the Ree (1804-1888), with exceptional visionary skills, led his people through the difficult period of adjustment to reservation life. His death in 1888 marked the beginning of the modern period. After he passed on, the door for a new form of leadership opened for men and women born and raised on the reservation and subjected to a different form of education. The story of their influence on the evolution of *Yankton Dakota* governing structures, social mores, and religious institutions after 1888 presents, according to Wilcomb Washburn, a "historical reality of constant change."⁴

This is a study of those changes as they applied to the *Ihanktonwan Dakota* people. The central theme of constant change and modification to physical, cultural, and religious environments began early when Yanktons lived on the Atlantic seaboard.⁵ Their movements in prehistoric times were perhaps caused by the sixteenth century Spanish invasion of *Las Floridas*. Adaptations were hastened in the seventeenth century with contacts from the French in the east and northeast. Fitful meetings continued until the nineteenth century when they intensified, brought about by trade routes, opened from the south, utilizing the *Mnisose Wakpa* (Missouri River). Modifications in both cultures escalated when non-Indians filtered into Indian country after Thomas Jefferson completed the purchase of Louisiana in 1804, and

⁴Wilcomb E. Washburn, "A Fifty-Year Perspective on the Indian Reorganization Act," *American Anthropology* (*AA* hereafter) 86 (June 1984): 279-289, 280, a study of leadership and governing structures in the twentieth century reinforces the theme of changes which maintain elements of old governing methods.

⁵This theme of change borrows heavily from Ella C. Deloria's premise as "a scheme of life that worked" found in *Speaking of Indians* (New York: Friendship Press, 1944; paper, 1983), p. xvii; "wholehearted belief in survival through change" found in Royal B. Hassrick, *The Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior Society* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), pp. xi.

soon after dispatched Lewis and Clark on their famed expedition.

The influx of Europeans remained low but fairly constant for the first half of the nineteenth century. *Ihanktonwans* met in general council, a gathering where all tribal members were allowed to voice their opinions, and smoked the Sacred Pipe with government people from the East. Peace and friendship treaties emerged from these initial meetings, a time when each group established introductory relationships. By a careful examination of treaties one can trace the adjustments made among the contending people. *Padaniapapi* championed the land-taking treaty of 1858. He resisted the urge to join the warpath with *Isanti* relatives in Minnesota during their revolt of 1862. *Padaniapapi* led his tribe with quiet determination through the quagmire of governmental abuse and abrupt intertribal disagreements until his passing in 1888.

At that particularly critical time governing structures were changed. Methods of selecting leaders and the decision-making process took on new forms. The new leadership immediately confronted the Dawes Allotment Act (1887), a program which *Padaniapapi* and his group had successfully resisted for seventeen years.

Ihanktonwan Dakota faced these difficult times brought on by the federal government as best they could. A true measure of their earlier successes was their consistent use of the Sacred Pipe to guide and affirm their council deliberations. Tribes consistently smoked the Pipe before and after meetings because of the ambience it created as well as their belief in the use of the Pipe. For them, the Pipe was a way of life, a means by which they would remember what was said in the council.

Changes occurred in the council procedures after educated Indians began returning to the reservation in the late nineteenth century. English became the accepted language used in council meetings conducted under Roberts Rules of Order. Seldom was the pipe smoked. A combination of traditional leaders and U. S. Agent appointees made up the members of the council. The growing power of the U.S. Agents assigned to the reservation circumscribed the power of traditional leaders and soon the council majority consisted of appointed or elected officials. The agents refused to listen to the traditional people, many of whom were opposed to government intervention in their affairs. Despite *Yankton* disapproval of the new methods, they modified their stance and adapted to methods that kept them active in the political process.

The tribe gathered ideas about governance from both societies in their quest to retain their homelands. This study will describe and analyze how the *Ihanktonwans* met external challenges, and then adjusted their social, political, and religious institutions to forge a government that would meet future tribal needs. When one writes of the coming together of disparate cultures, it is well to consider Calvin Martin's warning, "there is another legitimate way of interpreting our mutual past--by admitting that Indian-White history is the process of two thoughtworlds that at the time were more often than not mutually unintelligible. Surely this is the most poignant message of Indian-White relations: 500 years of talking past each other, of mutual incomprehension."⁶ At each shared experience between the races, whether they were

⁶Calvin Martin, "The Metaphysics of Writing Indian-White History," *Ethnohistory* 16 (Spring 1979): 158; Vine Deloria, Jr., "Revision and Reversion," pp. 84-90, in Martin, ed., *The American Indian and the Problem of History*, an excellent, balanced collection of thoughts on writing Indian-White history.

aware of it or not, a cultural coalescence occurred and the result guided their continued relationships. As the races engaged in activities on a wider scale, a new sociocultural milieu developed. New foods, diseases, and coping mechanisms to deal with the environment produced new thought patterns and were adopted by those exposed to them. Written from an ethnohistorical viewpoint, this study will combine the experiences of American Indians taken from oral histories with the findings of sister disciplines such as history, anthropology, linguistics, archaeology, and literary sources.

CHAPTER II

IHANKTONWAN (YANKTON) *DAKOTA* ORIGINS, MIGRATIONS, AND LANGUAGE

The *Dakota/Lakota/Nakota* people were three linguistic divisions of the Great Sioux Nation. Their origins have been the subject of many theories and misconceptions. Were they immigrants from Asia who moved southward on the plains between western mountains and eastern glaciers until they finally reached drier, warmer land? Did they shift gradually eastward in their movement, moving slowly over time until forced to stop because of the Atlantic Ocean? Did the migration then take a northwest turn from the east, through the Ohio Valley and midwestern prairies, and finally turn north into Minnesota? Or were the *Dakota* created at their individual sacred sites in Minnesota, the *He Sapa Wakan*, or in *Oh Ha* (Ohio)? What forces brought them together into bands and, possibly following their food sources, start them moving in a circular pattern until, finally, they were migrated from the east coast between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries?

The *Ihanktonwan Dakota* do not believe their ancestors migrated to this hemisphere from Asia. Based on creation stories, the *Dakota* believe their tribe originated in the upper northern plains at sacred sites clustered in South Dakota and Minnesota. Migrations to the four directions occurred after origin in the western hemisphere. Dr. Arvol Looking Horse, nineteenth generation Keeper of the Sacred

Calf Pipe for the Seven Council Fires of the Great Sioux Nation, is a man who retains knowledge passed down from generation to generation. In his position as interpreter of his people's history, he reveals the traditional method of teaching, how he learned from his elders who:

talked about a way of life by the Chanupa [pipe], the sacred places, such places as Pipestone. Power has many different meanings, we have many stories about the stars, about mother earth, about sacred places, and about how we originated from the Black Hills, the sacred Black Hills.¹

Another origin story among the *Ihanktonwans* begins with their creation at the most sacred site known to them, the *Canum Okpe* (Pipe Quarries), or Red Pipestone Quarry located in southwestern Minnesota. George Catlin, one of the first literate and scientifically trained non-Indians to visit the Sacred Quarry, recorded a creation legend found among the people of the upper Missouri:

Before the creation of man, the Great Spirit used to slay the buffaloes and eat them on the ledge of the Red Rocks on the top of the Coteau des Prairies, and their blood running on to the rocks turned them red. One day a snake had crawled into the nest of the bird to eat his eggs, one of the eggs hatched out in a clap of thunder, and the Great Spirit catching hold of a piece of the pipestone to throw at the snake, moulded it into a man. This man's feet grew fast in the ground where he stood for many ages, like a great tree, and therefore he grew very old; he was older than a hundred men at the present day; and at last another tree grew up by the side of him, when a large snake ate them both off at the roots, and they wandered off together; from these have sprung all the people that now inhabit the earth.²

¹See "Arvol Looking Horse: Keeper of the Chanupa," handed from Looking Horse to Papin, 2 February 1993, from Papin to Bruguier, 5 March 1993, and in the Institute of American Indian Studies Archives, University of South Dakota (IAISA, USD, hereafter).

²George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians Written during Eight Years' Travel (1832-1839) amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1973, paper, orig. pub. 1844), Intro. by Majorie Halpin, Vol. II, p. 168-169; reliance is made on Catlin, though see the ascerbic comments made by Edwin T. Denig in his *Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma

Lakota origin myths are different in some respects but remarkable in their geographic orientation. Arvol Looking Horse explains,

There was a big flood that took place. It rained for many days and then this lady, she was the only one left, and as she was running, she couldn't run no more and she fell down and the waters started to touch her feet and an eagle came and picked her up and took her into the mountains. After the flood was over, the eagle became a young man and they brought the Chanupa, the sacred pipe, the spirituality, back to the people.³

In another version, as reported by Royal B. Hassrick, mythical beings are involved in bringing humans onto mother earth's face. After being banished from the spirit world by *Skan* (spirit) for misdeeds, *Anog-Ite* (Double-faced woman) and *Iktomi* (trickster, the spider) came together and schemed to bring humans into the world. Double-faced woman capitalized on human vanity when she suggested they offer fine clothes and meat, signifying an abundance of game for acquiring these items, as inducements to entice them onto the outerworld. Trickster *Iktomi* enlisted the aid of wolves to take the fancy clothes and meat to the cave entrance which opened into the underworld where human beings lived. When wolf attracted the attention of a young

Press, 1961, paper 1989), pp. xxx-xxxii, regarding writers like Catlin who did not live with and therefore could not know the people of whom they wrote; George A. Batchelder, "A Sketch of the History," *South Dakota Historical Collections (SDHC hereafter)* 14, pp. 182-251, pp. 184-186. Readers should also be aware of Suzanne Julin, comp., "Introduction," *SDHC Cumulative Index*, pp. 1-7, where she issues a warning about the unevenness of material content and varying standards of scholarship contained within the collection; Workers of the South Dakota Writers' Project, Work Projects Administration, *Legends of the Mighty Sioux* (Chicago, IL: Albert Whitman and Company, 1941), pp. 45-53; for Pipestone history see William P. Corbett, "A History of the Red Pipestone Quarry and Pipestone National Monument," (M.A. thesis, University of South Dakota, 1976); and John W. Davis, "A History of the Pipestone Reservation and Quarry in Minnesota," (M.A. thesis, University of Colorado, 1934).

³Looking Horse, "Arvol Looking Horse," p. 1; the idea of a flood is pervasive among Indian origin stories, engendering debate about Christian influence on indigenous people.

man, *Tokahe* (The First One), he gave the material things to him and told him to eat and wear them, and that there was an abundance of such things in the outer world. *Tokahe* took them to his wife, shared the food and clothes with her and they both appeared in front of the elder. He was told to take three men with him and find out if the wolf was telling the truth. They did so, finding Trickster and Double-faced woman, who convinced the four young men of the abundance of earthly delights readily available. They hastily returned to tell the people. Skeptical elders counseled against leaving, warning that if they left they would never find their way back underground. *Tokahe* and six other couples left, and much to their chagrin they came out onto a changed earth. They suffered hunger and thirst and were distraught at their deception. But along came *Waziya* (the old man) and *Wakanka* (the witch) who fed them and guided the refreshed *tiospaye* (extended family) to the land of the pines near the *Ble Wakan* (Sacred Lake) where game abounded. They prospered. Arvol Looking Horse believes the cave is Wind Cave located in the Sacred *He Sapa* (Black Hills).⁴

⁴This is a synthesized version taken from Royal B. Hassrick's *The Sioux*, pp. 248-253, and James R. Walker, *Lakota Society* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), ed. by Raymond J. DeMallie p. 10; other upper plains origin stories are located in the *He Sapa Wakan*. See for example *Saiyena/Sihiyela* (Cheyenne) Medicine Arrows that came from the Sacred Mountain by the Black Hills, E. Adamson Hoebel *The Cheyennes: Indians of the Great Plains* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960, paper), p. 7, likewise the Sun Dance, p. 12; but Stephen R. Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography* (Minneapolis, MN: Ross & Haines, Inc., 1973, orig. pub. 1893), p. 193-194, places them from near the *Mde Wakan* (Sacred Lake), in Minnesota during the seventeenth century; see also Robert P. Bunge, *An American Urphilosophie: An American Philosophy BP (Before Pragmatism)* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984), pp. 25-60, for a synthesis primarily concerning the *Lakota*; another pervasive idea is added by *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux* as told through John G. Neihardt (New York: Morrow, 1932; reprint Bison Books, 1985), p. 43, n. 8, "Black Elk said the mountain he stood upon in his view was Harney Peak in the Black Hills. 'But anywhere is the center of the world,' he added."

Another tribal origin story is quite explicit in the linkage between coming into the outer world and then engaging in a long distance migration from the origin site. N. Scott Momaday, another bi-educated American Indian of the *Kwuda* (Coming Out) tribe, eloquently recorded his people's origin story. A few members of the *Kwuda*, known also as the *Kiowa*, came up to the outer world through a hollow log. More people would have followed but a pregnant lady got stuck in the log and kept the rest from following. Though Momaday cannot pinpoint the exact location of the log, he offers a tantalizing clue when he draws attention to the "anthropomorphic forms painted on the cliffs of Barrier Canyon, Utah."⁵ He sees these shamanistic figures as coming "from the source of geology itself, from timelessness into time."⁶ Momaday knows his people lived near the Yellowstone River's headwaters in 1492. From that very special place they migrated east, down off the mountains onto the upper plains of Montana, leaving a home of mountain walls and canyon floors for the wide open vistas of the prairie country. Along the way they made friends with the *Kangi* (Crow), gradually mastered plains cultural traits, developed a taste for antelope and buffalo, and learned to enjoy freedom bounded only by sunrises and sunsets. Their

⁵N. Scott Momaday, *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1969; paper, 1990), pp. 16-17; N. Scott Momaday, "The Becoming of the Native: Man in America before Columbus," in Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., ed., *America In 1492: The World of the Indian Peoples Before the Arrival of Columbus* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), p. 16; the *Hidatsa* have a remarkably similar origin myth about coming to the earth's surface near Devils Lake, North Dakota. "Only part of their people got here because a pregnant woman became wedged in the entry, blocking the passage after only half of the people had emerged," Edward A. Mulligan, *Known Migrations of Historic Indian Tribes in the Upper Mississippi-Missouri Area with notes on the Prehistoric and Protohistoric Movements* (Bottineau, ND: n.p., 1949), p. 13.

⁶Momaday, "The Becoming of the Native," p. 16.

fierce independence led them first to the southeast where they lived for a time near Devil's Tower in Wyoming. After acquiring a marvelous legend about that monolith, the *Kiowa* continued their trek southward, travelling through the *Dakota Oyate's* sacred pine-scented Black Hills, and the sandhills of western Nebraska until reaching a land they chose to live and grow on, the western plains of Oklahoma and northern Texas.⁷ *Kiowa* kept the sacredness of the lands they travelled through in their legends, stories told and retold reminding them of where they had come from. From these three abbreviated accounts one sees that native peoples have kept origin stories alive and vibrant within their ethos, certain in the knowledge that the place their ancestors came from is located within known geographic locations, within this hemisphere. Other tribes such as the *Ioway*, *Oto*, *Winnebago*, *Sauk* and *Fox*, *Assiniboine*, *Mandan*, *Arikara*, *Omaha*, and *Crow* have origin stories centered in the upper northern plains. They also tell of their migrations prior to European contact.⁸

In the quincennial year of Christopher Columbus's epic 1492 voyage to the New World, scholars have produced an astounding amount of literature illuminating

⁷Momaday, *The Way to Rainy Mountain*, p. 8.

⁸Tribes often have different names for themselves, probably a case of evolving language. See Momaday, *The Way to Rainy Mountain*, p. 17, for the *Kiowa* compared to Marian K. Hansson "The *Kiowa*," pamphlet pub. by U.S. Department of the Interior, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Southern Plains Indian Museum and Crafts Center, n.d. Hansson is a *Kiowa* woman engaged in documenting her tribe's history; for examples of origin stories, see Martha R. Blaine, *The Ioway Indians* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), p. 4, 10. The *Lennie Lenape* (Delaware), have origins in the Mississippi Valley. See C. A. Weslager, *The Delaware Indian Westward Migration: With the Texts of Two Manuscripts (1821-22) Responding to General Lewis Cass's Inquiries About Lenape Culture and Language* (Wallingford, PA: The Middle Atlantic Press, 1978), p. 3. For *Algonkin* stories see Emma H. Blair, ed., *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes* (New York, NY: Kraus Reprint Co., 1969, orig. pub. 1911, 2 vols.), pp. 31-64, Vol. 1; it has never been explained in origin stories why the Indians were underground.

new facts about the encounter. Encouraging are the contributions by American Indians, some of whom are trained in both rigorous non-Indian academic disciplines and the equally rigorous, though different, tribal way. Like Arvol Looking Horse and other Indians, many of the authors were nurtured from birth by extended family members who told and retold stories of ancestors who affected the present generation. Their thoughts provide another angle from which to view the meeting of two cultures. Vine Deloria, Jr., a bi-educated attorney, offers his views in an afterword to *America In 1492*. Questioning the Bering Strait migration theory's validity which, he believes, is based on inconclusive evidence, Deloria wonders what the academic community would say if they discovered other paths of migration, or what their reaction would be if the tracks pointed in the opposite direction, from the western to the eastern hemisphere. In the book, other American Indian scholars offer tribal origin stories, which tell how their respective tribes account for their presence in north America; none ascribe the Bering Strait migration theory as the origin of their existence.⁹

Tracing the history of one tribe from antiquity is difficult even with today's scholarly methods. Academic fields of biology, anthropology, archaeology, geology,

⁹Josephy, ed., *America In 1492*, p. 433, for Deloria, and pp. 14-18 for N. Scott Momaday; Larry J. Zimmerman, "Indigenous Voice and Its Role in Archaeological Theory," paper read at University of New England, Armidale, NSW, Australia, August 1992, in IAISA, USD. Zimmerman addresses issues relative to reducing ethnocentrism by archaeologists; one tribally published history, Elijah Black Thunder, Norma Johnson, Larry O'Connor, and Muriel Pronovost, *Ehanna Woyakapi: History and Culture of the Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribe of South Dakota* (Sisseton, SD: Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribe, 1975), p. 1-2, makes no mention of origin stories on this hemisphere; Marion E. Cross, trans. & ed., *Father Louis Hennepin's Description of Louisiana Newly Discovered to the Southwest of New France by Order of the King* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1938), pp. 141-143, Father Hennepin gives an account of Turtle Island as told to him by the *Dakota*, but speculates himself that Indians were one of the lost tribes of Israel.

and linguistics have uncovered fragments of information that partially substantiate the Bering Strait theory. For instance, field research in Yukon rivers uncovered mammoth bones possibly chipped into knife-edged tools. Using sophisticated radio-carbon dating techniques, with a liberal margin of error, 13,500 B.C. is the date given for modern man's occupation of the western hemisphere. Estimates are widely spread, from a radical view ranging from one hundred thousand to one million years.¹⁰

Another field that offers substantial guideposts for American Indian prehistory is linguistics, studies based on language similarities. Linguists match tribes according to base words found in their languages. Though the techniques are not fool-proof, certain historical details about tribal cultures can be deduced. Using linguistic studies, research can be narrowed to concentrate on *Siouan* speakers, the *Sioux* or *Dakota/Lakota/Nakota* people and specifically, the *Ihanktonwan Dakota/Nakota*. Inter-disciplinary approaches, including increased use of native oral history accounts, substantiate events and locations, although these remain vague and often contradictory when measured on a linear time scale. Two additional sources of enlightenment left by pre-historic Indians are the enigmatic and still largely indecipherable cave pictographs found throughout north America, and winter counts made by *Dakota* historians. While the cave pictographs remain largely uninterpreted, representations of events painted on bison hides by tribal historians are of more recent vintage and offer chronological records that aid scholars attempting to fit their research into

¹⁰Alice B. Kehoe, *North American Indians: A Comprehensive Account* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1992, 2d. ed.), pp. 1-10, for a summary view of scholastic interpretation.

academic guidelines. It is instructive to know that in a given year, events meaningful to American Indians seldom match those defined as significant to other cultures.¹¹

At the forefront of scholarly endeavors was the American Indian linguist and ethnologist Ella C. Deloria (1889-1971), a member of the *Ihanktonwan* tribe, who devoted over fifty years of her life compiling and interpreting ethnographic materials among her people.¹² Deloria, like other members of her family, sought higher education at institutions far removed from her home at St. Elizabeth's School near Wakpala, South Dakota. Her father, *Tipi Sapa* (Black Tipi), known also as Reverend Philip Deloria, had earlier found success working in both cultures as an Episcopalian priest on the Cheyenne River and Standing Rock Reservations, ministering to tribal

¹¹Harold E. Driver, *Indians of North America* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1969, 2d. ed. rev. paper), pp. 25-52, for linguistic explication; Oglala winter counts by No Ears, Short Man, and Iron Crow are found in Walker's *Lakota Society*, pp. 111-157; for excellent tribal oral histories see Joseph H. Cash and Herbert T. Hoover, *To Be an Indian: An Oral History* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971); Ronald Goodman's *Lakota Star Knowledge: Studies in Lakota Stellar Theology* (Rosebud, SD: Sinte Gleska College, 1990) is an excellent example of *Lakota* oral history matching non-Indian star knowledge; Loretta Fowler's *Shared Symbols, Contested Meanings: Gros Ventre Culture and History, 1778-1984* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987) is an example of academic study confirmed with tribal elders for authenticity according to oral history; also Herbert T. Hoover's "Indian Literature From Winter Counts and Tales to Modern Contributions," Institute of American Indian Studies Archives, USD, pp. 11-25, gives a critical methodology for using oral source material. For a critical analysis of linguistic work see Ernest L. Schusky, *The Forgotten Sioux: An Ethnohistory of the Lower Brule Reservation* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1975), pp. 7-12. Cross-disciplinary studies are extremely helpful in putting together a picture of the past.

¹²See Jan Murray, "Ella Deloria: A Biographical Sketch and Literary Analysis," (Ph.D. diss., University of North Dakota, 1974), though some of the information is ambiguous, it is an excellent ethnobiographical account of Ella Deloria; Bea Medicine, "Ella Cara Deloria," in *Women Anthropologists* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois, 1989), Ute Gacs, et. al., eds.; and Leonard R. Bruguier, "A Legacy in Sioux Leadership: The Deloria Family," in *South Dakota Leaders: From Pierre Chouteau, Jr., to Oscar Howe*, Herbert T. Hoover and Larry J. Zimmerman, eds. (Vermillion, SD: University of South Dakota Press, 1989), pp. 365-378.

people adjusting to reservation life. After obtaining her Bachelor of Science degree at Columbia University in 1915, she entered into a professional life working with Indians in various capacities. Bolstered by her proficiency as an ethnographer gained by living and working in the American Indian milieu for over thirty years, both on and off reservation, she reestablished contact with her mentor, Franz Boas, in 1927. Her expertise proved invaluable and the next year she began a new career collaborating with Boas on translating and revising data already collected on the *Dakota/Lakota/Nakota*. She adopted standard methods employed by earlier lexicographers while adding two significant dimensions to her work, proficiency in her native language, and an acute and thorough knowledge of tribal oral history. Fully cognizant of her first language's nuances, she undertook the task to rebut the assessments of "German philologists of the nineteenth century [who] pointed to Lakota as the paradigm of a primitive language."¹³ Success in her endeavors is measured by the general acceptance of the *Dakota* language and its prominent place in university curricula today.

On a personal level, Deloria's ability to apply scientific techniques and professional distance to the subject is amply demonstrated when she overcame the negative connotation attached to the word *Sioux*. The name *Sioux* reputedly came from the Hurons who called the Iroquois, a tribe that waged continuous war against

¹³Ella C. Deloria, *Speaking of Indians*, p. 15 [*Editor's note]; Bunge, *An American Urphilosophie*, p. 181, "There is no language known that is primitive in the sense of being crudely or rudely constructed or unable to perform any linguistic task assigned it." Boas, a German trained in his native country, is remarkable for his effort to disprove the prevailing attitude about American Indian languages being primitive; particularly important was the use of sign language, resorted to when tribes were unable to comprehend each other.

them, *Nadouessi* or *Nadouessioux*, a word used to indicate an enemy. In turn, the innuendo was applied by the *Anishinaabeg* (and other tribes whose shifting alliances altered their status from friend to enemy), in their descriptions of the people living to the west of them, the *Dakota*. When the French came into contact with the eastern tribes, they heard the word, found it hard to pronounce and corrupted it to *Sioux*. The name has stuck over time, popularized by the media to such an extent that it is universally recognized as describing the fierce horse warriors of the northern plains. Today, some *Dakota/Lakota/Nakota* still use *Sioux* to identify themselves.¹⁴

Included among the *Siouan* language family, depending on the authority consulted, are the *languages of the Mandans, Hidatsas, Crows, Otos, Sioux Assiniboines, Iowas, Missouris, Omahas, Poncas, Osages, Kansas, Sioux, Tutelo, Catawba*, and others, some of which are now extinct. The *Sioux* grouped themselves into an alliance calling themselves the *Ocheti Sakowin* (translated as 'seven fires,' seven 'council fires,' or tribes). Deloria and other scholars theorize that the name *Dakota* was given to them because "that dialect was the first to be recognized in written form by Stephen Return Riggs in his study of the Santee language."¹⁵

¹⁴Ella C. Deloria, *Dakota Texts* (New York: G. E. Stechert, 1932, reprint, paper, 1978), Vol. 14, Publications of the American Ethnological Society, p. v-xi; Riggs, *Dakota Grammar*, p. 183; Gerald Vizenor, *The People Named the Chippewa: Narrative Histories* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), p. 18, quotes William Warren "the name of abwenag--roasters--which the Ojibways have given to the Dakota . . . originated in their roasting their captives, and it is as likely that the word Ojibway--to roast till puckered up--originated in the same manner."

¹⁵*Titonwan* tribes today are found to call their seven branches the *Ocheti Sakowin*; Deloria, *Speaking*, p. 15. See also Douglas Parks, "Language Study and Plains Indian History," pp. 153-197, found in Colin G. Calloway, ed., *New Directions in American Indian History* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988, paper, 1992), for a critical analysis of native language usage by academe, especially p. 166, for use of anglicized terms.

Reverend Riggs, though, was not the first to study and catalogue the language. He expanded on work already in progress. The pioneer lexicographers were Samuel and Gideon Pond, religious zealots who came of their own accord to Fort Snelling, Wisconsin Territory, in 1834. The Pond brothers were different than most missionaries. While they wanted to convert *Dakotas* to Christianity, they also believed they should speak the words of God in the Indian's native language. As a consequence, almost from the day they met the first *Dakota*, they started studying the language. The guide hired to accompany them to their post provided an introduction but they never stopped learning. Three years later the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions posted Congregational Church missionary Stephen R. Riggs to assist them in their efforts. The missionaries' combined labors produced *Dakota* as a written language. Coupled with the help of Gabriel Renville, a *Sisseton* leader and church member, they expanded their works to include school and prayer books, a *Dakota Grammar and Dictionary*, the *Bible*, and other religious tracts published in *Dakota*. Their legacy benefits many people today as it serves as a guidepost for linguists, teachers preparing language studies curricula, and most of all, today's generation of *Dakota/Lakota/Nakota* people. In one instance, however, addressed in a later chapter in this dissertation, the missionaries' written works proved detrimental to *Nakota* speaking people.¹⁶

The *Dakota Oyate*, translated literally as the allied people, are composed of

¹⁶Riggs, *Dakota Grammer*, p. 2; for a first-hand view of Riggs and the missionary movement see Stephen R. Riggs, *Mary and I: Forty Years with the Sioux* (Williamstown, MA: Corner House Publishers, 1971, reprint, orig. pub. 1880); to the missionaries' credit, they always acknowledged native language speakers who helped them in their work.

seven tribes: the *Sisetonwan*, *Wahpekutewan*, *Wahpetonwan*, *Mdewankantonwan*, *Ihanktonwan*, *Ihanktonwanna*, and *Titonwan*.¹⁷ Because the spoken languages of the three tribes differ somewhat, linguists have broken it down further into three dialects, the *Dakota* or (*d*), *Lakota* (*l*), and *Nakota* (*n*). For example, the noun for boy is written thus:

Hokshida--*Dakota*

Hokshila--*Lakota*

Hokshina--*Nakota*

The dialects are mutually intelligible and share an overwhelming majority of easily recognizable words, especially those used in the Seven Sacred Ceremonies.

Variations existed, as in all languages, and were ascribed to the need for new words to describe different flora, fauna, and topography confronting the people as they changed geographic locations. When Europeans arrived, the Sioux language was equal to the task of making names to describe the many new objects encountered.

For example, a clock was a totally new experience in appearance and function. The *Dakota* had the word iron, *maza*, for the appearance and they used the word *skanskan*, literally mysterious movement, for its function. Thus *mazaskanskan*, mysterious moving iron, is recognized as a clock. Certain sacred ceremonial words, such as *Wakantanka* (Great Holy, or Spirit), "the Creator of all things; also, all

¹⁷For *Dakota*, the word friend stems from *dakoda*, shortened to *koda* in the (*d*) dialect, *dakola* or *kola* from the (*l*) dialect, *oyate* means people. The *Ihanktonwan* (Yankton) Sioux use the motto The Friendly People when describing themselves.

wakan beings because they are all as one,"¹⁸ remained the same with all tribes, regardless of dialect, of the *Ocheti Sakowin*.

The seven council fires were separated then into three groups according to dialect and geographic location. The four *Siouan* tribes first encountered by westward moving non-Indians were the *Dakota*, also known as the *Isanti* (or the corruption *Santee*). These were the *Sisseton*, *Wahpekute*, *Mdewankanton*, and *Wahpeton* who occupied lands on the eastern borders of the council fires. The second group consisted of the *Ihanktonwan* (corruption to *Yanktons*), and the *Ihanktonwanna* (*Yanktonai*), or 'Little *Yanktons*'. Together, they constituted the *Nakotas*, the middle or *wiceyena* division, of the three tribes and shared the middle lands of the nation. The third and largest group numerically were the *Lakotas*, composed of the *Oglala*, *Minneconjou*, *Oohenumpa*, *Hunkpapa*, *Sicangu*, *Sihasapa*, and *Itazipco*, who occupied the western lands.¹⁹ Each of the tribes are further divided into *tiospayes* (extended families), often called bands. These communities of extended families were collections of relatives through blood, marriage, adoption (including captives), and people of the same persuasion (traders who married into the tribes), integrated into

¹⁸I rely on four dictionaries for definitions throughout this dissertation. For *Wakantanka*, see Eugene Buechel, *A Dictionary of the Teton Dakota Sioux Language* (Vermillion, SD: Institute of Indian Studies, 1970), p. 526; Stephen R. Riggs, *A Dakota-English Dictionary* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1890, reprint, paper, St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1992), p. 508; Paul Grant Warcloud, *English-Sioux Word Pronunciation Dictionary* (De Smet, SD: The De Smet News, 1967), p. 14; John P. Williamson, *An English-Dakota Dictionary* (New York, NY: American Tract Society, 1902, reprint, paper, St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1992), p. 76.

¹⁹I will use the term *Dakota* and *Ocheti Sakowin* interchangeably when referring to the three tribes, and use the precise term when appropriate; for another categorization by language of the Seven Council Fires, though not differing markedly from that which follows, see Murray, "Ella Deloria," pp. 20-21.

the band. *Tiospayes* were free to change tribal affiliation at any time. There was no arbitrary ruler or band chief enforcing unity. Thus the *Assiniboines* (*Hohe*), separated from the *Ihanktonwanna* at the mid-seventeenth century, removed to Canada and reformed into a distinct, separate tribe. After this schism occurred, *Assiniboines* affiliated with the *Cree*, a tribe that competed against the Sioux for land and power. Their new status changed and led to a permanent exclusion from *Ocheti Sakowin* internal and external affairs. Such was the fluidity of *Dakota* political and social life.²⁰

Linguists frequently described an east to west movement of North American tribes. The tribes composing the *Siouan* linguistic stock were *Catawba* and *Tutelo*, residents of the Atlantic seaboard in the present states of Virginia, North, and South Carolina. Leo F. Gilroy proposed that the *Dakota* "occupied central Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina in about 1200 AD, thence moved west to occupy the headwaters of the Mississippi River, pushing other tribes north and south."²¹ The Santee River, with headwaters in North Carolina, empties into the Atlantic Ocean. It

²⁰Deloria, *Speaking*, pp. 6-12; Buechel, *A Dictionary*, p. 733, ascribes *wiciyela* (*l*) to the *Ihanktonwanna* (or *Yanktonais*) where Riggs in *Dakota Grammar*, p. 164, ascribes *wiceyena* to the (*Ihanktonwan*); Buechel for definition of *ti*, p. 487, *ospaye*, p. 406, and *tiospaye*, p. 491 and contrast with Raymond J. DeMaille's editorial comments on Walker's *Lakota Society*, pp. 3-8; John S. Wozniak, *Contact, Negotiation and Conflict: An Ethnohistory of the Eastern Dakota, 1819-1839* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, Inc., 1978), p. 2, Appendix A, Siouan Linguistic Tree, p. 103; Fowler, *Shared Symbols*, p. 13, n. 18; Riggs, *Dakota Grammar*, p. 164; William K. Powers, *Indians of the Northern Plains* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1969, paper, 1973), pp. 25-27, states *Assiniboines* were Siouan speakers and called themselves *Nakota*, originally part of the *Yankton Sioux*.

²¹James L. Satterlee, and Vernon D. Malan, "History and Acculturation of the Dakota Indians," Rural Sociology Department, Agricultural Experiment Station, SDSU, Brookings, SD, Pamphlet 126, pp. 10-12; DeWitt Hare (Full-blood Sioux), "The Yankton Indians," *SDHC* 6, pp. 320-322.

is a place name matching the generically named *Santee* Tribe, the *Isanti* branch of the original *Ocheti Sakowin*. Another author, James L. Satterlee, enlarging on the research of Vernon L. Malan, concluded that the *Dakota* migrated into the upper northern plains, west of the Great Lakes in the late 1600s, and early 1700s. An *ohunkakan* (narrative) that lives in *Ihanktonwan* memory is strikingly reminiscent of a scenario depicting early European explorers landing on the continent's southern and eastern shores. The astonishing event made such an impression that the people have kept it over several centuries. In the telling by an elder of the tribe, Henry Spotted Eagle, several *mni wicasa* (water men, also called "white fish people") wearing "hard clothes--like scales (armor)"²² on their heads and upper bodies were observed crawling out of the salt water onto the sand. At first the Indian people helped them, offering food and companionship, but soon they were repelled by the *mni wicasa* misbehavior and withdrew from their presence. When this *ohunkakan* is tied in with other data, an east coast to upper northern plains migration gains credibility.

Speculations on migrations by the *Dakota Oyate* from the southeast are plausible when several historical factors are taken into account. Sixteenth century Spanish and French incursions into the North American mainland were singular and unsettling events to native populations. The new arrivals' effect on the food supply, their use of Jesuits (Blackrobes) and Franciscans (Brownrobes) to convert tribesmen, violence to settle disagreements, and introduction of contagious, deadly diseases were factors that help explain voluntary migration. Wishing to avoid confrontation, it was

²²See Renee Sansom-Flood, *Lessons From Chouteau Creek: Yankton Memories of Dakota Territorial Intrigue* (Sioux Falls, SD: Center for Western Studies, 1986), pp. 16-17.

logical for tribes to relocate beyond the reach of the new arrivals. On the southern borders of the continent, Indians encountered Spaniards beginning in 1513. In their quest for gold the Spanish often employed fearsome tactics in dealing with native populations while ignoring Indian concepts of civil and human rights. When natives refused to share or sell their food, the oppressors forcibly took it, destroyed all stores or burned what they could not carry off. Inland, Indians were aware of the invasion's consequences through the efficient communications system (often referred to colloquially as the "moccasin telegraph") that threaded throughout the continent with Cahokia as the hub of communications.²³

By the late sixteenth century, a series of missions reached from *Las Floridas* as far north as the Chesapeake Bay's Rappahannock River. Southeastern tribes who feared the Spanish presence in their lands moved north and inland out of their path, in turn initiating pressure on tribes situated to the west and north. No sooner had the exodus begun than the French moved into the St. Lawrence River valley, starting another chain of events among the northern tribes that precluded the possibility of peaceful occupation of that territory. The escape route north was closed. Tribes that moved from the Atlantic seaboard were caught in a pincers movement and faced only one choice, to turn westward, thus becoming in their own right, frontiersmen of a

²³Buechel, *A Dictionary*, pp. 3-15, Satterlee, Pamphlet 126, pp. 10-12; Doane Robinson, "History of the Sioux Indians: From Their Earliest Traditions and First Contact with White Men to the Final Settlement of the Last of Them Upon Reservations and the Consequent Abandonment of the Old Tribal Life," *SDHC* 2, pp. 131-523; Howard, "Notes on the Ethnogeography," pp. 281-307, uses *Dakota* place names to establish dates of occupation; for Spain see John F. Bannon, *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier, 1513-1821* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970, reprint, paper, 1987), pp. 22-25, 42-48, 102-107.

Native kind.²⁴

Few records exist of the conjectured Seven Council Fire's exodus from the areas of Virginia, and North and South Carolina. If this migration did occur, the Ohio country with its level forested country opening into the flat grasslands of Indiana and Illinois offered unimpeded pathways to travelers. One narrative source from the *Ihanktonwan* offers a clue that the *Dakota* did pass through the area. Dr. Asa Primeaux, a *Yankton* elder, tells that his people knew the country as *Oh Ha* (Ohio) because it was home to a sacred site near present-day Columbus, Ohio, which predates recorded history.²⁵ According to Primeaux, the Great Spirit sent a bolt of lightning earthward and where it hit a fire started. From this propitious event, the People learned how to use fire and designated a man as protector, called keeper of the fire, who carried it with them as they moved from camp to camp. One more detail should be added to Primeaux's oral history. Red catlinite, a malleable clay preferred by *Dakota* for making their Pipe, occurs naturally in southcentral Ohio. Lacking only the *Bde Wakan* (Sacred Lake, Mille Lacs Lake), the *Oh Ha Canum Okpe* (Ohio pipestone quarry), and the reference to *Sioux* origin in the area are remarkably similar to that recorded by George Catlin in his visit to the Minnesota *Canum Okpe*

²⁴For France see W. J. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969; Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1974, rev. ed., paper, 1986), and Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Amerindian Views of French Culture in the Seventeenth Century," *Canadian Historical Review* (*CHR* hereafter) 55 (September, 1974): 261-291; Hare, "The Yankton Indians," *SDHC* 6, p. 321, postulates *Dakota* followed the buffalo; see also Jack M. Weatherford, *Native Roots: How the Indians Enriched America* (New York, NY: Fawcett Columbine, 1991, paper), pp. 6-18 for Cahokia, 19-36 for Spanish incursions.

²⁵John Switzer, "Legend Says Sioux, fire born in 'Oh Ha'," in *Columbus Dispatch*, Columbus, Ohio, dated June 3, 1992.

(Pipestone Quarry). The idea of obtaining fire for the first time and having flint available for firemaking is a powerful, thought-provoking coincidence.²⁶

What of the people who lived in this beautiful, fertile area of the country at the time the Seven Council Fires passed through? What records did they leave chronicling their history of the meetings between the different peoples? The old northwest was part of an enormous trade network that radiated from Cahokia (across the Mississippi River from present-day Saint Louis), strategically located near the confluence of the Missouri, Mississippi, and Ohio Rivers. The Ohio River valley was the home of *Mississippian* people whom the *Dakota* could not have avoided in their western migration. *Ihanktonwan* elder Hank Spotted Eagle remembered a story telling of bands splitting off to carry on trade. Indians, including the *Dakota*, participated in a trade network stretching from the Arctic where they obtained antlers and south to *Mexico* where they bargained for quetzal feathers to the Pacific Coast for dentalium shells. Unfortunately, no written records of meetings with the tribes of this area have been uncovered.²⁷ The *Dakotas* were not long in Ohio. By the middle of the sixteenth century fragmentary reports from French explorers, priests, and traders,

²⁶Switzer, "Legend Says Sioux, fire born in "Oh Ha"; Black Thunder, et. al., *Ehanna Woyakapi*, p. 1-2, mention the migration of their people from Lumbee River in North Carolina, through Ohio River Valley prior to 1640; John S. Sigstad, "The Age and Distribution of Catlinite and Red Pipestone," (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, Columbia, 1973), pp. 13-14; "each *tiospaye* had its firekeeper, it was his job to keep the fire for the people," oral recollection of Joseph F. Rockboy, *Ihanktonwan* elder, June 1980; for the *Lakota*, see Joseph E. Brown, ed., *The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), p. 23, n. 10.

²⁷Otis T. Mason, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico: Parts 1 and 2* (Washington, DC: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1907 and 1910), Frederick W. Hodge, ed.

filtered back east to government officials in Quebec telling of the fierce *Sioux* warriors living west of the *Anishinaabeg* (Ojibway).²⁸

Fragmentary reports, written by French and Spanish priests and explorers, part eyewitness accounts, part heresy, suggest that by the mid-seventeenth century the *Dakota* were located in Minnesota. Riggs, Meyers, Woolworth, and others tell us that the *Isanti* were located around Mille Lacs Lake, the *Titonwan* near Lake Traverse, and the *Ihanktonwan* at the Sacred Red Pipestone Quarries.²⁹ As shown in

²⁸Ralph J. Coffman, "Pre-Columbian Trade Networks in the Missouri, Ohio and Mississippi River Valleys and Their Importance for Post-Columbian Contact," paper read at the Missouri Valley History Conference, Omaha, Nebraska, 14 March 1992, in IAIS archives; "Dickson Mounds Closed with a Pipe Ceremony," near Lewistown, Illinois, displayed over 200 skeletons over 900 years old, dated approximately 1250 A.D., closed to public viewing April 1992, see *The Lakota Times* dated 8 April 92 Vol. 11, Issue 41, p. A6; see also "Crow Creek Massacre Lecture Topic," same issue, p. B8, over 500 people buried after killing in 1324 A.D.; see also *The Crow Creek Site (39BF11) Massacre: A Preliminary Report*, Larry J. Zimmerman, et. al., (Omaha, NE: U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1981); for wide-ranging travel see Sansom-Flood, *Lessons*, p. 16; also Bannon, *The Spanish Borderlands*, p. 14; Weatherford, *Native Roots*, pp. 10-11; John C. Ewers, *Indian Life on the Upper Missouri* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), pp. 95-97; for part of the "great Sioux trail, from the western end of Lake Superior to the Sioux villages, presumably on Mille Lac," see John L. Champe, "Yankton Chronology," in Alan R. Woolworth, *Sioux Indians III: Ethnohistorical Report on the Yankton Sioux* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1974), pp. 241-252. Caution must be used as Woolworth (an outstanding researcher) wrote for the Indian Claims Section, Lands Division, United States Department of Justice, to "make the necessary studies and prepare an ethnohistorical report covering the Indian occupancies of Royce Area No. 410, South Dakota, from 1803-1858," used to settle a land claim (Docket 332-A) against the *Yankton* Indians; Elliot Coues, ed., *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest, the Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry (Fur Trader of the Northwest Company) and of David Thompson (Official Geographer and Explorer of the Same Company), 1799-1814: Exploration and Adventure Among the Indians on the Red, Saskatchewan, Missouri, and Columbia Rivers* (Minneapolis, MN: Ross & Haines, Inc., 1965; orig. pub. 1897.), 2 Vols., p. 78, Vol. 1, "common war road of the Sioux."

²⁹Riggs, *Dakota Grammar*, pp. 156-164; Woolworth, *Sioux Indians III*, pp. 19-43; Roy W. Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux: United States Indian Policy on Trial* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967; paper, 1980), pp. 1-6.

Figures 2, and 3,³⁰ it may be conjectured that the Seven Council Fires moved north from the Santee River headwaters, then west over the midwestern prairies, then northwest on a three-pronged front with the *Isanti* on the right, *Titonwan* in the center, and the *Ihanktonwan* on the left into Wisconsin and Minnesota. Their migration is deflected somewhat on the right by the *Anishinabeg*, *Cree*, and former relatives of the *Assiniboine*, but the expansion continues in basically the same formation, pivoting on the *Ihanktonwan* left and changing to a west, northwest angle. The *Titonwan* continue moving with, or forcing west, the *Sahiyela* (Cheyenne), until the early 1700s when the *Titon* reached the Missouri River. Dwelling in the fertile valleys of tributary streams and the mainstem around the big bend was the sedentary riverine tribe, the *Arickara*. *Isanti* people were forced into making a decision whether to continue living in the Mille Lac Lake area against the opposition of the *Anishinaabeg* and *Cree*, or move from their culture center. There is a third option to consider; perhaps the *Isanti* learned to like the new environment and decided to stay. On the south side, or left, *Ihanktonwan* tribespeople were also faced with several options. They could combine with their *Titonwan* or *Isanti* relatives and cooperate with their strategy. To their west and southern front were the *Omaha*, *Ioway*, *Ponca*, and *Otoe*, riverine tribes whose villages occupied the valleys of the *Hahe Wakpa* (Noisy, or Big Sioux River), *Chanshasha Wakpa* (White bark trees river, Dakota, or James River), and at their confluence with the Missouri River.³¹ They also had a

³⁰Map adapted from Sigstad, "The Age and Distribution," p. 136.

³¹Ernest L. Schusky, *The Forgotten Sioux*, pp. 10-14; J. Owen Dorsey, "Migrations of Siouan Tribes," *American Naturalist* (*AN* hereafter) 20 (March 1886): 211-222, p. 215, *Otoes* were called the *Arkansa* or *Alkansa* by the *Illinois* tribes while they lived in the Ohio Valley. Sometime after 1540 they moved to the mouth of the

fourth option, stay and occupy the country surrounding the Sacred Pipestone Quarry.

It is of particular interest to note the possible circular movement of *Dakota* migrations; they went from one Sacred Pipestone Quarry to another located far distant from the Minnesota site.

Scraps of information on the *Dakota* and Indians living beyond the lakes began to appear in French literature written in the early seventeenth century. It is a history of a people who travelled over vast distances through varied environments, and, along the way collected and chose traits, both good and bad, from other native cultures they encountered, melded them together, and formed the culture that shaped their lives and ultimately future generations of *Dakota*.

Ohio on the Mississippi, and crossed over to the west bank. The *Omahas*, *Ponkas*, *Ioways* moved up the Des Moines or Chariton Rivers to the vicinity of the Red Pipestone Quarry. During this period the *Omaha*, *Ponka*, and *Ioways* called they *Yankton Dakota* "people (dwelling in the woods)" who made war on them, killing over a thousand warriors, forcing them to abandon the area, pp. 218-219; definitions of rivers taken from Howard, "Notes on Ethnogeography," p. 284, also Thomas J. Gasque, "Names of the James: A Case for Congress," unpub. paper in IAISA, USD.

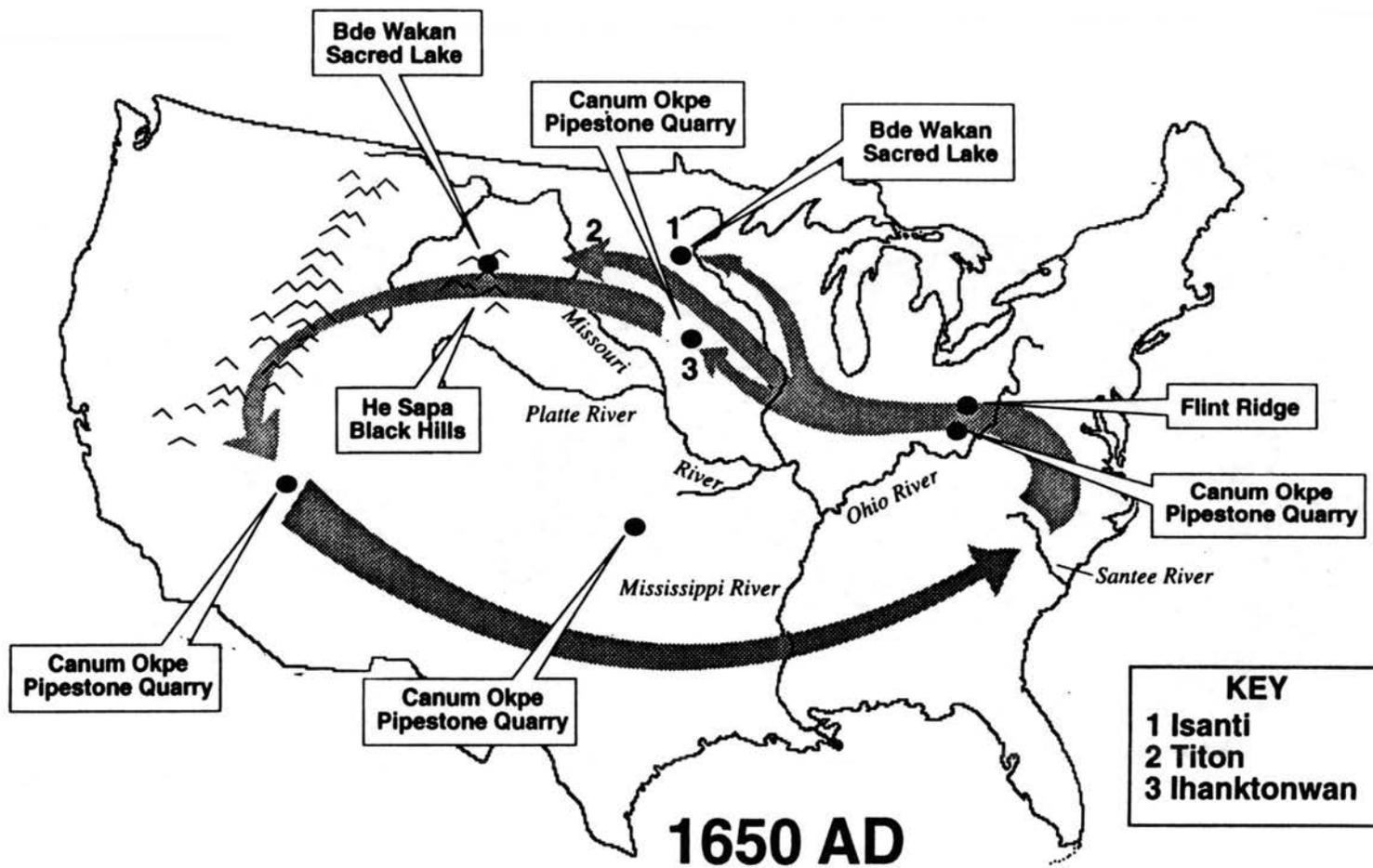


Figure 1. Migrations From North American Origins

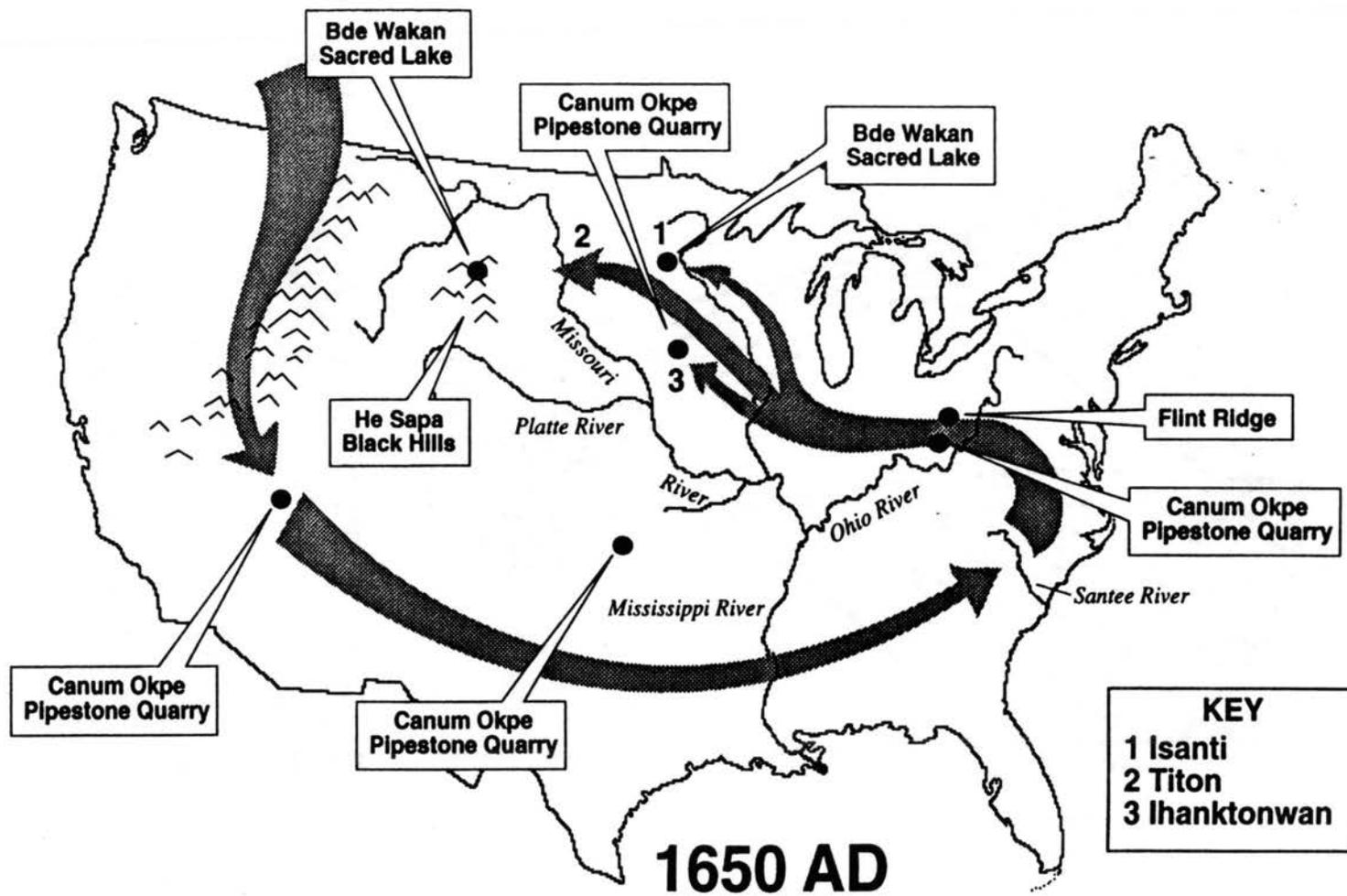


Figure 2. Migrations from Asia

CHAPTER III

THE PIPE, *DAKOTA* WOODLANDS CULTURE,

1634-1700

From the time of their arrival in Minnesota's lake and woodland environment to the coming of the horse, the *Dakota* adjusted their lifestyle to accommodate the new conditions.¹ As they modified sociopolitical, economic, and religious institutions, they established a new cultural complex in harmony with their surroundings. Foods native to the habitat were incorporated into the diet. Local cereal grains such as lake rice, fish from the bountiful lakes and streams, and meat from deer, elk, and moose supplemented the traditional diet of corn and buffalo. Food-gathering techniques required change. The *Dakota* fashioned canoes from local materials to facilitate rice harvesting. Among the *tiospayes*, labor divisions based on gender underwent continuous modifications as the people gained knowledge of how to grow and prepare new foods. The *Dakota* extended families learned seasonal food cycles and shifted between base camps within the cultural complex to harvest foods in season. Led by men with proven leadership, these movements in turn affected relationships with tribes surrounding them, forcing those living in the immediate vicinity to adapt in a

¹Date of their arrival is unrecorded and uncertain; it is inconceivable that the *Dakota* were not aware of the horse, at least from the time they were first brought onto the mainland by the Spanish in *Las Floridas* or from reports of Coronado and DeSoto's expeditions into the heartland of North America.

parallel fashion or to leave. Non-Indian intrusions from the north, south, and east increased. Material goods brought along for trade by them profoundly affected the political and economic systems, further modifying Indian cultures. Here also begins the discourse, cultural and ideological, between the *Dakota* and non-Indians, which often verged on mutual incomprehension. Since changes were routine in the course of tribal history, the *Dakota* were experts at creating flexible cultural enclaves able to absorb new ideas. Of cardinal concern in reshaping their ethos was the vibrant spiritual tradition centered on the the Sacred Pipe.²

The Pipestone Quarry, in southwestern Minnesota, gave the Seven Council Fires material to produce their Sacred Pipes. The Pipe, shaped from the pipestone mined at the quarry, became the physical manifestation that embodied the holistic, philosophical understanding of the *Dakota* world. Ideology growing from this knowledge required a reverence for all living beings occupying the *maka* (earth) and *towanjina* (sky). *Dakota* people believed they were just one part of that universe and they were no greater nor less than any other object within the cosmos. Living in a sacred manner among the gifts of *Tunkashina Wakantanka* (Grandfather, Great Spirit) became an ideal, and the teaching and maintenance of these philosophical tenets was passed on to each succeeding generation by example and oral tradition regardless of

²The synthesis that follows is based on fragments of early recorded history, principally those of Father Louis Hennepin's observations found in Cross, *Father Louis Hennepin's*, passim, as well as oral histories that trace sociocultural traits backward into unrecorded time. See also Iktomi, *America Needs Indians!* (Denver, CO: Bradford-Robinson, 1937), passim, for an Indian's point of view.

the cultural changes going on around them.³

The *canumpa wicowoyake* (pipe narrative) comes from the Minnesota Quarry, the place where Grandfather, Great Spirit gave the gift of the Pipe to the *Oyate* (People). A Sacred Pipe origin story tells how the Red People engaged in a great battle and their blood flowed onto the ground. When the Great Spirit saw them fighting, he forced them to stop. When all was quiet, he took a piece of the red stone and fashioned a Pipe, filled it with tobacco, and smoked it to the four directions, the earth, and the sky. When he was done, he told them this was the Pipe of Peace, and when men or women displayed it they should be shown respect. Further, when Red Men of any tribe came to the Pipestone Quarry to acquire pipestone, all hostilities and bad thoughts must be laid aside. The Quarry was Sacred and they should act accordingly. The strongest and most widely believed *Lakota* Pipe narrative tells that

³See for example *Black Elk Speaks*; John (Fire) Lame Deer and Richard Erdoes, *Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions* (New York: Simon & Schuster Inc., 1972, paper; 1976); for the *Ihanktonwan Dakota* see Joseph F. Rockboy as told to Herbert T. Hoover, unpub. TMs., and Charles Kills Enemy as told to Herbert T. Hoover, unpub. TMs; see also Bunge, *An American Urphilosophie*, pp. 61-91, for Sioux epistemology. The literature on making of pipes is abundant, see Robert A. Murray, *Pipes on the Plains* (n.p.: Pipestone Indian Shrine Association and National Park Service, 1968), for an excellent overview with illustrations; also John C. Ewers, *Plains Indian Sculpture: A Traditional View from America's Heartland* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1986), passim. It is remarkable how tribes were alike in their cultural, social, and political organizations, even though separated by hundreds of miles. See the *Illinois* lifestyle as written by Clarence W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818* (Chicago, IL: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1922), Vol. 1, pp. 46-51, for their religious beliefs where "inanimate objects--stones, streams, trees, hills, the wind, and the sun--possessed a magic power that might be used to aid or harm man and must therefore be propitiated," perhaps much of the standardization comes about because historians rely on the same sources.

the White Buffalo Calf Woman brought the Pipe to them in a different manner.⁴

It is possible the *Dakota* acquired the Pipe from one of the twelve or more sites where pipestone is located in the continental United States. During their many migrations, they constructed a religious ideology surrounding the use of the Pipe. Historically, it is indisputable that they recognized the Minnesota Quarry's significance on their arrival in the area. Using military force, they evicted the *Omahas*, *Mandans*, *Sacs*, and *Poncas* who were in the locale and incorporated the site into the boundaries of their nation. The *Ihanktonwan*, due to their strategic location on the southwestern side of the land occupied by the *Dakota*, acquired the task of keeping the Pipestone Quarries secure for the Seven Council Fires in the consolidation and expansion of a cultural center.⁵

⁴The legends behind the Pipestone Quarry are many and have been recorded by a like number of people. The White Buffalo Calf Woman pipe story was repeated to me personally by Dr. Arvol Looking Horse. Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, Vol. 2, pp. 160-178, 201-206; Mary S. Haverstock, *Indian Gallery: The Story of George Catlin* (New York: Four Winds Press, 1973); also "Native/American Stories: Traditional Interpretations," *Coteau Heritage* 2 (April, 1989): 28-31; for the *Lakota* version of receiving the Pipe see *Black Elk Speaks*, pp. 3-5, 291-296; *Miami* use of the Pipe or Calumet is explained in W. Vernon Kienitz, *The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1615-1760*, (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1940; paper, 1965), pp. 190-96, 346-47; for a description of the way Indians revered the *calumet* (pipe) and used it as a safe conduct pass see Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *Father Louis Hennepin, A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America* (Chicago, IL: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903), 2 Vols., pp. 125-127, Vol. 1; also Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, pp. 49-50, for the *Illinois*; other tribes have Pipe stories centered on the Minnesota Quarry; for a discussion of story classifications see Bunge, *An American Urphilosophie*, p. 70, for *wicowoyake*, or "true story," versus *ohunkaka* which can be fanciful or "real," according to Ella C. Deloria, *Dakota Texts*, pp. ix-xi; Kienitz, *Indians of the Western*, letter 51, pp. 377-378, "it is from their country that the red stone is obtained for the calumets."

⁵For an explanation of how an ideology is constructed, see Hartley B. Alexander, *The World's Rim: Great Mysteries of the North American Indian* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1967; paper), pp. 164-165; see also Bunge, *An American Urphilosophie*, pp. 78-91; for sites see Sigstad, "The Age and

The Sacred Pipe is a way of life, holding each individual who accepts its tenets to a set of rules designed to keep the people in harmony with all things in the universe. Foremost among these teachings is the demand to respect all things on and under earth, from *inyan* (stone) to *tatanka* (bison) and all things above in the sky. Respect permeated virtually all aspects of *Dakota* culture because they recognized, according to linguist Dr. Robert Bunge, that "nature is always stronger than man and if abused will eventually exact a vengeance of her own."⁶ Respect carried over into interpersonal relationships. In addressing each other, yesterday as today, *Dakota* used terms of kinship such as uncle, aunt, brother or sister rather than given names, recognizing their blood relationship first and foremost. Indians who joined the base blood extended family through marriage or adoption acquired kinship terms that recognized their status. *Koda* (friend), or *hunkaya*, to consider and honor as an ancestor, are kinship relations often accompanied by appropriate ceremonies that allow men and women to adopt an unrelated person as a friend or relative. The new

Distribution," Appendix B, Map 1, p. 136; also Abraham P. Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1785-1804* (St. Louis, MO: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1952, Bison reprint, 1990), 2 Vols., p. 52, Vol. 1, where describing the *Kansas* Indians, "It is on there land that there are found quarries of red stone from which are made the calumets for all the nations"; no extended history of the *Ihanktonwan Nakota* is in print, but for a brief overview see Herbert T. Hoover, *The Yankton Sioux* (New York: Chelsea House, 1989); also Sansom-Flood, *Lessons from Chouteau Creek, passim*; Renee Sansom-Flood, and Shirley A. Bernie, *Remember Your Relatives: Yankton Sioux Images, 1851-1904* (Marty, SD: Marty Indian School, 1985), Vol. 1, and Renee Sansom-Flood, Shirley A. Bernie, and Leonard R. Bruguier, *Remember Your Relatives: Yankton Sioux Images, 1865-1915* (Marty, SD: Yankton Sioux Elderly Advisory Board, 1989), Vol. 2, *passim*; Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, Vol. 2, pp. 169-171, for the eviction of resident tribes.

⁶Bunge, *An American Urphilosophie*, p. 99; I rely on Bunge's synthesis of Sioux ethical behavior found between pp. 92-133, see also *Black Elk Speaks*, pp. 26-28, for a vivid description of the holiness of all objects.

relationship is frequently stronger than a blood relation, creating bonds that, in the extreme, call for protection unto death. It is a unique custom in other ways serving to cement relations between men and women from different tribes and also functioning as a form of diplomacy. Within the family and in its interaction with other tribes, the kinship system has provided each individual an identity that ensures not only companionship but also safety, vitally important when traveling away from the physical location of the group.⁷

Several *Dakota* elders have spoken eloquently about the kinship system and its importance as a method of establishing amicable relationships that regulated interaction between members of *tiospayes* and tribes. *Dakota* linguist, Ella C. Deloria deemed kinship as the "all-important matter," and wrote that in order for a heterogenous society based on kinship to function, "one must obey kinship rules; one must be a good relative."⁸ According to DeWitt Hare, another elder of the *Ihanktonwan*, the *Dakota* led their lives guided by honor and respect. As an example, he noted how their society functioned without written laws or jails. Society's rules were kept by the *Akichita* (warriors) lodges, justice was meted out summarily for

⁷Riggs, *A Dakota-English Dictionary*, p. 158; for an explanation of Indian kinship and how Ely Parker's collaboration with Lewis H. Morgan fostered the growth of North American anthropology see Weatherford, *Native Roots*, pp. 252-270; see Wozniak, *Contact*, App. B, pp. 104-105, App. C, pp. 105-106 for diagrams of terminology and networks; though written primarily about *Lakota* customs, Hassrick, *The Sioux*, pp. 11-15, 107-120, puts forth ideas of kinship that have relevance to all *Sioux*; even today, when Indians meet they always ask who you are, to what tribe do you belong, and who do you know, seeking to establish an interpersonal relationship; for an extreme example of adoption of an individual by a *tiospaye* whose family member was murdered, see Deloria, *Speaking of Indians*, pp. 23-25; also for adoption of a brave enemy by the *Dakota*, see Iktomi, *America Needs Indians!*, pp. 53-54.

⁸Deloria, *Speaking*, pp. 17-33, regarded as the best interpretation of Indian kinship.

violations; no knowledge of what constituted a jail existed among the people. Robert Bunge explains why people were so precise when they expressed their feelings:

"words have power and are not to be used thoughtlessly or carelessly. There are no swear words in the Native American languages because words are not merely noumen (puffs of breath); they operate and transform the universe."⁹

Sharing of all material and spiritual goods was equally important among *tiospaye* members. Again, from Hare's remembrance, "not one of their number hungered while another had food; none of them went naked while another had a robe to spare; and none were shelterless while there [was] a tepee in sight."¹⁰ Children were rarely neglected. Hare further outlined the methods used to educate children and enumerated the basic essentials of life each child was taught. They were familiarized with food gathering and growing methods, and learned tribal history through telling and retelling those things which were important to the people. For

⁹Bunge, *An American Urphilosophie*, p. 165; *Ibid.*, "society without crime or poverty was the traditional society at which explorers marvelled. . . . Crime was so rare they had no penal code worth mentioning", p. 100; see also Truteau's notes where surprisingly he gives the people credit for their apparent lack of crime such as robbery, assassination or murder, though they have "no knowledge of the written law," Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark*, Vol. 1, p. 300; see also James Axtell, *White Indians of Colonial America* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1979), p. 18, for George Croghan's testimony about enforcing societal laws without written guidelines.

¹⁰DeWitt Hare, "The Yankton Indians," *SDHC* 6, p. 322. Mr. Hare was a graduate of Huron College, Huron, South Dakota, and worked for the Yankton Sioux Agency in various capacities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; see also Cross, *Father Louis Hennepin's*, pp. 154-156; Hiram M. Chittenden, and Alfred T. Richardson, *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S. J., 1801-1873* (New York, NY: Francis P. Harper, 1905), 4 Vols., pp. 1059-1061, Vol. 3. The Grass Dance Society was founded "to give aid and assistance to the weak, to protect the widow and orphan and to succor the sick and the stranger in need"; and *ibid.*, pp. 1283-1284, Vol. 4, "great and good chief Pananniapapi" who "leads an exemplary life among his people. His charity is boundless."

spiritual guidance, young men learned to establish communication with the Great Spirit through the Sacred Pipe. Young women were also taught to respect the Pipe and "all the duties and responsibilities of the tepee," learning "to plant the corn, to tend to it, and to harvest it."¹¹ Women's communion with the Great Spirit was separated from men's ways because of the special, sacred power of birth that was given them.¹² While children grew to adulthood, their relatives impressed them with the four cardinal virtues of a *Dakota*: bravery, wisdom, fortitude, and generosity. Their knowledge empowered them as teachers, thus the teachings came full circle within two generations.

Around the concept of respect between people and all beings grew Seven Sacred Ceremonies, each intimately tied to the universal scheme emanating from the teachings of the Sacred Pipe.¹³ From this perspective, it is virtually impossible to separate civil acts from what could be labelled religion. All that was *Dakota* was spiritual. At the same time, the flexible (democratic) rules governing the *tiospaye* allowed disagreements to be resolved by one of several different remedies. *Dakota* people were fiercely independent and competitive, but no one person possessed the power to overrule a personal preference unless a tribal custom was violated.

¹¹Hare, "The Yankton Indians," *SDHC* 6, p. 322; see also George F. Will and George E. Hyde, *Corn Among the Indians of the Upper Missouri* (St. Louis, MO: The William Harvey Miner Co., Inc., 1917), pp. 74-76, for women's almost total control of *maize* culture, from planting, hoeing, harvesting, to preparation for consumption; for a personal narrative of growing up on the Yankton reservation, see Zitkala-Sa [Gertrude Bonnin], *American Indian Stories*, (Washington, DC: Hayworth Pub. House, 1921, Bison paper, 1985), *passim*.

¹²Ruth M. Underhill, *Red Man's Religion: Beliefs and Practices of the Indians North of Mexico* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 51-54.

¹³For the ceremonies, see Joseph E. Brown, ed., *The Sacred Pipe*, *passim*.

Therefore, if a person had not lost the respect of the people, the guiding principle was to protect that integrity by letting the individual keep face. If an act merited group consideration, an appropriate council convened, the reasons and motivations for different behavior were expressed and given careful consideration. If one did not agree with the group's decision or rules after mediation, then he was free to exercise a legitimate method of expressing that difference. Voluntary removal to a different location to start anew or join a like-minded *tiospaye* were two appropriate forms of expressing differences.¹⁴

Respect for the earth and sky and all living things did not cause the *Dakotas* to become a stoic, humorless people. Their lives were balanced by a keen sense of amusement and expansive tolerance of kinsmen's behavior.¹⁵ *Dakota* humor differs

¹⁴Hare, "The Yankton Indians," *SDHC* 6, p. 322; Hank Spotted Eagle, *Ihanktonwan* elder, said that on rare occasions, if a person would not obey, he had to be killed, sometimes by his own father, *Yankton Dakota* oral history, interview of August, 1983; for an excellent account of "keeping face," and living as an upright person, see Bunge, *An American Urphilosophie*, pp. 113-126; see also Doane Robinson, "Sioux Indian Courts," *SDHC* 5, pp. 402-414, for an attempt to explain the Indian judicial system though dwelling excessively on hierarchy and hereditary right, a structural interpretation that precludes upward mobility while overlooking his own observations of the democratic nature of Indian society in his previous works; early non-Indians noted this independent trait among Indian people. See Nicolas Perrot's observations and Talihan's commentary in Blair, ed., *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley*, pp. 145-146, n. 112. Individual independence figured heavily in non-Indian governments making "appointed chiefs" with whom they could bargain, a theme developed in succeeding chapters; Iktomi in *America Needs Indians!* pp. 43-71 has an excellent summary of Indian life, referred to frequently in the narrative that follows.

¹⁵See Vine Deloria, Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (New York: Macmillan, 1969; paper, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), pp. 146-167, for another look at Indian humor; also James McLaughlin, *My Friend the Indian* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1910, Bison paper, 1989), pp. 59-76; and Kenneth Lincoln, *Indi'n Humor: Bicultural Play in Native America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1993).

from non-Indian forms of wit, but it serves the same two-fold purpose, providing relief from everyday mundane chores and functioning as a form of social control. Indians devised their humor by finding something funny in all of life's activities. Everybody and anybody was subject to careful scrutiny and often the retelling of their actions found its way into a joke or story. Indians have retained their capacity for humor and this modern example serves to illustrate their adaptability, especially in intertribal humor, when one tribe teases another. As told by a *Dakota*, or *d* dialect speaker:

They say a *Lakota* west river tribal chairman was turned down on a grant application because the readers back east could not understand the dialect differences between *Dakota/Lakota/Nakota*. The chairman tried to enlighten the official, all to no avail. His exasperation continued until finally one day he resolved to clear up the matter. His solution seemed simple enough, because the *Lakota* people were in the majority, all future references to South Dakota's Indians should be in the *L* or *Lakota* dialect and the *Dakota* or *d* dialect should be discontinued. It happens that his first name was Richard but his friends always called him Dickie. This soon came back to haunt him. One day the eight tribal chairmen of South Dakota were finishing up their telephone conference call when he decided to put his thoughts in front of them. When they were done, he came on the line and said that in the future the *d* or *Dakota* dialect should no longer be used as it caused great confusion among non-Indians. Henceforth, all words should be spoken in the *L* or *Lakota*. The line went silent, you could hear the lines humming. Suddenly a small voice was heard, "Okie, Lokie, Lickie." Indians still speak *Dakota* and *Lakota* in South Dakota. Hetchitu yedo (It is so).¹⁶

Because many Indian groups are still predominantly oral societies, certain

¹⁶Author unknown, but this is a favorite *hunkaka* among the tribes, teleconferences are the modern equivalent of Seven Council Fire gatherings from olden times; Indian humorists and cartoonists are producing more chapbooks displaying Indian humor. See for instance M. Grant Two Bulls, *Indian Humor At Its Best: Ptebloka, "Tales From the Buffalo"* (Vermillion, SD: Dakota Books and Institute of American Indian Studies, 1991); Robert Freeman, *Rubber Arrows* (Escondido, CA: A & L Litho, 1989); also the weekly *Indian Country Today* (formerly *Lakota Times*), published in Rapid City, South Dakota, which carries cartoon strips by and about Indians; for a brief, illuminating insight, see Iktomi, *America Needs Indians!*, pp. 46-47.

characters, some seemingly profane and others sacred, were devised as a means of standardizing meaningful stories, some of which are mythical in nature. Among this group of mythical characters one finds *miyasleca* (coyote), *unktomi* (spider, a fabulous creature), and *heyoka* (an unnatural being).¹⁷ These characters can be counted on to perform or accomplish impossible acts, and in the case of a *heyoka*, who did everything backward, for example, washing with dirt rather than water. Parts of the stories involving these three characters are strikingly similar to Biblical parables, allegorical tales used to reveal the foibles of mankind. In this way, *Dakota* people avoided using personal examples that would show disrespect to that person and possibly cause harm or dissension in the *tiospaye*. Teasing, which could be devastating, was accepted as a way of correcting improper behavior; it also taught one not to take oneself so seriously. Shaming, shunning, jeering, "uncomfortable sarcasm, challenge, hint or pointed remarks and blunt thrusts," were valuable *Dakota* social control mechanisms used to keep family members aware that bringing discredit upon one's family was a form of disrespect and therefore unwanted behavior.¹⁸ To keep proper distance between certain relations, designated behavior was enforced.

¹⁷Riggs, *A Dakota-English Dictionary*, pp. 317, 485, 144-45; Buechel, *A Dictionary*, 337, 507, 174; Riggs and Buechel define *heyoka* as an unnatural god, a useful term when constructing a mythological or spiritual cosmos or describing a state of being. *Black Elk's* great vision came from the west, home of thunder beings and only "those who have had visions of the thunder beings of the west can act as heyokas," are enabled as "sacred fools, doing everything wrong or backwards to make people laugh" to share sacred power, pp. 20-47, for the vision, pp. 187-193 for the *heyoka* ceremony in *Black Elk Speaks*. In this context *heyoka* is a teacher acting as a contrary, synonymous with the "devil's advocate" form of behavior. See James R. Walker's *Lakota Belief and Ritual* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), ed. by Elaine A. Jahner and Raymond J. DeMaillie, pp. 155-156, for a description of *heyoka*.

¹⁸Iktomi, *America Needs Indians!*, p. 60.

Normal conversation and close, physical location between the male and his mother-in-law was forbidden. Other kinships, such as the uncle and nephew relationships, were designated as teaching and teasing affiliations.¹⁹

Music was as much a part of *Dakota* life as eating, sleeping, and making jokes. Songs were made for virtually every activity Indians participated in from singing lullabies to digging a plant, to commemoration of a favorite horse. Honoring songs, songs of deeds performed, healing songs, vision songs, or naming songs were composed for every occasion. Female and male societies made songs for particular rituals and dances as did informal sewing or quilling groups. Drums were made of hollowed out cottonwood boles or handdrums with frames formed from thin willow saplings, then covered with hides. The drums, said to reproduce the heartbeat of mother earth, provided the most important accompaniment for the songs. Rattles made from skins, turtle shells, or gourds, courting flutes, eagle bone whistles, and sticks with deer dew claws attached were shaken or blown when appropriate. Ever creative when the occasion demanded, Indians were ready to make songs for the event. Music was such a vital part of *Dakota* life that later missionaries were able to entice tribal members to Christian services with beautiful hymns.²⁰

¹⁹*Black Elk Speaks*, pp. 60, 80, 86, calling a man or boy a woman if they cannot do something is often construed as sexist. This might be so according to today's standards, but in the past, men and women's roles were carefully delineated and seldom (except for *winkte*), were the sexes expected to excel at the opposite sex's duties; Hassrick, *The Sioux*, 143-163; teasing as a form of teaching is still prevalent among *Dakota*.

²⁰Interview with Arvol Looking Horse, February 26, 1993, where he said "there were songs for everything"; Hassrick, *The Sioux*, 160-162, for musical instruments, pp. 143-163, passim, which illustrates the spontaneity of song making; Melvin R. Gilmore, *Uses of Plants by the Indians of the Missouri River Region* (Washington, DC: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1919), for an outstanding ethnobotanical study

The *Dakota* were a modified hunter-gathering people, utilizing both plant and animal foods found within the cultural complex they inhabited. After their arrival in the vast and varied environment of the Wisconsin and Minnesota woodlands, including eastern portions of North and South Dakota, northern Iowa, and eastern Nebraska, new foods were added to their diets. *Maize*, an ancient food grown and traded by the *Dakota*, was supplemented by roots, stalks, and seeds of plants indigenous to the land. In particular, nutritious rice grew abundantly in the wet, marshy land found east of the 98th meridian and quickly became a staple in their diet.²¹ Tobacco for routine smoking and sacred rituals was grown by the men.

shedding light on aboriginal and modern plant lore and the movement of plants over the continent and usages. I have used the modern terms to identify particularly useful plants, though the list is too large for inclusion here, p. 70, Indian men in love "while walking alone on the prairie he finds this flower [spider lily] blooming, he sings to it a song in which he personifies it with the qualities of his sweetheart's character," the words "Wee little dewy flower, So blessed and so shy, Thou'rt dear to me, and for My love for thee I'd die." Indians incorporated diverse European articles into their lifestyle, for instance, sleigh bells used on horse harnesses were quickly adapted and widely used for dancing regalia; for a dry observation of the "little bags of undressed skins dried, with beads or small pebbles in them," Robinson, "Lewis and Clark in South Dakota," *SDHC* 9, p. 542; and in Archibald Hanna, ed., *The Lewis and Clark Expedition, by Meriwether Lewis, The 1814 Edition, Unabridged* (Philadelphia, PA: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1961, paper), in 3 Vols., p. 51, Vol. 1., where Captain Lewis intimates the rattle "produces a sort of rattling music, with which the party was annoyed by four musicians during the council this morning," see also Natalie Curtis, ed., *The Indian's Book: Authentic Native American Legends, Lore & Music* (New York, NY: Bonanza Books, 1987; reprint, orig. pub. 1905), for an excellent collection of old songs of the *Dakota* by an unbiased woman; for the story of *Tipi Sapa* (Black Lodge), or Rev. Philip Deloria's attraction to the church music and subsequent conversion see Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve, *That They May Have Life: The Episcopal Church in South Dakota, 1859-1976* (New York, NY: The Seabury Press, 1977), pp. 53-54; Chittenden, *Life, Letters and Travels*, Vol. 3, pp. 1058-1061, for a description of one ceremony.

²¹Walter P. Webb, *The Great Frontier* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1964, Bison Book, 1986), pp. 239-241, where non-Indians were forced to modify equipment and institutions before beginning occupation beyond the forested land, so too were Indians; for plants used for foods, see Gilmore, *Uses of Plants*, passim; rice

Sweet grass and sage, two plants that emit pungent, sweet-smelling odors when burned or crushed, were picked with respect and used in sacred ceremonies. Flat cedar, also used to sweeten the air by burning, was easily obtainable. Protein was obtained from bison, present in great numbers throughout the Mississippi Valley, along with deer, bear, moose, and elk. Small game such as rabbits, squirrels, and porcupine were hunted and eaten in appropriate seasons. Ducks, geese, turkey, and prairie chickens provided not only meat but eggs. Maple trees (on the plains, box-elder) were tapped and sugar refined for use as a sweetener in foods. Fish of many species abounded in the clear cold waters of Minnesota's lakes and streams, affording a ready source of food. Rivers and streams were filled with shellfish and edible reptiles such as turtles and frogs (though not all tribes developed a taste for fish), and made them valuable items in their diet.²²

George Catlin perceived the long-term implications of this rich food source.

When he traveled through Sault de Sainte Marie on Lake Superior, on his way to visit

was considered wild but evidence exists that Indians planted as well harvested it, see Albert E. Jenks, "The Wild Rice Gatherers of the Upper Lakes," *19th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, (Washington, DC: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1900), part 2, pp. 1019-1137; also Frances Densmore, *How Indians Use Wild Plants for Food, Medicine, and Crafts* (New York, NY: Dover Publications, Inc. 1974), passim; and Virginia Sculley, *A Treasury of American Indian Herbs: Their Lore and Their Use for Food, Drugs, Medicine* (New York, NY: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1971, paper), is also helpful.

²²For sweet grass (*Spartina Michauxiana*) and sage (*Artemisia*), used as a form of incense, see Gilmore, *Uses of Plants*, p. 66; for an excellent description of the land in northwest Minnesota inhabited by the *Dakota*, see Vol. 1, pp. 166-167 of Blair, *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley*; tradition calls for the making of tobacco ties or offering of a cigarette to the spirits before harvesting plants or animals; for *Ihanktonwan* smoking, see Rueben G. Thwaites, ed., *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1903), Vol. 2, p. 188.

the Pipestone Quarry, he observed members of an *Anishinaabeg* village harvesting fish in the "greatest abundance in the rapids at that place, and are, perhaps, one of the greatest luxuries of the world." The "white fish, which is in appearance much like a salmon, though smaller, is the luxury I am speaking of, and is caught in immense quantities by the scoop-nets of the Indians," providing most of the food needed by these people.²³ One tribe of the Seven Council Fires, the *Sisitonwan Dakota*, acquired their name because in their villages at Traverse des Sioux, Blue Earth, and the Big Cottonwood, they piled "the scales and entrails in heaps, which appeared partly white and shining, and partly black and dirty." The descriptive *Dakota* word for these piles is *sin-sin*.²⁴ Today's *Sissetonwan*, residing on their Old Agency Reservation south of Sisseton, South Dakota, call themselves People of the Fish Ground.²⁵ Oils rendered from the fat of bison, bear, fish, and skunks were used for cooking and medicinal and cosmetic purposes. Skunk oil proved particularly effective in curing chest colds and affording relief from aches and pains. Bear grease was versatile in several different applications, serving cosmetically as hair pomade, and medicinally as protection from sunburn, insect bites, and skin diseases.²⁶

²³Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, Vol. 2, pp. 161-162; Coues, *The Manuscript Journals of Henry and Thompson*, Vol. 1, p. 20, "great plenty of sturgeon at present" on western portage at Lac la Pluie, p. 242, "We take from 10 to 20 sturgeon per day; one weighed 145 pounds."

²⁴Riggs, *Dakota Grammar*, p. 158.

²⁵Elijah Black Thunder, et. al., *Ehanna Woyakapi*, p. 98.

²⁶Gilmore, *Uses of Plants*, passim; Engages, "The Long Hunters of New York," *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly (MTFQ)* hereafter) 25 (Summer 1989): 2-7; Cross, *Father Louis Hennepin's*, p. 107; "he rubbed my thighs and legs and the soles of my feet with the oil of wildcats" to help Hennepin recover from arduous physical exercise. Another point of misunderstanding, Indians were considered greasy and

Labor divisions are routinely described as gender based. Women owned all household goods and housing, including the *tipi* or other shelter, and could only forfeit this right if they violated rules accepted as the norm among the *tiospaye*.²⁷ Ownership brought responsibilities surrounding the everyday maintenance of the home. When the tribe changed campsites, it was the women's responsibility to take down the *tipi* when leaving, and put it up in the designated location when they reached the next site. Where food was prepared for eating depended on the season and occasion, normally done outside the *tipi* in good weather and inside when conditions warranted. Roasted meat and vegetable soup were mainstays, with soup being always available to hungry members. Preparation of meat involved dual duties, for once the men field-dressed the game and brought it back to camp, the women finished butchering and cooked it. Fresh meat or fish not immediately consumed, was sliced into thin strips and smoked if possible or hung to dry over wooden racks or on cords fashioned from leather or plant fiber and stretched between poles. Women were also responsible for making *wakapanpi*, an extremely nutritious food made of "pounded meat mixed with marrow or fat."²⁸ More commonly identified as

dirty when in effect they were using the equivalent of lotion, scents from certain plants and rouge from soil; Indians did not understand why the non-Indians did not take baths. Non-Indians marvelled how even during the winter cold Indians bathed or used the sweat-lodge for cleanliness, washing their hair and body with the yucca plant.

²⁷The idea of ownership or control is ably discussed by Alan M. Klein, "The Political-Economy of Gender: A 19th Century Plains Indian Case Study," in Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine, eds., *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983), pp. 156-157.

²⁸Indian women's studies is a field ripe for further research and publication. While Ella C. Deloria in *Waterlily* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), Joseph Iron Eye Dudley's *Choteau Creek: A Sioux Reminiscence* (Lincoln,

pemmican or *wasna*, Indian women used dried bison meat mixed with fat and often sweetened the concoction by adding chokecherries, plums, grapes, or other fruits or berries. The mixture was then pounded into a mash. *Wakapanpi* was easily stored and carried, and was a valuable staple for Indian and non-Indian travellers.

Making and repairing everyday and special occasion clothing was usually a woman's responsibility. When decorations for ceremonial clothing were required, shells, seeds, and quills from porcupines were used for ornamentation. Porcupine quillworking required special talents, from sorting, dyeing, flattening the quills to weaving them into the designs which often came from visions. But this artwork could only be as special as the material from which it was fashioned. Quillworkers were therefore dependent on women whose expertise included dressing and tanning hides of superior quality. Among the myriad duties women assumed, historical records often point out that women were primarily responsible for planting and harvesting maize

NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), and *Zitkala Sa's* [Gertrude Bonnin] two books, *American Indian Stories*, and *Old Indian Legends* (Boston, MA: Ginn, 1901, reprint Bison Books, 1985), contain much information on *Yankton* women, no study directly addressing their role is extant. *Lakota* women on the other hand have received close scrutiny, albeit the published information is lacking in numbers, but see Marla N. Powers, *Oglala Women: Myth, Ritual, and Reality* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1986), Elizabeth S. Grobsmith, *Lakota of the Rosebud: A Contemporary Ethnography* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1981), Albers and Medicine, *The Hidden Half*, Mary Crow Dog and Richard Erdoes, *Lakota Women* (New York, NY: Grove Weidenfeld, 1990), [a book labelled dishonest in some areas by Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, especially in regards to American Indian Movement men's treatment of women], Beatrice Medicine, *The Native American Woman: A Perspective* (Las Cruces, NM: New Mexico State University, 1978); and Carolyn Reyer, comp., *Cante Ohitika Win (Brave-Hearted Women): Images of Lakota Women from the Pine Ridge Reservation* (Vermillion, SD: University of South Dakota Press, 1991), for an enlightening ethnohistorical approach to Indian women. Reyer's book and Maria (Metis) Campbell, *Halfbreed* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), have excellent viewpoints on mixed-blood women. Riggs, *Dakota-English Dictionary*, p. 509, for *wakapanpi*, p. 535, for *wasna*, lard, grease or tallow, p. 535, for *waskuyeca*, fruit of all kinds.

and other fiber foodstuffs.²⁹

Child-care was viewed as primarily a woman's duty, although the mother received help from male and female members of the *tiospaye*. Once children were born, nurturing and education followed. Bonding was firmly established by breast feeding and constant physical contact with relatives and friends. Children were surrounded by kin who remained attentive to their needs. Mothers, aunts, fathers, uncles, siblings, and grandparents carried their children in their early years, thus the children became observers and participants as relatives went about their routine tasks or participated in social activities. Children were adored by all members of the *tiospaye*, and their behavior tolerated in an atmosphere of freedom. By being included in all family functions, listening to relatives laughing and joking, singing, beating the drum, or telling stories, both day and night, children bonded naturally into

²⁹Schusky, *The Forgotten Sioux*, pp. 18-22, though specific to the *Sicangu* has application to the *Ihanktonwan* because they lived near each other and had blood relationships; pemmican became a staple among all who ventured onto the plains. See Coues, *Journals*, 475-477; men also made clothes and regalia. See for instance *Black Elk Speaks*, p. 243, where "I made ghost shirts all day long and painted them in the sacred manner of my vision"; also Marsha C. Bol, "Gender in Art: A Comparison of Lakota Women's and Men's Art, 1820-1920," (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1989), passim for a thorough discussion of artistic differentiation. Women are invariably depicted by Europeans as beasts of burden. See Cross, *Father Louis Hennepin's*, p. 145, where women "act as porters and are so strong that few European men can equal them[,]"; also Cross, pp. 148-149, where Hennepin mentions the *Dakota* wearing shirts, coats, turbans, stockings "without feet, which our Frenchmen ordinarily call leggings," blankets, using glass beads for decoration, along with dressed skins, indicating an established trade with non-Indians; gender divided work is always subject to discussion, non-Indians often referring to Indian women as drudges and men as slackers, when in fact labor divisions were fair and equal according to formula established by the Indians.

the life rhythms of their people.³⁰

Men's duties were equally diverse and considered of vital importance, including their demanding responsibilities as hunters, protectors, warriors, and decision-makers for the *tiospaye* or tribe. Implicit in this division was the making and maintenance of weapons, traps, and ropes needed for hunting, fishing, trapping, and general use. Campsite selection depended on availability of fuel and water. Security from dangerous outside forces also dictated campsite selection. Older men were aided in security duties by younger men who were learning their respective places in the extended family. Specialized duties required great physical and intellectual powers. Canoes, requiring knowledge of engineering and procurement of appropriate materials, were fashioned and maintained by men. Specialty canoes were needed to serve the various needs of the people. Lightweight, easily managed canoes were used to support communication networks while others were sturdy enough to transport goods between villages. Serving as overland runners to carry messages and news between scattered groups was a man's responsibility requiring great stamina and

³⁰Deloria, *Speaking of Indians*, pp. 26-29, 42-43; for analysis of gender work division, see *Buffalo Bird Woman's Garden*, as told to Gilbert L. Wilson. (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society, 1987, reprint. Intro. by Jefferey R. Hanson. Orig. pub. as *Agriculture of the Hidatsa Indians: An Indian Interpretation*, University of Minnesota Press, 1917). I extrapolate from this account; see also Hassrick, *The Sioux*, esp. pp. 209-242, for further analysis of gender work division; for the regard with which children were held, see McLaughlin, *My Friend the Indian*, pp. 90-96; for the counter argument, see Cross, *Father Louis Hennepin's*, p. 159, where he says "children show very little respect for their parents. Fathers let children strike them, because they say if they punished them they would be timid and would make poor warriors", a criticism one hears often about Indian children going unpunished; Hennepin's account of childbirth being common should be balanced with that given by Gilmore, *Uses of Plants*, pp. 64-65, where all women prepared for birth by collecting cattails whose down was used to prevent chafing when used as a talcum, used for stuffing pillows, cradleboard padding, and diapers; Renee Sansom-Flood, *The Lost Bird* (forthcoming), believes bonding is genetic.

memory to keep the messages straight and to know which trails to take. Father Hennepin observed messengers and warriors who "undertake journeys of three or four hundred leagues [a league varied, usually equalling about two and a half miles], with no more thought than we would give to a journey from Paris to Orleans."³¹

Marriage and the courting rituals were a prominent part of *Dakota* life. Strong taboos existed, with incest and marriage to blood relatives forbidden. Marriages were usually arranged by families according to set customs, but men and women were not bound by these arrangements.³² Courting rituals ranged from simple elopement to time-consuming consultation with elders or medicine men who offered advice and medicines to aid in the quest. Often a man sought help from a specialist who fashioned a flute and created a love song to win a woman's affections. Another man (or woman) would refer the suitor to certain plants that might attract the desired maiden's attention.³³ The young man waited during lulls in the everyday routine,

³¹Runners averaged over seventy miles a day, see Winifred W. Barton, *John P. Williamson: A Brother to the Sioux* (Clements, MN: Sunnycrest Publishing, 1980, reprint, orig. pub., 1919), pp. 90-94, I believe this a very low estimate, more likely ten miles an hour, but the average depended on weather, trail, and hostile or friendly conditions; see also Coues, *Journals*, Vol. 1, pp. 362, 432-438, for a description of *Bigbellies* keeping in shape by running frequent races; Cross, *Father Louis Hennepin*, p. 145, for running, p. 9, n. 2, for definition of league, see also pp. 167-172, for *Dakota* methods of hunting and fishing; Robinson, "History," *SDHC* 2, p. 29, "is quite certain before the migration they were expert canoemen"; for an excellent description of birchbark canoe making, see Timothy Severin, *Explorers of the Mississippi* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), pp. 8-10.

³²For an ascerbic look at Indian courting rituals, bride price, and the reasons why males gave the prospective bride's family horses, meat, or other goods, see Iktomi, *America Needs Indians!*, pp. 66-70.

³³See Gilmore, *Uses of Plants*, p. 60, where "methods and formulae for compounding love medicines were not known to everyone, so a person desiring to employ such a charm must resort to some one reputed to have knowledge of it and must pay the fees and follow the instructions of his counsellor."

arranged discreet meetings in a private or sheltered place, or he waited until night to play the flute, hoping to bring her into his arms. Women were generally restrained in their reactions, and often played one potential spouse off against another. In the evening, a man wore a courting blankets and stood outside the woman's *tipi*. If the woman consented she came outside, stood next to him and he put his blanket over them so their conversation was private. There was no set pattern on where the young couple lived after marriage, the choice was based on social and economic patterns. Long-lasting marriages were honored among Indians, but divorce was possible and couples did not hesitate to part when circumstances dictated. Divorce created some hardship but very little societal condemnation existed. Multiple marriages were an accepted part of *Dakota* life, but certain rules applied. Usually a man who was a good provider took on extra wives, preferably a wife's sister or some woman in her family. Often interpreted as an economic arrangement done to enhance a man's wealth, this usually amounted to no more than adding another pair of trained hands to assist with everyday chores. A man frequently took a deceased brother's wife as his own so that she and her children were provided for and protected.³⁴

Shared duties between genders, regardless of age group, were numerous.

³⁴For a definitive look at *Dakota* marriage and courting customs, see Deloria, *Waterlily*, pp. 134-141; for a laymen's view, McLaughlin, *My Friend the Indian*, pp. 59-76; for scholarly view, Hassrick, *The Sioux*, pp. 121-138; Gilmore, *Uses of Plants*, p. 70, for a flower that inspires a song that describes feelings for a woman, p. 80, 106, for medicines that provide power, for scents and rouges, see p. 98; Richard Fool Bull, AIRP #0710, p. 61, for medicine used in child-birth. He also comments on multiple marriages and relations between wives; Jean B. Truteau gives a vivid account of the *Panis*, *Mandanes*, *Ricaras*, and *Bigbellies* views of marriage. See Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark*, Vol. 1, pp. 257-259, contrasting Indian views of marriage with Europeans; see also Cross, *Father Louis Hennepin's*, pp. 150-154; Iktomi, *America Needs Indians!*, p. 69, states "divorces were very rare"; Thwaites, *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. 2, p. 188, on multiple marriages.

When tribes or *tiospayes* moved camp to engage in an annual harvest, all members of the group had specific duties. Those men not engaged in security or scouting roles participated. Upon arrival and setup at the new camp, work on harvesting, such as chokecherry or plum picking, commenced with all members lending a hand. Other shared tasks included serving as guides when game was herded into a surround or over a cliff. Once this was accomplished, women, sometimes helped by men not engaged in security duties, began the task of butchering the meat, preparing it for curing, or if needed, transporting it back to the basecamp. All members of the groups, helped by dogs who were rigged either with backpacks or small travois, shared carrying duties. When game was killed far from the camp, the hunters did the butchering and carried as much as possible back to the people. What they could not carry was stored for retrieval. Elders of each *tiospaye* contributed in tasks such as woodgathering, waterhauling, and other duties, but their principle duties involved children to whom they provided daycare and continued education covering all facets of life.³⁵

Specialization depended as much on skill as the *tiospaye*'s physical location. After necessary daily duties were completed, individuals with certain talents engaged in manufacturing items used for trade and gift-giving. Trade and gift items depended on materials that were present within the environs of the camp. Tribes located near

³⁵*Black Elk Speaks*, pp. 57; for flutes see Richard Fool Bull tape, American Indian Research Project, Interview #0710, pp. 5, "a long flute they call it, [they use it] to call women with in early days. Young men used to blow them around and trying to communicate with a girl friend, women friend"; Blair, *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley*, p. 161, Vol. 1, n. 126, mentions Indians "burned mineral coal (*Relation* of 1670, chap. xi)" for heat; *ibid.*, p. 162, n. 126, "in the northwest, and especially in the Dakotas, there are extensive beds of lignite, of good quality."

the copper deposits of the Western Great Lakes region manufactured knives, axes, spearpoints, and other cutting edges for trade. Common items such as arrow shafts, bows, flint, and copper arrowheads were continually in demand by hunters and warriors. Basketmakers, fishnet makers, potters, leatherworkers, canoe makers, and other artisans provided utilitarian and cosmetic articles useful and necessary for the tribe.³⁶

Spiritual and medicinal keepers were specialty occupations. Although the *Dakota* were generally healthy and longliving individuals, accidents and sicknesses did occur prior to the introduction of "old-world" diseases. Hennepin depicted Indian physical characteristics as "extremely robust," often remarkably tall, and "not subject to the thousand ailments that we [Europeans] incur by our too easy lives."³⁷

Marshall Sahlins and other scholars have reevaluated the lifestyles of hunting-gathering societies. Using a linear time scale, a seven day week, which was not particularly congruent with cyclical growing, harvesting, and thought patterns of indigenous groups, scholars discovered that an Indian's time was not totally consumed with finding sufficient food to ensure group survival.³⁸ That the *Dakota* possessed

³⁶Cross, in *Father Louis Hennepin's*, pp. 99-100, mentions that only northern tribes have canoes owing to lack of birch trees to the south. He also notes on p. 116, that "while awaiting the arrival of those bringing [birch] bark, the Indian women made frameworks for the canoes that were to be built," another instance of shared gender duties.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 145, but he bankrupts the image when he states in his conclusion that "Indians are without bodily defects leads one to believe that, given training and association with Frenchmen, their mental development would equal their physical development"; see also Iktomi, *America Needs Indians!*, pp. 43-45, 47.

³⁸Internal criticism for interpreting hunter/gatherer societies is ongoing in academic disciplines. For a start see Marshall Sahlins, "The Original Affluent Society," in *Stone Age Economics* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1972), pp.

ample time to engage in non-food gathering activities is abundantly demonstrated by a careful evaluation of the spiritual cosmology of the Sacred Pipe and certain surrounding ceremonies which they created and practiced.³⁹ Spiritual and physical healing was not restricted by gender. Knowledge of healing plants, seeds, and roots was known by both sexes and shared with those who wished to learn the functional aspects, both as a layperson or in a formal apprenticeship.⁴⁰ Individuals who desired to learn healing practices often sought inspiration through vision quests. If their prayers were answered by receiving a vision that bestowed healing knowledge, the blessed ones usually took a tobacco offering to a mentor whose specialty or vision matched their own. If the vision was compatible, the initiate was taken on as an assistant. Apprenticeships continued for long periods of time until the master died or

1-39; also Richard B. Lee and Irven DeVore, eds., *Man the Hunter* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1968, 3d. printing, 1972), passim. Francis Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West* (New York, NY: The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1963, Signet Classic), pp. 139, describes how La Salle and his followers, without food, "presently found the caches, or covered pits, in which the Indians hid their stock of corn. This was precious beyond measure in their eyes, and to touch it would be a deep offense. La Salle shrank from provoking their anger, which might prove the ruin of his plans; but his necessity overcame his prudence, and he took thirty minots of corn, hoping to appease the owners by presents"; of course this also is testimony against the argument of starving Indians often found in traveller's accounts, partially explained below.

³⁹Alexander, *The World's Rim*, pp. 164-165. Knowledge of the cosmology is examined and must be understood before appropriate ceremonies can be performed. Correct seasons or time for the ceremonial must be designated, relevant people notified, proper equipment prepared, and food and special medicines collected before a ceremony such as the *Wiwanyagwacipi*, sun dance, can be performed.

⁴⁰Gilmore, *Uses of Plants*, passim, where he lists medicine plants known to the Indians of the upper Great Plains; also Cross, *Father Louis Hennepin's*, p. 140, where he observes "medicinal herbs that are not found in Europe," purging, poisons "used to destroy life," and rattlesnakes, whose "bite is dangerous, but wherever they are sovereign remedies against their bites are also found" suggesting that *Dakota* were aware of and used antivenom procedures.

the healer was needed by another *tiospaye*. During periods of illness, family members were allowed access to the sick ones to reassure them of their concern. Sharing love with the afflicted person was an integral part of healing (and tragically, became part of the problem by spreading the infection, especially so after non-Indian diseases were introduced). Participating in the healing process made the people aware of the symptoms, consequently, they were not afraid of sickness. When needed, healing ceremonies were directed by a *pejuta wicasha na winyan* (medicine man or woman), and all relatives and friends who desired took part. Once the people gathered, they cooked and served food, aided the healer in his ceremonies, offered encouragement, and sang songs, thus helping the infirm recover. Indians were not averse to seeking help from any person who had experienced success in healing someone.⁴¹

Both genders had formal and informal social and political societies in which to participate. Groups formed within *tiospayes* and usually these families lived near each other while performing everyday activities. Those individuals with special

⁴¹Later, when epidemics spread through tribes, this closeness proved fatal; James McLaughlin, *My Friend the Indian*, pp. 77-96; for an example of healing venereal disease, see Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark*, p. 258, where Truteau observes, the "consequence of these libertine manners is the venereal disease. This is very frequent among them; but the Indians cure it by decoction [concoction] of certain roots. I have seen some that were rotten with it, cured in six months"; Ward Churchill, *Fantasies of the Master Race: Literature, Cinema and the Colonization of American Indians* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1992), pp. 219-220, quotes Rick Williams, "it takes a lifetime of apprenticeship" to learn how to heal, and Matthew King, "each people has their own ways. You cannot mix these ways together, because each people's ways are balanced. Destroying balance is a disrespect and very dangerous"; see Cross, *Father Louis Hennepin's*, pp. 146-148, for his brief description of healing; *Tunkashina* Joseph Rockboy, from his deathbed, when asked why he did not use Indian medicine to cure himself said, "the *washicu* (non-Indian) knows how to cure diseases he brought with him, that's why I am in the hospital"; for a succinct description of plants used for medicine, see Gilmore, *Uses of Plants*, passim.

interests or areas of expertise also tended to congregate together. From these circles organizations such as scouts, horse raiding parties, or war teams were formed.

Young boys were taught appropriate behavior by fathers and other kin who belonged to a lodge or society. Primary responsibility for keeping the camp circle in order, serving almost as a radio, was the *eyapaha* (crier), a man who was detailed to walk or ride among the *tipis* announcing forthcoming events. Part of *eyapaha* duties was control. As he walked and announced, he also observed events. By his presence he acted as a deterrant, but he also noted any potential problem or disorder that might be harmful to the group. If a disturbance occurred, he informed the *itancan* (headman) and a detail composed of an *akichita* (soldiers or veterans) lodge would attempt to solve the problem, informally if possible. If not taken care of immediately, which in certain cases they were empowered, (i.e., on a hunting expedition), other councils composed of appropriate people were called to solve the difficulty.⁴²

Women assumed many additional duties when the men were off hunting or raiding, thus, they were fully capable of making decisions that affected tribal members remaining in the camp circle. Women also participated individually and with other female relatives in ceremonies that related to women's biological matters. There were also certain groups of men and women who were travelers, though not organized formally, who moved around to stay with *tiospaye* of different tribes. They spent time with a group, helping with various tasks, participating in everyday

⁴²For an excellent delineation (though excruciatingly dry) of the soldiers, or Indian police and their duties, see Annie H. Abel, ed., *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939, 2d. printing, 1968), pp. 116-123. Tabeau comments only of the police in the Partisan's band; see also Thwaites, *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. 2, p. 189, for secret societies and duties, p. 191, for description of soldier's lodge and duties.

activities, and at the same time passing on the *takushnishni oyaka* (talk trifles, or gossip) before moving on to the next group. These individuals were extremely important because they passed on news that kept people informed about relatives who lived elsewhere.⁴³

Leadership was not inherited, it was earned. Trust and sound judgement were leadership qualities that enabled a man or woman to give advice or counsel to members of the *tiospaye*. Expertise in one area of endeavor did not give one claim to overall leadership responsibilities; men and women were chosen to lead in situations where they had previously achieved success. Such qualities were known by peers because each was observed maturing over time within the group. Thus, governing groups, composed of those individuals who volunteered, were formed to establish rules prior to departure on hunting or raiding parties. Overall leadership in *Dakota* society generally devolved to the eldest male, a man who lived and practiced the

⁴³Robinson, "Sioux Indian Courts," *SDHC* 5, pp. 402-408, with reservations mentioned earlier, talks of old systems of hearing cases and the "camp policeman"; see also Deloria, *Speaking of Indians*, pp. 23-26, for an extreme case of justice being rendered for a murder, but sentences ranged widely depending on the violation, from forgiveness to disfigurement to banishment to death; two dear people, Aunt Myrtle St. Pierre (*Ihanktonwan*), and Uncle Marvin Cole (*Ihanktonwan/Ponca*), fit the traveler category in modern times (1950s). Gregarious and well-liked, they visited and stayed at our home at different times for a couple of days, even weeks if parttime jobs were found, passing on news from various reservations, helping with household chores and then moving on to the next family. Uncle Marvin carried his Parcheese game, a hand drawn layout on a plywood board, with him (he could not be beat). They were not married nor did they travel together; for a close look at societies, see Hassrick, *The Sioux*, pp. 3-31, though one must excuse the mistake found on p. 6, where "the *Mdewakantons*, the *Wahpetons*, the *Wahpekutes*, the *Sissetons*, the *Yanktons*, the *Yanktonais*, and the *Tetons*. Of all these tribal names, only the terms *Teton* and *Santee* (comprising the first four tribes above) exist," and Walker's *Lakota Society*, pp. 62-63, for women's societies and classes, pp. 32-34 for a close look at the *Akichita* society and its stratification and duties. Though written about *Lakota*, elements of these societies exist among all tribes of the *Ocheti Sakowin*.

tenets of the four cardinal virtues. Leadership was accomplished by moral suasion, oratorical skill, and example. Because tribal decisions were consensual, men or women who were most adept at finding the middle ground of an argument and articulating it to the council held important positions in the tribe. As such, they attracted many followers who agreed with their style and philosophy and supported the individual by allowing that person to speak for them. In some families, leadership traits lived through succeeding generations and oftentimes positions of responsibility became almost hereditary if the person demonstrated the necessary qualities.⁴⁴

One aspect of leadership hinged on the *Dakota* virtue of generosity, the notion that one must share all material objects with those who have less or are in need. According to *Iktomi* (Spider), "Indian leaders were concerned with *tribe*, not *bribe*," and were "wise, and thoughtful, true, brave, public-spirited and sacrificing, therefore relatively poor," because they "were actually the champion givers and most prominent examples of hospitality and generosity."⁴⁵ Of course, those with the ability to acquire excess goods were not necessarily leaders. When anyone with special talents such as excellent hunting skills or good trading sense acquired more goods than needed, they too were required to comply with the tribe's norm of sharing. Thus guided, they chose an appropriate occasion and offered a feast and giveaway where material objects were passed on to those with less.⁴⁶ When the opportunity to

⁴⁴Thwaites, *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. 2, pp. 193-194, for look at how leaders evolve.

⁴⁵Iktomi, *America Needs Indians!*, p. 57.

⁴⁶For an excellent summary, see Deloria, *Speaking of Indians*, pp. 45-48; also Thwaites, *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. 2, pp. 184-186, for observations on different feast occasions and food served.

engage in trade with non-Indians developed, and especially when one wanted to become a middleman, the virtue of sharing created many problems which were (as today) seldom overcome. When one had goods and a relative was without, proper behavior directed that all necessities be shared, regardless of economic principles of payment. Nevertheless, tribal leaders displayed the cardinal virtues in varying degrees.⁴⁷

In all respects, from reports gathered by French explorers, missionaries, and traders, the *Dakota* people were a smoothly functioning society who thrived in the bountiful cultural complex they inhabited in the Minnesota woodlands, lacking only the word of a Christian God and European goods. Flexible sociopolitical and economic institutions allowed them to borrow and incorporate lifeways peculiar to their habitat and other tribesmen sharing living space while they retained the choice of rejecting those that were not in compliance, with the possible exception of alcohol. An addiction to alcohol transcended social behavior until sanctions were adopted by the tribes. But records exist of the balanced life found among the plains Indians. Father Pierre-Jean De Smet was struck by the order and tranquility that prevailed in an Indian encampment he visited on one of his journeys. "Children playing with all their might" in their games while women "were about their usual household work"

⁴⁷Although Robinson places too much emphasis on hereditary leadership roles, see his, "Sioux Indian Courts," *SDHC* 5, pp. 402-403; many examples abound, but see for instance the *Wabasha* family in AIRP interview #0864, Field Notes reference Prior Lake Reserve, July 20, 1972; James A. Clifton, *The Prairie People: Continuity and Change in Potawatomie Indian Culture, 1665-1965* (Lawrence, KS: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1977), pp. 66-68, discusses this issue among *Potawatomie* middlemen, where generosity "won prestige and influence. . . . Economic exchange was conceived of and conducted as gift-giving" but they were victimized because they were on the "lower end of a complex exchange network which Montreal operated by the doctrines of a capitalized market economy."

and men looking after horses, making bows and arrows or holding council while engaging in "their favorite occupation [of] smoking the calumet in peace."⁴⁸ But the *Dakota* were already in the process of expansion, having intervened in the lives of surrounding Indians. Adding to the cultural milieu were the new groups of people who were moving westward, expanding or moving their cultural complexes according to the changing frontiers.⁴⁹

⁴⁸Chittenden, *Life, Letters and Travels*, Vol. 3, p. 1058; Vine Deloria, Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins*, p. 16, "the best characterization of tribes is that they stubbornly hold on to what they feel is important to them and discard what they feel is irrelevant to their current needs. Traditions die hard and innovation comes hard. Indians have survived for thousands of years in all kinds of conditions."

⁴⁹Bunge, *An American Urphilosophie*, p. 100; Schusky, *The Forgotten Sioux*, p. 24.

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CHAPTER IV

NORSE, FRENCH, SPANISH, AND ENGLISH INCURSIONS INTO THE MISSISSIPPI AND MISSOURI RIVER VALLEYS, 1634-1763

Although the first mention of the *Dakota* came from European accounts written by Frenchmen entering Indian Country from Canada there is yet another story.¹ The *Dakota* have vivid oral narratives describing Norsemen invading Mandan and Arikara villages in present day North and South Dakota, centuries before other non-Indian visitations. *Ihanktonwan* elder Henry Spotted Eagle, whose father and grandfather lived to be over one hundred years old, was told this chilling story:

They came from the North and they were giant, white-haired men with fur on their faces and big weapons that they held across their chests. These weapons were strong and shot arrows with great force. They carried big, shiny weapons in their hands and they yelled very loud. The people thought they were monsters and they ran. At one village the giants attacked and killed great numbers of men, women, and children but they carried away the younger women as slaves. They attacked for no reason

¹Accounts of early non-Indian encounters are plentiful, see David B. Quinn, *North America From Earliest Discovery to First Settlements: The Norse Voyages to 1612* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1975, Harper Torchbook, paper, 1986), pp. 1-40; James D. McLaird, "The Welsh, the Vikings, and the Lost Tribes of Israel on the Northern Plains: The Legend of the White Mandan," *SDH* 18 (Winter 1899): 245-273; Mary C. Duratschek, O.S.B., *Crusading Along Sioux Trails: A History of the Catholic Indian Missions of South Dakota* (Yankton, SD: Benedictine Convent of the Sacred Heart, Grail Publications, 1947), p. 1; and G. Hubert Smith, *The Explorations of the La Verendryes in the Northern Plains, 1738-43* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), W. Raymond Wood, ed., p. 27.

and it was a great mystery because they were never seen again.²

Archaeologist Larry J. Zimmerman led a team that evacuated a site at Crow Creek, South Dakota, in 1978, and found over four hundred skeletons of men, women and children buried in a mass grave. His findings were that these people had been attacked and murdered by an enemy Indian tribe.³ When Mr. Spotted Eagle (who quietly watched the excavation while sitting on a log not far from the dig) heard the scientific results, he came to the archaeologists and told them that Indians would not have killed this many people because they would have been afraid of the vindictive spirits of those slain. It ran against Indian thought to slaughter over four hundred people in one mass charge. The scientists laughed at the old man and told him to go home. Spotted Eagle asked them: "If this was an Indian attack, where are the arrow heads? Indians left arrows to show who they were." The archaeologists could not answer because few arrowheads, if any, were found and were probably those of the slain. Mr. Henry Spotted Eagle's last request before he died in 1986 was to tell this narrative so that scientists might reconsider their findings.⁴

Documented history begins much later with the French explorers, traders, and missionaries who gradually extended explorations into *Dakota* country where they began establishing markets and harvesting souls. Fortunately, the missionaries and a

²Ellen Tobin, "Oral history recorded: Man, daughter keep legends alive," *Yankton Daily Press & Dakotan*, Friday, August 29, 1986, p. 11; Zimmerman, et. al., *The Crow Creek Site (39BF11) Massacre*.

³Zimmerman, *The Crow Creek Site (39BF11) Massacre*, p. 18, "the remains of about 500 individuals."

⁴Tobin, "Man, daughter," p. 11; Zimmerman, *ibid.*, pp. 46-47, lithic artifacts found, seven projectile points.

few lay people left ethnohistorical data that illuminated the lifestyles of the people who inhabited the upper Mississippi River Valley. English influence spread westward through contacts with tribes on the east coast and after 1670, southward from the trade center established in the northern reaches at Hudson's Bay. Competition for the Indian trade increased as British traders made incursions from Hudson's Bay, penetrating south on the western border along the Red River of the North and its tributaries. Spanish traders, though few in number until the last half of the eighteenth century, began to influence the *Dakota* principally through already established trade routes between southwestern Indian tribes and their northern plains neighbors. Non-Indian historians of the western frontier often describe the region of the Mississippi River and its numerous feeder streams in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as being filled with international intrigue. Indian nations caught in the struggle to control the lands and rivers were the most numerous players as they were coerced to fight the wars and accommodate a growing number of Europeans who moved among them. The economic, religious, and cultural network of non-Indian influence began on the rivers that flowed through the *Dakota* homelands, bounded by the muddy waters of the Mississippi and Missouri. In this intersection of different races, new technologies introduced by the Europeans added a new element to the ongoing cultural exchange between Indian and non-Indian.⁵

⁵Scudder Mekeel, "A Short History of the Teton Dakota," *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* (NDHQ hereafter) 10 (July 1943): 137-205. Quoting from Rueben G. Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations*, "in this land, as elsewhere in all ages, the trader nearly always preceded the priest," pp. 152-153; the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spanish influence is minimal except for horses, addressed more fully below; Nasatir and his numerous graduate students, along with Frances Parkman, and Clarence W. Alvord, among others, are major proponents of the imperial machinations school, focusing almost exclusively on diplomacy and warfare. The

For the *Dakota*, the French saga began when Jean Nicolet first visited the *Winnebagoes* who were living near present-day Green Bay, Wisconsin, in 1634-35.⁶ Strategically located on the western shores of Lake Michigan, the *Winnebago* village proved its worth as a trading center, providing protection for canoes travelling on the lake or those coming down the Fox River. Jesuit priest Paul le Jeune arrived at Green Bay in 1640, as a missionary for the western tribes. Although not particularly successful in gaining adult converts, with his presence on the frontier he was nevertheless able to visit with men who used the mission as a stopping or starting off point. Fortunately, he wrote his observations into reports and part of the information Jean Nicolet furnished about his wide-ranging travels appeared in le Juene's *Relations*. Nicolet offered tantalizing clues about potential markets when he told the priest that to the west, "still farther on dwell the *Ouinipegon* [Mandan], who are very numerous." Le Jeune continued his narrative, adding: "In the neighborhood of this

history of the *Dakota* are inextricably tied with the fur trade until its demise in the mid-1800s along the Missouri River. The narrative below will of necessity contain excerpts of the vast scholarship available on the trade.

⁶The year of Nicolet's arrival is disputed. Riggs, *Dakota Grammar*, p. 169, states the year of first contact as 1639; where John L. Champe's "Yankton Chronology," in Alan R. Woolworth's *Sioux Indians III*, p. 250, "Jean Nicolet visited Green Bay in 1634-5, and there met the Winnebago, with whom he made a treaty in the name of France, in an assembly of four or five thousand men. (Relation of 1642) He related his discoveries to the Jesuit priest, Paul Le Jeune, and from the latter's Relation of 1640, as translated by Reuben Gold Thwaites, the following is quoted: 'Sieur Nicolet, interpreter of the Algonquian and Huron languages for the gentlemen of New France, has given me the names of these nations, which he himself has visited for the most part in their own country, i.e. In the neighborhood of this nation are the Naduessiu, the Assinipour, . . . the Reiniouai (Illinois), the Rassaouakoueton (Mascouten), and the Pououtouatami'; the *Naduessi*, or enemy, appears to be a common term widely used to describe a tribe's enemies.

nation are the *Naduessi* and the *Assiniponais*,"⁷ providing names used to identify the *Dakotas* and the *Assiniboines*. From this account it can be surmised that the split between the two tribes had already occurred by this date. Another report of Jesuits Raymbault and Jogues in 1640 or 1641, mentions a western people "who till the soil in the manner of our Hurons, and harvest Indian corn and Tobacco."⁸ A map dated 1643 shows a lake designated as "Grand Lac des Nadouessiou [Great Lake of the Sioux]" where Lake Superior is today.⁹ Using the Great Sioux Trail which heads south from the western end of the Great Lake of the Sioux, Pierre-Espirit Radisson and Medard Chouart des Groseillers visited among the "Nation of the Beefe or Buffalo"¹⁰ in 1659, and stayed with them over six weeks. The two men's account, although much debated by scholars, provides some of the first non-Indian ethnohistorical data on the *Dakota*. They reported hearing of an Indian nation numbering over seven thousand men, that subsisted on corn and hunted the buffalo for meat. Also within the narrative is a description of a ceremony called the Feast of the Dead. In this rite, the people kept the bones of their departed relatives, usually in their private dwellings, until a general meeting of tribes was called. All remains were

⁷For the *Quinipegon* (The Sioux who go underground), or *Mandan*, see Smith, *The Explorations of the La Verendryes*, pp. 25-26; names mentioned are of men who could write. Many illiterate men probably preceded those mentioned, see Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, p. 58.

⁸Woolworth, *Sioux Indians III*, pp. 250-251.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 251; Justin Winsor, *The Mississippi Basin, The Struggle in America Between England and France, 1697-1763* (Boston, MA: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1895), provides a wide array of maps for a close look at trade routes, rivers, and settlements established during this period.

¹⁰Woolworth, *Sioux Indians III*, p. 252.

then gathered and carried to a central location where mourning and feasting, sponsored by the affected families, took place. After these services were completed, the bones were obliterated, usually by fire. It is interesting that the Sacred Pipe or calumet occupied the cardinal position in these ceremonies, demonstrating the broad geographic usage among tribes. Also of significance are the observations of Nicolas Perrot, "an ordinary *coureur de bois* by occupation (1665-1684)," who rose to serve "on occasion [as] an interpreter (1671 and 1701)" for the government of New France.¹¹ Perrot's value, both for his own country and the Indian nations, rested on his ability to learn not only tribal languages but cultural traits. Combined with a nimble wit, he easily adapted into the tribal societies he met in his extensive travels. His ethnohistorical account, including the *Sioux* of the *Micissypy*, is especially valuable because it outlines the historical roots of diplomatic procedures between the Frenchmen and Indians.¹²

Green Bay's importance as a trading center grew as it became known to *Potawatomie*, *Fox*, *Illinois*, *Ioway*, and other tribes who were attracted to the outpost

¹¹For Perrot see Blair, ed., *Indians Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley*, Vol. 1, p. 26. For an excellent discription of the voyageurs or coureurs de bois who performed the actual physical labor of the fur trade in North American see *Ibid.*, pp. 228-230, n. 164; for a description of how *Dakota* used scaffolds for their dead, see Peter Pond's journal in Thwaites, *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. 18, p. 353.

¹²Doane Robinson, *History of South Dakota: Together with Personal Mention of Citizens of South Dakota* (n.p.: B. F. Bowen & Co., Publishers, 1904), Vol. 1, pp. 47-51, doubts that Radisson and Grosseillers "passed through South Dakota"; Woolworth, *Sioux Indians III*, pp. 252-253; no evidence exists that the *Dakota* practiced a ceremony like the Feast of the Dead, although Hennepin mentions the "wily Indian had the bones of an important dead relative, which he preserved with great care in dressed skins." Cross, *Father Louis Hennepin's*, pp. 100-101. See Kinietz, *The Indians of the Western Great Lakes*, pp. 109-117; also Clifton, *The Prairie People*, pp. 36-37, for the "annual Feast of the Dead, a great intertribal ritual which was Huron in origin."

to trade for European goods. Its religious significance as a center of Catholic missionary work was recognized by church authorities when Father Jean Claude Allouez founded St. Francis de Xavier Mission in 1665. Soon thereafter, French government authorities were sufficiently emboldened to make their intrusion official. Nicolas Perrot received the commission to gain tribal approval. After difficult negotiations with surrounding tribes, a representative of the king, Francois Daumont, Sieur de Saint Luson, came west and "with much pomp and ceremony," in the presence of a disgruntled Indian crowd, "turned over three spadefuls of soil and claimed the vast interior of North America for France" on June 13, 1671, at Sault Sainte Marie.¹³ With ostensible Indian consent, traders, missionaries, and explorers in increasing numbers ventured into the western country or wrote from oral history what other tribes had to say about Indians who lived beyond them. Two years later, the Jolliet-Marquette expedition reported passing the "mouth of the Missouri River which they called 'la riviere Pekitanoui'" where Father Marquette noted in his *Relations* that he "hope[d] by means of it to make the discovery of the Vermillion Sea or California."¹⁴ Jesuits Rene Menard and Claude Allouez either contacted or heard of the *Dakota* and wrote their thoughts for posterity also. Another Jesuit, Father Louis Andre reported from Green Bay that in 1676, "seven or eight families from a

¹³It is difficult to determine the volume of traffic to Green Bay as well as any new trails that were opened as a result of its growth as a trading center. R. David Edmunds, *The Potawatomis: Keepers of the Fire* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), pp. 8-9.

¹⁴Quoted in Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark*, Vol. 1, pp. 3-4, n. 1. This book contains a wealth of references on this expedition. It is significant that the expedition had a three-part mission, to search for converts, commerce, and knowledge. The Missouri was also called the "oumissouries."

nation who are neutral Between our Savages and the nadoessi who are at war"¹⁵ came to trade from their village located two hundred leagues to the west. Andre observed that they were named "aiaoua or nadoessie macouteins [*Ioways*]" and that their "greatest wealth consists of ox-hides [bison] and of Red Calumets."¹⁶ Nearly four decades after Nicolet made his observations, Daniel Greysolon Du Luth visited the *Dakota* for the first time and "planted the French flag in the Sioux village of Izatys [*Isanti*] on July 2, 1679,"¹⁷ in the Mille Lacs Lake area, one of the earliest records of the *Dakota* cultural complex center. Du Luth, in keeping with the great explorer mentality, recorded his feat of visiting the fierce *Sioux*, thus ensuring that all future generations would know of his accomplishment. He bragged of his visit to the "great village of the *Nadouessioux*, called Kathio, where no Frenchman had ever been, and also at Songaskicons and Houetbetons, 120 leagues from the former."¹⁸

Louis Hennepin, a priest of the Recollect Order, was the first Frenchman to live for an extended time among the *Dakota*.¹⁹ Hennepin's missionary work began

¹⁵Blaine, *The Ioways*, p. 17.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁷For the Du Luth story, see Riggs, *Dakota Grammar*, p. 171; also Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux*, p. 6-7, *Izatys*, presumably the *Isantis*; the planting of the French flag on *Dakota* soil was never construed to mean a loss of tribal/national sovereignty, they continued to protect their homelands against all intrusions excepting the French who brought trade goods.

¹⁸Riggs, *Dakota Grammar*, p. 171.

¹⁹ Although his writings have been seriously compromised by latter-day scholars for claiming more credit for discoveries while with La Salle, Hennepin's notes offer insights into customs and legends. See Cross, *Father Louis Hennepin's*, passim, and Thwaites, 2 volumes, *Hennepin's A New Discovery*, passim; for a scorching critique see Severin, *Explorers of the Mississippi*, Chapter VIII, "The Mendacious Friar," pp. 185-204, [Severin's book contains many typographic errors as well as wrong dates].

when he joined Rene-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, and his company in their journey of commercial enterprise and exploration to the Mississippi River in 1679.²⁰ La Salle was a man of considerable vision. He conceived of and supervised the construction of the *Griffon*, the first sailing vessel on the Great Lakes. While preparations for his journey proceeded, he and Du Luth decided which direction their respective expeditions should go. The two parties split and La Salle took his men south to Green Bay to rendezvous with his advance party. On arrival, the *Griffon* was loaded with furs previously collected. It then departed on September 18, 1679, for Montreal. La Salle and his party, after receiving a calumet from *Potowatomie* allies to use as a safe-conduct pass, loaded four canoes with goods and presents and headed down the western shores for the south end of Lake Michigan. After reaching the Miami or St. Joseph River, his party constructed a fort and anxiously awaited the *Griffon's* arrival, but when it failed to rendezvous at the appointed time, they left a message and paddled up the St. Joseph to the portage or path at (present-day South Bend), that led to the *Illinois* people. When they found the village empty, they put their canoes into the Illinois River and departed downriver to a spot where La Salle founded Crevecoeur, near Peoria, Illinois. La Salle, suffering from disillusionment caused by the failure of linking with the *Griffon*, returned to Montreal to square his financial problems with his venture partners. Before leaving, he directed two men, Antoine Augel and Michol Accau, along with Hennepin, to continue the company's

²⁰Parkman, in *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, p. 116, is critical of Catholic relations in the New World. He gives Hennepin's 1697 book, where the priest claims to have visited the Gulf of Mexico, short shrift, at one point calling him "the most impudent of liars, and the narrative of which he speaks is a rare monument of brazen mendacity." For La Salle's plan of exploration and economic exploitation, see *ibid.*, pp. 106-111; for the Hennepin account, *ibid.*, pp. 185-212.

voyage of exploration by canoeing down the Illinois River to the Mississippi River confluence and then north "to scout the upper reaches of the Mississippi."²¹ Before their departure, La Salle allocated to each man goods to be used as presents for significant Indian leaders who they might encounter. LaSalle, ever aware of Indian diplomatic methods, gave the party a peace calumet for use as a safe conduct pass. Hennepin and his two companions departed Fort Crevecoeur on February 19, 1680. A week later they reached the Mississippi, then turned north.²²

As they ventured upstream Hennepin made notes of the flora, animals, and geographic features he observed. After passing the mouth of the Wisconsin River, they were accosted by a *Dakota* war party on its way to battle (or visit) with the *Illinois*. Acting quickly, Father Hennepin or one of his companions, raised the peace calumet into the air so it could be seen. It worked, and much to their relief, their lives were spared. After being taken captive, they endured the anxiety of waiting while the *Dakota* counselled. Finally the Indians decided to spare their lives and *Nagi Topa* (Four Souls), smoked the pipe and took them along as the war party returned to

²¹Antoine Auguel known also as Picard du Gay, Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery*, p. 150, n. 3; Accou and du Gay were experienced voyageurs, and according to Severin, *Explorers of the Mississippi*, p. 192, "Tonti's opinion [was] that LaSalle sent Hennepin off with the expedition in order to get rid of the meddling friar who was making a nuisance of himself on the Illinois." Severin, *ibid.*, p. 192. All tribes recognized the calumet as "a signal of peace among the Indians," Thwaites, *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. 16, p. 185.

²²When La Salle decided to send the *Griffon* back to Michilimakinac the *Poutouatami* (*Potowatomi*) who lived at Green Bay counselled him not to do so because of the inclement weather. Ever contrary but keeping with non-Indian disregard for Indian advice, he gave the order to sail. The vessel was lost, according to Indian observers, after being driven by high winds against a sand bar, see Cross, *Father Hennepin's*, pp. 38-40. For an account that accuses the Indians of capturing and pillaging the bark see Blair, *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley*, p. 353.

their villages located at the *Bde Wakan* (Sacred Lake). During their captivity, Hennepin and his countrymen were separated and placed in different camps. Despite his righteousness, the father was not particularly adored by his captors, although he did perform some useful functions for the Indians. In particular (according to his own account), they appreciated his talents as a barber and employed him in that occupation on several occasions. Hennepin became ill during his captivity, and after his prayers failed to bring relief, his host *Akepagidan* (Again Fills the Pipe), recommended he partake in a sweatlodge ceremony. The priest stalled and continued his prayers but when he failed to recover under his own ministrations, *Akepagidan*, against Hennepin's wishes, performed a series of three sweats and restored his son to health. In relating his experience, Hennepin introduced the European world to one of the seven rites, the *Dakota's initipi* or sweat lodge, used for "curing diseases" and reaching a state of "communication with the spirit world."²³ In the sweatlodge, where "buffalo hides were put over the sweat house and red-hot stones placed in the center of it" and songs sung, it is quite likely that *Akepagidan's* ceremony also included adoption of the priest as his son. This is entirely possible as it falls within the *Dakota* custom of taking in a person who is without relatives. Furthermore, because of father Hennepin's poor comprehension of the language, he did not recognize the ritual or he would have made note of it. When the sweatlodge ceremony finished, *Akepagidan* sponsored a feast, thus completing the cycle of

²³Riggs, *Dakota Grammar*, p. 101, n. 2. For a description of modern *Lakota* sweatlodge, *onikare*, see Brown, *The Sacred Pipe*, pp. 31-43.

Hunkadowanpi, or making relatives.²⁴

After a four and one-half month stay among the *Dakota*, Father Hennepin and companions heard rumors that a French party was north of them. Deducing that it might be Du Luth and his group, he requested permission from the *Dakota* to meet his countrymen. After gaining approval the Frenchmen canoed down the Saint Peter's River, although Hennepin and his companions suffered anxious moments thinking they would be overtaken and held by the *Dakota*. On July 25, 1680, they were united with Du Luth. Shortly thereafter the party left for Montreal. On passing the Falls of Saint Anthony of Padua, Father Hennepin allowed one of the Frenchmen to steal a "beaver robe dressed neatly, whitened inside, and decorated with porcupine quills," left at the site by an Indian as propitiation for safe travel to the spirits who resided there.²⁵ After being feted at Montreal by Count Frontenac, governor-general of New France, father Hennepin departed for France and soon wrote his *memoirs*. Hennepin left a valuable record of *Dakota* lifestyles (written from his perspective), as they lived in the lakes and woodlands of Minnesota. Among his many observations, there is no mention of horses or guns being owned by the *Dakota*. Hennepin recorded a buffalo hunt noting they were on foot and armed with bow and flint-

²⁴Cross, *Father Louis Hennepin's*, p. 108. Curiously, Hennepin makes no mention of the leader putting water on the rocks to generate steam as is done in modern times, nor the burning of sage or sweet grass; Riggs, *Dakota Grammar*, pp. 168-194; see Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux*, pp. 1-12, for a description of earliest encounters between *Dakota* and Europeans; When a person intends to adopt the children of another, or to become *ate* [father] to them, or be regarded by them as a relative in *Dakota* fashion, he makes the *hunkadowanpi* for and in honor of the children, Riggs, *A Dakota-English Dictionary*, pp. 157-158. This was a relationship that would benefit both Hennepin and his new family, especially in the trading aspect.

²⁵Cross, *Father Louis Hennepin's*, p. 147. Robbery of funerary items continues into the present day.

headed arrows. Father Hennepin, whose life was saved by the rules of hospitality taught to all *Dakota*, was inadvertently subjected to three of the Sacred Ceremonies, curing, adoption, and sweatlodge. It is likely he never understood the full significance of his experiences.²⁶

Hennepin represents one of the many elements impacting the *Dakota* during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. After 1670, competition in the fur trade intensified between the British, operating out of Albany (New York) from the Hudson's Bay Company's main store and the French bases in Quebec and Montreal.²⁷ Although British operations did not penetrate to the *Dakota* homelands in significant numbers, their presence drew prime furs northward from tribes on the

²⁶Hennepin twice mentions guns, though contradictory in nature, in Cross, *Father Louis Hennepin's*, p. 98, where *Dakota* let them live because they wanted what they described as *Manza Ouckange*, "iron which has a spirit" [Hennepin's translation], intimating that they did not possess guns; but on p. 174, when he describes Indian burials, he writes that "if the deceased is a man, a gun and powder and bullets are buried with him." Perhaps he is describing burial procedure of an eastern tribe. Hennepin's disparaging remarks of the people who provided for his sustenance during his captivity (uninvited as it was and more than likely a burden to have a negative person on hand), are not peculiar to him. Many of the missionaries engaged in denigrating the habits of Indians. See for example Rueben G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791* (Cleveland, OH: The Burrows Brothers Company, Publishers, 1896), 73 Vols., Vol. 22, pp. 95-101, 317-318, n. 6.

²⁷For a history of the Hudson's Bay Company, see Agnes C. Laut, *The Conquest of the Great Northwest: Being the Story of the Adventurers of England Known as the Hudson's Bay Company* (New York, NY: George H. Doran Company, 1918), Two Volumes in One; also Frederick Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968, rev. ed.); and for the period of consolidation of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company, see John S. Galbraith, *The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor, 1821-1869* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1957); the British were also penetrating the Appalachians to trade with Indians south of the Ohio. Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, p. 84. See also Walter S. Robinson, *The Southern Colonial Frontier, 1607-1763* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1979, paper), passim, but especially pp. 100-107, for an overview of traders and Indian agents.

periphery of the French network. British influence can be measured primarily in their relations with *Cree* and *Assiniboine* tribes who acted as middlemen in the trading system. This early groundbreaking work laid the foundations of an economic network with tribes that later reaped dividends when the French were expelled from Canada in 1763. British trading expeditions out of Hudson's Bay imparted renewed impetus to French commercial expansion. Accounts of French activity in the last quarter of the seventeenth century include reports from Frenchmen searching for the fabled northwest passage to the Western sea and, of greater importance, new fur sources. La Salle, though still suffering from lack of financial backing, passed by the Missouri in February 1682 on his way to the Gulf of Mexico. When he arrived at the Mississippi River's delta on April 9, 1682, he immediately claimed in the name of Louis XIV, king of France:

possession of this country of Louisiana, the seas, harbors, ports, bays, adjacent straits, and all the nations, peoples, provinces, cities, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams, and rivers, within the extent of the said Louisiana, from the mouth of the great river St. Louis, otherwise called the Ohio . . . as also along the river Colbert, or Mississippi, and the rivers which discharge themselves thereinto, from its source beyond the country of the Nadouessioux . . . as far as its mouth at the sea, or Gulf of Mexico.²⁸

Travellers into Indian country relied on Indian tales describing tribes who lived beyond the extent of their journeys. Jacques de Noyon reached the western extremity

²⁸Quoted from Parkman, *LaSalle and the Discovery*, p. 228; Alvord in *Illinois Country*, p. 87, observes that LaSalle's party was composed of eighteen *Mohegan* and *Abnaki* with "ten *squaws* [emphasis mine] and some children," proving that explorers were aided by Indians in their travels. Indian allies were also used in wars. See Alvord, *ibid.*, p. 94, "Tonti had marched with sixteen Frenchmen and two hundred Indians to Detroit to join Dulhut, La Forest, and La Durantaye with their contingents"; Alvord, *ibid.*, p. 164. In the summer of 1730, one hundred French and four hundred Indians attacked the Renard's [Foxes] fort.

of Grand Lac des Nadouessious in 1688, and headed further west where he located and gained a working knowledge of Lake of the Woods. From conversations with local Indians, he determined that further west lay a "western sea"--probably Lake Winnipeg."²⁹ At the same time, Nicholas Perrot, also accompanied by Indian allies, left Green Bay to establish a trading post on the west bank of the Mississippi River near Wabasha, Minnesota, to facilitate trade with the *Nadouessious*. The fort drew western tribes such as the *Ioways* who wished to trade for European goods. After numerous difficulties and several trips back to headquarters, on May 8, 1689, Perrot "formally took possession for France of the Bay of Puants, the lake and rivers of the Outagamis and Maskoutins, the river of Ouiskonche and that of Missisipi, the country of the Nadouesioux, the Sainte Croix River and [that of] Saint Peter, and other places farther removed."³⁰ Among the officers present were Pierre Charles La Sueur, Father Joseph Marest, and Boisuillot, second in command of the post. No mention is made of Indian approval nor did they sign any paper giving the French title to the land. It is also during this time that the French heard reports of mineral deposits, especially the lead deposits found along the Mississippi, a fact that La Sueur later used to justify his return to exploit the area's resources.³¹

²⁹For a history of Indians north of the *Dakota* on into Canada, see E. Palmer Patterson, II, *The Canadian Indian: A History Since 1500* (Don Mills, Ontario: Collier-Macmillan Canada, Ltd., 1972); Quotation appears in Smith, *The Explorations of the La Verendryes*, p. 4.

³⁰Blair, *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley*, Nicholas Perrot, pp. 243-244, n. 171.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 59, n. 22, p. 74; see also Robinson, *History of South Dakota*, pp. 47-51, Vol. 1; also for LeSueur's comments, Thwaites, *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. 16, pp. 177-194.

Catholic priests actively engaged in these explorations sought not only religious conversions, but also information about local geography and other ethnohistorical data. In the latter decades of the seventeenth-century it becomes apparent that the French began to realize the distinctions between the *Isanti* or *Dakota* and the *Sioux of the West*, a tribe composed of the *Lakota* and *Nakota*. During his travels on the Mississippi River and confinement to the *Isanti* villages located at Mille Lac Lakes, Hennepin left clues about the locations of the various tribes of *Dakota*. Of the western tribes, he mentioned that the "Tinthonha, [*Titonwan*, people of the prairie] live during part of the year" near the headwaters of the Mississippi at the foot of a falls located "twenty to thirty leagues below the source."³² Also adding to the knowledge base was his mention of a great gathering of the Seven Council Fires in 1680, where "an embassy from about five hundred leagues to the west . . . informed us that the Assiniboins were at the time only seven or eight days' journey to the northeast."³³ These observations record a *Dakota* system of national government and recognized tribal sovereignty. At the meeting, the nations "decided on the places for hunting buffaloes, [and then] they scattered in several bands so as not to deprive each other of food." Officially recognized traders were ordered to withdraw their operations west of Mackinac in 1696, leaving the *Dakota* to compete for European goods, principally shot and powder. Though many unlicensed traders remained in the

³²Cross, *Father Louis Hennepin's*, p. 91.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 91.

region, goods became scarce and Indians more avidly sought British traders.³⁴

French activity from the south resumed when Pierre Charles Le Sueur, obtained a royal license to search for minerals, made his way up the Mississippi River to *Dakota* country. He established a trading post, Fort L'Huillier, on the *Mankato Wakpa* (Blue Earth River) in 1700. Presumptuously, Le Sueur entered the country by river and established a domicile on land he did not own, something he would not have been allowed to do in his native country. His impropriety was pointed out to him by nine *Sioux of the East* who came to visit. In their conversation they informed him that the land and river belonged to the *Sioux of the West*, of the Ayavois [*Ioways*] and the Otoctatas [*Otoes*]. La Sueur was told that it was not customary to hunt or occupy land unless invited by those to whom the land belonged.³⁵ In what became a routine practice for non-Indians, he ignored the gentle reminders and chose to trespass. In his notes La Sueur mentioned the *Hinhaneton* (Yankton), Village of the Red Pipestone Quarry, although he never visited the site personally. The *Ihanktonwan* position on the southwest border of the *Dakota* cultural complex identified them as the "people of

³⁴Ibid., pp. 113-114; Hennepin indicates that some of the *Dakota* resided over one thousand miles to the west, somewhat beyond the *He Sapa Wakan*, Sacred Black Hills. This does not conform to estimates given by scholars of *Dakota* migrations, discussed below; see also Woolworth, *Sioux Indians III*, pp. 249-261 for Champe's summary of exploration.

³⁵Doane Robinson, "The LeSueur Tradition," *SDHC*, 9, 336-346, recounts a story told to him by Dr. Edward Duffield Neill, who stated that in 1683 LeSueur travelled down the Wisconsin River, then over the "Chenan (Chemin) des voyageurs (track of the voyagers)" to trade with a large groups of Omahas living on the Falls of the Big Sioux River, present day Sioux Falls, p. 337; Blaine, *The Ioway Indians*, p. 25.

the end village" of the Seven Council Fires.³⁶ *Ihanktonwan* history is from this point irreconcilably linked with the non-Indian, initiating changes not only in their spiritual thoughtworld but their socioeconomic institutions.

La Sueur's trip by boat up the Mississippi established the river's feasibility as an avenue of commerce. The base for further incursions into *Dakota* country from the south began as the French government opened its tight control of trading licenses in an attempt to increase profits while exploring the potential route to the fabled Western Sea. Primary interest centered on the productive silver mines of northern New Spain, but they did not ignore the potential for minerals in the Mississippi and Missouri River valleys.³⁷ As often happened during those years, Indians inadvertently contributed to continued non-Indian presence. The *Kaskaskia* Indians, attempting to escape the turbulent affairs of northern Illinois, moved downriver and

³⁶Riggs, *Dakota Grammar*, pp. 160, n. 1, 163-64, 177-78; Howard, "Notes," p. 302; Robinson, "History", *SDHC* 2, pp. 24-25; Sansom-Flood, *Remember*, Vol. 1, p. 43; for the *Omahas*, see Alice Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, *The Omaha Tribe* (Washington, DC: Bureau of American Ethnology, 27th Annual Report, 1905); also Thwaites, *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. 16, p. 193. Ignoring Indian admonitions is a continuation of the theme found in Calvin Martin's statement, "because the two, Indian and White, still cleave to what at least appear to be mutually irreconcilable, mutually antagonistic, mutually unintelligible worlds[.]" "The Metaphysics of Writing Indian-White History," *Ethnohistory* 26 (Spring 1979): 157; one instance is mentioned by Hennepin in Cross, *Father Louis Hennepin's*, p. 125-126, where the "great chief of the *Issati* or *Nadouessioux* consented to our going. He marked with a pencil on a paper I gave him the route we should follow for four hundred leagues of the way[.]" and being led to the Wisconsin River and traveling sixty leagues, they "found a portage of half a league which the chief of the tribe had marked for us."

³⁷Nasatir indicates that the southern portion of French occupation did not establish trading patterns with the *Dakota* prior to their expulsion in 1763, but their networks on the Mississippi were firmly established and the Spanish exploited that fact. The literature of this period is full of references to minerals and the possibility of obtaining them. See Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark*, Vol. 1, pp. 6-38.

founded a new settlement. They settled first near the mouth of the Illinois River, then moved south on the Mississippi to locate on the present site of Saint Louis. Across the river stood Cahokia, the prehistoric site that served as the hub of Indian commerce in river traffic, which now functioned as the home for the Tamarois mission (1699).³⁸ The Indians removed once more in 1703, to settle permanently at the confluence of the Kaskaskia and Mississippi Rivers. Jesuit Father Marest, who at one time served a mission among the *Dakota*, was assigned to minister to the new community. Several French traders who were married into the tribe, and others who found the townsite advantageous for trading with surrounding tribes, christened the fledgling town Kaskaskia. Along with Cahokia, Saint Genevieve, Vincennes, and Fort de Chartres, these towns served as the anchor for French activities along the Mississippi for the next sixty years. In their quest for monetary gain, the southwestern Spanish settlements with their rich silver mines, became more important to them and they concentrated their efforts in that direction. But French entrepreneurs were just as determined to exploit the beaver trade with the Missouri River tribes as well as search for mineral wealth in the Louisiana country. Abraham Nasatir made it clear that the French southern presence did not become a major factor in establishing trading patterns with northern tribes on a commercial basis before their expulsion from Louisiana.³⁹

³⁸For an overview of Cahokia, see Weatherford, *Native Roots*, pp. 6-18.

³⁹Natalia M. Belting, *Kaskaskia Under the French Regime* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1948), passim; see also Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, passim; and Herbert I. Priestley, *The Coming of the White Man, 1492-1848* (New York, NY: The Macmillan Company, 1929, Quadrangle paper, 1971), pp. 210-190; and Abraham P. Nasatir, ed., *Before Lewis and Clark*, Vol. 1, pp. 1-57; also of interest is the chapter on John Law and the French (Mississippi) Bubble, found in

Relentless French exploration on the northern boundaries of *Dakota* country continued. Building on Noyon's discoveries and gaining information from *Cree* and *Assiniboin* people who gave tempting clues regarding the Western Sea and other peoples living beyond Lake of the Woods, Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Verendrye, and his three sons undertook an expedition to find the elusive passage to the East Indies in 1738. After canoeing and portaging the many lakes and rivers of southern Canada, they reached the Assiniboine River where they established Fort La Reine in October of that year. From this point, using *Assiniboin* guides, Verendrye headed southwest overland until November when he reached the Mandan villages located on the Missouri River. Once this connection was completed, the way opened for trade exploitation and furthered the search for the great Vermillion Sea. Neither Sieur de la Verendrye nor his sons, who pushed southwest beyond the Mandan villages in 1743-43, discovered the elusive passage to the south sea but they left a rich ethnohistory of Indians living on the upper Missouri River. It should also be noted that itinerant Frenchmen, mostly unlicensed traders and those who chose to live as Indians, inhabited the region during this period, but no records of their occupation have been uncovered.⁴⁰

Walter P. Webb, *The Great Frontier*, pp. 217-230.

⁴⁰Smith. *The Explorations of the La Verendryes*, passim; of interest, tribes of the northern shores of Lake Superior reported they were gone to war against the Sioux (August, 1738), *ibid.*, p. 43; Verendrye always gifted the Indians with powder, ball, knives, and tobacco, "telling them that I was receiving them into the number of your [king's] children, that if they behaved sensibly you [the king] promised not to abandon them, and that this day the French were established in their country and would provide them with all necessities. They, on their part, must hunt beaver and take good care of their own lands. At present you do not wish for war, but wish to pacify all the country, in order that your children may live in peace," *ibid.*, p. 49; Chevelier Verendrye and his party left a lead tablet near today's Fort Pierre which

Spanish government officials were aware of French activities on their far northern borders and several expeditions were mounted to gather information about them. But Spanish interest was not particularly focused until the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century. True, the villages visited by La Verendrye in 1738 were supplied with Spanish horses and the Indians described habitations that fit those of the New Mexican pueblos, but no Spaniards were sighted. The *Mandans* possessed Spanish trading goods and horses at the time of Verendrye's visit but there is no indication that the *Dakota* were seeking Spanish traders. Though Spain inherited the Illinois country prior to the treaty marking the end (November 1762) of France and England's Seven Years War, expansion of their trade network remained south of the Missouri River.⁴¹

For the next forty years, the *Ihanktonwan* expanded into Iowa, Missouri, and Nebraska. They were left virtually to themselves while events which later affected their lives occurred outside their realm. Instead, they were drawn westward by immense bison herds and the quest to obtain the horse, perhaps the single most important item introduced to them by non-Indians. At the same time, Frenchmen, working now under the Spanish government, lived and traded among the *Dakota* tribes. Bounded between the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, the *Ihanktonwan* tribe consolidated its people, incorporated values learned from intercourse with non-Indians

was discovered on February 16, 1913, *ibid.*, p. 125.

⁴¹Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark*, passim; Nasatir, "Anglo-Spanish Frontier on the Upper Mississippi, 1786-1796," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 29 (1931): 155-232; Nasatir, *Spanish War Vessels on the Mississippi, 1792-1796* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968); Nasatir, "Jacques D'Eglise on the Upper Missouri, 1791-1795," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 14 (1927): 47-71.

while adjusting to the new people who came into their midst through racial amalgamation.

CHAPTER V
EFFECTS OF IRON TRADE GOODS, HORSES,
AND MIGRATION ON *DAKOTA* SOCIETY,
1634-1763

Commonly accepted non-Indian accounts attribute *Dakota* migration from their woodland homes near Mille Lac Lake to changing intertribal alliances and the adoption of modern technology by tribes with easy access to European trade goods. Three major interpretations are usually explored to explain their migration from northeastern Minnesota and western Wisconsin, each based on some form of warfare. The most common explanation is an inexorable non-Indian advance pushing ever westward forcing Indians to make intertribal alliances to fight an heroic but futile resistance. When tribes realized the futility of resisting, often they joined the non-Indian forces. Less common, but linking the first two is the intertribal warfare explanation, a conflict generated among the tribes with the crucial factors of economics or commercialism added to the equation. While admitting warfare and economics are important aspects of the migration, other authors insist that tribal cultural traits deserve an equal consideration. In their interpretation, survival techniques learned in former relocations were inherent in tribal memory and played an important role in how the *Dakota* reacted to elements inducing change. The *Dakota* were accustomed to moving camps in everyday life and their resistance to change,

according to historian Gary Anderson, was lowered by the "mobility element inherent in seventeenth and eighteenth century Sioux socioeconomic institutions."¹

Historians have traditionally focused on the first interpretation, reasoning the frontier was moving relentlessly westward, forcing native people to engage in hostile activities to preserve their homelands. To a certain extent that was true. Voluntary and forced relocations have been a fact of Indian and non-Indian history from time immemorial. But a careful examination of the circumstances surrounding *Dakota* relocation reveals a somewhat different version. Often overlooked are factors of space and population. Even generous population estimates reveal a ratio of people to land which ensured each tribe plenty of area to live upon. The second assumption is a state of hostility existing between tribes. This is simply not true. There were few reasons for waging war on neighboring tribes given the plentitude of food and breathing space. Amicable intratribal relations prevailed unless serious provocation occurred. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when the *Titonwan*

¹The literature on warfare to control trade is voluminous for the eastern tribes that most affected the *Dakota*. See Allen W. Trelease, "The Iroquois and the Western Fur Trade: A Problem in Interpretation," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review (MVHR)* hereafter) 49 (June 1962): 32-51); Gary C. Anderson, "Early Dakota Migration and Intertribal War: A Revision," *Western Historical Quarterly (WHQ)* hereafter) 11 (January 1980): 19-20, for arguing the point of intertribal warfare's importance; Richard White, "The Winning of the West: The Expansion of the Western Sioux in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Journal of American History (JAH)* hereafter) 65 (September 1975):319-321, for an analysis that suggests the idea that the Sioux had a cogent plan to execute inter-tribal warfare; of importance is W. W. Newcomb, Jr., "A Re-Examination of the Causes of Plains Warfare," *American Anthropologist (AA)* hereafter) 52 (July-September 1950: 317-330; Mekeel, "A Short History," also attributes intertribal and non-Indian westward expansion as the major reason for relocation; see also George E. Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk: A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937), pp. 3-19; Hassrick, *The Sioux*, p. xi, recognizes the fluidity of *Lakota* tribesmen and their resolve to change rather than maintain the *status quo*.

Lakota tribes led the westward expansion, they encountered other Indian tribes already living on the western plains. The non-Indian frontier, such as it was during this time period, affected them principally from the north by *Assiniboin* and *Cree* tribes who encroached on the edges of *Dakota* lands for economic reasons. The *Lakota* movement was not an unassisted effort, for bolstering the *Lakota* in their westward expansion were *tiospayes* from the *Dakota* and *Nakota* tribes, groups who for reasons of their own lived among the *Lakota*. Thus, in one sense, the remaining eastern tribes were left with fewer people to help in rearguard actions when necessary.² Several authorities point out that the *Dakota* and *Nakota* fought successful rearguard action on their north and eastern borders against the *Anishinaabeg* and other tribal invaders. According to both Gary Anderson and Richard White, *Dakota* resistance proved so effective that the tribes involved eventually settled on an "indeterminate zone, variously described as war grounds or neutral grounds,"³ virtually a no-man's land where all tribes came to hunt or pass through, but did not establish permanent habitations. The zone extended east from

²Many of the *Lakota* tribes had *Dakota* and *Nakota tiospayes* within their camp circle. See Riggs, *Dakota Grammar*, pp. 163, n. A, 178, n. 2; for an excellent interpretation of mobility and how it affected migration, see Anderson, "Early Dakota Migration," pp. 17-35; also White, "The Winning of the West," pp. 335 with n. 32, for an explanation of "neutral grounds" between various tribes through place and time; George E. Hyde's *Spotted Tail's Folk: A History of the Brule Sioux*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961; paper, 1974), pp. 4-5, gives an account of *tiospayes* who joined the *Sichangu* (variously spelled according to different linguists, *Sicangu* is used today, called *Brule* by non-Indians), in their westward migration; also see Hyde's *Red Cloud's Folk*, passim, for a critical, conservative account of *Dakota* migration where he presents the expansion to the *Mnisose Wakpa* as a timid, on-foot movement, with the *Oglala* obsequious in their relations with the powerful *Arikara* in sharp contrast to interpretations by White and Hassrick, *The Sioux*, who paint the *Dakota* as militant and overbearing.

³Quoted in White, "The Winning of the West," p. 334.

the Mississippi River and separated the tribes attempting to move into the disputed territory.

Advocates of the intertribal warfare interpretation, citing the sporadic but debilitating intertribal warfare in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Iowa usually credit firearms (*maza wakan*) as a major factor in expulsion of the *Dakota*.⁴ From their perspective, once *Anishinaabeg*, *Cree*, *Assiniboine*, *Potawatomie*, and affiliated tribesmen received weapons, they gained the advantage in their wars against the *Dakota*. This assumption is not necessarily true, especially so in the early decades of its acquisition and use in raids into the neutral grounds. Determining the effectiveness of firearms in these forays is difficult, but scattered fragments recorded by Nicolas Perrot provide some clues. In one account, Perrot relates how the *Ottawa* and *Huron* tribes, forced from their homelands by the *Iroquois* in about 1657, sought refuge among the *Dakota* in the Mississippi River Valley. After contacting the permanent residents and recounting their difficulties, they were accepted and allowed to reside in the area. However, the visitors soon began to treat their hosts with contempt, believing the "Scioux were incapable of resisting them without iron weapons and firearms."⁵ Their disrespect grew in severity until one time when some of their tribesmen killed several *Dakota* men. After the murders were discovered and

⁴Gary C. Anderson in *Kinsmen of Another Kind: Dakota-White Relations in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1650-1862* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), pp. 46-55, offers proof that William Whipple Warren's "History of the Ojibway Nation," *Minnesota Collections* 5 (1885): 157-233, and the paperback version of Warren's, *History of the Ojibway People* (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1984), pp. 155-189, wherein Warren postulates the Ojibway forced the *Dakota* from the Mille Lac Lakes area, could not have happened as Warren relates.

⁵Blair, *Indians of the Upper Mississippi*, Vol. 1, p. 165.

the guilty parties identified, the *Dakota* gathered in council to decide what course of action best suited the violation of hospitality rules. Although the *Ottawa* and *Huron* owned firearms, the *Dakota* attacked and defeated them. The *Algonkins* fled northward down the Black River to its confluence with Lake Superior, whereupon they hastily departed in canoes. The evicted tribespeople established a permanent settlement at Chequamegon on the southern shore of that lake at a distance to ensure their safety. In this particular instance, firearms did not prove superior to traditional weapons employed by the *Dakota*. However, that the French and English continued to expand their markets into the northern Great Plains is ample proof of the potential wealth contained therein and reason enough for exploitation.⁶

Implements made of iron, brass, and copper influenced the *Dakota* in different ways. Smoothbore, muzzle-loading muskets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were rarely effective in warfare or hunting because of their notorious inaccuracy. There were many difficulties to overcome in using them; it was hard to keep powder dry in wet weather. Lack of trained gunsmiths (or blacksmiths), and scarcity of replacement parts made simple repairs burdensome. The early weapons were also heavy and awkward. After the first encounters, when just the gun's discharge noise frightened them, Indians grew accustomed to the sound and utility of the new weapon. But they could not have been afraid of being killed by one unless the guns were used en masse. In the time it took to reload, a warrior emptied his quiver of arrows, letting fly well-aimed darts at his antagonist. One report found in the Jesuit *Relations* makes a trenchant point respecting the effectiveness of the bow

⁶Not clear if the *Dakota* were killed with guns; for other examples, Edmunds, *The Potawatomes*, p. 9; see also Clifton, *The Prairie People*, p. 64.

and arrow. *Dakotas* used "them with great skill and dexterity, filling the air in a moment. 'They turn their heads in flight and discharge their arrows so rapidly that they are no less to be feared in their retreat than in their attack.'"⁷ Until tribes obtained enough weapons to justify their use, the *fusil* was neither feasible as a weapon of war nor a means of acquiring food. Individual hunters and warriors stalking and ambushing single prey gained an advantage, but the loud report from one gun exploding upon the silence would frighten and stampede all animals within earshot while alerting all humans, enemy or otherwise in the vicinity, of their position. This worked to the hunters' advantage if they used the gun's discharge to scare the game into a surround or over a cliff. Otherwise, the gun was virtually useless. These drawbacks did not stop the *Dakota* from obtaining the weapons and incorporating them into their hunting, trapping, and warfare techniques. From records left by traders and observers, mention of the *Dakota* as extremely discriminating buyers is prominent. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, their preference was the Hudson's Bay "fuke" or fusil, more commonly recognized as

⁷Blacksmiths were valuable craftsman and accompanied many of the expeditions into unknown country. See Cross, *Father Louis Hennepin's*, pp. 68-69, 83; also Elwyn B. Robinson, *History of North Dakota* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), pp. 44-45, for Le Borgne, a *Big Belly (Hidatsa)* who observed and commented that "the only two sensible men" in the [Lewis and Clark, 1804] expedition were "the worker of iron and the mender of guns"; Blair, *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi*, p. 163, Vol. 1, "The *Outaouas* fired some guns which they had; and the report of these weapons so terrified the *Scioux* that they imagined it was the thunder or lightning, of which the *Outaouas* made themselves masters in order to exterminate whomsoever they would"; also Ewers, *Indian Life*, p. 12, for Blackfeet first encounter with noise of gun; quoted in Riggs, *Dakota Grammar*, p. 171.

the "North West" gun.⁸

Addition of time-saving articles acquired in trade with the Europeans contributed to *Dakota* cultural adaptation and peripherally to their voluntary removal. Indian contributions to the European market system consisted chiefly of animal furs and meat, although many of their craft items such as baskets, beaded articles, including wampum belts, found their way back to Europe for personal and economic usage. But the non-renewable resource of animal life was seriously affected by the market system. For example, during periods of sustained European demand for beaver pelts, Indian trappers were very successful in meeting the challenge. In their zeal they contributed materially to the depletion of these fur-bearing animals in cultural areas by overharvesting the population. Oftentimes both males and females of the species were taken. This led to serious consequences for the future population of each particular species.⁹ Methods used to obtain the resources also underwent considerable change. At first, Indian hunters and trappers relied on techniques and equipment they had developed to supply their own needs, whether for sustenance or

⁸See Ewers, *Indian Life on the Upper Missouri*, pp. 9-13, pp. 34-44, for a specific, short history of the "North West gun" and how Indians regarded it; Louis A. Garavaglia and Charles G. Worman, *Firearms of the American West, 1803-1865* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), pp. 343-360, include a chapter on Indian arms, from bows, lances, and clubs to firearms; also Carl P. Russell, *Guns on the Early Frontiers: A History of Firearms from Colonial Times Through the Years of the Western Fur Trade* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1957), pp. 1-61, 103-141, contains enthusiastic chapters about the "gun frontier" among Indians; the gun's eventual incorporation into *Dakota* culture made it a man's most prized possession, oftentimes it was buried with him; see also Preston Holder, *The Hoe and the Horse on the Plains: A Study of Cultural Developments Among North American Indians* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1970, Bison paper, 1974), pp. 114-116 for a critical look at the shortcomings of the gun.

⁹Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, p. 85.

trade within the Indian market system. With the growth of non-Indian trade, however, they modified these methods by incorporating the new technology of guns and iron traps to increase the numbers of animals taken.¹⁰ The added pressures of participating in a consumer market forced a transformation in their philosophy for all things inhabiting *maka* (earth). Respect toward the two-legged and four-legged beings was seriously altered from one designed for basic sustenance to consumer fulfillment. When market demand became sluggish, Indians reverted to earlier trade practices, taking only the game necessary to supply their material needs. This did not exclude those Indian individuals who are born with and cultivate traits that lead to accumulation of material wealth. Acquisition of material goods was embedded in certain tribesmen and this drive provided motives to maintain linkages with non-Indian traders. Moreover, these business-oriented men and women possessed the right to voice opinions in tribal councils, just as any other member of the community. During discussions their points of view might have gained the upperhand and accounted for the aggressive movement to acquire land which provided more abundant resources which could then be exploited to obtain more European goods.¹¹

¹⁰See Cross, *Father Louis Hennepin's*, pp. 167-172, for description of *Dakota* hunting and fishing techniques; also Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley*, pp. 102-131; Weatherford, *Native Roots*, pp. 78-88, for an analysis of fur trade as a major part of empire building.

¹¹See Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978; paper, 1982), for an explanation of the change; Coues, *Journals*, p. 356, when talking of the *Big Bellies* mentions they "put little value" on fox, buffalo, wolve skins, "and cannot imagine what use we make of such trash, as they call it"; Clifton, *The Prairie People*, p. 78, where La Salle reported his 1680-1681 journey to Illinois country, "bison were getting scarce there. Too many Indians had been crowding into these prairie lands, hunting and killing this prime game animal continually and indiscriminately, upsetting the delicate ecological balance between the Illinois tribes proper and their

Other metal implements were incorporated into *Dakota* households. Iron cooking kettles brought mixed results, although they did provide improvement on one traditional method of boiling food. Leather bags or buffalo stomach paunches were usually used for this purpose when earthen pots were not available. After the paunches were filled with water, meat, vegetables, and heated rocks were added until the food was cooked to satisfaction. The addition of brass, copper, and iron pots was necessarily an innovation as practical as the microwave oven in modern-day society. There were also drawbacks. Buffalo Bird Woman, a *Hidatsa*, had an experience that is common to those with a sharp sense of taste. She remembered that when she or her family visited relatives or friends and if "they gave us food cooked in an iron pot, we knew it at once because we could taste and smell the iron in the food."¹² If the metal pot cracked, repairing it was virtually out of the question. Oftentimes the pot was broken into pieces and the shards used to fashion arrowheads or scrapers. Metal needles, scissors, and awls facilitated the making of clothing. Shirts made of cloth replaced those of buckskin. Metal knives and scrapers made cutting and dressing hides much easier, diminishing the time needed to manufacture *tipis*, storage bags,

environment"; for *Dakota*, see also Harold H. Schuler, *Fort Pierre Chouteau* (Vermillion, SD: University of South Dakota Press, 1990, 2d printing, 1992), for a compilation of goods and hides that passed through the Fort Pierre trading and warehouse. Discussion of Indian attitudes toward harvesting the four-leggeds indiscriminately is subject to much criticism, especially from *Dakota* elders, bordering on a self-denial that Indians contributed to the vast changes that occurred to plants and animals with the north American continental ecosystem. Also deserving consideration is the introduction of alcohol into the trade system, a substance that surely influenced certain behavioral changes in hunters and trappers.

¹²Stomach paunches remained in use by hunting parties until the bison herds were depleted as pots made of metal or pottery were too cumbersome to carry; for earthen pots, see Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux*, p. 7; also *Buffalo Bird Woman's Garden*, p. 120.

and other utilitarian articles made of thick bison hides. With the introduction of cloth and beads, styles changed and women modified traditional porcupine quilled designs normally found on their wearing apparel. Thus in many ways European trade articles eased the tedium of leatherworking while providing decorative materials that sparked the creative genius of women as they adorned tribal clothing with fashionable designs. European goods were part and parcel of the *Dakota* people when they continued their migration, and the trader was not far behind.¹³

Alcohol in its many forms proved the most debilitating and harmful European trade item ever introduced into Indian communities. Indians were extremely susceptible to its effects and it influenced them not only physically but mentally and spiritually. In an attempt to link themselves with the spirits to acquire guidance or answers to problems or for giving thanks, Indian men and women induced a state of euphoria by fasting, praying, singing, and dancing. With alcohol, a euphoric state peaked quickly. Unfortunately, tribesmen tended to consume such a quantity that the alcoholic effects obliterated their cultural inhibitions and aberrant behavior was often the result. Indians recognized the qualities of alcohol in their language, calling it at first *mniwakan*, holy water. At first, *Dakota* culture embraced no sanctions on consumption of spirituous beverages and wayward behavior was tolerated until

¹³Bol, "Gender in Art, passim. Though specific to *Lakota*, the materials are generally the same. Designs differ by geography and materials available; for sewing see Charles E. Hanson, Jr., "Thread in the Fur Trade," *MFTQ* 25 (Summer 1989): 9-13; for an economic discussion see Weatherford, *Native Roots*, pp. 75-107, especially those sections elaborating on women's production of clothing; also Ronald L. Trosper (Flathead Indian), "That Other Discipline: Economics and American Indian History," pp. 199-222, in Colin G. Calloway, ed., *New Directions in American Indian History* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988); for original use of natural materials, see Gilmore, *Uses of Plants*, p. 71.

behavioral restrictions were instituted. Once traders realized the debilitating effects of alcohol on the natives, they quickly exploited them by devising methods that maximized profits. Before trading began, alcoholic beverages were passed out in an effort to get the Indians drunk and failing that, they conjured other means of getting their way, sometimes lacing the liquor with drugs such as laudenum to accomplish their aims. Many Indian leaders recognized this tactic and advised their people about the negative effects of alcohol, but they could not impose their will on men and women who were not required by custom to listen or obey. Perrot made note of the "earnest protests of Indians chiefs and leaders and of philanthropic persons of the white race," as did Jesuit missionaries living among the *Dakota*, to halt the introduction of liquor as trade increased, but their pleas fell on deaf ears.¹⁴ The negative effects of alcohol was probably a strong argument for the voluntary removal of the *Dakota* from the Upper Mississippi River Valley by leaders who realized the disastrous consequences of its continued use.

Exact dates of the *Dakota* migration from the Mississippi woodlands is subject to ongoing speculation. Alan R. Woolworth suggests that the *Anishinabeg* forced the *Dakotas* permanently from the Mille Lacs Lake area of Minnesota by the mid-eighteenth century. He is in general agreement with Doane Robinson that the *Ihanktonwan* and *Ihanktonwanna* had separated and formed distinct tribes by 1680 and were in the process of expanding. Roy W. Meyer differs somewhat in his opinion,

¹⁴For this early period, perhaps the best summation is found in Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes*, Vol. 1, n. 148, pp. 208-210; quoted in *ibid.*, vol. 2, n. 47, p. 150. See also Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 67, pp. 183-185; for a modern interpretation, see Nancy Oestreich Lurie's "The World's Oldest On-Going Protest Demonstration: North American Indian Drinking Patterns," *Pacific Historical Review* 40 (August 1971): 311-332.

deducing that the gradual movement of *Dakota* was already underway "out onto the prairies since before Hennepin's [1680] visit and very likely [they] had only a few small bands left in their old territory."¹⁵ George E. Hyde agrees with the earlier estimates, finding that the "*Yanktonais*, then including the *Yanktons*, and the *Tetons*, began to move after the middle of the seventeenth century."¹⁶ Although there is some difference between these three assumptions, all agree that the *Titonwan* people were the first to move westward. Hubert Smith and Richard White place the *Lakota* on the eastern side of the Missouri River sometime before the mid-eighteenth century.¹⁷

In the exodus from the *Bde Wakan* (Sacred Lake, Mille Lac Lake), the *Sisseton* and *Wahpeton* tribes of the *Dakota* moved down the Mississippi River to the confluence of the St. Peters (Minnesota), or crossed over on Traverse de Sioux. From that point they moved upriver to the northwest, building their camps along the shores of Lakes Big Stone and Traverse on the St. Peters and Red River of the the North. Immediately behind them, the *Mdewankanton* and *Wahpekute* also traveled south down the Mississippi River to set up their center near the mouth of the St. Peters River, with a portion of them going further south on the Mississippi to Lake Pepin. The *Ihanktonwan Nakota* moved down the Mississippi, crossed over to the St. Peters, then shifted southwest to occupy the Pipestone Quarries area. From that point

¹⁵Woolworth, *Sioux Indians III*, p. 27; Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux*, p. 13, and Whipple, *History of the Ojibway People*, pp. 155-193.

¹⁶Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk*, p. 3.

¹⁷Smith, *The Explorations of the La Verendryes*, p. 113; White, "The Winning of the West," pp. 322-323.

they expanded south into central Iowa, west of the Des Moines River. The *Ihanktonwanna* moved north into central North Dakota bounded on the east by the Red River of the North and on the southwest by the Missouri River, occupied by the *Mandan* and *Hidatsa*. The evidence for *Ihanktonwan* occupation of southwest Minnesota appeared in Pierre Charles Le Sueur's logbook entry of 1700, when he mentioned that the "*Hinhanetons*--Village of the Red Stone Quarry"¹⁸ were located to the west beyond the rest of the *Dakota* nation. *Omaha*, *Ioway*, and *Ponca* oral tradition recorded in 1888 by J. Owen Dorsey revealed that their people were forced from their villages, established along the Des Moines River to the Red Pipestone Quarries, by the *Yanktons*. Scholars speculate that this expulsion occurred sometime during the second half of the seventeenth century.¹⁹

Two important economic factors must be considered when accounting for *Dakota* migration; one within the various Indian nations, and the other emanating from the competition between the British and French trade. According to current

¹⁸Smith, *The Explorations of the La Verendryes*, pp. 48, 121; White, "The Winning of the West," p. 321; Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk*, offers a different version which bears close examination.

¹⁹Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk*, pp. 9-11, states that the "Omahas at this period were without horses or metal weapons, the easy prey of any tribe which was supplied with firearms French records, which indicate that at this date the Sioux of the West and their allies who dwelt on the Upper Mississippi were accustomed to make up very large warparties, armed with guns, to go against the Omahas . . ."; Dorsey, "Siouan Migrations," pp. 218-219, in recording the *Omaha* and *Ponca* history of their expulsion from the Pipestone Quarry and Des Moines River areas by the *Dakota* in the seventeenth century. Hyde's interpretation of *Lakota* migration is at odds with Mekeel in the direction of expansion, Mekeel favoring *Ihanktonwan* movement down the Mississippi then moving back northwest into the confluence of the Little Sioux, Big Sioux, and James River at the behest of the *Lakota*, relying heavily on Bear's Rib's (*Hunkpapa*), testimony given against the *Ihanktonwan* land-cession treaty of 1858. See White, "Winning of the West," pp. 341-342, and *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (ARCIA hereafter), 1858, pp. 436-437.

thought, the *Anishinabeg* engaged in a deadly fight with the *Cree* and *Assiniboin* to control this trade. Gaining the advantage, the *Anishinabeg* position on the southern shores of Lake Superior became particularly advantageous. From this point, they could control trade carried west from French bases in Quebec and Montreal.²⁰ The southern movement of British trade goods from the Hudson's Bay Company outposts traditionally involved first the *Cree*, then increasingly the *Assiniboine*. Disruption of these regular trade routes made the French realize the probable long-term negative consequences of tribal competition, thus they formed another strategy. La Salle and others believed that a trade center should be built at the mouth of the Mississippi River and a string of posts erected north on the banks of the Mississippi and its tributaries. In effect, they reestablished the Indian trade routes that radiated from the earlier Cahokia Indian trade center. From this standpoint, it would be very natural and advantageous for the *Dakota* to move south on the Mississippi, for the rivers were still the main ribbons of commerce, to meet the French traders coming up rather than engage in combat or pay higher prices to Indian middlemen who controlled trade from the east and north. Trade surely played a large part in the *Ocheti Sakowin* move from the *Bde wakan* or Sacred Lake culture area, but in view of the fact that they were not yet wholly dependent on traders as were eastern tribes, other reasons for migration must be explored.²¹

²⁰Satterlee, Pamphlet 126, p. 10-14; Buechel, *A Dictionary*, pp. 3-15.

²¹Anderson, "Early Migration and Intertribal War," pp. 17-36; also Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind*, p. 22, *Dakota* realized that "French traders from lower Mississippi" brought malaria with them; Riggs, *Dakota Grammar*, p. 179; Walter P. Webb, *The Great Plains* (Boston: Ginn and Company; 1931, reprint Bison Books, 1986), pp. 140-41; Blaine, *Ioways*, p. 37; Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux*, p. 13-14; Weatherford, *Native Roots*, pp. 12-16, for Cahokia; Mekeel, "A Short History,"

It is also possible that the *Dakota* reached a cultural climax near the *Bde Wakan* (Sacred Lake) during this period. But natural phenomena, such as continuous drought over an extended period of time, certainly not without precedent, may have caused food shortages. A rapidly expanding population combined with the use of metal traps in capturing animals for pelts increased depletion of these animals while reducing game food. Intensified gathering of furs and hides created imbalances, both in the spirit and environment. These activities upset other elements within the ecosystem and led to psychological problems that demanded pragmatic solutions. The eastern woodlands of Minnesota provided all the elements necessary for a group of people to live comfortably.²²

Creating solutions to survival problems demanded dynamic change that led to transformations of cultures. The *Dakota* had always been a hunting, meat-eating people, supplementing their diet with corn and harvesting other plants found within their territory. Agricultural practices were retained when they moved west from the Minnesota woodlands, settling east of the Missouri River. They continued to grow scattered plots of *maize*, tobacco, sunflowers, and squash along the fertile coulees feeding into the Missouri. In addition, they harvested edible plants such as *tipsinna* (turnips), rose hips, wild onions, and beans indigenous to the prairie. The *Titonwan*, who moved out onto the great *pte* (buffalo) prairie homelands, continued to return east to trade not only with the riverine tribes located along the Missouri River but also to attend the great *Sioux* trade fairs located between the Missouri and Mississippi

p. 156.

²²For an excellent summary of hunting and trapping techniques, see Weatherford, *Native Roots*, pp. 60-74.

trading posts. One meeting-place often mentioned by early travellers was located below the headwaters of the James River where the tribes of the Seven Council Fires came together once a year. The western groups brought "horses, lodges of leather, buffalo robes, shirts and leggings of antelope-skin" to trade for "guns, kettles, red pipes, and bows of walnut."²³ From the permanent riverine trading centers based at the *Mandan*, *Arickara*, and *Hidatsa* villages located on the Missouri River many items, such as *wamnaheza* (corn), *wagmu* (pumpkins), *kante* (plums), *chanpa* (chokecherries), *tipsinna* (pomme blanche, commonly called turnip), *omnicha* (beans), *washin* (fat) and *chandi* (tobacco), were available. In most cases, men from the *tiospayes* and different societies usually cultivated their own tobacco. The *Nakotas* and *Lakotas* simply chose to change their lifestyle. It can be deduced from the evidence that voluntary removal was a central reason for making changes.

The argument presented by Gary Anderson in his revision of the intertribal warfare interpretations was based on the known cultural trait of the *Dakota* to engage in nomadism. Because they were accustomed to moving, it was easy and natural for them to make the permanent adaptation after the economic benefits of the fur trade in Minnesota suffered a prolonged decline. While European economic conditions affected the *Dakota*, sometimes adversely, that does not provide the final explanation

²³The locations changed over time. At first they returned to the confluence of the St. Peters (Minnesota) and Mississippi River (1700) for trading, then as they moved further west this became less profitable and by 1750 they were meeting at the headwaters of the James River. See Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk*, p. 8; Abel, *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition*, pp. 122-123; Hyde, *Spotted Tail's Folk*, calls the spot the "*Otuhu Oju*, or Oak Grove, about due east of the mouth of the Cheyenne River on the Missouri," pp. 19-21; Robinson, "History," p. 25, "custom of a great annual reunion, which occurred at the Grove of Oakes (Armadale), on the James River"; White, "The Winning of the West," pp. 324-327.

for migration onto the plains. Added mobility lessened the necessity of having a trader living within their camp. They could always return to familiar trading sites for needed articles. Further, traders who visited the tribes invariably commented on the Indians' ability to pick up all their belongings and seemingly without a plan, move on a moment's notice. Non-Indian observers did not realize that moving within the cultural complex was a part of a natural cycle, based on food-gathering.²⁴ George Hyde deduced that the *Lakota* decision to move west was caused by a shortage of game, principally bison, in the area between the Blue Earth and St. Peters River. If this was true, and scattered reports confirm the assumption, tribal leaders were compelled to seek solutions to alleviate the shortcoming. While tribes were known to pick and move without hesitation, movements which might cause difficulties to the tribe required a consensus from a general council. All plans for tribal moves of this nature relied on thorough scouting beforehand after which reports were evaluated and discussed in general council. Once this phase was accomplished, a plan that ensured the most success was adopted and implemented. If the *Omaha*, *Ioway*, *Ponca*, and their allies were already established in a favorable vicinity, diplomacy sometimes failed and warfare became the principal means of forcing their removal.²⁵

Next to the introduction of alcohol, the most powerful agent of change was the horse. With the horse, *Dakotas* were suddenly empowered with the means to enlarge their culture and hunting areas and establish new *tiospayes* when groups broke off and started new bands. In this cultural change, one finds the addition of new words, even

²⁴Anderson, "Dakota Migrations," p. 35; also Anderson, *Kinsmen*, p. 22. For plants, see Gilmore, *Uses of Plants*, passim.

²⁵Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk*, p. 11.

dialects, to the basic language. In the different environments, reinterpretations of theology and cosmology by succeeding generations of people raised away from the old cultural climax center were completed. A splitting apart of a compact, dense culture occurred. With the mobility afforded by the horse, the *Dakota* scattered over vast expanses of rolling plains covered with prairie grass. They shaped a new society of people who were astride horses, ten feet above the ground, a people whose horizons were expanded, both physically and mentally. The horse also changed the economics of traditional culture, bringing in the concept of wealth, measured in the numbers of horses owned. Material goods accumulated far more expeditiously as additional measures of wealth appeared, principally centered on the bison. With the addition of more horses, *tiospaye* members were able to transport goods on larger, horse-drawn *travois* traditionally pulled by the dog. Men who owned muskets, another cherished item obtained with the accumulation of wealth, modified their weapons by cutting off a length of the barrel to suit the special requirements of hunting from atop a horse, even though they sacrificed long-range accuracy for this convenience.²⁶ An Indian writer named *Iktomi* (Spider), goes so far as to credit the horse with changing Indian warfare techniques. Citing a change from "long, well

²⁶Robert M. Denhardt, *The Horse of the Americas* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1947); Donald E. Worcester, "The Spread of Spanish Horses in the Southwest," *New Mexico Historical Review* (NMHR hereafter) 20 (January, 1945), pp. 1-13; Ewers, *Indian Life on the Upper Missouri*, p. 3-5, for modifying the rifles, p. 41; also Frank G. Roe, *The Indian and the Horse* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955; Garavaglia, *Firearms*, p. 346, writes "extrashort barrels often resulted from burst muzzles," then Indians "cut the barrel off below the break and continued using the gun." Indians had access to metal-cutting files or could take their weapons to a gunsmith or blacksmith to have the work completed. Barrel lengths varied also, with some manufactured 30 inches in length. For Ojibway shortening of gun barrels, see Warren, *History of the Ojibway People*, p. 202, where they "sharpened their knives and tomahawks, and filed short off their guns."

organized" operations, "when the horse came into the Indian economy, the wars became much more irregular in order and campaign and broke into wide-range raiding by small parties and bands."²⁷ When this changeover occurred, counting coups and "riding the line" became the norm rather than killing.²⁸

The exact decade when the horse was introduced to the *Dakota* people is unknown but there is some evidence to suggest that Indians of the northern plains were mounted by the middle of the eighteenth century. When the *Dakota* acquired the horse its presence changed their worldview to the point where legends grew around the magnificent animal. American Indians were intimately acquainted with animals and perhaps the *shunka* or dog, used for both practical and sacred use, is an outstanding example. Dogs furnished security and provided valuable protection by alerting the village when unknown animals or people came near. Dogs ate discarded food and bones (but also contributed their own form of refuse). When it came time to move camp, they served as beasts of burden carrying household goods lashed to *travois* or sleds. In times of famine, dogs provided protein; certain sacred ceremonial feasts required dogmeat to feed the participants. It should not be surprising that the *Dakota* would name their horses *Sunkawakan*, or holy spirit dog. *Sunkawakan* placed different and great demands on the people. Care for its physical needs and its training, whether for hunting, as a war mount, or beast of burden required specialized skills. Competency in veterinarian crafts expanded, ranging from trimming hooves to administering medicines to cure colds or enhance a horse's performance for a race or

²⁷Iktomi, *America Needs Indians!*, p. 51.

²⁸Lieutenant Dunbar "rode the line" in front of massed Confederate troops in the Movie *Dances With Wolves*.

strengthen it to endure forced marches of three or four days duration. Demand for leather harnesses, ropes, and other tack was met by further specialization in that field. The horse required more open space where grass and water were plentiful. It forced physiological changes on its owners; rider's legs grew bowed and it gave the people its sweat-smell. *Sunkawakan* transformed the *Dakota* culture, opening challenging new vistas for exploration and exploitation.²⁹

Unfortunately, traders and other white men who visited Indians and took time to write their thoughts seldom mentioned obvious details and events. As a result, it is impossible to establish with complete accuracy a date when horses were actually introduced to the *Dakota*.³⁰ Tribal oral tradition continues to pass on stories from the past about when the horse came into their lives. Harold Shunk, an *Ihanktonwan* elder, remembers a horse story and recalls that a band of *Yankton* crossed over the

²⁹For security provided by dogs, see Paul Wilhelm, "First Journey to North America in the Years 1822 to 1824," *SDHC* 19, pp. 363, where the "baying of the dogs had awakened" the Iowa village; in Abel, *Tableau's Narrative*, p. 117, where a soldier kills a dog, "of which there are perhaps a thousand in the camp"; as emergency food, Donald D. Parker, "Early Explorations and Fur Trading in South Dakota," *SDHC* 25, pp. 1-211, where Charles Le Raye was captured (1801) in central Missouri by the *Sioux*, taken to their winter village site but hunting was bad and they were reduced to "one poor dog boiled, to feed twenty for a day"; J. Frank Dobie, *The Mustangs* (Boston: Little Brown & Company, 1952; paper, 1954), writes engaging story of the hardy horse; Frances Haines, "Horses for Western Indians," *The American West (AW hereafter)* 3 (Spring 1966): 6-15, 92; Gilmore, *Uses of Plants*, p. 80. For example, meadow rue (*Thalictrum Dasycarpum*) was used as a stimulant for horses. Many plants were exploited for use in curing horse ailments.

³⁰When writing about an event today, such as a *wacipi* (they dance, or better known as the pow-wow), seldom are the makes and models of cars parked in the area noted, but if a horse is present, a note is made; Nasatir, in *Before Lewis and Clark*, Vol. 1., pp. 1-57, passim, does take the time to mention horses and mules found in early eighteenth century memoires though discretion must be used because French explorers were still under the impression the Missouri river flowed from New Mexico.

Missouri River one early spring in pursuit of a large buffalo herd. After crossing on dangerous ice, they were aided in their hunt by a heavy rainfall that mired the buffalo as they attempted to flee. The hunters were successful and much meat was taken. While engaged in butchering the meat, the *Ihanktonwan* were interrupted by a band of non-Siouan speaking people who rode up to them on horses. Using sign language to communicate, the *Yanktons* found the people to be friendly *Shahiyena* (Cheyenne), and soon good relations were established and meat traded for horses. Another story passed on by elders to *Wambdi Tokahe*, First Eagle, a young *Ihanktonwan/Sicangu*

This guy was sleeping in the tall grass and he woke up being licked by this horse. He was terrified and crawled backwards on his hands and feet until he could get up and run back to camp. He brought three men back with him and the horse reared up and scared them again but they roped him. They didn't kill him--they sang to him and that gentled him.³¹

If the *Dakotas* were in the North Carolina area during the early 1500s, when the horse-borne Spaniards wreaked havoc on the southern tribes, they were already aware of the horse. Coronado, in his 1541 incursion into the *Quivira* region brought over one thousand horses with his cohorts.³² Richard White used pictographic winter counts to establish a date of 1707, for *Lakota* horse-trading. He reasoned they

³¹Telephone conversation with Mr. Harold Shunk, an elder whose fifty years service among his people enabled him to become a published tribal historian, 4 October 1992. Unfortunately, corroboration on dates is unavailable. *Wambdi Tokahe*, First Eagle, or Shane Flood, was told this story at a family gathering, also by Dr. Ellsworth LaBeau. Preston Holder, *The Hoe and the Horse*, p. 98, "By 1774 even the Yanktons had adopted the horse" is much too late because they were in contact with the southern tribes who established a complex near present day Council Bluffs, Iowa, where horses were commonly traded.

³²Bannon, *Spanish Borderlands*, pp. 129-130; Weatherford, *Native Roots*, pp. 29, 31.

"had almost certainly acquired some animals even earlier."³³ Vernon L. Satterlee wrote that the Sioux of the West (*Titon* and *Yankton*) were introduced to the horse by *Cheyenne* people in 1750-1770.³⁴

For dates between White and Satterlee's estimations, two horse references are found in Martha R. Blaine's book the *Ioways*, and Abraham P. Nasatir's *Before Lewis and Clark*. Blaine's narrative tracked the imperialistic policy of Spain and how it affected tribes located in the continental heartland. In 1720, the Viceroy of New Spain dispatched an expedition commanded by Don Pedro de Villasure to the Platte River where the men were practically annihilated by *Pawnee* warriors. One of the survivors recalled that the men who escaped "retreated with the bulk of the horseherd," implying that some of the expedition's horses were left in the area and probably captured by Indians. Blaine further states that "horses had now become important to the Missouri River valley villagers," in the Council Bluffs area located on the Missouri River. *Ioways* who lived in the vicinity built Council Bluffs into an important trading center within two decades of the Villasure debacle. From this account it can be further learned that in 1724, French efforts to establish trade brought about a council among the *Ioway*, *Kansa*, *Otoe*, and *Missouris*. After passing "their valuable pipes to smoke, and to perform courtesies, according to their custom," a "Padouca [Commanche] chief arose and invited Bourgmont to visit his village,

³³White, "The Winning of the West," p. 323. In Joseph S. Karol, ed., *Red Horse Owner's Winter Count: The Oglala Sioux, 1786-1968* (Martin, SD: The Booster Publishing Co., 1969) p. 59, the entry, "1788, They killed each other's horse," and "1789, First time they rode horseback against the enemy" appear to indicate a much later date for the *Oglala*. But if anybody would obtain the horse and maximize its potential, it would be the *Oglala*.

³⁴Satterlee, Pamphlet 126, p. 12.

promising him various gifts, including some of his many horses and turquoise stones."³⁵ Nasatir's book contains a quotation from Father Marest who wrote his report from the Kaskaskia mission on July 10, 1700: "the Missouri was as long and large as the Mississippi and was well peopled with Indian nations . . . [H]e [Marest] had seen Spanish horses."³⁶ John C. Ewers and Hubert Smith wrote extensively about the *Mandans*, the sedentary riverine people who maintained a great trading center on the westward bend of the Missouri River in North Dakota. La Verendrye visited the *Mandan* villages in 1738 and listed horses as one of their most prominent trade items. The *Mandan* villages were a terminal point of the *Chemin des guerriers* (Road of the Warriors) which connected the Assiniboine River with the River of the West and formed part of the great Indian trading network that existed in prehistoric times.³⁷ Doane Robinson mentioned that "Carver visited them [Sioux] in 1766 [but] makes no mention of finding horses among them, though he reports they had wars with nations to the west who had many horses." Presumably Carver was referring to

³⁵Blaine, *Ioways*, pp. 30, 34, 36. Turquoise is not found in the plains. It came from the southwest via trade network; horses are seldom mentioned in early French accounts. Priestly *The Coming of the White Man*, p. 233, notes, "In 1647, when there was but one horse in New France," also p. 234, in 1719 about 5000 horses were enumerated.

³⁶Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark*, vol. 1, p. 6; also *ibid.*, p. 9, where Nicolas de la Salle noted mules with the Spaniards in 1708 from interviews he did with "slaves of the Indian nations of Missouri."

³⁷Smith, *The Explorations of the La Verendryes*, p. 24, likewise on p. 107, when Chevalier de la Verendrye and his brother at the behest of their father explored for the Sea of the West in 1742-43, where they met the Gens de l'Arc and mentioned that "All the nations of these regions have a great many horses, asses, and mules, which they use to carry their baggage and for riding, both in hunting and traveling." Ewers, *Indian Life*, pp. 3-5, and John C. Ewers, *The Horse in Blackfoot Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), *passim*.

the *Arikara*, *Cheyenne*, and *Cree* tribes who resided on the western plains and were in possession of Spanish horses. George Hyde puts the *Dakota/Lakota/Nakota* on horses, at least in sufficient quantity to change their socioeconomic institutions, at a much later date. He believes the *Ihanktonwan* and *Titonwan* received the horse from the *Arikara*, who owned horses in plenty, in about 1760. From this data, it can be surmised that the *Ihanktonwan* (perhaps aided by their relatives), evicted the *Omaha*, *Ponca*, and *Ioways* from their Des Moines and Pipestone Quarry villages while afoot but armed with a few guns to supplement the traditional war weapons, the bow and arrow, hatchet, and war club.³⁸

Further expansion from the Pipestone Quarry region by the *Dakota* brought them once again up against the riverine tribes, remnants of *Ioway* and their allies who were settled permanently along the Big Sioux and James Rivers and on their confluences with the Missouri River. But these people proved no obstacle to the *Dakota*, who were drawn by two benefits that lured them onto the plains, the bison and ironically, the permanent settlements of agricultural tribes which functioned as trading centers. With the horse, purchased or stolen from the *Arikara* whose fortified villages clustered around the big bend of the Missouri River, and other bands of Indian traders moving north from the southwest, *pte* (bison) became more accessible, allowing complete mobility and freedom within the region. The riverine tribes served

³⁸Doane Robinson, "History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians," *SDHC* 2, p. 28. Carver has absorbed his share of criticism by scholars, principally because some of his dates and descriptions of places visited are not verifiable or appear to be plagiarized; Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk*, pp. 16-18, paints the *Oglala* as timid in their earliest encounters with the powerful *Arikara* who were over twenty thousand strong, until disease devastated their people, and the *Oglala* obtained the horse and learned how to make war while mounted; Hassrick, *The Sioux*, places the date at "1742 and probably earlier," p. 70.

two purposes: providing vegetables and other foodstuffs that *Dakota* previously grew or tended in the woodland environment; and further, serving as a permanent trading center visited regularly by traders coming upriver from Saint Louis.³⁹ The *Dakota* decision to move onto the plains was one of choice. The tribes realized that the benefits of their relocation far outweighed the problems. From recent reinterpretations of their movement, it is viewed as a planned expansion, reinforced when needed by the tribe's military power, and in cases where stubborn resistance existed, a combined force of the Seven Council Fires participated. When viewed in this light, the *Dakota* simply chose not to return to areas on the eastern side of the Mississippi River, lands they had previously utilized, until the need arose. The *Dakota*, who in the latter part of the seventeenth century and early eighteenth, were still canoemen, realized that trade with the Frenchmen, which was heavily dependent on the river for transporting goods, was accessible in any country that had rivers and streams. But with the addition of the horse, they obtained the element needed for mobility that they lost when they moved south onto the prairies, for the flatlands did not produce the necessary bark and pitch needed to maintain their canoes. In effect,

³⁹For the riverine tribes, see Will and Hyde, *Corn Among the Indians of the Upper Missouri*, passim; Roy W. Meyer, *The Village Indians of the Upper Missouri: The Mandans, Hidatsas, and Arikaras* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1970); also Abel, *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition*, passim; interesting to note that Black Elk in his description of *Oglala* sacred rites calls for Ree (*Arikara*) twist tobacco. See Brown, *The Sacred Pipe*, pp. 68, 118; it is not inconceivable that the *Arikara* villages served as an attraction for all tribes, much as large metropolitan areas attract people today; Hank Spotted Eagle, *Ihanktonwan* elder mentioned "that bands went south into Mexico real early. They had horses early on. They had many friends among the Apaches."

their decisions to move onto the plains were pragmatic and consensual.⁴⁰

After the horse was integrated into their lifestyle, tribes were not dependent on maintaining their own permanently established villages. *Sunkawakan* was truly a gift to an inherently gregarious people, expediting their need to make constant relationships with other tribes. The *Dakota* moved continually while hunting, visiting, living, and loving with relatives and friends across hundreds of miles. In their enlarged cultural complex, they depended on food sources located at known locations. Their movements coincided with harvesting times. This was reflected in their calendar which named the respective food maturation moons. Tribes pitched camp at each location, remained onsite until the harvest was completed and it was determined that the time was propitious to move to the next garden or hunting area. Before moving, they packed their excess food in leather cases and placed these in cistern-like pits dug into the earth five or six feet deep, lined with straw, and covered over with enough dirt to keep predators from pillaging them. A tree was blazed or some other mark left so that they could identify the store when they returned at some time in the future when food was needed.⁴¹ In their travels, they became intimately aware of each area's potential to supply foodstuffs, and this influenced future

⁴⁰White, "The Winning of the West:," pp. 319-343; Mekeel, "A Short History," pp. 160-161. Teton "crossed the Missouri permanently about 1785," and received horses shortly after that; Hassrick's paradigm of conservatism, or resistance to change had to have been severely tested in this substitution of the horse for the canoe with all the unknown factors of whether the bison would provide a lifestyle equal to or greater than that which they knew in the Minnesota woodlands.

⁴¹Paul Picotte, Interview by Joseph H. Cash, August 16, 1968, interview 0067 transcript, American Indian Research Project, South Dakota Oral History Center, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota (AIRP, SDOHC, USD hereafter).

decisions in land-cession treaties. When they chose a place to live as a group or, in the last half of the nineteenth century, and when forced to select individual allotments, they picked the best spot remembered for their reservations and individual homesites. Many other tribes did not have this option.⁴²

Of primary importance in *Dakota* movement west from the present state of Wisconsin to the Mississippi River in Minnesota is an assessment of the territory abandoned. The area of control did not cover more than three hundred square miles. Even after this migration they often returned to the old camps east of the river during the eighteenth century to hunt, fish, and trap when necessity dictated. West and southward expansion, beginning in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century eventually encompassed an area of approximately one-quarter million square miles, including parts of Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, and all of South Dakota. An estimated population of fifty thousand people, perhaps ten thousand of whom were warriors, partially armed with smoothbore muskets and, not yet completely mounted on horses, they began their odyssey which eventually led to the control of a corridor six hundred miles wide, stretching from the Mississippi River westward to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. Their society was aided in

⁴²One of the least mentioned prerequisites of settlement is the presence of salt. See for instance Ian W. Brown, *Salt and the Eastern North American Indian: An Archaeological Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Printing Office, 1980); also Coues, *Journals of Henry and Thompson*, pp. 62-63 where Henry notes the salt pit, bubbling like boiling water, excellent for making salt. Denig, *Five Indian Tribes*, p. 5, mentions "[s]prings impregnated with saline substances" located west of the *Mnisose Wakpa* attracting buffalo and other game; Iktomi, in *America Needs Indians!*, p. 51, says the cache "was practically safe from even very needy Indians of his tribe who might come upon it, for to *rob the cache* of another Indian, even a stranger, would have been *stealing in a most dishonorable form*--a cache was probably not bothered by even an *ordinary enemy*."

this expansion by the flexibility of the family and governing structures, adoption of metal tools to aid in hunting, and the mobility supplied by *sunkawakan*. The *Ihanktonwan Nakota* expansion turned southeast and west and their story is found more often during this historic period, interspersed in an increasingly complex time of vast movements of Indian and non-Indian people across the North American continent.⁴³

⁴³Anderson, "Early Dakota Migration," p. 24, writes that "Le Sueur's journal suggests that most eastern Sioux were armed by 1700 and a match for all aggressors"; White, "The Winning of the West," p. 321; Vine Deloria, Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins*, p. 22, "The Sioux, my own people have a great tradition of conflict. . . . During one twenty-year period in the last century [19th, but also the 17th and 18th] the Sioux fought over an area from LaCrosse, Wisconsin, to Sheridan, Wyoming, against the Crow, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Mandan, Arikara, Hidatsa, Ponca, Iowa, Pawnee, Otoe, Omaha, Winnebago, Chippewa, Cree, Assiniboine, Sac and Fox, Potawatomi, Ute, and Gros Ventre;" Mekeel, "A Short History of the Teton Dakota," pp. 137-205, provides an overview of western expansion, showing the Yankton migrating down the Mississippi into Iowa, thence northward along the *Mnisose Wakpa*, foldout map opposite p. 148; any criticism of Warren's *History of the Ojibway People*, a reprint of his *Minnesota Historical Collections* article, by an Indian ethnohistorian is an almost no-win situation because Warren relied on oral history for his narrative, and to refute his conclusions based on oral history makes all historians who use oral history subject to more critical evaluation of sources.

CHAPTER VI
PLAINS EXODUS, LEWIS AND CLARK,
AND THE MAKING OF TREATIES,
1763-1856

From the earliest oral tradition the *Ihanktonwan* have called themselves "the People of the End Village" and "the Friendly People." Both of these names may describe their relative position in the exodus of the Seven Council Fires, prior to the American Revolution, as they moved out into the southern plains and woodlands of what are now the states of Iowa, Missouri, northern Nebraska, Montana, Wyoming, and North and South Dakota. Designated to bring up the rear flank of the mass expansion, they continued diplomatic relations with the eastern intertribal trading network and served as a buffer against the advance of non-Indians. This was an important assignment and because of that critical responsibility they were often in contact with white traders and other non-Indian visitors.¹

Large numbers of mixed-blood children resulted from unions (both marital and non-marital), that brought traders into the tribe with the status of relatives (see Figures 4., and 5.). They brought with them new technologies and better

¹For *Ponka, Omaha, Osage, Kansa, Ioway, Oto, Missouri, Winnebago*, and *Mandan* migrations see Dorsey, "Migrations of Siouan Tribes," pp. 211-222.



Figure 3. Edwin Thompson Denig and his Assiniboine Indian Wife, Deer Little Woman



Figure 4. Alexander Culbertson, his wife Na-ta-wis-ta-cha, and their son Joe

access to the latest trading items. Along the way, Indian cultural traits were modified as amalgamation affected the *Yanktons* to a greater degree than other tribes of the Seven Council Fires. This was surely a blessing on one hand, but a difficult transition on the other. It seems a miracle that after nearly two hundred and fifty years, *Yanktons* are still intact as a nation and still practice their cultural ways today (1993).

When the *Ihanktonwan* moved downriver on the Mississippi and south from the Pipestone Quarries, they expanded the extensive intertribal trading networks by linking with non-Indian businessmen. Meanwhile, French traders and explorers found a new home when Saint Louis was established on the west bank of the Mississippi just below the Missouri River in 1764. Before long, the city grew into the center of trade in the Illinois country, sending trading outfits upriver from Saint Louis under the Spanish flag, escalating their commercial exploitation of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers.² Freed from French competition after 1763, the Hudson's Bay Company expanded into the territory already established by the French in the north while they opened new avenues of commerce westward to the Pacific. Soon another British trading company, the North West Company, formed to exploit the rich resources. Indian tribes were increasingly on the move in an attempt to adjust to population pressures caused by European expansion. As linear time pervaded tribal culture, it engendered drastic changes. Tribal attitudes toward space and time were changed.

Increased mobility was a double-edged cultural modification as it applied to both Indian and non-Indian people who used the horse. As a result, traditional Indian

²Nasatir, ed., *Before Lewis and Clark*, pp. 60-64.

cyclical lifestyles became cramped or nearly impossible to follow as more people moved into less space. Plant and animal lifecycles changed along with the hunting, gathering *Dakota*. The points where these varied and numerous peoples met inevitably produced both a culture clash, or fusion, and new sociopolitical structures emerged.³

The new closeness facilitated a growth in intertribal marriages. Marriages between members of different tribes was not a foreign concept. *Dakota* women and men sought partners from other tribes for many reasons, but especially to escape the strong taboo against incest. In addition, men and women were captured from other tribes and accepted as sexual partners within the group making the capture. Europeans had mixed their genes as they too roamed about the continent. The difference on the Missouri hinged on culture and skin color. Racial amalgamation was often viewed perjoratively by non-Indians, yet many of the same men pronouncing judgement against Indians were living with Indian women not their wives, an act that was considered a sin within the Catholic cultures they left behind. From the very beginning of French exploration into the western country, few Frenchmen had qualms about living with Indian women while they were away from

³Herbert S. Schell, *History of South Dakota* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1961; Bison paper, 1975), pp. 3-23, describes land forms and *Dakota* migration onto the prairies; Leland L. Sage, *A History of Iowa* (Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 1974; paper, 1987), pp. 18-35, mentions "the most virile, warlike, and indomitable of all Indians" who came into Iowa as the *Dakota*, "the most important being the Santee, the Sisseton, and the Wahpeton," (p. 25). Most northern plains scholars agree that the *Mdewankanton*, *Wahpekute*, and *Ihanktonwan* were the tribes that moved into Iowa, Missouri, and Nebraska; see for instance Mekeel, "A Short History," p. 148, and Woolworth, *Sioux Indians III*, p. 31; Robinson, *History of South Dakota*, Vol. 1, p. 51, "very little of record to record to indicate how far up the river this [French] trade extended."

their white wives. Clarence Alvord states the reality succinctly, writing how freeroaming coureurs de bois "preceded the Jesuit missionaries to Lake Superior; they were found by the first missionary at Green Bay; and Father Marquette, the founder of the Illinois mission, found French traders on the upper Illinois in 1674. They learned to love the free life of the wilderness; the lure of the wild enthralled them; and, above all, the hope of speedy profits led them on. Eventually, outlawed by the king's edict prohibiting their trade, disappointed in their hope of wealth, and accustomed to the new life, they settled in the Indian villages and began unconsciously and almost imperceptibly the French dominion of the northwest."⁴ Pierre Dorion, Sr., a Frenchman who served as an interpreter for the Lewis and Clark expedition, was "one of those French creoles, descendants of the ancient Canadian stock, who abound on the western frontier, and amalgamate or cohabit with the savages."⁵ Many such examples abound in the notes left by eighteenth century

⁴Quoted from Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, p. 58. For a brief but incisive discussion see Bernard W. Sheehan, "Indian-White Relations in Early American: A Review Essay," *William and Mary Quarterly* (WMQ hereafter) 26 (April 1969): 267-286; or Deloria, *Custer Died For Your Sins*, passim; also Preston Holder, *The Hoe and the Horse*, p. 6-8, makes the assertion that the French strategy was to encourage amalgamation between "lower-class [French] members who had much to gain and little to lose in changing culture" and cohabitating with Indian women. The horse was an addition whose impact on Indian society equalled that of the automobile, telegraph, and airplane for modern society. For commentary on *Dakota* marriage customs see Cross, *Father Louis Hennepin's*, pp. 150-154, 159, 180; many of the reasons why English and presumably French, both men and women, preferred becoming Indian are found in Axtell, *White Indians*, passim; for general comments on intermarriage, see George W. Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory* (Chicago, IL: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1915), Vol. 1, p. 148.

⁵Elliot Coues, ed., *History of the Expedition Under the Command of Lewis and Clark* (New York, NY: Francis P. Harper, 1893), 4 Vols, p. 21, n. 47, Vol. 1.; Smith, *The Explorations of the La Verendryes*, pp. 112-113, on the 1743 trail back to Fort La Reine, where it was learned "a Frenchman who had been settled there for several years," they sent him a letter to come visit. No contact was made.

explorers who lived in *Dakota* country.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, interbreeding with non-Indians was a common although not completely accepted behavior among the *Dakota*. From the very beginning, marriages or casual sexual relations occurred exclusively between Indian women and non-Indian men. On his journey into the Upper Missouri country, Antoine Tabeau related an incident that occurred during November and December of 1804. One day, the trader and his company camped near some members of the *Bois Brules*, *Okondoanes*, *Saones*, and *Siouses* tribes. Choosing the most auspicious time, "the women came to trade in certain trifles, sure of obtaining a few pieces of dried meat into the bargain" from the *engages* while they ate. Further into his narrative, Tabeau asserted he would "say nothing of their favors which they offered for a few mouthfuls. The [Indian] husbands, who seemed to pardon the union, paid no attention."⁶ The traders had no way of knowing that these women may well have been Indian captives of other tribes used to beg and to do the work that Sioux wives and mothers would not. Captives had no rights and did as they were told in order to survive. From these sexual unions emerged bicultural and bilingual children.

In direct contrast to the women's behavior described by Tabeau, *Yankton* women were taught chastity. Ethnologist Ella C. Deloria described womanly conduct:

Always bent on making well-behaved women of them, (grandmother) directed them thus: Now, as you enter the tipi where the great man sits, move so quietly as not to attract attention . . . Say nothing, and keep your

⁶Harry H. Anderson, "Fur Traders as Fathers: The Origins of the Mixed-Blooded Community Among the Rosebud Sioux," *SDH* 3 (Summer, 1973): 233-270; Abel, *Tabeau's Narrative*, pp. 72-73, 178-183; Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark*, pp. 257-259.

eyes well down. At the same time, observe from under the eyelid just where to step. Do not be clumsy and trip over people's feet. It is rude even to step over any part of a human's body, even if your feet do not touch it. Go straight to the honor-place and there present your gift. . . . You know the proper side of the fire to walk in on--the left-hand side--and the proper side of the fire to walk out on--the right-hand side . . . Sit like women. Never cross your legs like men. And be sure to keep your skirts pulled well down over your knees . . . above all, sit up straight; do not loll. Remember that no woman reclines in the presence of men, unless she is to ill to know.⁷

Incorrect, or uniformed images of northern Indians gathered and recorded by traders who employed the river as the means to transport goods to upriver markets developed long-lasting stereotypes. In their journeys they encountered tribesmen near the banks and along the coulees feeding into the Missouri River. Often the rivermen described the Indians as poorly clad, starving and begging for food. Discounting the obvious ethnocentrism apparent in these accounts, reasons for Indian behavior can be explained. Indians learned that traders who used the river to transport goods would make compensation for this privilege, in effect a toll settled by offering goods and trinkets.⁸ When the boats were induced to land, a council usually followed and after business was concluded, a feast ensued. At the first encounters, perhaps Indians

⁷Ella C. Deloria, *Waterlily*, pp. 44-45.

⁸For an example, see Doane Robinson, "Trudeau's Journal," *SDHC* 7, pp. 403-474, on p. 406 where Trudeau sneaked past the *Poncas* and lower bands "as each would be sure to levy tribute upon him if it discovered his passage." At first, traders and explorers made as many contacts with Indians as possible, but by the second decade of the 1800s they began to establish posts near the rivers where Indians had access to trade items stored in fortified warehouses; Bernard DeVoto, ed., *The Journals of Lewis and Clark* (Cambridge, MA: The Riverside Press, 1953), pp. 24-26, though he leaves out descriptions of *Yanktons*, is quite emphatic in describing the Sioux as trade monopolists "encouraged in this brigandage by the British traders on the James and Des Moines Rivers who were their regular source of supply"; see also Doane Robinson, "The Astorians in South Dakota," *SDHC* 10, pp. 196-247, specifically 199-200, where Robinson ascribes the Sioux as acting as middlemen between upriver tribes and closing off the Saint Louis traders.

enhanced their chances of payment by depicting themselves as poor and starving, playing on the sympathy of the traders. Far more probable in explaining their destitute appearance was an actual food shortage when the traders observed them because they were traveling to their next cache or next camp to harvest a new crop of food. Traders were rarely sensitive to traditional Indian customs. Indians portrayed themselves and their people as humble or pitiful, as *ikche wichasha*, (common men), who are that way because they subscribed to the tenets of the four cardinal virtues. Living in a society that believed "giving was glorified, generosity demands that material goods be shared with those who have less."⁹ Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, described this attribute in *Yankton* head chief *Struck By the Ree*: "his charity is boundless" and when gifts come his way "he accepts them, and makes use of them solely to relieve the distress of the poor members of his tribe."¹⁰ In other words Indians deliberately humbled themselves, a cultural trait that continues to the present day.

Yanktons were not directly involved in the American Revolution. Life during the war years meant only that trade goods were scarce and they had to travel closer to the sources to obtain items considered necessary. Spanish and French trading and exploration companies renewed their commercial and exploratory interests in the Missouri River valley during the last decade of the eighteenth century. After the American Revolution, the Missouri River became much more important not only for

⁹Deloria, *Speaking of Indians*, pp. 45-48; Thwaites, *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. 16, pp 185-186, the Scioux [sic] after making a speech, "they began, according to their custom, to weep over Mr. Le Sueur's head, saying 'Oueachissou ouaepanimanabo'--which means, 'Take pity on us.'"

¹⁰Chittenden and Richardson, *Life, Letters and Travels*, p. 1283, Vol. 4.

commerce but as a military necessity. A Company of Explorers of the Upper Missouri was founded on October 15, 1793, by a syndicate of Saint Louis merchants to explore the Upper Missouri and search for a passage to the Vermillion Sea.¹¹ The Company appointed Jean Baptiste Truteau to head up the first expedition charged with travelling up the Missouri to the Mandans where he would establish a trading post. Truteau was stopped near Crow Creek by a *Yankton* hunting party from the Des Moines River. Although Truteau knew this tribe, his troubles mounted when he discovered that the hunting party was composed mainly of *Titonwan Lakota* who immediately demanded to know what he was doing in their country. When the flustered trader told them he was carrying weapons to trade with the *Arikara*, trouble flared up as *Lakota* were at war with the *Arikara*. After suffering some pillaging he escaped and by travelling at night he moved upriver. Truteau hid his supplies, sank the boat, and took his party on foot to the *Arikara* villages. Finding this camp empty, he returned downriver, recovered his gear, and drifted downriver where he established a winter camp on a wooded shelf of land on the east side of the Missouri approximately three miles north of Seven Mile Creek. After spending a comfortable winter even though he was constantly harrassed by *Omaha* and *Ponca* Indians, Truteau survived through the winter and continued his voyage to the *Mandan* villages that spring. His trip upriver informed future traders of troubles they would encounter stemming from intertribal warfare. It became known that Indians would demand a form of tribute to pass through Indian country. Truteau was one of the first recorded

¹¹Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark*, pp. 64-86, letters of Trudeau, Clamorgan, and Carondelet about formation of the Company is spread through the correspondence reprinted on pp. 169-236.

non-Indian to live on the lands that *Yanktons* would choose for their reservations.¹²

In 1804, President Thomas Jefferson commissioned an expedition to explore and report on Louisiana Territory. This exploration became the first visit by Americans which tied together the disparate pieces of information previously written about the *Dakota* people.¹³ It was also the first look at *Yanktons*, albeit of short duration and limited only to the headmen and warriors of the *Ihanktonwan*. From these notes, a knowledge of the *Yankton* diplomatic and cultural life during this period becomes apparent.¹⁴ The 1804 Lewis and Clark Expedition offers a view, though

¹²Truteau, or Trudeau appears a timid individual who was unable to counter the demands of assertive Indian groups. For his observations see Robinson, "Trudeau's Journal," *SDHC* 7, pp. 403-474; Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark*, pp. 84-93; in Parker, "Early Explorations," *SDHC* 25, p. 27 n. 2, Rising Hail, an *Ihanktonwan*, gives his testimony of where Truteau's "Pawnee House" was located, a place where water and wood are plentiful. A cabin leased by Dr. Schuurman (optometrist who practices his craft in Wagner), occupies the site today. No evidence exists documenting leases or rents paid by the traders for using the land on which they built their posts. Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark*, pp. 243-253, lists the 53 articles in "Clamorgan's Instructions to Truteau, St. Louis, June 30, 1794."

¹³Because the expedition's voluminous and concentrated report contains a wealth of material describing the *Yankton*, a careful examination is offered. Many volumes on this expedition are in print, I have consulted Hanna, *The Lewis and Clark Expedition by Meriwether Lewis*, 3 Vols.; also John Bakeless, *The Journals of Lewis and Clark* (New York, NY: New American Library, 1964, A Mentor Book, paper), passim; and Doane Robinson, "Lewis and Clark," *SDHC* 9, pp. 515-516, Robinson offers a summary of Jefferson's charges to the captains; Abel, *Tableau's Narrative*, is an account of the last Spanish expedition commissioned to travel up the river and is nearly contemporaneous with the Lewis and Clark expedition, indeed Pierre Antoine Tabeau "was very probably the 'Mr Anty Tabo' who came from the Arikara Indians to visit the explorers when they arrived at the place," p. viii.

¹⁴A dispute exists about the presence of *Yankton* women at the council. See Robinson, "Lewis and Clark," *SDHC* 9, pp. 538-542, where Robinson believes women were present as Captain Clark's notes contain the passage "the Squaws wore Peticoots & a White Buffalo roabe with the black hare turned back over their necks and Sholders," p. 538, against Patrick Gass's statement, "No Squaws made their appearance among this party," and account that "was written by a third party, many years afterward from notes made by Gass and from his personal recollection," *SDHC*

confined to observations made from the boats. Indians who came down to the river banks to parley with the explorers combined with observations of the expedition's hunters as they combed the land for food provided much of the information. In defense of the captains, they would often leave the vessels to climb the riverbanks for short reconnaissance trips to enlarge their scope before writing their commentaries on weather, plants, and other noteworthy items. Another facet of their study included investigation of Indian curiosities that filled literature written by earlier travelers. One of the first stories they sought to verify when they reached *Ihanktonwan* country concerned a hill or a "mountain of Little People, or Little Spirits."¹⁵

Captain Merriwether Lewis noted their activities in his logbook entry for August 25, 1804. Both he (though much fatigued), and Captain William Clark trekked over nine miles from the mouth of the Whitestone [Vermillion] River to Spirit Mound. In true scientific terms Lewis found the "only remarkable characteristic of this hill, admitting it to be a natural production, is that it is insulated or separated a

9, p. 542.

¹⁵For quotation, see Hanna, *The Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. 1, p. 47; G. Hubert Smith, *The Explorations*, p. 19, mentions "a small mountain whose stones sparkled 'night and day,' and which was called 'The Dwelling of the Spirit' and no one ventured to approach," and p. 20, "there was on the banks of a river a nation of dwarfs no more than three feet or so in height"; much of the narrative that follows is based on Robinson, "Lewis and Clark," *SDHC* 9, pp. 536-543, where he also mentions that Radisson and Grossielier heard of the "little men" in 1654 when voyaging the Mississippi, also "the captains had been regaled by the Ottoes, the Omahas and other tribes with tales of the hill of the Little Devils." Both quotations are found on p. 527; also Charles LeRaye, who as a captive of the Sioux, visited the Spirit Mound in 1802, p. 528 of Robinson's narrative; see also Doane Robinson, "The Journal of Charles LeRaye," *SDHC* 4, p. 162, for LeRaye's description of the Wakons, "spirits, in shape of human beings, of a very diminutive side, not being, according to their description, more than six or eight inches high." LeRaye's journal is questioned by scholars for its authenticity.

considerable distance from any other, which is very unusual in the natural order or disposition of the hills."¹⁶ The captains debunked the legend attributed to it as an "abode of little devils, in human form, of about eighteen inches high and with remarkably large heads."¹⁷ In their opinion, the only things unusual about Spirit Mound were the multitudinous birds feeding on the leeward side and that was "sufficient proof to produce in the savage mind a confident belief of all the properties which they ascribe to it."¹⁸ However, according to many sources, including modern day eyewitnesses, little spirit people are still seen, living among the wooded areas of the Missouri River. *Ihanktonwan* elder Joseph Rockboy left his memory of them, describing *canotina* as brown men of eighteen inches in height who "were enemies of the Sioux from the time the Sioux first entered this region."¹⁹

After satisfying their curiosity, the captains returned to the mouth of the Vermillion and retired for the night. Early the next day they started a prairie fire and hoped the smoke would catch the attention of any Indians who might be in the vicinity. Shortly thereafter, they recommenced the journey upriver. On August 27, the party reached the mouth of the James River where three Indians (one a young *Omaha* boy), swam out to the boats to inform them through Pierre Dorion, Sr., that

¹⁶Bakeless, *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*, pp. 46-47, 53-54.

¹⁷Hanna, ed., *Lewis and Clark's*, p. 47.

¹⁸Robinson, "Lewis and Clark," p. 531.

¹⁹"Traditions of the Spoken Word," told by *Ihanktonwan* elder Joseph Rockboy, found in T. Emogene Paulson, *Sioux Collections* (Vermillion, SD: University of South Dakota Press, 1982), p. 30; see also Renee Sansom-Flood, *Lessons From Chouteau Creek*, p. 23, n. 11, p. 86.

the *Yankton* campsite was not far off.²⁰ Dorian was highly qualified for his position having lived among the *Dakota* and interacted with other tribes in the vicinity for over twenty years. His work as an interpreter on the lower Missouri River proved indispensable. The captains dispatched Dorian and Sergeant Pryor along with two of the Indians to the village to inform the *Yanktons* that they would meet them two days hence at Calumet Bluffs. The young *Omaha* boy travelled with their party as they made their way upriver to the meeting place.

On the foggy morning of August 30, 1804, the expedition camped on Calumet Bluff near the present site of the Gavins Point Dam powerhouse and prepared to parley with the Indians. Captain Clark's log states that they sent "Mr. Dorion in a Perogue for the Cheifs and Warriors to a Council under an Oak Tree near where we had a flag flying on a high flagstaff." In keeping with President Jefferson's instructions "to establish friendly relations with the Indians [and] impress them with the power of their new 'White Father' in Washington," they met the *Yankton* delegation at noon and "Cap. L. Delivered the Speeach & then made one great Chiff by giving a Meadel & Some Cloathes, one 2d Chief & three Third Chiefs in the same way, they rec.d those things with the goods and tobacco with pleasure." Once the formalities were dispensed with, the report continues: "To the Grand Chief we gave a Flag and the parole [certificate] & Wampom with a hat & Chiefs coat." In traditional style, the *Ihanktonwans* reciprocated the cardinal virtue of generosity by offering the Pipe, their symbol of friendship, and together they "smoked out of the pipe of peace,

²⁰Very little record is left of Pierre Dorion, Sr., see LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1971), pp. 107-112; also Coues, *History of the Expedition*, Vol. 1, p. 21, n. 46, for a short summation of Dorian.

& the Chiefs retired to a Bourey made of bushes by their young men to Divide their presents and Smoke eat and Council." That first evening the explorer's party received an honoring and ceremonial dance in keeping with traditional protocol.²¹

The next morning, Lewis notes "after the Indians got their Brackfast the Chiefs met and arranged themselves in a row with elligent pipes of peace all pointing to our Seets."²² In the parley that followed, he writes: "the grand chief, whose Indian name Weucha, is, in English Shake Hand, and, in French, is called Le Liberateur (the deliverer) rose" and made a speech.²³ Clark's narrative is explicit in recording *Yankton* needs, which did not include food. Instead, they were poor "by not haveing traders, & wished us to take pity on them, the[y] wanted Powder Ball, & a little milk."²⁴ *Weucha's* words represented he and his people as poor, a word used to symbolize humbleness. After speeches by the principal men of the tribe thanking the Great Father's representatives for their generosity, Captain Clark took the opportunity to express the President's wish for the *Yanktons* to live in peace among themselves and with non-Indians and further, that some of them should come back to his home in the East. *Weucha* answered, promising that he would bring together the *Pawnee* and other tribes to make a peace, asking only that the Great Father would send a trader to live with the Indians.

²¹All the above quotations are taken from Robinson, "Lewis and Clark," *SDHC* 9, pp. 536-43; supplemented by Bakeless's edited notes in *The Journals*, pp. 52-54.

²²*Ibid.*, pp. 538-539.

²³Hanna, *The Lewis and Clark Expedition*, pp. 50-51.

²⁴Robinson, "Lewis and Clark in South Dakota," *SDHC* 9, pp. 514-596, quote from p. 539; see Bakeless, *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*, p. 57 where he explains "a little milk. [Rum: "milk of Great Father" meant spirits.]"

Another significant event happened that day. As befitting legendary figures, *Struck By the Ree's* first encounter with the non-Indian is cloaked in legend. Supposedly he was born the day when the Lewis and Clark Expedition (August 1804) visited the *Ihanktonwan* on their journey up the Missouri River. The captains were told a baby boy represented the newest member of the tribe and they requested he be brought to them. When the infant was presented, the leaders wrapped him in an American flag and prophesied that he would be a life-long friend of the white man. Doane Robinson gives several versions of this story, but he points out that *Struck By The Ree* believed this version and that gives added credence to the story. The first trace of his involvement in tribal affairs is his name found on *A Treaty of Peace and Friendship* signed in 1815 and a *Treaty with the Yankton Sioux* (1837) completed in Washington, DC. Many historians argue that the man who signed these treaties was *Struck By The Ree's* father.²⁵ The future leader grew to manhood learning his skills from his elders *Wahhaginga* (Little Dish), *Matosabechea* (Smuttery Bear), *Chaponge* (Mosquito), and *Xuyenonke* (War Eagle), men who helped lead the *Yankton* tribe in the struggles with the *Omahas*, *Ioways*, *Otoes*, and *Pawnee* over lands in northeast Iowa.

Smoking the pipe of peace during the Lewis and Clark Expedition signified the importance of pipes and tobacco as used by *Yanktons* and most Indian tribes of the North American continent. Anthropologist George A. West wrote of the meaning attached to the pipe:

²⁵Robinson, "Lewis and Clark," *SDHC* 9, pp. 536-37; 7 Stat., 128, signed July 19, 1815, Ratified December 26, 1815, Treaty with the Yankton Sioux, 1815, and 7 Stat., 542, signed October 21, 1837, Proclamation, February 21, 1838, Treaty with the Yankton Sioux, 1837.

Its sanctity [was] seldom violated. It was used in the ratification of treaties and it afforded its bearer safe transport among savage tribes. Its acceptance sacredly sealed the terms of peace, and its refusal was regarded as a rejection of the same. . . .²⁶

The federal government was well aware of the Indian's fondness for tobacco. Among the cargo taken aboard the expedition's pirogues were thirty carrots of tobacco.

When the eastern tobacco was mixed with *chanshasha*, the inner bark of the red willow, the mixture made for a mellow tasting smoke. Clark's narrative gives other observations about the *Yanktons* which, though biased to a degree, offer further insights into the use of culture in their diplomatic procedures. Three different members of the party made observations while the Indians prepared to dance, commenting on the dress, methods of dancing, and the instruments they used to make music.²⁷

From the journals kept by the expedition, several observations offer insights into *Ihanktonwan* culture and living conditions. The *Omaha* boy living in apparent freedom with the *Yanktons* indicates the two tribes were living in peace with each other during that time. During the nineteen days it took the expedition to move from the Big Sioux River to Whetstone Creek (approximately the length of the *Yankton* reservation formed in 1858), they sampled a profusion of fruit, fish, and game. Clark commented on "a very excellent fruit resembling the red currant (buffalo berry, *Shepardia Argentea*)," finding them "deliciously flavored and makes delitefull tarts."

²⁶Louis Seig, *Tobacco, Peace Pipes, and Indians* (Palmer Lake, CO: Filter Press, 1971), p. 14; Thwaites, *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. 16, p. 185, "calumet, which is a signal of peace among the Indians." *Chanshasha* or *kinnickick* is harvested only after the first rain of spring among the *Dakota*, see Howard, "Notes on the Ethnogeography," p. 295.

²⁷Robinson, "Lewis and Clark," *SDHC* 9, pp. 539-541.

On the way to explore Spirit Mound along the Vermillion River, they stopped for an hour to eat "delicious froot such as Grapes, Plumbs & Blue Currents." Doane Robinson's comment about "the whole party finding themselves in a sportsman's paradise were wild to hunt" solidifies the intelligent choice when Yanktons later selected the area for their permanent reservation. At the foot of Bon Homme Island, where the party made a rest stop, Clark observed that game was marvelously plentiful as were cat fish which Clark found "exceedingly plenty and of fine quality." During this period on the river, the expedition feasted on deer (22), elk (12), buffalo (9), turkeys (3), beaver (2), and one squirrel in addition to six deer and two elk furnished by the *Yankton* during their parley at Calumet Bluffs. From accounts left by the Lewis and Clark Expedition, bison on the shores north of Missouri River were still numerous. The explorers reported from near the White River, "these animals (buffaloes) are now so numerous that from an eminence we discovered more than we had ever seen before at one time."²⁸

The most divisive change wrought by the expedition was the interference in the *Yankton's* method of making decisions that affected the tribe. The system of decision-making by general council and leadership by consensus received its first attack when the expedition's leaders made certain individual men "chiefs." Leaders like *Weucha* (Shake Hand), were recognized as *itanchans*, or authority figures but they did not have absolute authority over the people who followed them; instead, they were the ones who had the most knowledge and ability to speak to the immediate

²⁸The quoted material is taken from Robinson, "Lewis and Clark," *SDHC* 9, pp. 524, 526, 529, 536, 543, and 552; for another excellent report on game, fruit, and roots found on the Missouri see Abel, *Tabeau's Narrative*, pp. 65-98.

issue. *Padaniapapi* grew into the *itanchan* position as did *Lakota Tatanka Iotaka* (Sitting Bull). Both men, *Struck By The Ree* and *Sitting Bull* were viewed by non-Indians as chiefs, but they knew their places and perhaps kept silent about the white man's designations until appropriate times arose. Protocol with the tribes was an important part of President Jefferson's approach to establishing good relationships with unknown people found in the new lands. Little did the President, or the intrepid explorers for that matter, realize the serious, long-term consequences of their presumptuous designation of ordinary men to leadership positions. The men honored with respect, medals, and other accoutrements became so-called "made chiefs" and often they interfered in tribal customs against traditional leaders and the process of the general council. At the same time, designating chiefs became a way for the government to insure leaders who adhered to its policies were in a decision making position. Made-chiefs became synonymous with the "divide and conquer" paradigm identified by Indian and non-Indian activists.²⁹ The Lewis and Clark meeting proved their *Yankton* description as the "Friendly People," and from then on *Yanktons* were at peace with the non-Indian.³⁰

The visit of the official exploring party of the Louisiana Purchase in 1804

²⁹Bruguier, "A Legacy in Sioux Leadership," pp. 370-371, *Sitting Bull* considered himself a diplomat and spiritual man. He said "they [White people] think I dominate these people just as they dominate theirs. They have kings, emperors, dictators. They think that is what I am. But no, I am just a member of this family, Hunkpapa. . . . If they [the government] want, if they are worried, go down and pull a whisker out of Gall. He will give them a fight."

³⁰Mr. Hank Spotted Eagle remembered the expedition with great pride and was proud of his ancestor *The Rising Sun* who shook hands with Captain Clark and received a certificate and medal. According to Mr. Spotted Eagle, Clark kept in close contact with *Yanktons* through 1812 and kept them from joining in that war.

opened a new frontier for the *Dakota*, a time when issues of importance started to change from Indian to Indian diplomacy to Indian with non-Indian. The United States apparently assumed that ownership and free usage of land and water came with their purchase of Louisiana. Indians protested in several ways, and the constant examples were the repeated stoppages of traders headed upriver by boat. This is often interpreted as an Indian ploy to obtain the best goods while depriving tribes further upriver the same access. Indians recognized their proprietary rights and therefore demanded payment for use of the rivers as a transportation route. At the same time, it is doubtful that Indians recognized the symbolic importance of the American flag being planted on their land by the expeditionary forces.³¹

Countless traders, both licensed and itinerant, made journeys up the Missouri River for trade and exploration. Manuel Lisa, founder and guiding spirit of the Saint Louis Missouri Fur Company, began travelling up the Missouri River to trade in 1807. The hardworking merchant made six trips, several to his trading post located on the headwaters of the Yellowstone River, where he competed with British traders to meet the demands of the Indian market. As a result of his wide experience with tribes living in the Upper Missouri, when war with Great Britain broke out in 1812, he was appointed subagent of the Upper Missouri tribes by William Clark, Territorial Governor, in 1814. Ever enterprising, Lisa established his headquarters north of present-day Omaha, Nebraska, building a fort which he named Lisa. From this site he began covert efforts to keep *Dakotas* either on the side of the Americans or failing

³¹Howard W. Paulson, "Federal Indian Policy and the Dakota Indians," *SDH* 3 (Summer 1973): 285-309, a precise summary of the obligations to the Indians in Louisiana the United States assumed when the legal documents were signed.

that, in a neutral position. Lisa's success in this endeavor is measured by the very few documented battles which identified *Titonwan* or *Ihanktonwan* participation. In 1814, he met with nine hundred *Yanktons* at the mouth of the James River and counselled them against entering the war. Lisa was ably served by *Tahama* (The Rising Moose), a *Mdewakanton* who worked as a courier and spy. Once, when captured by Robert Dickson, the wily *Tahama* refused to divulge information and was finally released.³²

The *Titonwan* and *Yankton Dakota* were said to have "remained neutral or supported the Americans" during the War of 1812.³³ However, this was not proven and among Colonel Robert Dickson's descendants another story emerges. While engaged in his trading business, Dickson who was still single, met and married an Indian woman. The red-haired Colonel took as his wife a *Yankton Dakota* woman named *Totowin* (later known as Mary Helen Dixon), at Saint Mark's Anglican Church in Ontario, Canada, in 1797. This marriage bound *Totowin's* family into a strong alliance with the Canadians. While most of the *Yanktons* living along the Des Moines and Missouri Rivers remained neutral, Robert Dickson's new *Yankton* relatives formed a portion of what Canadian historian Pierre Berton called the "two hundred

³²For the tribes directly south of the *Yanktons* involvement in the War of 1812, see Blaine, *Ioways*, pp. 113-114; for Manuel Lisa and *Tahama*, see William M. Blackburn, "Historical Sketch of North and South Dakota," *SDHC* 1, pp. 102-104; Charles E. DeLand, "Editorial Notes on Old Fort Pierre and Its Neighbors," *SDHC* 1, pp. 321-325. For a summary of Manuel Lisa, see Hiram M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (Stanford, CA: Academic Reprints, 1954), 4 Vols. pp. 125-136, Vol. 1, and Vol. 2, pp. 555-561.

³³Doane Robinson, "A Sioux Indian View of the Last War with England," *SDHC* 5, pp. 397-401; see also Louis A. Tohill, "Robert Dickson, British Fur Trader on the Upper Mississippi: A Story of Trade, War, and Diplomacy" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1926), pp. 83-90.

picked Indian warriors" who followed Colonel Dickson into battle against the Americans.³⁴

Another account mentioned that the *Lakota* and *Nakota* fought against their *Isanti* relatives who were on the British side. Robert Dickson, a British fur trader who was well known by the Americans because of his activities at Prairie du Chiens and Des Moines, headed the effort to bring the *Dakota* into the British military camps. John B. Renville, a mixed-blood *Dakota* Presbyterian minister, related a story to Doane Robinson confirming *Isanti* participation in the Ohio. Prior to the commencement of war, *Tecumseh's* emissaries visited *Dakota* camps "telling wonderful dreams" wherein all the tribes from Hudson's Bay to the Rocky Mountains "were to join in a confederacy," to save the land for the Indians.³⁵ Even though the tribes were separated by great distances (at least six hundred miles separated the *Isanti Dakota* from their *Oglala Lakota* relatives), the ties of kinship usually prevented violence committed against relatives.

Manuel Lisa's great efforts to keep the *Dakota* on the American side during

³⁴Anglican Church records located at Niagra On the Lake, Ontario, Canada, and telephone interviews with Shurley Dixon, June 1, 1993, and June 3, 1993. Ms Dixon stated Robert Dixon's Indian name was *Mascotapah*, or red-haired man. In the records the surname is spelled Dickson and Dixon interchangeably. I will use Dickson throughout. Quoted in Pierre Berton, *Flames Across the Border: The Canadian American Tragedy, 1813-1814* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1981), p. 381; Elizabeth Vincent, "St. Joseph, A History," TMs, Parks Canada Archives, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada; William C. H. Wood, *Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812* (Toronto, ON: Champlain Society, 1920-1928), Vols. 13, 14, 15, 17, passim, for an account of Robert Dickson's participation with the Indians in the War of 1812.

³⁵Robinson, "A Sioux Indian View," *SDHC* 5, p. 398; Paulson, "Federal Indian Policy," *SDH* 3, p. 293, "several Santee, Yankton, and Yanktonai bands joined the British in attacks on frontier forts."

the war and Robert Dickson's equally extensive efforts on the British side practically destroyed the old fur trading networks. Without informing the Indian tribes that had chosen sides and waged war in their behalf, the American and British forces ended their war with the Treaty of Ghent on December 12, 1814. The *Dakota* tribes that had followed the English and endured many hardships and awakened the vengeance of other tribes were outraged when they realized they had not been consulted when the peace agreement was signed. Divisions among the Seven Council Fires caused confusion and ill-will.

The United States entered a new era that required establishing a policy to deal with Indians on the western frontiers. General William Clark was delegated as the man who would lead the western Indian Department in reestablishing the nebulous ties still existing from the old fur trading days. As a result, a commission visited the tribes seeking to bring them under the aegis of the new and growing country. Auguste Chouteau, an aspiring businessman located in Saint Louis accompanied General Clark on the treaty-making journeys. Chouteau combined his government service with his private business to establish the lucrative government contracting service that controlled the trade for the next five decades.³⁶

To repair relations with and among the *Dakota* and to solidify future trade,

³⁶Howard, "Notes on the Ethnogeography," p. 288; C. Richard Carroll, *Days Past* (Pierre, SD: United Sioux Tribes of South Dakota Development Corporation, 1974), pp. 94-107; Tohill, "Robert Dickson," passim. There are many good histories of the formation of bureaucracies to deal with Indian Affairs. For the seminal book see Rennard Strickland and Charles F. Wilkinson, eds., *F. Cohen, Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (Charlottesville, VA: Michie Bobbs-Merrill, Law Publishers, 1982 ed.); Francis P. Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 2 Vols.; S. Lyman Tyler, *A History of Indian Policy* (Washington, DC: United States Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1973).

Superintendent William Clark arranged a notable council at *Portage des Sioux* which resulted in A Treaty of Peace and Friendship, signed on July 19, 1815. Among the signers of this important reunification for the *Yanktons* were *Smully Bear* and *Padaniapapi* (probably the father of *Struck By The Ree*).³⁷ The treaty assembly reunited the Seven Council Fires into their former unity, brought peace among them, but it did nothing to stop intertribal territorial disputes between the *Dakota* and the *Sauk and Foxes*, the *Omaha*, *Chippewa*, *Arikara* (Rees), *Crows*, and *Ioways* who occupied lands on the periphery of *Dakota* land. These scattered but sometimes fatal confrontations led William Clark and his staff to plan another treaty which they hoped would create a better understanding between the tribes and open safe trade routes throughout Indian country.

During the decade after the signing of the 1815 peace accords, *Yanktons* suffered harrasing raids from the *Sauk and Foxes* and the *Ioway* and they in turn waged constant retaliation. One narrative written by a tourist illustrates the lingering effects of the guerilla warfare. Arriving at a trading post near an *Ioway* camp, German visitor Paul Wilhelm reported:

At midnight we finally reached the factory, very tired and almost eaten up by insects. My arrival caused a great stir among the Indians, who were encamped in the lowlands. The baying of the dogs had awakened them. Fearing an attack they had seized their weapons. These Iowas live in

³⁷For Treaties, Agreements, and Executive Land Cessions, Charles J. Kappler, comp., 1903-41. *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties*. (New York, NY: Interland, 1972, reprint), 5 Vols., is used. (All treaties will be cited as Statutes hereafter. Those pertaining to the *Yanktons* are reproduced in APPENDIX). 7 Stat., 128, dated July, 19, 1815, and ratified December 26, 1815; "The parties being desirous of re-establishing peace and friendship between the United States and the said tribe, and of being placed in all things, and in every respect, on the same footing upon which they stood before the late war between the United States and Britain, have agreed to the following articles:"

perpetual fear of an attack on the part of a band of Yankton Sioux, their deadly foe, who roamed about these regions. Their fear was by no means unfounded, for on the following day some of the young men of the yanktons tried to slip into their camp. To this end they had swum across the river and had hidden in a low place close to the river bank. By chance they were discovered and were driven away by a few shots.³⁸

For the next few years the Yanktons roamed across traditional hunting and trapping grounds located between the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Their territory extended one hundred miles north and south along the present day line dividing the states of Minnesota and Iowa. They visited trading posts established on the Missouri and James Rivers, Des Moines, Little Iowa, and Mississippi Rivers.³⁹ Clashes between the *Sauk and Foxes*, *Otoes*, and *Ioways* continued sporadically but caused enough annoyance to traders and government officials that they devoted time to finding solutions to resolve the intermittent warfare.

The year 1823 also marks a milestone in the consolidation of the *Dakota* homelands as they joined with Colonel Henry Leavenworth and the United States army to reduce to ashes the Arikara villages located at Big Bend. This action marked the end of non-*Dakota* occupation of the Great Sioux Nation. Finally, in another attempt to alleviate some of the hostilities and promote greater trade, the federal government appointed a commission to negotiate peace and friendship treaties between

³⁸Paul Wilhelm, "First Journey to North America in the Years 1822-1824," *SDHC* 19, pp. 7-462, p. 363.

³⁹Many of these posts were established by Robert Dickson and Company men in late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Tohill, "Robert Dickson," pp. 24-25.

the warring tribes.⁴⁰ Their efforts centered on gathering the designated tribes on the two major rivers. The first delegation led by Brigadier General H. Atkinson, and Benjamin O'Fallon, U. S. Agent, Indian Affairs, went up the Missouri River to parley with the "Teton, Yancton, and Yanctonies Bands of the Sioux Tribe of Indians" on June 22, 1825.⁴¹ Meeting at Fort Lookout, near the Three Rivers of the Sioux, the two parties conducted amicable sessions. In Article 1., the three tribes agreed "that they reside within the territorial limits of the United States, acknowledge their supremacy, and claim their protection. The said bands also admit the right of the United States to regulate all trade and intercourse with them." In addition to accepting the protection offered by the United States, the tribes agreed to allow travellers safe conduct through their lands and if any deviancy occurred, to request aid from proper authorities. The United States agreed to designate appropriate places to transact trade and intercourse by approved traders. For the *Yankton* contingent *Black Bear, The Little Dish, The Mosquito*, and the *Ioway* signed for their tribe.⁴²

Two months later, William Clark and Lewis Cass brought together the eastern *Dakota* and other tribes on the Mississippi at Prairie du Chiens where the "*Sioux* and

⁴⁰Doane Robinson, "Official Correspondence Pertaining to the Leavenworth Expedition of 1823 into South Dakota for the Conquest of the Ree Indians," *SDHC* 1, pp. 179-256; Roger L. Nichols, "Backdrop for Disaster: Causes of the Arikara War of 1823," *SDH* 14 (Summer 1984): 93-113, offers a unique interpretation of social and economic dynamics of the riverine Arikara as they interacted with increasing traffic on the Missouri River.

⁴¹7 Stat., 250, signed June 22, 1825, Proclamation February 6, 1826.

⁴²See letter of transmittal of treaties, John Quincy Adams dated May 17, 1862, James D. Richardson, comp., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1907* (n.p.: Bureau of National Literature and Art, 1908), Vol. 2, pp. 346-347; for a brief look at the history surrounding this treaty see Doane Robinson, "A History of the Dakota," *SDHC* 2, 1-508, esp. pp. 143-153.

Chippewa, Sacs and Fox, Menominie, Ioway, Sioux, Winnebago, and a portion of the *Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawattomie, Tribes*" met and signed a treaty on August 19, 1825.⁴³ Although the *Yanktons* were specifically designated in Article 2., of the treaty, they were not present at Prairie du Chiens because hostilities were such between them that they "refused to come lest they fall into some ambush of their enemies while enroute."⁴⁴ Article 2., established for the "*Yancton* band of the Sioux tribe," a line from the "Forks of the Desmoines to the Missouri," but the provisions would "not to be considered as settled until the assent of the Yancton band shall be given thereto. And if the said band should refuse their assent, the arrangement of that portion of the boundary line shall be void, and the rights of the parties to the country bounded thereby, shall be the same as if no provision had been made for the extension of the line west of the forks of the Desmoines. And the Sacs and Foxes relinquish to the tribes interested therein, all their claim to land on the east side of the Mississippi river." The commissioners attempted to seal the agreement by inserting Article 11., which stipulated that "whenever the President may think it necessary and proper," a council between the affected tribes would be held provided first that the *Yanktons*, who would be consulted "during the year 1826, to explain to them the stipulations of this treaty, and to procure their assent thereto, should they be disposed to give it, and also with the Ottoes, to settle and adjust their title to any of the country claimed by the Sacs, Foxes, and Ioways." Needless to say, *Yankton* absence from the council cast doubt on the proceedings and no provision outlining the cession

⁴³7 Stat., 272., signed August 19, 1825, Proclamation, February 6, 1826.

⁴⁴7 Stat., 272, Article 2; Robinson, "History of the Dakota," *SDHC* 2, pp. 143-145.

was inserted in the treaty they signed earlier, as indeed it could not have been.⁴⁵

But the Americans were deceived. The Treaty of 1825 did not prove the success they believed it would and it was the direct cause of increased misunderstandings and intertribal warfare. Depredations continued with reprisals and counter reprisals. William Clark and Major Willoughby Morgan then devised a plan whereby the *Dakota* would cede to the government a strip of land twenty miles wide and the *Sauk and Foxes* a like strip, creating a neutral zone forty miles wide between the warring tribes. Satisfied with this plan, and without consideration of tribal food-gatherings during the month of July, especially the ripening period of plums and chokecherries, the council was called and met at Prairie du Chiens in July, 1830. The treaty-making went on without full representation from the affected tribes. Even though the "Yanckton and Santie Bands of the Sioux not being fully represented, it is agreed, that if they shall sign this Treaty, they shall be considered as parties thereto, and bound by all its stipulations."⁴⁶ By this plan the *Santee* mixed-bloods were given a reservation and the *Yanktons* mixed-bloods were to have a reservations ten miles square beginning at the mouth of the "Little Ne-mohaw River, and running up the main channel of said river" then connected to the "Grand Ne-mohaw" and down to the Missouri River.⁴⁷ If the *Yanktons* joined other *Dakota* tribes in signing this treaty, known as The Treaty with the Sauk and Foxes, Etc., on July 15, 1830, they were to receive three thousand dollars for ten successive years and a blacksmith for

⁴⁵All quotes from 7 Stat., 272, Article 2.

⁴⁶7 Stat., 328, signed July 15, 1830, Proclamation, February 24, 1831, Article 7.

⁴⁷7 Stat., 328, Article 10.

ten years along with tools and agricultural implements. Interestingly enough, the government began its civilization process of the northwestern tribes with this treaty. Article 5., provided for the United States to set aside three thousand dollars a year for ten years to be "applied in the discretion of the President of the United States, to the education of the children of the said Tribes and Bands, parties hereto."⁴⁸ Major Jonathon L. Bean, a member of the commission who executed the treaty at Prairie du Chiens in July, 1830, arrived at Fort Tecumseh (Pierre), on Saturday 4, 1830, and issued a barrel of tobacco to the *Yanktons* and *Brules*. Although the Fort Tecumseh letterbooks fail to record if the treaty was signed on the premises, Doane Robinson implies that the treaty was signed by *Smutty Bear*, *Chaponka*, *Hazassa*, and twenty other *Yankton* at Fort Tecumseh, on October 13, 1830. Letterbook entries from Fort Tecumseh indicate that Major Bean departed for Saint Louis "in a bateaux with 21 Indians (All Yanctons except one, the "Broken leg" (Brule). Mr. W. Gordon also accompanied him."⁴⁹ On January 1, 1831, the logbook records "Giroux Indron arrived from the Yancton post with . . . meat and horses. At the same time the Big Soldier (Yancton) arrived from St. Louis. He is one of the Indians who left here with Bean last September."⁵⁰

An insight of the significance attached to this treaty signing by the Indians is

⁴⁸7 Stat., 328, Article 5.

⁴⁹DeLand, "Fort Tecumseh and Fort Pierre Journal and Letter Books," *SDHC* 9, p. 135; Robinson, "History of the Dakota," *SDHC* 2, p. 163-164, for the signing by the *Yankton* delegation. DeLand, *ibid.*, p. 136, for departure on Wednesday, 8, [1830].

⁵⁰Quoted from DeLand, *ibid.*, pp. 144-145; pp. 146-149 record the arrivals of the delegation as they returned from Saint Louis.

found in a short piece written by Doane Robinson, entitled "A Brilliant Flotilla." Robinson wrote that the Sioux traveled in two hundred canoes down the river to the confluence of the Wisconsin and Mississippi River. Upon arrival and disembarkation at the plains of Prairie du Chiens, they "decorated the boats in gaudy colors, and adorned themselves in their gorgeous war attire." Robinson continues, "banners of colored feathers were raised and the boats then dressed in regular columns proceeded down the stream, with drums beating and the discharge of small arms," [this in a time when gunpowder and lead were extremely expensive]. "It is doubtful if a more picturesque demonstration has anywhere been made than was that brilliant flotilla of two hundred canoes sweeping down the Mississippi."⁵¹ Soon after the treaty negotiations, the *Yanktons* were "joined by a small group of dissident Wahpekute Santee who retained for some years thereafter an identity as Santee, but operated politically as a part of the Yankton tribe."⁵² By this time the burgeoning eastern population and consequent land requirements began a constricting pressure against the old northwest tribes of the *Ocheti Sakowin* and caused new alliances to form. In the meantime, perhaps sensing the impossibility of remaining in their eastern Iowa and Minnesota hunting grounds permanently, *Yanktons* began moving more frequently along the banks of the Missouri River from Council Bluffs to Fort Tecumseh.⁵³ In

⁵¹Robinson, "Tales of the Dakota," *SDHC* 14, p. 488, for the flotilla note; Blaine, *Ioways*, pp. 145-146, writes the flotilla was not the Sioux but the "Iowas and the Sacs and Foxes, tribes of radically diverse languages, yet united in a league against the Sioux."

⁵²Robinson, "A History of the Dakota," p. 204.

⁵³Robinson, "Tales of the Dakota: One Hundred Anecdotes Illustrative of Sioux Life and Thinking," *SDHC* 14, p. 488; Howard, "Notes on Ethnogeography," p. 304, n. 3, this *Wahpekute* band might be that led by *War Eagle* whose people marry into

the journals of travellers and traders, *Yanktons* are often mentioned as being located around the land surrounding the Little Sioux River. As a result of warfare and a loss of game, *Yanktons* found more hospitable lands along the western reaches of the Missouri River. One reference left by North American Fur Company employee Philander Prescott in 1831, gave an indication of this loss. Prescott started from Fort Snelling to establish a trading post on the Big Sioux River. In his unpublished remembrances, while near the Red Pipestone Quarry, he reported as "we moved again through the wild open Prairie once in a while we would pass a Buffalo trail from 6 to 8 inches deep old ranges but the animal We had not the pleasure of so much as seeing one."⁵⁴

But with the move nearer to the rivers of commerce, came more problems that involved changes in tribal methods of diplomacy and consequently alterations to their culture. Relations with non-Indians required a great deal of patience and adjustment to profit-making ventures. More often than not, the scheming free traders were at the bottom of many intertribal and non-Indian depredations. The Chouteau family controlling the Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Company, cooperated with William Clark and accompanied him on treaty-making ventures but other free traders representing their own interests cared nothing for diplomacy. Their goal was money procured by whatever means and there were no controls they respected. An example of *Yanktons* being pulled into a dispute by American free traders occurred when Captain Joseph

the *Yankton* tribe residing near the Big Sioux River. *War Eagle* succeeds to the position of chief when *Pteyutesui* (often listed as Little Dish, but translates as *Does Not Eat Buffalo*) dies in the 1830s.

⁵⁴John W. Davis, "A History of the Pipestone Reservation," pp. 33-37.

LaBarge delivered a portion of goods for *Yanktons* near the mouth of Crow Creek, the site designated for them to collect their annuities. Colin Campbell was a trader and woodcutter at the site.⁵⁵ U. S. Agent G. C. Matlock was agent in the area and was aboard the vessel. He decided to deliver some of the goods and the balance upriver at Fort Pierre where there was a wider dock. Seeing the steamboat ready to leave, Colin Campbell incited *Smutty Bear* into believing that the remainder of goods were being stolen for distribution to another tribe. *Smutty Bear* refused to allow his wood to be loaded on board but LaBarge loaded it anyway. The *Yanktons* jumped on the boat and put out the steamboat fires. In the fight a riverman was shot by a stray bullet and killed. Captain LaBarge had a small cannon below deck and he pulled it up facing the Indians. After pouring powder into the vent he told the *Yanktons* he was going to blow them all up and he reached toward the cannon with his lighted cigar. The Indians rushed from the steamboat and disappeared through the trees and the bold roustabouts likewise evaporated from view. To his great disgust, LaBarge found his crew hidden in the paddlewheel of the steamboat. He was so enraged at their cowardly behavior that he rushed to the engine room determined to turn on the steam so the wheel would turn, dunking the crew into the river, but he found the Indians had put out the fires and he was left with only curses to punish his men. In an official investigation of the incident it was found that Colin Campbell was at fault

⁵⁵See Kingsbury, "The Census of 1860," *SDHC* 10, p. 427, for a brief biography of Colin Campbell, although the commentary contains the disclaimer, in "Note 62, p. 115, vol. IX, 'South Dakota Historical Collections,' in which at least four men of this name are identified in the Northwest."

and he lost his trading license for one year.⁵⁶

The most pernicious trade article involved alcohol. When the United States commenced the factory system, sale of alcoholic beverages was strictly prohibited among the Indian tribes. But traders in the field continually commented on the use of spirituous beverages by British merchants saying Indians preferred to take their products to posts that traded liquor. After the factory system was closed down in 1822, independent American merchants felt no compunction whatsoever in violating the law and a large bootlegging system came into existence. The larger companies felt the pressure and soon began the smuggling of alcohol into Indian country. The law of supply and demand held forth and Indians who desired the beverage soon learned which posts dispensed alcohol and frequented them whenever possible. The liquor trade (as it does today) continued to bring in large amounts of profit. Traders learned to exploit its use and often pure profit was obtained by simply getting the Indians so drunk they passed out. Morality did not overcome profit motives.⁵⁷

For the next few years the *Yanktons* traded peacefully on the Missouri and James Rivers, hunted buffalo and trapped beaver, but they were forced to repulse forays launched against them by the *Pawnee*. Although the retaliatory raids wasted

⁵⁶Robinson, "The History of the Dakota," *SDHC* 2, pp. 204-206; Chittenden, *A History of the American Fur Trade*, Vol. 1, pp. 1-82, provides a succinct summary of early fur trade on the Missouri, including an enlightened overview on the negative effects of alcohol on the trade.

⁵⁷Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade*, pp. 9-21, for a short history of the factory system as it applied to the Missouri River, pp. 22-31 for smuggling liquor and its preparation before dispensing; Bruce Nelson, *Land of the Dacotahs* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, n.d., Bison Paper, orig. pub. 1946), pp. 73-96, offers an account of the effects of alcohol on Indians; DeLand, "Fort Tecumseh," pp. 177-182, for correspondence about distribution of alcohol in the upper Missouri River region.

time and required a redirection of precious resources, *Yanktons* were obligated to protect the southern flank of the *Ocheti Sakowin's* homelands. Two incidents recorded by agents highlight the reasons behind raiding parties.

In April 1834 LaBarge, Bercier, and David LaChapelle were sent up to the Loup River in Nebraska to bring down the winter's trade, and while at the Pawnee camp, had an exciting experience, due to the stealing of sixty head of horses from the Pawnees by the Sioux. Bercier led a part of volunteers in pursuit of the thieves, found them, fifteen in number, camped on the Elkhorn river. Eleven of the thieves were killed, and the horses recovered.⁵⁸

Another letter written by Daniel Miller, Indian Agent to the *Ottoes*, *Pawnees*, and *Pottawatomies*, stationed at Council Bluffs Agency (located in present-day Iowa), to Andrew Drips, U. S. Indian Agent of the Upper Missouri, reflect Indian anxieties about the results of raiding:

I thank you for the information relative to the expected invasion by the enemies of the Pawnees. As to the Yanktons, Bruleys (Brules), and Santee Sioux, becoming entirely friendly with the Omahas and Pawnees we need not expect it until these are further advanced in civilization; and those commercially circumstanced, that it is to their interest to be at peace, and this is hardly to be expected in our day; yet, we may do much to prevent frequent repetition of those offences. . . . I will do all I can to prevent the Omahas and Pawnees from violating any promises which they may make with the Sioux, and as the latter are the powerful and strong warring on the weak, I trust that you will use all your influence to have the Sioux remain in their own country, if they do not they may expect a combination of all the frontier tribes who will endeavor to make a formidable incursion in the Sioux country."⁵⁹

The years 1836 and 1837 saw a steady stream of northwestern Indians delegations coming to Washington, D. C., as the government worked to obtain land for settlers contained in the present-day states of Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin, and

⁵⁸DeLand, "Fort Tecumseh," *SDHC* 9, p. 186, n. 204, Bercier died in 1865.

⁵⁹Letter from Daniel Miller, to Andrew Drips dated February 5, 1844, DeLand, "Records of Fort Tecumseh," *SDHC* 9, pp. 182-183.

eastern Minnesota. According to Kappler, two agreements, one entitled Treaty with the Oto, Etc., 1836, and the other a Treaty with the Yankton Sioux, 1837, were designed to take all lands east of the Big Sioux River previously occupied by the *Yanktons*. It is significant that the remembrance of this treaty is not found in *Yankton* oral tradition, unlike other treaties signed with the United States government. The Treaty with the Yankton Sioux included the marks of "*Palaniapai*" (the *Lakota* translation of *Struck By The Ree*), and *Hashata* (*The Forked Horn*) and was signed in Washington, D.C., by Carey A. Harris, "thereto specially authorised by the President of the United States, and the Yankton tribe of Sioux Indians, by their chiefs and delegates."⁶⁰ This treaty gave up "all the right and interest in the land ceded by the treaty, [half-breed scrip] concluded with them and other tribes on the fifteenth of July, 1830, which they might be entitled to claim, by virtue of the phraseology employed in the second article of said treaty."⁶¹ It went on to say the *Yanktons* would be paid \$4,000 for ceding the land plus expenses of their trip to Washington. No interpreter's name appears on the legal document as witness, a highly questionable omission considering the profusion of interpreters who regularly accompanied treaty delegations.⁶²

Missionaries began to come into Indian country in the 1830s, including the

⁶⁰Treaty with the Oto, Etc., 1836, 7 Stat., 524, signed October 15, 1836, Proclamation, February 15, 1837; Treaty with the Yankton Sioux, 1837, 7 Stat., 543, signed October 21, 1837, Proclamation, February 21, 1838. *Hasaza* (*The Elk's Horn*), *Zayasa* (*Warrior*), *Tokacan* (*He that gives the First Wound*), *Maukaushcan* (*The Trembling Earth*), *Montohe* (*White Crane*), *Ishtaappi* (*Struck in the Eye*), and *Emone*, also touched the pen for the *Yankton*.

⁶¹7 Stat., 542, Article 1.

⁶²7 Stat., 542, Article 2.

itinerent Catholic priest Father Pierre-Jean De Smet. His first visit to the Yanktons came in 1839, and he made it a point to visit them on subsequent trips. Father De Smet befriended *Struck By The Ree* in 1844 and gave him a miraculous medal of the Virgin Mary. The Chief was a faithful Catholic for the rest of his life, although he visited and participated in other congregations' services. In later years he told Father De Smet that he had used the medal to cure his people in 1853. De Smet wrote of the story:

[*Struck By The Ree*] and all his camp were buffalo hunting in the vast plains of the West. It was the cholera year, and the frightful scourge of God broke out among the Indians, where its ravages were terrible. Thousands of them fell victims to it. Pananniapapi's camp was attacked in its turn and in one day thirty died. There was universal mourning and nothing but groans and weeping was to be heard anywhere. In the consternation of the moment, the head chief exhorted his people to have trust in God and apply to Mary. He placed the miraculous medal upon a new white parfleche, neatly painted. Surrounded by his people, he implored the succor of the Holy Virgin, the good mother of the children of God. Pananniapapi embraced the wonder-working medal devoutly, and amid their pious invocations to Mary, which penetrated heaven, all the Yanktons, 3,000 in number, full of trust, kissed the medal after their example of their head chief. At the same instant every symptom of the malady disappeared and the cholera left them.⁶³

Reverend Stephen R. Riggs and Alexander Hugginson journeyed to the Missouri River in the summer of 1840 to visit and assess the possibilities of organizing a mission among the Missouri River *Dakota*. Upon reaching Fort Pierre he found approximately five hundred *Yankton* and *Titonwan* clustered about the place. Assisted by Huggins, Riggs preached a service that was appreciated by Indian and non-Indian. In his report of the trip, Riggs noted a welcoming speech by *Long Buffalo*, a *Titon* who expressed an interest in having a missionary live among them and teach them their religion. Though Reverend Riggs recommended a mission be established for the

⁶³Chittenden, *Life, Letters and Travels*, p. 1283.

Missouri *Dakota*, it took thirty-three years until one was founded at Fort Pierre.⁶⁴ But *Yanktons* were considering the future and gaining the sophistication necessary to negotiate and enforce treaty provisions. In 1844, tribal leaders forwarded a memorial to the president requesting an accounting of the annuities guaranteed under the past treaties. Listing an amount of three thousand, one hundred and eighty dollars owed, the tribe requested that the money be applied to purchasing "150 guns, 4 barrels flour, 1 barrel of sugar and 1 bag of coffee blue and scarlet sard list cloth blankets, powder and lead, kettles, knives, vermilion, awls, gunflints, gunworms, looking glasses and tobacco."⁶⁵ The memorial was forwarded from Fort Pierre, Missouri Territory on March 18, 1844.

Two treaties were signed with *Ocheti Sakowin* tribes in 1851, one with the eastern branch of *Dakota*, and the other with the western *Lakota* tribes. The eastern branches of the Seven Council Fires were gradually forced into making land cessions because of the burgeoning immigrant population in the Minnesota Territory. As a result, the Sisseton signed their first treaty: "Whereas a treaty was made and concluded at Traverse des Sioux, in the Territory of Minnesota, on the twenty-third day of July, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one, between the United States of America, by Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and Alexander Ramsey, Governor and *ex-officio* Superintendent of Indian Affairs in said Territory, acting as Commissioners, and the See-see-toan and Wah-pay-toan bands of Dakota or Sioux

⁶⁴Stephen R. Riggs, "Journal of a Tour from Lac-Qui-Parle to the Missouri River," *SDHC* 13, pp. 330-44; Robinson, "A History of the Dakota," *SDHC* 2, pp. 195-197.

⁶⁵DeLand, "Records of Fort Tecumseh," *SDHC* 9, pp. 194-194.

Indians, which treaty is in the words following: . . ." Five years later Minnesota attained statehood and would soon be seeking more land concessions further shrinking the landbase of the four tribes of the eastern *Dakota*. The 1851 Treaty included the Red Pipestone Quarry, which the *Yanktons* hotly debated, saying that the *Sissetons* had no rights to sell the Sacred *Canum Okpe* (Pipestone quarry).⁶⁶

One of the major disturbances non-Indians caused the *Dakota* was the use of the Platte River across Nebraska Territory during the 1840s as an emigrant trail to the Oregon Country and later the gold fields of California. Although the *Titonwan* had grown accustomed to occasional missionaries and other non-Indians traveling through their lands, traffic along the Platte River, the southern boundary of their hunting grounds, increased dramatically with the discovery of gold in California in 1849. With the escalated volume of emigrants came a larger problem concerning the buffalo, the staple of life for the Indian. The shrinking buffalo nation was divided into the southern and northern herds with the Platte River as the dividing line. In addition, more and more buffalo were being killed indiscriminately by the non-Indian intruders. Emigrants littered the plains, started forest fires, and treated the Indian with contempt. The year 1849, also marked the beginning of a cholera epidemic followed the next year by a smallpox and measles plague. The *Lakota*, fearing that the emigrants had poisoned them, began to retaliate along the overland trail and conflicts became the norm. To reestablish good relations and prevent further bloodshed, the U. S. government in 1851 called the tribes into Fort Laramie for

⁶⁶10 Stats., 949, Treaty with the Sioux--Sisseton and Wahpeton Bands, 1851, signed July 23, 1851, Proclamation, February 24, 1853; 10 Stats., 954, Treaty with the Sioux--Mdewakanton and Wahpakoota Bands, 1851, signed August 5, 1851, Proclamation, February 24, 1853; Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux*, pp. 72-87.

treaty negotiations. Ten thousand Indians including delegations of *Yankton Dakota*, *Arapahoes*, *Cheyennes*, *Assiniboins*, *Gros Ventres*, *Mandans*, *Arikaras*, and even a small band of *Crows* came to the grand council, which lasted for twenty-three days. While the food and presents were of good quality, the negotiations started out inauspiciously. The first order of business was specious, electing one head chief of all *Dakota* tribes even though all Indians knew the title was only honorary. Brave Bear, a man of dubious accomplishments, was appointed head "made chief." After the signing, General Harney contemptuously dubbed it "a molasses and crackers treaty."⁶⁷ Doane Robinson agreed saying, "it was scarcely so binding in its operation as good molasses. In point of fact the Indians paid no attention to it either in their relations to the whites, or toward each other."⁶⁸ Charles Larpenteur, a man with many years experience living among the tribes of the Upper Missouri, described the treaty proceedings as the "most absurd I ever heard of--though gotten up by men who should have known better."⁶⁹ Despite the non-Indian view, the *Yanktons* took the treaty seriously because Chiefs *Padaniapapi* and *Smutty Bear* signed it and reported details of the treaty to the Yankton people. Stories of this treaty have

⁶⁷Quote from Robinson, "A History of the Dakota," *SDHC* 2, p. 223; also Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk*, pp. 63-65; 11 Stats., p. 749, September 17, 1851. Treaty of Fort Laramie with Sioux, Etc., 1851. For a discussion of the amendment reducing the term of annuities from fifty years to fifteen, see Harry Anderson, "The Controversial Sioux Amendment to the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851," *NH* (September 1956): 201-220.

⁶⁸Robinson, "A History of the Dakota," *SDHC* 2, p. 223.

⁶⁹Elliott Coues, ed., *Forty Years a Trader on the Upper Missouri: A Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur, 1833-1872* (Minneapolis, MN: Ross & Haines, Inc., 1962), pp. 418-430, quotation from p. 419. Larpenteur's suggestions for improving Indian-White relations were prescient, some were adopted (not at his bidding), and are still in effect.

survived in oral tradition for one hundred and forty-two years.⁷⁰

In article 3., of the 1851 Treaty, the U. S. government promised to protect the Indians "against the commission of all depredations by the people of the said United States," and in Article 5., the Sacred Black Hills was designated as territory belonging to said Indians. The provisions of the Treaty of 1851 were ignored by the government and thousands of emigrants continued to commit outrages on Indian land. When the *Lakota* defended themselves against attacks by trespassing miners, carpetbaggers, squatters, and traveling salesmen, the government decided to take action. Hearing that the Lakota had stolen an emigrant's cow, Second Lieutenant J. L. Grattan left the confines of Fort Laramie, on August 19, 1854, with thirty soldiers. He marched his men to the *Minniconjou* camp, attempted to arrest the Indian, and when he refused to surrender, he opened fire on the *Lakota* and in the ensuing battle he and his men were killed.⁷¹

Bent on punishing the Indians, General William S. Harney organized a command of 1,200 troops and moved against the Sioux.⁷² Seeing only the cavalry attacking, the Indians turned to flee but ran directly into Harney's troops who had sneaked around behind them while their Chief *Little Thunder* was talking peace. Robinson said, "the battle of Ash Hollow was little more than a massacre of Brules."⁷³ The death count was one hundred thirty-six Indians killed, seventy

⁷⁰William Bean letter and Hank Spotted Eagle interview with Francis "Bumana" Bernie and Renee Sansom-Flood, August, 1983.

⁷¹Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk*, pp. 71-76.

⁷²Robinson, "A History of the Dakota," *SDHC* 2, p. 224.

⁷³*Ibid.*, p. 225.

women and children taken captive, the pony herd secured, and the camp destroyed. The entire engagement was later described as "a shameful affair, unworthy of American arms and a disgrace to the officer who planned and executed it."⁷⁴ The *Lakota* killed near Ash Hollow had been outmaneuvered, their scouts had failed them, and they ran foolishly into an ambush although the *Sicangus* fought bravely to the death. With the government turning more to violence to solve the upper Missouri River Indian problems, the *Yankton Dakota* had to search for peace while among the throngs of emigrants, merchants, and soldiers who came into the country and brought the symbols of civilization.

Lieutenant Gouverneur K. Warren was detailed by the government in 1867 to lead a team of surveyors to assess and map the Sacred Black Hills. His team was overtaken by General Harney's "made-chief," *Bear's Ribs* who was sent by *Titonwan* elders to stop the non-Indians from entering the Sacred Hills. Speaking for the Seven Council Fires, he told the surveyors to leave. After Lieutenant Warren refused to turn back, *Bear's Rib* parleyed and informed the Lieutenant what the land meant to *Titonwan*, especially the sacredness of the Black Hills. He also said "he had heard that the Yanktons were going to sell their lands to the whites. If they did so he wanted them informed that they could not come to his people's lands. They must stay with the whites. Every day the Yanktons were coming, but they were turned back." The rumor *Bear's Rib* had heard was true. *Yanktons* were indeed considering the sale of their land.⁷⁵

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 225.

⁷⁵Robinson, "History of the Dakota," *SDHC* 9, pp. 227-230.

CHAPTER VII

PADANIAPAPI, THE 1858 TREATY OF WASHINGTON, AND THE *YANKTON* RESERVATION,

1856-1861

Gifted with superb oratorical skills, calm assurance, and strength of conviction, Chief *Padaniapapi*, or *Struck By the Ree*, led his people for over five decades. Fortunately for the *Ihanktonwan*, thirty of those years occurred at the start of government intervention in their history, a turbulent period marked by difficult times associated with the encroaching frontier. The great leader's life spanned momentous times that forced changes due to the introduction of new problems for the *Yankton* Nation.¹ *Padaniapapi's* vision encompassed all realities, both spiritual and physical. His people's personal experiences with westward expansion on their eastern and southern boundaries; the loss of hunting territory south of the Platte River, and the confinement to reservations of his Eastern *Dakota* relatives, the *Sisseton*, *Wahpekute*, *Mdewankanton*, and *Wahpeton* in the 1850s, made him realize the increasing value of land. White traders and army personnel posted at Fort Randall, Nebraska Territory after 1856, brought an end to the stable supply of game east of the

¹No book length biography of *Padaniapapi* exists. An important leader, his geographic location was ideally situated for visiting tribal and government dignitaries. For a concise article on mistakes made in interpreting Indian names see Edward H. Allison, "Sioux Proper Names," *SDHC* 6, pp. 275-278.

Missouri River.

For *Struck By The Ree* and the *Yankton Dakota*, the critical period in their history came when hunting and agricultural grounds along the Big Sioux River were threatened by the encroaching agriculture frontier. Always one step ahead of North American farmers, they watched as their ancestral lands on the upper Des Moines River and Red Pipestone Quarry filled with settlers anxious to own the fertile lands found along the many small rivers and creeks in *Yankton* country. The effects of intensive cultivation affected them dramatically as it destroyed marsh and wooded areas and small game populations that they depended on for subsistence. As the non-Indian agricultural population grew denser and pushed over the 98th meridian out onto the plains the principal food source for the *Dakota*, the bison, were forced ever westward. Although scattered buffalo herds occasionally roamed south from northern grazing lands on the eastern side of the Missouri, their appearances grew rare as the years went on. Estimates of the herds place the number at twenty million in 1850, down from aboriginal times of over sixty million.²

²C. Stanley Stevenson, "Buffalo East of the Missouri in South Dakota," *SDHC* 9, pp. 386-392, numbers taken from p. 387, n. 3; Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), p. 52, agrees with Stevenson; William T. Hornaday, "Extermination of the American Bison," in Smithsonian Report for 1887, published as House Miscellaneous Documents No. 600, 50th Cong. 1st Sess., (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1887); Howard, "Notes on the Ethnogeography," p. 295; Coues, *Henry and Thompson Journals*, pp. 63-99. Throughout Henry's journey up the Red River, he writes we "saw more buffaloes than ever . . . They formed one body, commencing about half a mile from camp, whence the plain was covered on the W. side of the river as far as the eye could reach. They were moving southward slowly, and the meadow seemed as if in motion" (p. 99). When numbers of bison available for food are comprehended, the idea of Indians not having enough food and starving takes on a new meaning. By natural attrition and accident within the herd, meat was readily available. If the *Yanktons* did not want to go hunting, they need only travel to a river crossing and pull out drowned bison. Masses of old bones are still

With the added demands associated with denser populations, the Missouri River became increasingly important as a vital transportation link in supplying the growing commerce of the area. Logistical support necessary for the military to perform its operations against the northern plains Indians escalated. While the fur trade associated with Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Company declined, the firm expanded into supplying government annuity goods destined to meet treaty obligations and this business picked up with each new Indian treaty.³ Demand grew for a western distribution point higher upriver than the Omaha and Council Bluffs wharves. By mid-decade, the land located five miles east of the confluence of the Big Sioux and Missouri Rivers began to attract additional population and the spot became a stopping place for the steamboats. Situated on the northern shore where the Missouri bends to flow south, the fledgling port of Sioux City nestled in a series of heavily wooded valleys offering an abundance of wood for the steamboats as well as quiet backwaters for loading and shelter. Sioux City, Iowa, became the crossroads town.⁴

In the past, the banks of the Big Sioux River were a favorite gathering place for *Dakota*, as well as *Ponca* and *Isanti Dakota* during the winter months because of

found along riverbanks today, remains of those that failed to make it across.

³John S. Sunder, *The Fur Trade on the Upper Missouri, 1840-1865* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), pp. 142-148, for a look at the annuity trade.

⁴William Silag, "Gateway to the Grasslands: Sioux City and the Missouri River Frontier," *WHQ* 14 (October, 1983): 396, traces the development of the port city; for an overview of the transformation of Indian trails to roads see Gary S. Freedom, "Moving Men and Supplies: Military Transportation on the Northern Great Plains, 1866-1891," *SDH* 14 (Summer 1984): 115-133, though Freedom fails to fully acknowledge the pathfinding work on establishing lines of travel made by game and Indian.

its abundant supply of game, hay, wood, and easy access to water. It also served as the permanent villages of *War Eagle*, *Little Dish*, Theophile Bruguier, and their families. As Sioux City expanded, *Yanktons* became unsettled. Finally, *Padaniapapi*, *Smutty Bear*, and their warriors rode into the town in January 1856, to peacefully voice their concerns, telling the people they were not welcome. Troubled by the *Yankton* demands, Sioux Citizens called on their Congressmen to take action. General William S. Harney was notified of the Indian problem and he issued a warning ordering "the Yankton to stay west of the Big Sioux River within their own tribal lands."⁵ Iowa citizens further urged their representatives to annex the fertile river bottoms stretching west along the Missouri River. That same year Iowa Senator George Jones petitioned for annexation of *Dakota* lands, especially the Big Sioux, Vermillion, and James River valleys (called the Yankton Delta), as a "species of 'manifest destiny.'"⁶ *Struck By The Ree* knew his people were faced with three options; to fight an outright war, to search for new homelands in the west, or to sign a treaty that would place *Yanktons* on a reservation in the territory they had occupied

⁵Quotation from Michael F. Foley, *The Opening and the Development of the Yankton Tribal Lands: An Historical Analysis* (Washington, DC: Indian Claims Commission, 1975; Plaintiff's Exhibit H-1, *Yankton Sioux Tribe v. United States of America*), p. 50, Foley's book is written from pro-*Yankton* point of view; Bruguier's interests were many, from 1862-1865 he was granted a license to operate the ferry over the Big Sioux River near Sioux City; see Hyman Palais, "South Dakota Stage and Wagon Roads," *SDHC* 25, pp. 250, 254-255, also, *SDHC* 23, pp. 307, 322; Howard, "Notes on the Ethnogeography," pp. 284-285, 289, for *Yankton* village locations; Brevet Brigadier General William S. Harney letter to Colonel S. Cooper, dated January 20, 1856, *SDHC* 1, pp. 416-418.

⁶Foley, *The Opening and the Development*, pp. 40-45, for the controversy surrounding the annexation of the Big Sioux, Vermillion, and James River valleys to Iowa or Minnesota; *ibid.*, pp. 87-88, where Charles Picotte "located at 'the delta' between the Missouri and Big Sioux Rivers."

for many years. With those options available, the *Yankton* chief made his decision to engage in treaty negotiations. In this endeavor he received advice from land speculators who knew the potential value of *Yankton* lands. Apparently resigned to co-existence with non-Indians, *Struck By The Ree* immediately implemented his new strategy. In March 1856, less than three months after he had warned the citizens of Sioux City not to encroach further, he journeyed to Fort Pierre to influence General Harney to build Fort Randall on *Yankton* tribal lands (see Figure 6.).⁷ With military support close by, *Yanktons* would be protected from *Pawnee* and other aggressors.

Padaniapapi consulted with the *Yanktons* to learn of their wishes. The idea of selling their land induced enough hostility that a consensus could not be reached. DeWitt Hare wrote that the United States government, whose field agents kept abreast of events by word of mouth and newspapers and knew a land cession treaty would be difficult if not impossible to obtain, "requested that a delegation of chiefs and headmen of said [*Yankton*] tribe be sent to Washington for the purpose of making a treaty of cession."⁸ Hare also maintained that the delegation "was selected by

⁷For *Padaniapapi*'s efforts in lobbying Harney so soon after being reprimanded for attempting to scare the citizens of Sioux City away, see Brigadier General William S. Harney letter to Colonel S. Cooper, dated March 9, 1856, *SDHC* 1, pp. 422-424. *Struck By The Ree* and his people asked agents for the eastern *Dakota* for a treaty at earlier dates. See Superintendent Francis Huebschmann's report in *ARCIA* 1856, p. 38.

⁸Dewitt Hare, "The Yankton Indians," *SDHC* 6, p. 324.

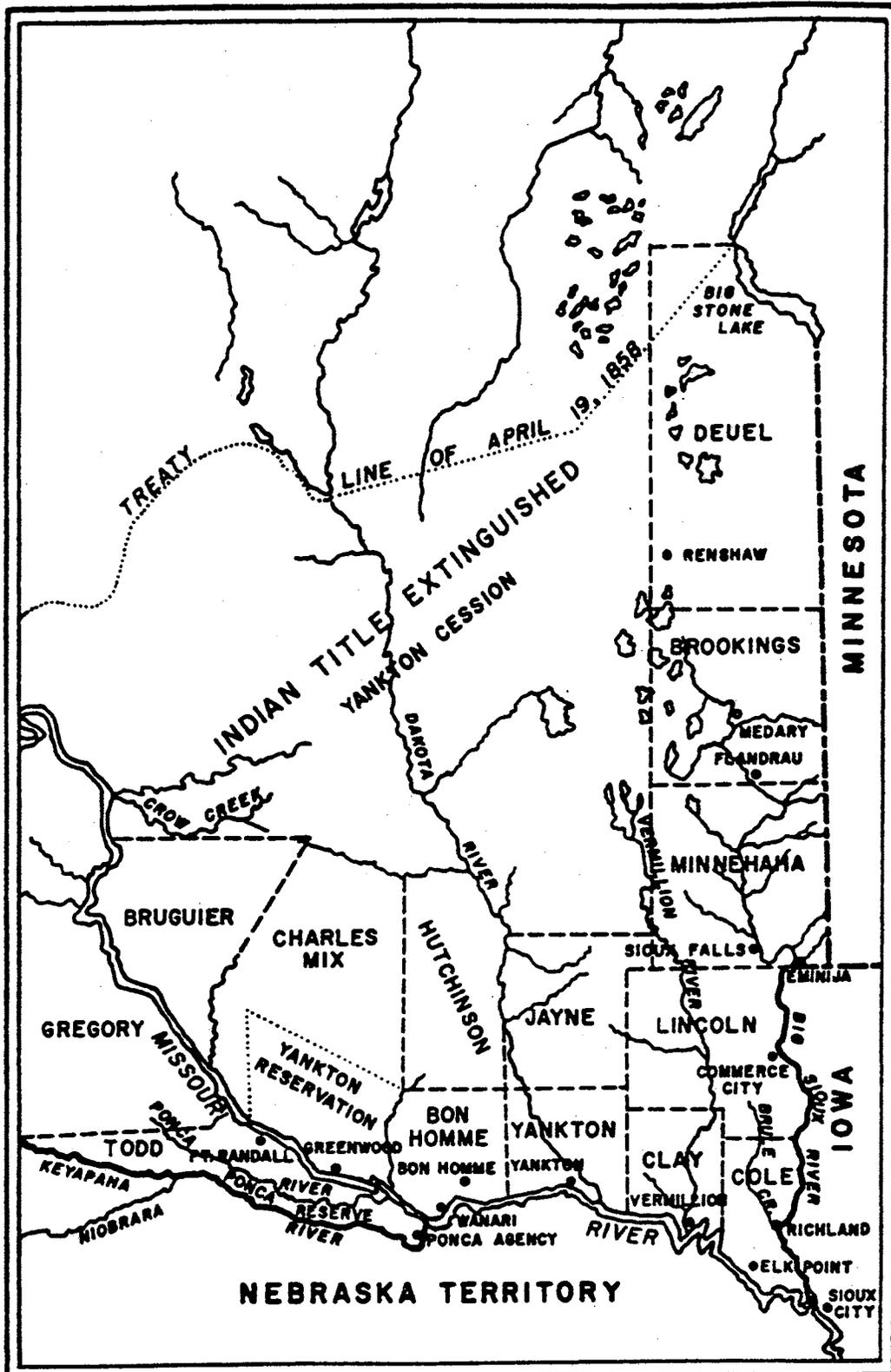


Figure 5. Dakota Counties, 1862

the general in charge at Fort Randall with at least the tacit approval of the Indians."⁹ As a result, the Bureau of Indian Affairs paid the living and travelling expenses for a delegation of over twenty people to go east. *Padaniapapi* led the *Yankton* headmen to the Great Father's home accompanied by John B. S. Todd, Theophile Bruguier, Zephyr Rencontre, and Charles Picotte, Todd to ensure the treaty was made while Bruguier, Rencontre, and Picotte served as interpreters.¹⁰ During the four months of negotiations, traditional headman *Matosabechea* (*Smutty Bear*), led the group that vehemently opposed the treaty. *Smutty Bear* received threats from officials because of his continued resistance but, in the end he was completely worn down by the tactics of those who wanted the treaty signed. Finally, on April 19, the chief and delegates put their names on the papers remembered as the 1858 Treaty of Washington. The treaty reduced the *Ihanktonwan* landbase to a 400,000 acre reservation. *Padaniapapi* put his name first on the document that secured his vision of a permanent homeland for his people.¹¹

⁹Ibid., p. 324.

¹⁰Norman Thomas, "John Blair Smith Todd, First Dakota Delegate to Congress," *SDHC* 24, pp. 178-219, was "a soldier, Indian fighter, treaty maker, trading post keeper, townsite speculator, delegate to Congress, member of the Dakota Legislature, railroad builder and attorney," p. 219, the consummate land speculator was first cousin to Mary Todd, wife of future president Abraham Lincoln. The lives of Rencontre and Bruguier, married to *Yankton* women, are developed below.

¹¹11 Stat., 743, Treaty with the Yankton Sioux, 1858, signed April 19, 1858, ratified February 16, 1859, proclaimed February 26, 1859; for a short biography of Charles E. Mix and his 30-year career in the Indian Bureau as Chief Clerk and abbreviated tenure as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, see Kvasnicka and Viola, *The Commissioners of Indian Affairs*, pp. 77-79; Herman J. Viola's *Diplomats in Buckskins: A History of Indian Delegations in Washington City* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981), gives a solid overview of how the government dealt with the visiting tribesmen; Foley, *The Opening and the Development*, pp. 37-95, gives an excellent account of the land speculation and the various men involved;

After signing the treaty of 1858, the *Yankton* delegation returned to their homelands and waited for the United States Senate to approve it. *Struck By The Ree's* acceptance of the treaty was not unopposed. Perhaps feeling the sting of delegating away their own responsibilities to their respective *tiospayes* (extended family), thus relinquishing power to federal government authority, *Smutty Bear*, *itanchan* (headman) of the *Igmu tiospaye* (wildcat band), led the opposition again. The debate centered on whether the *Yanktons* would obey the treaty should it be ratified. He was not alone. Others leaders within the tribe, including his brother *Matosapa* (*Black Bear*) and fellow headman *Wiyaka Napin* (*Feather Necklace*), took an opposing view and rigorously counselled against accepting the treaty. While they did not believe the *Ihanktonwan* should give up their lands and made many threatening gestures, both in and out of general council, they were not strong enough to change tribal consensus. In one meeting "shots were fired at Struck and he was nicked on his heel by a bullet. Women mocked him and jabbed at him with sticks."¹² But *Padaniapapi's* imposing

Foley, *ibid.*, and Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, Vol. 1, pp. 115-118, would agree that Picotte and Todd were the men actually responsible for convincing *Struck By The Ree* of the treaties' importance.

¹²*Wiyaka Napin* is translated as Feather Necklace but found in the literature also as Feather In His Ear. *Yankton* elders say Feather Necklace. Maybe using Feather In his Ear was a slight meaning he could not hear or would not listen. It is not clear if White Medicine Cow That Stands, Little White Swan, or the Pretty Boy made the trip to Washington, D.C. because "(The last three last names signed by their duly-authorized agent and representative, Charles F. Picotte,) they being thereto duly authorized and empowered by said tribe of Indians," p. 776, 11 Stat., 743, and on p. 780, *ibid.*, signed "by his duly authorized delegate and representative, Chas. F. Picotte"; Foley, *The Opening and the Development*, p. 104, states "three of the northern *Yankton* bands complained that they had not been present at the Treaty and refused to recognize it"; Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, Vol. 1, p. 117, mentions "with twelve or fifteen of the most influential warriors of the *Yankton* tribe," which adds up either way, twelve without the three men, or fifteen with; Hare, "The *Yankton* Indians," *SDHC* 6, pp. 324-325, "delegation thus selected which

presence and persuasive oratory swayed the tribe's opinion and with the aid of a cavalry troop sent from Fort Randall at Agent Redfield's request, the dissidents supported *Struck By The Ree's* opinion and grudgingly awaited the results of their treaty negotiations. Government agents were kept abreast of events by word of mouth and newspapers. They could not have failed to learn of the difficulties they would encounter if the treaty was negotiated in general council among the *Yanktons*. As a result, the Bureau of Indian Affairs paid the transportation expenses for a delegation of over twenty people to Washington, D.C., and provided their needs for nearly four months.¹³

Controversy over the Treaty of 1858 was not confined to the *Yanktons*, nor directed only to the signing. Indians were knowledgeable about land cessions occurring around them. They saw the consequences of eastern *Dakota* relative's land cession treaties in Minnesota. Furthermore, in all travels and meetings with eastern neighbors, they knew how the Americans, unlike the French and Spanish traders who preceded them, had taken Indian land. Early on they were aware of the message to resist land cessions and return to Indian ways preached by *Shawnee* brothers *Tenskwatawa* and *Tecumseh* when they had visited them. *Dakota* people had assisted by remaining neutral during the *Shawnee* fight for their homelands. Within memory,

consisted [of?] twelve who went in person, and three others who appeared representation [sic] was headed by Struck-By-The-Ree, head chief of the tribe"; *ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 141-142, gives an eyewitness account of the gathering at *Struck By The Ree's* camp and how *Smutty Bear's* band surrounded the headman with their tipis, and after a long council finished by smoking the catlinite pipe and feasting on dog; for an excellent, short biography on Charles Françoise Picotte, see *ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 250-252.

¹³Sansom-Flood, *Remember Your Relatives*, Vol. 1, p. 10-11, for an excellent overview of the tribe's turmoil over the treaty signing.

they were part of the movement westward, having displaced Indian tribes to the west and reasoned that "in a few years [eastern] tribes will emigrate further west, and, as a matter of necessity, occupy the hunting grounds of the wild tribes, and cause thereby a rapid decrease in the number of buffalo."¹⁴

Bear's Rib, speaking for the *Titons* gathered at Fort Pierre in 1859, disliked the Treaty of 1858. He gave a much quoted speech taken down by Captain W. F.

Reynolds:

My Brother: To whom does this land belong? I believe it belongs to me. Look at me and at the ground. Which do you think is the oldest? The ground; and on it I was born. I have no instruction. I give my own ideas. I do not know how many years. It is much older than I. Here we are, our nine nations. Here are our principal men gathered together. When you tell us anything, we wish to say "yes" to what we like, and you will do the same. There are none of the Yanktons here. Where are they? It is said that I have a father (agent), and when he tells me anything I say yes. And when I ask him anything, I want him to say yes. I call you my brother. What you told me yesterday, I believe is true. The Yanktons below us are a poor people. I don't know where their land is. I pity them. These lower Yanktons I know did own a piece of land, but they sold it long ago. I don't know where they got any more. Since I have been born I do not know who owns two, three, four, more pieces of land. When I got land it was all in one piece and we were born and still live on it. These Yanktons, we took pity on them. They had no land. We lent them what they have to grow corn on. We gave them a thousand horses to keep that land for us, but I never told them to steal it and go and sell it. I call you my brother and want you to take pity on me, and if any one steals anything from me I want the privilege of calling for it. If those men who did it secretly had asked me to make a treaty for its sale I should not have consented. We who are here all understand each other, but I do not agree that they shall steal the

¹⁴For a glimpse of the expansion problem and how it affected other tribes, see Blaine, *The Ioway Indians*, p. 98-99, and 113, for Tecumseh's visit with tribes living in Iowa also pp. 110-111; for Tecumseh's visit with the Sioux along the Mississippi River at Prairie du Chien and the Des Moines River where he gave his warning of how the American's were taking Indian lands and why he believed that was the root of the problem, see Tohill, "Robert Dickson, Fur Trader," pp. 30, 48-49; also John Sugden's article, "Early Pan-Indianism: Tecumseh's Tour of the Indian Country, 1811-1812," *American Indian Quarterly* 10 (Fall 1986): 273-304; for the quotation, *ARCIA* 1859, p. 498.

land and sell it. If the white people want my land and I should give it to them where should I stay. I have no place else to go. I hear that a reservation has been kept for the Yanktons below. I will speak again on this subject. I cannot spare it and I like it very much. All of this country on each side of the river belongs to me. I know that from the Mississippi to this river the country all belongs to us, and that we have traveled from the Yellowstone to the Platte. All of this country, as I have said, is ours. If you, my brother, was to ask me for it I would not give it to you, for I like it, and I hope you will listen to me."¹⁵

Bear's Rib's speech is important because historians base a large part of their *Dakota* migration theories on it.¹⁶ In the text, the headman contended that the land was not the *Yanktons* to sell, completely overlooking the help given by *Ihanktonwan* and other *Ocheti Sakowin* tribes in the *Titon's* westward migration during the early part of the eighteenth century. *Bear's Rib*, while clearly a *Dakota* nationalist, can be faulted for not having a full knowledge of all diplomacy conducted by the Seven Council Fires as well as not acknowledging the bounds delineated by the 1851 Treaty, which did not include the land ceded by the *Yanktons*. But he also failed to recognize the reality of space. The roving tribes west of the Missouri River were not under the population pressure felt by their relatives living closer to the borders of Iowa and Minnesota.¹⁷

¹⁵Robinson, "History of the Indians," *SDHC* 2, pp. 249-250.

¹⁶The counter argument, involving migration routes and ownership of land is found in Howard, "Notes on the Ethnogeography," pp. 283, 287, see below for further explanation.

¹⁷*Bear's Rib* led a band which included members from many tribes. Considered a great friend of the white man, he was punished by the nine chief men of the *Unkpapa* (*Hunkpapa*) because he received goods from the Great Father. In a July 25, 1862, letter to their Upper Missouri Agent Samuel N. Latta, the leaders told Latta to bring no goods or like *Bear's Rib*, who they had notified "yearly not to receive your goods; he had no ears, and we gave him ears by killing him. . . . If you have no ears we will give you ears, and then your Father very likely will not send us any more goods or agent," *ARCIA* 1862, pp. 372-373; also Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, Vol. 1, pp. 255-256, for another *Bear's Rib* account.

Other *Dakota* leaders expressed the same sentiments about keeping the land. In a council with the *Dakotas* of the Upper Missouri in 1859, one *Dakota* elder told Agent Twiss about his youth when he and his relatives had journeyed "through the country of the Sac and Fox tribe, to the great water Minne Tonkah, (Mississippi), where I saw corn growing, but no white people."¹⁸ After going as far as the Rock River valley to visit the Winnebago, he and his people turned back. On the way home "we visited the pipe clay quarry, in the country of the Yancton Sioux, and made a feast to the 'great medicine,' and danced the 'sun dance;' and then returned to our hunting grounds on the prairie."¹⁹

Dakota concerns about holding the land were consistent. *Bone Necklace*, a head chief of the *Lower Yanktonnais*, made a telling statement when testifying before the 1866 Northwestern Indian Commission on the Upper Missouri about land cessions and loss of hunting lands. After commenting on his love of freedom and how the Indian way of living on the hunt contrasted with the non-Indian who farmed. *Bone Necklace* agreed that he might in the future make farming a new way of life, but for the moment he wanted to live a full life and the land cession was wrong. His feelings on that are circumspect but true: "I don't say that you ever stole anything from us, but the Yanktons sold a portion of my land to you."²⁰

¹⁸*ARCI* 1859, p. 498, for the *Dakota* testimony on the diminution of the bison herds, land-taking, and emigration of eastern tribes.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 498.

²⁰For *Bone-Necklace*, see Doane Robinson, "Ending the Outbreak," *SDHC* 9, pp. 466-467, where he also expressed concern at the loss of buffalo. The whole article, pp. 409-469, is informative as it relates the dialogue between the War Department and Interior on which agency should be in charge of the hostiles in Dakota Territory. It also hints at the improprieties of Territorial Delegate Walter Burleigh's term of

In an ethnogeographic study of the *Yanktons*, James H. Howard casts doubt on the validity of *Titon* claims to the lands on the southern edge of the Missouri River. In part, Howard's argument is supported by an *Omaha* migration legend that details their displacement by the *Yanktons* which forced them into a roundabout relocation. The *Omahas* tell how they were forced to travel north on the Missouri to the Sioux Pass of the Three Rivers where they crossed to the west bank and traveled to the *He Sapa* (Black Hills). From there they turned back and returned to the river, turned south and journeyed downriver to near the present site of Box Creek, Nebraska. There they settled permanently along the western bank of the Missouri River on land they still occupy today.²¹ George W. Manypenny's 1856 *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* states that the "country on the north side of the Missouri river, from the region of the Gros Ventres to the mouth of the Big Sioux river, is claimed by the Yanctonees and the Yancton bands of Sioux."²² Likewise, Alfred J. Vaughan, agent for tribes of the Upper Missouri, reported in 1856 that "this band [Yancton] was, a few years ago, nomadic, and, like the rest of the Sioux, fierce and warlike," a tribe of Indians whose history of protecting the southern flank of the *Ocheti Sakowin*, with force if necessary, inspired the *Omahas* to relocate.²³ *Padaniapapi* was therefore

duty as agent for the *Yankton* Sioux.

²¹See Howard, "Notes on the Ethnogeography," pp. 283, 287; for the Omaha, Dorsey, "Migration," pp. 211-222.

²²Quote from *ARCIA* 1856, p. 7, the *Yanktonnais* occupied land centered around the James River headwaters while the *Yanktons* lived south bounded by the Missouri.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 77. Vaughn's observations are instructive, noting "they subsist almost entirely upon such esculent roots as the country produces spontaneously, the principal of which is an exceedingly farinaceous root, like the turnip, called by the residents in the country "pomme blanche;" . . . These people have a large number of small fields

justified in his claim of ownership. In the 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie, to which *Yanktons* were a party, lands held by the *Ihanktonwans* east of the Missouri River were not included:

The territory of the Sioux or Dahcotah Nation, commencing [at]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 Bute, 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.²⁴

Yanktons held the southern boundary of the Seven Council Fires against incursions of southern tribes, a strategic point that *Bear's Rib* overlooked. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, the *Dakotas* had journeyed down both rivers, the Missouri and Mississippi to council and trade at Prairie du Chiens (Dog's Prairie), with the *Ioways*, *Menominees*, *Foxes* from the Fox River, *Winnebagos*, and the *Sacs*. *Ioway* Agent Nicolas Boilvin recognized this in 1811 when he reported to the Secretary of War, "If the Sioux Goodwill is maintained, there is little to fear from the others."²⁵ Clearly the *Yanktons* recognized their control over the land and this is affirmed in Article 1 of the 1858 Treaty, by the clause: "they [the Chiefs and delegates of the *Yanktons*], also, hereby relinquish and abandon all claims and complaints about or growing out of any and all treaties heretofore made by them or other Indians, except their annuity rights under the treaty of Laramie, of September

of corn, pumpkins, and beans, which, at the time of my meeting them, were in a very flourishing condition, and bid fair to yield an abundant crop."

²⁴11 Stats., p. 749, dated September 17, 1851, Treaty of Fort Laramie with Sioux, Etc., 1851, Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. 2, p. 594-596.

²⁵Blaine, *The Ioway Indians*, pp. 109-110.

17, A. D. 1851."²⁶ The inclusion of their rights under the 1851 Treaty of Laramie kept them tied into the *Ocheti Sakowin*.

At the same time that discussions occurred among the *Lakota* west of the Missouri River, *Yanktons* protested the land-cession treaty which included the Pipestone Quarries signed by the *Sisseton* in 1851. In his 1856 report to Commissioner of Indian Affairs George W. Manypenny, Francis Huebschmann, Superintendent of the Northern Department, made a questionable observation. He identified and accused the "Yanktoan Sioux--[who] have as yet made no treaty with the United States, and receive no annuity" as visiting the "Sissitoans and Wahpatoans" reservations when payments were made. The uninvited visitors made "disturbances by claiming that their country had extended to the Yellow Medicine River, and that, consequently, a part of the money paid for the Sioux purchase belong[s] to them."²⁷ *Yankton* leaders *Smutty Bear*, *Struck By The Ree*, and *Medicine Cow* were parties to the 1851 Treaty of Laramie which negates Huebschmann's statement relevant to the *Yanktons* having already signed a treaty, even though their particular part of the assigned domain was not clearly delineated. Ownership of land had confused connotations for members of the *Ocheti Sakowin* and the government of the United States. From Article 2, of the *Yankton's* 1858 Treaty: "the said chiefs and delegates hereby stipulate and agree that all the lands embraced in said limits are their own, and that they have full and exclusive right to cede and relinquish the same to the United States," it is clear that ownership was also an issue in the tribal controversy

²⁶11 Stat., 743, Article 1.

²⁷Doane Robinson, "A History of the Dakota," *SDHC* 2, pp. 246-252; *ARCIA* 1856, p. 38; Howard, "Notes on the Ethnogeography," p. 283.

surrounding the acceptance of the Treaty.²⁸

While the *Yanktons* waited for Congress to confirm their treaty, the lands stretching from the Big Sioux River to *Struck By The Ree's* principal campsite at Yankton City, came under intense scrutiny by men who anticipated financial gain if the treaty was signed. The *Yanktons* were supposed to be protected by the provisions of Article 3: "said Yanctons hereby agree to *remove* and *settle* and *reside* on said reservation within one year from this date, and until they do so remove (if within said year,) the United States guarantee them in the quiet and undisturbed possession of their present settlements."²⁹ The reality was different. Land speculators, squatters, employees of fur trading operations, and independent traders remained on *Yankton* land. The myth of the Great American Desert attached to the prairie lands lost its meaning as speculators and farmers realized the potential wealth of *Dakota* lands. Prospects for huge profits in land speculation far outweighed the negative impact of the 1857 depression as investors did not back off during the backlash. Certain bands of *Yankton* people resisted the invasion of non-Indians as they resorted to extreme measures in their efforts to protect it. *Smutty Bear*, on his way to the Pipestone Quarries, joined up with a band of *Yanktonnais* going to the same place and on their way came across a settlement of squatters at Medary, north of the present day town of Sioux Falls. In strong language they warned the squatters to leave or they would

²⁸11 Stat., 743, Art. 2; 11 Stats., 749, dated September 17, 1851. Also Anderson, "The Controversial Sioux Amendment to the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851," pp. 213-214.

²⁹11 Stat., 743, Article 3.

burn down the houses and drive them off.³⁰ At the same time, the majority of *Yanktons* learned to live with the new people. George W. Kingsbury mentions the winter of 1857-1858 when approximately one thousand *Yanktons* and several white men lived near each other in the woods bordering the James River.³¹ Mutual antagonism did not predominate in all interaction between the races.

In the spring of 1859, *Yanktons* gathered together at *Padaniapapi's* old campsite, the spot where the city of Yankton would soon be built, to discuss the ramifications of their future.³² They came from far and wide, abandoning their eastern settlements and hunting grounds in Iowa. From the banks of the *Hahe Wakpa* (Noisy, or Big Sioux River) and the *Wase-oyuze Wakpa* (red-paint source, or Vermillion), came *Mad Bull's* band; likewise *Feather Necklace*, whose *tiospaye* lived on the *Tchan-Sansan Wakpa* (Kinnikinick River, later James or Jacques, also Dakota) River. They moved west to join their relatives, making a camp of over two thousand strong.³³ *Smutty Bear* and his extended family came from his western camp located

³⁰Robinson, "The Settlement at Sioux Falls," *SDHC* 6, pp. 133-203; *ibid.*, on pp. 169-174 are letters reprinted from Medary, Ft. Sod, Cleveland, OH, and Pajutazee (Yellow Medicine), concerning the above incident.

³¹Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, Vol. 1., p. 117.

³²For the history of Yankton City, see Robert F. Karolevitz, *Yankton: A Pioneer Past* (Aberdeen, SD: North Plains Press, 1972); for the political maneuvers to have Yankton declared territorial capital, see Howard R. Lamar, *Dakota Territory, 1861-1889: A Study of Frontier Politics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1956), pp. 40-66.

³³For an informative investigation of the names attributed to this river over time, see Thomas J. Gasque, "Names of the James: A Case for Congress," *passim*, today it is called the James River; from the *Dakota* perspective on the names of the landforms, especially rivers, see Howard, "Notes on the Ethnogeography," 296-297; Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, Vol. 1, pp. 115-116, for an excellent description of *Struck By The Ree*, and the homes of the different bands.

on the bottoms across from Calumet Bluffs where *Yanktons* had first met Lewis and Clark in 1804. Gathered together in tribal council formation, they waited to see if the Great Father would comply with his end of the treaty. They knew that Article 15., guaranteed that "the United States agree[d] to appoint an agent for them, who shall reside on their said reservation" once the treaty was accepted by the congress and president.³⁴ They awaited the agent's arrival and were not disappointed when the steamboat *Carrier* glided into view "loaded to the guards with Indian goods and bearing Major Alexander H. Redfield, the agent, to the new home." After landing, Redfield handed out part of the annuities then reboarded the boat and steamed upriver to establish the new agency.³⁵

On July 10, 1859, the tribe of over two thousand individuals led by *Struck By The Ree*, moved west fifty-five miles to their four-hundred-thousand acre reserve located on the Missouri River's north shore across from Fort Randall, Nebraska Territory. Balancing the anger of relocation to the new reservation was the powerful inducement of large monetary and annuity provisions, all of which made the exodus appear worthwhile to many tribal members. It must have been a joy to some (almost like the feeling when driving a new car off the lot), to hear of the benefits they would

³⁴Herbert T. Hoover, "Yankton Sioux Tribal Claims Against the United States, 1917-1975," *WHQ* 7 (April 1976): p. 125; 11 Stat., 743, Article 15, where the "United States agree to appoint an agent for them, who shall reside on their said reservation, and shall have set apart for his sole use and occupation, at such a point as the Secretary of the Interior may direct, one hundred and sixty acres of land."

³⁵Robinson, "A History of the Dakota," *SDHC* 2, p. 251; Herbert T. Hoover, "Yankton Sioux Tribal Claims," p. 128; and *ARCLIA* 1859, p. 490. See also George W. Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, Vol. 1, pp. 136-143, for his account of the treaty signing and the gathering of the tribe at Yankton.

accrue with the landsale.³⁶ However, the certainty of what was contained in the treaty and the reality of events in Dakota Territory were two separate things. Consisting of five sub-sections, Article 4., contains the language which seals the contract between the two nations. The opening sentence is important because of its long-term obligation, "in consideration of the foregoing cession, relinquishment, and agreements, the United States do hereby agree and stipulate as follows, to wit:

To protect the said Yanctons in the quiet and peaceable possession of the said tract of four hundred thousand acres of land so reserved for their future home, and also their persons and property thereon during good behavior on their part.³⁷

This provision was important for the time because it was supposed to protect them against the unlawful intrusions of fur-traders, woodcutters, and squatters who were continually pressing in on the eastern boundaries stretching from Sioux City, Iowa, to the far northern reaches of Minnesota. The government further recognized this intrusion when in Article 10., it provided that "no white person, unless in the employment of the United States, or duly licensed to trade with the Yanctons, or members of the families of such persons, shall be permitted to reside or make any settlement upon any part of the tract herein reserved for said Indians."³⁸ Perhaps the most important and long-term consideration of the first sub-section is that it had no termination date. Protection of *Yankton* property rights was incorporated into the

³⁶Hare, "The Yankton Indians," *SDHC* 6, p. 325, compares it to "a prison-pen--the reservation--where they [*Yanktons*] must not practice their old life, and live as they formerly did but must submit themselves to certain rules and regulations that are sometimes inhuman."

³⁷11 Stat., 743, Article 4.

³⁸11 Stat. 743, Article 10.

office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. A description of the commissioner's duties directs that he, "under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, and agreeably to such regulations as the President may prescribe, [has] the management of all Indian affairs, and of all matters arising out of Indian relations."³⁹

Article 1., of the 1858 Treaty contains, all in one paragraph, two sentences outlining the terms of the land transfer. "The said chiefs and delegates of said tribe of Indians do hereby cede and relinquish to the United States all the lands now owned, possessed, or claimed by them, wherever situated, except four hundred thousand acres thereof, situated and described as follows, to wit . . ." With these words, *Yanktons* were stripped of claims to the vast territory they had previously occupied and used at will. The first long and redundant sentence, "Beginning at the mouth of the Naw-izi-wa-koo-pah or Chouteau River and extending up the Missouri River thirty miles; thence due north to a point; thence easterly to a point on the said Chouteau River; thence down said river to the place of beginning, so as to include the said quantity of four hundred thousand acres" is the official description of the new homelands of the Indians. Finally: "They, also, hereby relinquish and abandon all claims and complaints about or growing out of any and all treaties heretofore made by them or other Indians, except their annuity rights under the treaty of Laramie, of September 17, A. D. 1851." The tribe agreed to cancel all benefits due from provisions of the 1815, 1825, 1830, 1836, and 1837 treaties made with the

³⁹Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. 1, p. 1; also Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, pp. 9-28, for an historical interpretation of the bureaucracy's growth.

government.⁴⁰

Monetary inducements for signing the treaty are enumerated in Article 4., subsection 2d., which is grotesquely long and couched in legal jargon. The total contract directed the government to pay *Yanktons* one million, six hundred thousand dollars in annuities over a period of fifty years. Beginning in 1859, if they removed to the designated reservation, and for ten years thereafter, they were scheduled for payment of sixty-five thousand dollars. In 1869 the payment reduced to forty thousand dollars per annum for ten years, and in the last twenty years fifteen thousand dollars a year. When calculated on a per capita basis, each member of the *Yankton* tribe would receive thirty-two dollars and fifty cents for the first ten years, twenty dollars for the next ten, and seven dollars and fifty cents for the last twenty years. When viewed in these terms and other considerations of the treaty are taken into account, on the surface, the treaty seems to benefit the *Yanktons*.⁴¹

While this appears to be an enormous amount of money to expend on a tribe of a little over two thousand individuals, several factors should be considered when evaluating whether it constituted a fair deal. When surveyors measured the landcession described in Article 2., a different story emerged. "The land so ceded and relinquished by the said chiefs and delegates of the said tribe of Yanctons is and shall be known and described as follows, to wit--

Beginning at the mouth of the Tchan-kas-an-data or Calument or Big Sioux River; thence up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Pa-hah-wa-kan or East

⁴⁰Schell, *History of South Dakota*, pp. 69-72; Sansom-Flood, et. al., *Remember Your Relatives*, Vol. 2, pp. 1-2; 11 Stat. 743, Article 1.

⁴¹11 Stat., 743, Article 4; calculations based on a population of two thousand *Yanktons*, though this number did not remain constant as revealed below.

Medicine Knoll River; thence up said river to its head; thence in a direction to the head of the main fork of the Wan-dush-kah-for or Snake River; thence down said river to its junction with the Tchan-san-san or Jaques or James River; thence in a direct line to the northern point of Lake Kampeska; thence along the northern shore of said lake and its outlet to the junction of said outlet with the said Big Sioux River; thence down the Big Sioux River to its junction with the Missouri River.⁴²

The ceded portion of land contained a little over thirteen million acres. Simple division of the price paid for the acreage yields a price tag of twelve cents an acre paid to the *Yanktons*, a pittance when one considers that homestead laws in effect at that time required \$1.25 an acre. In effect, Yanktons relinquished over thirteen million acres of land worth sixteen million, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars when they signed the 1858 treaty.⁴³

Another important stipulation of Article 4., sub-section 2d., was the designation that the President of the United States would determine how the money would be disbursed. For the *Yanktons*, who entered the agreement prior to the American Civil War, the problems of compliance became crucial because the federal government's attention shifted to total prosecution of the war. Indian affairs, with the exception of tribes directly involved in the hostilities, became a secondary priority. With administrative controls weakened, unscrupulous agents and their henchmen ruthlessly exploited treaty stipulations to enrich themselves. At the time of their

⁴²Ibid., Article 2.

⁴³When surplus lands on the reservation were opened for settlement in 1894, an acre sold for \$1.25, guaranteeing the United States government a return of \$16,250,000 on the \$1,500,000 paid Yanktons for cession; for an insider's explanation of the government's evolving policy regarding Indians during this period, see former Commissioner of Indian Affairs George W. Manypenny, *Our Indian Wards* (New York, NY: De Capo Press, 1972, orig. pub. 1880), pp. 134-143, and for the policy of confinement to small reservation rather than removal see Charles Mix, *ARCIA* 1858, p. 354; 11 Stat., 743, Article 1.

treaty signing, *Ihanktonwans* came under the jurisdiction of Minnesota Territory, but in May 1858, Minnesota met requirements for statehood. Dakota Territory was officially established in 1861.⁴⁴ The linkage between governments is significant because the territorial governor served as *ex officio* superintendent of Indian Affairs in his territory, a key position in the chain of command between agency authority and federal superintendencies. Governors were often accused of entering into covert business deals with agency employees to bilk Indians of their annuities.⁴⁵ Likewise, the federal linkage was maintained through a regional superintendent, which for the *Yanktons* at this time was designated as the Northern Superintendency with headquarters in Saint Louis. While the President had ultimate responsibility for protecting the Indians, his guidelines to determine what constituted the best interests of the *Yanktons* were left open for interpretation by officials in the chain of command. Discretion in determining what proportions of the money would be paid to the *Yanktons* in cash and what constituted expenditures for their benefit, opened

⁴⁴For some of the more novel schemes advocated for Dakota Territory during the two years it languished without official ties, see Harry H. Anderson, ed., "Deadwood and the Northern Black Hills: 'An Account of Deadwood and the Northern Black Hills in 1876,'" *SDHC* 31, p. 356; also Joseph H. Cash, "A History of Lead, South Dakota, 1876-1900," *SDHC* 34, pp. 95-97; Doane Robinson, "Little Iowa," *SDHC* 9, 376-379, outlines a state legislature's efforts to increase their land holdings; for a careful examination of Dakota Territory, see Stephen S. Visher's, "The Boundaries of South Dakota," *SDHC* 9, pp. 380-385; and Lamar's *Dakota Territory, 1861-1889*, for the definitive study.

⁴⁵See George H. Phillips, "The Indian Ring in Dakota Territory, 1870-1890," *SDH* 2 (Fall 1972): 345-376, for an introduction to the felonious methods employed and the investigations that followed.

opportunities for graft.⁴⁶

The thirty mile long stretch of land on the north shore of the Missouri River where the *Ihanktonwans* chose to establish their reservation provided food, wood, and meat. After many years of living along the river, they knew the choice sites and the selection reflected this knowledge. Oral history accounts recorded by *Yankton* elder Ella Deloria, gives credence to their sagacity. According to Paul Picotte, a tribal elder and historian, the *Yanktons* knew that the "valley extending from Lake Andes to the Missouri [River] was called *Pte ta-tiyopa* or 'gate of the buffalo'"⁴⁷ from the stories told them by the old-time *Yanktons*. The valley is nearly one mile wide enclosed by parallel ridges and buttes that stretch southwest from Lake Andes for approximately six miles. Buffalo were easily taken as the parallel ridges funneled them into a compact herd as they moved through on their way to cross the river. Picotte and

⁴⁶For an overview of the government's encroachment on *Dakota* country, see William M. Blackburn, "Historical Sketch of North and South Dakota," *SDHC* 1, pp. 23-80; Cohen's *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, pp. 9-17, for a look at the evolution of administrative units governing Indian country.

⁴⁷Picotte traces his lineage to Honore Picotte, an important man who worked in the Missouri River fur trade, principally with the American Fur Company headed by the Chouteau family. Quotation from interview with Paul Picotte, Lake Andes, South Dakota, December 26, 1966, by Ella Deloria, IAIS Archives, USD. The availability of bison was a critical factor that *Yanktons* took into consideration when selecting the land they would choose for a reservation; from the Chouteau Creek boundary on the eastern side of the reservation, salt was easily available and surely determined their choice, see Robinson, "Lewis and Clark," p. 549, where Charles LeRaye as a prisoner was taken "to the Dakota shore to examine the saline springs which spout out from Chouteau bluffs just below the mouth of Chouteau Creek"; but in Doane Robinson's "The Journal of Charles LeRaye," *SDHC* 4, pp. 150-180, on p. 158, n. 20, Robinson states neither settlers nor Yankton Indians living in the area knew of the salt springs; for an inquiry into Charles LeRaye's activities and the authenticity of the information presented, see Clyde D. Dollar, "The Journal of Charles LeRaye: Authentic or Not?," *SDHC* 41, 69-191, where Dollar finds LeRaye to be a fictitious person.

William O'Connor also mentioned that one mile west of Lake Andes was a hill called *Ihuga Paha* (Lookout Hill), that served multiple purposes. From its heights, *Ihanktonwan* scouts searched for buffalo herds, using it also as a lookout for security purposes, and finally as a place where visions were sought. This hill is marked by a monument today and is still used as a place to pray.⁴⁸

The Missouri River bluffs, standing over two hundred feet above the river bottom served many purposes. From those heights *Yanktons* kept watch for friendly or hostile tribesmen and of course they were on the lookout for roving game. On the hills grew the valued *tinpsina* or turnips (harvested before the summer solstice) which were a mainstay in their diet. During the course of a hot, humid summer season, cool breezes blew along the bluffs so many people moved to shelters strategically placed to catch the wind. Perhaps most importantly, they used the summits to escape the maddening, infamous swarms of mosquitoes forever active along the backwaters of the river.⁴⁹ Stretching back from the bluffs, the land gently hummocks with a lake formed in the upper one-third of the reservation. The original lines for the Yankton reservation stretched back between fifteen and twenty miles from the

⁴⁸Paul Picotte interview, *ibid.*, unnumbered sheets; there are many such hilltops along the river that Indians used for these purposes, and they are still used for spiritual reasons today.

⁴⁹Mosquitoes and flies are the bane of hot, humid South Dakota summers, and invariably mentioned in all accounts of summer movements along the river. See Abel, *Tabeau's Narrative*, p. 63, where "it was hardly possible to spread mosquito-nets over the boats and, of all the inconveniences and sufferings of the voyage, mosquitoes should be put down as the worst, and nowhere can more be seen"; for a description of settlements along the Missouri above Vermillion, see the *Weekly Dakotian*, September 7, 1861; the turnips grow on a silver-haired thin stem, topped by a purple five-petalled flower. The stem and flower dry out and wither within two to three weeks after blossoming, then the turnips cannot be harvested till the following spring.

Missouri.⁵⁰

At the time of the 1858 Treaty, the *Yanktons* were organized into seven bands, the *Cagu* (Lungs), *Oyate Sica* (Bad Nation), *Cankute* (Shooters at Trees), *Waceunpa* (Roasters or the Ones That Cook), *Igmu* (Wildcat), *Wagmuha Oin* (Pumpkin Rind Earrings), and *Iha Ishdaye* (Mouth Greasers). Later, they would add the *Wasicun cinca* (white men's sons, or half-breeds) band. From the pleasant location at Greenwood, the land stretched southeast from the agency for approximately fourteen miles to *Nawizikiciza Wakpa* (Jealous ones fighting, or later Chouteau Creek). The rich bottomlands were favored for living areas, especially during winter months when the draws and ravines provided shelter from the north wind and easy access to water and firewood (see Figure 7.).⁵¹

The eastern boundary of the reservation was a heavily wooded valley with fresh spring water. Game abounded and plums, chokecherries, buffalo berries, *tinpsina* (turnips), and other food plants grew in abundance. With a plentiful supply

⁵⁰Kingsbury, *The History of Dakota Territory*, Vol. 1, p. 154, mentions the lake was surveyed by an Edward Andes, an employee of the American Fur Company; also that the lake was famous as a watering place for buffalo. The lake, when it overflows, empties down the "gateway of the buffalo" where Indians came to harvest the meat.

⁵¹Sansom-Flood, *Remember*, Vol. 1, pp. 40-43 for bands; also Riggs, *Dakota Grammar*, p. 160, n.1: "The following names of the Yankton gentes were furnished by Hehaka mani, a Yankton, in 1878: 1. Can-Kute, *Shooters at Trees*. 2. Cagu, *Lights*, or *Lungs*. 3. Wakmuha oin, *Pumpkin-rind Earring*. 4. Iha isdaye, *Mouth Greasers*. 5. Waceunpa, *Roasters*. 6. Ikmun, *Wild Cat* (people). 7. Oyate sica, *Bad Nation*. 8. Wasicun cinca, *White Men's Sons*, or, *Half-Breeds* (a modern addition). In August, 1891, Rev. Joseph W. Cook, a missionary to the Yankton obtained from several men the following order of their gentes in the camping circle:--on the right: 1. Iha isdaye. 2. Wakmuha oin. 3. Ikmun. On the left: 4. Waceunpa. 5. Cankute. 6. Oyate sica. 7. Cagu. The first and seventh gentes always camped in the van.-- J.O.D."; see also Howard, "Notes on the Ethnogeography," p. 284, for locations of the seven bands.



Figure 6. Yankton Indian Homes

of food, firewood, and water, headman *Tatankawitko* (Mad Bull) set up camp along Chouteau Creek, for his *Oyate Sica tiospaye* (Bad Nation). North and northwest of the Agency, about fourteen miles to the western boundary, the bottomlands stretched for approximately ten miles, varying in width from one-quarter to one mile. The last four miles were chalkstone bluffs with little tableland available for agriculture. The northwest terminus for the reservation was very much like the southeast, heavily wooded heavily wooded with abundant game, roots, berries, and other food plants. It was here that the three upper bands whose headmen *White Medicine Cow that Stands*, *Little White Swan*, and *Pretty Boy*, some of the men most vehemently opposed to signing the 1858 Treaty, were assigned to live.⁵² Both *White Swan's* camp, along the lowlands where *Pte tatiyopa* (buffalo's gateway) had once known the hooves of innumerable buffalo, and *Mad Bull's* location were well-known sites and used by the military, traders, and others who traveled the Missouri River.

The landsite chosen for Agency headquarters proved both a bane and a blessing. Located in the approximate center of the reservation's thirty mile riverfront boundary, the agency was built at the base of chalkstone bluffs on a shelf of land eighteen to twenty-five feet above the riverline. The agency was named after the newly appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Redfield's *Annual Report* relates to the commissioner his struggle to establish the agency headquarters and comply with

⁵²*Plasonwakannage*, or the White Medicine Cow that Stands, *Magaschacheka*, or the Little White Swan, and *Okechelawashta*, or the Pretty Boy, headmen of the three upper bands, did not sign, instead they delegated their duties to their "duly authorized delegate and representative, Chas. F. Picotte," colorful, controversial half-breed relative of *Struck By The Ree* who served as interpreter for the treaty delegation; until the late 1870s, the upper bands continued to rove along both sides of the Missouri River up to Fort Pierre, lands they had always considered as theirs for safekeeping.

orders from Washington. In accordance with Article 16., Redfield, who was directed as agent for the *Yanktons* to "reside on their said reservation, and shall have set apart for his sole use and occupation, at such point as the Secretary of the Interior may direct, one hundred and sixty acres of land" set up his headquarters in Greenwood.⁵³

Padaniapapi and his extended family settled on agency grounds, close to the center of power. In fairness to Redfield, his records indicate that he complied with several provisions of the 1858 Treaty. Starting literally from scratch with nothing but a pleasant site to locate agency headquarters, Redfield followed the instructions contained in Article 4., of section 5., which directed that "a mill suitable for grinding grain and sawing timber" be put in full operation.⁵⁴ Redfield, who brought the sawmill upriver with all other annuity goods, managed to erect the mill and reported that by September 10, 1859, over fifty thousand feet of cottonwood lumber had been manufactured. This was a major accomplishment. Associated small industries such as a blacksmith shop and agency warehouses were soon built along with "three good and convenient log buildings," one of them forty by twenty feet and two fifty-six by twenty feet.⁵⁵ In one of the buildings, a room "designed for an office and council-room, a large brick fire-place is built."⁵⁶

⁵³11 Stat., 743, Article 15.

⁵⁴11 Stat., 743, p. 778, and further, that "one or more mechanic shops, with the necessary tools for the same" be furnished, "and dwelling-houses for an interpreter, miller, engineer for the mill, (if one be necessary,) a farmer" and mechanics, be hired "that may be employed for their benefit," all of which be done for a "sum not exceeding fifteen thousand dollars."

⁵⁵*ARCIA* 1859, p. 493.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 493-494. Other structures included an ice house, poultry-house, and "other necessary out-houses," a well for the sawmill, a water-lime cistern, with

Once agency headquarters was established and work commenced, Redfield faced compliance with several vague articles of the treaty. He could not avoid the first order of business; the three upper bands still opposed the treaty and sale of land. After several tribal councils failed to reach consensus, Redfield threatened to call for Fort Randall troopers. This brought agreement and "all the chiefs became satisfied, and agreed to all required."⁵⁷ Of cardinal importance to *Yanktons* and the *Dakota* people was the article setting aside the Red Pipestone Quarry for use by the tribes. *Yanktons* and other bands had vehemently protested the sale of the Quarries in the 1851 Treaty that the *Sisseton* tribe had signed because the Quarry was excluded from protection. *Struck By The Ree* insisted that Article 8., addressing the retention of the Quarries, be included before he would sign the 1858 Treaty of Washington. Commissioner Charles E. Mix complied with that provision on April 15, 1859, when he forwarded a letter to the Commissioner of General Lands requesting the grounds be surveyed.⁵⁸ In compliance, Mix directed that surveyors mark the "exterior

houses for the interpreter and engineer planned. Redfield also reports that time is spent "exploring the country, marking roads, and building bridges, in the care of the stock, in procuring water, which had to be pumped from the river, in cutting and hauling fuel, and in excavating landings at the river, which is here twenty feet below the lowest bank."

⁵⁷*ARCIA* 1859, p. 490, for the angry council; *ibid.*, p. 491. Redfield reported a hot summer, with temperatures "rising to 104° in the shade, and once as high as 110°. At night the mosquitoes were most tormenting, preventing sleep to a great extend." The temperatures could not have helped tempers.

⁵⁸11 Stat., 743, "Article 8. The said Yancton Indians shall be secured in the free and unrestricted use of the red pipe-stone quarry, or so much thereof as they have been accustomed to frequent and use for the purpose of procuring stone for pipes; and the United States hereby stipulate and agree to cause to be surveyed and marked so much thereof as shall be necessary and proper for that purpose, and retain the same and keep it open and free to the Indians to visit and procure stone for pipes so long as they shall desire"; *ARCIA* 1859, p. 496, where Redfield reports the "celebrated red

boundaries of a tract of land one mile square to embrace the 'Red Pipe-Stone quarry'; and the following monument [the boulder Nicollet and his expedition chiseled their names on] will constitute the center of the reservation."⁵⁹ Perhaps Redfield's toughest challenge came when he engaged in arbitration with the headmen to divide the money designated in Article 6., for the men and women (not present during the Washington negotiations), who helped influence the *Yanktons* to sign the treaty. This provision proved to be devious and somewhat cloudy in its purpose. Redfield conducted two councils with the chiefs on the 3d of August and 8th of September and reported to the Commissioner that "large sums were granted to some half-breeds."⁶⁰ In its execution, funds were designated for members of the half-breed groups who had lived with the *Yanktons*, including treaty interpreter Theophile Bruguier, his two

pipe-stone quarry, a portion of which was reserved by the Yanktons in their treaty, has been surveyed and marked by Messrs. Hutton and Snow the past summer," reporting that the same two men also surveyed the boundaries of the *Yankton* reservation, *ibid.*, p. 494.

⁵⁹Charles E. Mix to Thomas A. Hendricks, Commissioner of the General Land Office, letter of April 15, 1859, RG 75, SC 11; for geological surveys, see Kingsbury, *The History of Dakota Territory*, Vol. 1, pp. 71-72, 160-161.

⁶⁰*ARCIA* 1859, pp. 491-492; for Bruguier's shares, see Constant R. Marks, "Theophile Brughier [sic]," *SDHC* 4, p. 269, where "under the Yankton treaty Bruguier received \$3000 for each of his children and \$3000 for himself. It is said in all he got \$39000 and a large part of this money was spent in trying to educate his children"; see also Mrs. Ralph (Gertrude) Henderson, "Ferries on the Big Sioux Near Sioux City," *SDHC* 23, pp. 308, where "Theophel [sic] Bruguier claims about 4 1/2 Sec.[tions] for his children, they are half-breed. He has had his claim surveyed and marked out," survey finished on November 12th, 1860, pp. 349-350, a description of Bruguier's 1856, settlement where the ferry was located; for a discussion of the Article 6., disbursement controversy, see Michael F. Foley and John L. Champe, *An Analysis of the Course of Actions and Dealing Between the United States and the Yankton Sioux Tribe Following the Treaty of April 19, 1859, to 1888*, Indian Claims Commission Docket No. 332-B, *Yankton Sioux Tribe v. United States of America*, June, 1972, Appendix, "The Story of Article Six," pp. 2-53.

wives, and their fourteen children. The article's inclusion appears as a reward for services rendered in bringing the tribe to the bargaining table for land-cessions.⁶¹

Greenwood grew rapidly as an early commercial center because of its strategic location serving as a terminus for both civilian and military traffic. Hotels, stores, livery stables, and associated businesses were quickly established. Charles P. Booge, representing the leading wholesale grocers firm of H. D. Booge & Company of Sioux City, Iowa, served as Trader of the Agency. Booge and Theophile Bruguier, a member of the 1858 treaty delegation, organized an independent fur partnership and competed with the Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Company.⁶² Authority to build roads

⁶¹For an overview of the half-breed money division and gratuitous land grants to Charles Picotte, his three sisters and Zephyr Renconter, see pp. 21-24, and pp. 26-28; for *Struck By The Ree's* testimony found in Foley and Champe, *An Analysis of the Course of Actions*, dated June 1972; Michael F. Foley and John L. Champe, *An Historical Analysis of the Course of Dealings Between the United States and the Yankton Sioux Tribe, 1858-1900*, Plaintiff's Exhibit H-370, Indian Claims Commission Docket No. 332-C, *Yankton Sioux Tribe v. United States of America*, dated January, 1976, pp. 15-28, and Foley, *The Opening and Development*, pp. 73-77, are narratives strongly biased for the *Yankton* people to balance that produced by Woolworth in *Sioux Indians III*, produced for the United States government side; for an analysis of how mixed-bloods helped settle tribal treaty problems see Anderson's "Fur Traders," *passim*; payment authorized by 11 Stat., 743, Articles 4 and 6.

⁶²For Charles Booge, see Kingsbury, "The Census of 1860," *SDHC* 10, p. 431. Booge earned a reputation as a rogue both in business affairs and political shenanigans, although the overblown article that appeared in the *Weekly Dakotian*, September 7, 1861, and September, 14, 1861, where "it is shown beyond the shadow of a doubt that said Booge voted several times, and at last he came out in his original and true character by representing himself as a negro, and depositing a ticket in the name of John Brazo, an old darkey, well-known in Sioux City. This Booge--the HONEST Charley--the people's man--the man who voted in the name of [sic] a negro--is now asking the electors of Dakota to send him to Congress! Will they do it? Will they vote on Monday, September 16, for Charles P. Booge?????" should be taken with a grain of salt because the paper was owned by his rival, John B. S. Todd. See Thomas, "John Blair Smith Todd," *SDHC* 24, p. 192, opened June 6, 1861, partners, Francis M. Zieback, William Freney, and J. B. S. Todd; Bruguier's association with Booge is inexplicable in view of his cordial relations with the *Yanktons* and his offspring's integration into the tribe. Bruguier and his sons operated several different

came from Article 3., which states: "said chiefs and delegates hereby further stipulate and agree that the United States may construct and use such roads as may be hereafter necessary across their said reservation by the consent and permission of the Secretary of the Interior, and by first paying the said Indians all damages and the fair value of the land so used for said road or roads, . . ." ⁶³ To compensate for winter freeze-over or periods of low-water when steamboats could not come upriver, they built an overland route. Serving both as a military and commercial road, it started from Sioux City and stretched along the Missouri River bottoms and up over the bluffs in the river narrows to handle freight hauling. The military road between Sioux City, Iowa, and Fort Randall entered the *Ihanktonwan* reservation at Chouteau Creek and ran through Greenwood. From the agency the road ran over the top of the bluffs to Seven Mile Creek, then dropped down to the shelf along the chalkstone bluffs and past the Pawnee House (where fur trader Pierre Truteau spent the winter of 1795), to the ford opposite Fort Randall, near White Swan's village. ⁶⁴

Greenwood evolved into a shipping point for steamboats to off-load supplies as well as load wood for the steam engines. Woodcutting, with permission from the tribe, became a lucrative part-time job for many men who could not find permanent employment. With the onset of the Civil War, river traffic was severely curtailed by Confederate depredations along the banks of the river in the state of Missouri. But

freight-hauling enterprises on government contract.

⁶³11 Stat., 743, Article 3.

⁶⁴See Hyman Palais, "South Dakota Stage and Wagon Roads," *SDHC* 25, pp. 217-19, for the particulars on the "Military Road to Fort Randall, established in 1856," p. 218.

upper-river traffic in "military supplies, troops, and gold seekers bound for the Idaho and Montana mines flourished from outfitting points above Kansas City, and fur-trade vessels and steamboats continued regularly to enter and leave the port of St.

Louis."⁶⁵

Roadhouses (whiskey ranches), selling alcoholic beverages opened for business on the reservation's periphery. Operated by itinerant, lawless, bootleggers (according to standards of the day), they did not discriminate in their customer's skincolor. The abuse of these substances by a minority of Indians remained a thorn in policy-maker's sides. With the establishment of numerous whiskey stations at strategic spots on the road came the problems of vice ranging from prostitution to alcoholism. Soldiers and businessmen traveling through the territory, both groups well-known for their propensity to seek solace with drink and companionship, did not provide the best role models for the *Yanktons* and other Indians stopping at the agency or staying over at roadhouses.⁶⁶

An interesting sidelight to the whiskey stations that developed on the outskirts of the reservation reveals a bonus that accrued to the *Yanktons*. Because of the belief

⁶⁵William J. Petersen, "Steamboating on the Missouri River," *Nebraska History* (NH hereafter) 35 (December 1954): 255-275; Sunder, *The Fur Trade*, pp. 220-221.

⁶⁶Sunder, *The Fur Trade*, pp. 69, 236; see Barton, *John P. Williamson*, pp. 213-215, for an account of the excitement generated by a steamboat landing at the Greenwood Agency docks. Traffic in alcohol on the Missouri River was regulated very early but enforcement was practically nonexistent, for a brief glimpse of the Dakota fur trade efforts, see pp. 169-187, subtitled 'The War on Whiskey in the Fur Trade,' abstracted by Charles E. DeLand, "Fort Tecumseh and Fort Pierre Journal and Letter Books," ["portions of the years 1830, 1831, 1832 and 1833 and of the letter books for intervals reaching down to 1848," p. 70], *SDHC* 9, pp. 69-239; also Doane Robinson, "A Century of Liquor Legislation," *SDHC* 12, pp. 281-296, for a look at how attempts were made to control the substance.

that Indians were particularly susceptible to the vagaries of alcohol, Article 12., of the 1858 Treaty is illuminating. It reads:

To aid in preventing the evils of intemperance, it is hereby stipulated that if any of the Yanktons shall drink, or procure for others, intoxicating liquor, their proportion of the tribal annuities shall be withheld from them for at least one year.⁶⁷

Yanktons were to benefit from this provision when land bordering *White Swan*, *Pretty Boy*, *Feather Necklace*, and *Medicine Cow's* camps across from Fort Randall, became notorious for whiskey establishments. Traders, off-duty (presumably) soldiers, and other borderline characters gathered there to drink spirituous beverages.⁶⁸ *Yanktons* who became addicted to alcohol were prone to slip off the reservation to purchase liquor. Danny Moran, an acute observer who worked at Fort Randall during the

⁶⁷11 Stat., 743, Article 12; Theophile Bruguier and *Struck By The Ree* were involved in a case that reached the Territorial Supreme Court in *Bruguier v. United States*, 1st Dakota, p. 5, where Bruguier was accused of "Selling one pint of whiskey to Struck by the Ree, the important chief of the Yanktons," in Doane Robinson, "A Century of Liquor Legislation in Dakota," *SDHC* 12, p. 287.

⁶⁸Executive Orders Relating to Reserves, Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. 1, p. 898, Sioux Reserve, dated January 11, 1875, and May 20, 1875; for a short history of White Swan and its connection as a post office and stage stop on the east bank road from Sioux City to Fort Pierre, see Merrill J. Mattes, "Report on Historic Sites in the Fort Randall Reservoir Area, Missouri River, South Dakota," *SDHC* 24, pp. 488-490, where also Robert Spotted Eagle, age 81 (in 1949), mentioned "Little Bird school yard is the site of the Little dance house [sic], moved here in 1881 from its location upriver"; see also Dennis Moran, "Denny Moran's Reminiscences of Ft. Randall as told to Will G. Robinson in July, 1947," *SDHC* 23, p. 285-286, "the post office was in a log house which was near the river bank. This was about a half mile out from the mouth of the valley which runs toward Lake Andes." Moran an acute observer, lived at Fort Randall and learned much about the *Yankton* Indians. See also his "Recollections of an Adventurous Life as told by Dennis Moran to Will G. Robinson," *SDHC* 24, on p. 128-129, where "every Indian man had a pair of trader tweezers and you could see Indians sitting down with their tweezers and mirrors most any time pulling out their whiskers. I've often wondered how they did this before they had tweezers and mirrors [they used clam shells]. They never let any hair grow on their faces."

early years of the *Yankton* reservation told Will Robinson of the "pocket that ran down pretty close to Ft. Randall," just north of the reservation's western boundary, "and the white whiskey peddlers came into this pocket to deal with the soldiers."⁶⁹ If they were adventurous, they could buy some of "'Old Paps' firewater," or buy from a man named Jones who "sold 'Hosstetters Bitters'," better known as "hostiles bitters."⁷⁰ Realizing the negative consequences from places of ill-repute, president Ulysses S. Grant issued an Executive Order in May of 1875 that withdrew "from sale and settlement, and set apart for the use of the several tribes of Sioux Indians as an addition to their present reservation in said Territory[,] " approximately thirty-eight thousand acres. Once this was accomplished, the whiskey stations had to move twelve miles to the northwest in order to comply with federal law regulating the sale of liquor.⁷¹ Many harmful habits devolved from the *Yanktons* close proximity to the whiskey stations. When the reservation boundary was extended upriver the hard-drinking individuals associated with the fort were not as likely to cross over and cause trouble.

Mad Bull's Chouteau Creek camp faced the same problems of his relatives at White Swan. Mitigating circumstances existed at this site which can be interpreted as either positive or negative. From early riverboat trade days, Chouteau Creek provided an ideal stopover for steamboats as it provided shelter and wood. Several non-Indian men maintained a store, hotel, whiskey station, and firewood camp there.

⁶⁹Moran, "Denny Moran's Reminiscences of Fort Randall," *SDHC* 23, p. 275.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 277.

⁷¹Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. 1, p. 898, Executive Orders Relating to Reserves, Sioux Reserve, January 11, 1875, and May 20, 1875.

Business increased when the military road crossed over the creek at that point. George L. Tackett who "built a very large and substantial log building for hotel purposes" in 1859, operated the business called Tackett's Station. After receiving a commission from the territorial legislature as Justice of the Peace in June, 1861, Tackett styled himself as a law-abiding man and many a law-breaker received a necktie party after passing through his summary halls of justice. Together with the many deaths and the sightings of the *canotina* (little brown men), a gloomy, appalling atmosphere lingered around the picturesque site and it is still so today.⁷² Over time, the effects of close contact with this group of whiskey men negatively affected the *Ihanktonwan*. The positive side, it was very convenient to have supplies closely available and it must have been exciting to have visitors constantly passing through.⁷³

For the tribe, the largest disappointment came when per capita payments were made. Redfield reported that "on the second of August the money payment was completed. The whole amount paid in cash was \$10,000, or five dollars to each person. The amount seemed small to them, but until they become wiser in the use of

⁷²Sansom-Flood, *Lessons*, pp. 37-38 for an overview of Tackett's Station, located on the often misspelled stream called Chouteau Creek; see also Kingsbury, *The History of Dakota Territory*, p. 122, for a look at George L. Tackett, "an early settler of Sioux City and the first sheriff of Woodbury, County"; see also Mrs. Ralph (Gertrude) Henderson, "Ferries on the Big Sioux Near Sioux City," *SDHC* 23, p. 317, where Tackett "was classed among the French because he spoke the language, as well as several Indian dialects, and had been a fur trader, and had a squaw wife."

⁷³Sansom-Flood, *Remember Your Relatives*, Vol. 1., pp. 29-30, 43.

money the sum should not be increased much."⁷⁴ This was a major concern of the *Yanktons*, especially when the treaty promised \$65,000 a year.⁷⁵

Redfield established an important precedent when he allowed *Yanktons* to engage in their age old custom of the annual spring and fall bison hunts. As time progressed, the bison herd diminished and receded first westward across the Missouri, then even farther to the west. By the early 1860s bison could only be found four hundred miles west where meetings with other tribes cultivating the same herd caused many problems not only between Indians but with settlers who were creating a farming network around the *Dakota* homelands. Without access to the bison herds, *Yanktons* were deprived of the twin staples of life, meat and hides. Housing in the form of *tipis* and clothing required the use of prepared skins. When access to hunting game was restricted, *Yanktons* were forced to alter their traditional housing and

⁷⁴ARCIA 1859, p. 491; Redfield also writes "I turned over to the Yanctons their share of the annuities under the treaty of Laramie, and also that under the treaty of General Harney, with which they were particularly satisfied. Their share of the guns, ammunition, and clothing, under the treaty of Fort Laramie, were not delivered," the Treaty of General Harney was not ratified by Congress and technically not in force.

⁷⁵Redfield was in charge of disbursing \$127,500.00 in the first year to fulfill the *Yankton* treaty, \$65,000 "to be paid to them or expended for their benefit," \$25,000 "for maintaining and subsisting said Indians during the first year after their removal to and permanent settlement upon their said reservation; in the purchase of stock, agricultural implements or other articles of a beneficial character, and in breaking up and fencing land; in the erection of houses, storehouses, or other needful buildings; or in making such other improvements as may be necessary for their comfort and welfare," \$10,000 "for building a school house or school houses," \$15,000 "for providing said Indians with a mill suitable for grinding grain and sawing lumber; one or more mechanic shops, with the necessary tools for same, and dwelling houses for an interpreter, miller, engineer for the mill, (if one be necessary,) a farmer, and the mechanics that may be employed for their benefit," \$12,500 "for the expenses of making this agreement and of surveying the said Yancton reservation, and of surveying and marking the pipe-stone quarry," see H. R. 35th Cong., 2d Sess., Ex. Doc. No. 106, dated March 1, 1859.

clothing styles. While Redfield made some good decisions, he then turned around and in a complete switch from the customary method of policing the camps by *Akichita* (warrior) lodges and settling differences within the *tiospayes*, he appointed fifty-four Indians to act as tribal police, and "to aid at all times in the preservation of peace and good order, and especially to be watchful to prevent the introduction of liquor among their people."⁷⁶ Appointing Indian soldiers to serve as tribal police was part of the convention made by General William S. Harney with the Sioux at Fort Pierre in March, 1856. Although it was not ratified by Congress, agents exploited the article in an effort to bring order within their departments.⁷⁷

Redfield also settled a dispute between the three upper bands and the garrison at Fort Randall. Because the post office and stage line ran through White Swan village, personnel from the fort crossed the river quite often. In their everyday business, they harvested hay and wood from the Indian's side. Redfield intervened and after a council with the commander and headmen, "an agreement was easily made, which, if carried out, will, I have no doubt, be perfectly satisfactory to the

⁷⁶Redfield's extensive first report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *ARCIA* 1859, pp. 489-496, provides much information. Without bison and other animal hides, *tipis*, blankets, and associated articles could not be made. On game, Redfield reports "animals are a few elk, deer, beaver, and otter, and occasionally a small stray herd of buffalo is seen," p. 494; 1860 bison estimates of fifteen to twenty million, from Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust*, p. 52; quotation from *ARCIA* 1859, p. 491, who were enrolled and "were much pleased, and promised faithful obedience to the orders of the chiefs and the agent."

⁷⁷Agent Thomas S. Twiss organized a "small body of Indian soldiers in each band, not exceeding one hundred men in the aggregate, by which I have been able to maintain order at the time of distributing the annuity goods, and prevent stealing and robbing from each other," *ARCIA* 1859, p. 502.

whole tribe."⁷⁸

The 1860 census data partially fills in the non-Indian composition of the Agency workforce hired to comply with the backup provisions of the treaty. Felix Le Blanc served as the blacksmith, Horace Graer [Gray], head farmer, and William H. Penrose was the agency engineer. Many of the people listed were of mixed ancestry, French, Indian, and other races whose families settled at the agency as the age of the fur-trader came to an end. Zephyr Rencontre, a multi-lingual man who accompanied the 1858 treaty delegation to Washington, D. C., as an interpreter was living at the agency.⁷⁹ Among the list of hunters were Basil Clement (Claymore), Louis Picotte, Frederick Delancy, Akin Pappin [Papin], John Clemore, Benjamin Cadotte, William Bean, and William Oleson. It is not clear if these men were hired as hunters for the tribe or the agent, but this pursuit would seem somewhat dubious since *Yanktons* were still allowed to leave the reservation to hunt. Another entry is that of Cardinal Legrande, mountain trapper (90 years of age), who certainly must have been a retiree from the hardships of his occupation living his last years at Greenwood Agency. Joseph Charger, Julia Picotte, Louis Picott [Picotte], and Francis Randell, represent

⁷⁸ARCIA 1859, p. 492.

⁷⁹Felix LeBlanc, agency blacksmith who made \$150.00 per month also took out a claim on the James River, employing LaFevre, "who was better known as 'Old Dakota,' to open up the farm and improve it." LeBlanc and his family came to the land "two or three times a year in order to keep within the law's restrictions as to residence," a clear case of not staying on the job, as did many of the agency employees. See Kingsbury, *The History of Dakota Territory*, Vol. 1, pp. 149-150; Zephyr Rencontre's family proliferated and made a significant impact on the *Yankton* reservation, having assisted the Roman Catholics to establish their church and boarding school on the reserve during the 1920s by donating land; see George W. Kingsbury, "The Census of 1860," *SDHC* 10, pp. 396-439, lists Zephyr Rencontre on pp. 433-434.

some who were engaged as farmers. From this mix one can ascertain a certain cosmopolitan ambience among the *Yanktons*. Many of the new inhabitants were multilingual, speaking French, English, *Dakota*, and several other Indian languages. Many of the mixed-bloods and other non-Indians received higher education in the east or Saint Louis and brought their talents to the Greenwood steamboat station.⁸⁰

Indian names caused Redfield many problems as he engaged in compiling the 1860 census. Perhaps unfamiliar with Indian customs of name-giving or name-changing as the situation demanded, Redfield wrote that "many of them appear to have no name, except such as is given to them at the time of counting, while others seem to have any number of names."⁸¹ This is a surprising quotation since Redfield spent many years among Indians and with his experience the name-changing of *Dakota* society should have been familiar. Relatives from other *tiospayes* thought nothing of travelling great distances to visit and stay for a time. As a result of *Yanktons* practicing their cultural ways, Redfield's count revealed discrepancies and

⁸⁰Ibid., pp. 431-436. Frederick Ploghoff, C. E. Norton, Richard Godfrey, James Kenney, William M. Clark, Colin LaMonte, Broze Carner, William Bordeno (Bordeneau), Michael Derzannette, George A. Granger, Davis Renconte (David Rencontre), Pierrie Croteau, and Narcisse Drapeau are listed as agency laborers. The list contains many non-*Yanktons* residing at the agency, some of whom remained and their surnames are found in the tribe today (1993).

⁸¹*ARCIA* 1861, p. 87. Name-giving, or changing is not uncommon for Indians. For example, as children came of age often they received a new name to signify their maturation. When the new adult achieved something of significance whether of physical, spiritual, or war, he might receive another name not necessarily that of his family as in English customs. Even today the custom is extant, and, with a proliferation of divorces and remarriages, name-changing if anything has accelerated; see also Doane Robinson, ed., [possibly written by Clement Whirlwind Soldier, graduate of Carlisle, p. 493, n*], "Naming the Child," *SDHC* 9, pp. 403-408; see also a perceptive article by E. H. Allison, "Sioux Proper Names," *SDHC* 6, pp. 275-278.

he felt compelled to make a recount. Also, headmen of the seven bands were aware that the more people that lived in their band, the more goods they would receive. As a consequence they may have padded their enumeration. Redfield never established friendly relations with the three upper bands and perhaps they were doing everything in their power to confuse him. Finally, Redfield counceled with the headmen and together they arrived at what they considered an agreeable and accurate number and he submitted his count of 2,053 *Ihanktonwans* residing on the reservation.⁸² It is of importance to know that many tribal members retained their Indian names and were also engaged in agricultural pursuits. *Natamaza* (Iron Head), *Waraotako*, and *Pameamema* are Yankton males listed as farmers. *Mato Senetea* (Smutty Bear), chief and farmer, *Weseco*, *Matodusa* (Fast Bear), and *Shunkawakon* (Horse) complete the list of Indian farmers. Listed on the Bon Homme County census is forty-five year old *Satanka Witco*, or as explained in the footnote, *Tatanka Witko* or Mad Bull, the leader of the Bad Nation located on Chouteau Creek. Mad Bull was credited with possessing "eight hundred acres of land and \$1,500 in cash and other property," quite a wealthy man for that time.⁸³

⁸²Ibid., 1861, p. 87; *Ihanktonwans* were aware of the times for distribution of annuities, after all, they visited their relatives in the *Sissetonwan* tribe after they signed their 1851 treaty. When tribes along the Missouri waited for annuity time, Yankton Agency was one of the first stops and more than likely relatives from the *Sicangu*, *Yanktonnai*, and other tribes came down to visit during this time of plenty, then followed the annuity steamboat up the Missouri to its various stops. Redfield knew that members of other tribes were among the *Yanktons*, but he reported that the headmen did not want to report them "for fear they would kill their horses" if they did. See *ibid.*, 1861, p. 87.

⁸³Kingsbury, "Census of 1860," *SDHC* 10, pp. 431-436 for Yankton Agency census; for Mad Bull, see *ibid.*, p. 427, he was married to "Okeo, age 35; and daughters, Manaduta-we, age 18, Jashena, age 16; Cheta, age 13; and Oshe, age 10, all born in Dakota"; Kingsbury's spelling of Indian names makes translation

Faced with increased population pressure from both Indian and non-Indian people, *Yanktons* chose to settle on lands which they deemed necessary for their continued survival. Little did they realize that once again their lives were going to undergo great changes as the sectional divisions in the east grew to a critical mass and would soon create problems for them in their splendid isolation. With Redfield's presence among them, they learned to bring their problems to him rather than settle them in the old way, within their *tiospaye* councils. Many people began to assume some of the habits of "civilization" by working in the mills, as laborers around the agency, and even to begin cultivating the ground. But there were never enough jobs on or near the agency or reservation to employ able-bodied men and women who suddenly found themselves virtually unemployed. *Yanktons* were not ignorant of growing foods, only the methods of planting and harvesting were changed to fit the non-Indian conception of farming. Shortages of bison hides used to build *tipis* showed up by 1860 as Redfield reported that "many of the Indians belonging to the lower bands have become much engaged in building houses."⁸⁴ Their constricted landbase and gradual loss of freedom would prove to be an extremely hard obstacle to overcome as they adjusted to a new lifestyle.

Discontent over the small sums distributed as per capita to tribal members,

extremely cumbersome and doubtful in validity. The entry, *Qalameapape* (90 years old) and Head chief and farmer, creates a puzzle.

⁸⁴*ARCIA* 1860, pp. 87-88, reporting 12-15 "very comfortable log houses" built with "teams and tools, lumber, shingles, nails, sash, glass, &c.," supplied by the agent; Hare, "The Yankton Indians," *SDHC* 6, p. 325, laments "of course they were fed, clothed . . . Under the Agency system of the past we have been trained to weakness and dependence rather than to industrious independence. They lived the reservation life of idleness etc., . . ."

shoddy quality of annuity goods, and the lack of a school for their children remained problems left by Alexander Redfield. *Struck By The Ree* and *Medicine Cow* testified eloquently about their agent's behavior to the special committee sent to investigate conditions on reservation Indians. *Struck By The Ree* perhaps summed it up best:

The first agent was Redfield; and when he came there he borrowed blankets from me to sleep upon, and agreed to return them, but never did. . . . Goods have been stored upstairs in the warehouse, and have all disappeared . . . If they bring any goods for the Indians to eat and put them in the warehouse, the agents live out of them . . . and pay has been taken by the agents, and they have put the money in their pockets and taken it away with them.⁸⁵

⁸⁵Quoted in Foley and Champe, *An Historical Analysis*, p. 25.

CHAPTER VIII

YANKTON SCOUTS ASSIST THE UNITED STATES IN *DAKOTA* COUNTRY DESPITE AN UNSCRUPULOUS AGENT, 1861-1865

While the United States was being torn apart by the onset of the Civil War, newly inaugurated president Abraham Lincoln posted Dr. Walter S. Burleigh to the Yankton Agency in the spring of 1861. Redfield's tenure as *Yankton* Agent initiated a difficult transitional period in the tribe's social and economic structures and the new agent faced difficulties in guiding them through the progression. With dwindling supplies of furs and small game, *Yanktons* turned to agriculture. This proved disastrous when the vagaries of weather and indifferent cultivation techniques yielded harvests unequal to the task of feeding the tribe. The main obstacle was their inability to supplement food stock with hunting and gathering. Thus, *Yanktons* began to rely more and more on the annuities promised under the treaty, but their new reliance proved yet another problem. They were not equipped to deal with some of the sordid practices developed to fleece them of treaty money. Despite Walter Burleigh's mishandling of tribal business operations and the government's inability to monitor the agent's management of Indian affairs, *Yankton* leaders adapted to

increasing non-Indian interference in their lives.¹

Walter S. Burleigh initiated an administration that differed dramatically in nearly all respects from tribal leader's interpretations. Burleigh's strong opinion of his own righteousness caused much hardship and grief for the tribe long after his term as Indian Agent expired. Burleigh's arrival on post was less than auspicious. Along with the year's supplies of annuities, the agent and his family embarked on the steamer J. G. Morrow from Saint Joseph, Missouri. On the evening of August 29, 1861, the steamer supposedly sank with most of the Indians' goods on board.² Burleigh's first annual report to the commissioner recounted his efforts to effect the provisions of the treaty. He bemoaned the fact that before his departure Redfield had given everything over to the Indians, deeming "it advisable to turn over to the Indians nearly all of the stock at the agency, together with the farming tools, &c., that they might use them in getting in their crops," evidently forgetting that all materials did belong to them.³ After disparaging Redfield's groundbreaking work, Burleigh went on to tell how he purchased cattle to replace those Redfield had given to the *Yanktons*. The corn crop, planted under Redfield's supervision, was doing fine until the Indians

¹Walter S. Burleigh is much written about. See Norman Thomas, "John Blair Smith Todd," *SDHC* 24, pp. 207, passim, for Burleigh's introduction into territorial politics while serving as agent for the *Yankton* Sioux; also Lamar, *Dakota Territory*, passim; *ARCIA* 1864, p. 285, Burleigh writes, the North American Indian "cannot cope with the Caucasian single-handed and alone. . . . He is an inferior being, physically and mentally."

²Agents were appointed according to the wishes of the president as part of the spoils system; for an examination of Burleigh's sense of self-worth, see Sansom-Flood, *Lessons*, pp. 41-42; see House of Representatives, 37th Congress, 3d Session, Ex. Doc. No. 57, dated February 7, 1863 for Burleigh's report of goods lost in the wreck.

³*ARCIA* 1861, p. 118.

returned from the hunt and ate it before it matured. A waste Burleigh called it, but the *Dakota* ate boiled corn soup and knew when the corn was tasty. *Yanktons* also called it "waste" (pronounced wash-tay), only the word meant good. Burleigh reported the Indians had enough corn "which, together with the amount of provision estimated for and purchased by me" would suffice. He added "*most of which unfortunately was lost* [emphasis mine], but [it] will, I think, carry them comfortably through the coming winter."⁴

When the money due for distribution failed to arrive on time, Burleigh called a council and informed the tribe that he could not make the payment. Within a few days discontent grew and he discovered "that a malign influence was at work upon the minds of the Indians."⁵ The upper bands, "a hundred and fifty warriors, painted, armed, and equipped in fighting style, came and surrounded the [agency] office and warehouse, bringing hay from the stacks and piling it against the buildings."⁶ The *Yankton* leaders "renewed their demand previously made for all of the powder in the magazine belonging to the whole tribe," but the crisis was resolved when troops from Fort Randall arrived.⁷ Burleigh failed to realize that *Yanktons* needed the powder for their annual fall hunt (he probably believed they would use the powder against him), but his disrespect for Indian lifestyles kept him at odds with tribal leaders not only on

⁴Ibid., 1861, p. 119. Fortunately for the tribe they could supplement their lost annuity goods from hunting expeditions west of the Missouri.

⁵Ibid., 1861, p. 120.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., p. 120, Burleigh did not hesitate to call on the army to help in the many difficulties he faced throughout his tenure.

this occasion but throughout his stay in Dakota Territory.

In another area Burleigh found a way to exploit Article 4 of the treaty, an authorization to expend "ten thousand dollars to build a school-house or schoolhouses, and to establish and maintain one or more normal-labor schools (so far as said sum will go) for the education and training of the children of said Indians in letters, agriculture, the mechanic arts, and housewifery, which school or schools shall be managed and conducted in such manner as the Secretary of the Interior shall direct."⁸ The agent reported that he built a school and Yanktons were receiving treaty benefits in accordance with the education provision. This report appears to be a fabrication. It was later established that the agent never actually built the school "although Burleigh had charged the government for a phantom school where phantom students ate 1,200 invisible meals."⁹ An ensuing investigation by special agent Alexander Johnston, found that Sarah D. and Henrietta Faulk, daughters of Andrew J. Faulk, employed as *Yankton* Agency trader, and Faulk's daughter Caroline, Walter

⁸11 Stat., 743, Article 4; it is not clear if Redfield expended this sum, as he mentioned in his report found in *ARCIA* 1859, p. 496, "The treaty provides for the erection of a school-house and the instruction of the Indian children in reading, &c. This will not be practicable until these wild wanderers become somewhat settled." Burleigh made no mention of the school's existence in his first report to the Commissioner.

⁹For quotation see Renee Sansom-Flood, *Remember*, Vol. 2, p. 8; proof of Burleigh's deceit can be detected in a letter found reprinted in Duratschek, *Crusading Along Sioux Trails*, p. 25, where *Struck By the Ree* and four of his headmen in an 1866 letter to Father DeSmet asked him to come among them and establish the school and provide teachers as promised in their 1858 treaty. They mentioned that "Dr. Burleigh had a school for his children," intimating that their's were not allowed to attend, contrary to Burleigh's official reports to the Indian Bureau; Burleigh's excuse, "owing to the absence of most of the Indians our school has not prospered as I could desire, nor can it prosper as long as the parents insist upon taking their children with them when they go out upon their customary hunting tours," *ARCIA* 1863, p. 156.

Burleigh's wife, were paid as teachers. Somehow tribesmen were kept from protesting until they wrote a letter in 1866 to Father DeSmet. *Struck By The Ree* and four of his headmen entreated the Black Robes to establish a school where their children could be educated as "Dr. Burleigh had a school [only] for his children."¹⁰ Burleigh had a school, but his family taught their own and agency employees's children. It was not integrated with *Yankton* children.

Amidst the turmoil caused by the wily new agent, *Struck By The Ree's* attention was diverted to a crisis building within intertribal politics. His peace-keeping resolve was sorely tested when Minnesota relatives rose up in protest against the fraudulent administration of their own reservation agents in what is now called the 1862 Minnesota Uprising. In order to counteract this danger, a militia was raised to protect the citizens of Dakota Territory for the duration of the Civil War.¹¹ With the removal of federal forces from Nebraska and Kansas, southern tribes began to poach on the northern herd of bison causing renewed raiding and depredations against the *Dakota*. During this turbulent period, the diplomatic powers of *Struck By The*

¹⁰For the investigation of Walter Burleigh see *ARCIA* 1866, pp. 180-185; Duratschek, *Crusading*, p. 25; *ARCIA* 1861, p. 121. To his credit, Burleigh employed a physician to alleviate the "suffering from chills and fever and almost every other form of disease which suffering humanity is heir to," but he also wrote that the "success in the treatment of their maladies has been surprising to the Indians, who already look upon him as the 'great white medicine man.'" See Sansom-Flood, *Remember*, Vol. 2, p. 8; Agent P. H. Conger's findings in 1865, *ARCIA* 1865, p. 215.

¹¹A. M. English, "Dakota's First Soldiers: History of the First Dakota Cavalry, 1862-1865," *SDHC* 9, pp. 240-335, for an overview of this period.

Ree proved equal to the tasks facing him.¹²

His first concern centered on adherence to tribal values, particularly those responsibilities revolving around aiding blood relatives. *Yanktons* had many relatives among the Minnesota tribes involved in the uprising. When leaders from the eastern *Dakota* tribes requested his support in their armed resistance they found sympathy from the *Yanktons*. To his credit, *Struck By The Ree* relied on the old tribal customs to resolve the tragedy. News of events in *Dakota* country was brought to him by runners and horseback through the communications network established between headman of the *Ocheti Sakowin*.¹³ After calling many councils, smoking the pipe, and listening to delegates from *Dakota* and *Lakota* leaders, *Struck By The Ree* kept his warriors home and fulfilled the peace provision of the treaty. *Padaniapapi* knew that he was bound by Article 11, which was quite clear in its direction:

They [the Yanctons] further pledge themselves not to engage in hostilities with any other tribe or nations, unless in self-defence, but to submit, through their agent, all matters of dispute and difficulty between themselves and other

¹²See Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux*, pp. 109-132, for details of the outbreak. See *Minnesota Executive Documents*, 1862, p. 444; see also Doane Robinson, "Ending the Outbreak," *SDHC* 9, pp. 409-485.

¹³*Yankton* Agent J. F. Kinney's summary report of August 20, 1888, stated "his influence was not confined to the Yankton branch of the Sioux, but extended among the Sioux everywhere. He was often consulted by other chiefs, through messengers sent a long distance to obtain his views on important matters," *ARCIA*, 1888, p. 69; also in 1865, Robinson, "Ending the Outbreak," *SDHC* 9, p. 447, mentions the peace commissioners couniled at the Yankton Sioux Agency with The Buck, Red Thunder, Medicine Bull, and with other chiefs of the Lower Brule bands; English, "Dakota's First Soldiers," *SDHC* 9, p. 251, where "the Santee Sioux from Minnesota had sent emissaries among the Yankton Indians and that they had agreed to join them in a war of extermination against the whites, if they would first capture Yankton [city]"; Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, Vol. 1, pp. 304-305, writes of a conspiracy of white men consisting of anti-war elements of the northern states, encouraged the *Isanti* to drive the non-Indians out now while the Civil War progressed, otherwise, when the war was won, Negroes would be given land in the northwest.

Indians for the decision of the President of the United States, and to acquiesce in and abide thereby. They also agree to deliver, to the proper officer of the United States all offenders against the treaties, laws, or regulations of the United States, and to assist in discovering, pursuing, and capturing all such offenders, who may be within the limits of their reservations, whenever required to do so by such officer.¹⁴

The chief's most pressing problem centered on his own reservation. With the untrained and undisciplined militia roaming at will throughout the territory, protecting the *Yanktons* from depredations became a critical issue.¹⁵ Soon after the militia was organized, an official delegation from refugee headquarters at Yankton City arrived at Greenwood Agency. *Struck By The Ree* informed officers Major W. P. Lyman, and First Lieutenant J. K. Fowler of Company A, and *Dakotan* newspaperman Joseph Frank, that *Yanktons* would observe the peace article of the treaty. However, in keeping with his cultural background that allowed free expression and dissent with the consensus, *Struck By The Ree* recognized that he could not impose total control over his people. As he was faithful in his dealings, *Struck By The Ree* informed the delegation "he would not be able to control the young men of the tribe, who were anxious for a fight, and were liable at any time to raid settlements under the leadership of some less peaceably disposed chief, of whom there were several in the

¹⁴11 Stat., 743, Article 11.

¹⁵For a look at the spreading hysteria surrounding the Outbreak in Minnesota and how it affected the Territorial Capital of Yankton, see front page story in *The Dakotian* of September 15, 1862, Microfilm Issues for Vol. 1, no. 13-19, ID Weeks Library, USD; for the call for volunteers to form the militia to protect Yankton City, see *ibid.*; also English, "Dakota's First Soldiers," *SDHC* 9, pp. 241-242, where the militia was raised to defend the territory, but with the outbreak in Minnesota the vagaries of war came closer to home.

tribe."¹⁶ Perhaps learning the consequences of the Minnesota incident caused by fraud and lack of food, Burleigh called upon Major Pattee from Fort Randall to dispatch a detachment of soldiers to the agency. The agent made cash payments on the 9th and 10th of October. After the money was issued, Burleigh handed out winter clothing. *The Dakotian* of October 14, 1862, noted that many citizens of the territorial capital and other places attended the event. Soon after receiving their goods and paying off their debts, the *Yanktons* left on their annual winter hunt.¹⁷

Agent Burleigh exploited the turmoil created by the civil war to his advantage. Tensions built as the *Yanktons* came under increasing pressure to aid their *Dakota* relatives who fled from Minnesota into Dakota Territory and Canada to escape prosecution for crimes many did not commit. Some of the refugees sought comfort with their west river *Lakota* relatives who, after learning first-hand that *Yanktons* would not join the uprising, became indignant although they did not join either. Burleigh reported that *Yanktons* received threats of "utter annihilation for refusing to

¹⁶English, "Dakota's First Soldiers," *SDHC* 9, p. 250; curiously, officials still had not overcome the Lewis and Clark mentality of believing in one supreme leader over all Indians even though they were constantly reminded. See for instance, Yankton agent Walter Burleigh's comments on *Struck By The Ree* and *Mad Bull's* efforts, "both of whom have been unremitting in their efforts to control not only the young men of their own tribe, but other tribes, from giving countenance to, or mixing with, the hostile tribes of the north," p. 380, *ARCI*, 1862, even though *Struck By The Ree* was on record as having little control over his younger men; Kingsbury in his *History of Dakota Territory*, Vol. 1, p. 312, where they "had been a wall of defense for the settlements of the territory against the hostile hordes of Little Crow during the absence of the troops on the expedition. Every art known to the hostiles was used to seduce the Yanktons from their allegiance and friendliness, but it availed nothing. 'Old Strike' was not to be deceived by the boasts which they made to him. . . ."

¹⁷English, "Dakota's First Soldiers," *SDHC* 9, pp. 240-335; for the cash payment story see the *Weekly Dakotian*, of October 12, 1862, also the *Weekly Dakotian*, of November 11, 1862.

join them. They declare that they will wipe out this agency."¹⁸ After hearing a report "of *Santees*, making six hundred warriors, with many captives, women and children, and large numbers of horses, oxen, cows, mules, wagons, and every other conceivable article and species of property, as having arrived at the Missouri river, from Minnesota, on the 18th of October [1862],"¹⁹ Burleigh constructed an octagonal, two story blockhouse on agency lands, and "mounted in it one 6-pound Dahlgren gun and two wrought iron 3-pound rifled guns."²⁰ In a combative letter posted from Fort Dole, Burleigh assumed a very militant attitude. Contemptuously, he told the commissioner that he wanted him to "try and get the President to allow me to make a little military reputation, [I am] the only Indian agent in this whole country who has stood his ground and not forsaken his post with his family."²¹ Burleigh promised that if given authority to form a military company he would fetch enough scalps to cover Pennsylvania Avenue from the president's house to the capitol building. He bragged that he had enlisted fifty-one *Yanktons* into a company of scouts to provide protection for the agency and white settlers along the Missouri's banks. Completely overlooked was his duty to protect the *Yanktons*, something that might be difficult to do if two thousand Indians could not fit into the small fort he had

¹⁸*ARCIA* 1862, p. 376, for Burleigh's letter from Fort Dole, Greenwood Agency, Dakota Territory dated November 17, 1862.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 376.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 1862, p. 382, he justified his building a fort without department permission and, more than likely with tribal money, by reporting that the chiefs and headmen, after initial skepticism, finally approved his course of action.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 376.

constructed.²²

The summer of 1862 held more difficulties for *Yankton* leaders. This time troubles came from the south side of the Missouri River. The *Dakota* often endured raids into their hunting lands and encroachments of tribes moving into the land on the southern borders.²³ The *Weekly Dakotian*, issued out of Yankton City, carried many news items throughout the summer of 1862, describing Indian raids and depredations, usually employing inflammatory language that further excited passions. One such story appeared on September 30, describing how "on Aoway Creek, Nebraska, a few days ago, several cattle were killed, and as many more driven off by Indians. It is not known to what tribe the marauders belong."²⁴ Yanktons ended up paying for all so-called depredations out of their treaty money.²⁵ Whether the "many small war parties from the hostile [Sioux] camps" were *Yanktons* or *Pawnee* is unknown.²⁶

²²*ARCIA* 1862, p. 376, for Burleigh's letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated November 17, 1862, postmarked Fort Dole, Greenwood, D. T.; see also Kingsbury, *History of Dakota*, Vol. 1, p. 254.

²³See for instance *ARCIA*, 1858, pp. 481-483, where the *Pawnee* were "driven untimely from their hunt," by the "Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Brules, and Ogalalabs, with, perhaps, a few of the Missouri Sioux," and were disheartened because "they had lost in battle many of their sages and warriors"; also DeLand, "Fort Tecumseh," *SDHC* 9, pp. 109 (1830), 132 (1830), 137 (1830), 144 (1830), 165 (1833), 179 (1843), 182-183 (1844), 186 (1834, Bercier), 188 (1842), for references to raids by *Sioux* upon *Pawnee*, *Ponca*, and other tribes along their southern border; Theophile Bruguier escaped from a *Pawnee* ambush during one of his trading excursions. See Marks, "Theophile Brughier [sic]," *SDHC* 4, pp. 265-266.

²⁴*Weekly Dakotian*, issues of August 1, 1862.

²⁵*ARCIA* 1859, p. 119. Redfield, after hearing that members of *Mad Bull's* band were accused of having "killed and eaten" some cattle belonging to settlers near the Vermillion River, took "the responsibility to retain from their money an amount sufficient, in my opinion, to compensate for the damage done."

²⁶*ARCIA* 1863, p. 158.

Agent Walter Burleigh reported that in fall 1862, the *Yanktons*, to avoid contact with the hostile Indians in the north, crossed over the Missouri to hunt on the south side of that river. Were *Yanktons* also raiding south or joining with their *Sicangu* and *Oglala* relatives when they went west on their annual hunts to commit depredations on the *Pawnee*? One treaty never mentioned in accounts of this period, reveals an important act between the *Yankton* and *Pawnee* tribes. Although the meeting was arranged by "their White Father, J. B. Hoffman U. S. Agent" for the *Poncas*, it showed a traditional diplomacy modified by methods adapted from the white culture. Headmen of the *Yankton* and *Pawnee* gathered in council on the *Ponca* reservation, a neutral site, located along Nebraska's Niobrara River in January 1863, to sign "A Treaty for the Establishment of Peace and restoration of Friendship."²⁷ The treaty called for an end to the hostilities that caused "great injury and loss of life." The headmen agreed to forgive and forget all the injuries and animosities and live in peace. To the newspaper's credit, the Treaty between the *Yankton* and *Pawnee* was printed in *The Weekly Dakotian's* February 3, 1863 issue. Several months after the signing, members of the *Ponca* and *Yankton* tribes transported "several hundred bushels of corn from the Pawnee reservation."²⁸ After receiving their annuity goods in the

²⁷ARCIA 1861, p. 382; *A Treaty, for the Establishment of Peace and restoration of Friendship, made and concluded in Grand Council at the Ponca Village on the Poncas Reservation in the Territory of Dakota, on the 23d day of January A.D. 1863, . . .*, RG 75, Ponca Folder, 1860-1872, Federal Records Center, Kansas City, Missouri (FRC, KSC hereafter). Signing for the *Pawnee* were Crooked Hand, One Strikes First, Holds the Enemy Fast, Leads in War, The Sentinel, and White Feather. For the *Yankton*, One Strikes the Ree, Feather in the Ear, The Pretty Boy, Mad Bull, Black Horse, and Sailing Hawk; Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, Vol. 1, pp. 285-286, makes note of the treaty-making, calling it a "treaty unique in the annals of statecraft as practiced by the Indian tribes. . . ."

²⁸ARCIA 1864, p. 261.

summer of 1863, "Yanctons left for their hunting grounds, taking the Niobrara, or running water, in the direction of the sand hills on the headwaters of that river."²⁹

The summer of 1863, brought more changes to the people living along the Missouri River. Thirty-eight *Isanti* men judged guilty of murder were hanged in Mankato, Minnesota, on December 26, 1862. Citizens of the state demanded all Indians be removed from "their" lands. In May of 1863, the remnants of the four *Isanti* tribes, along with *Winnebagos* from their Minnesota and Wisconsin homelands, were exiled on land located near Crow Creek.³⁰ This agency was situated a little over one-hundred miles upriver from the Yankton Agency; but, with more people moving onto the land, food sources were diminished. The three upper bands of *Ihanktonwans* led by *White Swan*, *Medicine Cow*, and *Pretty Boy* were most affected. Their hunting grounds, though outside the bounds of the reservation, were severely limited by this intrusion. The added population pressure, combined with the insufficient supply of food issued by government, led to near starvation for all the removed and permanent occupants of eastern Dakota Territory. Compounding the predicament were the intertribal tensions between the upper and lower bands of the *Yankton* nation. The upper bands felt victimized. They complained that *Struck By The Ree* and his four lower bands received closer attention from the agent than they did. In Burleigh's 1861 report he recognized the near exclusion of the upper bands from participating in agency activities and resolved to build homes for the headmen,

²⁹ARCIA 1863, p. 156.

³⁰English, "Dakota's First Soldiers," *SDHC* 9, p. 264; also Frederick T. Wilson, "Fort Pierre and Its Neighbors," *SDHC* 1, p. 309; and Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux*, pp. 125-147, for the trials, hanging, and debate centered on the disposition of Indians living in Minnesota.

cultivate the ground, and furnish seed for planting the following summer. Perhaps this was intended to forestall the upper bands from joining the northern Indians. At the same time, non-Indians moving downriver reported that Indians on the Upper Missouri were banding together, threatening to close down river traffic, and enforcing the ban on further settlement. Sensing trouble, authorities began a troop buildup at Fort Randall.³¹

In the hysteria of yet another suspected Indian uprising, an accident occurred. Eight innocent tribal members were brutally murdered by Dakota A Cavalry, but in the rush of ongoing events nothing ever came of it. After these killings near the mouth of the *Keya Paha Wakpa* in 1863, *Struck By The Ree* and his followers stood by as the Dakota A troops were garrisoned on reservation land. The occupation came in October of 1863, when the company was ordered into winter quarters at Fort Randall. Upon arrival the command was transferred onto the reservation at "what the Indians call Black timber, a grove of oaks near Seven Mile Creek where there was a fine spring."³² Details were formed to modify the old Sioux City to Fort Randall military road above Seven Mile Creek by cutting away the chalkstone bluffs far enough to make room so wagons could squeeze through, saving four miles of travel over the road built on the bluff tops. After this task was completed, the company split into detachments, "one being stationed at Yankton agency under Lieut[enant] Bacon, one at White Swan, under this writer [A. M. English] and a third at the ranch of Felica Fallas on Pratt Creek at the old government crossing under Sergeant B. F.

³¹ARCIA 1862, p. 381.

³²English, "Dakota's First Soldiers," *SDHC* 9, pp. 265-270.

Estes."³³ The company engaged in building quarters and stables for their horses so they could perform escort duty and carry mail and military dispatches. Idle soldiers rode their horses freely across the reservation as did some of the "great number of immigrants who now pass up the Missouri river in quest of the new gold fields."³⁴

These intruders destroyed another tribal custom. Members of the tribe who died were honored by ceremonies in which their earthly goods were given away to the people. When this was completed, the bodies were placed on scaffolds on hilltops overlooking the river. Relatives placed the deceased's favorite articles either on the body or underneath the platform. It became a favored activity of non-Indians to steal items from the scaffolds. Once the *Yanktons* saw the depredations committed against their dead, they were forced to modify burial customs from scaffolds to burial in the ground.³⁵

In 1864, Burleigh convinced General Alfred Sully to enlist *Yankton* Scouts into active duty to serve the United States against their Minnesota relatives in the uprising.

³³Ibid., p. 269, calling the shortened route the dugway or bluff road from Fort Randall to Yankton Agency.

³⁴William Jayne, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Dakota Territory, *ARCIA*, 1862, p. 177; not to be overlooked are the expeditions commanded by General Alfred Sully which travelled through the agency in 1863 and 1864 to prosecute the war against *Isanti* who fled from Minnesota. See Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux*, pp. 133-136.

³⁵Sansom-Flood, *Lessons*, pp. 36, 75-76; see also A. B. Greenwood's comments in *ARCIA* 1859, p. 385, where the Sioux are "subjected by the increasing difficulty of procuring subsistence, and the provocations given them by lawless persons passing through their country"; Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, Vol. 1, p. 142, writes "a number of aged squaws went up the hill to the vicinity of Dr. Joel A. Potter's residence [1915], where two celebrated braves had been laid away on scaffolds in the Indian fashion of disposing of their dead, where they indulged in some peculiar ceremonies of a mournful description and then buried the remains in the earth"; this is one of the first accounts of *Yanktons* burying their dead.

The *Yanktons* were charged with containing the fleeing *Isanti* of *Inkpaduta*'s people, the same tribe victimized in 1862, by Thomas J. Galbraith, their equally unscrupulous agent. Sully issued orders for equipping the scouts and wrote out their mission. The scouts were ordered to "burn down the dirtlodges situated on the James River, 20 miles below the Snake River, and draw out the small bands of Santee Siouxs [sic] in that locality."³⁶ *Yankton* scouts were successful in this mission, reporting that they "spent several weeks scouting the valley of the Jim River, met and drove back a large number of raiding parties, [and] burned and destroyed the village called the 'Dirt Lodges.'"³⁷ Evidently receiving news of combat where they were needed, the warriors reported they "went some distance north of Aberdeen, where we run [sic] in with Gen. Sibley's scouts, who were besieged by the hostiles, and delivered them, driving back the hostiles. On this campaign we took 1 prisoner at one place, 1 at another, and 7 at another, whom we brought and delivered to the commandant at Fort Randall."³⁸ *Yanktons* acknowledged fighting against members of their own tribal nation but believed that what they accomplished was the right thing for them to do, as indeed it was their duty according to the Treaty of 1858.

From a United States standpoint, the *Yanktons* were highly successful in their military endeavors and were recognized by territorial leaders. Governor Newton Edmunds praised their campaign, adding that "our settlers, since this arrangement was

³⁶*Senate Report* No. 302, 52d Congress, 1st Session, March 2, 1892, p. 3, Special Order No. 31: IV. See also *ARCI* 1864, p. 284 for Burleigh's report; and Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, Vol. 1, pp. 306-307.

³⁷*Senate Report*, No. 302, p. 4.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 4.

consummated, have met with no losses from roving bands of hostile Indians."³⁹

Burleigh commented favorably on the "acts of friendship and good faith which these faithful friends of the Government have rendered in protecting our frontiers from the tomahawk and scalping-knife."⁴⁰ Overlooked in the tension of the campaign was the fact that the *Yankton* Scouts still had not been paid. Though they were furnished with clothing, rations, and uniforms, they provided their own mounts in executing military activities. It took nearly twenty-eight years to receive their pay and then only after they agreed to give up more of their land.⁴¹

During the confusion engendered by the Minnesota Uprising, a crime occurred in northeastern Nebraska that remains unresolved to this day. *Yanktons* were blamed for the deaths of five children belonging to Phoebe and Henson Wiseman, farmers who lived on the Missouri River near St. James, Nebraska, on July 25, 1863. It occurred while Henson was absent from home, serving as a soldier in the 2d Nebraska Cavalry based at Crow Creek Agency in General Alfred Sully's campaigns against the Sioux. Mrs. Wiseman left her children at home while she walked to

³⁹Ibid., p. 3.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 3-4.

⁴¹The scouts agreed to nine months service for \$300 as compensation, they were paid \$75 in 1871, and the balance was disbursed (after the reservation was allotted and the remainder declared surplus land) by authority of the Agreement of 1892, 28 Stat., 314, Article XV, where "The claim of fifty-one Yankton Sioux Indians, who were employed as scouts by General Alf. Sully in 1864, for additional compensation at the rate of two hundred and twenty-five dollars (\$225) each, aggregating the sum of eleven thousand four hundred and seventy-five dollars (\$11,475) is hereby recognized as just, and within ninety days (90) after the ratification of this agreement by Congress the same shall be paid in lawful money of the United States to the said scouts or to their heirs." Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. 1, pp. 526-527; only fourteen of the original scouts lived to collect their pay. See Sansom-Flood, *Lessons*, pp. 72-75.

Yankton City to get supplies. When she returned she found a tragedy beyond belief. All five of her children were brutally murdered. Doane Robinson states that the killings "were perpetrated by young Indians of the bands of White Lodge, and Inkpaduta under the leadership of a son of Inkpaduta. I have this from Indians and confirmed by Joseph LaFramboise."⁴² When news of the incident reached Lieutenant Colonel John Pattee at Fort Randall, he dispatched a thirty man detachment of Company A, Dakota Cavalry under Captain Tripp to pursue the band, but they failed to find the murderers and returned to post when the trail was lost at Skunk Lake, north of Sioux Falls.

The *Yankton* scouts left descriptions of the various missions they conducted. Based out of Fort Randall, their operations were extensive. They ranged from the headwaters of the James River, down to the confluence with the Missouri and courier duty to the Black Hills. In one dispatch scouts reported they "met a party of hostiles

⁴²Quoted in English, "Dakota's First Soldiers," *SDHC* 9, p. 268, n. 87., also n. 88 where Robinson reports "There is not much to confirm the statement long current that Wiseman spent the remainder of his life as a nemesis upon the trail of the Sioux. He stoutly denied the accusation"; Sansom-Flood, *Lessons*, pp. 67-70, writes "Legends surrounding the Wiseman massacre tell of Henson Wiseman killing every lone Indian he saw for years afterward," after an interview with Wiseman's daughter who said he killed Indians whenever he saw them, "Do you blame him?", she asked. John Pattee, "Dakota Campaigns," *SDHC*, 5, pp. 273-350, notes five children died. Pattee was a Lieutenant Colonel, commanding the 7th Iowa Cavalry, stationed out of Fort Randall during the uprising; Foster, "Outlines of History," *SDHC* 14, pp. 71-251, mentions five children, pp. 86-87; Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, Vol. 1, pp. 305-306, reports essentially the same details but with the addition that, "Indians were supposed to be one of Little Crow's marauding bands that had been sent down to harass the settlements and thus detain the troops that were marching up the river under General Sully to co-operate with General Sibley."

who had murdered a family in Nebraska. We killed 2 of them and took 3 prisoners."⁴³ Burleigh mentioned the incident also in his 1864 report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, stating that the scouting party "overtook a war party on their way down the Vermillion [River], arrested the ringleaders" and meted out justice on the spot. "Before their execution two of them confessed to having killed 10 white persons in the Minnesota massacre and 5 children in one family in Nebraska the last year [1863]."⁴⁴ To the detriment of the *Yankton* tribe, descendants and well-wishers of the Wiseman family in the 1920s erected a large stone memorial commemorating the tragedy alongside the road skirting the old homestead. Chiseled on the stone are the children's names and a message stating that they were murdered by *Yanktons*. This monument still stands today and as many as fifteen tourists stop at

⁴³*Senate Report* No. 302, 52d Congress, 1st Session, March 2, 1892, p. 4., Statement of the Services Performed by the Yankton Indian Scouts, as Written by Rev. J. P. Williamson, Yankton Agency, S. Dak., August 20, 1890. The dates are mixed up, probably from typographical errors. It appears the scouts were employed in June of 1863 by General Sully to form a scouting patrol along the Big Sioux and Missouri River to contain the remnants of Eastern *Dakota* who were detained at Crow Creek Agency, D. T.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 3; see also Foster, "Outlines of History," *SDHC* 14, pp. 86-87; Burleigh in a letter to Governor N. Edmunds, dated August 3, 1864, reports *Yanktons* returning from a patrol to the Red Pipe Stone Quarry, with A. C. Gregory, interpreter, intercepted the responsible hostiles and killed them. See Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, Vol. 1, pp. 307-308; later that summer of 1863, "the stage was attacked at Choteau [sic] Creek, and Sergeant Trask Killed. The Driver and a little son of Mr. T[heophile]. Bruguier, of Sioux City, escaped," *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88; also English, "Dakota's First Soldiers," *SDHC* 9, p. 268. Sergeant Trask of the Iowa Fourteenth Infantry, while enroute by stage from Ft. Randall to Sioux City, "was attacked near the old Taket [sic] station, on Choteau [sic] creek, by Indians who laid in the grass near the road. Trask was killed at once, the driver escaped unarmed, as did also John Bruiguier [sic] a half breed son of Theophilus [sic] Bruguier, who lived on the Iowa side of the Big Sioux river near Sioux City. The Indians mounted the stage horses and escaped [no mention made of their stealing money or mail, horses were still more valuable than money to the Indians]."

the site each day to deplore the senseless acts of terrorism blamed unjustly on *Yanktons*. What must they think of the *Yankton Dakota* who live less than one hundred miles away?⁴⁵

The summer of 1864 was not a total loss as *Yanktons* were delighted to host Father Pierre-Jean De Smet in May for a short visit. As with all his kindnesses to Indians he went ashore and visited a poor woman who was ill. Continuing the journey upriver, he baptized a family at Fort Randall and departed for Fort Sully where he was greeted by an Indian assemblage which contained a large contingent of *Yanktons*.⁴⁶ The Jesuit Father, always acutely observant, noted that the Indian gathering "always behaves in the most respectful manner" to listen and observe. After completing baptismal services and distributing medals of the Holy Virgin, he was approached by *Struck By The Ree* who "begged me most earnestly to obtain them an establishment for the instruction of their children."⁴⁷ Rather than make any promises which he knew he could not keep, Father De Smet told the Chief about all the problems surrounding the government as it engaged in its war, but to continue praying. Obviously impressed about the long distance travelled by the *Ihanktonwan* to meet with him, he noted in his papers how the *Dakota* were "here to-day and somewhere else to-morrow. . . . The Indian has the gift of being everywhere without being anywhere."⁴⁸

⁴⁵See Leonard R. Bruguier letter to Governor and Attorney General of Nebraska, and Director, Nebraska State Historical Society, dated February, 28, 1993.

⁴⁶Thwaites, ed., *Life, Letters and Travels*, Vol. 3, p. 826.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 826.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 827.

Many of these incidents, including Walter Burleigh's dishonesty, are still remembered and his actions on behalf of the tribe are reviled because he epitomized the worst that the United States government provided for Indians. Burleigh's misdeeds caught Howard Lamar's attention as he wrote of him: "an investigator sent to observe Burleigh's conduct while the latter was agent to the Yankton Indians . . . was so impressed with the payroll padding, graft, and nepotism practiced by this able, jovial doctor who was also a lawyer that his report was written in a tone that sounded less like condemnation than respectful awe. Indeed, the investigator noted, it took a superior imagination to be able to perpetuate so many frauds at one time."⁴⁹ Throughout his tenure as agent, Burleigh found avenues to increase his personal fortune which he used to further a political career. With Burleigh's imaginative bookkeeping methods (he cleared his books of inventory every quarter), and certified on his honor that all agency materials were turned over to the tribe, he set a precedent that *Yanktons* found hard to change. In effect, the government's obligations started over every three months without any form of continuity. With this method, the agent exploited all Indians money for personal enrichment.⁵⁰

Particularly galling to *Yankton* people was Burleigh's lack of compassion. His

⁴⁹Sansom-Flood, *Remember*, Vol. 2, p. 8, and *Lessons*, pp. 77-82 for the legacy of corruption and how it affected the future of the *Ihanktonwan Dakota*; see also *Padaniapapi's* testimony given at Yankton Agency, August 1865 to A. W. Hubbard from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Office, Senate Report No. 156, 39th Congress, 2d Session, pp. 366-372; for an excellent overview of Burleigh's mismanagement, see Foley and Champe, *Historical Analysis*, pp. 36-124; the quotation appears in Lamar, *Dakota Territory*, p. 109; George H. Phillips, "The Indian Ring in Dakota Territory, 1870-1890," *SDH 2* (Fall 1972): 345-376, outlines the general mismanagement of Indian funds by government officials.

⁵⁰See Special United States Agent Alexander Johnston's report in *ARCIA* 1866, pp. 180-185, Report no. 67, dated July 16, 1866.

constant absences from the reservation were disconcerting, whether he visited back east or travelled up and down the river advancing his own political career. When tribal concerns or business needed to be conducted, tribal members had to deal with Burleigh's appointees who lacked decision-making power. The agent's constant abuses of trust are legendary and need not be reiterated; however, his thievery at the agency also implicated those people who illegally received goods that they knew belonged to the *Yanktons*.⁵¹

When the territory was struck by drought in 1863 and a grasshopper plague in 1864, no money remained to provide for emergency rations. Walter Burleigh could only ask the federal government for help although the 1858 Treaty, if properly executed, should have made the *Yanktons* nearly self-sufficient. As Norman Thomas remarks on government and the settlers moving into the territory, people were well aware of how Indian agents pilfered Indian annuities. In Burleigh's case this was compounded by the fact that he was trained as a doctor but did not administer to the Indians. Yet, Burleigh was well-known and highly thought of by many of the settlers in the territory. He gave his medical services free to those who were in a position to further his aims, never refusing "to lend his professional services in case of emergency" at no charge. George Kingsbury, Burleigh's contemporary wrote "it was said of him that he had, in many instances, aided in starting a bare-handed pioneer to

⁵¹J. F. Kinney, in *ARCIA* 1888, p. 68, remarks "It is still fresh in the minds of the Indians that their annuities in money and good in their early settlement were appropriated for individual enterprises and private purposes by those who were under the highest moral and legal obligation to be honest in the disbursement of these funds."

get his cabin up, a few acres broke, and a cow or two."⁵² While the territory benefitted from attracting new citizens, in part at the expense of the *Yanktons*, those people, Indian and non-Indian who knew such abuses were occurring but failed to make an attempt to halt them, were just as guilty as Agent Burleigh. Without government subsidies for the Indian agencies, territorial offices, and military payrolls the fledgling Territory of Dakota faced an uncertain future.⁵³

Patrick H. Conger, Walter Burleigh's successor, was assigned to the agency in May, 1865 and the glowing reports the outgoing agent had submitted during his tenure were revealed for their cruel deceit. The new agent found the agency completely dilapidated and the *Yankton Dakota* dressed in rags. Newton Edmunds, serving as a member for the Commission to Treat with Sioux of the Upper Missouri, wrote the report of his findings on October 28, 1865. At the *Yankton* Agency, he and his fellow commission members were astonished that instead of finding the tribe "in a thriving and prosperous condition, as was to be expected after the expenditure of

⁵²Quoted from Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, Vol. 1, pp. 314-315; Thomas, "John Blair Smith Todd," *SDHC* 24, pp. 207, commented on Burleigh, "like most Indian agents of that day he was none too careful about how he took care of the annuity goods. The cattle which were to be delivered to the Indians were driven from Sioux City to the Yankton Agency but they were usually left at the Springfield farm [Burleigh's] until they had dropped a calf or two which then belonged to Burleigh," p. 210, during the drought of 1864, Burleigh gave the suffering settlers "500 barrels of flour and 1000 sheep [probably belonging to the *Yanktons* who did starve]"; *ARCIA* 1861, p. 121. Burleigh hired a physician to treat the Indians; *ARCIA* 1862, p. 383, Burleigh hired Dr. Barrett to treat the Indians at the agency.

⁵³See Commissioner of Indian Affairs D. N. Cooley report, *ARCIA* 1865, p. 26. Cooley wrote, ". . .that the annuities of the tribe are sufficient, under proper management, to place these Indians in a much better condition, and they ought to be at least as well provided with the comforts of life as the neighboring tribes of Nebraska, the superintendent and agent are doing everything in their power to accomplish this end"; Lamar, *Dakota Territory*, pp. 98-99.

large sums of money, ostensibly for farming and school purposes, as stipulated" they found only a "few miserable huts, a saw-mill, and a small amount of land enclosed, there are few vestiges of improvement."⁵⁴

In the same 1865 *Annual Report*, the Indian commissioner began an overhaul of departmental regulations, reiterating those that had been abused by agents, and publishing new regulations to stop future misapplications of Indian funds. Buried in the report are encouraging words about Indians continuing to help each other. When the *Ponca* Indians found their *Yankton* neighbors across the Missouri River suffering from lack of food, the *Ponca* agent reported that they "were generously supplying their neighbors (the Yanktons) with from fifty to seventy-five bushels of corn per day, out of their abundance."⁵⁵ While the government was preoccupied with the Civil War, intertribal generosity sustained the *Yankton Dakota*.

President Abraham Lincoln was not remembered kindly in *Yankton* oral tradition, although had he lived, he might have revamped the Bureau of Indian Affairs and caught the transgressions of the wily Walter Burleigh.

⁵⁴*ARCIA* 1865, pp. 540-541. "No crops met the eye, nor is there the semblance of a schoolhouse, although quite a large sum is understood to have been devoted to that special object. The consequence of this mal-administration of their affairs heretofore is, that they are reduced to the necessity of hunting for a subsistence," exactly the opposite of the desired move to civilization.

⁵⁵*ARCIA* 1865, pp. 26, 188.

CHAPTER IX
MILITARY AGENTS, MISSIONARIES AND EDUCATION,
1865-1888

Less than a decade after *Yanktons* moved permanently onto their reservation, Minnesota citizens, railroad companies, and government authorities threatened the sacred integrity of the Red Pipestone Quarry. Although *Ihanktonwan* leaders wrote letters to Congress and missionaries asking for schools, their requests were ignored even as funds allocated for this purpose were misappropriated by their agents. President Ulyssess S. Grant's efforts to alleviate corruption in the Indian Service did not change the pattern of fraud established by the first three *Yankton* agents. In Dakota Territory, increased demands for the rich Missouri River valley lands led to an early attempt to allot the *Yanktons*. These were some of the complex transformations the *Ihanktonwan Dakota* faced after they were confined to their reservation.¹

The conclusion of the Civil War and the inauguration of a new agent's administration did not brighten prospects for the *Yanktons*. Agents Andrew Redfield and Walter Burleigh's terms of office set precedents for those men who followed.

¹Numerous books outlining the allotment act are published. See Prucha, *The Great Father*, Vol. 2, pp. 659-673, for an excellent overview; from the Bureau of Indian Affairs perspective, Tyler, *A History of Indian Policy*, pp. 95-124; Janet A. McDonnell, *The Dispossession of the American Indian, 1887-1934* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991), addresses implementation.

Nepotism, though hardly new in the Indian service, achieved even greater excesses on the Indian reservations. Agents brought their extended families and employed them in agency positions. Walter Burleigh profitted hugely from this position as he employed his father-in-law as post trader for a time. Each new agent started anew when he inherited dilapidated buildings, poor conditions for farming, and a disconcerted tribe of Indians who became increasingly bewildered by the hapless execution of treaty provisions. While reconstruction of the South was argued in the halls of Congress, the *Yankton* tribe protested the shabby treatment they had received during the six years of reservation living. Increased pressure from the agriculture and mining frontier brought problems for their western relatives and it is certain many *Yanktons* either wanted to leave to help them or actually did move. *Struck By The Ree's* leadership took on renewed importance as he fought for his people's treaty rights, while pulled by the cultural ties that demanded he help relatives in the western portion of the Great Sioux Nation.

Both the territorial and national government focused the majority of their attention in Dakota Territory on the *Lakota* living west of the Missouri River. In the spring of 1867, an effort was made to consolidate several of the Indian tribes in Dakota Territory. Summoned to the capital by the Indian Commissioner, *Struck By The Ree*, along with Territorial Governor Andrew J. Faulk, Walter Burleigh's father-in-law, Indian agents, and fifteen representatives from each of the tribes.² The leaders were away from the frontier for several months, visiting a number of cities in the East, including New York. The only untoward occurrence was the "accidental"

²James S. Foster, "Outlines of the Territory of Dakota," *SDHC* 14, pp. 71-180.

death of one of the Indians in Washington where he was found hanging from a lamp post one morning.³ The hanging symbolizes the government's attitude toward the Indian, especially the *Yanktons* who were confined to their reservation, still waiting to reap the benefits of their treaty. While on the trip *Struck By The Ree* met his friend Father Pierre-Jean De Smet in Sioux City and invited him to visit the reservation. The delegation and *Padaniapapi* sailed upriver on the steamer *Guidon*. Upon arrival at the agency landing, Father De Smet noted that "the head chief, Pananniapapi, and his traveling companions were received with open arms by their families and friends after three months of absence. I too shared, in my capacity of Black-robe, in their friendly demonstrations. They were all delighted to see us again in such good health."⁴

The *Ihanktonwan* still had no school on their reservation. While Redfield delayed the implementation of Article 4. of the 1858 treaty which directed that schools be established, and Walter Burleigh equivocated on the provision, new *Yankton* Agent Patrick Conger began the education of his charges. His fitful efforts were hampered by the absence of a building for the students, even though funds had previously been allocated for construction on the reservation. However, Conger reported that in the summers of 1866 and 1867, his wife Mary taught classes. He found the Indians eager to learn, "clearly demonstrating the fact that their race is

³Ibid., p. 102; *ARCIA*, 1867, pp. 242-243, *Black Eagle*, a *Yankton*, gave the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, N. G. Taylor, a pipe when he was on this 1867 Washington trip.

⁴Thwaites, ed., *Life, Letters and Travels*, Vol. 3, p. 865-867.

capable of advancement and civilization."⁵ Perhaps his efforts were spurred by the visit of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet in July, 1866, when he stopped at the *Yankton* reservation to renew his friendship with *Struck By The Ree* and speak to old acquaintances.

The *Yanktons* were first exposed to the Catholic religion by the visits of Father De Smet in 1839, who stopped among them on his trips up and down the Missouri River to visit and minister to his flock near the Rocky Mountains. He never stayed with the *Dakota* permanently; instead, in his travels he stopped at places on the Missouri River wherever men and women professed the Catholic faith to minister their needs. Father De Smet formed a friendship with *Padaniapapi* in 1844 and the head chief was given a medal of Saint Mary which he always wore. In 1866, the *Yankton* chief, along with his headmen *Little Swan*, *Feather in the Ear* (Feather Necklace), *Medicine Cow*, and *Jumping Thunder* prevailed on J. B. Chardon to write a letter to Father De Smet.⁶ After recounting their meeting with the priest in Washington during the winter of 1858-59, when they were in the city negotiating the treaty, they informed De Smet of their problem. Since that time seven years past, the promise of the Great Father to provide a school and teachers for their tribe remained unfulfilled. While Dr. Burleigh had a school for his own children, their only choice rested with another teacher who wanted to teach them the Santee language, but

⁵11 Stat., 743, Article 4.; *ARCIA*, 1868, p. 229.

⁶M. Serena Zens, OSB, "The Educational Work of the Catholic Church Among the Indians of South Dakota from the Beginning to 1935," *SDHC* 20, pp. 299-356. There is a long argument between the Catholic and Presbyterian Churches about which faith Chief *Struck By The Ree* preferred, he wore a Catholic crucifix, attended the Presbyterian Church, and is buried in their church cemetery.

Yanktons did not want either one of them. Instead *Struck By The Ree* asked De Smet to come out and teach them.⁷ Nothing came of this request because the Catholic Church, by government edict, was excluded in the division of Indian reservation to various denominations in Dakota Territory.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions ignored their request and assigned Presbyterian missionary Dr. John P. Williamson to the reservation. He opened a day school at the agency. The minister first met stern opposition and when he appeared uninvited on *Yankton* lands, tribal leaders who did not want the Christians among them voted to send him off the reservation. *Struck By The Ree* overruled their decision and decided to give the missionary one chance. Williamson met *Struck By The Ree's* approval and they became fast friends, cooperating and working together for many years. By the fall of 1870, Williamson operated two day schools with eighty-three pupils. There is an old story told by those unfamiliar with *Struck By The Ree's* position regarding the education of his people. In the telling, the old traditional bunch resisted the agent's efforts to establish schools for their children, which upon reflection probably fit right in with the agent's plans. If they did not have to pay teachers because the schools were unwanted, they surely could find some place else to stick the money. Supposedly, when *Struck By The Ree* was read the provisions of the 1858 treaty that applied to education, he suddenly had

⁷The literature on Catholic efforts on the upper Missouri River is full, see for instance Chittenden and Richardson, eds. *Life, Letters and Travels*, 4 vols.; E. Lavielle, *The Life of Father DeSmet*, trans. by Marion Lindsay (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1915); Georgia Larkin, *Chief Blue Cloud: Biography of the Yankton Sioux Chief* (Marvin, SD: Blue Cloud Abbey, 1964); Duratschek, *Crusading Along Sioux Trails*, pp. 39-59, focusing on early missionary efforts which include the *Yanktons*.

a change of heart, hitched up his team "and drove all over the agency compelling the people to send in all their children to school, and the institution was soon filled to overflowing."⁸ Anecdotes make legends and this is one of many attributed to *Padaniapapi*. He and Williamson got along well and though *Struck By The Ree* reportedly had a soft spot in his heart for the blackrobes, he occupied the place of honor in Williamson's Presbyterian Church. At the main entrance facing east, the left side was kept for the *Itanchan*. Services did not start until he came, sat in the Bishop's chair, and knocked on the floor with his cane as a signal to begin. Until Williamson passed away in 1917, he repaid the tribe with over forty years of good deeds as an interpreter and letter writer for *Padaniapapi* and any member of the tribe who needed help. But Williamson remained a consistent advocate for the adoption and practice of Christian ways which led to the devastation of tribal culture and religion.⁹

Much visiting occurred between *Yanktons* and their *Isanti* relatives when they were relocated to the Crow Creek Reservation in 1863 and continued when they were moved to their newly established *Santee* reservation in Nebraska, just a few miles downriver from the *Yankton* reservation on the south side of the Missouri River. During these visits they met the Episcopalians (white robes), and petitioned their leaders to invite them onto the reservation. Of particular influence in this endeavor was Frank Vassar and Frank Deloria, two *Yankton* men who visited Santee often and

⁸Barton, *John P. Williamson*, pp. 125-127; Charles L. Green, "The Indian Reservation System of the Dakotas to 1889," *SDHC* 14, p. 407; Zens, "Catholic Educational Work," *SDHC* 20, p. 305.

⁹Charles L. Green, "The Indian Reservation System," *SDHC* 14, pp. 307-416; Barton, *John P. Williamson*, pp. 152, 181-83.

spoke at length with Dr. Samuel D. Hinman, Episcopal minister to the *Mdewankanton*. Ever responsive to any Indian's request for enlightenment, Dr. Hinman assigned missionary Reverend Paul *Mazakute* to serve the *Ihanktonwan*. *Mazakute* (Iron Shooter), a *Mdewankanton* Indian who worked at the *Yankton* Agency sawmill in the winter of 1863-64, was familiar with the *Yankton's* search for a balance between Christianity and traditional practices. Earlier, he had conducted services as a catechist while he worked as a sawyer. *Mazakute* came across the Missouri River and held his first services in the tribal council room on November 14, 1869.¹⁰ Construction work began on Holy Name Church and school at Chouteau Creek with help from non-Indian William Cox. Shortly before Christmas of that year, Reverend Hinman brought visiting priest Joseph C. Cook to the agency during "ration Day," a time when *Yankton* headmen and their people gathered at the agency. Reverend Cook, well aware of the tensions between traditional religious practices and the non-Indian ways, perceived his opportunity to lead the *Yanktons* in the Episcopalian doctrine and in May 1870, he moved permanently onto agency land at Greenwood. Father Cook supervised the construction of Holy Fellowship Church and another school as his first mission (see Figure 8.). Cook, assisted by Mr. Hemans, Walter S. Hall, and John B. Chapman, taught a school population varying from one

¹⁰K. Brent Woodruff, "The Episcopal Mission to the Dakotas, 1860-1898," *SDHC* 17, p. 562; Sneve, *That They May Have Life*, pp. 33-36; Episcopal faith remained strong among *Yanktons* through generations, for an unique interpretation see Wesley R. Hurt, "The Yankton Dakota Church: A Nationalistic Movement of Northern Plains Indians," in Gertrude E. Dole, and Robert L. Carneiro, eds., *Essays in the Science of Culture* (New York, NY: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1960), pp. 269-287.

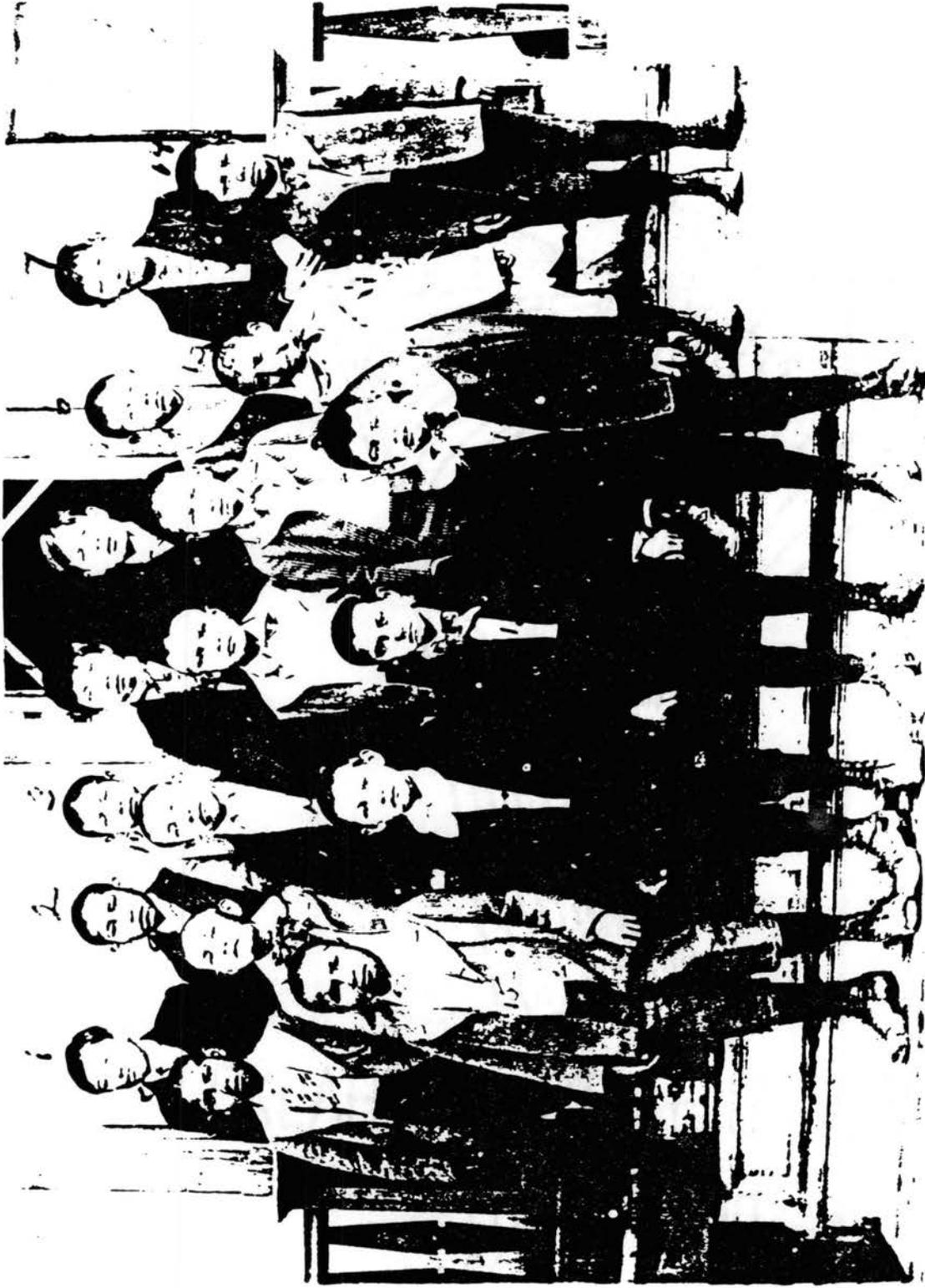


Figure 7. Government Boarding School Boys

hundred twenty-five to one hundred and forty students.¹¹

Both denominational schools taught reading and writing lessons in *Dakota*. Surprisingly, this was in violation of Article 4., of the 1858 Treaty which directed that all "instructions in reading shall be in the English language."¹² Writing his 1871 report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Williamson confidently noted, "Our place is to teach them to read their own language first, after which they are better prepared to study English."¹³ Evidently the Episcopalians agreed for they used *Dakota* language in their classrooms and services. Besides, it was necessary for adherents to read *Dakota* prayer books and Bibles written in the *Dakota* language by pioneering orthographists Stephen R. Riggs and Samuel W. Pond. Headmen were aware of this discrepancy for in their 1866 letter to Father De Smet, they mentioned that "another religious (teacher) that wants to come and remain with us . . . wants to teach us the Santee language, but we do not want them, we want no other but you and your religion."¹⁴ Weekly newsletters were also published in *Dakota*. Riggs and Williamson began printing the *Iapi Oaye* (The Word Carrier) newsletter through the Santee Training School in 1871. At first, it was printed in half-*Dakota*, half-English,

¹¹Reverend Joseph W. Cook kept a diary of his work among the people. See Gertrude S. Young, "The Journal of a Missionary to the Yankton Sioux: 1875-1902," *SDHC* 29, 63-86; the original Holy Fellowship Church built by Rev. Cook was burned to the ground in January, 1992. Some of the contents, pews, stained glass windows, altar, and other paraphernalia was removed and placed in the new Episcopal Church located north of the Yankton Sioux Housing Project in south Wagner, South Dakota.

¹²11 *Stat.*, 743, Article 4.

¹³*ARCIA* 1871, p. 267.

¹⁴Riggs, *Dakota Grammar*, 1835; Zens, "Catholic Indian Educational Work," p. 305; also Duratschek, *Crusading Along the Sioux Trails*, p. 25.

but later (1884), Riggs edited the English version (*The Word Carrier*) while Williamson took over editorship of the *Dakota* version.¹⁵

Isanti Dakota people can thank the churches for retaining the language and customs conveyed therein, but *Yanktons*, who spoke the *Nakota* dialect, were adversely affected by learning *Dakota*. Both Presbyterians and Episcopalians relied on texts written in *Dakota* for use in the schools. When *Yanktons* learned from these books, they were exposed to a language peculiar in its nuances to *Dakotas* who lived in a different geographic setting; hence words had to be modified from the *Nakota* dialect to describe new objects and thoughts. It is at this juncture that the *Nakota* dialect of their forefathers was severely modified unwittingly, and cloaked in good deeds, the missionaries altered the *Ihanktonwan* culture from within by changing the language.

Conversely, the missionary school teachers were also of inestimable value to the tribe and nurtured them along the path to assimilation. The schools produced many leaders, foremost among them *Tipi Sapa* (Black Tipi) or Philip Deloria, a product of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Reverend Philip Deloria began his churchwork on the *Yankton* reservation before his transfer to the *Cheyenne River* reservation at the height of the Ghost Dance. Felix T. Brunot, Alfred C. Smith, William T. Selwyn, and Charles S. Cook are other prominent *Ihanktonwans* who were in the first class of boys to receive their education and became influential in Indian affairs. There are many more who have numbered among them judges,

¹⁵May, 1871, *Iapi Oaye* paper founded, Barton, *John Williamson*, p. 130.

teachers, catechists, and ministers (see Figures 9. and 10.).¹⁶

The advent of president Ulyssess S. Grant's peace policy for Indians in 1869, brought two changes that affected the *Yanktons*. Indian country, fleeced by sharp agents operating with lax enforcement of treaty provisions by the government, suffered during the civil war years. At first, the new administration assigned military men to replace civilians as agents on the *Ihanktonwan* reservation. Captain W. J. Broatch and J. M. Goodhue between them served a little over one year in their posts. In a further effort to purge the bureaucracy of unscrupulous agents, President Grant, by decree, divided Indian Country among religious sects in the belief they would find and recommend honest men. Christian leaders represented by the Episcopalians (white robes), though not the first to start a permanent church, established their presence on the *Yankton* Agency in 1869.¹⁷ But policy planned in Washington and field implementation of those plans seldom corresponded.

The prelude to the Dawes General Allotment Act (1887) began on the *Yankton* reservation in 1870, soon after the missionaries arrived. Territorial Governor John A. Burbank recommended in 1869 that "their reservation be surveyed and subdivided at an early day, with a view to the settlement in severalty, on suitable allotments" for

¹⁶Driving Hawk Sneve, *That They May Have Life*, pp. 35-36, 53-55; Bruguier, "A Legacy," pp. 367-378; Mattison, "Report," *SDHC* 28, pp. 75-76, for a brief history of Yankton Agency and the Episcopal buildings.

¹⁷For an analysis of the so-called peace policy, see Prucha, *The Great Father*, Vol. 1, pp. 479-533, and Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), passim; Donald J. D'Elia, "The Argument over Civilian and Military Indian Control, 1865-1880," *Historian* 24 (February 1962): 207-225.

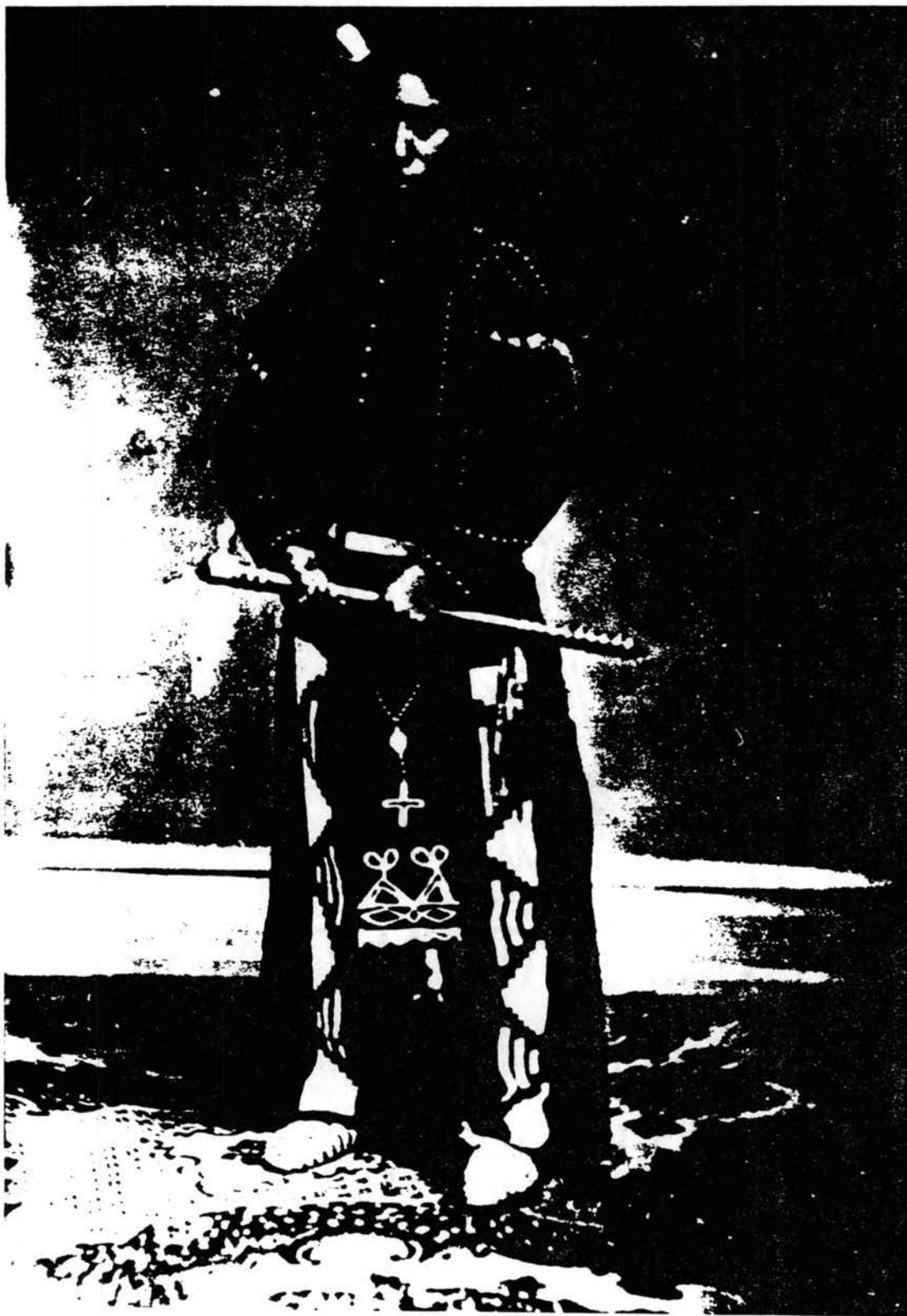


Figure 8. Pretty Rock, also known as Felix T. Brunot, Dakota: Yankton, 1867



Figure 9. Pretty Rock, also known as Felix T. Brunot, Dakota: Yankton, 1900

those *Yanktons* who were successful as farmers.¹⁸ The next year, newly posted agent J. M. Goodhue, Major, U. S. Army, reported that Secretary of Interior Jacob D. Cox initiated a survey to allot heads of families and single people eighty acre plots in severalty. Goodhue voiced doubt about the *Yanktons'* ability to become self-sustaining due to the cost required to furnish "a house, a team of horses or cattle, plows, and other farming implements, before he can work his land." Adding to this doubt was his study of the reservation's climate as reported by agents prior to his administration. He found that "five years of the ten the crops were totally destroyed by the drought and grasshopper, and in one of the ten there was about half a crop."¹⁹ Then Goodhue proposed a novel idea to the commissioner; with only one thousand *Yankton* adults owning over 400,000 acres, he thought each should be allotted 80 acres and the remaining 320,000 be sold and the proceeds deposited at interest in the tribe's name. It is reputed that *Padaniapapi*, ever alert to the government's machinations, saw no reason to have so-called surplus lands. After all, he had bargained for the *Yanktons* to have enough land to last through the generations. In any event, if the Great Father must divide up the land, *Struck By The Ree* thought each person should receive "12 quarters" (480 acres), or, in other words, an equal share of the full 400,000 acres. Goodhue and *Padaniapapi's* ideas were overlooked and the survey work proceeded. Tribal resistance against the survey grew while traditional leader *Feather Necklace* led an ongoing protest until the surveyors

¹⁸ARCIA 1869, p. 302. Burbank was a notorious speculator in lands and railroads, spent little time in Dakota Territory and resigned in disgrace. See Lamar, *Dakota Territory*, pp. 117-120.

¹⁹ARCIA 1870, p. 212.

terminated further allotment efforts.²⁰

In the late 1860s, relatives from the *Titonwan* began encountering the same kinds of problems the *Ihanktonwan* faced in the 1850s. Western tribesmen were feeling the loss of the buffalo herds and were forced to gather in temporary agencies constructed along the Missouri River to collect rations due them under the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty. Whetstone agency, twelve miles upriver from the *Ihanktonwan* reservation, was created in 1869, as a gathering place for *Sicangu* and other *Titonwan* tribesmen who were due rations under the treaty. *Sicangu* headman *Sinte Gleska* (Spotted Tail) stopped on the Yankton reservation in May 1870 while on his way east to talk with the Great Father. *Spotted Tail's* major concern was to locate a permanent agency for his people along the western branches of the White River. His tribe was being negatively affected by the bootleggers and the immoral behavior of people at Fort Randall and a trading station across the river from the Whetstone agency. *Padaniapapi* parleyed with him and before the *Sicangu* headman departed the *Yankton* leader gave him a pipe to be used in council at Washington.²¹

The Right Reverend William Hobart Hare, Episcopal Bishop of the Nebraska Diocese, moved to Greenwood Agency headquarters in 1873 and used Holy Fellowship as his cathedral. Bishop Hare established St. Paul's boarding school for boys, and supervised the building of a massive, three-story building quarried from

²⁰*ARCIA* 1870, p. 212; Elmer Duane Cwach, "A History of the Yankton Agency During the Nineteenth Century," (M.S. thesis, State University of South Dakota, 1958), p. 51.

²¹DeWitt C. Poole, *Among the Sioux of Dakota: Eighteen Months' Experience as an Indian Agent, 1869-1870* (New York, NY: Van Nostrand, 1881, paper, 1988), pp. 140-141.

native chalkstone found in the surrounding river bluffs. Three new day-schools were opened and Emmanuel Hall, a wooden structure, was built to house the girl's boarding school. These well-meaning missionaries worked to abolish the Sundance and Sacred Pipe ceremonies, broke up families, and created factionalism between Christians and Indian traditionalists while they preached the word of God and, ironically, freedom of religion.²²

Strange events often occur and have a way of being overlooked for their irony. In August 1874, a group of Hutterites established Bon Homme Colony (*Bruderhof*) east of the *Yankton* Reservation and approximately eighteen miles west of Yankton, capital of Dakota Territory. They bought the land from Walter Burleigh who was by that time a successful politician. Hutterites, an Anabaptist group that formed during the Protestant Reformation of sixteenth century Europe, subscribed to adult baptism and a strict separation of church and state. Drawing their philosophy from a literal interpretation of the New Testament, they practised "complete sharing of worldly possessions" (communal living) and maintained an adamant opposition to war. Because of religious persecution, in the second decade of the seventeenth century they fled their native Austrian lands and settled in the Russian Crimea. After persecution started once again, they immigrated to the United States. What made the irony so profound was that these immigrants possessed a history of constant religious persecution and finally found relief when they moved next door to a people who were

²²Sneve, *That They May Have Life*, p. 34, Cook knew the *Yanktons* were divided three ways, *Struck By The Ree* "desired a Romish Mission," another element favored the Episcopalians, and the third, "perhaps the largest of all, was that of the distinctly heathen element, utterly opposed to the white man's ways and religion, and wishing to be left entirely to their dancing and grotesque rites and ceremonies"; Mattison, "Report on Historic Sites," *SDHC* 28, p. 93.

being persecuted for practicing their own traditional religion.²³

Official government policy dictated that Indians be brought into the American mainstream, a society still dominated by an agrarian philosophy. Only by intense schooling in preparation for living on individual lands and maintaining single family domiciles would this be possible. Agents and other Indian bureau officials detested Indian communal life-styles, particularly the practice of sharing essential items. In his annual report of 1877, Reverend John G. Gassmann expressed his views on Indian communal living:

As long as Indians live in villages, they will retain many of their old and injurious habits. Frequent feasts, community food, heathen ceremonies, and dances, constant visiting--these will continue as long as the people live together in close neighborhoods and villages * * * I trust that before another year is ended they will generally be located upon individual lands (or) farms. From that date will begin their real and permanent progress.²⁴

Gassman's report appears odd when compared to his 1875 report: "it is a strange fact to note that 2,000 people can live together without laws, without punishments, without prisons, year after year, and yet have no serious contentions, quarrels, fights or murders."²⁵ Six years later, Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller, an advocate of manual-labor education for Indians, also pontificated about the "savage and

²³Mattison, "Report on Historic Sites," *SDHC* 28, pp. 59-63; Marvin P. Riley and Darryll R. Johnson, "South Dakota's Hutterite Colonies, 1874-1969," *Bulletin* 565, January 1970, Agricultural Experiment Station, SDSU, Brookings, SD, pp. 7-8; Gertrude S. Young, "The Mennonites in South Dakota," *SDHC* 10, pp. 470-506; Norman Thomas, "The Hutterian Brethren," *SDHC* 25, pp. 265-299, which has an excellent bibliography. Buying from Walter Burleigh, a man who did not believe Indians were human, makes the third irony.

²⁴*ARCIA* 1877, pp. 144-48.

²⁵*ARCIA* 1875, p. 255.

barbarous practises that are calculated to continue them in savagery."²⁶ The abhorrence of native religious rituals including the Sundance and *Initipi* (sweatlodge), which incorporated the Sacred Pipe, disturbed eastern reformers intent on Americanizing Indians. These zealous men and women searched for ways to terminate Indian culture, because, according to Secretary Teller, "it will be extremely difficult to accomplish much towards the civilization of the Indians while these adverse influences are allowed to exist."²⁷ One sure method was education that did not include Indian customs and values in the classroom.²⁸

Education of the *Ihanktonwan Nakota* created disturbing problems for the parents. Boarding schools located outside the Yankton reservation soon attracted missionary day school graduates. Santee Normal and Genoa School, both located in Nebraska, offered a varied curricula and *Yanktons* began leaving the reservation to matriculate there. New *Yankton* Agent John W. Douglas, in his first report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1878), remarked on the way the eight day-schools and separate boarding schools for girls and boys taught lessons in the *Dakota* language. Disagreeing with the popular and abiding tenet "that the Indian mind cannot be properly developed or knowledge imparted to it except through the medium

²⁶ARCIA 1883, pp. xi-xii.

²⁷Ibid., pp. xi-xii.

²⁸The movement for assimilation was aided by Indians. See Peter Iverson, *Carlos Montezuma and the Changing World of American Indians* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1982); Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1984, paper, 1989). From a woman's perspective, see Deborah Welch, "Zitkala-Sa: An American Indian Leader, 1876-1938," (Ph.D. diss., University of Wyoming, 1985).

of the Indian tongue," he regarded teaching *Dakota* "as a serious evil" and recommended "that in all schools supported in whole or part by government, English be more thoroughly taught and exclusively spoken."²⁹ Events played into his hands. Richard A. Pratt, a First Lieutenant in the United States Tenth Cavalry, was assigned as officer in charge of guarding over seventy *Kiowa*, *Cheyenne*, and *Arapahoe* Indian prisoners of war relocated to Fort Marion in St. Augustine, Florida, at the close of the Red River War.. When the war department released the hostages in 1878, Pratt found a way to persuade seventeen tribespeople into believing that learning the white man's way would lead to a better way of life. In 1878, Pratt reached an agreement to establish an experiment in Indian education with Samuel C. Armstrong, founder and superintendent of the private, non-denominational Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute for newly-freed slaves in Virginia.³⁰ Perhaps with this in mind, Douglas authorized Pratt (presumably with the parents' permission), to take eleven *Yankton* students, George Dolina (15 years old), Edmund Bishop (14), Oscar Brown (13), David Simmons (13), Charley Willis (18), *Tunkausapa* (Joseph Cook, 19), Samuel Four Star (19), Frank Yellow Bird (18), Mary Kettle (16), Lizzie Spider (14), and Carrie Anderson (12) back east to enroll at Hampton Institute.

Pratt's method of "civilizing" Indians easily fits the definition of cultural genocide--the eradication of culture. He had no use nor respect for the customs and traditions students brought with them. For the eleven *Yankton* students educated in

²⁹*ARCIA* 1878, p. 47.

³⁰Mary Lou Hultgren and Paulette Fairbanks Molin, *To Lead and to Serve: American Indian Education at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923* (Virginia Beach, VA: Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy, 1989), pp. 17-18.

their reservation schools, it meant switching from *Dakota* to mastering English. Pratt agreed wholeheartedly with Douglas's feeling that English be exclusively taught and spoken. Hampton's Indian students were subjected to an educational philosophy that centered on training selected Indian youth to be examples to, and teachers of, their people. Government leaders agreed with the ideology and turned over the abandoned cavalry barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, for conversion to an Indian School.

Authorization to educate and recruit tribespeople to Carlisle was granted in 1879.

Less than ten years later, Carlisle listed ninety-three "Sioux" pupils while Hampton housed sixty-nine "Sioux" students.³¹

Those who survived the change of climate, water, and the transmission of new and dangerous diseases became the first group of "returned Indian students" who began to influence tribal politics with Euroamerican values and traits not always compatible to traditionalism. Often these returnees were discouraged by the conditions found on their home reservations. Coming from a segregated, highly structured environment at Hampton and Carlisle, reservation problems such as the lack of political and economic opportunity and longstanding racial and tribal hostilities, differed sharply from the lessons they had learned. Progressive ideas gained from the classrooms and outing system in the east could not be duplicated in the conditions existing on their homelands. In some cases, such as that of Henry Lyman (Hampton, class of 1889), a man who continued his education and earned a law degree from Yale in 1891, there began the migration from the reservation of the

³¹Sansom-Flood, *Lessons*, p. 40; *ARCIA* 1878, pp. 173-78; *ibid*, 1888, pp. 276-288; Paulette Fairbanks Molin, "'Training the Hand, the Head, and the Heart': Indian Education at Hampton Institute," *Minnesota History* 51 (Fall, 1988): 82-98.

best and brightest, men and women who received their educations and decided to join the non-Indian community to earn their livelihood. During the forty year lifetime of the Hampton experiment over fifty-eight Yankton men and women attended the Institute.³² Lyman's success was like a double-edged sword. It showed that Indians so soon removed from their "primitive" lifestyles could and did succeed at education; yet it offered encouragement to the well-meaning, if misguided policy-makers in charge of remaking the Indian into a self-sustaining yeoman.³³

There were not enough returned students to stop infringements on Sacred Pipestone land. *Yanktons* began to protest the intrusions. A town grew up on the southern boundary of the quarry and adopted Pipestone as its name. With the continued arrival of large numbers of emigrants into southwest Minnesota, friction developed. *Struck By The Ree* learned that non-Indian settlers were mining the Sacred Pipestone for manufacture of trinkets and other sacrilegious articles while using the surrounding sandstone as building material without the tribe's permission. Daniel E. Sweet, settler, judge, and U. S. Postmaster of the town, befriended *Struck By The Ree*. A non-Indian, Sweet typified that segment of society who believed in helping Indians. As such, he kept the Chief and the agent apprised of incursions on the Pipestone reservation. In July of 1876, Yankton Agent John G. Gasmann wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "The Chiefs & headmen of the Yankton's

³²Sansom-Flood, *Lessons*, p. 24; Paulette F. Molin letter to Leonard R. Bruguier dated February, 20, 1992, IAIS archives, USD.

³³See also Samuel C. Armstrong's book, *Twenty-Two Years' Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute* (Hampton, VA: Normal School Press, 1893), passim, for a summary of of the school's activities and the follow-up studies of students who returned to the reservations.

complain that they have never been informed as to what portion of land, if any has thus been set apart for their special use." Rather than revert to violence, the Yanktons went through proper channels to protest "a party now at the Quarry [who] say that the portion pointed out to them by the white settlers in the neighborhood is entirely too small, & will cause them constantly to come in contact with the white settlers." Gasmann requested the Commissioner of Indian Affairs inform him about government compliance with Article 8. of the treaty, and surveyed the reservation to prevent "any disputes as to the locality where Indians have permission to go for the purpose of procuring Pipestone."³⁴ *Yanktons* protested again when they found squatters living on Pipestone land. Their request for assistance was ignored. Finally, in 1878, the Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, instructed the Attorney General's Office to investigate *Yankton* claims to Pipestone land. Indian Commissioner Hayt informed John W. Douglas, who had replaced Gassman as *Yankton* Agent that the grounds were surveyed in 1859 and "the land thus set apart is recognized as a reservation for the purposes indicated in said Article [8th, Treaty of 1858], and white persons who are found upon the same without authority are intruders and should be removed therefrom."³⁵

During the Pipestone controversy, a disaster of considerable consequence occurred in 1881. The Missouri River, a river of many twists and turns with deep treacherous narrows, was vulnerable to springtime floods and ice jams. The winter of

³⁴John G. Gasmann to J. R. Smith, CIA, July 8, 1876, Dakota 103-74, RG 75 SC 11 RPSQ.

³⁵E. A. Hayt, CIA to John W. Douglas, *Yankton* Agent, letter dated February 5, 1879, Dakota D, 594, 1878, RG 75, SC 11, RPSQ.

1880-81 saw an unusual accumulation of snow kept on the ground by low temperatures and an early thaw set in during March. Thick ice slabs broke up and floated downstream, gorging in the narrows and massing into huge dams. When the weather turned warm in May, an unusually late thaw, the water pushing behind the ice jams broke through and the wall of water that followed rose over twelve feet destroying part of the agency which sat on ground over sixteen feet above the water line. Downstream where the land gradually dropped, the flood of ice and water terrorized the lowlands, wiping out cabins and outbuildings as well as the Hidden Timbers Episcopal church and school. Through Reverend Williamson, *Struck By The Ree* wrote to the *Press and Dakotan* newspaper in Yankton City: "It is now some eighty winters that I have seen the snows fall and melt away along the Missouri river, but I never saw a winter of such snows and floods as these. . . . Though the people fled to the hills and saved their lives, many lost all their property. Forty-three houses [at the agency] were taken away by the flood, with their stoves, and other household goods." The patient leader looked for relief from the President and the Secretary of the Interior to help his people recover from the natural disaster.³⁶

Fort Randall, Dakota Territory, also became famous that year after *Tatanka Iyotaka* (Sitting Bull), surrendered to United States authorities at Fort Buford and was moved to Fort Yates until authorities decided what to do with him. On September 8, 1881, he and one hundred and forty-six members of his *tiospaye* were loaded on

³⁶Cwach, "A History of the Yankton Indian Agency," p. 44; Richard M. Brown, "The Enduring Frontier: The Impact of Weather on South Dakota History and Literature," *SDH* 15 (Spring/Summer 1985), p. 32; Herbert T. Hoover, John Rau, and Leonard R. Bruguier, "Gorging Ice and Flooding Rivers: Springtime Devastation in South Dakota," *SDH* 17 (Fall/Winter 1987): 181-201; *Struck By The Ree* to *Press and Dakotan* dated April 5, 1881, *SDHC* 6, p. 346.

board the steamship *General Sherman* and shipped down river to Fort Randall.

Sitting Bull protested when authorities attempted to put him behind walls. Finally, officials allowed the medicine man and his followers to live in *tipis* outside the walls. With such easy access and freedom of movement, *Sitting Bull* received many visitors during his two years of confinement. Although there were many visits, few documented records of the talks that occurred between *Sitting Bull* and the *Ihanktonwan* people survived.³⁷ Reverend John P. Williamson "had a number of conferences with him" and "did much to secure" his release.³⁸ The minister told his son John B. Williamson that "Sitting Bull had much to support his complaint as to how some treaties had been secured, and later how their provisions had been warped to favor the whites."³⁹

Meanwhile, squatters continued to build houses and farm on the Pipestone site and quartzite mining expanded. Warned again by Mr. Sweet, "Lieutenant Jandron of the Police, Chief *Feather in the Ear* (Feather Necklace), and some half dozen others returned from there where they had been for Pipe Stone and to examine into the conditions of the Quarry."⁴⁰ The report told how Pipestone Reservation markers were moved and a "quarry for building stone, has been opened thereon, and great

³⁷Robinson, "History of the Sioux Indians," *SDHC* 2, p. 447; see also Rudolf Cronau, "My Visit Among the Hostile Dakota Indians and How They Became My Friends," *SDHC* 22, pp. 414-425, for his insights about his visits with and painting of *Sitting Bull*; McLaughlin, *My Friend the Indian*, pp. 98-99.

³⁸Bert L. Hall, compl., *Roundup Years, Old Muddy to Black Hills* (Pierre, SD: The Reminder, Inc., 1956, 2nd. printing), p. 364.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 364.

⁴⁰W. D. E. Andrus to R. E. Trowbridge, CIA, dated November 24, 1880, A875, OIA.

quantities taken thence, being used by farmers and the citizens of Pipe Stone City."⁴¹ When the man operating the quarry was questioned by the *Yanktons* "he replied it was none of their damned busines."⁴² Riley French, representing a group of investors from Minneapolis who claimed ownership of the quarries, placed an advertisement warning against unauthorized removal of quartzite from the Pipestone Quarry in *The Star*, the Pipestone City newspaper, on January 20, 1881. The commercial continued, "parties desiring to purchase stone in any quantity, will be accommodated upon the most reasonable terms" by the new owners.⁴³ *Yankton* Agent W. D. E. Andrus responded, "I hereby order you to desist from quarrying stone on the lands known as the Red Pipe Stone Reservation," and failure to comply would result in prosecution "to the full extent of the law."⁴⁴ Daniel Sweet watched those activities on behalf of his friend *Struck By The Ree* and reported that "Jim Feather, commonly called by us Yankton Jim, is here [in Pipestone]. . . . Jim wants authority sent him to protect the interest of the Indians on the reservation."⁴⁵ Yankton Jim also told Sweet that C. C. Goodnow was the man removing stone and he wanted him stopped or arrested. Sweet knew that C. C. Goodnow was a former employee of the New Ulm, Minnesota land office, and had moved onto Pipestone land in 1882 and built a large

⁴¹Ibid., p. 2.

⁴²Ibid., p. 2.

⁴³*The Star*, Thursday, January 20, 1881, 11790, OIA, dated July 11, 1881.

⁴⁴W. D. E. Andrus to H. M. Carpenter, Riley French, J. A. Phelps, and Henry Halpin, inclos. to 11790, OIA, dated July 11, 1881.

⁴⁵D. E. Sweet to W. D. E. Andrus, dated February 6, 1882, 3500, inclos. 1.

house and several other buildings.⁴⁶ Reverend John P. Williamson wrote a letter to the Secretary of Interior for *Padanapapi* reporting that "there are two White Men building houses on the Pipestone Reserve. I wish you to instruct the Yankton Agent or some of your other Officers to see about it and have them put off."⁴⁷

Major John F. Kinney, a Mormon Democrat who rode the tails of Grover Cleveland's 1884 election to president, was appointed Agent for the *Yanktons*. Kinney, who had been a pioneer settler in Nebraska territory and became a wealthy landowner and businessman, was a strong, narrow-minded individual, yet he was fair to Indian people and, most importantly, he valued the Treaty of 1858 as a sacred document. He walked right into the controversy surrounding the Red Pipestone Quarry. In October, he received a letter from D. E. Sweet who wrote to the *Yankton* Agent at the request of Indians visiting his office reporting that the Cedar Rapids, Iowa Falls and Northwestern Railway Company had constructed a rail line through Sacred Pipestone land. Tribal leaders were furious and again protested the violation, arguing that it was not in accordance with their 1858 Treaty. Article 9. specifically authorized the *United States* [emphasis mine] a right to "establish and maintain such military posts, roads, and Indian agencies as may be deemed necessary within the tract of country herein *reserved* [emphasis mine] for the use of the Yanctons."⁴⁸

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷*Struck By The Ree* to CIA, dated June 15, 1883, 11234 OIA.

⁴⁸11 Stat., 743, Article 9; Daniel E. Sweet to W.D.E. Andrus, Yankton Agent, February 6, 1882, Inclos. No. 1, OIA 3500; Sweet to Strike the Ree, June 6, 1883, Inclos. No. 1, OIA 11420; Strike to CIA, June 15, 1883, OIA 11234; Sweet to William S. Ridpath, Yankton Agent, September 25, 1883, Inclos. No. 1, OIA 18695; Sweet to Indian Agent, Greenwood, DT, October 4, 1884, Inclos. No. 1, OIA 20964; Sweet to J.D.C. Atkins, CIA, January 1, 1885, OIA 199.

The Supreme Court ruled in 1884 that "the whole of such land [Pipestone] was by the Treaty, withdrawn from private entry or appropriation," but regardless of the ruling, squatters remained.⁴⁹ *Ihanktonwan* leaders also enlisted the aid of John P.

Williamson who interpreted and wrote a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1885:

When I made the Treaty with the United States . . . I reserved the Pipestone Quarry for all generations. I told the President I could not sell that because it was Sacred to get pipes for all Indian nations. . . . Now I want to know if our Great President has broken his Treaty with me, and has sold the land which he bound himself to let me keep.⁵⁰

Speaking metaphorically, *Struck By The Ree* alluded to the intruder as a "big cross bear" who "has now come along and settled down right on the Quarry."⁵¹

Judicial process was introduced onto the *Yankton* reservation as a part of the continuing change desired by policy-makers. It is hard to tell if this was meant as a means to punish those engaged in undesirable habits or to address the real need of forcing a change from tribal law and order to that of the system followed by citizens of the United States. It was impractical, from a Indian point of view, because *Yanktons* were not yet full citizens. In 1882, Secretary of Interior Henry M. Teller instituted the Courts of Indian Offenses to punish offenders. In the spring of 1883 Commissioner of Indian Affairs Price issued orders and guidelines to his Indian Agents to implement the new policy and *Yankton* agent J. F. Kinney instituted the

⁴⁹U. S. v. Carpenter, argued April 2, 1884, decided April 14, 1884, 347-350.

⁵⁰Struck by the Ree to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 15, 1883, Office of Indian Affairs 11234, Special Collection 11, Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, DC; Struck to CIA, October 19, 1885, OIA 25053, *ibid*.

⁵¹*Ibid*. The letter was written by Reverend John P. Williamson.

system in 1884.⁵² The backlash intensified the process of tribal judicial systems, affected other customs and lifeways, and left the Indian deprived of religious freedom. On the *Yankton* reservation, judges were duly appointed and executed their duties in an exemplary way although opposition surfaced from the traditional group. Speaking for the conservative elders, *Feather Necklace* reminded the agent of the old system and how Christian judges handed down harsher sentences when non-Christian Indians appeared before them. But, as usual, tribesmen found ways to live within the rules, using humor to offset circumstances. Vine V. Deloria Sr., a noted storyteller, told of a time when a young woman in love could not catch her man's attention. She made this song up and sang it to him, jokingly using the non-Indian's judicial system as a threat:

Pete La Grande [the policeman] will arrest you.
 Judge Luke [Redbird] will pass sentence.
 Kinney [agent] will put you in jail.

Pete La Grande will arrest you.
 Judge Luke will pass sentence.
 Kinney will put you in jail.⁵³

One year before *Padaniapapi* died, Kinney took ten troopers, commanded by Captain J. W. Bean, 15th Infantry, Fort Randall, D.T., to the Pipestone Quarry. He

⁵²ARCIA 1888, p. 65. "On September 11, 1884, I organized a court for the trial of Indian offenses, under rules and regulations formulated by the Interior Department."

⁵³Henry M. Teller, "Closing the Loopholes," in *Americanizing the American Indian: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian" 1880-1900*, ed. Francis P. Prucha (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), 196-197; Prucha, *American Indian*, 208-211; Prucha, *The Great Father* vol. 2, pp. 646-48; William T. Hagan, *Indian Police and Judges: Experiments in Acculturation and Control* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 115, 121; ARCIA 1886, p. 317. The song was sung by Reverend Vine Victor Deloria, Sr., recorded in Sansom-Flood, *Remember*, Vol. II, p. 24-26.

found "eighty-five Yanktons there including women and children" protesting the presence of non-Indians on their sacred land. He ordered the squatters "to remove their buildings, to vacate the grounds, and to sign affidavits, whereby they agreed not to return." A young lieutenant who accompanied the eviction party resurveyed and verified the boundaries of the section-sized plot. His action "was a matter of great gratification to all of them to know that the intruders, who had for some years persisted in their efforts to rob them, were to be driven off." *Yanktons* impressed the agent with their sincerity to keep the land inviolate and he noted the section of land "is regarded by my Indians by reason of its traditions with veneration."⁵⁴

⁵⁴J. F. Kinney to CIA, November 2, 1887, OIA 29563, RG 75, SC 11 RPSQ; J. W. Bean to Assist. Adj. Gen., October 22, 1887, OIA 30035, *ibid.*

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

The *Yankton Dakota* suffered a great tragedy when Chief *Struck by the Ree* passed away on Sunday, July 29, 1888 (see Figure 11.). Gifted with sound leadership qualities and excellent oratorical skills, the *itanchan* led his people for over five decades.¹ With calm assurance, he brought his tribe through the difficult times associated with the encroaching agricultural frontier. Realizing the absolute futility of resistance to the great migration of emigrants hungering for land, in March, 1856 he lobbied Brigadier General William S. Harney to build Fort Randall on *Yankton* tribal lands. Once this was accomplished, he convinced the tribe to accept a reservation and led a treaty delegation of *Yanktons* to Washington in 1858, to put his name first on the document that not only secured a homeland for his people but ensured that non-Indians were welcome to live in peace beside them. The *Yanktons* today still proudly call themselves "The Friendly People," because their leader *Struck By The Ree* was a "shrewd executive," who as an orator "thrilled the hearts of the braves, and swayed them as by magic" while he kept "one great principle,--peace--always

¹DeWitt Hare, "The Yankton Indians," *SDHC* 6, p. 324-325.



Figure 10. Struck By The Ree

paramount."²

When leaders from other *Dakota* tribes requested that *Yanktons* join them in armed resistance against the United States military, *Padaniapapi* refused to break the treaty and kept his warriors home to fulfill sacred treaty obligations.³ Despite *Struck By The Ree's* firm and successful opposition to Agent John F. Kinney's urgings to allot the *Yankton* reservation, the agent respected the Chief so much that he wrote this tribute to *Padaniapapi* in his final 1888, Annual Report:

On Sunday [the day the chief passed away] a large number of Indians and all the employees of the agency assembled in the Presbyterian Church, where a funeral sermon in the Dakota language was preached by the Reverend John P. Williamson from the text found in II Sam:3:38. "know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?"⁴

Father Pierre-Jean De Smet who knew *Struck By The Ree* for over thirty years left a description of the *itanchan*. Father De Smet and *Padaniapapi* first met in 1844 and their respect for each other grew through the years. When the Father visited the *Yankton* in July, 1866, he found "a remarkable man, the descendant of a long line of chiefs recognized for their bravery in war against their enemies, but still more for their wisdom in the councils of the Dakota nation."⁵ After describing how *Struck By*

²11 Stat., 743, Article 11; Hare, *ibid.*, p. 325. *Struck By The Ree* was "reputed to be a diplomat as artful, keen, sagacious, subtle and discerning as any white man who ever sat in judgment or planned a treaty with nations; an arbitrator of the first magnitude."

³11 Stat., 743, Article 11; Hoover, *Yankton Sioux*, 30, 34-5, 40-1; Sansom-Flood, *Lessons*, 81; Hare, "The Yankton Indians," *SDHC* 6, p. 325. The "true character of this great peace-loving chief was never full understood nor appreciated by the white man."

⁴*ARCIA* 1888, pp. 68-69.

⁵Chittenden, *Life, Letters and Travels*, Vol. 4, p. 1282.

The Ree had cured his people during the 1853 cholera epidemic, he continued:

He leads an exemplary life among his people. His charity is boundless. His position as chief brings him certain remunerative favors from the Government which would put his family in easy circumstances. He accepts them, and makes use of them solely to relieve the distress of the poor members of his tribe. He shares with resignation, nay, I may say with joy, the general needs. He wears no mark of distinction. He has adopted the costume of the whites; his garments are humble, but clean. His bearing is at once modest and imposing. In his speech he is grave and imposing, and he is quick to take a point. His example is a model and lesson to all. Although sixty-five years of age and almost blind, he is always the first at work, whether in the field, the forest or the garden. The men, women and children of his tribe need no other encouragement. With axe, pick and shovel on their shoulders, they follow him everywhere eagerly, either to the forest or to the field. Such an example is rare, especially in a head chief among the Indians.⁶

De Smet's description of the everyday *Struck By The Ree* shows him living as an *ikche wicasha*, or common man, the highest honor attainable by a *Dakota*. The chief started a Grass Dance society dedicated to the assistance of the weak, protection of the widow and orphan, and succor to the sick and stranger in need."⁷ *Struck By The Ree* and his wife *Mazaitzashanawe* accepted baptism into the Catholic Church on July 6 of 1866.⁸

The changes that came to the *Ihanktonwan* culture multiplied after non-Indians came into North America. Indian clothing, language, tools, philosophies, and geographic setting were affected. With the horse, cultural transformations quickened. Finally, during the years of reservation life spanning *Padaniapapi's* chieftanship, the

⁶Ibid., Vol. 4, pp. 1283-1284; *Struck By The Ree* also healed "a young chief of his tribe and a near relative, who had gone east with him" as one of the members of the 1867 delegation that made a trip to Washington, DC, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, 865-866.

⁷Chittenden, *Life, Letters and Travels*, Vol. 3, pp. 1058-1061.

⁸Ibid., Vol. 4, pp. 1282, 1286.

Ihanktonwan tribe did not fight the pace of change. From 1856, *Struck By The Ree* led the *Yanktons* as they peacefully, though not without dissension, adhered to the non-Indians conception of education, industry, and religion while they retained and practiced the four cardinal virtues of Indian life: fortitude, bravery, wisdom, and generosity. DeWitt Hare, a full-blood *Yankton Dakota* who graduated from Huron College, epitomized the newer leaders who lived in a bi-cultural world (see Figure 12.). His remembrances of *Struck By The Ree* come personal experience and from his parents and relatives talking about the *itanchan*. Many people who knew Mr. Hare remarked on how much he resembled the chief in speech and manners.⁹

While DeWitt Hare represents the first generation after *Padaniapapi's* death, his attributes are still passed down through the generations. In 1968, Bessie Red Hawk remembered a story told her about him:

Yes, they had their council meetings in tipis. They always camp in a circle and where they live, they have big tent in the center and that's their council tent. They go there and they make their laws and rules and they have a

⁹Hare, "The Yankton Indians," *SDHC* 6, pp. 320-328, a speech given at the Yankton City Jubilee, celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the creation of Dakota Territory.



Figure 11. DeWitt Hare, Dakota: Yankton

big dinner. Yes, I could remember just a very little bit. Struck-by-the-Ree, my mother told me a lot about him. He was our chief. Yes, my mother told me. I didn't see him myself, as I say, I can't remember at my age, Struck-by-the-Ree, but he have his last talk to his tribe and he was so weak that they hold him, and they always compare him with Moses in the Bible. You know when Moses was going to talk to the people he was so weak they had to hold his arms up. Just like that, this Struck-by-the-Ree they hold his arms and hold him. And he gave his last speech. And mother said he told the Indians to not keep their children from school, to let them go to school because in the future there will be more white people come from overseas and will be among us here in this United States. And there will be more white people than Indians someday, and he said if they're [the Indians] not educated, he said, they could just take a club and kill them off or something, he said, just like rabbits. If they don't know. He said white people do all their business with pencil and paper and if you don't know that you will have a hard life. And he gave talks like that. He preached to his people for the last time. She saw that, she said. And she heard him and she told me about it. He was [a] very smart man, Struck-by-the-Ree."¹⁰

Struck By The Ree's legacy runs deep within the psyche of *Yankton* Indians even to the present day.

¹⁰Bessie Red Hawk, Interview #0080, pp. 11-12, dated 1968, American Indian Research Project, Oral History Center, University of South Dakota, edited for clarity.

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APPENDIX

TREATIES

TREATY WITH THE YANKTON SIOUX, 1815.

A treaty of peace and friendship, made and concluded at Portage des Sioux between William Clark, Ninian Edwards, and Auguste Chouteau, Commissioners Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, on the part and behalf of the said States, of the one part; and the undersigned Chiefs and Warriors of the Yankton Tribe of Indians, on the part and behalf of their said Tribe, of the other part.

July 19, 1815.
7 Stat., 128.
Ratified Dec. 26,
1815.

THE parties being desirous of re-establishing peace and friendship between the United States and the said tribe, and of being placed in all things, and in every respect, on the same footing upon which they stood before the late war between the United States and Great Britain, have agreed to the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. Every injury or act of hostility committed by one or either of the contracting parties against the other, shall be mutually forgiven and forgot.

Injuries, etc., forgiven.

ART. 2. There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between all the citizens of the United States of America, and all the individuals composing the said Yankton tribe, and all the friendly relations that existed between them before the war shall be, and the same are hereby, renewed.

Perpetual peace and friendship, etc.

ART. 3. The undersigned chiefs and warriors, for themselves and their said tribe, do hereby acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States of America, and of no other nation, power, or sovereign, whatsoever.

Protection of United States acknowledged.

In witness whereof, the said William Clark, Ninian Edwards, and Auguste Chouteau, commissioners as aforesaid, and the chiefs aforesaid, have hereunto subscribed their names and affixed their seals, this nineteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, and of the independence of the United States the fortieth.

Wm. Clark,	[L. S.]	Weopantowechashla, or sun set,	[L. S.]
Ninian Edwards,	[L. S.]	Tokaymhominee, or the rock that	
Auguste Chouteau,	[L. S.]	turns, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Montori, or white bear, his x mark,	[L. S.]	Keonorunco, or fast flyer, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Waskaijingo, or little dish, his x mark,	[L. S.]	Mazo, or the iron, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Padamape, or panis sticker, his x mark,	[L. S.]	Haiwongceda, or one horn, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Chaponge, or musquitoe, his x mark,	[L. S.]	Mazehaio, or arrow sender, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Mindalonga, partisan, or war chief,	[L. S.]		

Done at the Portage des Sioux, in the presence of—

R. Wash, secretary to the commission,	Jacques Mette,
John Mitter, colonel, Third Infantry.	John A. Cameron,
H. Dodge, brigadier-general Missouri Militia,	R. Paul, C. T. of the commission,
Manuel Lisa, agent,	Louis Decouagne,
Thomas Forsyth, Indian agent,	Cyrus Edwards,
Maurice Blondeaux,	Lewis Dorion,
	John Hay, interpreter.

TREATY WITH THE SIOUX, 1816.

June 1, 1816.

7 Stat., 143.
Proclamation, Dec.
30, 1816.

A treaty of peace and friendship made and concluded at St. Louis, between William Clark, Ninian Edwards, and Auguste Chouteau, commissioners plenipotentiary of the United States of America, on the part and behalf of the said states, of the one part, and the undersigned chiefs and warriors, representing eight bands of the Sioux, composing the three tribes called the Sioux of the Leaf, the Sioux of the Broad Leaf, and the Sioux who shoot in the Pine Tops, on the part and behalf of their said tribes, of the other part.

The parties being desirous of re-establishing peace and friendship between the United States and the said tribes, and of being placed in

all things, and in every respect, on the same footing upon which they stood before the late war between the United States and Great Britain, have agreed to the following articles:

Injuries, etc. forgiven.

ART. 1. Every injury or act of hostility, committed by one or either of the contracting parties against the other, shall be mutually forgiven and forgot.

Perpetual peace and friendship, etc.

ART. 2. There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between all the citizens of the United States, and all the individuals composing the aforesaid tribes; and all the friendly relations that existed between them before the war shall be, and the same are hereby, renewed.

Former cessions, treaties, etc., confirmed.

ART. 3. The undersigned chiefs and warriors, for themselves and their tribes respectively, do, by these presents, confirm to the United States all and every cession, or cessions, of land heretofore made by their tribes to the British, French, or Spanish government, within the limits of the United States or their territories; and the parties here contracting do, moreover, in the sincerity of mutual friendship, recognize, re-establish, and confirm, all and every treaty, contract, and agreement, heretofore concluded between the United States and the said tribes or nations.

Protection of United States acknowledged

ART. 4. The undersigned chiefs and warriors as aforesaid, for themselves and their said tribes, do hereby acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States, and of no other nation, power, or sovereign, whatsoever.

In witness whereof, the commissioners aforesaid, and the undersigned chiefs and warriors as aforesaid, have herunto subscribed their names and affixed their seals, this first day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, and of the independence of the United States the fortieth.

William Clark,	[L. s.]	Eoshark, the Belly-Ache, his x	[L. s.]
Ninian Edwards,	[L. s.]	mark,	
Auguste Chouteau,	[L. s.]	Tuquaacundup, the Doctor, his x	[L. s.]
Tatamance, the Marching Wind,	[L. s.]	mark,	
his x mark,	[L. s.]	Onudokca, the Fluttering Eagle,	[L. s.]
Warmadearwarup, the Man who	[L. s.]	his x mark,	
looks at the Calumet Eagle, his	[L. s.]	Tusaruar, he that walks with a	[L. s.]
x mark,	[L. s.]	Cane, his x mark,	[L. s.]
Pencshon, his x mark,	[L. s.]	Markpeasena, the Black Cloud, his x	[L. s.]
Kanggawashecha, or French Crow,	[L. s.]	mark,	
his x mark,	[L. s.]	Warkuamance, the Man who is	[L. s.]
Eanggamance, the Runner, his x	[L. s.]	sick when he walks, his x mark,	[L. s.]
mark,	[L. s.]	Otanggamance, the Man with a	[L. s.]
Tatangascartop, the Playing Buf-	[L. s.]	strong voice, his x mark,	[L. s.]
falo, his x mark,	[L. s.]	Hungkrehearpee, or the Half of his	[L. s.]
Tatangamarnee, the Walking Buf-	[L. s.]	Body Gray, his x mark,	[L. s.]
falo, or Red Wing, his x mark,	[L. s.]	Warpeamusca, the Iron Cloud, his	[L. s.]
Warsconts, who shoots in the Pine	[L. s.]	x mark,	
tops, his x mark,	[L. s.]	Etoagungamance, the White Face,	[L. s.]
Weeshito, the Shoulder, his x mark,	[L. s.]	his x mark,	[L. s.]
Warmarnosa, the Thief, his x mark,	[L. s.]	Warchesunapa, the Negro, his x	[L. s.]
Shutkaongka, the Bird on the	[L. s.]	mark,	[L. s.]
Limb, his x mark,	[L. s.]	Ehaarp, the Climber, his x mark,	[L. s.]
Shakaska, White Nails, his x mark,	[L. s.]	Nahre, the Shifting Shadow, his x	[L. s.]
Shuakamance, the Walking Bird,	[L. s.]	mark,	[L. s.]
his x mark,	[L. s.]	Hapula, the fourth Son, his x mark,	[L. s.]
Manakohomonee, the Turning	[L. s.]	Marcawachup, the Dancer, his x	[L. s.]
Iron, his x mark,	[L. s.]	mark,	[L. s.]
Oocus, the Watchman, his x mark,	[L. s.]	Shiantanggaup, the Big Tree, his x	[L. s.]
Pahataka, the Humming Bird,	[L. s.]	mark,	[L. s.]
his x mark	[L. s.]	Shaukaska, the White Ho-eared	[L. s.]

Eschungko, the Man who marches quick, his x mark, [L. s.]	Dog, his x mark, [L. s.]
Meiermee, the Muddy Lake, his x mark, [L. s.]	Hasanee, the Buffalo with one Horn, his x mark, [L. s.]
Tatawaka, the Medicine Wind, his x mark, [L. s.]	Narinsakata, the Old Man who can hardly walk, his x mark, [L. s.]
Warshushasta, the Bad Hail, his x mark, [L. s.]	Aearpa, the Speaker, his x mark; [L. s.] Muckpeasarp, the Black Cloud, his x mark, [L. s.]

Done at St. Louis, in the presence of

R. Wash, secretary to the commission,	Henry Delorier, interpreter,
R. Paul, C. T. of the C.	Pierre Lapointe, interpreter,
Wm. O. Allen, captain U. S. Corps Ar- tillery,	Samuel Solomon, interpreter,
H. S. Geyer,	Jacques Mette, interpreter,
Joshua Norvell, judge advocate M. M.	Cero,
N. Boilvin, agent,	Richard Cave,
Thomas Forsyth, Indian agent,	Willi Cave,
Maurice Blondeaux,	Julius Pessay.

TREATY WITH THE TETON, ETC., SIOUX, 1825.

Treaty with the Teton, Yancton, and Yanctonies bands of the Sioux tribe of Indians.

June 27, 1825.
7 Stat., 250.
Proclamation, Feb. 6, 1826.

For the purposes of perpetuating the friendship which has heretofore existed, as also to remove all future cause of discussion or dissension, as it respects trade and friendship between the United States and their citizens, and the Teton, Yancton, and Yanctonies bands of the Sioux tribe of Indians, the President of the United States of America, by Brigadier-General Henry Atkinson, of the United States' army, and Major Benjamin O'Fallon, Indian Agent, with full powers and authority, specially appointed and commissioned for that purpose of the one part, and the undersigned Chiefs, head men and Warriors of the Teton, Yancton, and Yanctonies bands of the Sioux tribe of Indians, on behalf of said bands or tribe of the other part, have made and entered into the following Articles and Conditions; which, when ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; shall be binding on both parties—to wit:

ARTICLE 1.

It is admitted by the Teton, Yancton and Yanctonies bands of Sioux Indians, that they reside within the territorial limits of the United States, acknowledge their supremacy, and claim their protection. The said bands also admit the right of the United States to regulate all trade and intercourse with them.

Supremacy of United States acknowledged.

ARTICLE 2.

Protection of United States extended to them.

The United States agree to receive the said Teton, Yancton, and Yanctonies band of Sioux Indians into their friendship, and under their protection, and to extend to them, from time to time, such benefits and acts of kindness as may be convenient, and seem just and proper to the President of the United States.

ARTICLE 3.

Places for trade to be designated by the President.

All trade and intercourse with the Teton, Yancton, and Yanctonies bands shall be transacted at such place or places as may be designated and pointed out by the President of the United States, through his agents; and none but American citizens, duly authorized by the United States, shall be admitted to trade or hold intercourse with said bands of Indians.

ARTICLE 4.

Regulation of trade with Indians.

That the Teton, Yancton, and Yanctonies bands may be accommodated with such articles of merchandise, &c. as their necessities may demand, the United States agree to admit and license traders to hold intercourse with said tribes or bands, under mild and equitable regulations: in consideration of which, the Teton, Yancton, and Yanctonies bands bind themselves to extend protection to the persons and the property of the traders, and the persons legally employed under them, whilst they remain within the limits of their particular district of country. And the said Teton, Yancton, and Yanctonies bands further agree, that if any foreigner or other person, not legally authorized by the United States, shall come into their district of country, for the purposes of trade or other views, they will apprehend such person or persons, and deliver him or them to some United States' superintendent, or agent of Indian Affairs, or to the nearest military post, to be dealt with according to law.—And they further agree to give safe conduct to all persons who may be legally authorized by the United States to pass through their country: and to protect, in their persons and property, all agents or other persons sent by the United States to reside temporarily among them.

ARTICLE 5.

Course to be pursued
in order to prevent in-
juries by individuals,
etc.

That the friendship which is now established between the United States and the Teton, Yancton, and Yanctonics bands should not be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, it is hereby agreed, that for injuries done by individuals, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place, but instead thereof, complaints shall be made, by the party injured, to the superintendent or agent of Indian affairs, or other person appointed by the President; and it shall be the duty of the said Chiefs, upon complaint being made as aforesaid, to deliver up the person or persons against whom the complaint is made, to the end that he or they may be punished agreeably to the laws of the United States. And, in like manner, if any robbery, violence, or murder, shall be committed on any Indian or Indians belonging to said bands, the person or persons so offending shall be tried, and if found guilty, shall be punished in like manner as if the injury had been done to a white man. And it is agreed, that the chiefs of the said Teton, Yancton, and Yanctonics bands shall, to the utmost of their power, exert themselves to recover horses or other property, which may be stolen or taken from any citizen

Chiefs to exert
themselves to recover
stolen property.

or citizens of the United States by any individual or individuals of said bands; and the property so recovered shall be forthwith delivered to the agents, or other person authorized to receive it, that it may be restored to the proper owner. And the United States hereby guaranty to any Indian or Indians of said bands, a full indemnification for any horses or other property which may be stolen from them by any of their citizens: *Provided*, That the property so stolen cannot be recovered, and that sufficient proof is produced that it was actually stolen by a citizen of the United States. And the said Teton, Yancton, and Yanctonics bands engage, on the requisition or demand of the President of the United States, or of the agents, to deliver up any white man resident among them.

Proviso.

ARTICLE 6.

And the Chiefs and Warriors, as aforesaid, promise and engage, their band or tribe will never, by sale, exchange, or as presents, supply any nation or tribe of Indians, not in amity with the United States, with guns, ammunition, or other implements of war.

No arms to be fur-
nished by Indians to
persons not in amity
with United States.

Done at fort Look-out, near the three rivers of the Sioux pass, this 22d day of June, A. D. 1825, and of the independence of the United States the forty-ninth.

In testimony whereof the said commissioners, Henry Atkinson and Benjamin O'Fallon, and the chiefs, head men, and warriors, of the Teton, Yancton, and Yanctonics bands, of Sioux tribe, have hereunto set their hands, and affixed their seals.

II. Atkinson, brigadier general U. S. Army. [L. S.]	E-gue-mon-wa-con-ta, the one that shoots at the tiger, his x mark, [L. S.]
Benj. O'Fallon, United States Agent Indian Affairs, [L. S.]	Jai-kan-kan-e, the child chief, his x mark, [L. S.]
Yanctons:	Shawa-non, or O-e-te-kah, the brave, his x mark, [L. S.]
Maw-too-sa-be-kia, the black bear, his x mark, [L. S.]	Man-to-dan-za, the running bear, his x mark, [L. S.]
Wacan-o-li-gnan, the flying medi- cine, his x mark, [L. S.]	Wa-can-guela-sassa, the black light- ning, his x mark, [L. S.]
Wah-ha-ginga, the little dish, his x mark, [L. S.]	Wa-be-la-wa-con, the medicine war- eagle, his x mark, [L. S.]
Cha-pon-ka, the musqueto, his x mark, [L. S.]	Cam-pee-cal-o-ran-co, the swift shell, his x mark, [L. S.]
Eta-ke-nus-ke-an, the mad face, his x mark, [L. S.]	Eh-ra-ka-che-ka-la, the little elk, his x mark, [L. S.]
To-ka-co, the one that kills, his x mark, [L. S.]	Na-pe-a-mus-ka, the mad hand, his x mark, [L. S.]
O-ga-tec, the fork, his x mark, [L. S.]	J-a-pee, the soldier, his x mark, [L. S.]
You-in-san, the warrior, his x mark, [L. S.]	Hoo-wa-gah-hak, the broken leg, his x mark, [L. S.]
Wah-ta-ken-do, the one who comes from war, his x mark, [L. S.]	Ce-cha-he, or the burnt thigh, his x mark, [L. S.]
To-qui-in-tu, the little soldier, his x mark, [L. S.]	O-caw-see-non-gea, or the spy, his x mark, [L. S.]
Ha-sas-hah, the loway, his x mark, Tetons: [L. S.]	Ta-tun-ca-see-ha-hue-ka, the buf- falo with the long foot, his x mark, [L. S.]
Ta-tan-ka-guenish-qui-gnan, the mad buffalo, his x mark, [L. S.]	Ah-kee-che-ha-che-ga-la, the little soldier, his x mark, [L. S.]
Mah-to-ken-do-ha-cha, the hollow bear, his x mark, [L. S.]	

In presence of—

A. J. Langham, secretary to the commission,
 H. Leavenworth, colonel, U. S. Army,
 S. W. Kearney, brevet major, First Infantry,
 G. H. Kennerly, U. S. S. Indian agent,
 P. Wilson, U. S. S. Indian agent,
 Wm. Armstrong, captain, Sixth Regiment Infantry,
 R. B. Mason, captain, First Infantry,
 A. S. Miller, lieutenant, First Infantry,
 H. Swearingen, lieutenant, First Infantry,
 Thos. P. Gwynn, lieutenant, First Infantry,
 M. W. Batman, lieutenant, Sixth Infantry,
 George C. Hutter, lieutenant, Sixth Infantry,

J. Gantt, captain, Sixth Infantry,
 S. Mac Isee, lieutenant and aid de camp,
 Wm. S. Harney, lieutenant, First Infantry,
 Thomas Noel, lieutenant, Sixth Infantry,
 B. Riley, captain, Sixth Infantry,
 James W. Kingsbury, lieutenant, First Regiment,
 S. Wragg, adjutant, First Regiment,
 G. C. Spencer, captain, First Regiment,
 J. Rogers, lieutenant, Sixth Infantry,
 Wm. Day, lieutenant, First Infantry,
 John Gale, surgeon, U. S. Army,
 D. Ketchum, major, U. S. Army,
 R. H. Stuart, lieutenant, First Infantry,
 Wm. Gordon,
 Jean Baptiste Dorion.

TREATY WITH THE SIOUX, ETC., 1825.

APR. 19, 1825.
7 STAT., 272.
Proclamation, Feb.
6, 1826.

Treaty with the Sioux and Chippewa, Sacs and Fox, Menominie, Ioway, Sioux, Winnebago, and a portion of the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawattonie, Tribes.

THE United States of America have seen with much regret, that wars have for many years been carried on between the Sioux and the Chippewas, and more recently between the confederated tribes of Sacs and Foxes, and the Sioux; and also between the Ioways and Sioux; which, if not terminated, may extend to the other tribes, and involve the Indians upon the Missouri, the Mississippi, and the Lakes, in general hostilities. In order, therefore, to promote peace among these tribes, and to establish boundaries among them and the other tribes who live in their vicinity, and thereby to remove all causes of future difficulty, the United States have invited the Chippewa, Sac, and Fox, Menominie, Ioway, Sioux, Winnebago, and a portion of the Ottawa, Chippewa and Potawattonie Tribes of Indians living upon the Illinois, to assemble together, and in a spirit of mutual conciliation to accomplish these objects; and to aid therein, have appointed William Clark and Lewis Cass, Commissioners on their part, who have met the Chiefs, Warriors, and Representatives of the said tribes, and portion of tribes, at Prairie des Chiens, in the Territory of Michigan, and after full deliberation, the said tribes, and portions of tribes, have agreed with the United States, and with one another, upon the following articles:

ARTICLE 1.

Firm and perpetual
peace.

There shall be a firm and perpetual peace between the Sioux and Chippewas; between the Sioux and the confederated tribes of Sacs and Foxes; and between the Ioways and the Sioux.

ARTICLE 2.

Line between the
respective countries.

It is agreed between the confederated Tribes of the Sacs and Foxes, and the Sioux, that the Line between their respective countries shall be as follows: Commencing at the mouth of the Upper Ioway River, on

the west bank of the Mississippi, and ascending the said Ioway river, to its left fork; thence up that fork to its source; thence crossing the fork of Red Cedar River, in a direct line to the second or upper fork of the Desmoines river; and thence in a direct line to the lower fork of the Calumet river; and down that river to its juncture with the Missouri river. But the Yancton band of the Sioux tribe, being principally interested in the establishment of the line from the Forks of the Desmoines to the Missouri, and not being sufficiently represented to render the definitive establishment of that line proper, it is expressly declared that the line from the forks of the Desmoines to the forks of the Calumet river, and down that river to the Missouri, is not to be considered as settled until the assent of the Yancton band shall be given thereto. And if the said band should refuse their assent, the arrangement of that portion of the boundary line shall be void, and the rights of the parties to the country bounded thereby, shall be the same as if no provision had been made for the extension of the line west of the forks of the Desmoines. And the Sacs and Foxes relinquish to the tribes interested therein, all their claim to land on the east side of the Mississippi river.

Relinquishment of
Sacs and Foxes.

ARTICLE 3.

The Ioways accede to the arrangement between the Sacs and Foxes, and the Sioux; but it is agreed between the Ioways and the confederated tribes of the Sacs and Foxes, that the Ioways have a just claim to a portion of the country between the boundary line described in the next preceding article, and the Missouri and Mississippi; and that the said Ioways, and Sacs and Foxes, shall peaceably occupy the same, until some satisfactory arrangement can be made between them for a division of their respective claims to country.

Ioways accede to the
arrangement.

ARTICLE 4.

The Ottoes not being represented at this Council, and the Commissioners for the United States being anxious that justice should be done to all parties, and having reason to believe that the Ottoes have a just claim to a portion of the country upon the Missouri, east and south of the boundary line dividing the Sacs and Foxes and the Ioways, from the Sioux, it is agreed between the parties interested therein, and the United States, that the claim of the Ottoes shall not be affected by any thing herein contained; but the same shall remain as valid as if this treaty had not been formed.

Claim of the Ottoes not to be affected by this treaty.

ARTICLE 5.

It is agreed between the Sioux and the Chippewas, that the line dividing their respective countries shall commence at the Chippewa River, half a day's march below the falls; and from thence it shall run to Red Cedar River, immediately below the falls; from thence to the St. Croix River, which it strikes at a place called the standing cedar, about a day's paddle in a canoe, above the Lake at the mouth of that river; thence passing between two lakes called by the Chippewas "Green Lakes," and by the Sioux "the lakes they bury the Eagles in," and from thence to the standing cedar that "the Sioux Split;" thence to Rum River, crossing it at the mouth of a small creek called choaking creek, a long day's march from the Mississippi; thence to a point of woods that projects into the prairie, half a day's march from the Mississippi; thence in a straight line to the mouth of the first river which enters the Mississippi on its west side above the mouth of Sac river; thence ascending the said river (above the mouth of Sac river)

Agreement between the Sioux and Chippewas.

to a small lake at its source; thence in a direct line to a lake at the head of Prairie river, which is supposed to enter the Crow Wing river on its South side; thence to Otter-tail lake Portage; thence to said Otter-tail lake, and down through the middle thereof, to its outlet; thence in a direct line, so as to strike Buffalo river, half way from its source to its mouth, and down the said river to Red River; thence descending Red river to the mouth of Outard or Goose creek: The eastern boundary of the Sioux commences opposite the mouth of Ioway river, on the Mississippi, runs back two or three miles to the bluffs, follows the bluffs, crossing Bad axe river, to the mouth of Black river, and from Black river to half a day's march below the Falls of the Chippewa River.

ARTICLE 6.

Agreement between the Chippewas and the Winnebagoes.

It is agreed between the Chippewas and Winnebagoes, so far as they are mutually interested therein, that the southern boundary line of the Chippewa country shall commence on the Chippewa river aforesaid, half a day's march below the falls on that river, and run thence to the source of Clear Water river, a branch of the Chippewa; thence south to Black river; thence to a point where the woods project into the meadows, and thence to the Plover Portage of the Ouisconsin.

ARTICLE 7.

Agreement between the Winnebagoes and the Sioux, etc.

It is agreed between the Winnebagoes and the Sioux, Sacs and Foxes, Chippewas and Ottawas, Chippewas and Potawatomes of the Illinois, that the Winnebago country shall be bounded as follows: south easterly by Rock River, from its source near the Winnebago lake, to the Winnebago village, about forty miles above its mouth; westerly by the east line of the tract, lying upon the Mississippi, herein secured to the Ottawa, Chippewa and Potawatome Indians, of the Illinois; and also by the high bluff, described in the Sioux boundary, and running north to Black river: from this point the Winnebagoes claim up Black river, to a point due west from the source of the left fork of the Ouisconsin; thence to the source of the said fork, and down the same to the Ouisconsin; thence down the Ouisconsin to the portage, and across the portage to Fox river; thence down Fox river to the Winnebago lake, and to the grand Kan Kanlin, including in their claim the whole of Winnebago lake; but, for the causes stated in the next article, this line from Black river must for the present be left indeterminate.

ARTICLE 8.

Agreement between
the Menominees and
the Sioux, etc.

The representatives of the Menominees not being sufficiently acquainted with their proper boundaries, to settle the same definitively, and some uncertainty existing in consequence of the cession made by that tribe upon Fox River and Green Bay, to the New York Indians, it is agreed between the said Menominee tribe, and the Sioux, Chippewa, Winnebagoes, Ottawa, Chippewa and Potawatomie Indians of the Illinois, that the claim of the Menominees to any portion of the land within the boundaries allotted to either of the said tribes, shall not be barred by any stipulation herein; but the same shall remain as valid as if this treaty had not been concluded. It is, however, understood that the general claim of the Menominees is bounded on the north by the Chippewa country, on the east by Green Bay and lake Michigan extending as far south as Millwaukee river, and on the West they claim to Black River.

ARTICLE 9.

Boundary of the
Ottawa, Chippewa,
and Potawatomes.

The country secured to the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomie tribes of the Illinois, is bounded as follows: Beginning at the Winne-

bago village, on Rock river, forty miles from its mouth and running thence down the Rock river to a line which runs from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, and with that line to the Mississippi, opposite to Rock Island; thence up that river to the United States reservation, at the mouth of the Ouisconsin; thence with the south and east lines of the said reservation to the Ouisconsin; thence, southerly, passing the heads of the small streams emptying into the Mississippi, to the Rock river at the Winnebago village. The Illinois Indians have also a just claim to a portion of the country bounded south by the Indian boundary line aforesaid, running from the southern extreme of lake Michigan, east by lake Michigan, north by the Menominee country, and north-west by Rock river. This claim is recognized in the treaty concluded with the said Illinois tribes at St. Louis, August 24, 1816, but as the Millewakee and Manetoowalk bands are not represented at this Council, it cannot be now definitively adjusted.

ARTICLE 10.

All the tribes aforesaid acknowledge the general controlling power of the United States, and disclaim all dependence upon, and connection with, any other power. And the United States agree to, and recognize, the preceding boundaries, subject to the limitations and restrictions before provided. It being, however, well understood that the reservations at Fever River, at the Ouisconsin, and St. Peters, and the ancient settlements at Prairie des Chiens and Green Bay, and the land property thereto belonging, and the reservations made upon the Mississippi, for the use of the half breeds, in the treaty concluded with the Sacs and Foxes, August 24, 1824, are not claimed by either of the said tribes.

Said tribes acknowl-
edge the supremacy
of the United States.

ARTICLE 11.

The United States agree, whenever the President may think it necessary and proper, to convene such of the tribes, either separately or together, as are interested in the lines left unsettled herein, and to recommend to them an amicable and final adjustment of their respective claims, so that the work, now happily begun, may be consummated. It is agreed, however, that a Council shall be held with the Yancton band of the Sioux, during the year 1826, to explain to them the stipulations of this treaty, and to procure their assent thereto, should they be disposed to give it, and also with the Ottoes, to settle and adjust their title to any of the country claimed by the Sacs, Foxes, and Ioways.

A council to be held
in 1826.

ARTICLE 12.

The Chippewa tribe being dispersed over a great extent of country, and the Chiefs of that tribe having requested, that such portion of them as may be thought proper, by the Government of the United States, may be assembled in 1826, upon some part of Lake Superior, that the objects and advantages of this treaty may be fully explained to them, so that the stipulations thereof may be observed by the warriors. The Commissioners of the United States assent thereto, and it is therefore agreed that a council shall accordingly be held for these purposes.

An assembly of the Chippewas to be convened.

ARTICLE 13.

It is understood by all the tribes, parties hereto, that no tribe shall hunt within the acknowledged limits of any other without their assent, but it being the sole object of this arrangement to perpetuate a peace among them, and amicable relations being now restored, the Chiefs of all the tribes have expressed a determination, cheerfully to allow a reciprocal right of hunting on the lands of one another, permission being first asked and obtained, as before provided for.

No tribe to hunt within the acknowledged limits of any other without their assent.

ARTICLE 14.

In case of difficulty between the tribes.

Should any causes of difficulty hereafter unhappily arise between any of the tribes, parties hereunto, it is agreed that the other tribes shall interpose their good offices to remove such difficulties; and also that the government of the United States may take such measures as they may deem proper, to effect the same object.

ARTICLE 15.

When to take effect

This treaty shall be obligatory on the tribes, parties hereto, from and after the date hereof, and on the United States, from and after its ratification by the government thereof.

Done, and signed, and sealed, at Prairie des Chiens, in the territory of Michigan, this nineteenth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five, and of the independence of the United States the fiftieth.

William Clark,	[L. S.]	Ho-wa-mick-a, x the little elk,	[L. S.]
Lewis Cass,	[L. S.]	Menominees:	
Sioux:		Ma-can-me-ta, x medicine bear,	[L. S.]
Wa-ha-aha, x or the lent,	[L. S.]	Chau-wee-nou-mi-tai, x medicine	
Pe-tet-te x Corbeau, little crow,	[L. S.]	south wind,	[L. S.]
The Little x of the Wappitong		Char-o-nee, x	[L. S.]
tribe,	[L. S.]	Ma-wesh-a, x the little wolf,	[L. S.]
Tartunka-nasiah x Suseitong,	[L. S.]	A-ya-pas-mie-al, x the thunder that	
Sleepy Eyes, x Sossitong,	[L. S.]	turns,	[L. S.]
Two faces x do	[L. S.]	Cha-ne-pau, x the riband,	[L. S.]
French Crow x Wappacoota,,	[L. S.]	La-me-quon, x the spoon,	[L. S.]
Kee-jee x do	[L. S.]	En-im-e-tas, x the barking wolf,	[L. S.]
Tar-se-ga x do	[L. S.]	Pape-at, x the one just arrived,	[L. S.]
Wa-ma-de-lun-ka x black dog,	[L. S.]	O-que-men-ce, x the little chief,	[L. S.]
Wan-na-ta x Yaueton, or he that		Chippewas:	
charges on his enemies,	[L. S.]	Shingwaua x W'Ossin, 1st chief of	
Red Wing x	[L. S.]	the Chippewa nation, Saulte	
Ko-ko-ma-ko x	[L. S.]	St. Marie,	[L. S.]
Sha-co-pe x the Sixth,	[L. S.]	Gitepee x Jianba, 2d chief,	[L. S.]
Pe-ni-si-on x	[L. S.]	Gitepee x Wankee, or le bœuf de la	
Eta-see-pa x Wabasha's band,	[L. S.]	pointe lake Superior,	[L. S.]
Wa-ka-u-hee, x Sioux band, rising		Nain-a-boozhu, x of la pointe lake	
thunder,	[L. S.]	Superior,	[L. S.]
The Little Crow, x Suseitong,	[L. S.]	Monga, x Zid or loon's foot of Fond	
Po-e-ha-pa x Me-da-we-con-tong,		du Lac,	[L. S.]
or eagle head,	[L. S.]	Wescoup, x or sucre of Fond du	
Ta-ke-wa-pa x Wappitong, or med-		Lac,	[L. S.]
icine blanket,	[L. S.]	Mush-Kong, x or the elk of Fond	
Tench-ze-part, x his bow,	[L. S.]	du Lac,	[L. S.]
Masc-pu-lo-chas-tosh, x the white		Nau-hun x Aqeezhik, of Fond du	
man,	[L. S.]	Lac,	[L. S.]
Te-te-kar-munch, x the buffaloman,	[L. S.]	Kau-ta-waubeta, x or broken tooth	
Wa-sa-o-ta x Suseitong, or a great		of Sandy lake,	[L. S.]
of hail,	[L. S.]	Pugiesingegen, x or broken arm of	
Oeyah-ko-ca, x the crackling tract,	[L. S.]		
Mak-to-wah-ba-erk x the bear	[L. S.]		

Winnebagoes:	[L. S.]	Sandy lake,	[L. S.]
Les quatre jambes, x	[L. S.]	Kwee-wee-zai-shih, x or grossguelle	[L. S.]
Carimine, x the turtle that walks,	[L. S.]	of Sandy lake,	[L. S.]
De-ca-ri, x	[L. S.]	Ba-ha-see-kundade, x or curling	[L. S.]
Wan-ca-ha-ga, x or snake's skin,	[L. S.]	hair of Sandy lake,	[L. S.]
Sa-sa-ma-ii, x	[L. S.]	Paashineep, x or man shooting at	[L. S.]
Wa-non-cho-qua, x the merchant,	[L. S.]	the mark of Sandy lake,	[L. S.]
Chon-que-pa, x or dog's head,	[L. S.]	Tu-ga-n-gik, x the little beef, Leech	[L. S.]
Cha-rat-chion, x the smoker,	[L. S.]	lake,	[L. S.]
Ca-ri-ca-si-ca, x he that kills the	[L. S.]	Pee-see-ker, x or buffalo, St. Croix	[L. S.]
crow,	[L. S.]	band,	[L. S.]
Watch-kat-o-que, x the grand ca-	[L. S.]	Nau-din, x or the wind, St. Croix	[L. S.]
noe,	[L. S.]	band,	[L. S.]
		Nau-quan-a-bee, x of Mille lac,	[L. S.]
			[L. S.]
Tu-kau-bis-hoo, x or crouching lynx	[L. S.]	Sacs:	
of Lac Courte Oreille,	[L. S.]	Na-o-tuk, x the stabbing chief,	[L. S.]
The Red Devil, x of Lac Courte	[L. S.]	Fish-ken-au-nee, x all fish,	[L. S.]
Oreille,	[L. S.]	Po-ko-nau-qua, x or broken arm,	[L. S.]
The Track, x of Lac Courte Oreille,	[L. S.]	Wau-kau-che, x eagle nose,	[L. S.]
Ne-bo-na-bee, x the mermaid Lac	[L. S.]	Quash-kaume, x jumping fish,	[L. S.]
Courte Oreille,	[L. S.]	Ochaach, x the fisher,	[L. S.]
Pi-a-gick, x the single man St.	[L. S.]	Ke-o-kuck, x the watchful fox,	[L. S.]
Croix,	[L. S.]	Skin-gwin-ee-see, the x ratier,	[L. S.]
Pu-in-a-ne-gl, x, or the hole in the	[L. S.]	Was-ar-wis-ke-no, x the yellow	[L. S.]
day, Sandy lake,	[L. S.]	bird,	[L. S.]
Moose-o-mon-e, x plenty of elk, St.	[L. S.]	Pau-ko-tuk, x the open sky,	[L. S.]
Croix band,	[L. S.]	Au-kaak-wan-e-suk, x he that	[L. S.]
Nees-o-pe-na, x or two birds of Up-	[L. S.]	vaults on the earth,	[L. S.]
per Red Cedar lake,	[L. S.]	Mu-ku-tak-wan-wet, x	[L. S.]
Shaata, x the pelican of Leech lake,	[L. S.]	Mis-ke-bee, x the standing hair,	[L. S.]
Che-on-o-quet, x the great cloud	[L. S.]		
of Leech lake,	[L. S.]	Foxes:	
I-au-ben-see, x the little buck of	[L. S.]	Wan-ha-law, x the playing fox,	[L. S.]
Red lake,	[L. S.]	Ti-a-mah, x the bear that makes	[L. S.]
Kia-wa-tas, x the tarrier of Leech	[L. S.]	the rocks shake,	[L. S.]
lake,	[L. S.]	Pee-ar-mas-ki, x the jumping stur-	[L. S.]
Mau-ge-ga-bo, x the leader of Leech	[L. S.]	geon,	[L. S.]
lake,	[L. S.]	Shagwa-na-tek-wishu, x the thun-	[L. S.]
Nan-go-tuck, x the flame of Leech	[L. S.]	der that is heard all over the	[L. S.]
lake,	[L. S.]	world,	[L. S.]
Nee-si-day-sish, x the sky of Red	[L. S.]	Mis-o-win, x moose deer horn,	[L. S.]
lake,	[L. S.]	No-ko-wot, x the down of the fur,	[L. S.]
Pee-chan-a-nim, x striped feather	[L. S.]	Nau-sa-wa-quot, x the bear that	[L. S.]
of Sandy lake,	[L. S.]	sleeps on the forks,	[L. S.]
White Devil, x of Leech lake,	[L. S.]	Shin-quin-is, x the ratier,	[L. S.]
Ka-ha-ka, x the sparrow, Lac	[L. S.]	O-lo-pee-sau, x or Mache-paho-ta,	[L. S.]
Courte Oreille,	[L. S.]	the bear,	[L. S.]
I-au-be-ence, x little buck of Rice	[L. S.]	Keesis, x the sun,	[L. S.]
lake,	[L. S.]	No-wank, x he that gives too little,	[L. S.]
Ca-ba-ma-hec, x the assembly of	[L. S.]	Kan-ka-mote, x	[L. S.]
St. Croix,	[L. S.]	Neek-waa, x	[L. S.]
Nau-gau-nosh, x the forward man	[L. S.]	Ka-tuck-e-kan-ka, x the fox with a	[L. S.]
lake Flambeau,	[L. S.]	spotted breast,	[L. S.]
Caw-win-dow, x he that gathers	[L. S.]	Mock-to-back-sa-gum, x black to-	[L. S.]
berries of Sandy Lake,	[L. S.]	bacco,	[L. S.]
On-que-ess, the mink, lake Super-	[L. S.]	Wes-kesa, x the bear family,	[L. S.]
rior,	[L. S.]		
Ke-we-ta-ke-pe, x all round the	[L. S.]	Iowas:	
sky,	[L. S.]	Ma-hoe-ka, x the white cloud,	[L. S.]
The-seez, x	[L. S.]	Pumpkin, x	[L. S.]
Ottawas:	[L. S.]	Wa-ca-nee, x the painted medi-	[L. S.]
Chaboner, x or Chambly,	[L. S.]	cine,	[L. S.]
Shaw-fau-wick, x the mink,	[L. S.]	Tar-no-mun, x a great many deer,	[L. S.]
Potawatomes:	[L. S.]	Wa-hoo-ga, x the owl,	[L. S.]
Ignace, x	[L. S.]	Ta-ca-mo-nee, x the lightning,	[L. S.]
Ke-o-kuk, x	[L. S.]	Wa-push-a, x the man killer,	[L. S.]
Che-chan-quoese, x the little crane,	[L. S.]	To-nup-he-non-e, x the flea,	[L. S.]
Taw-wa-na-nee, x the trader,	[L. S.]	Mon-da-tonga, x	[L. S.]
		Cho-wa-row-a, x	[L. S.]

Witnesses:

Thomas Biddle, secretary,		David Bailey,	
R. A. McCabe, Captain Fifth Infantry,		James M'Ilvaine, lieutenant U. S. Army,	
R. A. Forsyth,		Law. Tallferro, Indian agent for Upper	
N. Bollvin, United States Indian agent,		Mississippi,	
C. C. Trowbridge, sub Indian agent,		John Holiday,	
Henry R. Schoolcraft, United States In-		William Dickson,	
Indian agent,		S. Campbell, United States interpreter,	
B. F. Harney, Surgeon U. S. Army,		J. A. Lewis,	
W. B. Alexander, sub Indian agent,		William Holiday,	
Thomas Forsyth, agent Indian affairs,		Dunable Denejlevy,	
Marvien Blondau,		Bela Ch: pman.	

TREATY WITH THE SAUK AND FOXES, ETC., 1830.

Articles of a treaty made and concluded by William Clark Superintendent of Indian Affairs and Willoughby Morgan, Col. of the United States 1st Regt. Infantry, Commissioners on behalf of the United States on the one part, and the undersigned Deputations of the Confederated Tribes of the Sacs and Foxes; the Medawah-Kanton, Wah-pacoota, Wahpeton and Sissetong Bands or Tribes of Sioux; the Omahas, Ioways, Ottoes and Missourians on the other part.

July 16, 1830.

7 Stat., 828.
Proclamation, Feb.
24, 1831.

THE said Tribes being anxious to remove all causes which may hereafter create any unfriendly feeling between them, and being also anxious to provide other sources for supplying their wants besides those

of hunting, which they are sensible must soon entirely fail them; agree with the United States on the following Articles.

Cession of lands.

ARTICLE I. The said Tribes cede and relinquish to the United States forever all their right and title to the lands lying within the following boundaries, to wit: Beginning at the upper fork of the Desmoine River, and passing the sources of the Little Sioux, and Floyds Rivers, to the fork of the first creek which falls into the Big Sioux or Calumet on the east side; thence, down said creek, and Calumet River to the Missouri River; thence down said Missouri River to the Missouri State line, above the Kansas; thence along said line to the north west corner of the said State, thence to the high lands between the waters falling into the Missouri and Desmoines, passing to said high lands along the dividing ridge between the forks of the Grand River; thence along said high lands or ridge separating the waters of the Missouri from those of the Demoine, to a point opposite the source of Boyer River, and thence in a direct line to the upper fork of the Demoine, the place of beginning. But it is understood that the lands ceded and relinquished by this Treaty, are to be assigned and allotted under the direction of the President of the United States, to the Tribes now living thereon, or to such other Tribes as the President may locate thereon for hunting, and other purposes.

Purpose to which
the lands are to be
applied.Cession by the Sacs
and Foxes.

ARTICLE II. The confederated Tribes of the Sacs and Foxes, cede and relinquish to the United States forever, a tract of Country twenty miles in width, from the Mississippi to the Demoine; situate south, and adjoining the line between the said confederated Tribes of Sacs and Foxes, and the Sioux; as established by the second article of the Treaty of Prairie du Chien of the nineteenth of August one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five.

Cession by the Me-
dawah-Kanton, etc.

ARTICLE III. The Medawah-Kanton, Wah-pa-coota, Wahpeton and Sisseton Bands of the Sioux cede and relinquish to the United States forever, a Tract of Country twenty miles in width, from the Mississippi to the Demoine River, situate north, and adjoining the line mentioned in the preceding article.

Consideration.

Annuities.

ARTICLE IV. In consideration of the cessions and relinquishments made in the first, second, and third articles of this Treaty, the United States agree to pay to the Sacs, three thousand dollars,—and to the Foxes three thousand dollars; To the Sioux of the Mississippi two thousand dollars;—To the Yancton and Santie Bands of Sioux three thousand dollars;—To the Omahas, two thousand five hundred dollars;—To the Ioways two thousand five hundred dollars;—To the Ottoes and Missourians two thousand five hundred dollars, and to the Sacs of the Missouri River five hundred dollars; to be paid annually for ten successive years at such place, or places on the Mississippi or Missouri, as may be most convenient to said Tribes, either in money, merchandise, or domestic animals, at their option; and when said annuities or any portion of them shall be paid in merchandise, the same is to be delivered to them at the first cost of the goods at St. Louis free of transportation.

Further Provisions

And the United States further agree to make to the said Tribes and Bands, the following allowances for the period of ten years, and as long thereafter as the President of the United States may think necessary and proper, in addition to the sums herein before stipulated to be paid them; that is to say; To the Bands of the Sioux mentioned in the third article, one Blacksmith at the expense of the United States, and the necessary tools; also instruments for agricultural purposes, and iron and steel to the amount of seven hundred dollars;—To the Yancton and Santie Bands of Sioux, one Blacksmith at the expense of the United States, and the necessary tools, also instruments for agricultural purposes to the amount of four hundred dollars; To the Omahas one Blacksmith at the expense of the United States, and the necessary tools, also instruments for agricultural purposes to the amount of five hundred dollars;—To the Ioways an assistant Blacksmith at the expense of the United States, also instruments for agricultural purposes to the amount of six hundred dollars; To the Ottoes and Missourias one Blacksmith at the expense of the United States, and the necessary tools, also instruments for agricultural purposes to the amount of five hundred dollars; and to the Sacs of the Missouri River, one Blacksmith at the expense of the United States and the necessary tools; also instruments for agricultural purposes to the amount of two hundred dollars.

ARTICLE V. And the United States further agree to set apart three thousand dollars annually for ten successive years, to be applied in the discretion of the President of the United States, to the education of the children of the said Tribes and Bands, parties hereto.

Annuity for education.

ARTICLE VI. The Yanckton and Santie Bands of the Sioux not being fully represented, it is agreed, that if they shall sign this Treaty, they shall be considered as parties thereto, and bound by all its stipulations.

Yanckton and Santie bands.

ARTICLE VII. It is agreed between the parties hereto, that the lines shall be run, and marked as soon as the President of the United States may deem it expedient.

Lines to be run.

ART. VIII. The United States agree to distribute between the several Tribes, parties hereto, five thousand, one hundred and thirty-two dollars worth of merchandise, the receipt whereof, the said Tribes hereby acknowledge; which, together with the amounts agreed to be paid, and the allowances in the fourth and fifth articles of this Treaty, shall be considered as a full compensation for the cession and relinquishments herein made.

Earnest.

ARTICLE IX. The Sioux Bands in Council having earnestly solicited that they might have permission to bestow upon the half breeds of their Nation, the tract of land within the following limits, to wit: Beginning at a place called the barn, below and near the village of the Red Wing Chief, and running back fifteen miles; thence in a parallel line with Lake Pepin and the Mississippi, about thirty-two miles to a point opposite Beef or O-Boeuf River; thence fifteen miles to the Grand Encampment opposite the River aforesaid; The United States agree to suffer said half Breeds to occupy said tract of country; they holding by the same title, and in the same manner that other Indian Titles are held.

Reservation for Sioux half-breeds.

ARTICLE X. The Omahas, Ioways and Ottoes, for themselves, and in behalf of the Yanckton and Santie Bands of Sioux, having earnestly requested that they might be permitted to make some provision for their half-breeds, and particularly that they might bestow upon them the tract of country within the following limits, to wit; Beginning at the mouth of the Little Ne-mohaw River, and running up the main channel of said River to a point which will be ten miles from its mouth in a direct line; from thence in a direct line, to strike the Grand Ne-mohaw ten miles above its mouth, in a direct line (the distance between the two Ne-mohaws being about twenty miles)—thence down said River to its mouth; thence up, and with the Meanders of the Missouri River to the point of beginning, it is agreed that the half-breeds of said Tribes and Bands may be suffered to occupy said tract of land; holding it in the same manner, and by the same title that other Indian titles are held; but the President of the United States may hereafter assign to any of the said half-breeds, to be held by him or them in fee simple, any portion of said tract not exceeding a section, of six hundred and forty acres to each individual. And this provision shall extend to the cession made by the Sioux in the preceding Article.

Reservation for other half-breeds.

ARTICLE XI. The reservation of land mentioned in the preceding Article having belonged to the Ottoes, and having been exclusively ceded by them; it is agreed that the Omahas, the Ioways and the Yanckton and Santie Bands of Sioux shall pay out of their annuities

Annuity to Ottoes from Omahas, etc.

to the said Ottoo Tribe, for the period of ten years, Three hundred Dollars annually; of which sum the Omahas shall pay one hundred Dollars, the Ioways one hundred Dollars, and the Yanckton and Santie Bands one hundred dollars.

Saving of rights of
the tribes.

ARTICLE XII. It is agreed that nothing contained in the foregoing Articles shall be so construed as to affect any claim, or right in common, which has heretofore been held by any Tribes, parties to this Treaty, to any lands not embraced in the cession herein made; but that the same shall be occupied and held by them as heretofore.

Treaty binding when
ratified.

ARTICLE XIII. This Treaty, or any part thereof, shall take effect, and be obligatory upon the Contracting parties, so soon as the same shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof.

Done, and signed, and sealed at Prairie du Chien, in the Territory of Michigan, this fifteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty, and of the independence of the United States, the fifty-fifth.

Wm. Clark, superintendent Indian affairs,	[L. s.]	Sioux of the Mississippi, Medawakan-ton band:
Willoughby Morgan, colonel First Infantry U. S. Army,	[L. s.]	Wabishaw, or red leaf, his x mark, [L. s.]
commissioners.		Tchataqua Manie, or little crow, his x mark, [L. s.]
Sacs:		Wauwunde-tunkar, the great calumet eagle, his x mark, [L. s.]
Mash-que-tai-paw, or red head, his x mark, [L. s.]		Taco-coqui-pishnee, he that fears nothing, his x mark, [L. s.]
Sheco-Calawko, or turtle shell, his x mark [L. s.]		Wah-coo-ta, that shoots arrows, his x mark, [L. s.]
Kee-o-cuck, the watchful fox, his x mark, [L. s.]		Pay-taw-whar, the fire owner, his x mark, [L. s.]
Poi-o-tahit, one that has no heart, his x mark, [L. s.]		Kaugh-Mohr, the floating log, his x mark, [L. s.]
Oe-hays-kee, ridge, his x mark, [L. s.]		Etars-e-pah, the bow, his x mark, [L. s.]
She-shee-quanine, little gourd, his x mark [L. s.]		Teeah-coota, one that fires at the yellow, his x mark, [L. s.]
O-saw-wish-canoe, yellow bird, his x mark, [L. s.]		Toh-kiah-taw-kaw, he who bites the enemy, his x mark, [L. s.]
I-onin, his x mark, [L. s.]		Nasiumpah, or the early riser, his x mark, [L. s.]
Am-oway, his x mark, [L. s.]		Am-pa-ta-tah-wah, his day, his x mark, [L. s.]
Niniwow-gua-sant, he that fears mankind, his x mark, [L. s.]		Wah-kee-ah-tunkar, big thunder, his x mark, [L. s.]
Obaukee Manitou, the little spirit, his x mark, [L. s.]		Tauchaw-cadoota, the red road, his x mark, [L. s.]
Moo-inn, the scalp, his x mark, [L. s.]		Tchaws-kesky, the elder, his x mark, [L. s.]
Wapaw-chicannuck, fish of the white marsh, his x mark, [L. s.]		Mauzau-hautau, the grey iron, his x mark, [L. s.]
Mexico, jic, his x mark, [L. s.]		Wazee-o-monie, the walking pine, his x mark, [L. s.]
Foxes:		Tachaw-cooash-tay, the good road, his x mark, [L. s.]
Wapalaw, the prince, his x mark, [L. s.]		Kie-ank-kaw, the inountain, his x mark, [L. s.]
Tawemin, strawberry, his x mark, [L. s.]		Mah-peau-mansaw, iron cloud, his x mark, [L. s.]
Pasha-sakay, son of Piemanschie, his x mark, [L. s.]		E-taych-o-caw, half face, his x mark, [L. s.]
Keewausette, he who climbs every-where, his x mark, [L. s.]		Anoug-gensje, one that stands on both sides, his x mark, [L. s.]
Naw-mee, his x mark, [L. s.]		Hough-appaw, the eagle head, his x mark, [L. s.]
Appenioce, or the grand child, his x mark, [L. s.]		Hooka-mooza, the iron limb, his x mark, [L. s.]
Waytee-mins, his x mark, [L. s.]		Hoatch-ah-cadoota, the red voice, his x mark, [L. s.]
Nawayaw-cosi, his x mark, [L. s.]		Wat-chu-da, the dancer. [L. s.]
Manquo-pwam, the bear's hip, (Morgan,) his x mark, [L. s.]		
Kaw-Kaw-Kee, the crow, his x mark, [L. s.]		
Mawcawtay-ee-quoiquenake, black neck, his x mark, [L. s.]		
Watu-pawnonsh, his x mark, [L. s.]		
Meshaw-nnaw-pectay, the large teeth, his x mark, [L. s.]		
Cawkee-Kamack, always fish, his x mark, [L. s.]		
Mussaw-wawquott, his x mark, [L. s.]		

Wah-pah-coota band:		Pah-a-manie, one who walks on the snow, his x mark, [L. s.]
Wiarh-hoh-ha, french crow, his x mark, [L. s.]		Pie-kan-ha-igne, the little star, his x mark, [L. s.]
Shans-konar, moving shadow, his x mark, [L. s.]		Niyoo Manie, walking rain, his x mark, [L. s.]
Ah-pe-hatar, the grey mane, his x mark, [L. s.]		Nautah-hoo, burnt-wood, his x mark, [L. s.]
Wahmedecaw-cahn-bohr, one that prays for the land, his x mark, [L. s.]		Pai-tansa, the white crane, his x mark, [L. s.]
Wah-con-de-kah-har, the one that makes the lightning, his x mark, [L. s.]		Ottoes:
Mazo-manie, or the Iron that walks, his x mark, [L. s.]		I-atan, or Shaumanie-Cassan, or prairie wolf, his x mark, [L. s.]
Mah-kah-ke-a-munch, one that flies on the land, his x mark, [L. s.]		Mehah-hun-jee, second daughter, his x mark, [L. s.]
Mauzau-haut-amundee, the walking bell, his x mark, [L. s.]		Wawroneman, the encircler, his x mark, [L. s.]
Kah-hih, the Menominie, his x mark, [L. s.]		Kansa-tauga, the big Kansa, his x mark, [L. s.]
Sussiton band:		Noe-kee-an-kay, strikes two, his x mark, [L. s.]
Ete-tahken-bah, the sleeping eyes, his x mark, [L. s.]		Tchal-au-grai, the shield, his x mark, [L. s.]
Ho-toh-monie, groans when he walks, his x mark, [L. s.]		Mantoigne, the little bow, his x mark, [L. s.]
Omaha's:		Thee-rai-tchai-nee-grai, wolf-tail at the heel, his x mark, [L. s.]
Opau-tauga, or the big elk, his x mark, [L. s.]		Oh-haw-kee-wano, that runs on the hills, his x mark, [L. s.]
Chonquee-kaw, the white horse, his x mark, [L. s.]		Rai-grai-a, speckled turtle, his x mark, [L. s.]
Teesan, the white crow, his x mark, [L. s.]		Tchai-wah-tchee-ray, going by, his x mark, [L. s.]
Ishtan-mauzay, iron-eye, chief's son, his x mark, [L. s.]		Krai-taunica, the hawk, his x mark, [L. s.]
Waw-shin-ga-sau-bais, black, bird, his x mark, [L. s.]		Mauto-a Kee-pah, that meets the bear, his x mark, [L. s.]
Waugh-pay-shan, the one who scalps but a small part from the crown of the head, his x mark, [L. s.]		Kai-wan-igne, little turtle, his x mark, [L. s.]
Au-gum-an, the chief, his x mark, [L. s.]		Missourias:
Age-en-gaw, the wing, his x mark, [L. s.]		Eh-shaw-manie, or the one who walks laughing, his x mark, [L. s.]
Non-bau-manie, the one that walks double, his x mark, [L. s.]		Obaw-tchee-ke-sakay, one who strikes the Little Osages, his x mark, [L. s.]
Way-coeh-ton, the frequent feast giver, his x mark, [L. s.]		Wamshe-katou-nat, the great man, his x mark, [L. s.]
Eh-que-naus-hue-kay, the second, his x mark, [L. s.]		Shoug-roeh-kay, the horse fly, his x mark, [L. s.]
Iosey, (the son of Kaway,) his x mark, [L. s.]		Tahmegrai-Soo-igne, little deer's dung, his x mark, [L. s.]
Ioways:		Missouri Sacs:
Wassau-nie, or the medicine club, his x mark, [L. s.]		Sau-kis-quoi-pee, his x mark, [L. s.]
Mauhoos Kan, white cloud, his x mark, [L. s.]		She-she-quene, the gourd, his x mark, [L. s.]
Wo-hoompee, the broth, his x mark, [L. s.]		Nochewai-tassy, his x mark, [L. s.]
Tah-roh-na, a good many deer, his x mark, [L. s.]		Mash-quaw-siais, his x mark, [L. s.]
Wa-nau-quash-coonie, without fear, his x mark, [L. s.]		Nawai-yak-ococo, his x mark, [L. s.]
		Wee-tay-main, one that goes with the rest, his x mark, [L. s.]

The assent of the Yancton and Santie Bands of Sioux, to the foregoing treaty is given. In testimony whereof, the chiefs, braves, and principal men of said bands have hereunto signed their names and acknowledge the same, at St. Louis, this 18th October, 1830.

Yancton and Santie Bands of Sioux:		Cha-pon-ka, or mosquito, his x mark, [L. s.]
Matto-Sa-Becha, the black bear, his x mark, [L. s.]		To-ki-mar-ne, he that walks ahead, his x mark, [L. s.]
Pa-con-okra, his x mark, [L. s.]		Wock-ta-ken-dee, kills and comes back, his x mark, [L. s.]
Citta-eutapishma, he who dont eat buffalo, his x mark, [L. s.]		Ha Sassa, his x mark, [L. s.]
To-ki-e-ton, the stone with horns, his x mark, [L. s.]		Chigga Wah-shu-she, little brave, his x mark, [L. s.]

Wah-gho-num-pa, cotton wood on the neck, his x mark, [L. s.]	Cha-tun-kia, sparrow hawk, his x mark, [L. s.]
Zuyeeaw, warrior, his x mark, [L. s.]	Ke-un-chun-ko, swift flyer, his x mark, [L. s.]
Tokun Ohomenee, revolving stone, his x mark, [L. s.]	Ti-ha-uhar, he that carries his horn, his x mark, [L. s.]
Eta-ga-nush-kica, mad face, his x mark, [L. s.]	Sin-ta-nomper, two tails, his x mark, [L. s.]
Womendee Dooter, red war eagle, his x mark, [L. s.]	Wo-con Cashtaka, the whipt spirit, his x mark, [L. s.]
Murpca A-har-ka, cloud elk, his x mark, [L. s.]	Ta Shena Pater, fiery blanket, his x mark, [L. s.]
To-ka-oh, wounds the enemy, his x mark, [L. s.]	
Pd-ta-sun eta womper, white buffalo with two faces, his x mark, [L. s.]	

In presence of—

Jno. Ruland, secretary to the commission.	David D. Mitchell.
Jon. L. Bean, special agent,	H. L. Donsman,
Law Tallafarro, Indian agent at St. Peters,	Wynkoop Warner,
R. B. Mason, captain, First Infantry,	Geo. Davenport,
G. Loomis, captain, First Infantry,	Wm. Hempstead,
James Peterson, lieutenant and adjutant,	Benjamin Mills,
H. B. M., Thirty-third Regiment,	Wm. H. Warfield, lieutenant, Third In-
N. S. Harris, lieutenant and adjutant,	fantry,
regiment, U. S. Infantry,	Sam. R. Throokmoor,
Henry Bainbridge, lieutenant, U. S. Army,	John Connelly,
John Gale, surgeon, U. S. Army,	Amos Farror,
J. Archer, lieutenant, U. S. Army,	Antoine Le Claire, interpreter of Sacs and
J. Dougherty, Indian agent,	Foxes,
Thos. A. Davies, lieutenant, infantry,	Stephen Julian, United States interpreter,
Wm. S. Williamson, sub-Indian agent,	Jacques Mette, interpreter,
And. S. Hughes, sub-Indian agent,	Michel Berda, his x mark, Mohow inter-
A. G. Baldwin, lieutenant, Third Infan-	preter,
try,	S. Campbell, United States interpreter.

Witnesses to the signatures of the Yancton and Santie bands of Sioux, at Fort Tecumseh, Upper Missouri, on the fourth day of September, 1830:

Wm. Gordon,
James Archdale Hamilton,
David D. Mitchell,
Wm. Saidlau,
Jacob Halsey.

Witnesses present at the signing and acknowledgment of the Yancton and Santie Deputations:

Jno. Ruland, secretary to Commissioners.	William C. Heyward, U. S. Army,
Jon. L. Bean, sub-Indian agent for Upper Missouri,	D. J. Royster, U. S. Infantry,
Felix F. Wain, Indian agent for Sacs and Foxes,	Samuel Kinney, U. S. Army,
John F. A. Sanford, United States Indian agent.	Merewether Lewis Clark, Sixth Regiment Infantry,
	Jacques Mette.

TREATY WITH THE OTO, ETC., 1836.

Articles of a convention entered into and concluded at Bellevue Upper Missouri the fifteenth day of October one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six, by and between John Dougherty U. S. agt. for Indian Affairs and Joshua Pilcher U. S. Ind. s. agt being specially authorized therefor; and the chiefs braves head men &c of the Otoes Missouries Omahaws and Yankton and Santee bands of Sioux, duly authorized by their respective tribes.

Oct. 15, 1836.

7 Stat., 524.
Proclamation, Feb.
18, 1857.

ARTICLE 1st. Whereas it has been represented that according to the stipulations of the first article of the treaty of Prairie du Chien of the fifteenth of July eighteen hundred and thirty, the country ceded is "to be assigned and allotted under the direction of the President of the United States to the tribes now living thereon or to such other tribes as the President may locate thereon for hunting and other purposes," and whereas it is further represented to us the chiefs, braves and head men of the tribes aforesaid, that it is desirable that the lands lying between the State of Missouri and the Missouri river, and south of a line running due west from the northwest corner of said State until said line strikes the Missouri river, should be attached to and become a part of said State, and the Indian title thereto be entirely extinguished; but that notwithstanding as these lands compose a part of the country embraced by the provisions of the said first article of the treaty aforesaid, the stipulations whereof will be strictly observed, until the assent of the Indians interested is given to the proposed measure. Now we the chiefs braves and principal men of the Otoes Missouries Omahaws Yankton and Santee bands of Sioux aforesaid fully understanding the subject and well satisfied from the local position of the lands in question, that they never can be made available for Indian purposes; and that an attempt to place an Indian population on them must inevitably lead to collisions with the citizens of the United States; and, further believing that the extension of the State line in the direction indicated, would have a happy effect by presenting a natural boundary between the whites and Indians; and willing moreover to give the United States a renewed evidence of our attachment and friendship; do hereby for ourselves and on behalf of our respective tribes (having full power and authority to this effect) for ever cede relinquish and quit claim to the United States all our right title and interest of whatsoever nature in and to the lands lying between the State of Missouri and the Missouri river, and south of a line running due west from the northwest corner of the State to the Missouri river, as herein before mentioned, and freely and fully exonerate the United States from any guarantee condition or limitation expressed or implied under the treaty of Prairie du Chien aforesaid or otherwise,

Treaty of July 15,
1830.Cession of land to
the United States.

as to the entire and absolute disposition of said lands, fully authorizing the United States to do with the same whatever shall seem expedient or necessary.

Present of \$4,500 in
merchandise.

ART. 2d. As a proof of the continued friendship and liberality of the United States towards the said Otoes Missouries Omahaws and Yankton and Santee bands of Sioux, and as an evidence of the sense entertained for the good will manifested by the said tribes to the citizens and Government of the United States as evinced in the preceding cession and relinquishment; and as some compensation for the great sacrifice made by the several deputations at this particular season, by abandoning their fall hunts and traveling several hundred miles to attend this convention the undersigned John Dougherty and Joshua Pilcher agrees on behalf of the United States to pay as a present to the tribes herein before named the sum of four thousand five hundred and twenty dollars in merchandise, the receipt of which they hereby acknowledge having been distributed among them in the proportions following. To the Otoes twelve hundred and fifty dollars, to the Missouries one thousand dollars to the Omahaws twelve hundred and seventy dolls. to the Yankton and Santee bands of Sioux one thousand dollars.

Portions of each
tribe.

Other and Missouries to be furnished with 800 bushels of corn.

ART. 3d. In consequence of the removal of the Otoes and Missouries from their former situation on the river Platte to the place selected for them, and of their having to build new habitations last spring at the time which should have been occupied in attending to their crops, it appears that they have failed to such a degree as to make it *certain* that they will lack the means of subsisting next spring, when it will be necessary for them to commence cultivating the lands now preparing for their use. It is therefore agreed that the said Otoes, and Missouries (in addition to the presents herein before mentioned) shall be furnished at the expense of the United States with five hundred bushels of corn to be delivered at their village in the month of April next. And the same causes operating upon the Omahaws, they having also abandoned their former situation, and established at the place recommended to them on the Missouri river, and finding it difficult without the aid of ploughs to cultivate land near their village where they would be secure from their enemies, it is agreed as a farther proof of the liberality of the Government and its disposition to advance such tribes in the cultivation of the soil as may manifest a disposition to rely on it for the future means of subsistence; that they shall have one hundred acres of ground broke up and put under a fence near their village, so soon as it can be done after the ratification of this convention.

Omahaws to have 100 acres of ground broke up, etc.

Obligatory when ratified.

ART. 5. This convention shall be obligatory on the tribes parties hereto, from and after the date hereof, and on the United States from and after its ratification by the Government thereof.

Done, signed, and sealed at Bellevue, Upper Missouri, this fifteenth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six, and of the independence of the United States, the sixty-first.

Jno. Dougherty, Indian agent,	[L. S.]	Mon-nah-shu-jah, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Joshua Pitcher, United States Indian subagent,	[L. S.]	Missouries:	
Otoes:		Hah-che-ge-sug-a, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Jaton, his x mark,	[L. S.]	Black Hawk, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Big Kaw, his x mark,	[L. S.]	No Heart, his x mark,	[L. S.]
The Thief, his x mark,	[L. S.]	Wan-ge-ge-he-ro-ga-ror, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Wah-ro-ne-saw, his x mark,	[L. S.]	The Arrow Fender, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Buffalo Chief, his x mark,	[L. S.]	Wah-ne-min-er, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Shaking Handle, his x mark,	[L. S.]	Big Wing, his x mark,	[L. S.]
We-ca-ru-ton, his x mark,	[L. S.]	Omahaws:	
Wash-shon-ke-ra, his x mark,	[L. S.]	Big Elk, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Standing White Bear, his x mark,	[L. S.]	Big Eyes, his x mark,	[L. S.]
O-rah-car-pe, his x mark,	[L. S.]	Wash-kaw-mony, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Wah-nah-shah, his x mark,	[L. S.]	White Horse, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Wa-gre-ni-e, his x mark,	[L. S.]	White Caw, his x mark,	[L. S.]
		Little Chief, his x mark,	[L. S.]
A-haw-paw, his x mark,	[L. S.]	Wash-ka-shin-ga, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Walking Cloud, his x mark,	[L. S.]	Mon-to-he, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Wah-see-an-nee, his x mark,	[L. S.]	Wah-kan-teau, his x mark,	[L. S.]
No Heart, his x mark,	[L. S.]	E-ta-ze-pa, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Wah-shing-gar, his x mark,	[L. S.]	Ha-che-you-ke-kha, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Standing Elk, his x mark,	[L. S.]	Wa-men-de-sh-wa-pe, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Ke-tah-an-nah, his x mark,	[L. S.]	E-chunk-ca-ne, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Mon-chu-ha, his x mark,	[L. S.]	Chu-we-a-teau, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Pe-ze-nin-ga, his x mark,	[L. S.]	Mah-pe-a-tean, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Yankton and Santecs,		Wah-mun-de-cha-ka, his x mark,	[L. S.]
Pitta-eu-ta-pishna, his x mark,	[L. S.]	Pah-ha-na-jie, his x mark,	[L. S.]

Witnesses:

J. Varnum Hamilton, sutler U. S. Dragoons and acting secretary,
 William Steele,
 John A. Ewell,
 William J. Martin,
 Martin Dorion, his x mark.

TREATY WITH THE YANKTON SIOUX, 1837.

Oct. 21, 1837.
7 Stat., M2.
Proclamation, Feb.
21, 1838.

Articles of a treaty made at the city of Washington, between Carey A. Harris, thereto specially authorized by the President of the United States, and the Yankton tribe of Sioux Indians, by their chiefs and delegates.

Indians cede all
their right in land
ceded by treaty of
15th July, 1830.

ARTICLE 1st. The Yankton tribe of Sioux Indians cede to the United States all the right and interest in the land ceded by the treaty, concluded with them and other tribes on the fifteenth of July, 1830, which they might be entitled to claim, by virtue of the phraseology employed in the second article of said treaty.

Consideration
therefor.

ARTICLE 2d. In consideration of the cession contained in the preceding article, the United States stipulate to pay them four thousand dollars (\$4,000.)

How to be expend-
ed.

It is understood and agreed, that fifteen hundred dollars (\$1,500) of this sum shall be expended in the purchase of horses and presents, upon the arrival of the chiefs and delegates at St. Louis; two thousand dollars (\$2,000) delivered to them in goods, at the expense of the United States, at the time their annuities are delivered next year; and five hundred dollars (\$500) be applied to defray the expense of removing the agency building and blacksmith shop from their present site.

ARTICLE 3d. The expenses of this negotiation, and of the chiefs and delegates signing this treaty to this city and to their homes, to be paid by the United States.

United States to pay
expenses of this
treaty.

ARTICLE 4th. This treaty to be binding upon the contracting parties, when the same shall be ratified by the United States.

Treaty binding
when ratified.

In witness whereof, the said Carey A. Harris, and the undersigned chiefs and delegates of said tribe, have hereunto set their hands at the city of Washington, this 21st day of October A. D. 1837.

C. A. Harris.

Ha-sa-za (The Elk's Horn)
Ha-sha-ta (The Forked Horn)
Za-ya-sa (Warrior)
Pa-la-ni-a-pa-pi (Struck by a Riccara)
To-ka-can (He that gives the First
Wound)

Mau-ka-ush-can (The Trembling Earth)
Mon-to-he (White crane)
Ish-ta-ap-pi (Struck in the eye)
E-mo-ne.

In presence of—

Chauncey Bush, Secretary.
Joshua Pilcher, Indian agent.
W. Thompson.

(To the Indian names are subjoined marks.)

TREATY OF FORT LARAMIE WITH SIOUX, ETC., 1851.

Sept. 17, 1851.

11 Stats., p. 749.

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.^a

Peace to be observed.

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.

Roads may be established.

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

Indians to be protected.

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 this treaty.

Depredations on whites to be satisfied.

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 United States, whilst lawfully residing in or passing through their respective territories.

Boundaries of lands.

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:

Sioux.

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.

Grosventre, etc.

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.

Assinaboins.

The territory of the Assinaboin 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

^a 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).

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.

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.

The territory of the Cheyennes and Arrapahoes, commencing at the Red Butte, or the place where the road leaves the north fork of the Platte River; thence up the north fork of the Platte River to its 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.

Cheyenne and Arrapaho.

It is, however, understood that, in making this recognition and acknowledgement, 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.

Rights in other lands.

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.

Head chiefs of said tribes.

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.

ARTICLE 8. It is understood and agreed that should any of the Indian nations, parties to this treaty, violate 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.

Annuities suspended by violation of treaty.

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-wah-tah-ni-lians-kah, his x mark.

Cheyennes:

Wah-ha-nis-satta, his x mark.
 Voist-ti-toe-vets, his x mark.
 Nahk-ko-me-ien, his x mark.
 Koh-kah-y-wh-cum-est, his x mark.

Arrapahoes:

Bè-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.

In the presence of—

A. B. Chambers, secretary.
 S. Cooper, colonel, U. S. Army.
 R. H. Chilton, captain, First Drags.
 Thomas Duncan, captain, Mounted Rifle-
 men.
 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 Chey-
 ennes.
 Robert Meldrum, interpreter for the
 Crows.

Crows:

Arra-tu-ri-sash, his x mark.
 Doh-chepit-seh-chi-es, his x mark.

Assinaboines:

Mah-toe-wit-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 x mark.

Arickarees:

Koun-hei-ti-shan, his x mark.
 Bi-atsh-tah-wetch, his x mark.

H. Culbertson, interpreter for Assini-
 boines and Gros Ventres.

Francois L'Etalle, interpreter for Arick-
 arees.

John Piselle, interpreter for the Arrapa-
 hoes.

B. Gratz Brown.

Robert Campbell.

Edmond F. Chouteau.

TREATY WITH THE YANKTON SIOUX, 1858.

Apr. 19, 1858.
 11 Stat., 743.
 Ratified Feb. 16, 1859.
 Proclaimed Feb. 26,
 1859.

Articles of agreement and convention made and concluded at the city of Washington, this nineteenth day of April, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight, by Charles E. Mix, commissioner on the part of the United States, and the following-named chiefs and delegates of the Yankton tribe of Sioux or Dacotah Indians, viz:

Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe, the man that was struck by the Ree.
Ma-to-sa-be-che-a, the smutty bear.
Charles F. Picotte, Eta-ke-cha.
Ta-ton-ka-wete-co, the crazy bull.
Pæ-cha-wa-kea, the jumping thunder.
Ma-ra-ha-ton, the iron horn.
Mombe-kah-pah, one that knocks down two.
Ta-ton-ka-e-yah-ka, the fast bull.
A-ha-ka-ma-ne, the walking elk.
A-ha-ka-na-zhe, the standing elk.
A-ha-ka-ho-che-cha, the elk with a bad voice.
Cha-ton-wo-ka-pa, the grabbing hawk.
E-ha-wo-cha-sha, the owl man.
Fla-son-wa-kan-na-ge, the white medicine cow that stands.
Ma-ga-scha-che-ka, the little white swan.
Oke-che-la-wash-ta, the pretty boy.

(The three last names signed by their duly-authorized agent and representative, Charles F. Picotte,) they being thereto duly authorized and empowered by said tribe of Indians.

Lands relinquished
 to the United States,
 except, etc.

ARTICLE 1. The said chiefs and delegates of said tribe of Indians do hereby cede and relinquish to the United States all the lands now owned, possessed, or claimed by them, wherever situated, except four hundred thousand acres thereof, situated and described as follows, to wit—Beginning at the mouth of the Naw-izi-wa-koo-pah or Chouteau River and extending up the Missouri River thirty miles; thence due north to a point; thence easterly to a point on the said Chouteau River; thence down said river to the place of beginning, so as to include the said quantity of four hundred thousand acres. They, also, hereby relinquish and abandon all claims and complaints about or growing out of any and all treaties heretofore made by them or other Indians, except their annuity rights under the treaty of Laramie, of September 17, A. D. 1851.

Boundaries of land
 ceded.

ARTICLE 2. The land so ceded and relinquished by the said chiefs and delegates of the said tribe of Yanktons is and shall be known and described as follows, to wit—

“Beginning at the mouth of the Tchan-kas-an-data or Calumet or Big Sioux River; thence up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Pa-hah-wa-kan or East Medicine Knoll River; thence up said river to its head; thence in a direction to the head of the main fork of the Wan-dush-kah-for or Snake River; thence down said river to its junction with the Tchan-san-san or Jaques or James River; thence in a direct line to the northern point of Lake Kampeska; thence along the northern shore of said lake and its outlet to the junction of said outlet with the said Big Sioux River; thence down the Big Sioux River to its junction with the Missouri River.”

Islands in the Mis-
 souri River.

And they also cede and relinquish to the United States all their right and title to and in all the islands of the Missouri River, from the mouth of the Big Sioux to the mouth of the Medicine Knoll River.

Title.

And the said chiefs and delegates hereby stipulate and agree that all the lands embraced in said limits are their own, and that they have full and exclusive right to cede and relinquish the same to the United States.

ARTICLE 3. The said chiefs and delegates hereby further stipulate and agree that the United States may construct and use such roads as may be hereafter necessary across their said reservation by the consent and permission of the Secretary of the Interior, and by first paying the said Indians all damages and the fair value of the land so used for said road or roads, which said damages and value shall be determined in such manner as the Secretary of the Interior may direct. And the said Yanctons hereby agree to *remove* and *settle* and *reside* on said reservation within one year from this date, and, until they do so remove, (if within said year,) the United States guarantee them in the quiet and undisturbed possession of their present settlements.

Necessary roads may be built across the lands reserved, paying damages therefor.

Indians to settle etc., on reservation within a year.

ARTICLE 4. In consideration of the foregoing cession, relinquishment, and agreements, the United States do hereby agree and stipulate as follows, to wit:

Agreements on part of the United States.

1st. To protect the said Yanctons in the quiet and peaceable possession of the said tract of four hundred thousand acres of land so reserved for their future home, and also their persons and property thereon during good behavior on their part.

Protection on the reserved lands.

2d. To pay to them, or expend for their benefit, the sum of sixty-five thousand dollars per annum, for ten years, commencing with the year in which they shall remove to, and settle and reside upon, their said reservation—forty thousand dollars per annum for and during ten years thereafter—twenty-five thousand dollars per annum for and during ten years thereafter—and fifteen thousand dollars per annum for and during twenty years thereafter; making *one million and six hundred thousand dollars in annuities in the period of fifty years*, of which sums the President of the United States shall, from time to time, determine what proportion shall be paid to said Indians, in cash, and what proportion shall be expended for their benefit, and, also, in what manner and for what objects such expenditure shall be made, due regard being had in making such determination to the best interests of said Indians. He shall likewise exercise the power to make such provision out of said sums as he may deem to be necessary and proper for the support and comfort of the aged or infirm, and helpless orphans of the said Indians. In case of any material decrease of said Indians, in number, the said amounts may, in the discretion of the President of the United States, be diminished and reduced in proportion thereto—or they may, at the discretion of the President of the United States, be discontinued entirely, should said Indians fail to make reasonable and satisfactory efforts to advance and improve their condition, in which case, such other provisions shall be made for them as the President and Congress may judge to be suitable and proper.

Payment of annuities.

3d. In addition to the foregoing sum of one million and six hundred thousand dollars as annuities, to be paid to or expended for the benefit of said Indians, during the period of fifty years, as before stated, the United States hereby stipulate and agree to expend for their benefit the sum of fifty thousand dollars more, as follows, to wit: Twenty-five thousand dollars in maintaining and subsisting the said Indians during the first year after their removal to and permanent settlement upon their said reservation; in the purchase of stock, agricultural implements, or other articles of a beneficial character, and in breaking up and fencing land; in the erection of houses, store-houses, or other needful buildings, or in making such other improvements as may be necessary for their comfort and welfare.

Subsistence.

Purchase of stock, etc.

4th. To expend ten thousand dollars to build a school-house or school-houses, and to establish and maintain one or more normal-labor schools (so far as said sum will go) for the education and training of the children of said Indians in letters, agriculture, the mechanic arts, and housewifery, which school or schools shall be managed and conducted in such manner as the Secretary of the Interior shall direct. The said

Schools and school-houses.

Indians hereby stipulating to keep constantly thereat, during at least nine months in the year, all their children between the ages of seven and eighteen years; and if any of the parents, or others having the care of children, shall refuse or neglect to send them to school, such parts of their annuities as the Secretary of the Interior may direct, shall be withheld from them and applied as he may deem just and proper; and such further sum, in addition to the said ten thousand dollars, as shall be deemed necessary and proper by the President of the United States, shall be reserved and taken from their said annuities, and applied annually, during the pleasure of the President to the support of said schools, and to furnish said Indians with assistance and aid and instruction in agricultural and mechanical pursuits, including the working of the mills, hereafter mentioned, as the Secretary of the Interior may consider necessary and advantageous for said Indians; and all instruction in reading shall be in the English language. And the said Indians hereby stipulate to furnish, from amongst themselves, the number of young men that may be required as apprentices and assistants in the mills and mechanic shops, and at least three persons to work constantly with each white laborer employed for them in agriculture and mechanical pursuits, it being understood that such white laborers and assistants as may be so employed *are* thus employed more for the instruction of the said Indians than merely to work for their benefit; and that the laborers so to be furnished by the Indians may be allowed a fair and just compensation for their services, to be fixed by the Secretary of the Interior, and to be paid out of the shares of annuity of such Indians as are able to work, but refuse or neglect to do so. And whenever the President of the United States shall become satisfied of a failure, on the part of said Indians, to fulfil the aforesaid stipulations, he may, at his discretion, discontinue the allowance and expenditure of the sums so provided and set apart for said school or schools, and assistance and instruction.

Indians to furnish apprentices for mills, etc.

President may discontinue allowance for school.

United States to furnish mills, mechanic shops, etc.

Mills, etc., not to be injured.

If injured value to be deducted from annuity.

Houses, etc., to be given to the Indians when, etc.

Portion of annuities may be paid for debts, etc.

Provided.

5th. To provide the said Indians with a mill suitable for grinding grain and sawing timber; one or more mechanic shops, with the necessary tools for the same; and dwelling-houses for an interpreter, miller, engineer for the mill, (if one be necessary,) a farmer, and the mechanics that may be employed for their benefit, and to expend therefor a sum not exceeding fifteen thousand dollars.

ARTICLE 5. Said Indians further stipulate and bind themselves to prevent any of the members of their tribe from destroying or injuring the said houses, shops, mills, machinery, stock, farming-utensils, or any other thing furnished them by the Government, and in case of any such destruction or injury of any of the things so furnished, or their being carried off by any member or members of their tribe, the value of the same shall be deducted from their general annuity; and whenever the Secretary of the Interior shall be satisfied that said Indians have become sufficiently confirmed in habits of industry and advanced in the acquisition of a practical knowledge of agriculture and the mechanic arts to provide for themselves, he may, at his discretion, cause to be turned over to them all of the said houses and other property furnished them by the United States, and dispense with the services of any or all persons hereinbefore stipulated to be employed for their benefit, assistance, and instruction.

ARTICLE 6. It is hereby agreed and understood that the chiefs and head-men of said tribe may, at their discretion, in open council, authorize to be paid out of their said annuities such a sum or sums as may be found to be necessary and proper, not exceeding in the aggregate one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, to satisfy their just debts and obligations, and to provide for such of their half-breed relations as do not live with them, or draw any part of the said annuities of said Indians: *Provided, however,* That their said determinations shall be approved by their agent for the time being, and the said payments authorized

by the Secretary of the Interior: *Provided, also*, That there shall not be so paid out of their said annuities in any one year, a sum exceeding fifteen thousand dollars.

Provided.

ARTICLE 7. On account of their valuable services and liberality to the Yanctons, there shall be granted in fee to Charles F. Picotte and Zephyr Rencontre, each, one section of six hundred and forty acres of land, and to Paul Dorian one-half a section; and to the half-breed Yancton, wife of Charles Reulo, and her two sisters, the wives of Eli Bedaud and Augustus Traverse, and to Louis Le Count, each, one-half a section. The said grants shall be selected in said ceded territory, and shall not be within said reservation, nor shall they interfere in any way with the improvements of such persons as are on the lands ceded above by authority of law; and all other persons (other than Indians, or mixed-bloods) who are now residing within said ceded country, by authority of law, shall have the privilege of entering one hundred and sixty acres thereof, to include each of their residences or improvements, at the rate of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre.

Grants of land to Charles F. Picotte, Zephyr Rencontre, Paul Dorian, and others.

Persons other than Indians or mixed bloods may enter 160 acres at \$1.25 per acre.

ARTICLE 8. The said Yancton Indians shall be secured in the free and unrestricted use of the red pipe-stone quarry, or so much thereof as they have been accustomed to frequent and use for the purpose of procuring stone for pipes; and the United States hereby stipulate and agree to cause to be surveyed and marked so much thereof as shall be necessary and proper for that purpose, and retain the same and keep it open and free to the Indians to visit and procure stone for pipes so long as they shall desire.

Yancton to be secure in the use of the red pipestone quarry.

ARTICLE 9. The United States shall have the right to establish and maintain such military posts, roads, and Indian agencies as may be deemed necessary within the tract of country herein reserved for the use of the Yanctons; but no greater quantity of land or timber shall be used for said purposes than shall be actually requisite; and if, in the establishment or maintenance of such posts, roads, and agencies, the property of any Yancton shall be taken, injured, or destroyed, just and adequate compensation shall be made therefor by the United States.

United States may maintain military posts, etc.

ARTICLE 10. No white person, unless in the employment of the United States, or duly licensed to trade with the Yanctons, or members of the families of such persons, shall be permitted to reside or make any settlement upon any part of the tract herein reserved for said Indians, nor shall said Indians alienate, sell, or in any manner dispose of any portion thereof, except to the United States. Whenever the Secretary of the Interior shall direct, said tract shall be surveyed and divided as he shall think proper among said Indians, so as to give to each head of a family or single person a separate farm, with such rights of possession or transfer to any other member of the tribe or of descent to their heirs and representatives as he may deem just.

No trade with Indians unless licensed.

Land not to be alienated except, etc.

ARTICLE 11. The Yanctons acknowledge their dependence upon the Government of the United States, and do hereby pledge and bind themselves to preserve friendly relations with the citizens thereof, and to commit no injuries or depredations on their persons or property, nor on those of members of any other tribe or nation of *of* Indians; and in case of any such injuries or depredations by said Yanctons, full compensation shall, as far as possible, be made therefor out of their tribal annuities, the amount in all cases to be determined by the Secretary of the Interior. They further pledge themselves not to engage in hostilities with any other tribe or nation, unless in self-defence, but to submit, through their agent, all matters of dispute and difficulty between themselves and other Indians for the decision of the President of the United States, and to acquiesce in and abide thereby. They also agree to deliver, to the proper officer of the United States all offenders against the treaties, laws, or regulations of the United States, and to assist in discovering, pursuing, and capturing all such offenders,

The Yancton to preserve friendly relations.

Surrender of offenders.

who may be within the limits of their reservation, whenever required to do so by such officer.

Tribal annuities to be withheld if intemperate, etc.

ARTICLE 12. To aid in preventing the evils of intemperance, it is hereby stipulated that if any of the Yanctons shall drink, or procure for others, intoxicating liquor, their proportion of the tribal annuities shall be withheld from them for at least one year; and for a violation of any of the stipulations of this agreement on the part of the Yanctons they shall be liable to have their annuities withheld, in whole or in part, and for such length of time as the President of the United States shall direct.

Annuities not to be subject to debts, except, etc.

ARTICLE 13. No part of the annuities of the Yanctons shall be taken to pay any debts, claims, or demands against them, except such existing claims and demands as have been herein provided for, and except such as may arise under this agreement, or under the trade and intercourse laws of the United States.

Release of all demands, etc.

ARTICLE 14. The said Yanctons do hereby fully acquit and release the United States from all demands against them on the part of said tribe, or any individual thereof, except the beforementioned right of the Yanctons to receive an annuity under said treaty of Laramie, and except, also, such as are herein stipulated and provided for.

Indian agent for Yancton.

ARTICLE 15. For the special benefit of the Yanctons, parties to this agreement, the United States agree to appoint an agent for them, who shall reside on their said reservation, and shall have set apart for his sole use and occupation, at such a point as the Secretary of the Interior may direct, one hundred and sixty acres of land.

Expenses hereof to be borne by the United States.

ARTICLE 16. All the expenses of this agreement, and of surveying the said Yancton reservation, and of surveying and marking said pipestone quarry, shall be paid by the United States.

When to take effect.

ARTICLE 17. This instrument shall take effect and be obligatory upon the contracting parties whenever ratified by the Senate and the President of the United States.

In testimony whereof, the said Charles E. Mix, commissioner, as aforesaid, and the undersigned chiefs, delegates, and representatives of the said tribe of Yancton Indians, have hereunto set their hands and seals at the place and on the day first above written.

Charles E. Mix, Commissioner. [L. s.]

Pa-la-ne-apa-pe, or the Man that was struck by the Ree, his x mark. [L. s.]	A-ha-ka-ho-che-cha, or the Elk with a bad voice, his x mark. [L. s.]
Ma-to-ra-be-che-a, or the Smutty Bear, his x mark. [L. s.]	Cha-ton-wo-ka-pa, or the Grabbing Hawk, his x mark. [L. s.]
Charles F. Picotte, or Eta-ke-cha. [L. s.]	E-ha-we-cha-sha, or the Owl Man, his x mark. [L. s.]
Ta-ton-ka-wete-co, or the Crazy Bull, his x mark. [L. s.]	Pla-son-wa-kan-na-ge, or the White Medicine Cow that stands, by his duly authorized delegate and representative, Charles F. Picotte. [L. s.]
Pae-cha-wa-kea, or the Jumping Thunder, his x mark. [L. s.]	Ma-ga-cha-che-ka, or the Little White Swan, by his duly authorized delegate and representative, Charles F. Picotte. [L. s.]
Ma-ra-ha-ton, or the Iron Horn, his x mark. [L. s.]	O-ke-che-la-wash-ta, or the Pretty Boy, by his duly authorized delegate and representative, Chas. F. Picotte. [L. s.]
Nombe-kah-pah, or One that knocks down two, his x mark. [L. s.]	
Ta-ton-ka-e-yah-ka, or the Fast Bull, his x mark. [L. s.]	
A-ha-ka Ma-ne, or the Walking Elk, his x mark. [L. s.]	
A-ha-ka-na-zhe, or the Standing Elk, his x mark. [L. s.]	

Executed in the presence of—

A. H. Redfield, agent.
J. B. S. Todd.
Theophile Bruguier.
John Dowling.
Fr. Schmidt.
John W. Wells.
D. Walker.

E. B. Grayson.
S. J. Johnson.
George P. Mapes.
H. Bittinger.
D. C. Davis.
Zephier Roncontre, his x mark, United States Interpreter.

2
VITA

Leonard R. Bruguier
Tashunke Hinzi, Buckskin Horse

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: THE YANKTON SIOUX TRIBE: PEOPLE OF THE PIPESTONE,
1634-1888

Major Field: History

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born on the Yankton Sioux Reservation, Wagner, South Dakota, October 9, 1944. Parents deceased. Married to Renee Sansom-Flood, son Shane Sundance Flood; Petra Helen, Gabriel Rufus Smith, and Jacob Willis Bruguier are daughter and sons from my former marriage to Phyllis Marie Chilson Bruguier. Served with the 1st and 3rd Marine Divisions, United States Marine Corps, in the Republic of Vietnam, 1964-65, 1966.

Education: Graduated from Yankton Senior High School, Yankton, South Dakota, in May 1963; received Bachelor of Arts Degree in American History from The University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota in May, 1984; received Master of Public Administration Degree from The University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota in May, 1986; completed requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in July, 1993.

Professional Experience: Journeyman Machinist, Teaching Assistant, Oral History Researcher and Transcriber, Research Associate, Assistant Professor, Director, Executive Board Member, husband and father.