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UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

DAKOTAPI WOMEN'S TRADITIONS: A HISTORICAL AND LITERARY CRITIQUE OF WOMEN AS CULTURE BEARERS

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

KELLY JULIANNA MORGAN
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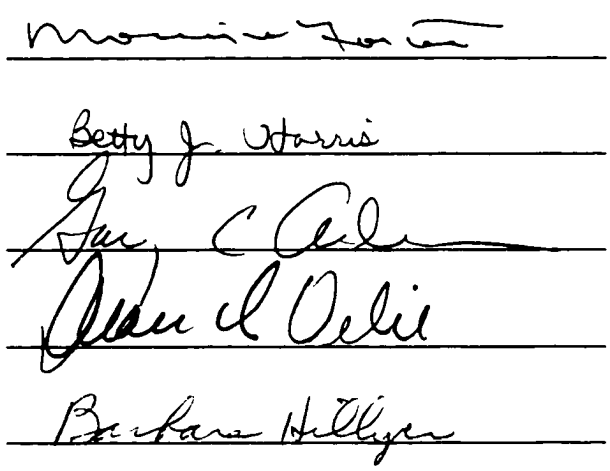
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A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

BY



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ABSTRACT

Dakotapi women's literatures are interdisciplinary. Women maintain cultural and linguistic viability in contemporary Dakotapi society. Dakotapi women's interpretations of their lives, as reflected in the literature written by them is the central focus of this study. As Dakotapi women we shape our culture's existence.

Cultures change over time and this is shown in the literary traditions of Dakota, Lakota, and Nakota women. Dakotapi women are the bearers of culture. Prior to contact with Europeans, Dakotapi oral stories were female-centered. This resulted in an egalitarian society that created an ideal lifestyle for both males and females. After contact, the oral stories shifted to a male focus because European males recorded the stories from a male perspective into a male-based historical record. Thus stories that were once female-based became male-based.

Each of the Dakotapi women writers considered in this dissertation were critique on three levels: 1) Initially the oral stories of the Dakotapi were told with women central to the stories. The focus was on their roles in Dakotapi culture and society. A consideration is given to the descriptions a writer provides about the oral traditions. 2) Oral and written stories are often recorded, retold, and/or transcribed by European-American men or Dakotapi males in a way that the stories lose altogether or

lack significant women characters as the central focus. Some of the Dakotapi women writers in this dissertation write critical responses to this and rewrite the stories to include the Dakotapi woman's voice. A few of the writers use male protagonists to give representation to the Dakotapi woman's voice. Other Dakotapi women writers use the historical and literary information created by European-American males and do not rely on the substantial amount of writing by other Dakotapi women writers. 3) Some Dakotapi women are rewriting stories and creating their own so that women once again are central to the Dakotapi oral and written traditions. Three oral narratives "Wohpe," "White Buffalo Calf woman," and "Standing Rock Legend," central to Dakotapi theology are explicated on these levels.

A sacred woman brought the calf pipe and the seven sacred rites to the Dakotapi several hundred years ago with a message of the central role of women to a balanced culture. The sacred rites of the Dakotapi are specifically significant to the literary traditions of Dakotapi women. The religious and spiritual upbringing of these women writers strongly influenced their writing. Their family's spiritual and religious history often influenced the educational attainment of the writers. Some of the women are highly educated and write critically about their cultures and the socioeconomic conditions of American Indians. The degree that they are educated influenced their

roles as culture bearers, as women.

Women's literary traditions changed according to the cultural differences in upbringing and the dependent variables (spiritual, religious, cultural, educational, and linguistic) of each writer. Examples of Dakotapi women's roles in the oral traditions are represented in the written literature of women as teachers, educators, writers, and as members of communities. These women are fully aware of their responsibility to pass on their knowledge as Dakotapi women to future generations.

A tradition is established by such early writers as Marie Louise McLaughlin, Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, and Ella Cara Deloria. These women writers knew early in their lives the importance of women's voices in literature. Transitional writers such as Beatrice Medicine, Elizabeth Cook Lynn, and Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve, carried the culture forward in a strong tradition of literary survival. Modern or contemporary writers such as Susan Power continue the literary traditions of Dakotapi women. The works of Mary Brave Bird, Barbara Means Adams, and Betty J. Eadie portray their individual cultural world views. The shape of each writers life is influenced according to the variances in cultural upbringing and the dependent variables examined.

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INTRODUCTION

> For it is the mothers, not the warriors, who create a people and guide their destiny. (Dedicatory note in Luther Standing Bear's Land of the Spotted Eagle, 1933).

The Oyate Tatanka (Buffalo People) suffered from the time just prior to the decimation of the buffalo herds and certainly continued when forced onto the reservations. From the beginning of the reservation period through the various federal programs and congressional acts (Dawes Act, Relocation, Reorganization, and Termination) up until the current detrimental Indian policies of the Republican dominated 105th Congress, however, the Oyate Tatanka persevere. Even though our cultural world views are damaged and our children suffer from a loss of values that can never be fully assessed, there is hope given to us by the reappearance of White Buffalo Calf Woman and Dakotapi women writers who reinforce and strengthen the culture, as it exists today, through the written word.

Women always hold a significant place in the revitalization of their peoples' culture and spirituality. Thus, they are responsible for the survival of Dakotapi peoples throughout the twentieth century, just as they were in past centuries, and as they will be for future generations. Men also contribute to the survival of any people and many Dakotapi men do just that. This document does not attempt to disregard their accomplishments. It gives recognition to the place of women within the cultural

matrix of Dakotapi traditions. Women writers in their efforts to tell their own stories give us a glimpse of this process.

Dakotapi women's interpretation of their lives, as reflected in the literature written by them, is the central focus of this dissertation. There are several dominant factors that affect, to one degree or another, the experiences of all the women considered in this dissertation. Those common denominators are: spirituality, religion, language, cultural upbringing (teachings and participation), and educational attainment. All of these factors are dependent variables.

Each writer expresses the essence of what it means to be an American Indian woman living in the 20th century. Those individuals born in the 19th century inform their readers of the drastic changes that occurred at the end of that and the beginning of this century in Dakotapi society. The experiences of women discussed in this dissertation vary according to the ways that they were raised and the changes in the Indian community and larger American society they lived in and how that experience impacted their writing. As the cultures changed over time with consistent loss, and then revitalized in some instances, information passed to the community through members who remained culturally intact. The dependent variables also changed according to the individual and the circumstances that influenced their

cultural upbringing.

How then does Dakotapi women's literature contribute to cultural survival? For instance, does the women's literature reflect a process of cultural survival already well-known to the community? Is it prescriptive in the sense that it shows how the culture is to survive? Or is the literature itself an "artifact" of cultural survival? Realizing that the idea of "cultural survival" in any literature poses a problem (3), it can be said that literature extends the knowledge of any particular cultural practice to future generations. This, however, does not necessarily guarantee the "survival" of the culture.

What effect does written literature actually have on Indian communities? Is the literature even read by large numbers of Indian people? One thing is certain: Native American literatures can contribute positively to cultural survival. Any time a culture's mores are written down that culture's chances of survival is enhanced. When we read only non-Indian literature our loss of esteem is immeasurable.

When we read about ourselves as American Indians, our lives are given credibility. Dakotapi cultures include dynamic and oral literatures that take their place within the history, culture, and social structure of the people (DeMallie 1982; Jahner 1983; Zitkala Sa 1901, 1921, Deloria 1944). Much of what was lost is irreplaceable yet there is

an abundance of knowledge (oral and written) that can once again be applied to contemporary society. There are many people in the communities who are knowledgeable of the old stories. Yet, oftentimes they are unwilling or unable to find ways to convey that knowledge to the youth.

Many times today the communities are so impoverished and there is so much to deal with on a daily basis that oral history and revitalization of the value system is not a primary focus of the tribal governments or members of the communities.

Elizabeth Cook Lynn, in quoting Beatrice Medicine, is concerned with the dangers of students not willing to do research, and relying on such impostors books as Hanta Yo (1979), states that:

> They are too lazy to do their own research.
> They have been deprived of access to their oral history.
> They grew up as culturally disenfranchised individuals because of the pressures of being "White Dakota."
> They have been living outside the group through no fault of their own, having been adopted or fostered.
> They were simply ashamed of being Lakota/Dakota.
> They do not know the language and culture of the people. (Cook-Lynn 1996, 69)

Medicine is referring to students doing research, specifically those individuals who are Dakotapi, yet raised on the fringes of their culture. Each individual, whether they are culturally and/or spiritually Dakotapi, must learn to overcome complacency and struggle with the complexities of life.

Since Dakotapi cultures were traditionally (1) bound by spoken words (and those ways of telling the old stories are largely absent in contemporary Dakotapi culture and society), it is imperative that today's written literatures be considered a representation and continuation of that spoken word, in order to help define and keep intact today's culture and society. By studying written literature we can regain orality. Some consider oral literature to be only traditional, something which is fixed, not applicable to today's contemporary society. A few scholars such as King (1996) and Gingerich (1993) make an argument for the inclusion of traditional forms of orality in the discussion of contemporary literature.

To the contrary, oral (and written) literatures are fluid (Deloria 1944). They absorb cultural change, just as do language and society. Stories can be useful to the strengthening of culture and society as they exist today. In fact, oral and written literatures are essential to the survival of the people as they struggle to remain distinct from other cultural groups. If we, as a people, forget where we came from and why we structured our societies as we did, we are doomed to extinction culturally, and possibly as nations. This is inevitable if we do not teach about our histories, our cultural world views and how we maintain that we are the Dakotapi peoples. Elizabeth Cook Lynn, as an elder, claims:

> Its [native writing] emergence has to do with the need of human beings to narrate, to tell the story of their own lives and the lives they have known, the intellectual need to inquire and draw conclusions which is simply a part of being human. Inevitably, if we take the human voice seriously, we must, as well, know that an historical and intellectual experience which required the exclusion of the Dakota grandmother from the public story is coercive, misguided, and meaningless.
>
> The breaking of the native silence, then, the moving on from a Dakota grandmother's private remembrances, illustrates two realities. First, it illustrates the fact that history as written is quite different from history as it is lived, yet we must do what we can to write it. Second, it tells us that the imagination of each individual is quite unique, interesting, and exceptional, and it carries with it its own need to narrate. (p77)

We must teach the oral and written literatures from our own perspectives, and as Cook Lynn (1996) informs us, our "cultures have survived, and the memories of the grandmothers who were witnesses to outrage have informed the present story" (p75). Our foremothers' literatures are at the heart of everything that represents our traditions, our nations. We must find ways to reconstitute these literatures within our cultural value systems and social structures.

Culture changes with the passage of time (as does language) and this is shown in the writings of Dakotapi women. The Oyate Tatanka survived and their women writers influenced many scholars, American Indian and non-Indian alike. Dakotapi women's literatures are living, growing literatures, influenced by the changes in our cultures and the diversity of the people themselves.

In writing this dissertation, several other questions occurred to me: Why are there so many Dakota, Lakota, Nakota women writers? Does this relate to women's traditional roles as teachers and preservers of tradition? How do the women writers considered here portray women? In attempting to address these questions I am fully aware that I will not find a definitive means to describe the lives of Dakotapi women and their roles in cultural survival (4). One thing is certain, however, these women are aware of their responsibility to pass on their knowledge of themselves and Dakotapi cultures.

Elizabeth Cook Lynn (Grant 1990) asserts that "wanting to write comes out of deprivation... we eventually have to ask what happens to a reasonably intelligent child who sees himself or herself excluded from [the] world..." (p124). In their individual lives, each of these Dakotapi women were influenced by an array of experiences.

TUWA OYATE TATANKA KIN LENA HE?

Who are these Buffalo People? Much intermarriage has occurred (Appendix A) between the Dakotapi Nations (Nader et. al 1995, LeBeau 1995). They are also described as one Nation by Dakota, Lakota, Nakota people today (Cook Lynn 1996). This is important in a discussion of women and how they as individuals, regardless of specific tribal origin, are "bearers" of these cultures. In other words, women hold the nations intact. The tribes were one nation in the past (Deloria 1944). Prior to contact with non-Indians the Nations dispersed from the Dakotapi (Deloria 1944, Cook Lynn 1996), and this strengthened our individual group identities and hence our identities as nations. After contact with non-Indians, the nations continued to maintain biological and matrimonial ties with each other, yet they are distinct nations today. As interactions became more limited our traditions began to diversify. This is why we see ourselves as distinct nations. For those groups that moved out onto the Plains, their divergent cultures were strengthened by this dispersion. These were the Lakota and Nakota. The Dakota continued to live in the area around the headwaters of the Mississippi and in Minnesota (Anderson 1984, 1986).

Native people and their literatures exist on a continuum or spectrum which can be characterized as any range of possibilities from the traditional traditional (they see themselves living with their language and world

view intact), to the traditional contemporary (embodying both traditional and contemporary beliefs), to the contemporary (living as do any other American Indians in contemporary society yet still culturally Indian), to the contemporary contemporary (living as do any other Americans, with very few, if any ties to American Indian culture).

For example, I believe that I embody several aspects of traditional Lakota values as they were taught to me by my mother, yet I would certainly not consider myself a traditional Lakota woman. I simply do not live my life in that way. At the same time, I live a contemporary lifestyle with many contemporary beliefs. I do, however, believe the White Buffalo Calf Woman Story to be a reality for the Dakotapi people.

Categorizing Dakotapi writers on such a traditional-to-contemporary continuum is relevant to both the women writers and the individuals who study their writing. For students of American Indian literatures such an understanding is an integral part of comprehending the intricacies of Dakotapi literature, oral and written. A student with no knowledge that Mary Crow Dog was raised in a contemporary world may misinterpret Lakota Woman (1990) by viewing it as a traditional Lakota woman's story. It is a contemporary work focusing on the experiences of a contemporary Lakota woman who was raised with some aspects of traditional Lakota values influencing her life. This text is also influenced

to a large degree by Richard Erdoes. This will be discussed further in Chapter Four. The same is true of many other contemporary Dakotapi writers.

Individuals such as Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (1876-1938) and Ella Cara Deloria (1889-1971) must be categorized as traditional/contemporary Sioux women who were influenced by contemporary American life as it existed during their lifetimes. Deloria was influenced to a large degree by her Episcopalian upbringing, yet she, Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, Marie Louise McLaughlin, Beatrice Medicine, Elizabeth Cook Lynn, Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve, were all raised essentially as traditional/contemporary Sioux women.

METHODOLOGY

Age differences account for what influences will be available to the individual and thus account for some of the variations between the groups of women who are considered in this dissertation. As Dakotapi culture changed, so did the world views of the individuals within their specific families. Thus group differences are also dependent upon the cultural "intactness" of each tiyospaye (extended family). Such variables can be assessed to determine the extent that each of these women informs her reading audience of the role of women in cultural survival. Each writer is also aware of how important her role is within her culture and society. Upbringing thus partially accounts for the literary landscape each woman creates.

Age-graded boundaries exist traditionally among the Dakotapi peoples. Roles and relationships were intertwined on a sex and age-graded basis, according to rules of respect for one's relatives. Boundaries for the purposes of this dissertation are defined as the different age groups that separate one group of writers from another. The dates that I chose are relatively arbitrary and can be manipulated to a certain degree in one direction and/or another. Of course, there are individuals who are exceptions to these rules.

The first group includes early women writers born between 1842 and 1890, who first published near the beginning of the century (McLaughlin 1916, and Bonnin 1901,

1921) and at quarter to mid-century (Deloria 1932, 1944). They are Marie Louise McLaughlin (Dakota), Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (Dakota and Nakota), and Ella Cara Deloria (Nakota). It is important to mention here that the works of Bonnin and Deloria are still being published posthumously. In fact, there are still numerous unpublished materials that these two women wrote over the course of their lifetimes. As a group these women experienced the end of the old, "traditional traditional," way of life and the beginnings of the early reservation period.

Born into Dakotapi culture, these women were among the first to learn English and to write in this language. They used their abilities and knowledge to capture the oral stories and discuss the social issues facing American Indians. Thus these women provide us with role models of the Dakotapi writer of history and literature. All three of these women are remembered for the early establishment of Dakotapi women's literature. Their writing initiates the first stage of women's voices in Dakotapi written literature. All three contributed to the survival and continuance of their people through the written word.

The second group of Dakotapi women writers includes individuals born between 1891 and 1940. Beatrice Medicine began publishing in the early 1950s, and continues to write and publish today. All of these women (Beatrice Medicine, Elizabeth Cook Lynn, and Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve)

survived and maintained themselves as the carriers of our traditions through harsh transitions and are now the uncipi (grandmothers) of our peoples, the bearers of our cultures. These Dakotapi women writers are "survivors" of the shift from an initially female-based oral literature and culture to a more male-biased society, one based in 19th century American sentimentality and its influences on literature and culture. These women are role models who chose to take a direct part in the preservation and survival of the information of women's lives.

As writers, they survived harsh times in Dakotapi country. As primary role models in contemporary society, these women persevered through drastic transitions in cultural change and managed to pass on that vital knowledge that separates our cultural world views from the rest of American society. These three women are also highly educated in the contemporary non-Indian tradition of academe. This second group of women writers are also influenced by World War II (Gilbert and Gubar 1985).

The third group represents modern or contemporary women writers born from 1941 to 1958 whose works are primarily autobiographical and biographical. A few also produce critical and scholarly publications. These women writers continue to maintain Dakotapi traditions through writing. They are Betty Jean Eadie, Barbara Means Adams, Mary Crow Dog, and Susan Power. This is the most divergent of all

three groups of Dakotapi women writers discussed in this dissertation. Their writings clearly show the variances in individual contemporary Dakotapi women. Dakotapi people emerged into this world and endured difficult changes. By depending upon cultural stability and a kinship knowledge base the people survived.

The two final groups of Dakotapi women writers are those born between 1959 and 1970, and those born after 1970. I will not discuss them in this dissertation. As much bibliographical information as could be found on Dakotapi women writers, regardless of age, is included in "Published Works By Women Writers" at the end of this dissertation in Appendix B.

The dates for each group are based roughly on the dates of birth of the eldest and youngest member of each group. Clearly Mary Crow Dog is not of the same age as Ella Deloria or even Elizabeth Cook Lynn, so their writing shows how Dakotapi culture changed across the generations. Each writer developed from a knowledge base according to the Dakotapi cultural world view they learned. That culture usually changed gradually, yet for some it changed drastically over a short period of time. The older an individual writer is the more drastic cultural change they experienced.

There clearly is no set chronological boundary such as this in everyday Dakotapi life. Each individual in these

dynamic cultures is influenced by a separate set of variables specific to her or his own family and the history each endured. A few children are growing up today, as traditionally as a child can, with monolingual Dakota, Lakota, and/or Nakota spoken in the home. Most children, however, are being raised with no religion or language even remotely close to what traditionalists hold as being the "Dakotapi way." Others are raised as Christians and learning monolingual English. Yet all of these children are Dakotapi. That is the beauty of a group-oriented society that allows for a wide range of individualism.

There is, however, a certain way in which all Dakotapi women are expected to pass on their knowledge to the generations that follow them. If this transfer ceases to exist as a reality in the daily lives of all Dakotapi peoples, then we shall no longer exist separate and distinct from the rest of American society.

Spiritual upbringing in Dakotapi society is multidimensional and intertwined in ways that are difficult to assess and describe. What Ella Deloria defined as "Spiritual Culture Areas" in Speaking of Indians (1944) applies to the theory proposed here of a group spectrum with variables that tell us what

> We may know about a people, but we cannot truly know them until we can get within their minds, to some degree at least, and see life from their peculiar point of view. To do that we must learn what goes on in their "spiritual culture area." By that fancy phrase I simply mean what remains

> after the tangible and visible part is cleared away. I mean such ethical values and moral principles as a people discovers to live by and that make it a group distinct from its neighbors. I mean all those unseen elements that make up the mass sentiment, disposition, and character--elements that completely blend there, producing in an integrated pattern a powerful inner force that is in habitual operation, dictating behavior and controlling the thought of all who live within its sphere. (Deloria 1944, 18)

Deloria described the spiritual aspect of a people as elusive because of its continual mutability throughout remembered history. She described it as a "Dough in various colors..." (p19). When it is cut in slices, there is a cut made through every color, "not once but many times...Since in every living culture all the elements are interrelated, many aspects of life are bound to be mentioned repeatedly...each time in reference to a varying set of factors" (Deloria 1944, 19). These factors will be explored in each of the age groups.

Just as there is a difference between organized, proselytizing religions and native spirituality, there is a difference between being raised or not raised culturally Indian. There is also a difference between being raised culturally Indian and practicing culture in everyday life. Many Native Americans who were raised culturally Indian no longer practice their culture in any significant manner from day to day. This is difficult to admit from a native standpoint and it is especially likely to happen for many who are in urban areas or academe and unable to participate

in their cultural and social community or family activities because of job responsibilities or locations that are not close to the native communities that the individual is from. This is an emotionally charged issue which divides nations and relatives living in a contemporary world.

Spirituality is an important aspect of the Dakotapi cultural world view. In fact, it can be said to be the absolutely essential trait necessary to be Dakotapi at "heart." It is evident in how we view the world and in the way that all things exist in a kinship relationship to one another. Acknowledgment of this notion is basic to being a Dakotapi, no matter what the circumstances or conditions. Finding ways to participate in our cultures spiritually is difficult for those who are not traditional traditional in cultural upbringing.

Many Dakotapi people Sun Dance. Many do not participate in this sacred rite. Many of those individuals that do, however, believe in the spiritual base of the Dakotapi at the center of which exists the seven sacred rites that White Buffalo Calf Woman brought to the people almost twenty generations ago. An expression of the views on the seven sacred rites are addressed in the writings of several women writers in this dissertation. Each of the women is to one degree or another spiritually Dakotapi. In a few instances, that spirituality is intertwined with religious views specific to the group or family of the

writer. The important thing to remember is that there is a difference between spirituality and religion. Some of the works of the writers are influenced to a large degree by their religious affiliation. There is a clear association between 19th century American Victorian religious beliefs as they were taught to Indian people and a male-based shift in Dakotapi literature.

A good example of how we still participate in our spiritual culture base is the custom of feeding people in attendance at funerals. Often I have heard it said: "It is a shame that we only get to see our relatives when we bury our dead." Yet what a shame it is when we do not attend those funerals because we cannot get off work, or we do not possess the financial ability to make the trip, or some deep family quarrel means that some individual or group will not attend. If a funeral is the only tribal custom left to attend for some individuals, then so be it. Honoring of the dead at funerals and eating for the deceased spirit is still an integral part of Dakotapi culture.

What is important in all this is that all present at funerals understand that the meal consumed before and after burying the deceased is for the spirit of the dead on their journey across the Canku Sa (Red Road). Many adults and children feel as though they are too hungry to wait to eat and take food before it is blessed. This shows a lack of cultural upbringing, a lack of respect for the dead. On

this day of mourning we eat not to fill our stomachs but so that the soul of the dead may be strong on its journey to walk with relatives on the sacred road. Often no food is set out for the spirit of the deceased during these meals. This is only one area where change must be addressed by the Dakotapi peoples. We must respect the dead and eat only after the meal is blessed in the Oyate Tatanka and Christian way. Regardless of how hungry the children are, they must wait until the elders and the veterans are served. This is the way it is done. This is the Dakotapi way. Women play a key role in teaching the children the ways of the people. It is a role of Dakotapi mothers to teach their children this essential aspect of our cultural spirituality. That is, to respect their dead relatives.

Linguistically, the Oyate Tatanka are suffering. Only through a linguistic world view distinct from that of the rest of American society can we continue as a specific cultural entity, uniquely defined by how we utilize language. Not only are we distinguished by the ways we articulate Dakotapi languages, but in how we intertwine our own native language with English. The variation and complexity of Oyate Tatanka linguistics is far-reaching and ultimately holds the very answer to how we are to survive as Nations. Women play an essential role in this process since they are the primary transmitters of language to children in both traditional and contemporary Dakota, Lakota, Nakota

society.

Each individual exists on a continuum that involves language use and acquisition at every level of consciousness. Bilingual, trilingual, and monolingual English/Dakotapi speakers exist among the women writers considered in this dissertation. In fact, only a few of them are monolingual English speakers.

Cultural teachings and participation vary according to the individual's family. Some individual writers considered here were raised with more of their cultural history than others. Some are more knowledgeable of Dakotapi spirituality and some speak their native tongue where others do not. Clearly, there is a difference between individuals who are raised culturally Dakotapi and those who are not.

Participation in cultural and social activities is also dependent upon the individuals being raised culturally Indian. Participation in cultural and social events, however, is nearly impossible for those who live in places far from their Indian communities. This does not mean that they as individuals are any less Indian according blood quantum. It simply means that there is a degree to which an individual can be viewed in respect to her participation in her own culture. That is, that an individual who does not participate in their culture gradually becomes less culturally Indian. What each writer says about their culture can be measured in the degree to which they were

raised Indian. Those individuals raised less culturally Indian will write passages that contrast with those of their counterparts who are raised more culturally Indian.

Educational attainment is one variant among the Dakotapi women covered in this dissertation. Family status and cultural beliefs toward education determine to what extent these women were educated. Families that are non-traditional spiritual leaders of a tiyospaye always educated their children beyond the average for Dakotapi peoples in their generation. Knowledgeable individuals know the constraints on Indian children and the factors affecting the attrition rates from both public and governmental educational systems. Individuals who did educate themselves certainly are culturally constrained. That is, while educating themselves, usually off-reservation and away from family, they are unable to practice their culture. The more removed an individual is from her culture during the educational process, the less likely it is that she can practice her culture on a daily basis. Removal from a cultural matrix to pursue an education is a difficult choice. Many of the writers covered in this work made that choice and eventually went back to their people.

For each group of Dakota women there was cultural change. For the initial group of writers, the drastic changes from the old way of life to the reservation period shaped their lives. Women born in this group were heavily

influenced more by Christianity and non-Dakotapi education.

Those women born in the second group of writers considered here were also influenced by Christianity and non-Dakotapi, educational influences. Yet this group of women writers was able to survive in academic settings not as available to the first group of women writers. Although Ella Cara Deloria was highly educated, her lack of a doctoral degree kept her from receiving the full credit and academic prestige that Beatrice Medicine, Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve and Elizabeth Cook Lynn enjoyed as academics working throughout their professional lives in educational institutions.

The third group of writers are educated, yet not to the same degree as the second group of writers. Only Susan Power is an exception. Yet she did not experience the same or similar cultural upbringing as did the second group of women writers.

Over time, women writers were culture bearers. In order for us to understand their writing, we must contextualize their written texts into the variable spectrum. When we contextualize these works and demonstrate, through the use of the aforementioned dependent variables, that each of these writers describes her cultural world view in a unique manner, the reader is aware that the words of these writers transfer their cultural knowledge to the generations of Oyate Tatanka.

American Indian literatures are distinguishable from American Literature (Hobson 1979, Ruoff 1990, Sarris 1993). This distinction will eventually become defined more clearly with time through the writings of those American Indian writers who are now less published. American Indian literatures should not be subsumed under American Literature. I am not saying that American Indian writers are not American. They are certainly American, but most see themselves as American Indian first, and then as American. It is not hard to understand from an American Indian standpoint and it is not intentionally derogatory toward Americans who are not of Native American descent.

Recently there has been a continual movement by many American Indian writers to distinguish their writing from that of other American ethnic groups. This is a controversial issue in American Indian literature today. It is at the heart of the identity issue for American Indian writers. While I would never say that an N. Scott Momaday, James Welch, Louise Erdrich, or Michael Dorris are not American Indian or American, I will say that many writers are now on the margins of what is being defined as the American Indian literary canon. The canon is defining itself as writers who until now have been seen as more obscure and have certainly been less published are now making it into print and they are the ones who are writing the about the distinctions between American and American

Indian literature. Oral and written traditions of American Indian writers come from different sources than do American writers. American Indian and American literature are only connected in that some American writers focus some of their works on American Indians and vice versa.

Many of the early and late American literary works are considered racist and ethnocentric by American Indians. Works by Captain John Smith, Longfellow, and Frederick Jackson Turner are not cut from the same cloth as American Indian literatures. This is why most native scholars consider most writing by non-natives to be outside of the American Indian literary canon.

Of course, as always, there are a few exceptions to this rule. The well-known "as-told-to" autobiographies are in this genre. Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux, As Told to John G. Neihardt (1932) is the best example of such an exception. Scholars of Native American literatures, native and non-native alike, usually categorize these "as-told-to" stories as autobiographical. Madonna Swann: A Lakota Woman's Story (St. Pierre 1991), Lakota Woman (Erdoes and Crow Dog 1990) and Ohitika Woman (Erdoes and Crow Dog 1993) are also "as-told-to" stories. Thus, they would be included in the American Indian literary canon. There are interviews and some anthologized works that are also exceptions. Anthologies that focus on interviews are also an exception.

American Indian literatures represent their own canon. The roots of American Indian literatures are buried deep within the psyche of the American Indian mind. The most widely published and recognized description of this is in "The Man Made of Words" by N. Scott Momaday (Hobson 1979). It is as diverse and complex as the American Indian cultures and societies that it describes. In the past, and especially today, there is much ignorance about American Indians and American Indian literatures in the minds of many Americans. This does not exclude individuals in academe. In fact, the notion of American Indian literatures as being part of the American canon of literature was first generated by those in Academe.

There are many reasons why American Indian literatures represent a separate canon of literature from American literature. The primary reasons are: 1) A large enough corpus of literature exists to constitute a "body of knowledge," and; 2) This "body of knowledge" originates primarily from oral cultures that existed prior to and in direct contrast to American literature, which is primarily a written culture. Furthermore, American Indian literatures in the written context can be said to originate from the oral traditions within each respective culture. An individual writer takes what they learn from their cultures, which exist primarily in an oral context, and then write about them.

As mentioned, there has been a transference from the oral to the written. This is an important part of where American Indian literatures come from and where they are going in the future. A large part of Ella Deloria's work is based in the oral traditions she recorded in a written context. This does not exclude them from originating from an oral context. At the same time, writers such as Elizabeth Cook Lynn and Susan Power, to mention only two, take and reformulate oral traditions in a written format by writing about oral stories that for the most part had disappeared altogether from Dakotapi culture.

American Indian literatures are also written literatures. Although this changed gradually over the past two centuries (and changed dramatically in the past few decades, exploding once again onto the literary scene in the past five years), many native people still continue to rely principally on orality. However, there has been a rapid increase in the number of written publications by Native Americans since N. Scott Momaday released House Made of Dawn (1968), winning the pulitzer prize for literature in 1969 (Hobson 1979). This is where some of the problems arise (3). Many scholars of American Indian literatures believe that American Indian literatures begin with Momaday's pulitzer prize winning novel. Instead, scholars should more accurately state that Momaday's novel begins what is known as the American Indian literary renaissance, as Geary Hobson

calls it in The Remembered Earth: An Anthology of Contemporary Native American Literature (1979).

Existence of American Indian literatures as their own canon is not of recent origin, yet it is hard to convince certain enclaves in academe as to its relevance. Elizabeth Cook Lynn says forthrightly and eloquently in Why I Can't Read Wallace Stegner And Other Essays: A Tribal Voice (1996), that:

> It is surprising how long it has taken for the native's voice to emerge in academia and imaginative thought. The emergence of this voice has little to do with the fear that the very concept of academic standards must be altered, though perhaps it must. It has less to do with the inaccuracies or simplistic views of cultural difference which are deplored as racist and politically correct or incorrect depending upon matters of taste, and even less to do with the fact that Western values have been inherently oppressive to native peoples...
>
> Perhaps those of us who have been making the argument in recent years that individual works are comprehensible only within the context of the economic, behavioral, and political forces of the culture from which they emerge are simply pleading for cultural autonomy. It is a powerful argument and a poignant plea. Thoughtful American Indian critics do not see this argument as dangerous, hostile, or as a denial of history and art. In fact, they find that it is the most liberating reflection of all. (p76-7)

Cook Lynn is critical of individuals such as Arnold Krupat who dismiss this notion of the American Indian literary canon. Cook Lynn paraphrases Krupat's assumptions that:

> literatures of resistance must be literatures of comparativism in this era of "multiculturalism"; that native scholars are as capable of poor reasoning as anyone else; that the "parameters" of Native Studies cannot be defended because they shift; that Indians are simply doing intellectual

> police work, and they do it in a dismissive, contemptuous tone; that such work is essentially anti-intellectual and counterproductive and will eventually become intellectually disreputable; that literatures cannot "belong" to a people; and that to be born an Indian is not enough. (p154-5)

Cook Lynn claims that:

> the identity issue is largely dismissed by Krupat, since it is his view that Indian scholars are not "determiners" of Indian cultures due to their training by the academies and the support of grants. Finally, he says that there is no "sovereignty" in an absolute sense, and the Indian scholar's arguments for that claim are largely "polemical" (Cook Lynn 1996, 155).

Cook Lynn asserts that the written words of American Indian writers are juxtaposed to non-Indian scholars. Cook Lynn is an academic scholar, who refutes the dissenting voice of academics such as Krupat. Krupat argues

> it is unlikely that Native American nations, in any foreseeable future, will possess sovereignty... Both political sovereignty and cultural sovereignty are meaningful only contextually and conjuncturally... I am simply offering an example of the way some contemporary Native American discourses committed to cultural sovereignty, cultural autonomy, or cultural separatism, in an apparently absolute sense, readily subvert themselves--... (Krupat 1996, 15-6)

Cook Lynn and Beatrice Medicine disagree with Krupat. They are two individuals who are able to bridge the gap between academe and tribalism. They discuss the issues confronting American Indians today and find ways to support the notions we have as sovereign nations.

Ward Churchill substantiates Cook Lynn's argument in his Fantasies Of The Master Race (1992), when he argues

> Viewed from the perspective of colonial analysis, the handling of the American Indian in literature ceases to be an enigma. With literature perceived as a component part of a colonial system, with which Native America still constitutes expropriated and subjugated peoples, the reworking of fact into convenient or expedient fantasies by the colonizer is a logical process rather than an inexplicable aberration. The merger of fact and fiction which was treated as such a rarified accomplishment by Mailer, Wolfe, Thompson, et al., was already a time-honored practice in a colonial nation that has always insisted upon viewing itself as free of the colonial aspirations marking its European antecedents. As noted previously, to uncover the roots of these issues in American writing, we must examine the early historical record. (Churchill 19)

Many non-Indian scholars also agree with Cook Lynn also, yet there are many more who are threatened by Indian academics who speak from a "tribal" voice on behalf of native peoples.

The particular use of autobiography in fictional and non-fictional texts by American Indian authors established a literary genre outside the American literary canon for American Indian authors. A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff, a non-Indian scholar on American Indian literatures, in speaking of William Apes (Pequot), George Copway (Ojibwa), and Sarah Winnemucca (Paiute), points out that "Whatever their approach to writing autobiography...the written word became a new weapon in the Indian's battle for survival" (p266). Ruoff and Ward, in the Introduction to Redefining American Literary History (1990), confront the issues of the canon head on and contextualize the works of writers and how they interweave their knowledge of literary "conventions of American literature and the traditions and themes from their

ethnic backgrounds" (p3). Contextualization for Native American writers takes on additional meaning.

For example, Greg Sarris, in Keeping Slug Woman Alive: A Holistic Approach to American Indian Texts (1993), confronts the issues of the canon by defining the stories he learned from Mabel McKay as

> a myriad of voices with autobiography and theoretical discourse to create a document representing exchanges that open the world people share with each other. As such, the essays collapse the dichotomy between personal narrative and scholarly argument. Many scholars still see criticism as a meta-discourse that works in the hands of scholars to distance itself from the texts and subjects it studies. I not only take issue with this sense of criticism but also work to demonstrate how criticism might be other than how these scholars understand it. (p6)

That is, Sarris learned how to tell stories from his particular cultural world view, which includes several narrative forms and makes criticism applicable to Native American writing. This is similar to how I interpret the independent generational continuum and the dependent variables among Dakotapi women writers considered in this dissertation.

McKay taught Sarris (1993) about the intricate nature of learning about their own culture, and about learning from the writing of others. The oral stories told and heard long ago among Dakotapi people functioned in a similar manner. Such contemporary social scientists as Stephen Tyler (1986) are learning that there are ways of

writing cross cultural experience where all facets

> of the encounter are revealed for the reader--the different persons with different cultural perspectives, and the ways each is responsible for and contributes to some kind of understanding about the encounter and the writing of their experience. (Sarris 1993, 5)

Contemporary social scientists like Stephen Tyler who wrote "Post-Modern Ethnography: From Document of the Occult to Occult Document" in Writing Culture (1986), and George E. Marcus and Michael M. J. Fischer who wrote Anthropology As Cultural Critique (1986), discuss the notion of multiple voices (polyvocality) in written texts (Sarris 1993). Many social scientists and literary scholars like Stanley Fish (1980), see the relevance of trying to understand how reading a text is contextualized when looking at one's own culture.

In The Norton Anthology of Literature By Women, Gilbert and Gubar (1985) delineate a number of "crucial strategies" that are associated with the development of curricula for women's studies programs and departments as a formula for: critique, recovery, reconceptualization, and reassessment of literature. What Gilbert and Gubar refer to as "recovery," I call the "initial" centrality of women in oral stories. What they call "reconceptualization," I call "refeminization." A critique of the historical data and a reassessment of stereotypes and shifts in gender is essential for a better understanding of Dakota, Lakota, Nakota women's literature. Dakotapi women writers are making statements in their works about the shifts in the

literature and using literary techniques to counteract these shifts and return the literature to its initial female-base.

Gilbert and Gubar (1985), although they do not use Dakotapi women's literature from the 19th or 20th centuries, do recognize a fact that is especially applicable to Dakotapi women's literature. That is, they start their Preface to the anthology by remarking: "`Books continue each other,' Virginia Woolf reminds us in A Room of One's Own" (xxvii). Glibert and Gubar further state that Woolf's thesis is an "impassioned explanation that `we think back through our mothers if we are women' by laboring to recover the female literary inheritance" (xxxi-xxxii). Dakotapi women's literatures, oral and written, also continue one another through the transference of cultural knowledge through the generations of Dakotapi women writers. Women in Dakotapi culture not only carry forth the knowledge base, i.e. cultural matrix, they actually bear the culture, shaping it for their children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and so forth.

In "Common Ground--introduction to "American women's narratives" Susan Armitage (1987), described western women's diaries such as those critiqued by Gayle Davis as

> never denying the personal aspects of her diaries, she also places them in a wider historical context. She develops the theme of diaries as mediators in a structural sense, and shows them to be crucial tools in coping with new surroundings. We can now see women's diaries as useful evidence in the study of frontier challenge and adaptation (Armitage 1).

Native American women do this in all genres of American Indian literature. Armitage argues that writers such as Gail Nomura writes

> poetry over almost her entire life cycle, thus introducing the important question of change over time. Tomita's [a Japanese pioneer woman] pioneer experience was not the mythic success story: her experience of incarceration in a concentration camp during World War II ought to make us all wonder about the popular image of the West as a place of liberation and freedom (Armitage 2).

Similarly, many Native American women experienced such negative things after World War II in American society and some went through extremely difficult experiences in Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) incarceration. This is one area where there are similarities across the generations of Dakotapi women writers. Those who were indoctrinated into the BIA governmental school systems all had negative experiences that they write about retrospectively.

Across the generations of Dakotapi women, similar to what Barker-Nunn (1987) discussed, there was a "blurring of boundaries between mother and daughter" (Armitage 2) for some individuals. Armitage suggests Barker-Nunn argued that in Kim Chernin's and Maxine Hong Kingston's writing these "blurrings" occurred "between public and private events"...and that "these books began as mother's stories and grew from there. This reminds us yet again of the importance of oral as well as written sources in our efforts to recover women's history and experience" (Armitage 2). Armitage insisted that the "crucial step of seeing the

female literary form in its own right, for itself, is the hardest step of all" (p3). She goes on to state that

> analysis demonstrates the existence of a specifically female form of expression, and then explores its meaning. But that is not all: the feminist form is then employed to critique (either explicitly or implicitly) the existing male modes of scholarship or theory. (Armitage 1987, 4)

Marleen Barr in "Feminist fabulation; or, playing with patriarchy vs. the masculinization of metafiction" (Women's Studies 1987), states that "women have established a place within the science fiction genre" (Barr 1987, 187). This essay argued for another set of terms to define "women's science fiction" or "feminist science fiction," insisting that there is a dichotomy of gender in science fiction (SF) genre. Barr (1987) cites

> Patricia Waugh's definition of metafiction: "a fictional form that is culturally relevant and comprehensible to contemporary readers. In showing us how literary fiction creates its imaginary worlds, metafiction helps us to understand how the reality we live day by day is similarly constructed, similarly `written'" (18). They create a relevant, popular fictional form which helps readers to understand exactly how sexism is a constructed, written fiction. The writers, who reveal men's ability to make women the protagonists of patriarchal fictions, create feminist metafiction-- not feminist SF. Their feminist metafictional texts enhance our ability to read the written rules of patriarchal society. They create useful tools for deconstructing patriarchal signs and replacing them with feminist signifiers. (Barr 1987, 188)

Barr further states that Robert Scholes's "fabulation `is fiction that offers us a world clearly and radically discontinuous from the one we know, yet returns to confront

that known world in some cognitive way' (47)" (Barr 1987, 188). Barr says

> in terms of Scholes's language, feminist fabulation modifies the tradition of speculative fiction with an awareness that patriarchy is a contrived system, a meaning-making machine which constructs and defines patriarchal fictions--myths of female inferiority--as integral aspects of human culture, and the insights of this century's waves of feminism are accepted as fictional points of departure. It is a fictional exploration of woman's inferior status made perceptible by the implications of recent feminist theory. Woman has been forced to learn to live within patriarchal laws which define her as subhuman, offer her no purpose beyond serving men, and promise her a secondary, subservient place in its systematic working--and which certainly does not care for her. Woman must create her future herself. (Barr 1987, 189)

Native American women were stereotyped in this way in historical literature. Native women must do the same for their own cultures in their own cultural world views. "Reality is constructed with words; we must nurture our own definitions. Only then will feminist fabulation become a true blueprint for building a viable, empowered, future, feminist reality which can define patriarchy as a thing of the past" (Barr 1987, 189). This is exactly what Dakotapi women writers are doing in the writing process. Ella Cara Deloria did it within a fictional account of Lakota culture in Waterlily (1988). Elizabeth Cook Lynn and Beatrice Medicine are doing this in a more direct way in their non-fiction writing.

In "Introduction: from amateur to professional: American women and careers in the arts" Lois Marie Fink

(1988) argues that the arts were an acceptable "sphere" for women "so long as they retained amateur status as painters, writers, or designers. Professionalism, however, carried a taint that moved women beyond traditional bounds of propriety to a realm that was just this side of immorality" (Fink 1988, 301). This occurred for Native American women such as Gertrude Simmons Bonnin as well as Ella Cara Deloria. Bonnin was ostracized by both the white and Indian world and Deloria, it can be argued, was unable to publish Waterlily shortly after World War II due to these same issues facing women writers at the time. According to Fink (1988), "the period under consideration is of particular value for such studies because during these decades the numbers of women involved in the arts increased enormously" (p301). This increase occurred again for Native American women just as it did for other groups of women in America. Now at the turn of this century, it is again true for Native American women. The arts are again under attack and women authors will once again find it difficult to get their work published.

Critical realism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries led to "the tendency of writers and intellectuals in the period between 1875 and 1920 to apply the methods of realistic fiction to the criticism of society and the examination of social issues" (Holman and Harmon 1986). For Native American authors, fiction takes on even

more implications; it is one of the avenues that orality and cultural information can be conveyed so that the people can continue to hold on to their traditions.

For Dakotapi women writers, this notion is taken a step further. In "American Indian Women: At the Center of Indigenous Resistance in Contemporary North America," M. Annette Jaimes and Theresa Halsey (1992), argue that there is

> a constant pattern of reality within Native North American life from the earliest times. This is that women have always formed the backbone of indigenous nations on this continent. Contrary to those images of meekness, docility, and subordination to males with which we women typically have been portrayed by the dominant culture's books and movies, anthropology, and political ideologues of both rightist and leftist persuasions, it is women who have formed the very core of indigineous resistance to genocide and colonization since the first moment of conflict between Indians and invaders. (The State of America 1992, 311)

Leslie Marmon Silko adds, "I want you to hear and to experience English in a non-traditional structure, a structure that follows patterns from the oral tradition" (The Story and Its Writer 1995). Not only do these Dakotapi women writers impart crucial information about their peoples; they are the bearers of culture. They carry the knowledge and information that holds the people together, that shapes and forms the language and the literature. Women's stories illustrate that Dakotapi cultures changed and adapted, yet survived through the strength of their women. Dakotapi women writers are responsible for shaping

our oral and written histories and as women we are also responsible for transferring that history to future generations. What Gertrude Simmons Bonnin and Ella Cara Deloria initiated, Elizabeth Cook Lynn, Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve, and Susan Power continue to purport is, that the women in Dakotapi society contribute an essential world view to the generations of Oyate Tatanka.

Females as main protagonists in oral stories are central to the Oyate Tatanka cultural world view. That is, initially women were central to the stories and the stories were told with a focus on women's kinship roles in culture and society. In fact, when the stories are told orally today, women are still central to the stories.

There was, however, a gender shift in the written versions of the stories about the Oyate Tatanka. In many published versions of these stories today a shift of the focus from the female protagonists to male characters is evident. For the purpose of this dissertation, these shifts are referred to as "masculinization" by the author. These stories as they were recorded from a male perspective by European-American male ethnographers are biased and do not reflect the female protagonists as being central to the story. Female characters central to stories were "masculinized" through this process of shifting the focus of the story to the male protagonists. Oftentimes this process is directly associated with connections to the 19th century

American Victorian religious influences and viewpoints of the individual writer, male or female, Indian or non-Indian.

Many writers, American and American Indian, such as Frederick Douglas and Geary Hobson (1979), refer to the Christianization of the American Indian. What is left unsaid oftentimes is that this Christianization of the American Indian was brought about most often by European-American males under a male-biased religious and economic system. Ric Burns also refers to this process of Christianization at several points in "The Way West" (WGBH Educational Foundation and Steeplechase Films 1995).

Some of the Dakotapi women writers included here make specific choices toward the "refeminization" of the stories they write. A "refeminization" of the literature is happening because writers are finding it requisite to reclaim their literatures. In doing so a rewriting (refeminizing) of the literature and subsequent criticism by native authors resulted. Rewriting stories from the native writer's perspective is critical to the survival of native literature. It is important to focus on women's roles in oral and written literature. In Dakotapi literature, most notably, Ella Cara Deloria, Elizabeth Cook Lynn, and Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve write to reconstruct the validity of women's voices and their centrality in Dakotapi literature, thus making critical references to social issues and hopefully influencing societal change. Women-focused

writing and how each woman writer supports the "masculinization" or "refeminization" of Dakotapi texts are also discussed in each chapter of this dissertation. Women are culture bearers across the generations. Whether they move to "masculinize" or "refeminize" the tales they tell, it is evident that they still carry the culture. That is, that they are all legitimately Dakotapi women, "telling their lives" (Sands and Bataille 1984), informing us that these women writers are diverse and controversial.

A reevaluation of Dakotapi women's oral and written literatures from a feminist perspective will always be problematic. Through a discussion of Dakotapi women's literature, contextualized in the generational variables already described, there is much that can be learned. Since this is an interdisciplinary dissertation, I evaluated each writer and her works with anthropological, literary, and feminist theory influencing the writing process. With that in mind, this is a critical assessment of the writings of Dakotapi women from a Lakota woman's Native Americanist perspective.

NOTES

1. A definition of "traditional" and "contemporary" is needed at this point. Without going into too much detail, traditional American Indian literatures are those works written by an American Indian that are clearly writing from a strictly traditional, pro-American Indian perspective. The writer should be well-accepted and well-based in his or her American Indian community of origin. Contemporary American Indian literatures are any writing by an American Indian of recognizable or confirmable heritage who writes about American Indian themes, motifs, culture, and so forth. Such literatures are recognizably different from those of other literatures (that is, that which is non-Indian in content, meaning, and form). See Hobson's (1979) Introduction to The Remembered Earth for a reference of genetic, cultural, and social identity and participation.

2. The word Sioux is, for the most part, interchangeable with Lakota. I intend to use Dakota, Lakota, Nakota and/or Dakotapi (referring to all three simultaneously) throughout the text of this dissertation. Where there is a need I will be more general or specific. The name Sioux, a shortened version of the Ojibway word, Nadouessioux, was the term used by the French when early explorers asked the Anishinabeg (Chippewa, Ojibway) for the word which referred to those people who call themselves Dakota, Lakota, and Nakota. The word Sioux refers to "adder" or "snake in the grass" and is a derogatory term in comparison to Lakota, which means "allies" or "friends." I will be specific where clarification is necessary, giving tribal recognition and making cultural distinctions when necessary. I will be more general and use the word "Sioux" when necessary. Wherever possible, I will not use the word Sioux at all and it can be inferred that I am referring to all three groups. It is well-known among the people that since there is much intermarriage between the tiyospaye of all three Nations, many people are born with ancestry from all three linguistic groups.

3. Regarding the issue of American Indian literature and cultural survival, it is inevitable that these literatures are viewed by the larger public audience as commodities, whose circulation has in some profound ways contributed to the processes of

Amerindian culturecide. That is, the public constitutes American Indian literatures, histories, and cultures as objects of consumption and, in so doing, it facilitates the appropriation of the histories and cultures by non-natives. It is no coincidence, I believe, that New Age Native Americanisms (which must be regarded as a threat to native cultures) have arisen concomitantly with the recent (the last two decades) explosion in publishing and disseminating American Indian texts. The body of American Indian texts published by commercial presses and bought and sold in bookstores as well as other mediums of exchange--implies a whole mode of production that one cannot separate from any individual's reading (or writing) of any single text. Through their economic and epistemological consumption by readers, American Indian literatures have contributed to a process in which Indian cultures have become commodities on the market and objects of appropriation. The whole apparatus of literary production also naturalizes certain select published accounts of Indian history and culture for the reading public and marginalizes others through invisibility (or their inability to get published). These factors at least partially account for what seems to be a not so innocent parallel between the rise and popularity of New Age Americanism and the rising popularity of literature written by American Indians. This has especially been the case with the Lakota. Yet culture-specific literature inspires, reinforces, and encourages pride within the culture itself, and it seems especially important for the younger generations. They need role models, individuals and groups, often found in literature, who overcome obstacles. This can be useful for the Dakota, Lakota, Nakota and any other Indian communities struggling for survival.

4. American Indians generally assess the authenticity of native writers by asking the following questions: (1) Cultural ties- Are they culturally Indian?; (2) Blood quantum- How much Indian are they? How does the writer's blood quantum affect the viewpoints held by that writer?; and, 3) Social ties- What relationship does the individual have with the community? Are they active in the Indian community they are from? (Hobson 1979). There are many different opinions on this subject. What I can do is to tell you about the way I perceive the issues, both

personally and professionally. Some Dakota, Lakota, Nakota writers are "marginal" and/or "questionable" but most are "legitimate" Dakotapi writers. They have just as many differences as American Indians in general. Thus, it would be respectful to represent their stories fairly and equally.

> My mother tells me the story of the Stone Woman as we stand beside her. I have heard the legend so often it can't be for my benefit. Perhaps my mother is scolding this ancestor-sister. (Power 1991, 11)

Recently significant interest in Dakotapi women's roles is a result of an effort to make up for the lack of past research on American Indian women (Albers and Medicine 1983). Such research can contribute to an elimination of racial and sexual stereotypes associated with American Indian women.

Women play a significant role in many origin stories, such as "Fallen Star," the coming of the sacred pipe to the people, better known as the "White Buffalo Calf Woman" story, and "Standing Rock Legend," an origin story about Standing Rock Indian Reservation. What does the oral literature have to do with the current cultural world view of the Dakotapi? The decline in the telling of oral stories has led to a decline in the knowledge of the centrality of women in the cultural matrix. According to Powers (1986):

> in ritual and myth females are its [myth's] primary movers. For example, the most important figure in myth is Falling Star (Wohpe), who when she appears on earth is transformed into White Buffalo Calf Woman, a female who in her sexual prime gives the Lakota all their sacred ceremonies... this is not to say that the Oglala believe women are dominant. In myth and ritual, Oglala women clearly do dominate; in history, the males are regarded as superior. But in the reality of everyday living, females and males complement each other, with reality establishing a perfect

> dialectic between the myth of history and the history of myth. (5)

Powers is contrasting history and myth. The oral stories provide information on the roles and statuses of women. Respect and power are associated with women in these stories. Women in the stories are neither dominant nor subordinate. Rather, they are individuals who contribute significantly in the narrative. The significance of the story often centers on the women in these stories. Men play more peripheral roles in the stories.

Paula Gunn Allen (1986) in The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions, insists:

> these works reflect the complementary traditions of women and men, which have always been separate but interdependent in ritual traditions. Every part of the oral tradition expresses the idea that ritual is gender-based, but rather than acting as a purely divisive structure, the separation by gender emphasizes complementarity. The women's traditions are largely about continuity, transitoriness or change. Thus, women's rituals and lore center on birth, death, food, householding, and medicine (in the medical rather than the magical sense of the term)- that is, all that goes into the maintenance of life over the long term. Men's rituals are concerned with risk, death, and transformation. As long as conflict is not the primary requirement of fiction, these twin traditions can be incorporated into contemporary novels because their ideas are universal. (82)

Dakotapi people, both male and female, have distinct notions of who they are as a `people' and know that their identity includes keeping their culture intact by maintaining the language, protecting cultural stability and viability, and recording their own histories in their own words. Dakotapi

writers, male and female, are knowledgeable about the implications of their stories. They have shared their voices with the outside world in an effort to educate all people. They know that their voices are unique. Still, there has been a lack of critical assessment of Dakota, Lakota, Nakota women writers and how they portray oral history.

Even though these stories are considered mythical, traditional Dakotapi people hold that they are "true;" i.e., that at some time the events set forth in these stories actually took place. In Dakota Texts (1932), Ella Cara Deloria distinguishes between two types of stories, the Ohukakan and Woyakapi. According to her Introduction, the first thirty-nine stories are Ohukakan stories, "They are intended to amuse and entertain, but not to be believed" (ix), and the last twenty-four are Woyakapi stories. These stories "are regarded as true" (x). "White Buffalo Calf Woman" and "Standing Rock Legend" are Woyakapi stories. At Boas' request, Deloria tried to verify the authenticity of "Wohpe falling from heaven..." In a letter dated February 24, 1939, Deloria asserts:

> [Sword's tales] might have been the creation of one mind. I am sure there were such cases, or persons with superior imagination inventing tales which were their very own- not folklore. They might have been the beginnings of fiction writers. One woman used to weave such tales for us.

Deloria's letter to Boas indicates she was aware of individual interpretations of Dakotapi literature. It is a

shame that we do not have the name of the woman or specific samples of the stories that she told. I could not find a published version of the "Fallen Star" story by a woman to include in this chapter (1).

In a letter dated May 12, 1939, Deloria writes: "It is true enough that the characters which function in those tales of Walker's do flash in and out, throughout Dakota speech," however, the plot and style of the stories appear to be the "work of a clever Dakota story teller." Deloria often viewed the condensation of the Walker text versions to be "the works of a systematic European mind." Two published male versions of the story, emphasizing the shift in gender from male to female, are Ronald Goodman's (1990) and James LaPointe's (1976). In Goodman's version, the main protagonist, Fallen Star, is male, while in LaPointe's version the main protagonist is female.

I compare these two versions to the personal accounts recorded by Marla N. Powers in Oglala Women (1986). This latter text gives us vital information on the current status of the Fallen Star story in Dakotapi societies. Remember that women were originally the main protagonists in the story. These stories as they were told initially, reinforced the importance of women in oral myth. As I have pointed out in the introduction, the original woman-centered versions of these texts gave way to masculinized narrations when they were told for or to European-American males.

In her letter to Boas (May 12, 1939), Deloria argues that these stories are definitely Dakota (yet her consultants were primarily Lakota males) and that "One cautious informant who is careful not to discount anything said, `Doubtless those stories were our people's folktales before the white man appeared; and our people believed in them in those early days'" (Deloria MS 31).

Whether or not these stories are "true" is not as important as the central role these stories play in the Dakotapi belief systems, that there are recorded versions by Lakota women, from a Lakota woman's cultural viewpoint, and that they have female protagonists who teach about morals, kinship ties, and women's roles.

The sacred pipe brought to the Dakotapi several hundred years ago by White Buffalo Calf Woman now resides in Green Grass, South Dakota, under the care and protection of the Arvol Looking Horse family. Teaching Dakotapi children and adults about the origin of the sacred pipe and how this oral story is grounded in the sacredness of women is how traditional Oyate Tatanka teach generations of their people to be aware of that sacredness and to respect women.

The rock depicted in Deloria's and McLaughlin's version of "Standing Rock Legend" sits on a pedestal, overlooking the west bank of the Missouri River in the agency town of Fort Yates, North Dakota. This story is about marriage and the respect a woman should be accorded in choosing what is

in her best interest. It teaches men not to take advantage of their female relatives. Kinship values teach Sioux women that they should respect the wishes of their brothers and be generous to them because a male relative is burdened with the responsibility of protecting his relatives (especially female) in times of danger and is responsible for bringing food to the people. On the other hand, males are to respect the wishes of their sisters and not be greedy. This oral story teaches the Lakota male to respect his female relatives, and vice versa.

Strength, continuance, renewal, and remembrance (Hobson 1979), as applied to the roles women play in Lakota oral literature and cultural viability, have gone largely unnoticed by academe. Dakotapi women are inextricably tied to the survival of language and culture, both as primary teachers of language and culture and as agents of language maintenance. Linguistic viability and the roles women play in that viability are crucial to the continuance of a distinct cultural world view. Although the Dakotapi are still the primary language of many Dakotapi people, there has been a gradual loss of these languages in the latter half of the twentieth century, with a resurgence of linguistic awareness on the part of the Dakotapi in the past two decades. Through the teaching of these oral stories in Dakotapi and in English, students can learn the necessary kinship rules that have sustained those distinct cultures

for centuries.

Ella Cara Deloria, the woman most responsible for the initial preservation and maintenance of Dakotapi stories, dedicated her life to Dakotapi linguistic and cultural viability. Rather than live the more traditional life of a wife and mother, she educated herself, recording the language and cultural value systems of the Dakotapi peoples. She also fulfilled her role as a traditional Nakota woman by leaving her work temporarily to take care of her father and sister when they became ill (Murray 1974).

First an apprentice to Franz Boas, Ella soon became his colleague in translating and researching Lakota language and culture. The oral story "Standing Rock Legend" was translated into English by Deloria. She spent the formative years of her life on Standing Rock and her writings were influenced to a large degree by the religion, language, culture, and education she received at St. Elizabeth's. She also attended Oberlin College and Columbia University (Murray 1974).

Several Dakotapi women besides Ella Deloria have carried on the arduous task of recording Dakotapi oral traditions. Two of those women are Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (Zitkala Sa) and Marie Louise McLaughlin. Sacrificing their own personal autonomy in order that the "people may survive," each of these women participated in the establishment of a body of writing that describes the

cultural world view of Dakotapi women.

Fallen Star

Fallen Star (Wicahpi Hinhpaya) is sacred to Dakotapi oral traditions. As far as I know, there are only two oral versions of the Wohpe story as told by women (1). Both of these oral stories are not found in a written context (as I have mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, it is my view that much of the oral tradition can now be found in a written context). As such, these two oral stories remain unpublished except for whatever parts Ronald Goodman used for his written version of Fallen Star in Lakota Star Knowledge. The question arises: "Would women tell the story?" Men may have been the primary parties telling this sacred story, yet women heard these stories told and at some point in time they would most likely have told them to their children or grandchildren. Women told stories as well as men; this we know from the data collected by Walter Stanley Campbell (Stanley Vestal) and Ella Cara Deloria, to name only two (Campbell and Deloria manuscript materials).

By 1938 Deloria had not found variants (male or female) of the Wohpe story, yet she kept "searching for information relating to Sword's tales" (Jahner 1983, 22). Fallen Star might not have been within the memory of the people, especially around 1938 when the impact of Christianization among the people had already caused a huge amount of cultural and linguistic loss. Undoubtedly, Christianization of the Dakotapi people led to a diminution of the telling of

"Fallen Star."

Dakotapi culture has changed. All cultures change and adapt. To a certain degree, however, Dakotapi people regained much of what was once thought lost. Among the more traditional people were individuals who kept the memories of the people alive. As John Around Him says in the audiocassette tapes accompanying his Lakota Ceremonial Songs (1983), "the people went underground" and the oral stories were accessible to modern day Sioux. It is essential for a people to believe in their oral myths in order that "the people may live," not only as Dakotapi but as "human beings" as Ella Deloria so keenly put it in Speaking of Indians (1944).

It appears that between 1890 and the late 1930s, there is a gap in the oral stories of the people. The people lost touch with the origin of these stories and therefore lost touch with the authenticity. During this time period, "the test of the validity of oral traditional materials was the existence of variants. Deloria found no variants" (Jahner 1983, 22). Today, however, we know that variants do exist. For example, the differences found in the Finger (Walker 1980) and LaPointe (1976) versions of the Wohpe story.

Ronald Goodman (2) refers to a "personage" and Eugene Buechel denotes "the falling of the stars, applied to the year 1833" (Goodman 1990, 3; Buechel 1970, 578). An amalgamation of several versions, both oral and written,

Goodman's variation is from Lakota Star Knowledge: Studies in Lakota Stellar Theology (1990). Two of his consultants were women, so their versions influenced to some degree the published version by Goodman, to what degree we do not know.

Powers (1986) refers to the main protagonist in the Fallen Star story as a female who is transformed into White Buffalo Calf Woman when she appears on earth. Powers (1986) states:

> it is a sacred woman who drops to earth in the form of a falling star and unites with the most virile of sacred beings, the South Wind. In the transformation of Falling Star into the sacred White Buffalo Calf Woman, she brings to a starving Lakota nation that instrument of prayer the Calf Pipe, which along with the Seven Sacred Rites will intervene in their lives whenever they are experiencing hardship and danger. (Powers 1986, 35)

The Ronald Goodman version of the story has been synthesized recently from several Fallen Star stories. The main protagonist of Goodman's version is male, while all the other characters are female. Why does Powers refer to a female protagonist, and Goodman to a male protagonist? The transformation of Wohpe from a male star to a female white buffalo calf is of a supernatural nature. My hypothesis for why the protagonists have changed to males in Goodman's version is that, just as Lakota culture and society have become male-biased, so have the oral stories. Oral stories that had been female-based have now been changed to male-based stories. Individuals who were consultants to the recorders of these stories simply told the stories as they

had heard them told, from the male perspective.

Another explanation resides in the version by James LaPointe in Legends of the Lakota (1976). He also makes reference to the mother and her son, who have both fallen from the sky:

> A woman, her comely face upturned, lay there as though in deep sleep, while a tiny child busily nursed from the breast of the motionless woman. Because the mother lay so unnaturally still, the boys picked up the baby boy, carefully wrapped him in calf-hide robes taken from their shoulders, and took him back to the village. Breathlessly they told how they had come upon the scene, and how the newborn child had been vigorously nursing.
>
> There was much curious speculation, but no explanation for this strange incident. Medicine men were apprehensive. What did it portend? Was she a cloud woman who had fallen to the earth? (LaPointe 1976)

This discrepancy is easily explained. They both fell from the sky, the son is Fallen Star and the woman is an "earth girl," who dies on impact because she is mortal, and not supernatural, as is her son. In the Goodman version, "The crash kills her, but her baby is born" (p3). Powers may have made a mistake in assuming that the fallen woman was Fallen Star.

Conversely, Powers' version of these Dakotapi oral stories are from the perspectives of women. Women could possibly have told the story to Powers with all female protagonists. Yet James LaPointe also mentions a male child. He states:

> Fallen Star was a most unusual child; he matured early into a sturdy, healthy boy. He played and hunted with other children, but he

> seemed to know he was no ordinary boy and was destined for special duties. Soon after attaining manhood, he told his adopted mother that his father was a bright star in the sky and by the command of Taku Wakan he must now watch over all the people of the earth. One night, quietly and mysteriously, Fallen Star left this earth, returning to the heavens of his father's people. But the Lakota know he belongs in part to them, as the son of a Lakota mother. (LaPointe 1976)

How does the "earth girl" become White Buffalo Calf Woman? When White Buffalo rolls over and over four times on the earth, she is symbolizing that she is the "earth girl" who fell from the sky, that she is a sacred woman, a buffalo woman, rising to greet the Dakotapi people as White Buffalo Calf Woman.

In some versions of the story that I have read (and heard) she walks out of the tipi and then rolls over four times on the earth, turning into a buffalo, galloping away, disappearing into a cloud of dust. When White Buffalo Calf Woman rolls over she is signifying that she is a part of the earth, as are the buffalo and the buffalo people.

Black Elk's version of the White Buffalo Calf Woman story is slightly different: "Then she sang again and went out of the tepee; and as the people watched her going, suddenly it was a white bison galloping away and snorting, and soon it was gone" (Neihardt 4). The buffalo are our relatives. We must maintain a connection between the stars, the earth, and the spirit world in order to be whole as the buffalo people. White Buffalo Calf Woman is transformed from a mortal woman to a sacred spiritual woman because all

women are sacred and spiritual. This is what these stories teach. Women are sacred to the Dakotapi cultural world view. Goodman's version of the story does not disclose the importance of women in the oral story. Certainly he lets us know that the woman is homesick, yet LaPointe's version of the story is much more revealing as to the roles and conduct of women in Dakotapi culture:

> No sooner had they emerged from their bridal tipi than Starman's grandmother took over the management of the new household. She cast a stern eye upon the little earth bride, so young, so naive. Indeed she resented the intrusion. But she loved her grandson, and so, in a cold, methodical way, she began to teach the artless young bride the ways of the world above.
>
> The earth girl enjoyed only the company of her man, and she accompanied him on many of his long, mysterious missions in the sky until one day she felt the stirrings of a new life within her.
>
> It was now springtime in this strange land so far from the earth. In the warmth of the spring air, fresh grass carpeted the rolling hill with a greenish hue. Flowers burst into bloom, and the birds sang merrily as they tended to their annual springtime chores. It was the joyous season, the waking-up time for all living things. But alas, the warm sun and the feeling of being reborn sent twinges of nostalgia through the earth girl. To dispel the grip of sadness she wandered far away to the wooded hills, there to dream of her childhood. Vivid memories of her happy young life passed through her mind. These feelings gave way to the knowledge that she was uncomfortably heavy with the life within her. Feeling helpless and alone, she experienced an uncontrollable urge to do something reckless and daring.
>
> The grandmother had been patient with the girl, knowing that women in her condition were not always rational. She had fond hopes that not too many moons away she would be holding a great-grandchild in her arms. But, with each day the young woman's behavior became more disturbing. She cautioned the girl to remember that the sky world was much different from the earth. Animals were more dangerous. Even growing plants and

> edible tubers could bring harm if not handled properly. The girl only sulked, and again wandered far into the hills, carrying her digging bar.
>
> She remembered the many times she had gone as a small child to gather berries, herbs and tubers with her earth mother. As she rambled aimlessly here and there, recalling pleasurable childhood incidents, she spied a plant which she remembered as tasting bitter but pleasant. Casting aside precaution, she reasoned it would do no harm to enjoy once again the tangy taste of the plant she had once so enjoyed.
>
> As she plunged her digging bar into the earth to extract the root, there was an unfamiliar hollow sound. As though plunged into quicksand, the bar crazily sank downward. She felt a queer sensation, as though the ground underneath her was crumbling away. Frightened, remembering now the warnings of the old woman, she reached out for something to grasp, but the movement only caused her to sink deeper, deeper, and then into oblivion. (3-4)

Fallen Star is significant to Dakotapi oral literatures. There are many stories at the center of Dakotapi theology. Like the other two stories "White Buffalo Calf Woman" and "Standing Rock Legend," LaPointe's version of Fallen Star focuses on the roles of women in Dakotapi cultural belief systems, such as the role of motherhood:

> Many women, already mothers, came forward wanting the baby, but the elders of the village decreed that the child should go to a lonely woman in need of a child. (LaPointe 3-4)

In traditional Dakotapi cultures, if a woman did not have any children, or had lost her children, respect was shown by giving her a baby or child if it was orphaned or taken in a raid. Women with children were supposed to put aside their own desires so that a childless woman could fulfill her most important role, that of being a mother.

Dakotapi women go to live with their husbands' tiyospaye in traditional culture (Deloria 1988). They are taught to try not to be lonely while they are away from their own people. They are taught by their husbands' grandmothers or mothers to live as their tiyospaye lives. Women who live away from their people should have an oral story that helps to instruct them in their absence from their relatives. The story teaches Dakota people to maintain their relationship with all things in the universe, stars and buffalo alike.

White Buffalo Calf Woman

Another story central to Dakotapi theology and cultural world view is White Buffalo Calf Woman. Nicholas Black Elk's (Neihardt 1932) rendition of the coming of the sacred pipe to the Dakotapi people gives evidence of the place of women in their cultures and histories. There is a belief among the Oyate Tatanka

> about the way the pipe first came to us. A very long time ago, they say, two scouts were out looking for bison; and when they came to the top of a high hill and looked north, they saw something coming a long way off, and when it came closer they cried out, "It is a woman!," and it was. Then one of the scouts, being foolish, had bad thoughts and spoke them; but the other said: "That is a sacred woman; throw all bad thoughts away." When she came still closer, they saw that she wore a fine white buckskin dress, that her hair was very long and that she was young and very beautiful. And she knew their thoughts and said in a voice that was like singing: "You do not know me, but if you want to do as you think, you may come." And the foolish one went; but just as he stood before her, there was a white cloud that came and covered them. And the beautiful young woman came out of the cloud, and when it blew away the foolish man was a skeleton covered with worms.
>
> Then the woman spoke to the one who was not foolish: "You shall go home and tell your people that I am coming and that a big tepee shall be built for me in the center of the nation." And the man, who was very much afraid, went quickly and told the people, who did at once as they were told; and there around the big tepee they waited for the sacred woman. And after a while she came, very beautiful and singing, and as she went into the tepee this is what she sang:
>
> "With visible breath I am walking.
> A voice I am sending as I walk.
> In a sacred manner I am walking.
> With visible tracks I am walking.
> In a sacred manner I walk."
>
> And as she sang, there came from her mouth a white cloud that was good to smell. Then she gave something to the chief, and it was a pipe with a

> bison calf carved on one side to mean the earth that bears and feeds us, and with twelve eagle feathers hanging from the stem to mean the sky and the twelve moons, and these were tied with a grass that never breaks. "Behold!" she said. "With this you shall multiply and be a good nation. Nothing but good shall come from it. Only the hands of the good shall take care of it and the bad shall not even see it." Then she sang again and went out of the tepee; and the people watched her going, suddenly it was a white bison galloping away and snorting, and soon it was gone.
>
> This they tell, and whether it happened so or not I do not know; but if you think about it, you can see that it is true. (3-4)

White Buffalo Calf Woman came to the Dakotapi people bringing the sacred pipe. Whether or not this event actually occurred is not crucial to this discussion. The relevance of this story is that the people themselves believe that the story is true and that this sacred woman, real or mythical, is at the center of the Dakotapi belief system today.

Another vital aspect of this oral story is that it establishes the premise that women are sacred. So what is the significance of a woman bringing the pipe and seven sacred rites to the Dakotapi peoples? What message does it send? In White Buffalo Calf Woman's message to the Dakota, Lakota, Nakota peoples she addressed the women, saying: "You are from the mother earth. What you are doing is as great as what the warriors do" (Erdoes and Ortiz 1984, 47-52). I believe this to be true in every aspect of life. That is, women are important in constructing everyday life. White Buffalo Calf Woman reifies this knowledge in every

aspect of this sacred oral story. The other sacred ceremonies that this woman brought to the Dakotapi peoples also have central roles for women (3).

This story has kept the sacred hoop intact for the Dakota, Lakota, Nakota (4). At the end of this story White Buffalo Calf Woman walks out of the tipi and leaves camp, suddenly turning into a white buffalo calf. In other versions of the story she lies down and rolls over, again suddenly turning into a white buffalo calf. This myth is sacred to the Lakota people (5). The actual pipe that White Buffalo Calf Woman brought to the people centuries ago is housed in a small building on the Cheyenne Eagle Butte Indian Reservation in Green Grass, South Dakota. Arvol Looking Horse's family have been the keepers of this sacred object for nineteen generations. Every year the people Sun Dance there, praying for their relatives, with the understanding that White Buffalo Calf Woman actually exists and shall return to the Dakotapi as she said she would do when she first brought the pipe to the people (6).

White Buffalo Calf Woman has now reappeared on earth in her white buffalo calf form, although it is still not known how the story will come full circle. A white buffalo calf "was born at an exotic animals farm south of Janesville, Wisconsin, on the David Heider farm" (Indian Country Today September 8, 1994). Overnight this 46-acre farm near the Rock River turned into a gathering place for people from all

over the world to come see "Miracle," the sacred calf. Born on August 20, 1994, this calf is sacred (7).

A sacred pipe ceremony was performed for "Miracle," and the people gathered there in her honor prayed for renewal, strength, and continuance. The people prayed for the unification of all nations of the world. At the gathering in honor of this sacred miracle, Mr. Hand recalled a dream he had in May of 1993. He stated that "A beautiful lady in rainbow-colored dress" came to him, telling him that she soon would bring a message of peace and unity to the world. Hand, a Lakota tribal elder, had a vision reminiscent of Nicholas Black Elk's.

The First Nation peoples believe that their oral stories are validated by the birth of this white buffalo calf. The practical application of this phenomenon is to respect the cultural world view of these peoples and to remember that buffalo are essential to the continuance of the Plains Indian way of life. Not only is the Lakota belief system built around the story of White Buffalo Calf Woman, but the spirituality of the Dakotapi is organized in relationship to the growth and prosperity of the Buffalo Nation. As long as the Americans at large, especially Christian fundamentalists respect this and understand that the world view of the Dakotapi people depends upon the life of the buffalo, then the American public can appreciate that, in terms of the sacred story and the birth of these

sacred calves is extremely significant.

There were a few references to Miracle's fur turning brown, but this is not important. What the calf represents to the people and their continuance is the key factor. James LaPointe (1976) refers to a brown buffalo calf in his version of this sacred oral story. This corresponds to the "gray cow" described in the caption to the drawing by Mclaughlin in Myths and Legends of the Sioux (p44). LaPointe and McLaughlin's version supports the notion that it is not important if the calf is a true albino. What is vital in understanding Dakota, Lakota, Nakota theology is that the birth of a "white" calf signifies there is hope for the Oyate Tatanka (Buffalo People) in their struggle for survival. This oral history lives through the telling of the story. In its oral or written form, this story is at the center of the Dakota, Lakota, Nakota world view.

The retelling of the White Buffalo Calf Woman story to Dakotapi children through class projects and assignments can only enhance cultural knowledge. The coming of the white buffalo calf into this world at this point in history is not coincidental. As a buffalo culture, the Dakotapi are growing in number just as the buffalo herds are repopulating the Plains. The buffalo provided food, clothing, household implements and shelter for the Plains tribes. In fact, every part of the buffalo was used for survival (Deloria 1944, Burns 1995). The regeneration of these sacred

creatures on this earth is a positive sign.

I have used John Neihardt's retelling of Nicholas Black Elk's oral version of the story in Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux (Neihardt 1932). Black Elk knew that Neihardt had been "sent to learn what I know, and I will teach him" (xi). Black Elk fully comprehended the implications of putting the oral stories of the Lakota down on paper. He told Neihardt:

> there is so much to teach you. What I know was given to me for men and it is true and it is beautiful. Soon I shall be under the grass and it will be lost. You were sent to save it, and you must come back so that I can teach you. (xi)

He foresaw that today oral history is only believable if it is in print. He realized the historical significance of relaying his knowledge to Neihardt, in order that the "people live" (Neihardt 1972, 234).

The White Buffalo Calf Woman traditions have been central to the Dakota, Lakota, Nakota cultural world views for several hundred years. It has become well-known in the non-Dakotapi world primarily through its appearance in Black Elk's autobiographical text (O'Brien 1973). The Seventh generation of Dakotapi are here and White Buffalo Calf Woman has come back to them as she professed.

Although other versions of the story exist, the variances are minimal, except for Marie Louise McLaughlin's version. It is as follows:

> Two young men were out strolling one night talking of love affairs. They passed around a hill and

came to a little ravine or coulee. Suddenly they saw coming up from the ravine a beautiful woman. She was painted and her dress was of the very finest material.

"What a beautiful girl!" said one of the young men. "Already I love her. I will steal her and make her my wife."

"No," said the other. "Don't harm her. She may be holy."

The young woman approached and held out a pipe which she first offered to the sky, then to the earth and then advanced, holding it out in her extended hands.

"I know what you young men have been saying; one of you is good; the other is wicked," she said.

She laid down the pipe on the ground and at once became a buffalo cow. The cow pawed the ground, stuck her tail straight out behind her and then lifted the pipe from the ground again in her hoofs; immediately she became a young woman again. "I am come to give you this gift," she said. "It is the peace pipe. Hereafter all treaties and ceremonies shall be performed after smoking it. It shall bring peaceful thoughts into your minds. You shall offer it to the Great Mystery and to the earth.

The two young men ran to the village and told what they had seen and heard. All the village came out where the young woman was.

She repeated to them what she had already told the young men and added:

"When you set free the ghost (the spirit of deceased persons) you must have a white buffalo cow skin."

She gave the pipe to the medicine men of the village, turned again to a buffalo cow and fled away to the land of the buffaloes. (42-44)

This version of the sacred pipe story has overtones resembling Victorian North American sentimentality. McLaughlin titled the story "Story of the Peace Pipe" in Myths and Legends of the Sioux (1916). The cannunpa wakan (sacred calf pipe) is not a "peace pipe"-- a largely European-American reference with little or no application in Dakotapi culture.

On the frontier, it was referred to as the peace pipe, or calumet, by the commissioners who sat and smoked with the tribal leaders. Prior to that it was also referred to as a peace pipe in dime store novels and as the calumet in earlier American literature. Undoubtedly, McLaughlin grew up hearing stories of how the frontier was settled by the use of meetings between Indians and whites, in which the sacred pipe was seen as a tool of "peace," i.e. for the strict use of confirming an agreement. It did have widespread use for adoption and in making allies between Nations. In this respect, this kind of use was very important to all Siouan-speakers and most other Plains and Eastern tribes.

For spiritually based Dakotapi people there is a distinct difference between the use of a pipe made for ceremonial and spiritual use, and that of one made for the purpose of finalizing an agreement in good faith. Usage of such terminology by McLaughlin is quite telling. Clearly this indicates the extent to which McLaughlin was acculturated and influenced by religion. As mentioned previously, I refer to this as the masculinization of the oral stories of the Dakotapi. There is an undeniable link between the religious upbringing of this individual and the shift to a male-based literature. This particular version of the story by McLaughlin is one example of this shift by a Dakota woman writer.

Different from the other versions of the story, McLaughlin's rendition calls attention to a dichotomy between the two young men in the story. "I know what you young men have been saying; one of you is good; the other is wicked," (p42-44). This is similar to the dichotomy set up between Abel and Cain in the Bible. Also, by leaving out the precise description of the devouring of the young man by worms or snakes, McLaughlin tidies up the story, removing any reference to an act which would surely not set well with Christians. That is, the readership was primarily Christian and during this period of American history it was not appropriate for a woman to write about such a horrendous feat of nature. In fact, in McLaughlin's version, the "wicked" young man returns to the village with the "good" young man. Clearly, this is a masculinization of this particular version of "White Buffalo Calf Woman," not the coming of the "peace" pipe. In no other version does this happen. Other versions describe a man who has bad thoughts, is consumed, and left as a heap of bones covered with worms. McLaughlin's version is distinctly influenced by her religious upbringing (8).

Standing Rock Legend

An oral story central to Lakota oral mythology, specifically the Hunkpapa Lakota (9) is one in which a young girl is the main protagonist. Ella Cara Deloria recorded "Standing Rock Legend" in Dakota Texts (1932). Deloria's Lakota and literal text to the story are provided in Appendix D. The English version of the story is given here:

> The rock that stands upright became so in the following manner. In the early beginnings of the people, a certain young man wanted a beautiful young girl for his wife. But she did not care for him, and so she wept continually over the matter. After a time, the young man becoming discouraged, got together practically all the horses there were, and offered them for the girl. The young girl's male relatives, (i.e., cousins and brothers), wished very much to own the horses and they all joined together in urging her to accept the man. So, because of deference towards her male relatives, the girl at last declared her willingness to marry the man. So everyone was very happy. But some days, shortly before the date of the marriage, the girl disappeared; so they all looked for her but she was absolutely gone. Her relatives and all the riders in the tribe joined together in looking for her. The mother of the missing girl was especially diligent in her search and often would be gone for days at a time, during which she roamed weeping over the land. One day when she was again walking about, when the sun was low, she looked towards the west and saw, outlined against the sunset, a small hill on top of which sat a woman, in the correct sitting posture for a woman. The light in her eyes was so bright that it was difficult for her to see. Yet for all that, she knew at once that that woman was her daughter. And, sitting beside her, was the little puppy also facing the same direction. The woman wept and stroked her daughter's head and shoulders in affection, and then she invited her to go home with her. But when the girl tried to stand, she could not move; so her mother felt of her legs, and already they were turned into rock. There the woman sat, holding her daughter in her arms, and wept

> continually, and felt of her body from time to time. Each time she found that more and more it was turning to stone. At last both the girl and her little pet were turned into rock, they say. This happened a very long time ago, in fact before anyone's memory. It was only recently, yesterday you might say, that the stone was brought into the agency and set up at the fort and the government disbursing station took its name from the image, and became Standing Rock. Even today, anyone who goes there may see the stone. (221-3)

The proper, i.e. "traditional" sitting posture for women and young girls was with their legs flexed to the right. "No woman ever sits cross-legged. Even little girls are corrected, if they do" (Deloria 1944, 222). In contemporary society it would be unheard of to demand that women and young girls sit in this manner.

Yet there is a lot that can be gained by understanding the strict rules for women in this particular instance of a Dakotapi gender specific behavior rule. Women and young girls in contemporary society can understand the demands that were placed on them in the past and how this was seen as a discreet behavior on the part of traditional women. We know that women are the central focus of this story. Men are taught a lesson that no matter how many horses can be obtained, some women may not want to marry.

A young woman's male relatives are responsible for her welfare. They should not desire something that their female relatives do not want. In other words, do not put yourself first and do not desire possessions to the extent that it puts your kinship relationships in jeopardy.

The spiritual essence of this story signifies two things: that rocks are sacred and that supernatural events can be brought about by human suffering and tragedy. The young girl does not turn to stone arbitrarily. Rocks and stones are seen as the oldest and most powerful source of mass energy. The girl turns to stone from the feet up, thus signifying the relationship of the people to the land. The girl is unaware of the transformation her body is going through and attempts to rise when her mother invites her to go home. The mother weeps as the girl and her puppy both turn completely to stone. The description Deloria provides of the devotion the Lakota mother has for her daughter is a classic example of her cultural knowledge.

Puppies were very sacred to traditional Lakota women. They had developed a bond that was ancient and well-integrated into Dakotapi oral traditions. Women often painted their dogs' noses red, signifying their sacred status (Deloria 1988). I have seen the rock in question. If you use your imagination it could be said to resemble a young woman and a puppy.

A more realistic viewpoint might argue that this story originated when the people were forced onto the reservation. But the story is said to come from a time prior to contact with whites. It could be argued that for the Hunkpapa Lakota, this story, this rock, is a way that the people can physically ground their cultural world view to a specific

object, a specific place, Standing Rock. One thing is sure, very few young contemporary Standing Rock Sioux know certain parts to the origin story, and fewer yet could give a detailed account of the story, although I am sure there are elders who could tell the story. We need to ground ourselves in our oral stories.

"Legend of Standing Rock" from Marie Louise McLaughlin's Myths and Legends of the Sioux (1916) is as follows:

> A Dakota had married an Arikara woman, and by her had one child. By and by he took another wife. The first wife was jealous and pouted. When time came for the village to break camp she refused to move from her place on the tent floor. The tent was taken down but she sat on the ground with her babe on her back. The rest of the camp with her husband went on.
>
> At noon her husband halted the line. "Go back to your sister-in-law," he said to his two brothers. "Tell her to come on and we will await you here. But hasten, for I fear she may grow desperate and kill herself."
>
> The two rode off and arrived at their former camping place in the evening. The woman still sat on the ground. The elder spoke:
>
> "Sister-in-law, get up. We have come for you. The camp awaits you."
>
> She did not answer, and he put out his hand and touched her head. She had turned to stone!
>
> The two brothers lashed their ponies and came back to camp. They told their story, but were not believed. "The woman has killed herself and my brothers will not tell me," said the husband. However, the whole village broke camp and came back to the place where they had left the woman. Sure enough, she sat there still, a block of stone.
>
> The Indians were greatly excited. They chose out a handsome pony, made a new travois and placed the stone in the carrying net. Pony and travois were both beautifully painted and decorated with streamers and colors. The stone was thought "wakan" (holy), and was given a place of honor in

> the center of the camp. Whenever the camp moved the stone and travois were taken along. Thus the woman was carried for years, and finally brought to Standing Rock Agency, and now rests upon a brick pedestal in front of the Agency office. From this stone Standing Rock Agency derives its name. (40-1)

In this version a woman does not want to accept another woman her husband has married (10). McLaughlin's version predates Deloria's and the female protagonist is Arikara (11). This version teaches that sometimes it is not in the best interest of the "tiyospaye" (extended family), to bring another woman into the tipi. If males took a second wife in traditional culture they were to do so in a way that would diminish the chance of animosity between the wives. Polygamy was rare and occurred only when a male could provide for two or more families (Deloria 1944).

Taking a second or third wife from the members of the first or second wive's tiyospaye would create opportunity for cooperation between women and allow for a more stable environment for women and children. Nineteenth century Victorian religious beliefs did not allow the practice of polygamy. McLaughlin was influenced by her religious upbringing and by her mother's telling of the oral stories to the point that McLaughlin's written version of the stories give a religious tone or slant to them. In this dissertation, in Dakotapi literature, and ultimately, in society at large, there is an association between religious influences and the gender shift that occurred in the

literature.

McLaughlin is a Dakota woman writer dealing with the role of women within the institution of marriage. Myths and Legends of the Sioux (1916) represents variants of these oral stories and a difference in social upbringing between McLaughlin and Deloria. Deloria was raised in a family that was devoutly religious. Deloria's father was an Episcopalian priest. McLaughlin's father was a fur-trader. If anything she was raised Catholic, but there is very little evidence of an religious training for her. She was raised in a mixed-blood community in Minnesota that was more Indian than non-Indian. Her schooling was minimal. Deloria, however, consciously tries to bring a balance to the literature. Deloria was aware of the literature of McLaughlin and Bonnin, at the time she was writing during the middle of the twentieth century. McLaughlin and Deloria were both raised differently according to their families' religion, cultural awareness, language usage, and educational attainment. McLaughlin's version of the story is in English yet she was fluent in Dakota. Her cultural world view was influenced by her being bilingual. Although McLaughlin's stories often do have a religious bias, they are stories critical to forming a notion of how these stories and the writing of Dakotapi women changed over time and under what circumstances. Deloria was a trained anthropologist who dedicated her life to reconstructing the

literature to form a concise notion of what Dakotapi women's literature is from the perspective of a Nakota woman. McLaughlin was an active member of her community, translating stories with the assistance of her husband (Schneider 1997).

Why are there two separate versions of the same oral story? McLaughlin and Deloria both heard the stories told by different individuals, and as oral stories go, they change as dictated by the social constraints on the individuals telling them, and as the cultural upbringing of the individuals changes. Each of these women retold the story as she remembered its being told to her.

In Deloria's version the young female protagonist does not want to marry at all, teaching kinship rules that a woman should respect the wishes of her male relatives, but also that male relatives should not desire material objects to the extent that they overlook the wishes of their female relatives. This is according to the strict tenets of traditional culture. Deloria was distinctly aware of the masculinization of Dakotapi stories. She attempted to reverse this process by refeminizing the stories.

In McLaughlin's version the young woman does not want her husband to take another wife. In each case the story teaches the proper kinship ties and respect for the female protagonists. McLaughlin's version focuses on the taking of secondary wives from within the wife's own tribal group,

rather than from an outside group (Arikara). The woman in the story would have been more accepting of her own sister or cousin being taken as a second wife rather than an outsider. McLaughlin was raised with strict religious values and her version of the story is heavily masculinized.

There are specific implications when there are shifts in the gender or a total deletion of the importance of women's roles in the oral stories of a literature. Dakotapi women are crucial in the oral belief systems. There was a clear shift in the prominence of women in the Wohpe story included in this chapter. Ella Cara Deloria, in her scholarship, reminds the reader of the centrality of women in Dakotapi cultures. Marie Louise McLaughlin, in her version of "Legend of Standing Rock" masculinized the story because of her religious views.

NOTES

1. Two oral female versions, located in the Lakota Star Project at the Archives of Sinte Gleska University, Rosebud Sioux Reservation, Rosebud, South Dakota, have come to my attention recently (10-15-95). They were told by Ms. Dorothy Crane and Ms. Ollie Napesni. The Research Council (made up of elders) at Rosebud approves the use of materials from their archives. In addition to general restrictions, these manuscripts are also restricted because they are considered the property of Ronald Goodman, who recorded them. These texts are oral history from Lakota women and are useful in revealing variations from the male versions of the story. Ollie Napesni (1996) and I had several telephone conversations and she gave me permission to use her version of the story, but I am waiting on a decision by the Research Council at Rosebud to give final approval of usage. As of January 31, 1997 I have not heard back from the Research Council. In the spring of 1997 I intend to make a trip to Rosebud in an attempt to ask in person to have permission to use these materials.

2. There are many versions of the Fallen Star stories. Several oral and written versions are housed in the Lakota Star Project at the Archives of Sinte Gleska College, Rosebud Sioux Reservation, Rosebud, South Dakota. Other versions collected from the elders of the tribes are also in the following texts: When the Tree Flowered (Neihardt 1971); The Sixth Grandfather (DeMallie 1984); Beckwith, M. C. "Mythology of the Oglala Dakota," The Journal of American Folklore (Vol. 43: October-December 1930, 170); "Ethnographic Notes" (unpublished manuscript by Father Eugene Buechel); Legends of the Lakota (LaPointe 1976). This information is from Goodman (1990, 49).

3. The Throwing of the Ball rite and A Girl Becomes a Woman rite are both sacred to Lakota religion. For the most part, these two rites are no longer practiced, although a group of individuals did perform the Throwing of the Ball ceremony a few years ago.

4. Here myth functions as truth rather than fiction. For a discussion of this see: History and Myth in American Fiction, 1823-52 by Robert Clark. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984; and, Myth, Truth

and Literature: Towards a True Post-Modernism by Colin Falck. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989. "The Mythopoeic Vision in Native American Literature: The Problem of Myth," in American Indian Culture and Research Journal (Volume 1/277, 1974, pp. 3-13).

5. Actually, it is "nothing more incredible than a dead man rising from the tomb and ascending to heaven on the third day!" (Schneider 1996).

6. As are any white buffalo calves born. A rare occurrence genetically, there are few documented cases of white buffalo calves born. Two, however, were born in Nebraska last spring, one of whom died.

7. Black Elk Speaks was published for the first time in 1932. Reprinted again in 1953 and 1972, it received an overwhelming response from the public when it first came out in the Bison edition in 1961. To Black Elk, this is the transference of Lakota oral history to the world. Black Elk believed that Neihardt had been sent to learn the sacred ways of the Lakota. At the same time, Black Elk Speaks is somewhat removed from "historical" truth by the number of times it was transcribed. Black Elk told his story in Lakota to his son Ben, who translated it into English. Neihardt's daughter Enid took short hand notes and then typed them out. Neihardt himself freely edited and reworked the typed transcripts into the published book (See Raymond DeMallie's books on Black Elk). This detracts from the historical accuracy of the work, but Black Elk believed that Neihardt was sent to record the history of the Lakota as Black Elk knew it, both oral and literal. Neihardt, however, did not include the Christian aspects of Black Elk's life. In this Black Elk felt that what he wanted conveyed had been distorted by Neihardt. Recent scholarship by Steltenkamp (1993) and Holler (1995) also points to the fact that Neihardt distorted Black Elk on purpose.

8. Rather pallid Victorian Protestantism, Victorian gentility, and the Victorian cult of the home may all have combined to bowdlerize McLaughlin's story. Similarly Gilbert Wilson's editor insisted that he take the description of piercing out of his biography of Goodbird lest it disturb children. European texts such as Shakespeare's

plays, Grimm's fairy tales, and the Bible itself were similarly censored. Wilson felt the omission of piercing made the ceremony unintelligible, but the editor won, leaving strange gaps in the book. Unfortunately, except for a few letters written by McLaughlin to her husband, no extant materials give us a perspective on McLaughlin or her writing. No correspondence between her and any editors has survived, nor is there any secondary reference examining her point of view.

9. Information on the different reservations is provided in Appendix A, titled: "Modern Sioux Reservations."

10. Traditional Dakotapi women obviously are not always married in today's culture, but, in the not so distant past all women, with few exceptions, were expected to marry (Albers and Medicine 1983, 267-80).

11. Although we do not know what tribe the second wife is from, she is probably Dakota. The marriage to the Arikara woman might have been formal, but she had probably been captured in a raid. This does not discount the fact that these tribes practiced intermarriage. The history of enmity between tribes does not necessarily exclude the tribes from adhering to the custom of marrying outside of one's own "tiyospaye."

Establishment of Women's Early Written Traditions

> News traveled swiftly round a camp circle, from tipi to tipi, and in no time at all it completed the circuit. (Deloria 1988, 7)

Dakotapi women's traditions of stories are separate from yet complementary to the tradition of stories representing men's lives (Albers and Medicine 1983). The lifestyles of women, sparingly discussed in the literature until recently, can be extracted through a comparative analysis of literature by Dakotapi women. Ella Cara Deloria (Anpetu Waste Win), Marie Louise McLaughlin (Anpetu Waste Win), and Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (Zitkala-Sa) are the primary women who established a tradition of Dakotapi women's literature.

Such questions as: "How did these women learn English?," "How did they learn to write?" "What was their contact with the traditional way of life?" "How did they get their information?" and "How does this apply to Dakotapi women's literature?" deserve answers. It is the responsibility of those of us in academe to attempt answers. The "establishment" of Dakotapi women's literature with examples from the corpus of each of these three women's writing is the focus of this chapter. They contributed extensively to the illumination of women's central role in Dakotapi society, in the establishment of Dakotapi literature, and in the survival of Dakotapi cultural and oral history.

In researching the writing of Dakotapi women's literature I found that the similarities and differences among the women themselves are as interesting as those between women and men. Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, Ella Cara Deloria, and Marie L. McLaughlin all were born in the mid to late nineteenth century and were heavily influenced by the drastic changes Dakotapi societies went through during the past century. Each of them experienced the formative years of the reservation period, the encroachment of non-Indians, and the strictest educational training imposed on the Dakotapi. What do these women contribute to our understanding of Dakotapi women as mothers, daughters, teachers, and writers? How is this similar to or different from the information presented in works by younger Dakotapi women writers? What difference does being a Dakotapi woman make in writing about Dakotapi women?

Marie Louise McLaughlin, the eldest of the three women, experienced the most drastic changes, not only because she was a Dakota woman, but because of the geographical consequences of being a Dakota--the most eastern groups were devastated first and their culture changed most radically. Thus, by the time she wrote Myths and Legends of the Sioux (1916) she was basically assimilated. Her stories are both masculinized and contain elements that indicate the centrality of women in Dakotapi culture.

Marie Louise McLaughlin published less than Bonnin and

Deloria, but contributed nonetheless to the continuance of knowledge about the roles of women in Dakotapi cultures. Marie L. McLaughlin wrote Myths and Legends of the Sioux (1916) as the stories were told to her as a child by her Indian mother and later as an adult by elders, both women and men, of Dakotapi descent. A Santee Dakota, McLaughlin lived in Minnesota and North Dakota with her husband Major James McLaughlin, an Indian agent at Devil's Lake Sioux Agency and Standing Rock Agency. He transferred from Devils Lake to Standing Rock in 1881. Born and raised among the Dakotapi and a fluent speaker of Dakota, she "had exceptional opportunities of learning the legends and folk-lore of the Sioux" (McLaughlin 10). McLaughlin's only publication is a valuable source of information from a Dakota woman's perspective. She did write a few letters and other documents that are useful to note in this discussion (1). McLaughlin was significantly biased by her religious affiliation.

Gertrude Simmons Bonnin also went through the experience of forced assimilation that substantially influenced her writing. She was highly critical of both the Indian and white cultures and was outspoken on the behalf of Indians. She, like McLaughlin and Deloria, was also strongly influenced by spirituality and religion.

Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, of Dakota and Nakota descent, wrote about Dakotapi cultures and the transitions she

endured as an individual raised during the formative years of the reservation system. Her experiences teaching at Carlisle Indian School and her accomplishments speak to the ability of Dakotapi women to persevere under the harshest of circumstances. Old Indian Legends (1901) is a collection of oral stories that Bonnin wrote in English. American Indian Stories (1921) is a collection of stories by Bonnin describing her own life experiences, especially how she lived in two worlds (Indian and white) simultaneously. There are many other published letters and stories by her, such as, "Why I am a Pagan" (Atlantic Monthly 1902), which explains much of why she worked so hard to help American Indian cultures and people survive.

Deloria, to the best of her ability, recorded and documented what she heard in its original form. Credit and recognition is due to Ella Deloria, a Yankton Nakota, who grew up at Standing Rock among the Lakota. She devoted her entire adult life to ensuring the survival of Dakotapi cultures and societies. She did this by reinforcing Dakotapi literature as a national literature. In numerous published and unpublished works, she wrote extensively about the roles of women and men in Dakotapi societies. Deloria's manuscripts form the cornerstone upon which Dakotapi studies rest today.

Deloria translated the Bushotter texts and collaborated with Franz Boas in producing Dakota Grammar (1944) and

Dakota Texts (1932). Although Dakota Grammar is less frequently utilized, it is a valuable document to Dakota linguistics. As there is no specific information about the roles of Dakota women in Dakota Grammar, I will not discuss this text.

Dakota Texts contains numerous implications for the study of women in Dakotapi traditional oral myth. "Standing Rock Legend" from this text is explicated in Chapter One. About women in Lakota oral myth, this story is central to the geographic location of Standing Rock. The main protagonists are female. This construction is not one made by Deloria. The entire cultural matrix of Dakotapi oral history is represented by this notion. Deloria published the story leaving a legend intact. In this way she preserved the original female-based structure of Dakotapi culture and established a written text of the story for the use of future generations.

Another work of Deloria's, "Camp Circle Society," is an unpublished account of Dakotapi societies. Material from this manuscript, in comparison with other historical, anthropological, literary, and autobiographical texts, reveals a pattern of the ways in which Dakotapi women's roles and statuses were perceived. Also known as "Dakota Family Life," this manuscript is currently being edited by Raymond J. DeMallie. When it is published it will add to the vast amount of materials Ella Deloria contributed to

Dakotapi Studies.

Julian Rice, a non-Lakota scholar, produced three books explicating Ella Deloria's unpublished manuscripts. They are: Deer Women and Elk Men: The Lakota Narratives of Ella Deloria (1992), Ella Deloria's Iron Hawk (1993), and Ella Deloria's The Buffalo People (1994). Much can be learned from examining Deloria's materials and manuscripts. They can be used to maintain Dakotapi cultural and linguistic viability.

Other publications of Ella Deloria's that discuss the roles and cultural world view of women in Dakotapi society and oral traditions are Waterlily (1988), Speaking of Indians (1944) and, "What a Foolish Woman Said" (American Philosophical Society). These stories contain substantial information about women's roles from a woman's perspective. Deloria's work is a primary source of data on the roles of traditional Dakotapi women of the past. Her works give ample information for reestablishing those traditions that are currently only found in written documents. These two books and the manuscript of "What a Foolish Woman Said" are examples of women's literature that can help maintain cultural and linguistic knowledge about women.

All three of these women, Bonnin, Deloria, and McLaughlin viewed the world around them from both insider and outsider positions. Their writing is heavily influenced by their cultural upbringing. Another thing they hold in

common is that while Gertrude Simmons Bonnin attended and taught at Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, Ella Deloria later worked there as a teacher for two years.

Gertrude Simmons Bonnin both masculinized and refeminized the literature. As Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve did almost a century later, Bonnin knew that the popular reading audiences wanted to read stories about Indian males. Bonnin knew that her voice would be heard and accepted more if she wrote about her concerns in the dialogue of male characters. I think this says much more about popular literature in American culture than it does about the choices the women made as writers. Sometimes there are sacrifices to be made in order for a writer to gain the attention of a larger audience. Certainly this did not change over the past century. Ella Deloria was as aware of this as Bonnin was, she also used male protagonists to expound her views.

Marie Louise McLaughlin (1842-1924)

Marie McLaughlin wrote only one book, Myths and Legends of the Sioux (1916). It did not receive much attention by scholars or critics. It can be argued that, just as with Ella Deloria's manuscripts, this work did not receive much attention primarily because McLaughlin was a woman. She wrote very little besides this one book, but she was very helpful to visitors at Devils Lake and Standing Rock who wanted stories and translations done or simply wished to visit and learn from the people. She was an Agency Interpreter at Devils Lake and Standing Rock (2). She also made a collection of objects (beaded most likely) for and wrote letters to people at the Hampton Institute in Virginia (Schneider 1997).

Certain aspects of Myths and Legends of the Sioux (1916) contrast with the other writers' works considered in this chapter. Foremost, McLaughlin's stories are more Christianized and masculinized than Bonnin's or Deloria's. The other two writers in this chapter are Indian from both sides of their families and had more Indian influences on their lives. This factor influenced the extent that she was Christianized and rejected the traditional way of life of the Indian.

McLaughlin dedicated her only book to her mother, Mary Graham Buisson (Pfaller 3), "at whose knees most of the stories contained in this little volume were told"

(McLaughlin 1916). Louis L. Pfaller, O.S.B., in his biography of James McLaughlin: The Man With an Indian Heart (Vantage Press 1978), cites her mother's name as Mary while other such as Schneider say that her name was Nancy. McLaughlin's Indian ancestry came from her mother's side of the family, and although she was fully Christianized,

> From her Indian mother, Louise received a thorough knowledge of the Sioux language and lore. This was to fit her admirably to be the wife of an agent to the Sioux Indians in Dakota. Her parents had sent her to the convent school at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, and the religious and cultural training she received there formed her into a model Christian lady. (Pfaller 1978, 3-4)

According to Pfaller's notes:

> The Catholic missionaries on the Devils Lake and Standing Rock reservations found Mrs. McLaughlin to be of a great influence in leading the Indians to Christianity. For many years she was an official interpreter and was outstanding in her translation and equally competent in interpreting the Indian character. Her tact in handling the Indians is illustrated by this example: At Fort Totten in the late 1870's there were some wild Indians who resented the confinement of reservation life and did not understand the agent's efforts to help them. One morning McLaughlin [James] was walking from his house to his office, one of the wild Indians stood between two buildings and took aim at the Major's back. Louise saw it, and called gently to the brave, using the endearing Sioux word of "relative" or "grandson," and begged him not to shoot-- that in the long run he would lose, that God did not want him to do it and that the agent had done him no harm. Persuaded by her kindness and reasoning the would-be assassin lowered his gun and walked away. (Pfaller 1978, 380-1)

She was raised Catholic, yet her mother who told her the stories that are important in remembering kinship relationships in Dakota culture. This is evident in the

book she wrote. The degree to which her mother told the stories with a religious bias distinguishes this text from the others considered in this dissertation.

Certainly, religious bias influenced the telling of the stories by those individuals from whom McLaughlin heard the stories as an adult. It is hard to know though because there is no information on her consultants. In the papers of her husband or at the Hampton Institute there may be materials.

Mary Graham Buisson was the granddaughter of Captain Duncan Graham, a Scot who had served with the British Army. McLaughlin described him as "one of a party of Scotch Highlanders who in 1811 arrived in the British Northwest by way of the York Factory, Hudson Bay, to found what was known as the Selkirk Colony, near Lake Winnipeg" (McLaughlin 1916). Numerous documents show that Duncan Graham was in the country in the late 1700s, so he may have decided to settle at Selkirk relatively late in his career. Pfaller (1978) includes a note mentioning,

> Philip F. Wells, cousin of Louise [Marie McLaughlin], says that Graham was born of a noble Scotch family in 1772 and came to American to work for the Hudson's Bay and American Fur Companies. While trading in the area now known as Minnesota, Graham, about 1796, "married" Susan Penishon, whose Indian name was `Istagwin,' meaning `Brown Eyes.' (380)

Pfaller (1978) refers to Marie as Louise, possibly to distinguish her from her mother and sibling, both named Mary, and her other sibling also named Marie. He states

that

> Louise's grandmother was a Mdewakanton Sioux who had married the Scots fur trader, Duncan Graham. Three of the five Graham children had descendants who followed the McLaughlins to the reservations in Dakota. Elizabeth Graham became Mrs. Alexander Faribault; Jane became Mrs. James Wells; and Mary (or Lucy) became the wife of Captain Joseph Buisson. The Buissons had several children; Marie Louise (Mrs. McLaughlin) was born on December 8, 1842. (Pfaller 1978, 3)

McLaughlin's grandmother "Ha-zo-ha-ta-win," was a full-blooded Mdewakanton (Dakota). While the Scots represent an important bloodline in Cree-descended Metis people, Dakotapi women were rarely Scottish. Most of the women, considered here, of European descent claim French and/or German, in addition to their Indian ancestry.

McLaughlin was one quarter Dakota. Except for the thousands of Metis (Cree and French mixed-bloods), being of only one quarter degree blood quantum was somewhat unusual at the time McLaughlin was born in 1842. Most women born into Dakotapi societies at this time were of one half or more blood quantum. The factor of blood quantum, at least at this point in history, contributed to the degree she was raised with a Christian upbringing. Cultural upbringing for Marie McLaughlin gave her a good sense of values from both cultures she was raised in, Indian and white.

McLaughlin's father was Joseph Buisson and her mother Mary Graham. Marie Louise Buisson was born on December 8, 1842 in Wabasha, Minnesota, "then Indian Country, and resided thereat until fourteen years of age, when I was sent

to school at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin" (McLaughlin 1916). McLaughlin probably only went to this school for one or two years. Most of McLaughlin's education came from her husband James, who apparently took an active role in assisting her (Schneider 1997). According to Schneider, "he might have pushed her to write and helped her edit it. But she fits your hypotheses that amount of education correlates with output" (Schneider 1997). This is all the information there is on her formal education.

Apparently she spent her childhood and early teens under the care of her mother. Mrs. Buisson divorced her husband when Marie was a child (Schneider 1997). Thus, she learned about culture primarily from her mother.

At the age of twenty-two Marie Louise Buisson married Major James McLaughlin at Mendota, Minnesota, on January 28, 1864. Pfaller (1978, 3) states they were married on the 29th of January. They lived in Minnesota for seven years, four years in Owatonna and three at Faribault. On July 1, 1871 they moved to Devils Lake Agency, North Dakota, then known as Dakota Territory. They lived there for ten years in "most friendly relations with the Indians of that agency" (McLaughlin 1916). Pfaller (1978) states that

> In the spring of 1864 the young couple moved to Owatonna, Steele County, in southern Minnesota. They lived there for four years, but again there is little information as to the nature of his [James] employment. A few things, though, are certain. In November, 1865, McLaughlin made his formal application for U.S. citizenship, and his first three children were born at Owatonna.

(Pfaller 4)

There is very little biographical information available on Marie Louise McLaughlin's life. What is found in a published form is in Pfaller's book (1978) on the biography of her husband James McLaughlin. She gave birth to seven children. According to Pfaller (1978),

> The first was Mary Prince who was born Nov. 9, 1864, but died soon after. Clara Louise was born on Jan. 12, 1866, and died in the fall of 1867. Five children reached adulthood: James Harry, Jan. 15, 1868 to March 16, 1913; Marie Imelda, Nov. 19, 1870 to Feb. 14, 1899; Charles Cyprian, Aug. 22, 1872 to Oct. 5, 1927; John Graham f., June 29, 1874 to Jan. 21, 1909; and Rupert Sibley, Dec. 10, 1876 to Sept. 17, 1924. (Pfaller 381)

Marie's and James' son, Charles McLaughlin, was the sheriff of Sioux County, North Dakota for several years during his adulthood. He also wrote for the Selfridge/Shields Journal. The name of the column was "Chadwick Chips" (Lofgren 1997).

"Early in 1920 he [James McLaughlin] prepared the family plot in the cemetery at McLaughlin, South Dakota, by having the remains of his children moved there. Later that year he drew up his will" (Pfaller 367). All of the McLaughlin children, "except for Charles, are buried in the McLaughlin Cemetery" (Pfaller 426). In his will, James McLaughlin

> willed about one-third of this [$32,000] to his children [Charles and Rupert are the only one living at the time] and grandchildren. The remainder was to be placed in a bank at interest and from which deposit and interest thereon, my beloved wife, Mary L. McLaughlin, to receive One Hundred ($100.00) Dollars monthly, to be paid to her in cash the first day of each month during her

> life, and upon her death, whatsoever may remain of my estate to be apportioned among my heirs...' (Pfaller 1978, 426)

In 1923 Marie McLaughlin was staying at her son Charles McLaughlin's home near Mahto, South Dakota on Standing Rock Indian Reservation. She moved to go live with her son in 1923 a few months prior to her husband's death on July 28, 1923. According to Pfaller (1978), on that day James McLaughlin

> was not feeling well when he arose, but he managed to write a check for his wife's board and room at Charley's A little later a friend of the family, Laura Fisher, called him on the phone; when he complained of not feeling well, she volunteered to come and help him. When she arrived about 2 o'clock she asked if he did not want a nurse. He said, "Yes, a male nurse and a doctor." When they arrived the doctor examined him and wrote out a prescription. By the time the nurse returned with the medicine, at 4:15, McLaughlin was already dead. It went that fast. The cause of death was given as heart failure. (Pfaller 374)

James McLaughlin was buried in his family plot in McLaughlin, South Dakota (my home town) on August 3, 1923. A huge funeral crowded the small town of McLaughlin since the town's namesake was well-respected throughout the region by Indians and whites alike (Pfaller 1978).

Marie Louise McLaughlin died almost one year later to the day on August 5, 1924 (the same day as her husband James' mother died in 1870). She was buried in the family plot in McLaughlin. Many other McLaughlin's are buried in the St. Bernard's Catholic cemetery. She was preceded in death by all of her children except for Charles and Rupert.

Rupert died three months and two weeks after his mother and Charles died three years later. The descendants of Marie McLaughlin still live on their land near Mahto and in the community of McLaughlin, South Dakota. Charles McLaughlin may be buried, according to Michael Harry McLaughlin near Shields, North Dakota (Porcupine District). I spoke with him recently on the phone about his relatives (March 25, 1997). Harry, as he is now referred to, believes that Rupert McLaughlin is also buried near Shields. There are letters she wrote to her husband, but Myths and Legends of the Sioux (1916) is the extent of her literary career (Schneider 1996).

In the Forward to her book she described oral stories as important "to the children of any race." This suggests that she knew the importance of the stories to her own people even though she knew that her readers would be primarily non-Dakota. She wrote in Myths and Legends of the Sioux that the published texts

> can not fail to give pleasure by their vivid imaging of the simple things and creatures of the great out-of-doors and the epics of their doings. They will also give an intimate insight into the mentality of an interesting race at a most interesting stage of development, which is now fast receding into the mists of the past. (n. pag.)

Clearly by 1916 this Dakota woman was fully cognizant of the changes her culture would yet face. Her tone of "gentility," common to the time, resonates through the Foreword. She knew well the implications of writing for

non-Dakota people. Such early texts not only demonstrate the tremendous amount of change that occurred over a very short span of time in the lives of the people, but also that individuals were responding to the change on their own terms, not merely responding passively. This can be said for all of the writers in the first (establishment) and second (survival) generations of women covered in this dissertation. Susan Power from the third generation also writes about the roles of women and their importance in the literature.

The stories in Myths and Legends of the Sioux are an important part of Dakotapi literature, even though the stories contained within this book are biased by McLaughlin's religious upbringing. McLaughlin was assimilated into the non-Indian culture around her and this influenced what she wrote although we shall never be able to assess fully these influences since she left no other documents critiquing her own Dakota culture or its literature. All that remains are the stories. What can be ascertained from the book is that she was influenced by both cultures, Indian and white. That she is a woman and was Christianized is of importance to the study of Dakotapi women writers.

There are thirty-seven oral stories in Myths and Legends of the Sioux (1916). Two of them are Woyakapi stories (Deloria 1944), accepted as true in the Dakotapi

cultural world views. They are "Legend of Standing Rock" and a version of the White Buffalo Calf Woman story that McLaughlin refers to as the "Story of the Peace Pipe." Both of these stories are explicated in Chapter One. McLaughlin's writing is influenced by her religious beliefs in these stories. Her religious upbringing influences the refeminizing or masculinizing of the stories. These Woyakapi stories are clearly in conflict with traditional 19th century Victorian religious beliefs, that denied to the Dakotapi people their indigenous spirituality, denouncing it as "heathen." Many Christians, including some who are Indians, still feel this way. The other thirty-five stories in the text are Ohukakan, meant to bring enjoyment and humor to the audience (Deloria 1944). They are not masculinized.

In the spiritual world view of the Oyate Tatanka, all of these stories, Ohunkakan and Woyakapi, teach the specific kinship rules and relationships between animals and humans and between humans and humans. Told in the third person and using animal characters, the stories demonstrate proper relationships and other relevant aspects of the culture. Audience members are expected to learn to play their specific parts in acknowledging the various forms of kinship rules and relationships through an age-graded system. Stories are told to hold the society intact and to give credibility to the cultural world view.

"The Forgotten Ears of Corn" is about an Arikara woman

(McLaughlin tends to use women from tribal groups other than her own) who hears a voice that sounds like a child crying and calling to her. She searches for it, at first unsuccessfully. Finally she finds a lone ear of corn at the far end of the field. The story reminds women to treat all foods with respect and to care for even one ear of corn as if it were a child. Good Indian women "garnered their corn crop very carefully, so that the succulent food product should not even to the last small nubbin be neglected or wasted, and thus displease the Great Mystery" (p11). For the most part Dakota women were the ones to grow corn. Lakota and Nakota women did not raise corn, for the most part, yet they certainly took care with other goods.

"The Little Mice" is a story about an industrious versus a lazy woman. It is about the kinship relationships between women and mice and the relationship between cousins. It is also about being frivolous with one's time. Too much talk and dance leads one to forget about the responsibilities of being a woman in traditional culture. This story is specifically oriented toward Dakotapi women's roles as gatherers of food stuffs. In this story the food is again corn. The origin of this story may possibly be from another cultural group. Dakota women did grow corn, but in small stands. This knowledge of corn may come from the oral stories of the Dakota women who lived farther east. The telling and stories themselves are influenced by the

generation of women McLaughlin was born into. Born in 1842, McLaughlin lived through the end of the 19th century. This and living in Minnesota could of also influenced her telling of these stories. The Dakota proper are from this area and lived considerably different lives culturally in respect to their Lakota and Nakota relatives.

There are several variations of stories that deal with women's relationships to mice. In traditional culture women took the bean stores (caches) of mice and replaced them with a gift in order to ensure that their own cache would not be lost or stolen. Deloria discusses this at length in her novel Waterlily (1988).

McLaughlin, like Deloria, knows the importance of kinship relationships. The little mouse scolds her cousin for not collecting her snake-skin wrapped cache of beans. The season for collecting beans drew to a close and the little cousin did not collect her winter store of beans, apparently because she forgot to find herself a snake-skin sack in the "moon when the snakes cast off their skins" (p12). McLaughlin informs her audience that "It is always so with lazy, careless people. But I will let you have the snake skin. And now go, and by hard work and industry, try to recover your wasted time" (p12). McLaughlin gives the reader vital information about the social customs of the Dakotapi people. It is acceptable to scold one's cousins, yet they are one's relatives and according to the proper

kinship rules the little mouse must be generous to her relatives.

There are religious overtones to the end of this woman-centered story that are intertwined with the traditional Dakotapi way of viewing women's roles. A woman that works hard at preparing food for the survival of her people is an industrious one in the traditional Indian way. In Christian theology women who are not industrious will be "punished" by God. In the Indian world view the woman would lose respect from her relatives for not providing for her family. There are numerous other examples in McLaughlin's book of such religious overtones mingling with the cultural world view of this Dakota woman writer.

"The Pet Rabbit" is again about kinship rules. It is also about the relationship between cousins and/or the responsibility to perform proper ceremonies for our dead relatives. The cousin of a little girl who owns a pet rabbit wants to carry the rabbit around because she "loved her [the rabbit owner] very dearly and wished to do her honor" (p13). Because cousins are responsible for their relatives' well-being in traditional Dakotapi cultures, the little girl wanted to carry the rabbit, as do "Indian women when they wish to honor a friend; they ask permission to carry about the friend's babe" (p13). The rabbit owner does not want to submit but does eventually because she feels a close relationship to her cousin. As the cousin is bringing

the rabbit home, boys start to taunt her and to throw stones and sticks at the rabbit, finally killing the little pet. The adopted mother (the rabbit owner) grieves for her dead relative (the rabbit), cutting her hair in the traditional fashion of mourning. All her friends come and wail with the little girl in the fashion of old Indian women. Her mother decides she is responsible for holding a

> great mourning feast for the little rabbit. As he lay in the tepee his adopted mother's little friends brought many precious things and covered his body. At the feast were given away robes and kettles and blankets and knives and great wealth in honor of the little rabbit. Him they wrapped in a robe with his little moccasins on and buried him in a high place upon a scaffold. (14)

The mother is helping the children to role model the responsibilities in adult life they will be required to live by. Having a feast in Dakotapi culture is still much the same today. At funerals there may be an honoring of the spirit of the dead by the eating of a meal, sometimes two, with plenty of "wateca" (leftovers) to take home. What is lost in many families is the recognition that the meal is being eaten in the first place, for the spirit of the dead, so that they may make the long journey on Canku Sa (Red Road) to meet their relatives.

The little rabbit wore his moccasins for the long journey. McLaughlin does not include the intricate details Deloria does in Waterlily (1988). In traditional Dakotapi culture, moccasins were prepared for the deceased, with intricately beaded red soles for their safe journey on the

spirit road. McLaughlin leaves out this pertinent detail in her description of the burial rite.

Another aspect of this story is that the friends of the little rabbit bring many gifts to be given away at the feast. In traditional Dakotapi cultures these gifts would were gathered by relatives and given to the family of the deceased in order that they may be redistributed among the people. This is done so that no one will go without and that they all may live well. This "give-away" is in honor of the dead. Often families were wealthy enough to gather all the items themselves within one year. In traditional culture it was considered a bad omen to "keep the ghost-spirit" for too long. For those families who waited two or three years to gather enough goods for redistribution, life was hard. They eventually gave away almost every item they owned in honor of the deceased, it being considered non-Dakota to hoard material objects.

"The Pet Donkey" is about the wisdom of grandmothers in rearing their takoja (grandchildren). "The Rabbit and the Elk" informs readers to be sure of what they possess before they discard something that may be of use. Rabbit is always in such relationships with grandmother. In this particular story Elk plays dead to fool Rabbit into telling his grandmother to burn her old dress. Rabbit boasts that he killed an Elk that will provide her with a skin for a new dress. This story teaches young men not to tell their

grandmothers that they performed an honorable deed when they were fooled. Do not tell of your exploits until you fully accomplished them and can provide for your relatives. This teaches young males not to be boastful.

"The Faithful Lovers" is a story about marriage vows. Bad things will happen to men who do not follow through on vows they make to prospective wives. It is about keeping your word as a Dakotapi male or female. It is a story of instruction for young adult males and females nearing the age of being eligible for marriage. It gives a place for those women who lost a lover and decide that they do not want to marry.

"Story of a Lost Wife" is about a Dakota girl who is treated unkindly and abused physically by her husband. The husband vowed to treat her well yet he was "unreasonable, fault-finding, and often beat her" (p34). The wife ran away. The village looked for her everywhere. She wandered aimlessly until she met up with the "chief" (p34) of the wolves. Wolf told two coyotes to get her whatever she wanted. She was hungry and wanted buffalo meat so they killed a buffalo. The coyotes brought a bundle to the woman and "in it were punk, flint and steel--stolen, it may be, from some camp of men" (p35). The woman cut up the meat and ate it heartily. She lived there for a year, as if in mourning. The wolves were kind to her, and she formed kinship bonds with them. Then the leader of the wolves

informed her that she must return to her people in order to protect her newly made relatives, the wolves. He said:

> Your people are going off on a buffalo hunt. Tomorrow at noon they will be here. You must then go out and meet them or they will fall on us and kill us. (35)

A council meeting was held, and the buffalo people came to meet with the wolf people. The woman goes into council with her people and tells them "I have been in the wolve's village. Do not harm them" (p35). What is interesting here is that there is a woman at the center of this council meeting, although in popular literature and history we read that women were not at all involved in these meetings. To honor the wolves the buffalo people were instructed by the woman to go and bring choice pieces of buffalo meat to camp. The hunters bring back enough meat to feed all the wolves. The young woman gave proper respect to her relatives that protected her for a long year.

Her parents missed her "but when they came near her the young woman fainted, for she could not now bear the smell of human kind" (p36). She was obligated to feed her relatives, the wolves, to restore herself to her human state. Her cultural world view changed.

The woman's "husband wanted her to come and live with him again. For a long time she refused. However, at last they became reconciled" (p36). This ends the story with religious overtones. McLaughlin gives no evidence of the possibility of divorce for the woman, even though it was

quite common in traditional Dakotapi cultures, whereas it is forbidden in strict Christian theology.

In traditional Dakotapi society, a woman owned her tipi and all its contents except for her husband's few personal belongings. If a woman wanted a divorce all she was expected to do was place his belongings outside of the tipi and when he returned he knew that he was no longer welcome in her home (Deloria 1944). The entire story is woman-centered, but the ending is not, a pattern that consistently occurs in McLaughlin's written versions of these stories. The stories are from traditional Dakota culture yet often end with phrases or notions that are arguably Christian in origin. Did she write them this way because she was so influenced by her religious upbringing. Or, did she write the stories in this way so that the book would be accepted by the non-Dakota public? It can be safely said that both her religious upbringing and the potential readers influenced her transcription of these oral stories. Her husband probably influenced her writing because of his editorial suggestions.

McLaughlin's book is filled with information about kinship relationships, the roles of women, and the treatment of women within Dakotapi cultures. Each of these Ohukakan stories demonstrates the women-centered focus of Dakotapi oral traditions. Marie McLaughlin, like Ella Cara Deloria and Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, created a written text from

oral sources. Because she created a written text from oral stories, Marie McLaughlin's one book functions in ways similar to Deloria's and Bonnin's works.

Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (1876-1938)

Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (Zitkala Sa) was born on February 22, 1876. She was one-half Yankton Nakota (3), on her mother's side. Born on the Yankton Sioux reservation in South Dakota, the last of three children born to Ellen Simmons (Tate I Yohin Win--Reaches For the Wind), she left the reservation at the age of eight "to attend a Quaker missionary school for Indians, White's Indiana Manual Labor Institute in Wabash, Ind., where her brother, ten years her senior, had recently completed a three-year course" (James 1971, 199). Against her mother's wishes, Zitkala Sa wanted to attend the school (probably because her brother had), saying,

> We had been very impatient to start on our journey to the Red Apple Country, which we were told, lay a little beyond the great circular horizon of the Western prairie. Under a sky of rosy apples we dreamt of roaming as freely and happily as we had chased the cloud shadows on the Dakota plains. We had anticipated much pleasure from a ride on the iron horse, but the throngs of staring palefaces disturbed and troubled us... (American Indian Stories 48)

Realizing she was being scrutinized:

> I sank deep into the corner of my seat, for I resented being watched...instead of reproving such rude curiosity, looked closely at me, and attracted their children's further notice to my blanket. This embarrassed me, and kept me constantly on the verge of tears.
>
> I sat perfectly still, with my eyes downcast, daring only now and then to shoot long glances around me. Chancing to turn to the window at my side, I was quite breathless upon seeing one familiar object. It was the telegraph pole which strode by at short paces...(American Indian Stories 48)

Zitkala Sa, at this point, finds a sense of relief in seeing a somewhat familiar object. As expansion on the "frontier" occurred, telegraph poles were erected. This one physical object helped her to gain a sense of "grounding" and helped her to survive this traumatic experience. As she focused her attention on the poles the feelings of resentment from being stared at by the white people subsided. "In this way I had forgotten my uncomfortable surroundings, when I heard one of my comrades call out my name. I saw the missionary standing very near, tossing candies and gums into our midst. This amused us all..." (p49). First the children are told that they will be just beyond the Western prairie and now they have stopped so that the white people along the way can stare at them. Then a missionary is throwing candy to appease them for the duration of the trip.

After traveling for several days, "It was night when we reached the school grounds...My body trembled more from fear than from the snow I trod upon" (p49). Her fear increased as strong lights, something most Indians from the plains had not experienced, along with the "noisy hurrying of hard shoes upon a bare wooden floor increased the whirring in my ears. My only safety seemed to be in keeping next to the wall" (p49-50).

Zitkala Sa, unfamiliar with so much of her surroundings, is reacting badly to the stimuli. "As I was wondering in which direction to escape from all this

confusion, two warm hands grasped me firmly, and in the same moment I was tossed high in midair" (p50). Eight years old at the time, Zitkala Sa was frightened and insulted by such behavior. "My mother had never made a plaything of her wee daughter. Remembering this I began to cry aloud" (p50). This is the voice of a terrified child. In actuality, many children, faced with such upheaval from their natural environment, died from homesickness, lack of proper diet, from being overworked or from diseases contracted during their internment. Zitkala Sa experienced traumatic separation anxiety upon realizing:

> I had arrived in the wonderful land of rosy skies, but I was not happy, as I had thought I should be. My long travel and the bewildering sights had exhausted me. I fell asleep, heaving deep, tired sobs. My tears were left to dry themselves in streaks, because neither my aunt nor my mother was near to wipe them away. (American Indian Stories 51)

Little did she know that soon her hair would be cut and she would be physically beaten for speaking her native language. After three years at Wabash, she went back to her family, feeling alienated from both worlds.

In 1888-89 she attended the Santee Normal Training School. After four years at home she returned to White's school, in 1891, to finish her diploma, receiving it in 1895 (Picotte 1985, xii-xiii).

Against her mother's wishes she went on to attend Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana, where after two years (1895-97) she had won prizes in speech. She then taught for

two years at Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania (possibly instructing my grandmother, Mary Rose Agard) where she "began cultivating literary contacts" (Bataille 1993, 31). According to Bataille, Zitkala Sa then left the school "after two difficult years..." (p31). Due to the conditions and lack of financial support for the school, Pratt's enterprise did not prove successful for most Indian children. Zitkala Sa, who found the work draining her in every sense "resigned her position to study the violin" (p31) at the Boston Conservatory of Music. She did, however, accompany the Carlisle Indian Band as solo violinist to the Paris Exposition in 1900. According to Bataille (1993), Zitkala Sa

> treasured her life in Boston, studying music, writing, and moving in literary circles, but felt a great sense of responsibility to her people. She resolved to spend at least a year at the Yankton Agency, gathering material for her stories and caring for her mother. This contributed to the end of her engagement to Dr. Carlos Montezuma, whom she had met at Carlisle and was reluctant to give up his Chicago medical practice to accept a position as a reservation doctor, as Bonnin wished him to do. (31)

Gertrude Simmons had not met or married Bonnin during these formative years in which she wrote three autobiographical stories that were first published in the Atlantic Monthly and Harper's Monthly and then later in her compilation of stories in American Indian Stories (1901).

For any young woman to be published at the beginning of the century is exceptional, yet for a young Indian woman

from the reservation this was quite extraordinary. She was highly acclaimed by non-Indians on the east coast. One wonders how much the reservation people knew of her accomplishments and what their perspectives were on this talented woman. To be such a highly respected Indian woman at that time certainly created a "spectacle" for her white readers. One thing is certain, these performances and publications, in part, led her to become a full-fledged writer and reformer.

Zitkala Sa returned to her people once again, working as an issue clerk on Standing Rock Indian Reservation until May 10, 1902. Soon after that she married. This contributed to the "decline of her 'literary' career" (Fisher 234). According to Fisher, this decline:

> coincided directly with her marriage to Raymond T. Bonnin, also a Sioux, with whom she moved to the Uintah and Ouray reservation in Utah where they lived for the next fourteen years (Fisher 1979, 234).

Her marriage to Bonnin slowed her literary career but she certainly did not stop writing.

Nancy Hobbs writes in, "Author works to make history as fun as fiction" (The Salt Lake Tribune 6 February 1994), that "the music of Zit-Kala-Sa originally beckoned Doreen Rappaport to Utah" (Hobbs D3). Rappaport spoke to some children at schools in the Salt Lake and Provo area while she was doing research on Zitkala Sa.

The papers of Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, given to Brigham

Young University after her death, were "archived with the records of former BYU president Ernest Wilkinson, who had assisted the Bonnins" (Hobbs D3) while they were working on the Yintah-Ouray reservation in the early 1900's. Rappaport, a non-Indian, is "sort of hooked on retelling stories that haven't been told, and a lot of those deal with women and minorities" (Hobbs D3). The stories were told long ago when the oral traditions were stronger. These stories could be told again by Dakotapi people. In fact, they should be taught in educational institutions.

In Utah, among the Uintah-Ouray, Bonnin gave birth to her only child, Raymond O. Bonnin, in 1903. After his birth she began to work for the better treatment of Indians in America. She challenged both the Indian and the white worlds in which she lived. She took it upon herself to do "home demonstrations work among the women," and she "became a correspondent of the Society of American Indians, thus inaugurating what was to be a lifework in Indian reform" (James 1971, 199). She worked during this time to teach other women how to make the transitions forced upon them by white society. According to James (1971) Bonnin served as secretary of SAI from 1916-1920. Bataille (1993, 32) says that Bonnin's position as secretary ended in 1919.

In Washington, as in Boston, Bonnin aligned herself with influential members of the community, including Indian Rights organizations and John Collier's American Indian

Defense Association. She also worked for the Society of American Indians as the editor of the American Indian Magazine (Bataille 1993, 32). According to Bataille:

> Bonnin was instrumental in the creation of an Indian welfare committee within the General Federation of Women's Clubs of America, and as its research agent participated in a 1923 investigation which exposed the wide-spread corruption associated with white guardianships of Indian properties and oil leases in Oklahoma. In 1922 and 1923 she made a speaking tour of the Midwest and South, addressing women's clubs in order to crystalize public opinion in favor of Indian citizenship. (32)

The picture that comes to my mind is that of a very earnest looking Indian woman with long hair, as pictured in the photograph in American Indian Stories (1901), making a plea to groups of white people in an effort to gain the right to vote for American Indian people (Citizenship Act of 1924). Not many Indian people equate Gertrude Simmons Bonnin with their right to vote.

The Bonnins gave an immense amount of their lives to "lobbying governmental departments and congressional committees on behalf of a wide variety of Indian individuals and tribes" (Bataille 1993, 32). According to Bataille, the Bonnins "testified before congressional committees promoting suppression, Indian education reforms, and Native land claims. Although often at odds with him, Gertrude Bonnin also served as an informal advisor to John Collier after he became the head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs under Franklin D. Roosevelt" (p32). They tried to counteract

years of damage done by assimilation tactics used in boarding schools and day schools and contributed to land claims issues on behalf of Indians expending an immense amount of energy in the process. Although many may not agree with some of the reforms set forth under Collier, he was the best Commissioner of Indian Affairs to date (Custer Died For Your Sins 1988). What is amazing is the clout that Bonnin, an Indian woman, wielded as an advisor and consultant to such a powerful member of the president's cabinet. Certainly she influenced his decision-making and possible research could be done on the extent to which she did.

The Bonnins went on to form the National Council of American Indians in February of 1926. Zitkala Sa remained its president until her death twelve years later in 1938. Gertrude Simmons Bonnin's

> most effective work, however, was in connection with the General Federation of Women's Clubs. In 1921 she persuaded the federation to establish an Indian Welfare Committee. In cooperation with the Indian Rights Association, the leading organization in the field, the General Federation then sponsored an investigation she conducted into the federal government's treatment of various tribes, and worked for the enfranchisement of the Indians as well as for improved education, hospitals, health centers, resource conservation, and the preservation of Indian culture. (James 1971, 199)

Under the Federation, Bonnin was influential in getting the Merriam Commission to look into the conditions faced by Indians at that time. The Merriam Report, which came out in

1928, under the Hoover Administration, helped considerably to set the mood for the reforms of the New Deal Era. Raymond T. Bonnin, Gertrude's husband, was the secretary-treasurer of NCAI during his wife's tenure as president of that organization (James 1971, 199). This was an interesting switch in male/female roles in light of the norm in American culture at that time.

Old Indian Legends (1901) was her first book length compilation of oral stories by the Dakotapi. This text was reprinted by Bison Books in 1985 with the help of the Dakota Indian Foundation in Chamberlain, South Dakota. The stories in this volume include several Iktomi and other oral texts prevalent in the Sioux oral tradition. Zitkala Sa explained:

> Under an open sky, nestling close to the earth, the old Dakota story-tellers have told me these legends. In both Dakotas, North and South, I have often listened to the same story told over again by a new story-teller.
>
> While I recognized such a legend without the least difficulty, I found the renderings varying much in little incidents. Generally one helped the other in restoring some lost link in the original character of the tale. And now I have tried to transplant the native spirit of the tales--root and all--into the English language (Preface 1902, v-vi).

This book is a primary contribution to the Dakotapi oral traditions from a woman's perspective. Zitkala Sa lived during a tumultuous period in history, yet persevered to write this book and American Indian Stories.

In American Indian Stories (1921) Bonnin gives the

reader her impressions of what it was like to grow up in two disparate worlds. She describes the experience of boarding school and becoming a teacher among the Indians. As the following passage shows, she was closely tied to her own tribal spirituality as a little girl:

> Late in the morning, my friend Judewin gave me a terrible warning. Judewin knew a few words of English; and she had overheard the paleface woman talk about cutting our long, heavy hair. Our mothers had taught us that only unskilled warriors who were captured had their hair shingled by the enemy. Among our people, short hair was worn by mourners, and shingled hair by cowards!
>
> We discussed our fate some moments, and when Judewin said, "We have to submit, because they are strong," I rebelled.
>
> "No, I will not submit!" I will struggle first!" I answered.
>
> I watched my chance, and when no one noticed, I disappeared. I crept up the stairs as quietly as I could in my squeaking shoes, --my moccasins had been exchanged for shoes. Along the hall I passed, without knowing whither I was going. Turning aside to an open door, I found a large room with three white beds in it. The windows were covered with dark green curtains, which made the room very dim. Thankful that no one was there, I directed my steps toward the corner farthest from the door. On my hands and knees I crawled under the bed, and cuddled myself in the dark corner.
>
> From my hiding place I peered out, shuddering with fear whenever I heard footsteps near by. Though in the hall loud voices were calling my name, and I knew that even Judewin was searching for me, I did not open my mouth to answer. Then the steps were quickened and the voices came nearer and nearer. Women and girls entered the room. I held my breath and watched them open closet doors and peep behind large trunks. Some one threw up the curtains, and the room was filled with sudden light. What caused them to stoop and look under the bed I do not know. I remember being dragged out, though I resisted by kicking and scratching wildly. In spite of myself, I was carried downstairs and tied fast in a chair.
>
> I cried aloud, shaking my head all the while

> until I felt the cold blades of the scissors against my neck, and heard them gnaw off one of my thick braids. Then I lost my spirit. Since that day I was taken from my mother I had suffered extreme indignities. People had stared at me. I had been tossed about in the air like a wooden puppet. And now my long hair was shingled like a coward's! In my anguish I moaned for my mother, but no one came to comfort me. Not a soul reasoned quietly with me, as my own mother used to do; for now I was only one of many little animals driven by a herder. (Zitkala Sa 1921, 54-56)

This excerpt is influenced by Bonnin's religious upbringing. Thus the tone that these poor heathen devils were lost without being civilized is a masculinized description on her part. Just as her mother taught her, she lay quietly, hoping that the enemy, along with those who were partially civilized, would go away and leave her "sacred" hair alone. She was terrified and only wanted to go home to her mother.

A headstrong girl, she refused to submit, hiding in the darkness of the "hallowed" building, until a paleface woman threw open the curtains, letting in the light of "God" to find her and civilize her, willingly or unwillingly. As she was tied to the "stake," her hair was forcibly cut off. At this point she knew her spirit was lost.

It is a Dakotapi belief that hair is sacred. When you grow your hair long, as many traditional and contemporary Native Americans do, it is a symbol of who you are, and what you represent, as a member of your culture. To say the least, most are strongly attached to hair. In myth and in history there were both positive and negative portrayals of hair.

Yet, Bonnin was already grounded firmly in her religion by the time she was wrote this story. There are tell-tale signs of her conversion in her writing as there are in Marie Louise McLaughlin's Myths and Legends of the Sioux (1916).

In "The Soft-Hearted Sioux" Bonnin portrays the sensitive nature of the Dakotapi male as she viewed him after her Christian schooling:

> Yet I did not grow up the warrior, huntsman, and husband I was to have been. At the mission school I learned it was wrong to kill. Nine winters I hunted for the soft heart of Christ, and prayed for the huntsmen who chased the buffalo on the plains.
>
> In the autumn of the tenth year I was sent back to my tribe to preach Christianity to them. With the white man's Bible in my hand, and the white man's tender heart in my breast, I returned to my own people. (Zitkala Sa 1901, 505-6)

Bonnin's male protagonist made a transition from "Learn[ing] to provide much buffalo meat and many buckskins before bring[ing] home a wife" (p505). This depiction of a man's learning how to hunt and provide before accepting a woman into his life is a clever way (also used by Deloria, Sneve, and McLaughlin) of showing the proper treatment of women and what a male must achieve to be eligible to take a wife. By the time the male protagonist in this story is sixteen, he is eligible to hunt and, therefore, to take a wife, but he does not fulfill this role, instead learning the Christian way of life and becoming a preacher among his people at the age of twenty-six.

Bonnin, in this instance, is an example of a woman

writer who is telling men's stories from a woman's perspective. Her voice as a woman is found not only in her female characters but in the male ones as well. She knew the popular reading audience wanted to read about male protagonists. Thus some of her writings (as with Sneve, Deloria, and McLaughlin) was masculinized to gain a larger reading audience, primarily non-Indian. As with all publishing, the potential readers are always a crucial consideration. This oftentimes conflicted with the intentions and desires of American Indian writers, especially women. Only recently are there such demands for more information about the lives of American Indian women.

Bonnin explains to the reader that Dakotapi life changed drastically, that the male was not fulfilling his proper warrior role. Instead he was indoctrinated into an alien world from whence he must go back to his people: "Wearing a foreigner's dress, I walked, a stranger, into my father's village" (p506). Upon finding that his father was sick, he walks to the old man's tipi where: "At once I wished to enter in and drive from my home the sorcerer of the plains" (p506). Here Bonnin describes her own feelings about being torn between two ways of life, one native and one foreign. Upon returning to the reservation, she said

> Looking about, I saw an old woman sitting with bowed head. Shaking hands with her, I recognized my mother. I sat down between my father and mother as I used to do, but I did not feel at home. The place where my old grandmother used to sit was now unoccupied. With my mother I bowed my

> head. Alike our throats were choked and tears were streaming from our eyes; but far apart in spirit our ideas and faiths separated us. My grief was for the soul unsaved; and I thought my mother wept to see a brave man's body broken from sickness.
>
> Useless was my attempt to change the faith in the medicine-man to that abstract power named God. Then one day I became righteously mad with anger that the medicine-man should thus ensnare my father's soul. And when he came to chant his sacred songs I pointed toward the door and bade him go! The man's eyes glared upon me for an instant. Slowly gathering his robe about him, he turned his back upon the sick man and stepped out of our wigwam. "Ha, ha, ha! my son, I cannot live without the medicine-man!" I heard my father cry when the sacred man was gone. (Zitkala Sa 1901, 506)

The protagonist accepted the white way of life, even referring to the medicine man as a "sorcerer" but by the end of the passage the male protagonist refers to him as a "sacred" man. This exemplifies the way Bonnin was torn between her mother's culture and that of the white man. She "tried to tell them of the soft heart of Christ" (p506).

This transition in the story to the missionary school system, indoctrination into that system, and then transition back to the old ways, allows Bonnin to expound upon her political perspective on the effects of the harsh transitions on the young Dakotapi (male and female). This particular story was denounced by Christians and by traditional Indians who followed the medicine ways. These two disparate factions were rarely as united as they were in their decision that this story was morally bad (Picotte 1985, xiii).

The protagonist, "The Soft-Hearted Sioux," for whom interestingly enough there is no name--therefore the story can apply to all those who were indoctrinated into organized religions:

> neglected [his] hair [and it] had grown long and fell upon my neck.
>
> My father had not risen from his bed since the day the medicine-man led the people away. Though I read from the Bible and prayed beside him upon my knees, my father would not listen. Yet I believed my prayers were not unheeded in heaven.
>
> "Ha, ha, ha! my son," my father groaned upon the first snowfall. "My son, our food is gone. There is no one to bring me meat! My son, your soft heart has unfitted you for everything!" Then covering his face with the buffalo-robe, he said no more. Now while I stood out in that cold winter morning, I was starving. For two days I had not seen any food. But my own cold and hunger did not harass my soul as did the whining cry of the sick old man. (507)

Knowing that the old man would die if he dif not get meat soon, the mother instructed her son, who knew nothing of hunting, "My son, do not fail again to bring your father meat, or he will starve to death" (p507). The protagonist was ostracized by the whole village for accepting Christianity and was left with his aged parents to perish on the plains. This usually occurred in traditional culture to the elderly who refused to move camp. It was unheard of for an able-bodied male to stay behind. Males were required to provide for their relatives at all costs. Thus there was a breakdown in the roles for traditional males. Only the strong words of his mother gave him encouragement to find the meat his father needs. He travels for three days but

found no food, and when he returns to the tipi, the father instructed him to go kill a white rancher's cow. He did so, desperate to feed his parents. The white rancher saw him kill the cow and pursued him, only to wind up dead at the desperate man's feet, bloodied by the same knife that was to bring food to his family.

This is a sad story. The father died before getting food, "Chewing the dry stiff hair and buffalo-skin" (p507), and the converted protagonist was jailed, to be hanged the next day. This story speaks to the painful transitions that all Plains Indians went through in those last years of the buffalo culture. Bonnin is making a profound statement in this story. It closely resembles the history that the Sioux people lived at the middle and end of the nineteenth century.

Spider Woman's Granddaughters: Traditional Tales and Contemporary Writing by Native American Women (Allen 1989), includes a story by Zitkala Sa. Clearly it fits in the "traditional tales" section. This anthologized story describes the strength of a woman as she accompanies the males on a raid. The main point is that she is a "young" woman riding with the "elder" women on this raid. Women went out on raids only on special occasions, so Bonnin's story gives valuable information about a non-standard role for women. She informs us that the women on the raid stay in a separate tipi from the men, following the traditional

Sioux custom of sex-segregation in almost every aspect of life on the Plains. The women hide out nearby as the men go in to raid the camp of the enemy.

Tusee, the protagonist of this story, discovers upon return of the men that her lover was captured. She risks her life after asking: "Great Spirit, speed me to my lover's rescue!" (Allen 34). Upon reaching the enemy camp she lures her lover's captor away from him, and then attacks his captor, hissing "I am a Dakota woman" (p36). She cleverly dresses as an old woman before cutting the ropes that bind her lover so she can carry him as if he were a woman's burden of firewood. With a "mighty power" that "thrills her body," "lifting him upon her broad shoulders" she "carries him away into the open night" (Allen 1989, 36). Bonnin made a distinct statement, letting the reader know that women were not weak and that women could step out of the traditional roles prescribed to them.

There were exceptions to prescribed roles in Dakotapi societies, as there are in all societies. Bonnin writes about these variances in roles for women with the knowledge that the reader will get a version not often found in descriptions of Sioux women. As Bonnin says, "I am strongly drawn by the tie of a child to an aged mother" (Zitkala Sa 1902, 802). Even though Bonnin had a "falling out" with her mother that she was never able to mend, she did not disrespect her mother or the traditional roles of women in

Dakotapi society. She did not desire to write complaisantly about the state of Indian affairs.

It was impossible for Bonnin to live on the reservation, for she felt strongly the criticism of the people there, both Indian and white. The conditions on her reservation were deplorable at this time and there was no work suitable to Bonnin. She felt that people were "grossly perverting the spirit of my pen" (Zitkala Sa 1902, 803). She never quite found a way to fit into both worlds but struggled with her place, deciding to see herself as:

> A wee child toddling in a wonder world, I prefer to their dogma my excursions into the natural gardens where the voice of the Great Spirit is heard in the twittering of the birds, the rippling of mighty waters, and the sweet breathing of flowers. If this is Paganism, then at present, at least, I am a Pagan (Zitkala Sa 1902, 803).

Her discontent largely resulted from her fellow Americans' disregard for the rights and customs of American Indians during her lifetime. She fought long and hard to end oppression of Indians and, making strides yet not succeeding in eradicating ignorance about the Indians of this country, she admitted that she felt more in touch with her Indian heritage, that of being close to the earth, than she did to her non-Indian heritage.

After twelve years of exhaustive work for the National Congress of American Indians, during a time that the Bonnins worked "tirelessly [and] traveled the United States, combining speaking tours with visits to reservations to

organize NCAI chapters and to enroll members." After all those years "Her work came to an end" (Bataille 32), and she died at the age of 62 on January 26, 1938 in Washington, DC. Gertrude Simmons Bonnin was buried in Arlington National Cemetery. The organization died with her as it went defunct shortly thereafter.

Bonnin is similar to Ella Cara Deloria in many ways, but the one that is most important in this discussion is that both these women knew it was their responsibility to convey the stories of the old way of life.

Ella Cara Deloria (1888-1971)

Ella Cara Deloria was born to Philip J. Deloria and Mary Sully Bordeaux on January 30th, 1888, in a blizzard that blew through the community of White Swan, on the Yankton Nakota reservation in South Dakota. There is a discrepancy on Ella's birth date. Murray (1974) dates her birth as mentioned above, but the Yankton Mission records list the date of 31 January 1889, Register B. Baptism Number 982 (Speaking of Indians xi). Named after the blizzard, she would be known as "Anpetu Waste Win" (Beautiful Day Woman). Through the eyes of those who named her, the day after that blizzard was a beautiful day. The sense of calm and beauty of snow on the South Dakota plains is a wonder to behold on a cold winter day.

Deloria comes from a family of religious leaders, writers, and educators. Her grandfather, Francis Deloria, signed the Treaty of 1858 (Murray 1974, 61). Ella's father, the Reverend Philip Deloria, assigned to St. Elizabeth's Episcopal Mission Church, served the community of Wakpala and the surrounding area for years, during some of the most turbulent and formative years of the reservation (5). Ella attended that same school "as soon as she was old enough" until 1902 (Murray 62).

Dakota Texts (1932) is Ella Cara Deloria's first major publication. Important to the study of Dakotapi oral storytelling, this valuable linguistic work was out of print

until the second printing in 1975. Julian Rice, author of Deer Women and Elk Men: The Lakota Narratives of Ella Deloria (1992), a literary critique of several stories within Dakota Texts, states that it

> represent[s] only a small portion of her overall achievement. The original bilingual edition is now extant in an AMS reprint (1974), and a paperback edition of the translations has been published by the State Publishing Company of South Dakota (1978). Neither edition is widely known (12)

Deloria's works are voluminous, continually being interpreted critically by such scholars as Julian Rice and Raymond DeMallie.

Deloria collaborated with Franz Boas on Dakota Grammar (1941). Boas (6) praised Deloria for her scholarship and

> quick grasp of the importance of minute details...irregularities...and the emotional tone connected with particles... (vii)

in reference to Dakotapi dialectical analysis. Boas goes on to say that:

> where there was any doubt in regard to special points, Miss Deloria corroborated them by questioning other Tetons...(vii)

Boas and Deloria applied an English Grammar with Dakota equivalents to the book, with Boas noting that:

> Since much of the material is based on Bible translations and prayers, many unidiomatic forms occur. (vii)

Boas respected Deloria's abilities as a researcher and her meticulous scholarship. Her religious background gave her an ability to translate materials from the Bible and since

she was fluent in all three dialects of the language there are few individuals with similar insight and who worked with elders as Deloria did (Beatrice Medicine is an exception). In her many letters to Boas (seventy-seven in all) it is clear that Ella Deloria made an extra effort to record the stories as they were told to her (Murray 1974).

Speaking of Indians (1944) is a work that includes many aspects of Dakotapi life. Deloria says, "No Dakota lived unto himself alone" (p22). All Dakotapi, especially women, are important in the culture. Men knew this, "thereby bringing tears to the eyes of his relatives--especially his sisters and women cousins, to whom he owed the very highest respect and consideration" (Deloria 1944, 22). Albeit, Deloria wrote this book primarily for non-Indians, hoping that, through insight into the social structure of the people, scholars and laymen alike would understand the egalitarian sociopolitical system embedded in the culture through myth, legend, and ethnographic record. There is an immense potential for its use among the contemporary Sioux tribes today, even though the author intended it to bring awareness to non-Indians reading it.

The Dawes Act of 1887 broke the reservation into individual allotments, and the traditional way of life suffered. Deloria describes the elaborate kinship system in Speaking of Indians. To be a good relative; to be related; to be generous, hospitable; these are the kinship rules of

the traditional Dakotapi people. As Deloria (1944) confirms, obeying these rules formed the strength of Lakota cultural and social systems:

> Kinship was the all-important matter. Its demands and dictates for all phases of social life were relentless and exact; but, on the other hand, its privileges and honorings and rewarding prestige were not only tolerable but pleasant and desirable for all who conformed. By kinship all Dakota people were held together in a great relationship that was theoretically all-inclusive and co-extensive with the Dakota domain. Everyone who was born a Dakota belonged in it; nobody need be left outside.
>
> This meant that the Dakota camp-circles were no haphazard assemblages of heterogeneous individuals. Ideally, nobody living there was unattached. The most solitary member was sure to have at least one blood relative, no matter how distant, through whose marriage connections he was automatically the relative of a host of people. For, in Dakota society, everyone shared affinal relatives, that is, relatives-through-marriage, with his own relatives-through-blood. (24-5)

This kinship relationship is still intact for some. It is the one defining fact that we possess, as separate Nations, that binds us as a whole. We are all related somehow, through blood, intermarriage, or adoption.

In Part I: "This Man Called Indian," Deloria opens with an approach that is influenced by her education in anthropology and ethnology: "Science tells us that the Native Americans came from northern Asia"..."From archeological evidences we know"...yet, "Of course, every bit of this is speculative; one guess is as good as another, for we can never be sure of what actually took place" (Deloria 1944, 1-2). Deloria has split loyalties

here, both to her profession and to the traditional ways of the Dakotapi peoples.

Deloria's spiritual upbringing also impacted the language she used to describe her own people and their traditional ways. She also refused to accept or refute the Bering Strait Theory:

> And it doesn't really matter, does it? All that which lies hidden in the remote past is interesting, to be sure, but not so important as the present and the future. The vital concern is not where a people came from here, physically, but where they are going, spiritually. (2)

Although Deloria wrote this work more than fifty years ago, it is of vital importance to the Dakotapi people today. She speaks of that "My people, the Dakotas," and explains that they "understood the meaning of self-sacrifice, perhaps because their legends taught them that the buffalo, on which their very life depended, gave itself voluntarily that they might live" (p21). She based their cohesion on a spiritual union, claiming that "They are all Dakotas," referring to the various tiyospaye, "but they group on basis of dialects. I am a Yankton and not a Teton; but, because my father was a missionary to them and I grew up among them, I am presenting a Teton picture primarily" (p22). Deloria's awareness of the dialectical and cultural differences between her own group and the rest of the Dakotapi helps her to fully understand the differences and similarities in cultural world views.

In Part II: "A Scheme of Life that Worked," Deloria

describes the intricacies of the kinship system in Dakota, Lakota, Nakota life, at the same time using her academic knowledge to maintain an objective point of view. Kinship, according to Deloria was paramount and Dakotapi ideology depended on it being held together by all members of the society (Deloria 1944, 24-5). Deloria herself was a traditional/contemporary Dakotapi woman. In her writing she interprets Dakotapi life from the perspective of an educated woman. She knew that the transferring the notions of the camp circle to contemporary society was essential to hold the cultural matrix intact (Deloria 1944, 25). Deloria describes well the structure of Oyate Tatanka spiritually, and she knew well the drastic changes that the people were forced to accept. Dakotapi culture as we know it today is quite different from what it was during the time she described in this text. Yet much can be gained from Speaking of Indians (1944), both for traditional and contemporary individuals living in today's contemporary world.

In Part III: "The Reservation Picture", Deloria discusses the process of drastic change that the Dakotapi peoples were subjected to during the initial formation and development of the reservation system. Deloria quotes a paragraph from Franz Boas' book, Anthropology and Modern Life (1932),

> As long as there are no stimuli that modify the social structure and mental life, the culture will

> be fairly stable. Isolated tribes appear to us and to themselves as stable, because under undisturbed conditions the processes of culture are slow.

and then Deloria formulates her own hypotheses :

> In the old Dakota culture that we have been observing the same things went on in the same way from generation to generation, leaving nothing to be desired. For the Dakota people, theirs was the way to live; there was no other way.
>
> This does not imply that there was not a continuous change in thought, but it was imperceptible; and, because it was rooted in the culture, it offered no threat. New ideas of art, especially in the matter of design, were always appearing, "dreamed" by certain women whom the tribe regarded as being supernaturally endowed. (75-6)

She tried to maintain the objectivity her university training taught her to admire yet the values of her formal training affected her depictions of Dakota ways. She portrays events that really happened as they were described during her personal conversations with individual traditional Dakota people. Deloria's writing style, like Bonnin's, was inevitably influenced by the effect of living in and understanding two separate cultural world views. She emphasized the major changes that the people went through in order to survive. She justifies these changes through the traditional value system of the Dakotapi peoples.

The radically different modes of educating the children were "outmoded" as Deloria viewed "The Present Crisis" (Part IV) that affected the people. Deloria recognized the failures of assimilation, but at the same time was convinced that the only hope for the Dakota would be to abandon their

traditional ways for Christianity. Some did; some did not. The socioeconomic factors and the influence of the Agents on the reservations along with intermarriage with non-Indians were the primary reasons for these factions.

Speaking of Indians, written from an ethnographic and anthropological perspective, is non-fiction. Like her novel (Waterlily), Speaking of Indians (1944) focused on the social kinship system. According to the "Afterword" of Waterlily by Raymond J. DeMallie, one of the reasons why Waterlily was not received wela swhenwhy was first submitted for publication, was that:

> the critics agreed that the work was `rich in material, and racially and ethnographically accurate. But MacMillan's turned it down, saying it was all of that but they feared the reading public for such a book would not be large enough to warrant their publishing it.' She had recently submitted it to the University of Oklahoma Press, only to have it returned with similar comments (Waterlily 1988, 241).

DeMallie argues that there was no market for Deloria's manuscript. This, I argue, was because she was a woman, and this is why her work was given less attention by MacMillan and the University of Oklahoma Press in 1954. Ironically, this was probably because of the "cultural world view" that it embodies. Deloria did not consider herself to be a feminist. This was probably because of the negative connotation of "feminism" at the time Deloria was writing most of her manuscripts. The manuscript of Waterlily went unpublished until the University of Nebraska Press published

it in 1988 to much acclaim from the literary world for its depiction of women's roles and that same Lakota "world view." This novel established itself as a foundation in Dakotapi literature, from which ample material can be gleaned for a reevaluation of traditional Dakotapi life. Rice discusses this in Deer Women and Elk Men (1991).

By publishing Ella Deloria's Iron Hawk (1994), Julian Rice brought Ella Deloria's previously unpublished fiction to the forefront of Dakotapi linguistics. Ella Deloria's Iron Hawk is a Lakota epic written by a Dakotapi woman. A fictional story, Rice writes extensively about these essays. The manuscript, in Lakota and English, are excerpts from Deloria's work, that Rice explicates with exceptional critical analysis. Rice published Deer Women and Elk Men, another hitherto unpublished manuscript by Ella Deloria. Before turning to Deloria, Rice published Black Elk's Story: Distinguishing Its Lakota Purpose (1991). Each book is a combination of linguistic analysis and literary critique. Rice's (and of course, Ella Deloria's) contributions to the study of Dakotapi cultures are clearly seen in the publication of all three of these scholarly works.

Iron Hawk is considerably longer than most traditional Lakota culture hero stories because Deloria amalgamated several stories into one long epic. It is one of "four unusually long stories" from Deloria's unpublished manuscript, "Dakota Tales in Colloquial Style" (1937). Rice

continues Ella Deloria's literary scholarship. The contributions (and potential contributions) she made to several disciplines (Anthropology, History, English, Women's Studies) are through the writings of other scholars. The list of publications utilizing her manuscript materials are fast growing.

Deloria recorded Iron Hawk after memorizing the story as it was told to her by various elderly Lakota consultants, primarily Makula (Breast, also known as Left Heron). By recording the story and putting it into print, Deloria extended the oral tradition and made it accessible for scholars to examine the material for linguistic and literary purposes. Rice's Introduction is a brief history of Lakota linguistics and the role Deloria and others played in the continuance of the Lakota oral tradition.

"Iron Hawk: Oglala Culture Hero" occupies four hundred and nineteen lines of Lakota text. The English translation stands as a chapter on its own. Deloria's list of anomalous terms she found in the speech patterns and Rice's editorial notes are included at the end of "The English Text." This story teaches kinship between humans, between animals, and between humans and animals.

"Iron Hawk as Literature: An Interpretation" is an exemplary literary critique by Rice. "The Verbal Texture: Tanin and Icaga" sets the literary context to the book. There are several connotations to tanin and icaga, but the

main denotations are "to manifest" and "to grow." In the Lakota cultural world view these terms "suggest that cultural consciousness must be spoken, sung, and acted into being, if the people are to live" (p142). This is exactly the intent that Deloria herself professed throughout her life. "The Lakota Context: Meadowlarks" is an interpretation of the importance of the meadowlark in Lakota culture and oral tradition. "The Lakota Context: Sun, Fire, the Color Red" describes the predominance of the sun, fire, and the color red in the Lakota world view. "The Lakota Context: East and West" focuses on the relevance of the Western Powers (direction, not ideology) in Black Elk's visions and that of the Eastern Powers in Deloria's Iron Hawk.

Deloria wrote Waterlily (1988) from approximately 1941-1944 (Murray 1974). Published posthumously, it reinforces the notion of Dakotapi literature as a national literature:

> Readers will appreciate Waterlily as a novel that guides them into the mental as well as the historical world of the nineteenth-century Sioux. The twists and turns of plot are no more fantastic than the true-life autobiographies Deloria recorded from living people. The story is charged with universal human interest, set firmly in the matrix of Sioux cultural practices and understandings. Some readers will want to compare this work with the writings of anthropologists and historians as a means of critique, particularly of the adequacy of published representations of the role and status of women in Sioux society. A few readers, like myself, will find it a useful commentary on the development of anthropology during the past century, in terms of both its methods and its goals.
>
> Waterlily forms a valuable part of Deloria's

> legacy, the treasure trove of material preserving the Sioux past that she has bequeathed to us all, Indian and non-Indian alike. Today, fifty years after most of her interviews were recorded, we realize how irreplaceable those records are, and how fortunate we are that Ella Deloria devoted her life to their collection and translation. As more of her writings become published at long last, we can appreciate how splendidly she achieved her life's mission. For above all, Ella Deloria's work of transcription, translation, and cultural interpretation has provided the data and insight from which we can come to understand the Sioux people of the last century in the way that she intended, as fellow human beings. (Deloria 1988, 243)

Deloria's intentions were to "go back to a time prior to white settlement of the western plains, when native custom and thought were all there was, and we shall examine certain of the most significant elements in the old life" (Deloria 1988, x).

Waterlily (1988) depicts the daily movements of the Lakota during the middle of the 19th century, providing the reader with intimate details about Lakota culture. As a part of a Lakota national literature, Ella Deloria's novel gives a special insider's perspective, using all of her ethnographic skills combined with her literary skills, producing a truly unprecedented work.

In Waterlily, as in the other texts, the cultural traits of the Dakotapi shape behavior in society. Deloria emphasizes the division of labor, and the correct attitudes and behaviors that must be exhibited in the daily life of Lakotapi in order to keep their cultural world view intact. A good example of this is the scene where Blue Bird, one of

the main protagonists of the novel, is in labor. She

> could scarcely sit her horse another instant. Oh, to dismount! But the kinship rule of avoidance kept her silent as long as it was her father-in-law who walked ahead leading her horse. At last, mercifully, he handed the rope to his wife and dropped behind to walk with a friend. (4)

We learn about Lakota kinship and residence patterns. First, we find that the woman and her husband are residing with the parents of the husband. Initially, Lakota newlyweds went to stay with the parents of the wife, but eventually they moved to the tiyospaye of the husband. This is done to ensure that the bride adjusts well during the first few months of marriage.

Second, Blue Bird could not speak to her father-in-law. In Lakota kinship, total avoidance of one's in-laws of the opposite sex was practiced; even when speaking to one's own relative, one followed a rule of avoidance according to sex. Out of context it appears that Blue Bird is intimidated by her father-in-law, but, throughout Waterlily (1988) Deloria intended to teach the reader the psychological influences involved in Oyate Tatanka decisions.

Blue Bird, pregnant and in labor during the camp move, applied every ounce of her mental fortitude to stay on her mount. Staying on the horse until her father-in-law fell back in line was a test of her upbringing. If she were not able to endure, she might cast doubt on her husband's choice of a wife, or worse yet, bring her own family name into question. Although Dakotapi society is viewed by

anthropologists as egalitarian, this would be seen as sexist by today's standards. However, took look at Dakotapi culture through twentieth century eyes is incorrect in my estimation. Nineteenth century Dakotapi culture must be viewed as best we can, as scholars, through the eyes of the culture portrayed. This is exactly what Deloria was doing in writing such a novel. She had a particularly rare insight into a culture that has been written about by few others with such accuracy. With this in mind, Deloria told it like it was for a woman at this time. No Dakotapi woman, properly raised, would ever be so bold as to speak openly to her father-in-law. This just wasn't done in traditional culture. Therefore, what this represents is the upholding of a Dakotapi kinship rule (i.e. world view) through the eyes of a woman.

Blue Bird could finally speak as she asked her mother-in-law to let her get down. Blue Bird then fell out of line, departing from the march to give birth in private. Upon leaving the march she remembered being told that it is uncharacteristic of a Lakota woman to scream out:

> No woman cries out like a baby; people ridicule that. To carry a child is an awesome thing. If one is old enough to bear a child, one is old enough to endure in silence. (5)

Not only does Blue Bird know that she would alert any enemy in the area, but Deloria also informs us that silence was a highly respected virtue, for both males and females, in traditional Dakotapi society. More emphasis was placed on

younger women. To be outspoken was to be rude and indicated a poor cultural upbringing. Her child born,

> Still dazed, she wrapped her child in a fawnskin, which she had prepared in secret, working it long hours at a time to render it white and pliable and soft. She had kept it with her against this hour. Next she changed to a fresh gown, wrapped the placenta and cord in the discarded one, and tied it in a neat bundle. Then, stretching with superhuman effort, she settled it securely into the fork of a tree, well beyond the reach of desecrating animals. You should always do this, for every newborn child, that it may grow up straight-limbed and clear-minded. Everyone knew that; it was the ancient law. (5-6)

That ancient law is found in Deloria's novel. She gives intricate details about the one aspect of Lakota life that is largely missing in descriptions of the people that were recorded primarily by white men: the treatment and roles of women. Waterlily (1988) stands as a work by itself in this regard.

Marie Louise McLaughlin, Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, and Ella Cara Deloria each did their part in recording the initial female-based stories of Oyate Tatanka literatures. Marie Louise McLaughlin's work was influenced by masculinization of the Woyakapi stories. She masculinized her work so that the stories could be appreciated by a Christian audience. Gertrude Simmons Bonnin made clear choices to use men as her main protagonists. Like Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve, Bonnin wrote many works that focused on the importance of women in Dakotapi cultures. Bonnin became disillusioned with both the Indian and the white worlds in

which she lived. Ella Cara Deloria, also a Christian, made the clearest attempts to write with a more balanced voice. At times her Christian upbringing influences her works, yet she is more consciously trying to refeminize her writing than are the other two women in the first chronological cohort of writers considered in this dissertation.

NOTES

1. Marie McLaughlin gave stories to Gilbert Wilson, better known for his Hidatsa studies, (he is a Sioux male writer) who is also known for helping Frances Densmore collect songs and other materials (Conversation with Mary Jane Schneider, November 1994, January 1997).

2. Marie Louise McLaughlin is listed as the Agency Interpreter in Indian Treaties (Charles J. Kapplan. Interland Publishing: New York. p107) and in Pfaller (1978).

3. Although she is mentioned as being Nakota in most sources, she also has Dakota heritage. She was given the name Zitkala Sa, from the Lakota dialect, thus the "l" in Zitkala. The translation of the name is Red Bird.

4. Murray interviewed Vine Deloria Sr. at Pierre, South Dakota on March 11th and 12th, 1974.

5. It was first presented at the National Academy of Sciences annual meeting in 1939, and later published through Title III Series, as a Memoir of the National Academy of Sciences (volume 23, 2nd memoir). It was reprinted in 1979 by Dakota Press with the help of a grant from the Dakota Indian Foundation. Boas took credit for the "presentation and arrangement of the material" while giving Deloria credit for "the detailed information" (Speaking of Indians vii).

Survival of Women's Traditions

We are the carriers of culture. (Medicine 1987, 171)

The Dakotapi women writers considered in this chapter are Beatrice Medicine, Elizabeth Cook Lynn, and Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve. Each of these women, born later than the writers in Chapter Two, is a Dakotapi woman who has survived many of the obstacles faced by American Indian women today. Each educated herself, became an academic, and worked her entire career in an effort to educate others about American Indians. All three of these women are writers, teachers, elders of their people. All of them are now retired and living in South Dakota communities where there are a substantial number of Dakotapi people. All are grandmothers that offer much to their relatives and the communities in which they reside. All three are still publishing. In fact, some of their best works (autobiographical, critical, and fictional) were published recently. There is certainly anticipation as we wait for the next publications from these Dakotapi women writers.

Beatrice Medicine (1923-)

Beatrice Medicine is a Sihasapa Lakota (Appendix A). Born August 1, 1923 (1) at Wakpala, SD on the Standing Rock Indian reservation, she is the niece of Ella Cara Deloria (Cook-Lynn 1996). Medicine was married and divorced, having one son, Clarence (Ted), whom she raised in the Lakota tradition. Medicine recently moved back to the reservation area (Mobridge, SD) after retiring in 1988 from the Anthropology Department at California State University, Davis. She continues to try to create change for her people, on and off the reservation.

In 1960 Medicine did Research Design consultant work for the State Department of Health in Seattle, Washington. In August of 1968, Medicine gave her first two papers "Stoney Indian Magic" and "The Dynamics of a Dakota Give-away"' at the International Congress of Americanists, Stuttgart, Germany. In 1970 she was named in "Who's Who Among American Indians." From 1969 to 1971 she worked for the Office of Economic Opportunity as a Specialist on Indian Self-Determination. In 1972, she delivered a paper as a delegate to the Inter-American Commission on Indigenous Women at Chiapas, Mexico. From 1972 to 1974 she was an Evaluator/Researcher for Programs for the teaching of Native American Languages for the Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C. She also worked as an advisor to various organizations. In 1977 she was named an Outstanding Alumnus

at South Dakota State University (Medicine 107). She also held a three year appointment as Director of the Native Centre at the University of Calgary, Alberta (Medicine 1985, 23). She also worked at the California State at Northridge.

Also in 1977 she was "chosen Sacred Pipe woman in the revival of the Lakota Sun Dance" (Bataille 1993, 171). This last honor she received at a Sun Dance on Standing Rock Indian Reservation in 1977. Medicine has been making efforts to revitalize this sacred rite for almost three decades now.

Beatrice Medicine received her Bachelor of Science degree from South Dakota State University at Brookings. She later received her Masters of Arts degree from Michigan State University. She received her Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1983. Medicine has taught at several prestigious institutions in the United States and Canada. She also directed Native Studies Programs at San Francisco State College. She was one of the founding editors of the Wicazo Sa Review (2). She was also an Associate editor for The Journal of Ethnic Studies (1981).

The title of her Ph.D. dissertation is "An Ethnology of Drinking and Sobriety Among the Lakota Sioux" (Medicine 1983). The focus of her dissertation is the study of sobriety among the Sihasapa and Hunkpapa people from Standing Rock. The data she points to is compiled by a non Indian male (Whitaker 1962 and 1980). There are several passages and references in Medicine's dissertation that

refer to anthropological studies that are quite negative about the Indian people from Standing Rock. This is difficult to accept, yet as Medicine knows, I know, that much of this data is correct. In writing about women and alcohol abuse, Medicine states:

> The increase of drinking among Lakota women appeared to be accelerating at the time of my fieldwork. Whitaker also noted that women tended to stop drinking when children were born. This was not evident to me. I was unable to find any evidence of the fetal alcohol syndrome, however. (Medicine 1983, 115)

Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) and Fetal Effects Syndrome (FES) are now quite prevalent in every community on the reservation. I am sure at this point in history (1997) Medicine is fully aware of the changes that have occurred on the reservation, during and/or after she did her fieldwork. Now that she is retired and living back near the reservation, Medicine can witness first hand the effects of FAS and FES on children and their families in the tribal communities at Standing Rock.

Whitaker (1962 and 1980) and Medicine (1983) are both right. There was a steady increase in the drinking on Standing Rock. Medicine is writing about the sociological and psychological problems of her own people. As an academic she must be as objective as possible. As a Lakota and an anthropologist she knew that the culture changed. It is important to record these changes.

We must survive as Lakota people. Medicine teaches

about the use and abuse of alcohol in an effort to combat the damage it does to the psyche of her people. The alcohol kills the culture in us, eats at us, replaces the good in our culture, with a sick and oftentimes deadly diseased culture. Culture does change. Medicine is only reporting what she witnessed:

> Many of the young women who grew to adulthood just after the lifting of the ban on alcohol consumption (after 1953) learned to drink as part of their adolescent experience. As for males, learning to drink was almost a puberty rite. Introduction to alcohol use becomes a part of the growing-up process for both sexes.
>
> The gradual indoctrination to alcohol consumption is accomplished in several ways. Generally, a female learns drinking behavior in the family setting. In most cases her father and mother are drinkers, and her initiation into drinking is not a problem to them. Many families actively encourage their daughters to accompany them on drinking bouts. Others carefully guard their daughters from peer group interaction; the number in this category has steadily declined since the decade of the 1950's.
>
> Families who encourage daughters, or do not discourage them, to participate in drinking, are fatalistic. The girl will drink no matter what they do. The daughter who drinks may become a form of insurance as a source for alcoholic beverages. She can recruit White ranchers, farmers, and even police officials to support the drinking habit she acquires. Her extended kin, if composed of heavy drinkers, share in this symbiotic relationship. Indian women who fit this description very often form liaisons with bar owners, bartenders, and business men to guarantee a source of liquor. This relationship may become a source of livelihood. The survival strategies of Indian women "wings" and the transient lone Indian man have not been examined in studies of the contemporary life styles of Indians of any tribe. (Medicine 1983, 117-118)

Yet there is a good reason to do such studies. Information taken from them can be used to help combat the rate of

alcoholism among the youth. Teen pregnancy, teen suicide, teen drug abuse and sexual promiscuity can be attacked from a holistic perspective if researchers and concerned family members take an honest look at our Indian societies and try to implement change for future generations. This is what Medicine attempted to do by exposing the truth about familial alcoholism and the abuse of children.

Families do encourage their children to drink. Medicine is not exaggerating when she describes this "insurance" that young adolescent girls provide to family members when there is a need to support their drinking habits. The extended family unit is still alive and well when it comes to people expecting a "sharing" of goods (alcohol and other drugs) when their daughters or cousins accompany them on drinking binges.

Beatrice Medicine was highly criticized by the Lakota people. This is not right, yet it is the chance you take by becoming an academic. Beatrice Medicine chose to leave the reservation and educate herself. Returning to the reservation after retiring it is inevitable that she will be criticized by those who oppose her knowledge or beliefs. This I know. It has already started to happen.

A letter to the editor of Indian Country Today (1995) by Beatrice Medicine was published in which she criticized her nephew, Arvol Looking Horse, keeper of the sacred calf pipe. Medicine was critical of his behavior and actions.

As the keeper of the sacred calf pipe he must in all instances keep the best interest of the people in mind. As his aunt, Medicine can criticize her nephew. In traditional Lakota culture it would be her responsibility as his relative to criticize him if she felt it needed to be done. Medicine did what she felt was right considering the circumstances.

In the October 12, 1995 issue of Indian Country Today a rebuttal to her letter reads:

> In reference to the letter to the editor by Bea Medicine, I was dismayed by the attitude given by her and the total disregard of our "Lakota culture."
>
> Dr. Medicine claims to be a Lakota elder, but in the overview of this letter she has proven to me that she obviously has forgotten what a Lakota elder stands for.
>
> In this letter, Bea Medicine has slandered and made accusations against a highly respected leader of the Lakota people. By writing this letter, she not only has shown the nation of readers the lack of respect for other people, she has also shown the lack of respect of "our" Lakota traditions.
>
> Being a "Lakota elder" does not give her the privilege to do this!
>
> Our children are taught by example, but if our children learn "our" traditions from people such as Dr. Medicine, our future generations will no longer have the Lakota culture that our grandfathers have passed down to us. Our culture will be no more if the children listen to this kind of disrespectful, slanderous and extremely uncalled for behavior that she has shown. Dr. Medicine above all others, in being an "elder," should know this!
>
> This statement of Bea Medicine's was against one of our Lakota leaders and also Keeper of the Sacred White Buffalo Calf Pipe. I have found this letter to be deeply disturbing, and I cannot fathom how in the same breath Dr. Medicine commits this terrible act of disrespect and then turns around and states she's a "respected Lakota

> elder." Bea Medicine should apologize to Arvol Looking Horse, but she should also apologize to the Lakota people and especially to the children for the statements made.
>
> Dr. Medicine had better take a good look into "our" history and discover the true meaning of what our Lakota people had tried so hard to preserve. Instead of just reading the words and listening to them, she should find the real meaning as to what the words have to say.
>
> The sacred hoop is broken; it will never be mended if our children are taught by examples such as this one.
>
> And all the Lakota people of our past generations tried to preserve, so much so that they cried for, fought for and ultimately died for, will be lost forever by our future generations if the children are taught by ways such as given by this"respected Lakota elder."
>
> I would not want to be in her position when she truly faces our Lakota elders and explains this great injustice she has caused. (A5)

This is a blatantly disrespectful letter. Surely, Beatrice Medicine is an elder. As an elder she can say what she feels. She is obligated to criticize Arvol Looking Horse, her nephew, if she sees him acting in ways that he should not. As his aunt, she would be neglecting her kinship duties if she did not speak out. Anyone knowing the traditional ways of the Lakota knows this to be true.

Elders are respected for their wisdom. Their warnings are supposed to be heeded. She is outspoken because she has reached the age where she can speak openly as a traditionally-minded Lakota woman. Denise Martin-Villanti, of Grand Forks, North Dakota is wrong to criticize Medicine in this manner. In her own words, Medicine says:

> I think it's very debilitating if we keep talking about the horrors of the past. We all lived through it and I think that we have to look to our

> ancestors who really fought for the land and who really had a beautiful culture. I'm not just saying this because I'm a Lakota.
>
> I was baptized Catholic because this was the faith of my father. Christianization has been the most demoralizing thing for the Lakota people. Although I was raised a Catholic, I don't believe in that. I've gone back to the Sun Dance religion. (Doll 1994, 40)

After living off the reservation for years, working in the "white man's world" as a professional, and then returning to her reservation, Medicine reminisces:

> I went to a public school with a strong sense that I was a Lakota person and I was as good, if not better than, the immigrant children we went to school with... (Doll 40)

Describing the school she went to (St. Elizabeth's, the same one her aunt Ella Deloria attended), she learned to be proud of who she was early on and from that strong identity as a Lakota person, she became interested in anthropology:

> because of the whole notion of our culture, that we were different. We had a different language, and we had to learn how to live in the white world in order to make a living. (Doll 40)

and as a result Medicine became a:

> social anthropologist. My research has been in mental health and psychological anthropology, but I publish in everything, bilingual education, women's studies. The most difficult thing is the white people thinking that you've achieved just because of affirmative action. With white people you have to prove yourself twice. (Doll 40)

Medicine takes a very traditional approach to viewing her profession and her people:

> Yes, I've achieved a lot, I have a doctor of humane letters and I have earned a Ph.D., but these are things of my profession. I feel much more a part of the Lakota people than I do of the

white man's world.

And I try to live like a Sioux woman. We were grounded in our culture, and I think that's what really happened to me. My father always taught us about the Lakota beliefs, the four cardinal virtues: hospitality, bravery, fortitude and wisdom. I think they are exceedingly important to understand that these values motivated our culture.

The first thing we were taught was the whole issue of generosity, hospitality and taking care of everyone, feeding people. The second was bravery. That man really had to be brave to go off on a warpath, to kill this mammoth buffalo and to provide a livelihood.

The third was fortitude. No matter how hard life was, men and women had to rely on strength and fortitude to continue their life. The fourth one was wisdom. All these values correlate with the life cycle...

In my growing up years I never heard much of abuse of women by men. I must have been about five when I heard about a man hitting his wife in this little village where I grew up. All the women my mother's age did the proper thing. They cooked food for him, took it over to him, fed him and then they talked to him about how this was never done in our societies.

These are the kinds of things I think we have to think about when we say we're traditional. A lot of people are using this as a catch-all phrase. If they were traditional, they would have respect for the children. They wouldn't abuse their wives or their husbands, or their children. (Doll 40)

Medicine in this biographical statement discusses the four cardinal virtues for men, not women. It is as though she is speaking directly to Lakota males in her statements. In her essay "Oral History," Medicine defines male virtues as, "bravery, honesty, generosity and fortitude" (Ortiz 1977, 121). She describes women's virtues as, "chastity, hospitality, industriousness, and generosity" (p121).

Medicine describes the roles of women as highly

respected in traditional Lakota culture. She gets her data from:

> the statements of the older people who were telling us about these treaties and the Lakota life style. They say that all the treaties of the Lakota Nation were made with the utmost honesty and with the utmost faith that the Lakota people would keep those treaties [uphold them]. I think this is tied very strongly to the nature of the leadership and the fact that they represented the expression of the four cardinal virtues. (Ortiz 1977, 121)

Due to the professions they chose, individuals such as Deloria and Medicine are bound to write about aspects of culture. They make deliberate decisions to write about the maintenance of those values. Is this because they are both anthropologists? Or, is it because they believe they are responsible to write about their own people. Zitkala Sa was not an anthropologist but she also wrote about her people.

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In A Gathering of Spirit: A Collection by North American Indian Women (Brent 1984), "Ina, 1979," a poem by Medicine, describes well the notion of remembering. She brings recognition to the "nameless one," making a place for those women in Lakota culture who have not been remembered in the literature by non-Dakotapi. She recognizes the:

> Nameless one
> Hastily, called "Butte Woman"
> Pahin win By the keeper of the
> White Buffalo Calf Woman's Pipe.
> A woman of many names,
> all kinship designations-
> Tuwin-aunt
> Oonchi-grandmother
> Cuwe-older sister
> Hankashi-female cousin
> Ina-mother all honorable,
> all good.
>
> I prefer
> Napewakanwin
> "Sacred Hands Woman"
> Suggested by our own wapiya
> the healer.
> But refused by you
> as being too honoring.
> The wapiya now insists

that you were given the name
Wapahaluta win
"RedWarbonnet Woman"
when you were a child.

But nameless one, in Lakota,
Your deeds live on and are
recounted. (109)

The woman of many names is White Buffalo calf Woman herself. It is my interpretation that this poem by Medicine is a result of the belief in Lakota society that life is in 153 everything, i.e., "God" is in everything. Not a physical man, but that energy that exists in everything makes us all one, all related. Thus, White Buffalo Calf Woman is in every woman, simply because "she" is "woman."

The content of this poem by Medicine is based on a gathering, possibly a Sun Dance, where Arvol Looking Horse, her nephew, is speaking of White Buffalo Calf Woman. As a traditional Lakota, Medicine is aware of the proper terms of address for her Lakota relatives. As an anthropologist she is aware of the various versions of the oral stories involving Wohpe and White Buffalo Calf Woman. She takes particular pride in hearing Looking Horse describe [the] "sacred woman" as having holy hands. "Napewakanwin" and "RedWarbonnet Woman" are also oral stories sacred to the Lakota. This is a spiritual and professional observance by Medicine. She knows that it is important to "recount" the deeds of the women, not only those from the "oral" stories, but to tell also of those people who would get no recognition, today, if it were not for the written word.

Thus, the sacred oral texts are now sacred written texts.

Medicine is critical of books such as Madonna Swan: A Lakota Woman's Story (St. Pierre 1993). It is Madonna Swan's life history as told by Mark St. Pierre. Through the setting down of stories told by Madonna's mother and herself, St. Pierre has grasped the realities of life as a Lakota woman lived them. It is the telling of three groups of Indian women's history. It describes the life of Julia Brave Eagle and what she experienced in the pre-- and early reservation period. The life of her daughter, Lucy High Pine-Swan, is then chronicled during the transitory period when the Lakota were trying to adjust to reservation life. Madonna Swan's life is a story of hardship, disease, and survival in a family which has a proud heritage. The family photographs which accompany the text are quite revealing in their content. They show the changes which Madonna's family has lived through. Therefore, it is an excellent source for historical data on Lakota women.

Beatrice Medicine (1994, 56) has criticized St. Pierre for not providing a "more cohesive cultural backdrop for context." Medicine recognizes, however, that this text now joins the burgeoning personal document data on Lakota women" (p55). She realizes the recent interest by scholars and laymen alike in learning more about the roles of women in Lakota culture, both past and present. Medicine has a unique insight into the world of Lakota women. Her anthropological

skills give her the insight to recognize the importance of listening to the women in Lakota society today. She takes their assessment of the book seriously:

> Several women from northern Lakota reservations of Standing Rock and Cheyenne River read the book and I include some appraisals. One person who was in Madonna's peer group stated that much of the information appeared to put the subject in a "bright light." She didn't feel that "it was all that truthful." Perhaps this was the function of the author who was the conduit and highlighted only the positive aspects of his subject's life. (Medicine 1994, 55)

This is an example of the wariness Lakota women have of outsiders taking down the stories and life histories of their people. They are highly skeptical to say the least. Medicine, who does not support or deny these allegations, attributes it possibly to St. Pierre's methodology. Medicine is cautious of the descriptions of Dakota, Lakota, Nakota women from an "as-told-to" perspective:

> Collections of this genre-though often getting rave reviews in publications of the dominant society- evoke certain cautionary appraisals from persons in their natal communities. Perhaps many collectors of biography/autobiography forget that the so-called target populations from which their subjects stem are literate. (Medicine 1994, 55)

As a Lakota woman Medicine is proud of her people. She does, however, want them to be described accurately. By writing this review she implies that Lakota women themselves should be the ones to be writing their own stories and life histories.

Elizabeth Cook Lynn (1930-)

Elizabeth Cook Lynn is Dakota. She was born November 17, 1930 in Ft. Thompson, SD. Scholar and teacher of American Indian literature, she is a member of the Crow Creek tribe, and also a member of the Class of 1952 from South Dakota State College (now University), Brookings. She graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in English and Journalism. She also has a Masters of Arts degree in Educational Psychology and Counseling. After twenty years at the University of Eastern Washington, Cheney, she is now retired and living in Rapid City, SD. Professor emeritus in Native Studies and English she is doing an extensive amount of traveling to conferences lecturing on her view of academic disciplines and how she as a Dakota woman interprets their scholarship.

She is the editor of The Wicazo Sa Review, an American Indian studies journal, which she founded in the early 1970s. She was "honored at the fifth annual wacipi, on February 18, 1995, on the SDSU campus" (December 22, 1994 Indian Country Today B11). She was also selected by the SDSU Native American Club as their 1995 honoree. Primarily known in the early part of her career as a poet, especially for Then Badger Said This (1977), she began to get further recognition for her fiction writing in the early 1990s with the appearance of The Power of Horses (1990) and From the River's Edge (1991).

In Survival This Way: Interviews with American Indian Poets (Bruchac 1987), Cook Lynn describes her literary career to that point:

> The question of when did you become a writer is a question that I really don't know how to answer because I still don't consider myself a writer...I think of myself in a lot of ways. I'm a teacher. I'm a mother. I'm a wife and a grandmother. I am a teacher. I do accept that. But when I talk of myself as a writer I don't know if I am. I very often say "I could have been a writer." (laughs) So I have this ambivalence, but I have been writing forever. As a kid I went to schools on the reservation, around Fort Thompson and Big Bend. When I first learned to read and write, I used to copy poems down--before I knew what poems were. I had these notebooks that I kept and I just copied them exactly as they were in the book. So I have the recognition that it was always an art which interested me, before I even knew what poetry was. I didn't write a lot of poetry when I was a child. I probably didn't write poetry until I was in college...I wrote early things and published them then and after I was married. They were terrible things, and I don't know why anyone published them. Often quite emotional. So that's how I began, but I really didn't like anything I wrote until I got to be forty. Then I liked what I wrote. Then I really started publishing, and people started talking to me about what I was writing. Then I gave readings and so on. Isn't that odd? (61-62)

This is quite interesting to reflect on in reference to where she started out and how she has written her way to the top of Native American literary criticism with the publication of Why I Can't Read Wallace Sterner and Other Stories: A Tribal Voice (1996).

Elizabeth Cook Lynn grew up on the Crow Creek reservation, at Ft. Thompson, learning the traditional ways of her people as they existed during that period of Lakota

history. When Bruchac (1987) asks her "What led you to write poetry and fiction?" (p63), Cook Lynn responds with this reply:

> I don't know. I haven't the foggiest notion about that. I just know that I have always been interested in writing and I have always been interested in language. I grew up, of course, in the midst of some very difficult times for reservation Indians. I was born and raised on the reservation. I married another Sioux from another reservation, the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation, my first marriage. I'm sure that the whole notion of poetry and writing and those rather esoteric kinds of things were far from the influences in my life. I'm sure that becoming a college professor wasn't even in the realm of possibility. So it's very strange how I managed to write and become a college professor and the editor of a magazine and all those things. I don't really know. But I did have a grandmother whose name was Eliza Renville. She was from the Sisseton Wahpeton Sioux Reservation... She wrote. She was a woman who seldom spoke English and wrote in Dakota language for some of the early Christian newspapers that came out of that part of the country. I was very close to that grandmother. I was with her quite a bit. She lived probably four miles from where we lived. I used to walk back and forth and we would talk and she was a writer. She was taught by the Presbyterian missionaries. There were Presbyterian missions in both North and South Dakota, and she and her family were very much involved in that. Her father and her grandfather helped put together one of the first Dakota dictionaries. Contemporary writers don't arise out of nowhere. They don't operate in a vacuum they come out of some kind of tradition. So, even though I wasn't sure about all of that stuff and didn't know a lot of it, I think that must have been influential. (62-3)

So you can see that Cook Lynn is clearly aware of a Dakota tradition of women writers in her family:

> I still have a lot of those newspapers that were published then. I suppose they started publishing them in something like 1850-60, and they went through to the 1930s. So there was a long tradition in that and my grandmother, even though

> she was really a traditional woman, became involved in that. Most of the time Christians thought that only men were people of importance, that her father and her brother were the important people. But somehow Eliza--I'm named after her, too--Eliza Renville did this. I read those newspapers every now and then. Of course she wrote about religious things. She also wrote about community things. And she also wrote about traditional things because there was a kind of a combination of Christianity with the old tradition that was still going on. (Bruchac 63)

Cook-Lynn demonstrates this notion that Dakota, Lakota, Nakota women held a strong place in the "tradition" of letters. Bruchac asks: "So, you have both Dakota oral tradition and a relatively unknown Dakota literary tradition to back yourself up with?" (p63) and Cook Lynn responds:

> Yes. A lot of people don't think that there really is a Dakota literary tradition. A lot of people have no sense of that at all. But there is a kind of an interesting dual tradition there, and this was before very much work had been done concerning how to write down the language... (634)

Cook-Lynn is fully aware of the tradition of women writers. She focuses on narrative rather than lyric:

> I don't concentrate on a kind of lyric tradition that might come out of classical European poetry... I concentrate more on narrative. If you're concentrating on the narrative more than the lyric, then you're interested in the story, not the emotion. Then you're interested in characters and events... And much of what I do in that arises out of the story or history. I'm not a terribly religious person with access to all the rituals and all of that. (Bruchac 64)

Cook Lynn details how she writes from what she knows as "a Dakota woman" (p64) but also goes on to say how she is influenced considerably by <u>The Way to Rainy Mountain</u> (1969) by N. Scott Momaday to the point that she wrote <u>Then Badger</u>

Said This (1977). She tried to write a parody of Momaday's book (Bruchac 1987). In Bruchac's interview Cook Lynn refers to this saying:

> I was trying to find out what I could discover in that volume about the Sioux tradition and what I know. So I started out to do that and I will be perfectly up front and open about that. (65)

This attempt to draw on Momaday's genius was clever of Cook Lynn and shows the depth of her literary skills when she learns from Momaday's discussion of his own Kiowa traditions and then writes about her own literary traditions from a woman's perspective. Cook Lynn says of Momaday:

> He did it for himself, for a Kiowa, but I wanted to do it for myself, as a Sioux, in some important way. I don't know if I can say much more about that. But, of course, it fell into chaos and I ended up simply ending and putting a few poems in. (Bruchac 65)

Cook Lynn knows her responsibility to the traditions of Dakota women's literature and found a way to apply Momaday's narrative style to her own writing:

> I wanted to find out what the past has to do with the present, what oral tradition has to do with what you're doing today in literature. Things like that interest me. I think that more Indians who really come from some kind of a traditional background ought to try to use that form that he has put so clearly in front of us. (Bruchac 66)

Cook Lynn, again, is referring to the narrative technique applied by Momaday in The Way to Rainy Mountain (1969). His use of myth, history, and personal knowledge is a way of carrying our oral traditions into the future through the written word without losing or lessening the significance of

orality. When Bruchac asks Cook Lynn in the interview: "Myth, then, impacts your life not just through the past but in an on-going way?" (p67), Cook Lynn responds:

> Yes, it does. Yes, indeed it does. It explains many things to you. So, that's what I wanted to do. I wanted to use myth and personal history and poetry to discover a cultural value and to say what that value was in the very beginning and to say what it is now...And I think it would be useful to a lot of Indians who are still significantly connected to the past. (Bruchac 67)

Cook Lynn makes this connection with her past throughout her writings. All Dakotapi women writers do so to one degree or another. Cook Lynn is now an elder of the Dakota. She is now an emeritus Associate Professor of English and Indian Studies at Eastern Washington University, Cheney. Then Badger Said This (1977), her first book of poetry uses the female voice of the young girl, young daughter, young mother, and sister to express Cook Lynn's cultural world view. First published in 1977, and then republished in 1983 by Ye Galleon Press, portions of this work also appeared in the South Dakota Review, Pembroke, and the Prairie Schooner. It consists of short prose and poetry, as Cook Lynn expresses her belief, personally and professionally, that:

> stories and songs and poems are fictional, but they are born of a very real and usable past which remains unforgettable. If you do not believe that memory and imagination are components of history, do not read this little volume, for its contents will mean nothing. If you wish to believe, do so with the knowledge that nothing is absolutely true nor is it untrue until someone has made it so. (Dedication to Then Badger Said This)

Dakotapi peoples of today have what N. Scott Momaday, in

"The Man Made of Words" (Hobson 1979), calls a "racial memory." That memory is "real and usable" for the generations of Dakotapi living today. It is constituted in each generation through oral tradition, transcribed as written text.

Over and over again Cook Lynn writes "The Bare Facts" and traces her belief that butterflies signify the fecundity of women. She sees "old women leaving marked trails in the tall burnt grass as they carry firewood on their backs from the river and you think you hear the songs they sang to grandchildren and you feel transformed into the past" (p2). Cook-Lynn brings to life the history she lives and expresses her knowledge with the characteristics typical to the "History of Unchi" (p7). Addressing the takojapi (grandchildren), she refutes the lack of historical data on Lakota women's roles:

> "Grandchildren, I am an old woman
> but I have nothing to tell about
> myself. I will tell a story."
> They say
> that storytellers such as she
> hold no knives of blood
> no torch of truth
> no song of death;
> that when the old woman's bones
> are wrapped and gone to dust
> and suns won't sear the fish beneath the sea.
> They even say
> that her love of what is past
> is a terrible thing.
> Hun-he...
> What do they know
> of glorious songs
> and children? (7)

Cook-Lynn insists in Then Badger Said This "that women have

always had a very hard time" (p11). In other words, women are the "bearers" of the culture. The women are the ones to give birth to the children and hold the culture intact.

In her first volume of poetry there is ample information on the roles of Dakota women, both past and present. In this text she refeminizes the literature by writing about her experiences that have always been women-focused.

Seek The House of Relatives (1983), a small book of twelve poems and one short story, is distinctly traditional in both appearance and design (3). As a woman writer responsible for the survival of her people, Cook Lynn tells how "Parenthood" was always "ceremoniously" practiced by Dakota women, with the historical figures recognizable by name in American history, "at her breast" and in "his cradleboard" (no pagination), the mother

> hoping to make the rules for this
> child life.

She reinforces the Dakota belief that women have always been at the center of Dakota history. In "My Grandmother's Burial Ground" she again gives Dakota history from the Dakota woman's perspective:

> I walked beside the stone that bore your name and
> date and felt the threat of history give rise to
> sudden chill, like wind from unseen creek.
> Ancestral bones lie in anonymity in this New World
> except that History called you Christian Kill-in-
> war-with-spear vouched for you.

The irony of her grandmother's name and the knowledge of an

ever present sense of history as a threat to the very understanding of how Dakota women have been portrayed and what the author knows they have experienced comes through clearly in this stanza. The anonymity and the sudden chill it causes are more literal for Dakota women than many would probably care to admit. The self-realization that the roles women played were wholely misunderstood and misrepresented from the etic perspective. History, as she describes it, can feel like the fiercest March wind as it comes barreling out of Canada, unleashing its final blast of cleansing power.

As mentioned before, Cook Lynn informs us that Christians believe that men take precedence over women in all aspects of life (Cook-Lynn 1987, 63). As a result Native American women, for the most part, were overlooked by scholars in academe. Cook-Lynn does not accept this notion and worked hard throughout her professional career and personal life, to dispel these false myths. She, like Deloria, was not given full credit for the efforts she made to change the way Native American women are viewed, by laymen and scholars alike.

In The Power of Horses and Other Stories (1990) Cook Lynn has compiled several excellent stories of cultural survival from a woman's vantage point. Throughout this volume of short stories, Cook Lynn gives the reader a clear description of what it is like to live as a Dakota woman

today. In "The Power of Horses" a mother is telling a story to her daughter about two particular horses:

> "They were really fast horses," said the mother, musing still, filling in the texture of her imagination and memory, "they were known throughout our country for their speed, and the old man allowed worthy men in the tribe to use them in war or to go on a hunt with them. It is an old story," the woman concluded, as though the story were finished, as though commenting upon its history made everything comprehensible.
>
> As the girl watched her mother's extraordinary vitality, which rose during the telling of these events, she also noted the abruptness with which the story seemed to end and the kind of formidable reserve and closure which fell upon the dark, stained features as the older woman turned again to the stove...she and her mother moved quietly about, informed now with the wonder of the past, the awesomeness of the imagination. (74)

Cook Lynn's telling of this woman's story is an excellent example of how she finds a way to tell a story that is basically male in origin (one about horses), through a woman's point of view. Cook Lynn turns the story into one that is important for woman to hear, thus making it woman-focused for the purpose of telling a story to her daughter.

In From The River's Edge (1991) Cook Lynn again uses female voices to shape her narratives. Aurelia, a secondary character in Cook-Lynn's first novel, is a strong, independent young woman who is the lover of John Tatekeya, the main protagonist of the novel. Unlike John who has some of his culture intact, Aurelia lacks the ability to survive. Cook Lynn is making a direct political statement to Dakota women to keep their traditions intact:

> There had been rumors about Aurelia since anyone could remember. That was because men had always wanted her. Even when she was twelve, still long-legged and sallow from a sick childhood filled with hardships, men were drawn to her beauty. Some of her growing years, when she was not attending a boarding school or living at her grandmother's place, she spent in a three-room house abandoned by the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs employees who no longer wanted to live forty miles from the Agency, a house which had been built across the road from a Catholic church and a cemetery at a time when the services and religions of white colonizers were brought in to create the center of a little community adapting to an enforced relocation and agrarian lifeway.
>
> Because of her beauty, Aurelia was watched constantly. Her grandmother, in particular, took it upon herself to open her eyes to the realities of the kind of life she thought Aurelia could count on if she were not relentlessly compelled to duty. This was the child who had been given to her in infancy, the child who would have the responsibility from birth to be the companion of her grandmother. Such a child, it might have been said by others who had greater insight, should not have been given also the responsibility of great beauty, for the contradictions of living in such a way are often overwhelming.
>
> Such girl children who are meant to accompany the aged are ordinarily plain and docile, and because Aurelia was neither, her grandmother's suspicion became the very attitude which nurtured intolerance and accusation. It was her grandmother who first noticed that men wanted to put their hands on this youthful beauty, and she reported it to the sisters of the child's mother. From then on, every action of Aurelia's was noticed and commented upon, and her natural tendency toward vibrancy and joy was taken to be the sign of recalcitrance and mischief. (53-4)

By introducing the relationship that Aurelia has with other characters in the book, Cook Lynn calls to attention the breakdown in family relationships caused by the damming of mnisose (Missouri) and the impact of that process of removal on the Crow Creek Dakota people. Aurelia comforted John for

years after the loss of his mother's allotment and the flooding of land that would cut off access to precious plants and roots crucial to the traditional way of life of the people.

In the Preface to the novel Cook Lynn begins by creating a visual scene of South Dakota that is intertwined with the actions of women upon the earth:

> Seeing the Missouri River country of the Sioux is like seeing where the earth first recognized humanity and where it came to possess a kind of unique internal coherence about that condition. (vii)

Cook Lynn describes the roles of women and their relationship to the landscape through the narrative of this novel. You can hear the longing of a Dakota woman for the times that have passed and the songs of grandmothers sung to grandchildren.

Cook Lynn makes statements about history through the narrator, John, and Gray Plume that the:

> observation is still made by those who examine history, and it was certainly made by the grandfather Gray Plume, who had witnessed these particular events, that great forces had clashed on this continent and the old order for each was changed forever. It was clear to John that Gray Plume had understood what had happened, thus he never questioned the old man's interpretation: that from the very beginning there must have occurred a vast release of energy, unequaled in the experience of North America, and it manifested itself in a compelling behavior pattern of interaction which would forever plague Oyate, the people. It was clear to John, as it had been to his grandfather, that the thousands of years of life force and occupancy by the Sioux upon this land would be from that time on at grave risk. (40)

Cook Lynn is making a statement about her political belief in the instability of the Oyate Tatanka. She gives her perspective through John and Grey Cloud about the survival of the Dakota:

> John was now past sixty and was just in these late years beginning to understand the consequences of former times, the grandfather Gray Plume had been only twenty-six years old when he attended this Council and learned these things. (41)

and the grandfather:

> told and retold his remembrances of the Council's deliberations, he philosophically speculated that if the Dakotapi were to survive the modern world, they would have to recognize that the religious views which brought about what he regarded as the eminently unfair system of justice for Indians in America promulgate in their followers the notion that a righteous good father may be displaced by identification with Jesus Christ. And that displacement, Gray Plume reasoned, was what allowed men to become gods themselves.
>
> "It is a dangerous way," he would say.
>
> This became Gray Plume's view, and he had many, many relatives. (41)

Cook Lynn argues for keeping the traditions of the Oyate intact. She also argues for the acceptance that the traditions have changed and that the consequences are unthinkable if we do not keep some semblance of cultural world view that is specific to the Oyate Tatanka.

In Why I Can't Read Wallace Stegner (1996) Cook Lynn has several essays that are previously published reviews of well-known books on Indians. This text also discusses American Indian women and literary scholarship. Cook Lynn considers "essay writing by its very nature to be difficult" (Personal conversation 1997), and that she had spent years

writing the essays that are in this book. She wrote them while working at Eastern Washington University, Cheney. The first title to the book was something she called boring, such as "Discourse on Native American Topics." It was suggested by her editor that she change the title to Why I Can't Read Wallace Stegner, even though the book is not about Stegner or Cook Lynn (Personal Conversation 1997). For Cook Lynn, the book is about "the literary vocation." When she was young she had was not aware that she would become a writer. She now sees the "function of literature in society as a literary vocation" (Personal Conversation 1997). In this sense, this latest book has much to offer those who read Native American literature.

"Part One: Thoughts on the Art of Reviewing Books" is a review of four books. The first review is a scathing analysis of Stanley David Lyman's Wounded Knee, 1973: A Personal Account (1993). Cook Lynn tells it the way Dakota/Lakota people see Wounded Knee 1890 and 1973. In reference to the Wounded Knee Memorial, Cook Lynn attests that

> To the Oglala on whose land the grave site is located, to the Minneconjou whose ancestors are buried there, and to other Lakota/Dakota peoples who have concern for their relatives, the symbol of Wounded Knee has never been that. It is a holy place where the people go to weep for their lost loved ones and pray for the continuation of the human spirit. (Cook Lynn 1996, 10)

Lyman views these events in twentieth century American history, especially Wounded Knee 1973, as symbols of "hate,

frustration, and failure" (Lyman 1993). Published posthumously, this text is a symbol of the "archetypal" literary criticism on American Indians (Cook Lynn 1996).

The second review is an extremely critical assessment of Michael Dorris' The Broken Chord (1989). First published in the Wicazo Sa Review (1989), Cook Lynn's review takes Michael Dorris and Louise Erdrich to task for, according to Cook Lynn, placing academics first, before their adoptive Sioux child, Adam. Adam suffered from Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS). Louise Erdrich, in the Introduction to the book, strongly states that

> I understand the urge for alcohol, its physical pull. I had formed an emotional bond with a special configuration of chemicals, and I realize to this day the attraction of the relationship and the immense difficulty in abandoning it. Adam's mother never did let go. She died of alcohol poisoning, and I'd feel sorrier for her, if we didn't have Adam. As it is, I only hope that she died before she had a chance to produce another child with his problems. I can't help but wish, too, that during her pregnancy, if she couldn't be counseled or helped, she had been forced to abstain for those crucial nine months. On some American Indian reservations, the situation has grown so desperate that a jail internment during pregnancy has been the only answer possible in some cases. Some people, whose views you will read in these pages, have taken more drastic stands and even called for the forced sterilization of women who, after having previously blunted the lives of several children like Adam, refuse to stop drinking while they're pregnant. (xvii)

Throughout this autobiographical introduction to the book, it is clear that Erdrich cared deeply for Adam, yet she does describe, in an odd tone, a relationship of love/hate, that sounds angry at times and at others resentful for having

been stuck raising a Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) child. Many may interpret it in this way if they are not aware of the research these two writers (Dorris and Erdrich) did and the first hand experience, not only with Adam but with the knowledge they gained by their relationship with Beatrice Medicine and other Lakota people.

Certainly Michael Dorris and Louise Erdrich are rather sensitive to the issues of having to deal with an FAS child. Are they sensitive to the complexity of the problems faced by American Indian women, on and off reservation? Should they, as Indian scholars, suggest that Indian women should be treated differently from any other women in American society. Are they making a distinction between the differences in culture as they should? Women must be able to make choices for themselves. Tribal governments incarcerated women for abusing alcohol while pregnant and state and local judges did the same thing to women who abused other drugs while pregnant. Yet to suggest sterilization of Indian women when such atrocities occurred for American Indian women in the not so distant past is a dangerous stance to take personally or professionally.

Dorris and Erdrich took the unpopular (at least among many Lakota women) stance that women who are pregnant and do not stop drinking should be hospitalized, incarcerated, or sterilized in the best interest of the unborn child. Cook Lynn takes offense at the exploitation of Adam and his

mother, a Lakota woman, whom she sees also as a victim. Cook Lynn writes

> from the heart, the wrenching opinion of a Dakota unchi, born and raised on a Sioux Reservation in South Dakota, whose four children and two grandsons are citizens of the Sioux Nation, one whose family members are enrolled at Cheyenne River, Crow Creek, Yankton, Sisseton, and Rosebud, four generations of us, at this moment alive and well, walking the earth and remembering who we are. I mention this because I believe that The Broken Chord is a dangerous book for those of us still committed to ideas inherent in the tiyospaye concept of reciprocity, which the Dakotapi devised as a way of life. (Cook-Lynn 1996, 12)

Cook Lynn is a strong Dakota woman. She has been known to be quite critical of texts written about Dakotapi peoples. This strength as a scholar and Dakota woman comes out of the fact that she was raised in a good home with positive role models to provide her with the care all Dakota, Lakota, Nakota children deserve. Yet not all Oyate Tatanka are as fortunate as Cook Lynn and the rest of the members of her tiyospaye.

Cook Lynn defends, as any strong-willed Dakota woman would, the members of her tiyospaye and especially Dakota, Lakota, Nakota women in general. She backs up her criticism of Dorris and Erdrich with a common Dakota belief that "brothers, grandmothers, aunts and uncles, and fathers and sisters all have a role to play and a responsibility in all tribal crises, and especially in this one" (p15). Cook Lynn's criticism of Dorris' book is of the methods Dorris and Erdrich (she helped extensively) undertook to write and

criticize pregnant Indian women with alcohol problems, claiming that Dorris had not interviewed Gene Thin Elk on his "Red Road" way of "holistic approach to finding answers to the alcoholism issues facing the Sioux" (Cook Lynn 1996, 15).

In Cook Lynn's assessment it is always dangerous to attempt to solve the problems of Indian people with the ideas of outsiders. Dakotapi people must find answers to their own problems. Likewise Indian people must find ways of using literary criticism to counteract the on-going attack by outsiders to define and answer the problems faced by Indian people. Many tribal people do see writers such as Dorris and Erdrich as being on the margins culturally. I do not see them that way.

Cook Lynn closes this harsh review of Dorris' book by saying that "Indians do not, alone, bear the consequences of history, that Lakota womanhood is also sacred, and that Adam's mother, who deserved better from all of us, was as much a victim as her "friendly" child" (Cook Lynn 1996, 16). This is where Dorris and Cook Lynn agree. There is no denying that Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) and Fetal Alcohol Effects (FES) devastated the Dakota, Lakota, Nakota. Cook Lynn, stands up for her people against the onslaught of criticism from outsiders who have no idea what growing up in Dakota, Lakota, Nakota societies is like.

Oddly enough, Beatrice Medicine, a close friend of all

three individuals (Dorris, Erdrich, and Cook Lynn) is mentioned throughout Dorris' book. In fact, Dorris cites Medicine extensively throughout the book. Dorris, an Indian anthropologist like Beatrice Medicine is viewing this issue from both a personal and professional position. Doris and Medicine did fieldwork at some of the same places on Indian reservations in South Dakota. At any rate, it would be interesting to read the review Medicine would write of Cook Lynn's Why I Can't Read Wallace Stegner (1996).

Does Cook Lynn excuse the mother from her responsibility to her child because she is also a victim of society's abnormalities? I think most would agree that severe alcoholism is an abnormal state of being and that the by-product of it, Fetal Alcohol Syndrome and Effects are both detrimental to any group or individual that they affect. I am sure that Cook-Lynn does also, yet she is coming at this from another vantage point. She is critical of the potential dangers involved with suggestions Dorris and Erdrich made in the book, and the implications these observations hold for American Indian women in general. Forced hospitalization and incarceration is not the answer to this disturbing problem.

As long as alcoholism exists as a societal ill in American Indian communities there will be such tragedies as what Adam lived with daily. Nothing was said of alcoholic men who are the fathers to many of these children. When an

entire gender is under attack because a societal problem that all members of the society are responsible for, the issue will always be difficult to comprehend. When children and their lives are at stake it becomes even more complicated. Adding to the problem is the factor of ethnicity. Many Indian women are very cautious due to the past sterilization practices of the federal government. Cook Lynn is speaking out as an advocate for the rights of American Indian women to have the same rights all othe all other women in American society.

In the review of Black Hills/White Justice (1991), Cook Lynn accuses the son of Arthur Lazarus, Sr. of trying to gain back the honor of his father through a text that further exploits the Lakota. Another critical review by this Dakota woman clearly defines her political and academic scholarship. The Dakota, Lakota, Nakota people owe thanks to this scholar for critically assessing texts such as these that are detrimental to Oyate Tatanka society.

The third review is the only positive review in Part One. In a critique of Ray A. Young Bear's Black Eagle Child: The Facepaint Narratives (1992), Cook Lynn claims that this is an

> ambitious work from an accomplished writer who is dizzyingly complex, hostile and prickly, charming, weird, and brilliant. It marks the start of a revolution in tribal storytelling. It is a wise, impressive work as excessive in its honesty as it is in its optimism. No one, absolutely no one, tells the tribal story like Young Bear. (20)

Cook Lynn's criticism of one of the foremost writers in American Indian literature today, Ray A. Young Bear, reveals that she sees his book as an excellent example of oral stories within a written context. Cook Lynn opens her book with these critical reviews to set the tone of the section.

In "Part Two: Dispossession," Cook Lynn demonstrates the reasons she "Can't Read Wallace Stegner." Stegner, a prestigious American literary figure, argues that the end of Western history occurred around 1890; coincidentally, this year is the same year that most historians believe the Dakota, Lakota, Nakota people were finally conquered. Cook Lynn takes offense at Stegner's portrayal of the "West" and describes him as an "American fiction writer who has been more successful in serving the interests of a nation's fantasy about itself..." (Cook Lynn 1996, 29). Cook Lynn criticizes his assumption that colonialization has ended. Many native women, such as Cook Lynn, insist that America is continually acting as a "colonizer." Still, many native peoples refuse to believe that they are "conquered" or part of the "colonized." Cook Lynn juxtaposes her own experience to Stegner's, saying

> Because I am an Indian, born and raised on a northern plains Indian reservation in this century, I argue with Stegner's reality. The culture I have known imagines a different continuity and intimacy with the universe, which in large part still exists. It exists in communities all over the region, in language and myth, and in the memories of people who know who they are and where they came from. (Cook Lynn 1996, 30)

Cook Lynn is fully aware of the fact that survival for Dakota, Lakota, Nakota people is written out of historical works such as Stegner's. This is precisely why she feels that it is essential for us to write ourselves and our stories into existence for the present and future generations of the Dakota, Lakota, Nakota peoples (Personal Conversation 1996).

In "Part Three: Who Will Tell the Stories," Cook Lynn informs her reader that "The Relationship of a Writer to the Past: Art, a Literary Principle, and the Need to Narrate," is the responsibility of Indian writers. Cook Lynn ascribes this responsibility to emancipation, something she claims Abraham Lincoln did not have in mind when it came to American Indians.

Cook Lynn, a Dakota, has personal ties to the hanging of thirty-eight men in 1862, as a result of their defense of their starving relatives in the Minnesota Uprising. From Cook Lynn's perspective,

> it is the largest mass execution in the history of America, but because the Dakotah grandmothers and those who were to become the grandmothers witnessed it. It was forever etched in their minds and it became one of the private horrors of colonialism. One of my grandmothers, Eliza Grey Cloud Renville (1857-1947), when she spoke of it at all, spoke in the tribal language of her childhood, and she called it a crime against humanity. A child witness to death, she knew all the stories, and she told her grandchildren as many as she could bear. (Cook Lynn 1996, 63)

And so Cook Lynn knows her responsibility to continue the telling of the stories. She is fully aware of her

responsibility to the present and future generations of the Dakota, Lakota, Nakota peoples. She claims that "An examination of the dichotomy between the stories that Indian America tells and the stories that White America tells is crucial to the current literary criticism wars. And who gets to tell the stories is a major issue of our time" (p64). Not only is it crucial, it is imperative that White America stop fantasizing about its past history and current relationship with American Indians.

The rest of this essay is a review of Hanta Yo (1979). Cook Lynn lays the ground work for her attack on the authenticity of this book by drawing on the expertise of such other native writers as Beatrice Medicine (Indian Historian 1979) and N. Scott Momaday (Minority Notes 1979). Cook Lynn ends the essay by drawing the conclusion that

> Perhaps those of us who have been making the argument in recent years that individual works are comprehensible only within the context of the economic, behavioral, and political forces of the culture from which they emerge are simply pleading for cultural autonomy. It is a powerful argument and a poignant plea. Thoughtful American Indian critics do not see this argument as dangerous, hostile, or as a denial of history and art. In fact, they find it is the most liberating reflection of all. (Cook-Lynn 1996, 77)

I agree with Cook Lynn. Her assessment of American literary history and the necessity for American Indian critics to take a stand politically and academically is essential in American Indian scholarship.

In "Part Four: Women's Lives," Cook Lynn asserts in her

first essay, "The American Indian Woman in the Ivory Tower," that

> Until recent decades, Native American women probably gave little thought to the idea that societal and professional status was achieved or denied on the basis of gender. Sex difference, so far as we know, was a "given" in tribal life and, often, the roles and status of the two sexes in the community seemed not to be a matter of conflict or ambiguity. Indeed, it may still seem so for many of us who recognize that more central to tribal thinking are the matters of individual choice and preference, personal dignity, privacy, industry, competence, political issues, treaty rights, litigation, and sovereignty--all significant considerations in rather egalitarian cultures developing tribalistically. (99)

Thus American Indian women have many concerns outside of who they are as women: not that they are unaware of their roles in Dakota, Lakota, Nakota societies. Indeed, they are fully aware, as is Cook Lynn, who asks

> What is an appropriate female role in modern Indian society? How do we interact with our male counterparts? our husbands? fathers? brothers? professional male colleagues? What are the consequences of acquiring educational skills, advanced degrees, and employment to our culture, to our tribes? Who will our children be? What is the role of scholarship and academic participation in native life? How many Indian women either support or deny their historical legacies and what are the personal consequences of each? Even more personally, what may Indian women and men expect of one another?
>
> All of these questions and many others are important for Indian people, and today they are especially significant for the Indian woman at the university level in the educational system, the Indian woman in the "ivory tower," so to speak. She is the woman who has become, by her own choice, a participant in the work of the academic centers of this country.
>
> The answers to these questions will come, at least in part, from the past historical experience of other native women. What a modern Indian woman

> in the 1990s is doing is very likely dependent upon what her female ancestors and relatives have done. She does not, contrary to public opinion, operate in a vacuum, and she is not without precursors. Today's native women often do not claim as their heroines those women whose virtues have been extolled by whites...Today's native women often cannot even claim each other, since they often live in isolation from any tribal connection at various universities and other job sites. (100)

Cook Lynn is clearly influenced by her ancestors. Yet the isolation that often accompanies Indian academics, has not kept her from maintaining her ties to her people and throughout the years she made many contributions to Indian America. She recently retired (1995) and now has more time to enjoy her family and to write critically about the university institutions she worked for during her tenure in academe.

The Politics of Hallowed Ground (1997) is a new book by Cook Lynn that will be out in the Fall of this year. It focuses on "politics and how the literary functions in that realm" (Personal coversation 1997). It is a collaboration with Mario Gonzalez, a lawyer of known repute whose name some readers will be familiar with. Although there is much that Cook Lynn has yet to offer the literary world she is seriously considering the probability that she will soon stop writing professionally (Personal conversation 1997).

Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve (1934-)

Virginia Sneve (3) is an enrolled member of the Rosebud Nation. She was born at Rosebud on February 21, 1934. She is the daughter of James Henry and Rose (Ross) Driving Hawk. Her father was Brule and Minneconjou. On her mother's side of the family there is some Ponca and Santee. She has one brother. Her father, like Ella Deloria's, was an Episcopalian priest. She attended a Bureau of Indian Affairs school until she was six years of age. At that point she started attending St. Mary's School for Indian Girls in Springfield, South Dakota. She reminisces that she had a good childhood; her family was poor, but she didn't really realize how much because everyone on the reservation at that time was poor. She recently retired from teaching. She is nationally known for her children's books.

She credits her teachers at St. Mary's for encouraging her to read. She says in her author profile by McElmeel (Library Talk 1994), that she found a set of Louisa May Alcott's books in a "box of books with rummage," and credits the character Jo from Little Women with inspiring her to begin writing (4).

Sneve received her Bachelor's degree in Elementary Education from South Dakota State University in 1954. She focused on History and English in that degree program. She married Vance M. Sneve in 1955. She received a Master's degree in Education from SDSU in 1969. The focus was on

Educational Psychology. She published her first children's book, Jimmy Yellow Hawk three years later in 1972.

The major question to be addressed here is: Do all Sneve's stories have major male characters? All but one, Chichi Hoohoo Boogeyman (1975) at the present time (1997). In fact, Sneve is more often writing about adolescent Lakota males rather than females. When asked why in an interview I had with her, Sneve replied: "The readers and publishers are interested in adventure stories and historical stories" (Morgan 1995, 1996). Sneve commented on the fact that in Chichi Hoohoo Boogeyman (1975), her only children's book with female protagonists, she geared the story towards an adventure in which three young cousins find a ghost. According to Sneve, "Frankly, stories other than adventure stories do not sell as far as children's books are concerned" (Morgan 1995).

Although females would not necessarily be involved in "adventure" stories in traditional Dakotapi society because females are not supposed to be outgoing in traditional society (as I mentioned earlier, it is necessary to see it through a traditional Dakotapi cultural world view, and not that of contemporary American cultural world view that may see this as sexist). In contemporary Dakotapi society, however, females do participate in such adventures and literature such as Sneve's book is important for those young girls who want to find role models in adventure stories.

How does this relate to the study of women's issues in Lakota literature, especially Lakota women's literature?. Women play major roles in her children's books, yet the main protagonists in her books are primarily male. Sneve has gained national recognition for her children's books because she is savvy enough to write for the audience that sells. She finds ways of writing positively about Indian people to a children's audience.

James Henry Yellow Hawk is the full name of the protagonist in her first book. Sneve's father's name is James Henry Driving Hawk, and in the Author's Note she mentions that the "names used in this book are actual family names of Indians on South Dakota Indian reservations" (Sneve 1972).

Jimmy Yellow Hawk (1972) is a short book of fiction centered on the main protagonist Jimmy Yellow Hawk. It received the 1971 first prize in its category from the Council on Interracial Books for Children. It provides positive role models for American Indian youth, through the characters of Miss Red Owl, Big Jim Yellow Hawk- Jimmy's father, and his grandfather. Miss Red Owl is the first American Indian teacher at the day school Little Jim attends.

> Miss Red Owl was pretty as well as friendly. She was always dressed in attractive, clean dresses and wore her hair long in the Indian way, but neatly tied back. Because she looked so nice, the children became neater and cleaner to please her. She did not insist that the children speak only

> English in school and even the shy little first graders liked school right away when she talked Sioux to them. (15)

Miss Red Owl is represented as one of the few American Indian women college graduates who has returned to the reservation to teach. She is knowledgeable of the cultural ways of the people, accepting of the children's shyness and lack of eye contact. As a member of the culture, Sneve incorporates the traditional practices of the Sioux into the daily lives of her contemporary characters. Explaining some of the problems Sioux students have had when trying to relate to non-Sioux teachers, Sneve has in only three paragraphs, informed her reader of knowledge about Lakota women that is useful and not available elsewhere. As a Lakota woman, Sneve has been educated in Lakota and non-Lakota ways. This is what makes her such a distinguished writer today.

Jimmy is called Little Jim at the beginning of the book because his father is Big Jim. He must earn his name, as did the Sioux males of the past. A tale of the boy going to the rodeo, finding a lost mare in a storm, a tribal dance contest, and trapping properly, this book shows a series of steps or events that Little Jim must go through to be referred to as "Jimmy" by his father. "My son, Jimmy trapped it!" (p75) is the statement his father voices with pride as the book comes to an end.

<u>High Elk's Treasure</u> (1972) is one of Sneve's better

works. She gives a disclaimer that all characters are fictitious except George Armstrong Custer, his brother, and the Sioux Warrior, Rain-In-The-Face. She states that the "Battle of Little Big Horn is recorded historically; but the manner of Custer's death has never been authenticated. I make no claim to any new or specific knowledge of the General's death." Joe and Howard, are two characters that represent the spectrum of Indianness that many Lakota people represent. There are many who know their heritage and are considered culturally Lakota. There are also such individuals as Howard, who even though he was raised by his own family, is less culturally knowledgeable than Joe. However, Howard's advantage is that he heard the old stories about the High Elk family from his grandfather. He represents the Indian who "returns to the blanket," (going back to living culturally Indian--this often has a negative connotation) after being separated from his own culture by his father. Surely this happened, yet it was often after World War II that men and women had to leave the reservation to find work or were participants in the Indian Relocation Program. This can be seen happening in the lives of young people as they struggle to rejuvenate their cultures.

In Dakota's Heritage (1973) Sneve gives Lakota place names to historic towns and sites in South Dakota within the context of their relationship to the Lakota. She has a chapter on women in this text (p16-18) in which she gives a

definition of Lakota terms relative to women and the derogatory reference of the word "squaw." In her words it is of:

> Algonquian origin from Squaas. It was used by white men in a derogatory sense to reflect their opinion of Indian women. The term "squaw man" was a disparaging description of a white man who had an Indian wife. The use of the word "squaw" is, therefore, offensive and not acceptable to Indian people.

Sneve is letting her readers know what the Native American position is on the use of such terms. It implies that the use of the term was widespread in the Dakotas. She describes the role of Dakota women as:

> less glamorous than that of the proud, beautifully decked out warrior. By the time a girl was eight years old she spent all of her time in female company, rarely seeing any males other than her father and brothers. However, a girl's brother was her protector and she learned her future wifely duties by making and decorating articles of clothing for him. In turn, the brother, when old enough, might bring his sister a horse from a successful raid.
>
> Women made, repaired, and moved the tipi. They butchered the buffalo and other game, dressed the hides, hauled wood and water, and cared for the children. A young girl learned to do all these things well so that she would be a good wife to a brave warrior and a good mother to his children.
>
> Polygamy was common to the Dakota; however, the first wife was not hurt or offended when her man took other wives. She welcomed them, for additional women lightened her work load, and belonging to a family of many wives indicated that the male was wealthy, a good provider, and virile.
>
> A Dakota woman did not consider her chores as drudgery. She was proud of her duties, and her uncomplaining performance of them showed that she was a "good" wife. Women were highly respected and although they had no active part in the government of the tribe, their opinion, especially [sic] that of elderly, wise women, was sought and heeded.
>
> Traditionally the Dakota women did the

> farming, for such work was degrading for a warrior. When the Dakota, particularly the strong, nomadic Teton, were confined to reservations and told to be farmers, the male suffered a total loss of self-esteem because his role as hunter, leader, and protector was completely abolished. The women adapted to reservation life much more easily. They continued with duties similar to those of the freer life, and indeed their lot was lighter with the government issue of ready-made tents and clothing, food stuffs and cooking utensils.
>
> Dakota women have been ignored by historians or they have been romanticized as "beautiful maidens" or "princesses." This view and the derogatory one of "squaw" is true in the few places in South Dakota which were named for women or after an incident concerning them. (16-7)

Sneve is making a point of discussing stereotypes from a Lakota woman's point of view.

She goes on to say that references to these women who were labeled as "bad" were often used as place names in South Dakota. She refers to "Dirty Woman Creek" where a young woman camped but never bathed along a creek. "Emma Lake" in Marshall, County is named for Emma Mahto because her lover tried to cross a frozen lake to get to her and fell through the ice. Every evening after that for many years she was seen walking along the lake calling her lover's name. "Lakota Peak" is named for a woman, Mrs. Lakota, who held a conviction that the land (Pennington County) was as much hers as the white people's in the area. Sneve recalls "she took a squatter's claim on this peak, but was removed by government officials" (17). Thus the peak is now referred to as "Lakota Peak." Sneve has several other references to places in South Dakota that were named after

Indian women originally. The Lakota names were eventually corrupted or changed altogether by the whites in the area. Sneve counters, to a certain degree, the result of such naming by providing a thorough background knowledge on the names.

In South Dakota Geographic Names (1973), Sneve gives the history behind place names in South and North Dakota. This book is a listing of town names or sites along with the history behind how the place became named. A useful text for grade school and high school teachers teaching geography in the Dakotas, this book is not well-known in American Indian literature. This work is a good example of how Sneve, as a Lakota woman writer, has done scholarly research on the history of her native state. She has also, in doing this work, established herself as a South Dakota historian. Although this work does not pertain specifically to Dakota, Lakota, Nakota women, it is a valid representation of the scholarship by this particular Lakota woman.

In the Forward to Bibliography of the Sioux (1980), Sneve reflects about her writing by saying:

> The thought occurred to me, a relative newcomer to writing about the Sioux, that all of the words had been used and there were none left for me. I was humbled and frightened. What could I write about this immense gathering of titles, authors, and words?
>
> Then from some part of me, deep within and perhaps from beyond my historic consciousness, came whispering fragments of Lakota phrases.
>
> Oyate nimkte wacin yelo. I took up my Dakota and Lakota dictionaries (included in this bibliography) to be sure of the translation: "I

> want the people to live." And, of course, that's what it's all about. That which my grandmothers preserved in the oral tradition was now permanently and forever alive in the written word. (xv)

By framing her thoughts around the honor of being asked to write a Foreword to this book, Sneve sets the tone, as an elder Lakota would. Her career is already well-established and she is humble in describing herself as a "newcomer." This is showing modesty on her part, as a Lakota woman, following traditional values, would. She credits her "ancestral memory" (See Momaday, "The Man Made of Words") and Lakota linguistics with reference to a well-known Lakota phrase, "Oyate nimkte wacin yelo," that she has translated to "I want the people to live" (xv). She further credits this ancestral memory to the oral traditions of her grandmothers (Marker 1980, xv). I found it interesting that Sneve would use a spiritual saying in Lakota for a Foreword to a bibliographic reference text. Yet, it makes total sense.

In 1974 Sneve published When Thunders Spoke, in which Norman Two Bull, "a fifteen-year-old Sioux finds a sacred stick, and unusual things begin to happen to his family." He is a third generation reservation Indian who is caught between two cultures. He believes, as his mother Sarah does, that "Today the ways of the past have been forgotten," yet he also did "things in the traditional way" as his

grandfather Matt Two Bull suggested. He "respected his grandfather too much to refuse" (p28). Sneve writes for the current and future generations of Dakotapi children and all of the children of the world.

The story focuses on the spiritual significance of Thunder Butte, long known to be the place where the thunder comes from. Norman was climbing the butte on its East side for five years. His grandfather had a dream that Norman would travel to the West side of the butte and return safely. Sarah and John, Norman's parents, objected, but the old man insisted that the dream must be carried out. Norman found a sacred coup stick on the West side of the butte and took it home. It changed with each time anyone looked at the object. Good luck started to come to Norman's family. They were poor living off the little money that his father could earn by working as a ranch hand for the tribe.

This story teaches many things to the youth. It discusses the historical fact that traders cheated Indians. It deals with stereotypes of Indians, such as stealing. The trader thinks Norman is going to steal a gun that he wants from his store, but in actuality the trader is cheating Norman out of money by only giving him candy for the agates he collected from Thunder Butte. It teaches about the clash of cultures between Christians and traditional Sioux beliefs. The coup stick is evil to Sarah and Matt sees the stick as sacred. The story teaches children that it is not

appropriate to sell sacred items. It teaches respect for things that are old. Matt and Norman return the coup stick "Back to the Earth" in the final chapter of the book.

Also published in 1974, Betrayed is her longest children's book. She dedicated the book to her mother and chose to use

> true names of the characters and places and followed as closely as possible the actual historic evidence for the incidents of this episode, which occurred in 1862. However, the author was not confined by bare historic facts and used her imagination to develop characters, dialogue, and situations. (Sneve 1974)

This is one of the things that Sneve is criticized for in her children's books. She tries to tone the history of the Minnesota Uprising of 1862 down so that it is appropriate for children. What happened in history was far more than "incidents" for those Dakotapi who still remember their past history. Sneve is also knowledgeable of history and writes to inform children and give a voice to native history and culture in children's literature. Of course children's literature should be honest and forthright but without changing history to the degree that a benign or slanted viewpoint is taken. Sneve makes the effort to do this, writing from a native woman's perspective. This book explores the experiences of non-Indian women and children who fell captive to the Sioux in the nineteenth century.

In The Chichi Hoohoo Bogeyman (1975) three female cousins are visiting their Sioux grandparents when they are

"convinced they've found the real bogeyman." This is Sneve's first and only book with female characters that are the main protagonists. Sneve combined Lakota, Hopi, and American cultures to show differences between them and to respect different cultural world views. The idea for the book was inspired by Sneve's cousin who is married to a Hopi. The words in the title, chichi and hoohoo, are Lakota and Hopi, respectively. Chichi (Sneve's spelling), is the Lakota word used to tell children that the Chichi (ghost) is going to come and get them if they do not mind. Hoohoo is a Hopi word. It is actually a nickname for the Kachina that that checks on children to make sure they are behaving. It also means "long stick" in Hopi (Personal Conversation 1996). A belief in ghosts and acceptance of difference is the prevailing theme in this text. It focuses primarily on the biracial relations among female cousins. It is shown in a positive sense:

> Tell us what's so funny," Mary Jo begged. Cindy was now so carried away that she couldn't even keep her feet on the ground, and Mary Jo thought for sure she would fall off the chair.
>
> Finally she said breathlessly, "I'm all Sioux so I just have a Chichi to be scared of. But you," she giggled pointing to Mary Jo, "are half white and half Sioux so you have a Chichi bogeyman. And Lori," she said through twitching lips, "has a Chichi Hoohoo." Then she was so overcome with her own wit that she fell off the bench and lay laughing beside the baby who promptly crawled onto her stomach. (21)

This is Lakota humor as seen through the eyes of a child. Sneve gives the audience (children) a look inside the Lakota

mind. This story teaches respect of others, respect of your elders, and respect of cousins when interacting with one another. It also teaches parents to listen to their children. When asked about why she included female protagonists in an adventure story, she commented: "I try to tell a story, rather than dry facts. This is difficult to do given the space restraints required in children's books" (Morgan 1995).

This book represents the first children's book that Sneve devotes to focusing on young girls. It represents a refeminization of Dakotapi literature from the perspective of a woman.

In 3 Lakota Grandmother Stories (1975) Sneve compiled a short work consisting of three health lessons for young people. In these stories written for children, Lakota humor and cultural world view can be found. All children can enjoy these books, yet Lakota children can read them and find protagonists that are from the same background as them. The values of the Lakota are in this children's literature book. The stories are short and generally consistent with the attention spans of young children. In each of the stories a Lakota grandmother is present. This would also be consistent with the fact that the grandmothers were usually the ones to teach such lessons in the traditional culture. It is geared towards children just entering grade school, yet can be used for students through grade three.

It also represents a refeminization of the literature by Sneve. Also reinforced is that positive roles for grandparents are a central part of the Dakotapi cultural world view.

When asked about criticism of her work, Sneve replied: "Negative criticism has focused on the stories being too brief, the length of elaboration on historical events were too brief, and these constraints are age and space related." She laughingly replied that she had to include a lot of modifiers to complete the works with the age and space constraints (Morgan 1995).

When asked "Why do you think there are so many Lakota women writers?," she replied: "For me, it is a transition from the storytelling tradition to the telling through writing."

They Led a Nation (1975) is a compilation of historical information on several Sioux leaders. Sneve gives a diagram of the Dakota, Lakota, and Nakota Nations in which she lists the Sicangu as the first tribe of the Lakota Nation. This is a personal decision on her part. Most Lakota and historians agree that the Oglala are the first major offshoot from the parent Dakota group. Sneve does however list the Sicangu first in all other publications where she provides a diagram of the representative groups of the Dakota, Lakota, and Nakota.

Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve has provided another

woman's version of the story in A Common Land, A Diverse People (1987). In her essay, "Women of the Circle," she asserts that the circle is at the center of American Indian theology. It is the most sacred form in nature. However, she argues that something was left out, "a vital part has been ignored--the women of the circle" (Sneve 1987, 130). As Ella Deloria did before her, Sneve listened to the elders speak, recording a version of the White Buffalo Calf woman story from a woman's point of view. It is as follows:

> They say that somewhere over by the Pipestone Quarries, the people gathered to pray to Wakantanka. Two young men were sent out to hunt. They walked along--they didn't have horses yet--until there was a bright light, or something, in front of them so that they had to stop. Their eyes got used to the bright light; they saw a beautiful girl all dressed in white.
>
> "I am from the Buffalo People, H she said. "They sent me to talk to your people. I want you to go tell them that I will come to see them."
>
> She was so pretty that one of the young men didn't listen well to what she was saying.
>
> "Tell your people to have a council tipi ready for me," she told them. She told them how to set it up.
>
> The young man who thought she was so pretty was not listening because he had bad thoughts about her. He tried to grab her. "Don't!" the other man young man yelled, but too late.
>
> There was a crash of thunder, and a big cloud came over the bad man and the pretty girl. When it cleared away, the bad man was only a skeleton on the ground. Ever after the White Buffalo Calf Woman protects girls from bad men (Hassrick 20).
>
> The other young man was afraid, but the woman told him that because he did not have bad thoughts, he would be all right. So he went back to his village and told the people all that had happened and what the woman told them to do. The people were all excited. They got everything ready.
>
> Then she came from the east with the sunrise, all dressed in white and so beautiful. In her

hands she carried a pipe. She walked to the tipi. Its door opened to the east (which is why they are always set up that way). She walked in and turned to the left (which is why that is the women's side). She sat down with her legs placed to her right side and tucked her feet in (which is why women sit that way). When she talked everyone understood her, but the women noticed that some of the words she used were different from the way the men spoke (which is why women have a special way to talk).

She told the people about Wakantanka. She said that she was the people's sister and that she had brought them a sacred pipe. The pipe was for peace and not for war.

She talked to the women. "My sisters," she called them, "you have hard things to do in your life. You have pain when you have babies and it's hard to raise children. But you are important, because without you there wouldn't be any people. So you will have babies for your husband. You will feed your man and children; you will make their clothes; you will make the tipis. You will be good wives."

Then she spoke to the girls who weren't married. "You will be pure until you get married. Then you will always be faithful to your husband."

Then she talked to the men. "My brothers," she called them. "You must have good thoughts about girls so that they will be pure when they get married. When you take wives, you will be kind to all of them" (because she said "wives" the men could have more than one). She told them to be good to the children and to all the old people (which is why there were no orphans and all the old people where [sic] taken care of and respected).

She stayed with the people about four days and taught them how to use the pipe for healing and in seven sacred ceremonies. She left, walking to the east. She turned into a white buffalo calf (which is why nobody kills a white buffalo calf). (Sneve 1987, 130-2)

Sneve succinctly established that the story is central to the kinship system of the Dakota, Lakota, and Nakota. She points to this story as the origination of the kinship systems and the establishment of the traditional roles of

women. White Buffalo Calf Woman spoke another language in Sneve's version, yet the language is somewhat intelligible, as the women in the story notice, giving rise to the slight, yet significant distinctions between women's and men's language.

This version of the White Buffalo Calf Woman story is woman-centered, unlike versions of the story transcribed and translated by most males. There are, however, similarities between Sneve's and LaPointe's version (1976). Being woman-centered, Sneve's version focuses on the reasons why Sioux culture placed such importance on marriage, chastity, fidelity, and non-violence towards women and children. At the same time, it also teaches women that traditional males can take more than one wife (if they can provide for all of them) and that the elderly were active members and influential leaders in traditional society. Much can be learned by contemporary Sioux people by looking back to the oral stories.

"Story Tellers" is a poem of Sneve's which first appeared in the Plainswoman. At the time she was teaching at Flandreau Indian School in Flandreau, South Dakota. The poem titled "Kunsi" translates to the Lakota word for grandmother on an individual's father's side of the family. Most people who are not fluent in Lakota do not know this paternal word for "grandmother." As teachers, thus reinforcers of traditions and values, women know that it is important to

teach the young:

> Kunsi, great grandmother in her hard chair,
> hands busy at her cross stitch.
> We, at her feet, reluctantly
> needlepointing crooked crosses.
> Rocker creaking to Kunsi's stern
> command to remember Minnesota exiles
> starving, dying, and surviving Crow Creek
> to live again at Santee.
> History she told, but thoughtless
> children wanted to be entertained. (Sneve 14)

It is important to learn the old traditions and the contemporary ones. A teacher, Sneve knows that there is a need to reinforce kinship from both tiyospaye's of both parents.

In the second stanza, the word "Unci" is Lakota for grandmother on the maternal side of the family. This word is familiar to most Lakota raised culturally Lakota:

> Unci, seated on the Rosebud plain,
> tossed sage, smothering supper's flame
> to acrid smudge meeting the stars,
> stinging drowsy eyes, it drew away mosquitoes.
> Unci told evening stories
> weaving Lakota into English.
> Words painting pictures on eager minds,
> her hands counterpoint
> to Iktomi's tricks, turtle's wisdom.
> We laughed as we learned. (Sneve 14)

The descriptions of these grandmothers are more than just a source of information on Lakota kinship. This poem is autobiographical. Sneve uses a basic two stanza structure to describe her own grandmothers. In doing so, there is a clear picture of a "stern" grandmother on her father's side of the family, who stresses the importance of remembering history, possibly so that it will not be repeated. This grandmother

is influenced by her non-Indian cultural upbringing.

Sneve's unci was a storytelling grandmother, the children laughing as they learned. Much can be inferred from this poem. Reinforcement of one's own history, culture and language is found in this teacher's poem.

Sneve's latest book, Completing The Circle (1995), started out as a novel. While at a seminar in Sioux Falls, South Dakota at Augustana College she presented a paper on the Dakotapi. A concern with the citing of sources and her own personal knowledge on the subject led her to change the novel to a non-fiction work rather than a novel on how her mother and father came to marry. She worked to give credibility to written sources through her own personal knowledge about Dakotapi history. She also wanted to give more credibility to the lives of women by writing about Dakotapi women from a Lakota woman's perspective. Whereas her paper that she had presented at the seminar had relied on fur-trade and missionary reports, she continued to do research and became more interested in doing her own families story in relationship to women. She characterizes the women from her family as "amazing women" (Personal Conversation 1996). Sneve likes to "entertain and educate at the same time" (Personal Conversation 1996). She rewrote the book several times before it was sent to the publisher. The book won the 1992 Native American Prose Award.

In Completing The Circle, Sneve describes what she sees

as an analogy between the sewing of a star quilt and the various experiences women have in their lives.

> Just as the diamond pieces are joined, so is my life bound to the lives of my mother and grandmothers. I knew some of the pieces of their lives, yet I yearned to know more to join them into a whole." The yearning became a purpose. Sneve searched for photographs and family records and interviewed relatives, only to discover to her grief huge gaps in the family memory about its women. This book is her loving effort to restore missing parts of history. (Sneve 1995)

Many American Indian women do not know how their lives are stitched together through history. Many struggle to survive in a world where they will never be able to retrace their foremother's lives. Sneve's writings give American Indian women of any tribe a place to begin to understand and believe the complexities of their lives as American Indians.

In Completing The Circle (1995), Sneve gives the literary world a description of a Lakota woman's family history that is similar to The Names (1976) by N. Scott Momaday. In writing of her female ancestors, Sneve writes, "but they did not write their stories--they told them to their grandchildren. Some of what they said can be found in written sources; some of it is only in the memory of the people" (xvi). The reason for this is that it was seen as unbecoming for a Lakota woman to bring recognition to herself. As Sneve so succinctly puts it, even

> To this day, I am uncomfortable with being publicly recognized for my accomplishments. If recognition was given to a woman, it was given to her whole family, so it was important that she conduct herself so as never to bring shame on

> herself and thereby on her family. I have received an invaluable legacy from the diverse cultural elements of my family, and this has been the theme of my work. Were it not for the support of my family, I would never have tried to publish what I had written. (Sneve 1995, 104)

This is the sentiment of many Lakota women. Those who violated the traditional roles of women either were not aware of their roles, or they have strayed from their cultural upbringing. Sneve's writings help to reinforce what Lakota women know to be true: that it is the responsibility of women to teach about the roles as they existed in oral history, and as they exist today.

Virginia Sneve is an individual Lakota woman, who in her writing, illuminates the importance of Dakotapi women's literature. By researching and writing about her own perspective on women, she created a place for the survival of women's traditions through the written word. Just as the other women writers in this dissertation did, Sneve combined her personal and professional beliefs in a effort to describe her own culture from an emic perspective. The place she takes among well-known Dakotapi women writers is solidified in the publication of Completing The Circle (1995).

Sneve is currently doing a lot of travelling, giving lectures, and enjoying time with her husband now that she has entered retirement. The Sneve's also run a Bed and Breakfast and spend time with their grandchildren as much as possible.

Each of these women contributed to the refeminization of Dakotapi literature. They made efforts throughout their careers to acknowledge and write about the roles of Dakotapi women. Each woman was influenced by the five variables discussed. The cultural upbringing of each of these women influenced her writing. Now in retirement, they have an opportunity to continue to write from their varying viewpoints.

NOTES

1. Lisa (Bataille 1993, 170-1) lists Beatrice Medicine as being born in 1924. I am using the Don Doll Jr. source because the information he obtained came directly from the individuals he writes about in the book. In his book, Vision Quest (1994), Doll lists Bea Medicine's Lakota name as "Hinsha Waste Agli Ohetica Win, translated as "Courageous Woman Returns With A Sorrel Horse" (p40).

2. The other founding editors were William Willard and Roger Buffalohead. Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, of course is the primary founding editor and continues to edit the journal (Wicazo Sa Review). It is a bi-annual Journal of Native American Studies. The first volume was published in 1985. It was first published by with assistance from the Native Studies programs at Eastern Washington University at Cheney, the University of California at Davis, and the Association of American Indian Research (AAIR) in Rapid City, South Dakota.

3. Virginia now goes by her married name only, Sneve.

4. The cover design of this volume and Then Badger Said This have been done by Sam and Virginia Leader Charge. They drew geometric designs representative of symbolic values traditional to the Dakota. Sonny Tuttle also collaborated on the design cover to Then Badger Said This.

5. There are seventy-seven boxes of manuscripts and materials. Campbell did a lot of work on Sitting Bull and his consultants were primarily male. But he did have a few female consultants. In Box # 101- there are some references to women, i.e. chasing others' wives. In the Miscellaneous MSS portions of a book in that box, pp.58, 59 and 593, there is data. There is also information on White Buffalo Maiden in Box # 74, folder 2.

Continuation of Women's Traditions

> Let us look into our own lives and rekindle the richness and strength of our culture to pass on to our children. To strengthen our young is to strengthen the future of our tribe. (Wynde 1981, 155)

The emergence of so many Dakotapi women authors is evidence of the continuation of a literary tradition of Dakotapi women authors. Women such as Susan Power, Mary Crow Dog (1), Barbara Means Adams, Betty Jean Eadie, and many other Dakotapi women (2) share a distinct knowledge of their responsibilities to their relatives. By writing and publishing the stories of their lives, these women present yet another generation of Sioux women's literature. These women's lives are considerably different from the lives that our foremothers led. This is indisputable. Yet, each of these women is a Dakotapi woman. They are shaped by their families' religious, cultural, and linguistic upbringing. Their lives are disparate from those of their distant relatives, yet there are common themes of enduring the joys and hardships of what it means to be a Dakotapi woman living in America. The women writers in this Chapter often masculinize the literature more than their elders. This is a result of their upbringing and the requirements demanded by publishers. The only writer of this generation that is consciously writing to refeminize the literature is Susan Power. She is the only one who is an academic and the only one that did not experience near-death.

Betty Jean Eadie (1942-)

"According to Ella Deloria, people all too often assume that Indians had only a Christian veneer and that their religious beliefs were only superficial. Nothing could be more false. Dakotas are a spiritual people who are serious about their religion" (Murray 1974, 63). Betty Jean Eadie is a good example of a Christian Lakota woman. The word religion means many different things, depending on who you ask. For a traditional Lakota woman such as Laura Ziegler, a Brule from Lower Brule reservation in South Dakota, it means:

> I want to be a good Christian. I want to be it all the way through because I do my Christian rights. I feed many people. If there's children come and ask me for something to eat, I gave them sometime and went without myself. But I've never broadcasted it or anything, because I don't think when you do something good you should do that. I always figure you get it back in some other ways... (Katz 1977, 104)

Born in 1890, the same year as my grandmother, Ziegler was a school teacher and a member of the Indian Rights Association (Katz 1977). As a traditional Lakota woman, she expressed her desires to be generous, giving what she had to the "takojapi," (grandchildren). For Ziegler, being a giving person is an integral part of being a traditional Lakota and a Christian. In fact, for her, they are one and the same. She was raised during a time when these two cultural world views were melded into the lives of many until it is hard to distinguish them from one another.

As a contemporary American Indian woman, Betty J. Eadie finds a way to express her notions of what spirituality and religion are in Embraced By the Light (1992). After two near-death experiences, she no longer questioned her belief in God, as she always did before. Prior to these experiences she was in constant fear of "Judgement Day."

Eadie claims that her mother "was a full-blooded Sioux Indian" (p3). That would make Eadie half Indian. After her parents separated, her mother went back to the reservation where Betty and her siblings, "At that time, six of us children were sent to a Catholic Boarding school" (Eadie 3). At this school Eadie fell sick with whooping cough and double pneumonia. This was the first time she experienced near-death. After the doctor pronounced her dead he pulled the covers over her head. The room loomed large and bright when she became aware of a presence in the room that was a "man with a beautiful white beard looking at me. His beard fascinated me. It seemed to sparkle with a bright light, a light that came from within the beard" (Eadie 5). Biased throughout with religious terminology and belief, Eadie's book described her boarding school experience:

> I can still remember details of that first school building with its gigantic brick walls and dark, cold rooms. A chain-link fence separated the boys' dormitory from the girls', and another fence ran along the perimeter of the school. We were locked in from the world, and away from each other. I still remember that first morning when my brothers were ushered to one building while my sisters and I were led to another. I'll never forget the fear in their eyes as they looked back

> at us one last time. I thought my heart would break. (7)

This is a good description of entrance into boarding school, and she feared the "chosen servants" of God, and she feared God because of her early experiences, and hoped "This boarding-school god was a being I hoped never to meet" (Eadie 9). Yet Eadie attended the "Brainard Indian Training School [and] it was run by Wesleyan Methodists" (Eadie 10). Why does she mention that it was a Catholic school on page three and that it was run by Methodists on page ten? It may be that her recollections were mistaken. She described the well-known treatment of Indians common at boarding school, and how children would be deloused and their hair cut immediately (p7). She does not tell of physical abuse to the same degree as others' descriptions of the boarding school experience. In fact, she described it superficially. She goes back and forth between her boarding school experience and her near-death experiences as an adult. There is a clear masculinization represented in this book. As mentioned earlier, I equate masculinization with Christianization.

Eadie, as an Indian woman, holds a belief common among us, that: "My family was life itself to me, and being away from them scared me, hurt me" (p14). Not being as close to her own family and siblings as she would have liked,

> I had always thought that my husband and children would eventually replace the family I had missed in my childhood. I had promised myself that when

> I married and began my own family that they would be my prime interest and my refuge. I promised myself that I would love my husband and remain with him through thick and thin, and that our children would always be able to count on us being together. (14-5)

She spent most of her childhood with her father, but at the age of fifteen she was sent to live with her mother. "My mother found also that she needed a babysitter while she worked full time. So, I was taken out of school and stayed at home to care for my youngest sister..." (p15). This is common among Dakotapi families even today. When children become old enough to take care of siblings, they are expected to take on the role of caring for their younger brothers and sisters, so that the parents can work. Eadie is somewhat resentful of this.

Betty J. Eadie was married at the age of sixteen and the marriage only lasted for six years (p16). Her first four children are from her first marriage. Her first two children are Donna and Cheryl, and the last two from the first marriage are Glen and Cynthia. Cynthia died at the age of three months from SIDS (Sudden Infant Death Syndrome). Her second marriage to Joe was a commitment to one another for the sake of the family. Her marriage to Joe has produced two boys, Joseph Jr. and Stewart Jeffery. She gave birth to six children in all.

In prefacing the description of her near-death experiences, Eadie says of her family:

We were living in a dream come true. We had a new

> car and a new house complete with airconditioning. The kids had plenty of clothes, and I was able to stay home and care for them. I truly felt blessed. The security and joy I felt now seemed an eternity away from the boarding schools and loneliness of my childhood and broken marriage. But still, I knew that something was missing. (17-18)

This is not the typical description of livelihood by contemporary Dakotapi women today. They struggle to survive in marriages where both incomes still place the family beneath the poverty line. Eadie knew that she was fortunate:

> I suddenly thought of my husband and children and was worried as to how my death would affect them...After so many years of waiting for a family, of working to keep my family together, I was afraid that now I would lose them. Or, perhaps, I was afraid that they would lose me. (33)

In her near-death experiences, Eadie claimed to meet God. She says:

> I felt his light blending into mine, literally, and I felt my light being drawn to his. It was as if there were two lamps in a room, both shining, their light merging together. It's hard to tell where one light ends and the other begins; they just become one light. (41)

In fact, she claimed that she spoke directly with God:

> Each of us, I was told, is at a different level of spiritual development and understanding. Each person is therefore prepared for a different level of spiritual knowledge. All religions upon the earth are necessary because there are people who need what they teach. (45)

Although many would consider this far-fetched at best, I will argue that the content of this passage connotes the very essence of what it means to be a contemporary Christian

Lakota.

Eadie claimed that she always believed that God and Jesus Christ were one single being because of her "Protestant upbringing" (Eadie 47). With the near-death experience she learned that:

> All people as spirits in the pre-mortal world took part in the creation of the earth. We were thrilled to be part of it. We were with God, and we knew that he created us, that we were his very own children. He was pleased with our development and was filled with absolute love for each one of us. Also, Jesus Christ was there. I understood, to my surprise, that Jesus was a separate being from God, with his own divine purpose, and I knew that God was our mutual Father. (47)

Although there are only three places women are mentioned in this book, women do play crucial parts in her near-death experience. Eadie used language that a traditional Dakotapi woman influenced by Christianity would.

But then she goes to the other extreme and her language usage more closely resembled someone who is not Indian at all. Upon watching the earth being created, Eadie claims:

> I distinctly remember watching the American pioneers crossing the continent and rejoicing as they endured their difficult tasks and completed their missions. I knew that only those who needed that experience were placed there. I saw the angels rejoicing for those who endured their trials and succeeded and grieving for those who failed. I saw that some failed because of the weaknesses of others. I sensed that many of us who were not there would not have been up to the tasks, that we would have made lousy pioneers, and we would have been the cause of more suffering for others. Likewise, some of the pioneers and people from other eras could not have endured the trials of today. We are where we need to be. (52-3)

Eadie, at this point in the book, feels reassured, and her

belief in God is reinforced:

> Now I knew that there actually was a God. No longer did I believe in just a Universal Power, but now I saw the Man behind that Power. I saw a loving Being who created the universe and placed all knowledge within it. I saw that he governs this knowledge and controls its power. I understood with pure knowledge that God wants us to become as he is, and that he has invested us with god-like qualities, such as the power of imagination and creation, free will, intelligence, and most of all, the power to love. I understood that he actually <u>wants</u> us to draw on the powers of heaven, and that by <u>believing</u> that we are capable of doing so, we can. (61)

She claimed that God informed her of "two major energy forces in the universe" (p62), and that we possess the "power to draw on the negative and positive energies" (p63), that there must be a balance of these energies by "move[ing] ourselves away from self and begin[ning] to concentrate on the needs of others and how to serve them" (p63). This sounds quite similar to a traditional Dakotapi world view. Then she switches to a strictly Christian viewpoint on the very next page (p64).

Eadie stresses that "Our thoughts have tremendous power" (p71). At this point in the autobiography, Eadie says that

> Still surrounded by light, Jesus smiled at me, and I felt his approval. He turned to his left and introduced me to two women who had just appeared. A third woman also appeared briefly behind them, but she appeared to be on an errand and only stopped to visit for a moment. Jesus instructed the first two women to escort me, and I felt their happiness at being with me. As I looked at them, I remembered them; they were my friends! They had been two of my close friends before I came to earth, and their excitement at being with

me again was as great as my own. (73)

You get the sense that she came full-circle in her life. "Again, I understood that all things of importance are created spiritually first and physically second. I had no idea of this before" (p76). She reconnected her physical body to her soul in these near-death experiences. She also claimed that she was taken to the "library of the mind" (p76). Her modern day "vision" is described in her explanation that

> each part of the plant, each microscopic part, is made up of its own intelligence. This is the best word I can use to define it. Every minute part is filled with its own life and can be reorganized with other elements to create anything in existence. The same element that now resides in a flower may later be part of something else-and just as alive. It doesn't have a spirit as we do, but it has intelligence and organization and can react to the will of God and other universal laws. All of this is evident as you see creation there, and particularly evident in the flowers. (79)

This notion that life and intelligence are common to all things, is also discussed in Fools Crow (Mails 1979 and 1990) and Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions (Erdoes 1972). It is a central belief in traditional Dakotapi theology that life exists in everything. It is at the core of the spiritual base of the people. Now we have an example by a woman, if Eadie's book holds up to the scrutiny of her people. These other two books are well-accepted by the Lakota people. Eadie's book could someday also be well-accepted by the people. However, it is highly unlikely. Fools Crow and Lame Deer were well-accepted by their people.

Many of the people probably do not know of Betty Jean Eadie and her best selling book. Eadie is often preoccupied with her religion and did not speak very positively of her people. The book oftentimes sounds New Ageist, as when Eadie says she:

> could actually see it growing. As it developed before my eyes, my spirit was moved, and I wanted to experience its life, to step into it and feel its spirit. As this thought came to me, I seemed to be able to see down into it. It was as though my vision had become microscopic and allowed me to penetrate the rose's deepest parts. But it was much more than a visual experience. I felt the rose's presence around me, as if I were actually inside and part of the flower. I experienced it as if I <u>were</u> the flower. I felt the rose swaying to the music of all the other flowers, and I felt it creating its own music, a melody that perfectly harmonized with the thousands of other roses joining it. I understood that the music in my flower came from its individual parts, that its intelligence within that petal was adding to its perfect notes, each working harmoniously for the overall effect-which was joy. My joy was absolutely full again! I felt God in the plant, in me, his love pouring into us. We were all one! (81)

Then again, it often sounds Christian Lakota. These are specifically traditional Christian Lakota beliefs. Eadie goes on to say:

> At the time of death, we are given the choice to remain on this earth until our bodies are buried or to move on, as I did, to the level to which our spirits had grown. I understood that there are many levels of development, and we will always go to that level where we are most comfortable. Most spirits choose to remain on earth for a short time and comfort their loved ones; families are subject to much more grief than the departed one. Sometimes the spirits will remain longer if the loved ones are in despair. They remain to help the loved ones' spirits heal. (83-4)

This is quite similar to the "Keeping of the Ghost" rite by Dakotapi people. Closer to a strictly Christian belief is the knowledge that:

> there is none more essential than knowing Jesus Christ. I was told that he is the door through which we will all return. Whether we learn of Jesus Christ here or while in the spirit, we must eventually accept him and surrender to his love. (85)

While this statement is coherent, the following one is farfetched: "I understood now that while I was on earth, Satan had used these negative tones in music which actually produced illness in my mind and body" (p87). Eadie

> saw galaxies and traveled to them with ease and almost instantaneous speed, visiting their worlds and meeting more children of our God, all of them our spiritual brothers and sisters. And all of this was a remembering, a reawakening. I knew that I had been to these places before. (88)

The interesting thing to note is the similarity between Eadie's book and Nicholas Black Elk's vision. In both individual's visions, they both travel to the far reaches of the universe. Eadie to different galaxies and Black Elk to visit the grandfathers. Eadie's book is also reminiscent of some of the works in Hobson's The Remembered Earth (1979) but his book is a well-accepted anthology of Native American literature where he proposes themes of remembrance and renewal for literary purposes. Is it so hard to accept that a contemporary Dakotapi woman could have a profound experience, such as what she claimed to have had? Some accept the notion that Black Elk traveled the world by

leaving his body. Is it not possible that this contemporary Dakotapi woman also has a lesson to teach the world? Eadie describes the various "types" of

> angels, including a type called "Warring Angels." It was shown to me that their purpose is to do battle for us against Satan and his angels...I saw that they are giant men, very muscularly built, with a wonderful countenance about them. They are magnificent spirits. I understood simply by looking at them that to struggle against them would be an act of futility. They were actually dressed like warriors, in head dress and armor, and I saw that they moved more swiftly than other angels. But perhaps what set them apart more than anything was their aura of confidence; they were absolutely sure of their abilities. (90-1)

This book stayed on the New York Times bestseller list for several weeks. Someone was impressed with the extent to which she learned "directly" from God. I have a hard time accepting her story. I am not Christian. I do believe that she had a profound experience and that we can gain much from reading about the life of one individual Lakota woman.

Again Eadie sounds farfetched at times when she described how she

> understood that memories would be contained in the cells of our new bodies. This was an idea that was completely new to me. I learned that all thoughts and experiences in our lives are recorded in our subconscious minds. They are also recorded in our cells, so that, not only is each cell imprinted with a genetic coding, it is also imprinted with every experience we have ever had. Further, I understood that these memories are passed down through the genetic coding to our children. These memories then account for many of the passed on traits in families, such as addictive tendencies, fears, strengths, and so on. I also learned that we do not have repeated lives on this earth; when we seem to "remember" a past life, we are actually recalling memories contained

in the cells. (93)

This passage points directly to the "racial memory" as described by N. Scott Momaday in "The Man Made of Words" (Hobson 1979). As we map out the mind and the genetic code (Human Genome Project), specific claims are made that this is fact, while others will say it is fictitious. What is important, is that we remember who we are as Dakotapi, as human beings.

Eadie supports a notion found in several American Indian cultures that:

> spirits can choose to enter their mother's body at any stage of her pregnancy. Once there, they immediately begin experiencing mortality. Abortion, I was told, is contrary to that which is natural. The spirit coming into the body feels a sense of rejection and sorrow. It knows that the body was to be his, whether it was conceived out of wedlock or was handicapped or was only strong enough to live a few hours. But the spirit also feels compassion for its mother, knowing that she made a decision based on the knowledge she had. (95)

The notion of abortion is frowned on in many native cultures today. As we struggle to survive, ideally, I would hope that there would be a place for every American Indian child. But, as we know, teen pregnancy and single parent households are all too common in native communities. There is a lack of parenting skills and knowledge on the part of many of these young mothers. Traditionally, this problem was dealt with in ways that diminished the opportunity for a child to grow up with no tiyospaye. In fact, it was unheard of in traditional culture to not be related to anyone.

Echoing the voice of Laura Ziegler, Eadie knows that "Our strength will be found in our charity" (p102). If we do not give to our fellow human being, there will be no redemption.

Upon further consulting with God, Eadie was told that:

> there is no greater prayer than that of a mother for her children. These are the purest prayers because of their intense desire and, at times, sense of desperation. A mother has the ability to give her heart to her children and to implore mightily before God for them. (104)

This passage is reminiscent of Ella Deloria's Waterlily (1988), in which Blue Bird cared dearly for her daughter Waterlily, worrying for her safety, and knowing that it is difficult to be a Dakota.

Eadie, as a woman, reflected back on her near-death experience, realizing:

> One thing struck me almost immediately; there were twelve men here-men-but no women. As a rather independent thinker on earth, I was sensitive to the roles of women in the world. I was concerned about their equality and fair treatment and had very strong opinions as to their ability to compete with men on an equal footing in most settings. I might have reacted unfavorably to this council of men and no women, but I was learning to have a new perspective about the different roles of men and women. This understanding had begun earlier while viewing the creation of the earth. I was shown that Adam was more satisfied with his condition in the Garden and that Eve was more restless. I was shown that she wanted to become a mother desperately enough that she was willing to risk death to obtain it. Eve did not "fall" to temptation as much as she made a conscious decision to bring about conditions necessary for her progression, and her initiative was used to finally get Adam to partake of the fruit. In their partaking of the fruit, then, they brought mankind to mortality, which

> gave us conditions necessary for having children-but also to die.
>
> I saw the Spirit of God resting upon Eve, and I understood that the role of women would always be unique in the world. I saw that the emotional structure of women allowed them to be more responsive to love and to allow the Spirit of God to rest upon them more fully. I understood that their roles as mothers literally gave them a special relationship to God as creators.
>
> I also understood the peril women faced from Satan. I saw that he would use the same process of temptation in the world that had been used in the Garden. He would try to destroy families, and therefore humanity, by tempting women. This unsettled me, but I knew it was true. His plan seemed obvious. He would attack women through their restlessness, using the strength of their emotions-the same emotions that gave Eve power to move when Adam was too satisfied with his situation. I understood that he would attack the relationship between husband and wife, distancing them from each other, using the attractions of sex and greed to destroy their home. I saw that children would be damaged by broken homes and that women would then be weighed down with fear and perhaps guilt-guilt as they saw their families fall apart, and fear for the future. Satan could then use fear and guilt to destroy women and their divinely appointed purpose on earth. I was told that once Satan had the women, the men would easily follow. So, I began to see the difference in the roles between men and women, and I understood the necessity and beauty of those roles. (109-11)

This passage certainly should not sit well with feminists. Eadie claimed earlier in the book to be a feminist. Yet, she is being extremely sexist and buying into the outdated Christian notion that women are essentially wicked. According to her, they cannot refuse temptation. This to me is unfounded and illogical. Again, I see a clear representation of a masculinization of the literature by Eadie.

In a passage, again, similar to those found in Fools Crow and Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions, Eadie claims: "You needed the negative as well as the positive experiences on earth. Before you can feel joy, you must know sorrow" (p114). Her mission was revealed to her after she threw a temper tantrum and then it was erased from her memory after she returned to earth (p116).

In the following passage Eadie sees herself as a child in her vision:

> A beautiful little girl came into the room. She was only two or three years old and was the only child that I had seen in the spirit. A golden halo of light emanated from her, glowing in the room wherever she walked. She seemed quite attracted to Joe, and while the doctors and nurses were out of the room for a moment I asked him if he could see her. He couldn't. She had the grace of a ballerina, walking almost on the tips of her toes and performing little gestures, as though she were dancing. I was struck immediately by her spontaneity and happiness. She went to Joe and stood on the toe of his shoe. She balanced on one foot and kicked her other leg up behind her like a ballerina might, and leaned forward to reach into his pants pocket. I was mesmerized by this movement. I asked her what she was doing. She turned and laughed, smiling in an impish way, and I knew that she had heard me. But she didn't reply. I sensed her inner joy, the pure, exuberant happiness that filled her inside. She then faded from my view and never reappeared, but I knew I would never forget her. (129-30)

Obviously, Eadie experienced quite a bit of trauma from the separation of her family when she was a child. In reminiscing about her vision, she found that she "was discovering that it was difficult for me to talk about my journey beyond, and it wasn't long before I didn't even want

to share more of it with Joe. Talking seemed to dilute it. The experience was sacred" (p130). It is sacrilegious to discuss one's visions, except with a pejuta wicasa (medicine man), in traditional Dakotapi spirituality. Eadie sensed this as she decided not to tell any more of that particular part of her story verbally. Yet she writes an entire book about the rest of her experiences. Because the book is a story about her life experiences, her two near death experiences, it is not unusual that it became such a hit with the public readership. It is also because she is Indian that her book became so popular. This kind of writing is quite popular. In writing about another part of her near-death experience, Eadie tells us:

> there were complications that night; they had lost me for a while but had felt that it was best not to mention anything to me. Then he went on to explain what had happened. I had hemorrhaged during the operation, and it appeared that the hemorrhage occurred again later that night. At the time of my death, I had been left alone during the nurses' shift change, and because I was unattended, they didn't know exactly how long I had been dead. The doctor and nurses worked on me, giving me an injection, more medication, and I.V.s through the rest of the morning. (133-4)

In her vision, Eadie met a little girl. In real life, Joe and Betty Eadie adopted an abused child, and at:

> two and a half, she had fully recovered both physically and emotionally. She became once again the most darling and playful child in the house, surprising us constantly with her quick sense of humor. One afternoon she ran over to Joe. As an impish smile came to her face, she stood up on the toe of his shoe, threw her other foot up behind her, and balancing like a ballerina reached up to dig into the pocket of his slacks. A chill ran

> through me as memories flooded back. Little Betty laughed, and I heard the voice of a little girl years before, a little girl who had kept us company in a hospital room when heaven and earth seemed one. Then I saw and understood more. A vision of a young woman came back to me, a memory of a beautiful and energetic spirit who had once been waiting to come to earth. I remembered her as the young spirit with whom I shared a bond in a previous time, the one spirit world whose loveliness and energy captivated me. I wanted to cry as everything about this precious angel came together. I had been allowed to see her as a child in the spirit. Now I knew why I had been shown her as an adult spirit ready to come to earth. I knew also that while she could not be born to me because of my hysterectomy, she had found another way to become a part of my life. And now I knew why I had been compelled to take her as a baby. We were closest of friends forever, eternities of experiences behind us, and eternities ahead. (145-6)

Betty Jean Eadie's story appeared on a segment of 20/20 (ABC). It is also available on audiocassette. She chose to tell her story after she reached the age where it would be appropriate to do so (3). Because it is a Christian story, told by a woman, this book is clearly not going to stimulate as much interest as the stories of traditional Lakota males who have similar visions.

Barbara Means Adams (1948-)

Barbara Means Adams has published Prayers of Smoke: Renewing Makaha Tribal Tradition (1990). Written in first person this is an autobiographical text. Adams uses Lakota words and ideology to show how Lakotas relate to the rest of the universe. A contemporary Lakota woman, Adams' work reveals many interesting facts about one particular Lakota woman. She tells her own story of the coming of the White Buffalo Calf Woman, describing it in a masculinized tone:

> from the fourth world take the elements of a culture and transform them into a religion, one that formalizes the bond between the people and the creator. At the time these stories originated, the people were continuing to deny the source of their power, the way Stone Boy had. They were fighting among themselves and with other Indian nations. They were both arrogant and fearful.
>
> The person who comes to save the people, the most sacred figure in our mythology, is the White Buffalo Calf Woman, also known as Wohpe. She brings the sacred pipe with instructions for its use. She pulls together the seven sacred rituals and puts them in a hierarchy. She promises to reappear regularly, each time bringing a gift. The stories reflect an increasingly settled people who were developing agriculture and building a civilization. (131)

This shows that she believed White Buffalo Calf Woman and Wohpe to be one and the same, yet she uses language that reflects a masculinized tone. The seven sacred rites are not viewed by most Dakotapi people as existing in a hierarchy. The rites are all interconnected on multidimensional levels. They are all crucial to the continuance of the cultural value system. There was no such

hierarchy established by White Buffalo Calf Woman. All of the sacred rites of the Lakota share in an equality. None are more important than the others. They are all intertwined together to form a spiritual base by which the people lived for centuries. Interestingly, the rites pertaining solely to women are not practiced any longer (4). This means that certain aspects of the spiritual and cultural ways of life are defunct.

Adams took the knowledge she grew up with and put it within a New Age context. The spiritual basis of the Lakota people should not be for sale or exploitation by outsiders, and especially not by the Lakota themselves. It is for the use and development by Lakota people themselves. Once again, this text, although filled with essential information about her life as a Lakota woman, is primarily an exploitation of her own people's spiritual knowledge.

Adams' assessment of the oral history of her people is one that she is proud of as a Lakota woman, and has a right to expound upon. She tells of her growing up, and

> the story of Wohpe's coming to lead the people back to Wakan Tanka thrilled me no matter how often I heard it. In one version of the Wohpe story, lightning splits the sky and she emerges, shining, from the slit. I always visualized her as a glowing presence, sometimes a woman almost too beautiful to look at, sometimes a white buffalo calf, that most sacred and rare creature.
>
> As an adult, I discovered the celestial event that gave Wohpe her radiance. My research for this book led me to the papers of George Sword, who was an elder of the Smoke people, a sub-band of the Oglala. In the late 1880s, Sword wrote that White Buffalo Calf Woman's name Wohpe meant

"comet".

Sword's translation of the name made sense to me. A comet would certainly have gotten people's attention and reminded them of the powers of the Great Mystery. And Sword was not the only nineteenth-century Sioux who left a written account of the coming of Wohpe. The other was Battiste Good, who was a Hunkpapa, a member of the band of Sioux designated to serve as gatekeepers whenever the entire nation camped at Buffalo Gap. Both Good's and Sword's accounts of Wohpe were preserved by what was then known as the Bureau of Ethnology. Good claimed that Wohpe first appeared around 930 A.D. and that she reappeared approximately every seventy years. I believe this means that Wohpe is Halley's Comet, which is known to have appeared in 1531, 1607, 1682, 1758, 1834, 1910, and 1986. Modern science tells us that Halley's Comet comes into our range of vision approximately every seventy-six years. (143-4)

Adams found it necessary to use a scientific explanation for the Wohpe story. Although she is a knowledgeable individual she has again used male-focused descriptions of this deity to describe her own culture. Adams has masculinized the stories by referring to Sword and Good as the only individuals having recorded the information for the people. They were not. In fact, there were many individuals who recorded the oral stories of the Dakotapi people. Many were women.

Adams experienced a near-death similar to Betty Jean Eadie's. These women put their thoughts into a genre that refers to Dakotapi cultures as New-Age. The publication of these kinds of texts are dangerous. Many times an individual wants to tell her story enough that they are willing to tell things that the Indian community or culture that they were raised in might not want them to tell. It is

our responsibility as Dakotapi women to express our spirituality in a way that gives the utmost respect to the people about whom the literature is written.

Mary Moore Brave Bird Crow Dog (1953-)

Mary Crow Dog was born on the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota. Although she characterized herself as an iyeska (half-blood) she is an enrolled member of the Sicangu Lakota. Crow Dog considers herself an activist and tells her autobiographical story with the editorial assistance of Richard Erdoes. The narrative in Lakota Woman (1990) and Ohitika Woman (1993) is not chronological, but cyclical, as her story is told through her everyday colloquial language (Bataille 1993, 65). Describing herself as a good kid gone bad in Lakota Woman Crow Dog tells her story through Richard Erdoes. Erdoes, well-known for his collaboration with John Fire Lame Deer on Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions (1972) and other books on American Indians, says in the "Instead of a Foreword" to Ohitika Woman,

> This book is the result of a collaboration between two oddly paired human beings--an old white man and a young Native American woman. Our backgrounds could not be more different...In spite of our different backgrounds, Mary and I have two things in common: We both grew up fatherless...And both of us had been youthful rebels fighting the powers that ruled over us...Mary and I finally met as the result of an accident. (Erdoes 1993, ix-x)

As I mentioned in the discussion on Nicholas Black Elk and John G. Neihardt, I do not consider these works to come out of accidents. Many Dakotapi believe that these things were simply meant to happen. John Fire Lame Deer, a highly respected medicine man, said to Richard Erdoes, "My medicine tells me that you'll write my story" (Erdoes 1993, x). Some

critics are skeptical as to Erdoes motives, yet I believe him to be sincere. Erdoes met Mary Crow Dog through her former husband's family at Crow Dog's Paradise on the Rosebud reservation in South Dakota. This first encounter is where Erdoes

> met her face to face. She was small, feisty, very pretty, and standoffish. I heard her say once, during those days of confrontation: "There might be a good white man someplace, but I never met one yet." Observing the close bond existing between my family and the Crow Dogs, she tolerated my presence, ignoring me most of the time. I didn't mind, having learned something of her terrible experiences at a white-run boarding school and with redneck racists. When she couldn't avoid contact with us, she was politely cool. (Erdoes 1993, x-xi)

After Wounded Knee 1973 and the resultant aftermath in 1975 Leonard Crow Dog, then the husband of Mary Crow Dog, was indicted and later incarcerated for his involvement in the events at Wounded Knee. Leonard Crow Dog

> was sent to Lewisberg, Pennsylvania, to serve his time. The prison was some eighteen hundred miles from the Rosebud Reservation but could be reached by car from New York in a couple of hours. I therefore proposed to Mary that she move in with us, together with her baby, so that she could be near her husband. She stayed with us for almost a year and it was then, living together in the same apartment, that we finally became close friends. Even so it took her a long time before she hugged and kissed us as she did her Indian friends. She was a sassy, outspoken, and brutally honest as ever, but also bewildered, wide-eyed, and lost in what she called "the canyons" of the big city. (Erdoes 1993, xi)

So there coming together was of no design set forth by Erdoes to exploit Mary Crow Dog. In fact, Erdoes and his wife took her in, as would a Dakotapi relative, in a time of

need. They came to know one another well after that year she spent living with them in New York City. The Erdoes family witnessed Mary at her best and worst during the times she struggled to be a good wife to Leonard Crow Dog. While Mary Crow Dog lived with the Erdoes family, Erdoes recalls

> One of my publishers approached me: "Your Lame Deer book is doing well. What else would you like to do in that vein?" I told him that the books and magazine and newspaper articles were being written about Native American men, particularly AIM leaders, but that the Indian women, whose strength kept the movement going, were being ignored. I said: "We have just now a Sioux friend living with us, a young woman who gave birth at Wounded Knee during the siege. I would like to help her write an autobiography." We got a contract, and all during the time of Crow Dog's imprisonment we worked on the taping and transcribing of her story. (Erdoes 1993, xiii)

When Leonard Crow Dog was released from prison, he and Mary returned to the reservation in South Dakota. Erdoes proceeded to put the manuscript of Lakota Woman (1990) together

> like a jigsaw puzzle out of a huge mountain of tapes and delivered it a year or so later. The editor phoned, asking me to come and see him. He told me: "This book is much too radical. The political climate has changed. This radical shit is out. Mysticism is in. Make into a female Don Juan! Make her into a witch. Make her fly through the air!"
>
> I said: "Are you completely mad? Mary is not a spectral apparition but a flesh-and-blood Sioux woman. She's for real, not something out of the fantasies. If I faked her story she would come after me with her skinning knife, and rightly so." Whereupon he refused to accept the manuscript and, of course, we were not paid for a year's hard work. The manuscript lay around for over ten years. I forgot about it. Mary forgot about it. But our literary agent, Peter Basch, remembered. In 1989 he mentioned it to Fred

> Jordan, at that time a senior editor at Grove Press. He loved the book. Lakota Woman became a best-seller. It is out in several foreign languages. We even got a movie contract for it. In a way, "our medicine was good." Had the book been published back in 1979 it would not have been as successful. Women, especially Indian women, weren't "in" at the time. (Erdoes 1993, xiii-xiv)

So there was no design by Erdoes to exploit Mary Crow Dog. In fact, he protected her as much as he could as the co-author of her autobiographical `as told to' story. The publisher at Grove Press who wanted to manipulate and exploit her for the benefit of "wannabeeism" or "mysticism" actually did them both a favor. Lakota Woman (1990) covers Mary's life from her early childhood up until 1977. Ohitika Woman (1993) was a necessary sequel to give a well-rounded description of this contemporary Lakota woman's life (Erdoes 1993).

The book Lakota Woman, and the film, "Lakota Woman," focused on the alcoholism, delinquency, and poverty often associated with contemporary descriptions of reservation youth. In Lakota Woman there is clear sense of how Mary Crow Dog was influenced by her grandparents. Yet in the film, "Lakota Woman," there is no sense of her family traditions. In the film, the focus is on the volatile relationship she had with her mother. She finds it difficult to relate to her mother and her mother's character, a minor one in both the book and the film, is an economically focused nurse concerned with the realities of life, while Brave Bird's character is presented as loose and

freewheeling.

According to Laurie Lisa (Bataille 1993) Brave Bird "learned the oral tradition of her people. She also attended the mission school at St. Francis during the early 1960s, an unhappy experience of beatings and racism that caused her to drop out before she graduated" (p66). Lakota Woman (1990) does not focus on the atmosphere of the 1960s as much as the film does. The information that we gain is, however, relevant to the notion that Brave Bird had negative experiences in the boarding school system, something most if not all reservation Indians who experienced the governmental and tribal educational systems can agree upon. That Crow Dog dropped out of school and never went back implies that there was a lack of structure that in her life. There was no father figure in her life and this may have contributed to her not finishing school. Her mother worked hard to provide for the family and spent much of her time trying to provide for the family economically. This does not mean that her mother neglected her role but it does indicate that Crow Dog's mother struggled in her role as care giver and this must have contributed to Crow Dog dropping out of school.

Crow Dog, as Erdoes describes, was a "sassy, outspoken" individual, and this undoubtedly was a factor in her not finishing school. In the process of structural breakdown that was a result of sending children through the boarding

school system, there was a breakdown in the tradition of passing on the oral traditions from one generation to the next. The boarding school system, it can be argued, was designed for the purpose of causing this breakdown in the oral traditions (Pfaller 1978). Somehow the breakdown in family traditions and the BIA school system did not provide Crow Dog with the tools to succeed in school.

Lakota Woman (1990), and the film that followed, are more about the story of Mary Crow Dog's life with Leonard Crow Dog than they are about the trials and tribulations that this Brule woman went through while growing up on the reservation:

> her first encounter with the American Indian Movement (AIM, which began in 1968) [was] at a powwow held in 1971 at Leonard Crow Dog's home after a Sun Dance. According to her, the AIM movement boosted the moral of Native Americans at a time when it was critically needed, and the Indian rights movement was first a spiritual movement with ancient religions at its heart. Crow Dog joined the Trail of Broken Treaties, a caravan that followed the Cherokee's [sic] Trail of Tears, and was in the group that took over the BIA building in Washington, DC, in 1972. Crow Dog was also present at the siege of Wounded Knee in 1973, where she gave birth to her first child. It is this siege, with its echoes of the past injustices forced upon Native Americans, that forms the focal point of her narration. (Bataille 66)

She did participate in the events of the sixties because she was involved with Leonard Crow Dog. Mary Brave Bird and Leonard Crow Dog were married in 1973. The book starts out in a first person narrative:

> I am Mary Brave Bird. After I had my baby during

> the siege of Wounded Knee they gave me a special name--Ohitika Win, Brave Woman, and fastened an eagle plume in my hair, singing brave-heart songs for me. I am a woman of the Rosebud Nation, a Sioux woman. That is not easy. (3)

True, it is not easy, yet the beginning sentences leave the book and Crow Dog open to criticism by Lakota women. Still a young woman by Lakota traditions (Elizabeth Cook Lynn and some of the other writers from elder generations knew that a woman should not try to speak out until she is over forty years of age), Crow Dog learned from her experiences of bearing a child while participating in Wounded Knee 1973. It was viewed, however, by many Lakota women, to be a "boasting" of her centrality to the "siege."

One reason Crow Dog was criticized harshly by Lakota women was because of the brief depiction of gender interactions at the beginning of the book. Her personal opinion on Lakota women and their interactions with men is such:

> It is not the big, dramatic things so much that get us down, but just being Indian, trying to hang on to our way of life, language, and values while being surrounded by an alien, more powerful culture. It is being iyeska, a half-blood, being looked down upon by whites and full-bloods alike. It is being a backwoods girl living in a city, having to rip off stores in order to survive. Most of all it is being a woman. (4-5)

Unfortunately Crow Dog was raped at the age of fifteen. This obviously shaped her pessimistic view of the world and influenced her view of the relationships between women and men. In the first few pages of the book it can be argued

that she is representing a generalized or even stereotypical view of Plains Indian men and women. Yet how much of the text do we know is influenced by Erdoes. Would she have written her autobiography if she had not received Erdoes' assistance? It does, however, constitute an autobiographical work about a Lakota woman.

Clearly Crow Dog had a negative perspective. Yet there are the experiences she was affected by growing up. She says:

> Among Plains tribes, some men think that all a woman is good for is to crawl into the sack with them and mind the children. It compensates for what white society has done to them. They were famous warriors and hunters once, but the buffalo is gone and there is not much rep in putting a can of spam or an occasional rabbit on the table.
>
> As for being warriors, the only way some men can count coup nowadays is knocking out another skin's teeth during a barroom fight. In the old days a man made a name for himself by being generous and wise, but now he has nothing to be generous with, no jobs, no money; and as far as our traditional wisdom is concerned, our men are being told by the white missionaries, teachers, and employers that it is merely savage superstition they should get rid of if they want to make it in this world. Men are forced to live away from their children, so that the family can get ADC--Aid to Dependent Children. So some warriors come home drunk and beat up their old ladies in order to work off their frustration. I know where they are coming from. I feel sorry for them, but I feel sorrier for their women. (5)

This quotation may evoke anger from Dakotapi women who are entrenched in their traditions. This is Crow Dog's opinion however and it is realistic. Many men do only see women as sex objects and treat them with disrespect. The quotation points to socioeconomic conditions on the reservations and

how they influence spousal battery and sexual abuse. It shows how the family structure has broken down for some and that the traditions have become twisted for many.

Crow Dog, undoubtedly, would not support spousal battery but her comment about using alcohol as a way to justify battery is what many Dakotapi women may be infuriated by. Yet, many men, especially Dakotapi men who are alcoholics, use alcohol to justify battery. Certainly no Lakota woman would want to accept her self-pitying tone that is misconstrued by some as patronizing. Undoubtedly, she too suffered.

Brave Bird's story is told through other individuals remembrances. Her sister Barbara

> who is four years older than me, says she remembers the day when I was born. It was late at night and raining hard amid thunder and lightning. We had no electricity then, just the old-style kerosene lamps with the big reflectors. No bathroom, no tap water, no car. Only a few white teachers had cars. There was one phone in He-Dog, at the trading post. This was not so very long ago, come to think of it. Like most Sioux at that time my mother was supposed to give birth at home, I think, but something went wrong, I was pointing the wrong way, feet first or stuck sideways. My mother was in great pain, laboring for hours, until finally somebody ran to the trading post and called the ambulance. They took her--us--to Rosebud, but the hospital there was not yet equipped to handle a complicated birth, I don't think they had surgery then, so they had to drive mother all the way to Pine Ridge, some ninety miles distant, because there the tribal hospital was bigger. So it happened that I was born among Crazy Horse's people. After my sister Sandra was born the doctors there performed a hysterectomy on my mother, in fact sterilizing her without her permission, which was common at the time, and up to just a few years ago, so that it is hardly

worth mentioning. (8-9)

She came into this world a breach baby. Many elder Dakotapi and possibly others, might see this as a bad omen and a telling fact in the way that her life has always been hard. She is a Lakota woman telling her story through the memories of her sister.

Telling her own story is the most important aspect of this book. She is telling her own story of survival. In her words:

> At any rate I survived the long hours of my mother's labor, the stormy drive to Pine Ridge, and the neglect of the doctors. I am an iyeska, a breed, that's what the white kids used to call me. When I grew bigger they stopped calling me that, because it would get them a bloody nose. I am a small woman, not much over five feet tall, but I can hold my own in a fight, and in a free-for-all with honkies I can become rather ornery and do real damage. I have white blood in me. Often I have wished to be able to purge it out of me. As a young girl I used to look at myself in the mirror, trying to find a clue as to who and what I was. My face is very Indian, and so are my eyes and my hair, but my skin is very light. Always I waited for the summer, for the prairie sun, the Badlands sun, to tan me and make me into a real skin. (9)

Crow Dog grew up with a significant identity "problem." Many young Dakotapi children today also experience hardships as Crow Dog did. The treatment they receive by both the Indian and white community is based in white on Indian and Indian on Indian racism. They are faced with on-going mistreatment by white people in almost every respect, and by other Indians because of blood quantum differences.

A distinct drawback of Lakota Woman the book and

"Lakota Woman" the film is that they exploit the Sun Dance. How or why Crow Dog or her "medicine man" husband (married the Indian way) allowed the outright denigration of the Sun Dance is beyond the comprehension of most Dakotapi people. People who are culturally aware and sensitive know that pictures are never to be taken at the Sun Dance and certainly not published in a book.

Crow Dog was also highly criticized for the depiction of herself as a central figure at Wounded Knee II in the book and subsequently in the film version of "Lakota Woman." What many people do not realize is that this was a first person narrative, and the book and film do not reflect the more marginal role Crow Dog played in the actual events of history. In my estimation, both books, Lakota Woman (1990) and Ohitika Woman (1993) should have been included in the film version of her life. Many Lakota women strongly dislike the film because it places Crow Dog at such a pivotal place in relationship to Wounded Knee 1973. Yet, in fact, she was not at the center as the film implied and portrayed.

Lakota Woman is a collaboration between Mary Crow Dog and Richard Erdoes. In fact, Brave Bird is not a writer. Instead, this is an autobiographical, "as told to" story, as is Black Elk Speaks (1932). The reader is, however, immersed in what it is like to grow up as a Lakota woman from Mary Crow Dog's perspective. Growing up on an

impoverished reservation community was difficult for this Lakota woman.

The setting is on the Rosebud and Pine Ridge Indian Reservations. Mary Crow Dog discusses the difficulties she had while growing up in such an impoverished environment. The story is very touching and grips the reader from the start. This is a book that can be used in the classroom to exemplify the problems one is faced with growing up on an Indian reservation in contemporary America.

Mary Brave Bird is now divorced from Leonard Crow Dog. As the former wife of Leonard Crow Dog, she experienced many things that even some traditional Dakotapi women have not experienced, both good and bad. She explains all of the trials and hardships associated with being married to a Lakota medicine man (5). Brave Bird's books focus on the contemporary lifestyle she led as a Lakota woman. In Lakota Woman (1990) she tells of her growing up on the reservation. As Lisa (1993) describes,

> Native American women who have been in a double bind of victimization, caught between eroding traditions and a neglectful and misinformed white dominant culture. Hers is ultimately the story of one Lakota woman who, in spite of oppression, has emerged strong and whole. (66)

This may have been true at some point but Brave Bird's story is not completely told in Lakota Woman.

In fact, it is clear that Brave Bird lost more than she gained with the publication of this book. She is in the double bind of having told her story, which was acclaimed by

mainstream society while being rejected by Lakota women. They take offense at the characterization of Brave Bird as central in the history of Wounded Knee 1973, and they are angry at the depiction of Lakota traditions in disintegration.

Mary Brave Bird also co-authored Ohitika Woman (1993) with Richard Erdoes. Ohitika Woman is a sequel to Lakota Woman and it is essential to read both books in order to get a full appreciation of how this individual matured as a Lakota woman. As mentioned, the film "Lakota Woman" met with much criticism. If the film followed the first book more closely and if the film incorporated the second book, it would be a much better film.

Ohitika Woman (1993) gives the reader all the details to understand the long road Mary Brave Bird traveled. She divorced Leonard Crow Dog and remarried. She fell victim to the criticism of Lakota women after "Lakota Woman" received such high reviews from the general viewing public.

According to Erdoes, "Our first book described Mary's life from her childhood until 1977...And so Mary, fifteen years later, moved in with us again, this time in Santa Fe" (Instead of a Foreword xiv).

On March 28, 1991 Mary Moore Brave Bird Crow Dog was in a bad automobile accident on the Rosebud reservation. She was drinking heavily when it happened. Because of her statements in Lakota Woman she claims in Ohitika Woman:

> women on the res had liked my book. Some men had not and were giving me that "death look." One had sneered at me: "You are nothing and your book is nothing." Woman beating is part of everyday life on the reservation. The white man oppresses the half-blood, the half-blood oppresses the full-blood, and everybody takes out their anger, despair, and feeling of helplessness on the women. The men have a good and an evil side. Sober, they are angels. Drunk, their evil side comes out, and they are drunk a good part of the time.
>
> Men and women drink because there is nothing else to do. There are no jobs. The poverty is unbelievable. Everybody is on public assistance, which is not enough to hold body and soul together. There is nothing to occupy one's time except partying and playing "quarter pitch." Partying means visiting back and forth in groups while getting drunk. Getting drunk means getting mean, and partying often ends in violence. Men fight men, women fight women, friends fight friends, big guys beat up on little women. (3-4)

Brave Bird tells it like it is in her estimation and mine. The people might not care to hear about it but alcohol is the main reason why Dakotapi traditions continue to decay.

After Brave Bird's near death experience in the car accident she changed her life. "I was never the same again after it. It changed my life-style for sure" (p8). As she reminisces about the car accident she says three things come to mind. One is a bill she received for fifteen hundred dollars for the electrical pole she broke (they had to turn off the electricity in Rosebud to get her out of her car). The second was the drink she was offered for surviving the DWI wreck, and:

> As I was hallucinating on the operating table, I imagined that I phoned my children, telling them where I was and what had happened to me. At that time the children were staying with my sister Barb. When Barb came home from Sioux Falls, my

> son June Bug told her: "Mom called. She said that she was in a car wreck and is in surgery. She also said not to worry, that she'll be all right." The spirit works in strange ways. (9)

Similar to Betty J. Eadie and Barbara Means Adams, Brave Bird experienced something extraordinary. The spiritual strength of some people is sometimes beyond understanding.

Brave Bird considers herself a feminist (Ohitika Woman 58). She says that the difference between:

> white and Indian feminists--we think that abortion is all right for everybody else, but not for us. There are only a half million tribally affiliated Native Americans left. For centuries, we have been the victims of physical and cultural genocide...So there is within us the subconscious urge to reproduce, to make sure that we are not a "vanishing race. (59)

She had one child, Pedro, prior to marrying Leonard in Lakota marriage ceremony. She had three more children during the years she stayed at Crow Dog's Paradise. Her fifth child, a girl, she had with her new husband Rudi.

Of her children by Crow Dog, her second child, Anwah, was a boy. He was born in 1979. Her third child, another boy, was born in 1981. His name is Warrior Boy. Warrior Boy goes by the name June Bug, a common name for Lakota girls or boys. Her fourth child, Jennifer, is also fathered by Leonard Crow Dog.

Brave Bird married her second husband Rudi Olguin on August 24, 1991 in Santa Fe, New Mexico. After her car wreck she was told that she would never get pregnant again and she immediately became pregnant after she and Rudi

married. Barbara, Brave Bird's sister, named their child Summer Rose. Barbara made a turtle fetish and put Summer Rose's umbilical cord inside. Brave Bird comments:

> Actually, there is more to this than just what Barb said. In the old days, until recently, when a child was born someone made two identical beaded or quilled turtle fetishes for the newborn. One of them contained the umbilical cord, and that one was hidden inside the baby's cradleboard. The other one was hung up in a tree or some other place where the evil spirits could see it. It was believed that these spirits always tried to get possession of the navel cord and thereby gain power over the child. Not knowing that this fetish did not contain the navel cord, they vented their fury and evil magic on it to no effect. The little amulet is made in the form of a turtle, because this animal represents longevity. For days after you kill a turtle, its heart keeps on beating and beating. (62)

Brave Bird is aware of detailed information about the use of this turtle fetish for babies.

In both Lakota Woman and Ohitika Woman Brave Bird presents a detailed discussion of women. These descriptions are based in her personal experiences as a Lakota woman.

She talks extensively about the Native American Church and the use of peyote. She claims:

> In the old days a special ceremony was given for a girl who was on her first moon. A feast was held for her. Horses were given away in her honor, and she got a new, shining deerskin outfit together with many other gifts. Something of this old custom has influenced the Native American Church. I remember a meeting held way out in the boondocks, somewhere on the res, at old hairshirt's place. There was a young girl, maybe twelve years old, though she looked younger. The drum went to her before it went to anybody else, and in the morning, when the sacred food was put out, she was served first, and she was also the first to get the morning water. It was obvious to

> all that she was honored for having her first period--to all, that is, except for her. She was dumbfounded at her being served before the elders and never caught on. The morning after, she was laughing and playing tomboy with some little kids as if nothing unusual had happened. (85)

Brave Bird does not name the ceremony, the cultural group she is referring to or explain that the ceremony is not practiced any longer by most Dakotapi people. The ceremony she is speaking of is the puberty rite practiced by the Oyate Tatanka for generations. It no longer exists in any practical sense. The Lakota word for the ceremony is "isnati," to "be alone" literally. Women went to a specific hut that they went to when this tradition was still practiced. The menstrual flow of women is believed to be one of the most powerful forces that exists. The ceremony was brought to the Dakotapi by White Buffalo Calf Woman along with the other six sacred rites.

Brave Bird professed not to be an individual that gives away the tribal spirituality of the people yet she talks in detail about the ceremonies in a context that is considerably different from the traditions of the old way of life. Peyote religion, according to many Dakotapi, should not be mixed with traditional Lakota beliefs. Brave Bird says:

> I learned about the yuwipi from Leonard's mother. She was always making tobacco ties. The same with her sister Nellie. Nellie was Moses Big Crow's wife. She's still alive. Laura Black Tomahawk, who passed away this past winter, was an elder, and these three were the main older women who were real strong in the yuwipi. They'd have their dog

> feasts. Laura always had a dog ceremony right in St. Francis. She lived in a traditional log house. I liked her dog feasts the best, because she always singed the dog real good, and she was real clean, and the meat was always tender. (108)

Taken out of context this could be misconstrued. It was a puppy in actuality that was viewed as sacred enough to be used in the Heyoka ceremony. This was done by men in most instances and there are no instances in the historical data of this being practiced by women. Yet she said that this was an experience she had with several other Dakotapi women, mentioning them by name. If women did do this in the past or even recently it is not well-known, if at all, by most of the Dakotapi people. I really don't know what to make of this other than Brave Bird ate dog with these respected elders on several occasions. That may sound odd to some but not to all. One thing is certain, these specific ceremonies were not everyday occurrences in the past and are almost nonexistent today.

Brave Bird says there are "medicine women in many tribes, usually older ones. There is one Lakota woman who runs sweats in Phoenix, and there is a middle-aged lady running women-only sun dances for an organization called Women of the Red Nations..." (p109), not to be confused with WARN (Women of All Red Nations). This Lakota woman from Phoenix is a long way from South Dakota to be running sweats in the desert. Women and men must be well-experienced to run such sacred rites. Women must be past the age of forty

and usually they are not able to accept such important duties until they are menopausal.

In another reference to medicine women Brave Bird recalls:

> I met a Shasta medicine woman who uses crystals in her curings the ancient way, not like the white New Age people. My grandmother told me of the "double-faced dreamers," powerful shamanesses of the old days. I think she was talking about the women who had dreamed of Anung-Ite, the two-faced supernatural whose face is beautiful on one side and horrifyingly ugly on the other. Double-face dreamers were powerful sorceresses. Dreamers possessed any man they met and caused men to go mad. One could hear them singing in the night. They inspired fear, but they were also great healers and the most skilled of all in doing fine bead-and quillwork; everything they made was beautiful. That's what Grandma told me. Unfortunately, there are also a lot of fake female shamans, pretending to be Indian, ripping off the gullible. For me our Lakota ceremonies are as necessary as breathing. When I take part in them I am at peace with the universe and all living things. (109)

Brave Bird contradicts herself here by sounding rather New Age herself. Double Face (Anung Ite) is male. Deloria (1944, 50) describes Double Face as male in Dakota Texts. In "Double-Face Steals the Girl," Deloria does mention that Double Face is sometimes represented as a woman (p50), yet he always returns to his male state in the end to harm the individual he fooled. In Deloria's "Double-Face Steals a Virgin," the character of Double Face is male.

Brave Bird, at the end of Ohitika Woman describes the difficulties of being a Native American woman:

> I do the dishes and I am again changing diapers. But I'm still fighting. I try to be sincere, try

> to hold on to the medicine, try to make my kids understand what it means to be Indian. I have become an environmentalist, because it is over the environment that the last of the Indian wars will be fought. I try to help other women to cope with life. It does not necessarily have to be ceremonial, but just through understanding, and friendship, and support. And I think that unless our men can be free, we won't make it either. I rejoice because there are now medicine women, who have their own medicine bundles and their pipes and feathers, taking good care of these sacred things, passing on what they know to future generations. I try to raise my own kids in a traditional way while also trying to get them a modern education. I know that this is a hopeless contradiction, but then I've never lost hope yet. I will endure. I will fight to the end of my days--for everything that lives. MITAKUYE OYASIN--ALL MY RELATIONS. (274)

Brave Bird sees the importance of conveying the knowledge she has to her children. In this way she is aware of her responsibilities as a Lakota woman. Although she received very little formal education she does see the significance of an education to her children's futures.

She has persevered through the worst of her life. Hopefully she is now enjoying her relationships more fully now that she is over forty and entering that time when people will begin to see her as an elder. Her beliefs and experiences are certainly different from the previous generations of Dakota, Lakota, Nakota women yet she holds the traditions of her people close to her heart.

Lanniko Lee characterizes the book as a "convincing reason why native people should be telling their own stories without white go-betweens" (Bataille 1993, 321). She reasons that it is harmful to Lakota Nations, citing Cook

Lynn as her source, saying "that these kinds of works cannot be called a useful communal literature, i.e., a literature that sustains a people" (Bataille 1993, 322). Lee further states that this book reflects:

> an accommodation to the current needs of New Age enthusiasts. Unfortunately, this accommodation, whether unintentional or deliberate, is only a small measure of the results of collaborative authorship in Indian autobiographies today. Such arrangements, found acceptable by the scholarly community, present problems on many levels for American Indians. However, for the sake of brevity, I will consider only two related aspects: one, the expropriation of Indian religion for entrepreneurial gain; and two, the claim that an "outsider voice" is needed to serve as a buffer. (322)

In the review Lee takes Brave Bird to task on her discussing traditional spiritual rites of the Lakota in a context where Brave Bird knows that the majority of the Lakota people will be critical of her words. Thus, although Brave Bird does discuss women often throughout both of her co-authored books, and women are central to the themes, they and the religious information that she divulges are seen by many Lakota women as having detrimental effects for the Oyate Tatanka.

Susan Power (1961-)

Susan Power, a multi-talented writer/artist, is Yanktonnai (6). She is an enrolled member of Standing Rock Indian reservation. She is a native Chicagoan and received an A.B. from Harvard/Radcliffe, a J.D. from Harvard Law School, and an M.F.A. from the Iowa Writers' Workshop. She currently resides in Iowa City, Iowa. Her grandmother was Josephine Gates Kelly, who was the first tribal chair of Standing Rock Indian reservation (7). She dedicates The Grass Dancer (1994) to her mother, Susan Kelly Power; father, Carleton Gilmore Power, and to "the great ladies who gave me keys to two cities, my grandmothers, Josephine Gates Kelly and Marjorie Gilmore Power" (Power 1994).

Power's grandmother, Josephine Gates Kelly, was one of the first county commissioners of Sioux County, North Dakota. She is considered by many to be the first chairwoman of any tribe in the United States. Josephine Kelly was the first Lakota woman Tribal Chair at Standing Rock Indian Reservation. Josephine Kelly was considered by some Standing Rock tribal members to be the individual who helped save the tribe from ruin during her tenure.

Kelly created positive change for the reservation because of her connections with influential leaders of North Dakota, in particular individuals from Bismarck-Mandan and other non-Indians living on or near the reservation. In the Acknowledgments, Power formally recognizes her relatives

from Standing Rock but does not mention them by name. She does however acknowledge John R. Salter Jr. by name. I first heard of Susan Power in a conversation with Salter (8). She informs the reader again of the importance of her mother and tells us her Dakota name, "Mahpiya Bogawin (Gathering of Storm Clouds Woman)" (Power 1994). I know her uncle Pat Kelly from the reservation. He lives near Cannonball District, on the North Dakota side of the reservation. Pat was on the tribal council for years and operated a bar in Cannonball named Kelly's. My mother, Victoria L. Morgan, knew Pat well. She spoke highly of Josephine Kelly and said Kelly saved the tribe from ruin during her lifetime of work on the reservation.

The Grass Dancer (1994), is a contemporary novel about Lakota culture that is just not realistic in traditional and/or contemporary Dakotapi society. It is Power's first novel, however, and is her most noteworthy publication to date. It recently received much acclaim, when Louise Erdrich wrote: "This is a wild river of a book. Susan Power writes with a headlong energy and a force that are nothing less than thrilling. The Grass Dancer is painfully authentic, and Anna Thunder one of the most compelling female characters in contemporary fiction" (1994). This is a strong statement coming from one of the most prolific women novelists in American Indian literature. The Grass Dancer has been used by instructors of Native American

literature at several institutions of higher education, yet I would argue that there are several characters in Native American fiction that are much stronger that Anna Thunder.

There are several problems with the novel. The Introduction of Pumpkin, a "part" Menominee woman from Wisconsin, as a grass dancer is not realistic. Although Pumpkin refers to herself as "part" Menominee, she also claims to have a full-blooded Menominee mother (Power 16). If her mother was a full-blood there was a good chance that she was substantially culturally Indian. Today many Indian people do not use this reference of "part" Indian. They claim that culture in which they were raised.

Power made the mistake of trying to deal with too many issues in the novel without developing any one of them thoroughly enough for this reader to accept Pumpkin's character. The best example of this is found in the way Power has Pumpkin, an outsider to the reservation, playing the role of a grass dancer. Would the pow-wow committee permit a non-Dakotapi woman to grass dance? Would it be accepted by the people? Grass dancing, traditionally, is a male dance and has little to do with the traditional roles of women in Dakotapi or other native cultures.

> "Look over there," Frank said. He pointed to a young woman in a grass-dance costume standing at the edge of the arena. It was unusual to see a woman in a man's costume, but the outfit suited her. (Power 24)

At one point Frank Pipe asks Herod Small War, "Have you

ever seen a girl grass dancer?" Herod replies, "No, I never did. But I guess it's about time. They have every right" (Power 1994, 24). This dialogue is not convincing. In 1981, during the time depicted, attitudes were still quite traditional on Standing Rock. In traditional culture non-Dakotapi are not well-accepted on Standing Rock. Mixed-breeds of any tribe are also ostracized. Today, there are women grass dancers but this relatively new style of dance for women is much different in reality than how Power described it in her novel. It is as though Power structured the novel around her feminist notions of women going against the norm in society to make a difference. This is a weak attempt at refeminizing the roles of Indian women through fiction.

The novel is also autobiographical and biographical in several sections. Pumpkin is leaving for college in the fall, knowing that she

> dragged her reputation behind her like a dead weight, conscious that it was one more thing to separate her from her peers. She had always been different, even when she tried not to be, unable to curb her curiosity, which led her to read great numbers of books. Her world was constantly expanding, until she could no longer fit herself into the culture that was most important to her. (Power 1994, 16)

Power, a highly educated woman, inevitably felt the separation anxiety that she expresses through the character of Pumpkin in her novel. Many Native American women experience this same psychological trauma when they leave

their native cultures and families to educate themselves. Inevitably, all of the writers considered in this dissertation, experienced these feelings at some point in their lives during the educational process, even those who attended boarding school and never went to college.

- Pumpkin will attend Stanford University in the fall, thinking to herself, "At least I'll get in a few powwows before I take off" (Power 17). Pumpkin thinks to herself about these plans to attend college. The idea of leaving for school

  > made her nervous in a way that was both good and bad. She would leave for Stanford in the fall, able finally to indulge her academic side but fearful of moving from one culture to another. (Power 1994, 17)

Addressing once again the issues faced by individuals who want to get a higher education and what that means in losing touch with family and home. Power puts this character's thoughts in italics when she is contemplating serious personal goals for her career, saying

> This goes beyond leaving home and my parents, she had written in the essay required of all applicants. I know I am committed to a college education because I am willing to go to great lengths to earn one. I will have to put aside one world view--perhaps only temporarily--to take up another. From what I have learned so far, I know the two are complementary but rather incompatible, and melodramatic as it may sound, I sometimes feel I am risking my soul by leaving the Indian community. (Power 1994, 17)

Power intentionally describes the personal sacrifices that Native American women make for themselves when they decide

to educate themselves. She points out that there is a possibility that the cultural world view Pumpkin is familiar with may have to be discarded permanently for her to succeed in academe. These juxtaposed ways of looking at the world, the Indian and academic, are not compatible. Power has experienced this as did every writer considered here that educated herself beyond the average.

Jeannette McVay's character is typical of non-Indians moving to the reservations to teach, yet there are aspects of the dialogue Power includes that are again hard to picture, even as late as 1977. She has McVay, an eighth grade social studies teacher at St. Mary's school (apparently in Ft. Yates) introduce innovative teaching methods that seem unrealistic to this author. McVay, in a tone of voice that "she hoped was cheerful compassion" (57), said

> "You're probably wondering why I moved your desks," she said. "I thought it only fitting to form a circle, because I know your people have a cyclic worldview. And since this is a give-and-take situation, where I plan to learn from you as much as I hope to share my own knowledge, I want to look at the world through your eyes for a change. Don't you think that's refreshing?" (Power 1994, 57)

Such teaching methods as a "cyclic worldview" did not occur on the reservation in 1977. In the only experience that I had of a new teacher, Ms. Riekke, she left after only one year because she could not get along with the school administration or the students when it came to her wanting

to make positive changes for the student body.

McVay has a set of James Fenimore Cooper books that she has the class reading and Frank Pipe boldly asks, "Instead of this stuff, could you read some of that Vine Deloria?" (Power 58). This is just not realistic. Not only would these children be reluctant to read the Cooper material, they probably never heard of Vine Deloria in the eighth grade. McVay has heard of him and this makes it even more apparent that Power is going out of her way to make statements in the book that would be uncommon in a tribal school setting during this period. Power wants the reader to see how there is a lack of cultural knowledge on the part of the students, yet it sounds ackward and out of context for a reservation school setting. McVay, after that

> plunged into a study of Native American literature, and the James Fenimore Cooper texts were taken to a Bismarck thrift shop. Jeannette became more Sioux than her Dakota students, no longer addressing them by name, which she read had not been common practice in previous generations. When she heard the children call to each other, carelessly spilling names off their tongues she scolded them. "Your ancestors didn't do that sort of thing. You should go back to the old ways. They're so beautiful." (Power 1994, 59)

What attempts Power makes here to refeminize the literature through fiction, just doesn't work well for this reader. An attempt to do so is done much better by a more experienced writer such as Elizabeth Cook Lynn in From the Rivers Edge. Cook Lynn being more published at the point in her career when she writes this novel is more aware of the

complications involved with writing fiction. I discussed this in Chapter Three. Power makes a valiant effort at writing her first novel early in her career but there are definite problems with the way the book forces issues to the forefront in the text rather than letting them grow out of the dialogue more gradually. This is Power's academic side talking and it doesn't make for well-written fiction.

Particularly disturbing is the description Power gives of the Yuwipi ceremony. McVay has her students telling stories individually and they are all quite nervous fidgeting in their seats. This is realistic, yet Power then has Frank Pipe telling an Iktomi story that he "knew his friends would understand how inappropriate it would be for him to speak publicly of his grandfather's ceremonies or reveal his heart for everyone to see. As he was remembering a different story," (Power 61). Power then has him reminiscing

> from his childhood, one of the first times he attended a Yuwipi ceremony conducted by his grandfather...Frank Pipe would never forget the sound of glass exploding in the dark room. Something had burst through the window behind him, and he was lucky for a hanging quilt, which stopped most of the spinning glass that flew through the air like shrapnel. In the sudden moonlight, Frank identified the creature as the largest coyote he had ever seen, tall as a pony. It lunged for one of the participants, and though hands stretched to hold him, the man was carried off like a bone, his head cracking against the window frame as the coyote leapt into the night with its victim. Leo Mitchell's body was found the next day at the foot of Angry Butte, punctured by incisors thick as pencils. (Power 1994, 62)

It is farfetched. The spirits would have left immediately when the light was let into the room. They like the dark only. Leo Mitchell died during the ceremony; that is also unrealistic. The ceremony is a healing ceremony during which the sick are cured. If an individual died during such a ceremony the result would be a state of pandemonium in the native community. In Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions (1972), Lame Deer speaks of the sacredness this ceremony holds for the Dakotapi people,

> Imagine darkness so intense and so complete that it is almost solid, flowing around you like ink, covering you like a velvet blanket. A blackness which cuts you off from the everyday world, which forces you to withdraw deep into yourself, which makes you see with your heart instead of with your eyes. You can't see, but your eyes are opened. You are isolated, but you know that you are a part of the Great Spirit, united with all living beings.
>
> And out of this utter darkness comes the roaring of drums, the sound of prayers, the high-pitched songs. And among all these sounds your ear catches the voices of the spirits--tiny voices, ghostlike, whispering to you from unseen lips. Lights are flitting through the room, almost touching you, little flashes of lightning coming at you from the darkness. Rattles are flying through the air, knocking against your head and shoulders. You feel the wings of birds brushing your face, feel the light touch of a feather on your skin. And always you hear the throbbing drums filling the darkness with their beating, filling the empty spaces inside yourself making you forget the things that clutter up your mind, making your body sway to their rhythm.
>
> And across the black nothingness you feel the presence of the man lying face down in the center of the room, his fingers laced together with rawhide, his body tied and wrapped in a blanket, a living mummy, through whom the spirits are talking to you. This is what you experience during a yuwipi ceremony.
>
> Yuwipi is one of the most ancient rites.

> Some people say that it is not so old, but they are wrong. Their belief stems from the fact that yuwipi is never mentioned by name in the old books about Indian religion and because it has remained hidden from outsiders. I am an old man now, but my grandmothers told me about this yuwipi when I was still a small boy, just as she had been told during her childhood. In this way the knowledge of it goes back through the generations, and nobody knows its beginning. (Erdoes and Lame Deer 1972, 172-3)

Lame Deer performed many Yuwipi ceremonies in his lifetime for the sick and dying. Power is making an attempt to introduce a topic that really should be dealt with more carefully if discussed at all in a work of fiction. There have been theorists discuss this sacred ceremony in academic works but there are few individuals who are schooled in the ancient rite as was Lame Deer. Power certainly could have handled a discussion of this much more carefully.

Power's voice has Charlene Thunder telling the story of "Standing Rock Legend." In the novel Power credits Charlene's aunt, Mercury Thunder, the reservation witch, as the orator of "The numerous legends recounting Mercury Thunder's spells and conquests" (p62-3). Many individuals would see it as an insult to portray this sacred oral story as a spell cast by a witch. Power should have been more creative than to attribute this oral story to an outcast on the reservation. The notion of witchery did exist and Power is correct in implying that Mercury could have been a medicine woman (Power 21), but instead chose to be selfish.

The assignment of this particular oral story to Mercury

is anachronistic. The oral story is much older than Mercury Thunder, and Power describes the story as the "tale of a punished woman." She was not a punished woman. She was a sacred woman. The people thought of her as wakan, and thus carried her with them everywhere they camped (Deloria 1944). Thus Power does masculinize the story because the character is unrealistic and Power portrays the oral traditions as something that they were not.

There are, however, several aspects of this novel that are very Lakota. The geography is the first thing that marks the book as distinctly Standing Rock. "Henry left the tavern bordering the reservation for his home in Mandan" (p15). Power is describing the Huff bar just off the reservation. Many people from the reservation stop in to this bar/restaurant before leaving and on returning from business in Bismarck-Mandan.

The place of the accident at which Calvin Wind Soldier and his son Duane are killed is well-known among the people as a dangerous section of highway on 1806 North. There is a curve in the road that many consider haunted because there were so many accidents there that killed people. There is an oral story of people's spirits that linger in the area at night. It always gave me the chills to drive through there at night because I knew people who died at the place described in the novel.

What is realistic about this novel is the apathy of the

students that Jeannette McVay teaches. Power says:

> Jeannette tried valiantly to lead her class into a debate about the old Dakota practice of taking plural wives. But getting the students to express themselves was like heaving a thrashing lake trout out of water. Some of them didn't care one way or the other, hadn't the slightest interest in what they considered the minutiae of history. (64)

This is more reminiscent of the childhood I had growing up on the reservation. Cook Lynn and Medicine discuss the apathetic attitudes of students. Although they are referring to any students, it can be especially attributed to native students who develop these attitudes because of the negative stigma placed on education and the poor treatment they receive in school by administrators, teachers and staff. But then Power enters into politically correct dialogue:

> Others felt their teacher would never understand the intricacies of tribal relationships, how a woman could seem downtrodden, at the mercy of her husband's whims, yet turn around and join him in battle if she desired, tell him to vacate the lodge, which belonged solely to her. (64)

This and other statements by Power stand out in the novel. Another example is when the pow-wow judge asked Charlene,

> Where's your contest number?... She shook her head, and the judge smiled. That's good. It's good to see the young ones dance for fun and not for profit," he told her. (32)

Power is expressing a concern in reference to dancing solely for profit. Many of the individuals who contest dance today in contemporary society do not make a "profit." The cost of costumes and travel expenses to dances allows few people

earning enough money for it to be financially lucrative. For Power to create a non-Dakotapi character refusing to dance for money is perhaps offensive. Many people may become offended by such a reference made by Power. Dancing is of a spiritual nature always. Many people dance just for the fun of it while others are quite critical, as is Power, of the costs associated with contest pow-wows. Yet even contest dances are spiritually significant to the individual dancer.

A hilarious character in the novel is Chuck Norris. Power gives the reader an excellent example of Dakotapi humor. Chuck Norris is a "Pomeranian Pooch," a celebrity on the reservation because he survived the wrath of the other reservation dogs and is now the leader of the pack. He is known as the "kung fu dog" (p19) and "psycho dog" (p22), because he is jealous of everyone (except Pumpkin) who wants to be near Harley. He lost half an ear to a reservation dog and possesses a sweet tooth. "When he was excited it [his lame leg] shot to the side in a wild kick- which is how he got his name" (p27).

Chuck first showed up on the reservation after being abandoned by tourists. Herod took him in and nursed him back to life, but Chuck decided he wanted to live with Harley after he recovered. He's lucky he didn't end up in the soup. This part of the novel is not so hard to believe. There are many dogs on the reservation that are in the same

predicament as Chuck. Many also receive names because of similar circumstances. Dogs are always important in Dakotapi society and Power writes an excellent humorous description about the treatment of animals.

The novel's main protagonist is Harley Wind Soldier. He is left with a hole in his heart that he draws on his chest. This is reminiscent of Sitting Bull who drew a sitting bull attached by a rope, in almost every representation of himself. Harley's, hole is a result of the death of his father and brother seventeen years prior. Mercury Thunder placed a curse on Harley's family. His mother Lydia did not speak for seventeen years, since the time of the accident. Harley is a traditional dancer who finally goes on a vision quest to get rid of the spell placed on his family. He never quite accomplishes this but he does find his own voice by the end of the novel.

This novel however, no matter what my criticism are, lends itself to the continuation of a Dakotapi women's literary traditions. It represents the contemporary fiction of a Lakota descendent. Power learned many of the stories from her mother and grandmother. This being her first novel I am sure that subsequent ones will deal more carefully with cultural information. Various chapters from the novel were published in numerous journals.

Other works published by Power include "Beaded Soles," a short story that appeared first in Other Voices

(Summer/Fall 1991), and in Reinventing the Enemy's Language (1993). "Red Moccasins," is published in the Fall (1992) issue of Story. "Wild Turnips," is a short story published in the High Plains Literary Review (Summer 1992). Power also published "Stone Woman," an essay appearing in Iowa Woman (1991).

Power is following in the footsteps not only of her grandmother, but of Dakotapi women writers who have proven themselves competent in the literary world. By transforming the stories she heard from her parents and grandparents into written texts, she took an honorable role by making sure that aspects of the cultural world view of her people are passed down to further generations. Now the rest of the literary world can share in the knowledge of that heritage.

The women included in this chapter found ways of expressing themselves as writers, as Dakotapi women. Yet, to say that they have not masculinized their stories to a certain degree, would be erroneous. Given their cultural upbringing according to the spiritual, religious, linguistic, and educational attainment of each woman, they set a pattern for the continuance of Dakotapi women's writing. Our lives changed as our cultures changed. Each of these women experienced near-death (except for Power) and it shaped their lives from then on. Power is the only one who is an academic writer and an academic by profession.

NOTES

1. When I discuss her second autobiographical "as told to" story, I address her as Brave Bird because this is how she is referred to as a co-author to this book.

2. I will only mention a few more (there are many), Dakota, Lakota, Nakota women writers; such as: Ruth Hunsinger, Vivian One Feather, Darlene Speidel, Lois Red Elk, Mary Thunder, Jo Whitehorse Cochran, Lanniko Louelle Lee. Hunsinger writes mostly about social concerns and historical accounts of Lakota life. She was born on Rosebud reservation in South Dakota. Speidel was born and raised on Standing Rock reservation in North and South Dakota. She attended the same high school as the one I spent a part of a quarter at before they told me never to return. Red Elk is from Fort Peck reservation in Montana. She is Yankton. She is primarily a poet. Lee is also a poet.

3. He is discussed in Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions.

4. The seven sacred rites are: 1) Sundance (Owang Wacipi), 2) Vision Quest (Hanbleciya), 3) Sweat Bath (Inipi), 4) Keeping of the Ghost, 5) Adoption (Hunka), 6) Girl Becomes a Woman, and 7) Throwing of the Ball. See The Sacred Pipe (Neihardt 1953).

5. At around the age of forty, or after menopause, a woman can speak her mind, and live much more freely according to traditional culture. Women are not supposed to express themselves too loudly or forcefully up until this point.

6. See Appendix A.

7. Many believe that Wilma Mankiller holds that honor but there were several women who held the position of chair in various tribes prior to Wilma, Josephine Gates Kelly being one of them.

8. John Salter Jr. taught at the University of North Dakota where I did my undergraduate and masters degrees. He is well-known for his efforts during the civil rights movements of the 1960s and his friendship and association with Medgar Evers, a civil rights leader killed for his outspoken activism. In a conversation John and I had in his office, he discussed his friendship with Susan Power's family, then living in the Chicago area. Ironically, this was long before I knew that I would write about Dakotapi women in a dissertation.

CONCLUSION

> I am an extreme advocate of feminine perspectives in anthropology. I believe that women's activities and women's orientations to Lakota life-styles have been slighted, both in the ethnographic literature and in contemporary studies. This is true of the totality of women's activities and women's orientations to Lakota life-styles. (Medicine 1987, 160)

In Chapter One, "Women's Oral Traditions," there are three examples of oral stories central to Dakotapi literature. "Fallen Star" and "White Buffalo Calf Woman" are by males. "Standing Rock Legend," recorded by Dakotapi women, focuses on the significance of women in Dakotapi oral traditions. "Fallen Star," "White Buffalo Calf Woman," and "Standing Rock Legend," are only a few of the numerous stories sacred to the Dakotapi cultural world view. They all include information necessary for an understanding of the central role Dakotapi women play in the cultural belief system.

Discussed in this chapter is the difference between James LaPointe's and Ronald Goodman's versions of the "Fallen Star" oral story. Goodman synthesized the version in Lakota Star Knowledge: Studies in Lakota Stellar Theology (1990), a compilation of oral stories from the Oral History Project at Sinte Gleska University on the Rosebud Indian reservation. The discrepancy between the Goodman and LaPointe versions of "Fallen Star" is not an enigma. The synthesis of the stories from the various versions he used, and that his male configuration of that story causes a shift

of focus from the female characters central to the story, to the male protagonists in the story. LaPointe, more aware of the importance of keeping the story female-centered is a more reliable source. LaPointe's version is also not an amalgamation of different variations of the story. It is a legitimate variant of the story and thus warrants inclusion in this dissertation.

As stated, a shift in the literature took place over time. The literature shifted from being woman-centered to male-centered. This is due, in large part, to the stories being recorded by males from a male perspective. It is also because of the unwillingness of women to talk to these male recorders (Albers and Medicine 1983). This lack of focus on the centrality of Dakotapi women to the oral traditions can also be attributed to male recorders' disregarding the importance of women in general (Gilbert and Gubar 1985). This is a result of sentimentalism present in American letters and a contention of the "true womanhood and domicity" of women.

Chapter Two, "Establishment of Women's Early Written Traditions," focuses on the writings of Marie Louise McLaughlin (Anpetu Waste Win), Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (Zitkala-Sa), and Ella Cara Deloria (Anpetu Waste Win). They established a tradition of women writers, each contributing, in part, to the survival of Dakotapi values through the written word.

Marie McLaughlin's writing is highly influenced by Christianity. Some of the stories in her only book, Myths and Legends of the Sioux (1916, 1990), contribute to masculinization of the stories she learned from her consultants. Thus some of the stories in her book are male-centered. In stories that focus on marriage, the characters that are most often represented by Dakotapi women, McLaughlin often changed to women from different tribes, such as the Arikara, to avoid mention of such things as polygamy, in which males often married the sister or biological relative of the first wife.

Gertrude Simmons Bonnin's writings reveal both the refeminization of the oral stories and their masculinization. The audience for whom Zitkala Sa wrote and what she was describing influenced her decision to use male protagonists. Her writing was also influenced to a large degree by the strict religious indoctrinization she went through as a child. Although she was fully aware of the role expected of her as a woman, she refused to fulfill it in the context of the Christian beliefs that had become the norm for many of her people.

Ella Cara Deloria is the one individual who drew clear distinctions between the initial feminine nature of Dakotapi stories and their later male-centered shift that forms because of Christianization and male transcription of the stories. Deloria attempted to refeminize many of the

stories. In her works, "whether she acknowledged this interest, found more Lakota-speaking storytellers, or assumed that greater Teton numbers enhanced linguistic survival, Deloria wrote more pages in Lakota than anyone else before or since" (Rice 1992, 2). Deloria often wrote the text in Lakota first and then translated it to English. She did this with Waterlily (1988). Unlike the recent discovery of Bonnin's materials, the location of the manuscript of Waterlily in its Lakota form is unknown. It is assuredly in some archival library, perhaps in the papers of Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, or in some university president's boxes, as with Bonnin's manuscripts. Some may argue that it no longer is extant.

Chapter Three, "Survival of Women's Written Traditions," concentrates on three prominent women writers who were clearly influenced by academe. Beatrice Medicine, Elizabeth Cook Lynn, and Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve survived the academic world. In fact, they flourished as writers and are well-respected by their colleagues. Now retired, each is also well-respected by many of her relatives among the Dakotapi peoples. Each also received negative criticism from members of her own society. Each recognized her responsibility to her people to contribute to the refeminization of the literature. Each wrote texts that pass on critical knowledge about culture and cultural changes. Each chose to write about issues that are social

"manifestos" in content.

According to Roemer (Bataille 1993), Elizabeth Cook Lynn's writing is shaped by "Family, tribe, place, and Momaday" (p62). Her poetry and fiction are shaped throughout by a feminine narrative voice. Personal history, mythic storytelling, and personal experience are the themes present throughout Cook Lynn's writing (Bruchac 1987, Bataille 1993). Cook Lynn's cultural world view is expressed throughout her works including, as I have discussed, in her latest book Why I Can't Read Wallace Stegner and Other Stories: A Tribal Voice (1996).

Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve, criticized for writing from a male-centered perspective, claims this conscious choice (as did Zitkala Sa), so that she can sell books in the current children's literature market. Sneve, however, wrote a female-centered text in Chichi Hoohoo Boogeyman (1975) and continued in this line with the publication of her autobiography, Completing The Circle (1995). Each of the women considered here made a conscious decision to refeminize Dakotapi women's literature.

Chapter Four, "Continuance of Traditions by Contemporary Women," presents a literary critique of several contemporary women writers. Susan Power, Mary Brave Bird (Crow Dog), Barbara Means Adams, and Betty Jean Eadie are only a few of the many younger Dakotapi women writers. While their works do possess some aspects of traditional

Dakotapi culture, they are not traditional women. In fact, all are contemporary Dakotapi women with influences that set them apart from the other writers covered in previous chapters. As Susan Power is the only writer in this generation of women writers that I consider to write from a perspective that she is fully aware of the obligation to refeminize the literature. This is clearly seen in The Grass Dancer (1993). The extent to which Power succeeds in convincing the reader of the social issues she brings up in the novel is disputable. Oftentimes she falls short of her mark.

Mary Brave Bird's autobiographical Lakota Woman (1990) and Ohitika Woman (1993) are problematic on several levels, although they do give the reader a clear picture of contemporary society and the social problems that are currently out of control in Dakotapi culture. Barbara Means Adams' and Betty Jean Eadie's books fall far short of representing a refeminization of Dakotapi literature. In fact, they can be said to represent a New Age slant on Dakotapi culture. It can be argued that these books, although the authors are legitimately consider themselves Dakotapi are far from representative of a refeminization of the literature.

As the role and status of women changes, these writers provide information on their individual lives and how they were shaped by their respective cultural upbringing and

participation. Each of these women contributed to either the masculinization or refeminization of Dakotapi literature by telling their own stories. Often they do both because they are writing from a Christian perspective. Some write strictly from an autobiographical standpoint while others use fiction and literary criticism to describe their own perspectives as Dakotapi women.

Chapter Five is the Conclusion. This closing section focuses primarily on the place of Dakotapi women according to the variables set forth in this dissertation. That is, each individual's writing is influenced by her spiritual, religious, linguistic, cultural, and educational upbringing. Beatrice Medicine (Albers and Medicine 1983) informs us that in

> much of the ethnohistorical and ethnographic literature on Plains Indians, females are characterized as docile human beings and drudges. Such characterizations serve as a counterpoint to the commonly described male attributes of aggressiveness and bravery. But when one moves beyond the idealized generalizations and examines actual descriptions of individuals and their activities, it becomes apparent that there was considerable variation in the roles of women and men. (p267)

Women shaped culture in hunting and gathering societies (as in all societies). Men stayed away from the camp for long periods of time; thus, women became the primary shapers of children, who then became molders themselves.

In Western cultures we find that women are the shapers of cultures also but somehow males take precedence over

females in almost all aspects of life, especially literary history (Gilbert and Gubar 1985). Early European-American explorers viewed Dakotapi women through a Western ideological framework, thus misinterpreting what they witnessed, in reference to women, at almost every turn (Abel 1939, McDermott 1952). The works of Dakota, Lakota, Nakota writers and "other" writers contextualize the ever-unfolding place Dakotapi studies holds in the academic professions. Dakotapi women are at the core of cultural and societal survival. Thus they should be given equal time in the classroom and in scholarly literature. The separate roles of women and men warrant clarification in the classroom. The inclusion of materials relevant to the study of women may eventually balance out the scales. Furthermore, a clarification and reassessment of the historical record is also warranted.

Each Dakotapi woman writer considered here continued the tradition of passing down her own family history and what she learned about her own tribal group's view of the world. Writing, or the desire to write, comes out of the individual experiences that each endured in her lifetime. Each was influenced by spirituality, religion, language, culture, and education. This dissertation presents a Lakota woman's belief that information about Dakotapi women's lives should be reevaluated and included in scholarly interpretations.

With this notion in mind, I ask for open-mindedness in the readers, especially academics. There is a continuing trend of native peoples, especially native women, reclaiming their own histories and stories. This dissertation, for personal and professional reasons, was hard to write, primarily because I am a Lakota woman. Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve says

> It was necessary to engage in an unscholarly approach of reverse research. I have gone to written sources only to substantiate what I had already known of the women who were at the center of the circle. (Sneve 1987, 130)

What is seen as unscholarly by many non-Indian academics is seen as scholarly by those Indian academics and critics who are aware that native people are learning to define for themselves the theories and hypotheses associated with their own cultures and literatures. I am also making such an attempt.

The oral traditions of any culture are important to the strengthening, renewal, remembering, and continuation of that particular groups cultural world view (Hobson 1979). For Dakotapi people the oral traditions are recorded by numerous individuals from academe. The Dakotapi people also have those oral traditions intact within the older generations. There is a disparity between how non-Indian academics and Dakotapi elders describe the oral traditions of the Dakota, Lakota, Nakota peoples. What was once a

woman-centered oral tradition has oftentimes been shifted to a more male-focused literature, oral and written. The oral traditions of the Dakotapi are now written down. This written literature has been male-biased. Dakotapi women writers have made strenuous efforts to change this bias back to a more egalitarian balance between the genders as they are described in literature, oral and written. Throughout the generations there has been change for the Dakotapi people. That change is evident in the writing of Dakotapi women writers considered in this dissertation. Each of the generations have made attempts to refeminize the literature. Each generation, for various reasons, have also masculinized the literature. Some did it just to be heard by the larger, mainstream audiences reading literature. Others did it simply to be heard because male protagonists are often listened to more often than female ones. Some writers did it deliberately at the request of publishers. Others did it because of religious upbringing that is male-biased.

Each generation of Dakotapi women writers is influenced to a large degree by education either negatively or positively. The more educated an individual became, the more they took pains to refeminize Dakotapi literature. For the first two generations considered here, the more religious an individuals upbringing was, the more they oftentimes received an education beyond the norm for

American Indian women. The third generation considered in this dissertation is impacted by a diaspora of cultural influences. They are much more divergent as a generation of women writers than the first two generations. This was caused by a breakdown in the transference of cultural world view from their elders.

Each generation of Dakotapi women writers considered in this dissertation are impacted by an array of cultural influences. Five of those influences include: spirituality, religion, language, cultural teachings and practice, and education. All of these factors intertwine on a multidimensional level creating unique individuals. The cultural upbringing and experiences of each individual led them to become writers.

Clearly there was a gender shift in Dakotapi literatures. Women occupy a sacred place within the matrix of Dakotapi societies. To a large degree there was a loss of the significance of women's roles in mythology and in history. Each of the writers discussed in this dissertation plays a role in the continuance of Dakotapi women's roles. For some, there was a distinct purpose to their writing, to giving credence to the role of women in the literature of the Dakotapi peoples. For others, there was less of an adherence to the importance of women's roles in the literature. This dissertation shows how an individual's cultural upbringing is influenced by spirituality, religion,

language and educational attainment. To that end I hope that this work is useful to the Oyate Tatanka.

Where it was once more egalitarian, today Dakotapi society is male dominated now because of early missionary and governmental educational practices (Powers 1986). The treatment of Dakotapi women by their men today is a result, in part, of what Dakotapi males learned from being educated in a non-Dakotapi educational system. What Dakotapi males learned traditionally about the proper treatment of women, from hearing the oral stories, is lost. For those who do not hear the stories it is lost.

There are still parents and grandparents who teach their children, and grandchildren, the oral stories of the Dakotapi, and to respect women. In The Sacred Hoop (1986, 30), Paula Gunn Allen suggests:

> self-redefinition among Indian women who intend that their former stature be restored has resulted from several political factors. The status of tribal women has seriously declined over the centuries of white domination, as they have been all but voiceless in tribal decision-making bodies since reconstitution of the tribes through colonial fiat and U.S. law.

In respect to Dakotapi culture specifically, the question must be asked, "To what extent has the status of women in Dakotapi society changed?" There is no doubt that encroachment played a key role in the decline of Dakotapi women's status over the past century. All aspects of Dakotapi culture changed drastically, leaving a society scarred psychologically and emotionally. But Dakotapi women

are not, nor have they ever been "voiceless." Such organizations as the Sacred Shawl Society, the Lakota Women's Council, and Women of All Red Nations (WARN), attest to the voice of Dakotapi women (Powers, M. 1986, 126).

Many relationships between women and men today are not necessarily formed around a "perfect dialectic." Historically, there is a failure of non-Indian men to see that Dakotapi society and the role of Dakotapi women were different from mainstream society. Non-Indian men misinterpreted Lakota culture on the basis of trying to fit Dakotapi society and culture into a different paradigm.

Gender differences can be understood more fully by examining them from an emic point of view. Powers (1986) contends Oglalas view their society as one "where complementarily between the sexes is highly valued, [and] it is unlikely that either male chauvinism or feminism can adequately explain people's behavior" (p36). As a feminist, I consider the role women play in Dakotapi oral literature to be essential to understanding the cultural world view of the Dakotapi.

Dakotapi women's roles changed, yet they stayed consistently viable in comparison to the roles of Dakotapi men. Women are still child bearers, child rearers, and primary language teachers. Dakotapi women's statuses changed, sometimes for the better and sometimes for the worse. Lakota women are held in high esteem in traditional

culture. They are still held in high esteem theoretically and idealistically. Yet, more and more, there are cases where Dakotapi women are the victims of mental and physical abuse by their partners, male or female (Indian Country Today 1994).

On a positive note, women now hold tribal council positions, tribal chair positions, and non-tribal positions. They are lawyers, doctors, police officers. Role and status positions in all areas of Lakota society continually changed for women (as they have for men). In every tribal community, women make contributions that are vital, by

> holding membership on key committees such as the health board, credit board, and numerous school boards. Since 1934 they have been increasingly active in every segment of the tribal bureaucracy, including law and order and the tribal courts. (Powers, M. 1986, 149)

Even though many native people view the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 negatively, it is undeniable that the Act gave rise to a more direct role played by women in their communities. This description of the roles Dakotapi women are engaged in today are quite different, yet not exclusive, from the traditional roles they carried out in everyday life a century ago.

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APPENDIX A

Modern Day Sioux Reservations:
Displacement by reservation and tribe.

1. Lower Sioux
   Morton, MN.
   Mdewakantowan

2. Upper Sioux
   Granite Falls, MN.
   Mdewakantowan, Sisseton

3. Prairie Island
   Red Wing, MN.
   Mdewakantowan

4. Prior Lake
   Shakopee, MN.
   Mdewakantowan

5. Flandreau Reservation
   Flandreau, SD.

6. Santee Sioux Reservation
   Santee, NE.
   Mdewakantowan, Wahpekute

7. Fort Peck Reservation
   Fort Peck, MT.

8. Sisseton Reservation
   North and South Dakota

9. Devils Lake Sioux Reservation
   Fort Totten, ND.
   Sisseton, Wahpeton, Yanktonnais

10. Yankton
    Lake Andes, SD.
    Yankton, Yanktonnais

11. Standing Rock *2
    Ft. Yates, ND.
    North and South Dakota
    Yanktonnais, Hunkpapa, Sihasapa,
    Miniconjou, Oglala, Sicangu

12. Lower Crow Creek
    Chamberlain, SD.
    Yanktonnais

13. Cheyenne River
    Eagle Butte, SD.
    Minneconjous, Sihasapa
    Oohenonpa, Sans Arc

14. Rosebud
    Rosebud, SD.
    Upper Brules, Oglalas

15. Pine Ridge
    Pine Ridge, SD. *1
    Oglalas, Upper Brules

16. Lower Brule
    Chamberlain, SD.
    Lower Brules

TETON OR LAKOTA DIALECT

Lakota	English	Present Day Location
1. Brule or Sicangu	Burnt Thighs	Rosebud
2. Oohenonpa	Two Kettles	Cheyenne River Reservation
3. Sans Arc or Itazipacodan	Without Bows	Cheyenne River Reservation
4. Minneconjou	Planters by the Stream	Cheyenne River Reservation
5. Sihasapa	Blackfeet	Cheyenne River & Standing Rock
6. Hunkpapa	End of the Horn or entrance	Standing Rock
7. Oglala	Scatter Their Own	Pine Ridge Reservation

SANTEE OR DAKOTA DIALECT

Dakota	English	Present Day Location
1. Mdewakantonwan	People of the Spirit Lake	Morton, Prairie Is. and Up. Sioux, MN Flandreau, SD. Santee, NE.
2. Wakpekute	Shoot Among the Trees	Santee Res., NE. Ft. Peck Rez, MT.
3. Wakpeton	Dwell Among Leaves	Devil's Lake Re, ND. Flandreau, SD. Lake Traversie, SD.
4. Sisseton	People of the Swamp	Lake Traversie, SD Devil's Lake, ND

YANKTON OR NAKOTA DIALECT

Nakota	English	Present Day Location
1. Yankton or Ihanktonwana	Camp at the End	Standing Rock ND, SD Devil's Lake, ND.
2. Yanktonias or Ihanktonwanna	Little Camp at the End	Crow Creek Rez, SD.; Ft. Peck Rez, MT.

3. Yanktonais		Yankton Reservation Lake Andes, SD.

J-DIALECT

J- Dialect	(Stonies)	
Assiniboin	Cook with Stones	Ft. Peck, MT.; Ft. Belmap Reserve, Canada *3

1* When the Sioux gathered on the Pine Ridge in 1890 they came from all Sioux reservations. They were not permitted to return to their home reservations after Wounded Knee 1890. Many people living at Pine Ridge, as with all the other reservations are not full-blood Oglala. I refer to this in a later Chapter. Intermarriage has also led to many different groups living on the various reservations. There are people on each of these reservations who have Dakotapi blood genetically. Today, the Lakota are the largest linguistic and genetic stock.

2* Standing Rock College's name has been changed. It has been changed because some people wanted it changed, believing that the legend was strictly about an Arikara woman. Why would they want it to be called by Sitting Bull's name when saying the name of the deceased is a bad omen. Would Sitting Bull have wanted it? Looking to his relationship with the agency, the agent, and the mixed bloods who wanted him silenced, I would think not. As he once said in response to his loyalness to his people in not signing a treaty, "There are no more Indians but me." All other men at the delegation signed but him.

3* There are Sioux groups still living in Canada. These are remnants of Sitting Bull, Gall, and other groups, and the descendants of the Santee, Sisseton, and Wahpeton who fled to Canada and remained after the Minnesota Uprising of 1862. See Native America in the Twentieth Century: An Encyclopedia (Davis 1994).

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