

**THE
HISTORY
AND
CULTURE
OF THE
MNI WAKAN
OYATE**

(SPIRIT LAKE NATION)





North Dakota Department of Public Instruction
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Front cover photo

Pipe Bag - Dakota -
pictographic bead & quill work
on Indian-tan leather.

circa 1900

State Historical Society of North Dakota
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FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS:

- Migration
- Treaties and Treaty Making
- Reservation
- Boarding Schools
- Indian Policy and Federal Legislation

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Where did the Dakota originate?
2. Over what period of time did their migration occur?
3. According to documented history, how long have the people lived in their present location?
4. How did the Dakota record the events of their existence?
4. What was the long-term effect of the treaties made with the Dakota?
5. For other parties?
6. What effect did language have on the treaty negotiations process?
7. Why were reservations created?
8. What was the impact of boarding schools on the culture and language of the Dakota?
9. What was the impact of federal legislation on the Dakota?

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- THE 1851 TREATY AT TRAVERSE DES SIOUX

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- CAUSES OF THE GREAT DAKOTA CONFLICT
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TRIBAL HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The "Dakota" which means "friends" "Oyate" - which means "the people," or Sioux, as they sometimes call them today, comprise the membership of the Spirit Lake reservation, formerly Devils Lake Sioux Reservation. The reservation lies within North Central North Dakota. The term "Sioux" is a corrupted version of an Ojibway -Algonquian term "Naud-owa-se-wug," meaning "like unto the adders." The term was later corrupted resulting in the retention of the syllable that sounds like "Sioux." (Meyer, 1967, 1993). However, the Ojibwa always called the Dakotas "A-boin-ug or "Roasters." (Warren, 1984). The Dakota at Fort Totten are called the Mni Wakan Oyate - "the people of the Spirit Water."

White ethnographers' interpretations of Dakota origin narratives, place the Dakota origin in many eastern parts of the United States. These narratives are many and are well documented. However, they are not Dakota beliefs. These documents can be found in Indian studies departments or in the Minnesota Historical Society archives. However, recent findings in the Granite Falls and Browns Valley Man archeological sites, and Waconia evidence confirms that aboriginal ancestors of the Dakota lived in Minnesota from 8,000 to 10,000 years.

According to Dakota oral history, the Dakota believed they were always in the area around the Minnesota River at Mille Lacs Lake. According to Dakota philosophy, the belief is that all living things originated from a great mysterious creator (God). In this philosophical context, the origin of the Dakota comes from the Creator and is a mystery - a truth only the Creator knows. If the Creator should want his people to know this, he would surely give them a sign. Dakota oral historians and holy men living in Dakota communities and reservations may share this information.

Of the seven original council fires of the great Dakota Nation, the two that make up the "Mni Wakan Oyate" (the people of the Spirit Water) are the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands. While the term Santee (*Isanti*) has been applied by non-Indian writers to both the Nakota and Lakota and all the Eastern Dakota as a group, the word *Santee* or *Isanti* only applies to the Bdewakanton, Sisseton, Wahpeton, and Wahpakute. Two treaties were made in 1851, one at Traverse Des Sioux with the Sisseton-Wahpeton and one with the *Isanti* (Bdewakanton-Wahpakute) at Mendota (different bands). Therefore, the term Santee is not used in this guide when referring to the Spirit Lake people.

When the Sisseton and Wahpeton took possession of the land on the present day reservation, there was a group of the "Cut Head band" of the Ihanktowana (Yankton) Dakota living in the Grahams Island area, as were many mixed bloods, Métis, and workers for the cavalry. The Cut Heads integrated and became a part of the Spirit Lake people.

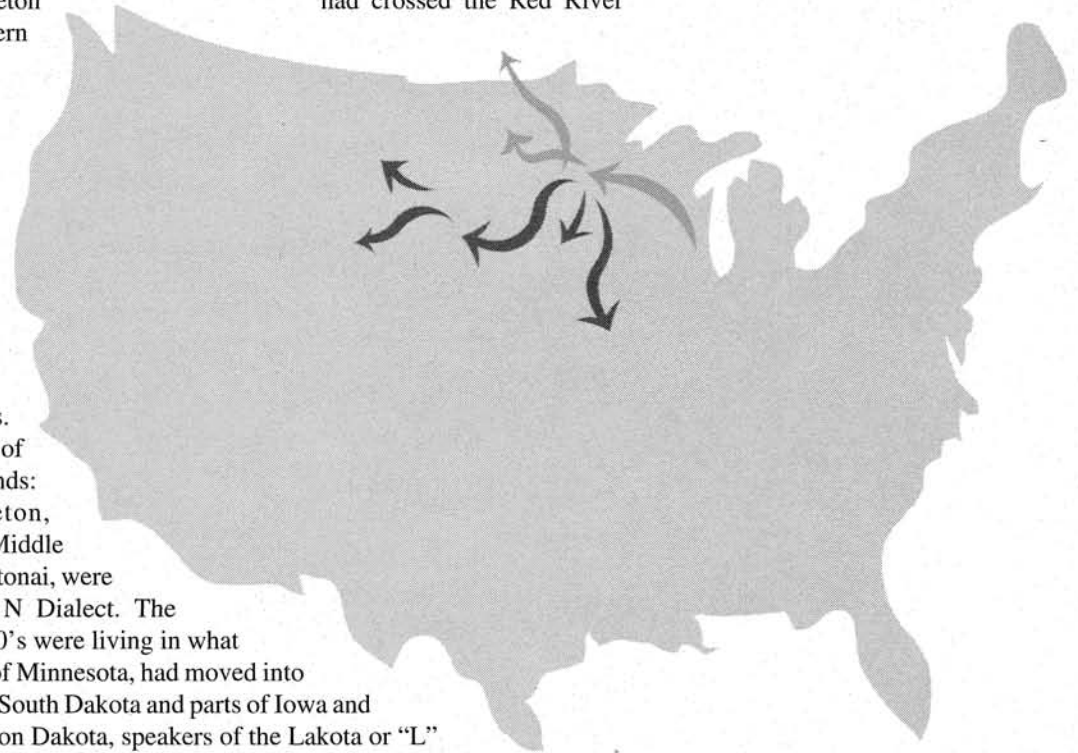
In the early part of the 1700's, the Dakota occupied nearly the whole region of what is now Minnesota, except an extreme northern part long occupied by the Cree and Ojibway people. Before the time of contact between white explorers and the Dakota in the upper Mississippi Valley, the Teton Dakota moved onto the prairies and the Black Hills area. The Great Dakota Nation formed a political alliance known as the Seven Fireplaces or Council Fires or *Oceti Sakowin*. (Meyer). (The *Oceti Sakowin*, was a confederation similar to that of the Iroquois Confederacy. The difference between the Iroquois confederacy and the *Oceti Sakowin* is that the Dakotas were culturally similar kinship groups, bands, or families which established social and political rules to govern themselves.) These people were similar in their language and culture in their woodland's environment. Later they became more distinct as they moved and adapted to the environment of the plains.

DAKOTA MIGRATION

Throughout the 1700's the Dakota bands moved westward, one by one, onto the open plains. Some of them may have left the forest in search of game or other food. Many were pushed out by the Ojibwa, who were stronger because they had obtained guns from French traders and explorers, while the Dakota still had bows and arrows. By the mid-1700's, it is believed that small bands of Teton and were exploring the western plains. had crossed the Red River

History suggests that once the many tribes were historically connected or may have shared the same language of the great Dakota Nation. Those tribes were the Mandan, Crows, Winnebago, Omaha, and Iowa (Hill, 1911). The great Dakota Nation was divided into three dialects and seven major bands.

The Eastern Dakotas, speakers of the D dialect, comprised four bands: the Mdewakanton, Wahpeton, Wahpekute, and Sisseton. The Middle Dakota: the Yankton, and Yanktonai, were speakers of the "Nakota" or N Dialect. The Yanktonai, who before the 1800's were living in what is now the southern two-thirds of Minnesota, had moved into southern North Dakota, eastern South Dakota and parts of Iowa and Minnesota. The Western or Teton Dakota, speakers of the Lakota or "L" dialect, were the largest division with seven bands: Blackfoot, Two Kettle, Miniconjou, Hunkpapa, Brule, Sansarc, and Oglala.



The Dakota of Spirit Lake in North Dakota comprise two of the Bands of the Eastern Dakota: the Wahpeton, the *Dwellers Among the Leaves* and the Sisseton, the *People of the Ridged Fish Scales*. Other Dakotas include the Wahpekute, the *Shooters Among the Leaves* and the Mdewakanton, the *Dwellers Among the Spirit Lake* (Mille Lacs Lake). Kappler calls these the *Sioux of the Leaf*, the *Broad Leaf*, and *those who shoot in the Pine Tops*. (pp. 128-129).

SUB-BANDS OF THE SISSETONWAN

- 1 - Wita Waziyata Otina (North Island Dwellers) North Island is in Lake Traverse. Ohdihe (Falling headfirst)
- 2 - Basdecesni (Those who do not split the buffalo backbone) Itokahtina (Dwellers at the south) an island in Lake Traverse.
- 3 - Kahmiationwan (Village at the bend) Cansdacikana (little place bare of wood)
 - Keze (Barbed)
- 4 - Cankute (Shoot at trees)
- 5 - Tizaptan (Five Lodges) The Redfox and Young Families.
- 6 - Kapoza (Light baggage)
- 7 - Abdowapushkiyapi (They who dry meat on their shoulders). Most of the original allottees in the Mission District belong to this band.



SUB-BANDS OF THE WAHPETONWAN

- 1 - Inyančeyaka Atonwan (Village at the rapids).
- 2 - Takapsintonwanna (Those who dwell at the Shinny (a game) ground).
- 3 - Wiyakaotina (Dwellers on the sand)
- 4 - Otehiatonwan (Dwellers in the thickets).
- 5 - Witaotina (Island dwellers).
- 6 - Wakpa Atonwan (Village at the river).
- 7 - Cankagaotina (Log house dwellers) Hazelwood Republic.

SUB-BANDS OF THE IHANKTONWANNA

UPPER -

- 1 - Canona or Wazikute (Wood or pine tree shooters)
- 2 - Takina (Return to life)
- 3 - Siksicena (Bad ones)
- 4 - Bakihon (Gashers)
- 5 - Kiyuska (Law breakers)
- 6 - Pabaksa (Head cut off) These were at Devils Lake but moved to Standing Rock when Agent McLaughlin was transferred.
- 7 - unknown

LOWER - HUNKPATINA

- 1 - Pute Temini (Sweating lips)
- 2 - Šunikceka (Common dogs)
- 3 - Tahuhayuta (Eaters of hide scrapings)
- 4 - Sanona (Rubbed white)
- 5 - Ihaša (Red lips)
- 6 - Itegu (Burnt faces)
- 7 - Pteyutešni (No buffalo cow eaters) Big Track from Crow Hill District was chief. (Ross & Haines 1973).

CONTACT

The first white man to come among the Dakotas was a French missionary, Father Louis Hennepin at their primary village near Mille Lacs Lake in July of 1679. A census of the Sioux, taken by voyageurs in 1736, numbered the Sioux at 10,000. About 1750, the Santee Dakotas were expelled by the Chippewa from their traditional homes around Mille Lacs Lake. English explorer Captain Jonathan Carver in 1766 recorded the organization of the Sioux between River Bands and Prairie Bands. (Meyer, 1993, p. 15).

Official relations with the Dakota began with the expedition of Zebulon Pike into the upper Missouri in 1805-1806. Early in 1805, Lt. Zebulon Pike, was sent by the government to survey the upper Mississippi River for the United States. During this time, Pike recorded 21,675 Dakotas living in the region. Pikes' mission was to obtain cessions of land from the Indians to establish military posts, and government-owned trading posts to protect the Indians from unscrupulous traders. His first contact was with the Dakota, with whom he held a council on September 23, 1805, at a village nine miles north of the Minnesota River. This council meeting was significant because it was the first treaty between the United States and the Dakota. Of the seven Dakota chiefs present at this council, only two of the Dakotas signed this treaty, Little Crow and (Wanyagyainajin) (*Sees Standing*). (Meyer, 1993, p.25)." The Dakota ceded 100,000 acres of land to the United States in the region where the St. Croix and Minnesota rivers join the Mississippi River. For this exchange of land worth \$200,000, the Dakota received \$200 in presents on the spot and later, \$2,000 from the United States.

By the late seventeenth century the Dakota Sioux were heavily influenced by the French and were caught between the French and English in a struggle for power and the fur trade. Forts were established among the Sioux. The French attempted to civilize and make

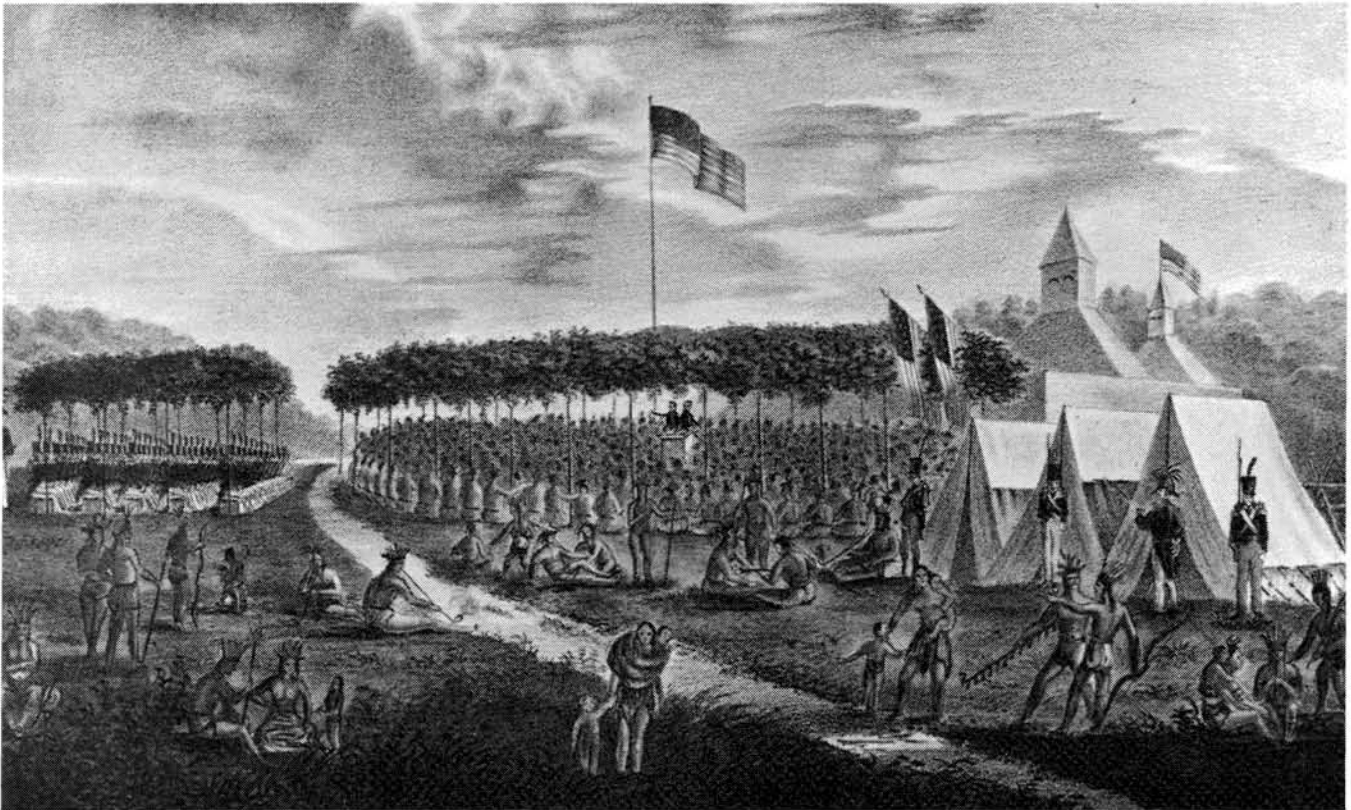
the Dakota dependent upon French goods. By inducing the Dakota to farm it would serve as a deterrent to continued intertribal warfare between the Dakota, Cree, and Chippewa. Further, settlers continued to move into the area because of the 1805 treaty. Many Dakotas were allied with the English in the War of 1812. Another treaty was negotiated on June 1, 1816 with eight bands of the Sioux.

TREATIES

THE TREATY OF PRAIRIE DU CHIEN

Lawrence Taliaferro, was appointed as an agent for the Mississippi Sioux in 1819. By 1836, Taliaferro, believing the material and moral condition of the Sioux worsened with each passing year, proposed another treaty. By this time, many fur traders and missionaries lived among the Dakotas. Traders opposed this treaty because they wanted payment for uncollected debts owed them. Taliaferro, hoping a treaty would satisfy the traders, added a provision going directly to them. He further believed it would ease growing pressure to open the exploitation to timber resources.

As a result, in August of 1823, the first Prairie du Chien Treaty Conference was held. The purpose of the treaty conference was to negotiate a general settlement to end intertribal warfare. The treaty brought together the Dakota, Chippewa, Menominee, Winnebago, Sac & Fox, Iowa, Potawatomi, and Ottawa. Generally the negotiators believed the treaty would bring about peace. Many Indians, however, warned them it would fail. The Dakota notion of land was different and they believed that the land could not be divided because it was “used” by everyone. (Meyer, 1993, p.40).



Print of the Great Treaty held at Prairie du Chien, September 1825, by J.O. Lewis. Photo: courtesy of the collections of the Minnesota Historical Society.

In the summer of 1837, Taliaferro was instructed to take a delegation of Sioux to Washington. The twenty-six Dakotas who went to Washington, believed they were to negotiate a settlement between the Sacs and Foxes. However, the treaty called for a cession

of the lands east of the Mississippi. In return for the lands ceded, the United States promised to:

- invest \$300,000 and pay to the chiefs and braves annually forever an income of not less than five per cent
- apply one-third of the interest as the president saw fit
- pay the rest in goods, \$5,500 annually
- provide relatives and friends of the tribe \$100,000
- provide traders \$90,000 for the debts of the tribe
- pay a \$10,000 annual annuity in goods for 20 years and
- provide a sum of \$8,250 annually for medicines, agricultural equipment, a physician, etc.

It was not until October of that year that the Dakota received the first annuities. What did arrive were insufficient in quantity and inferior in quality. Additionally, some of the funds allocated for "education" were being given to missionaries, a provision to which the Dakotas did not agree. The slow delivery of goods, compounded by traders who marked up the price of trade goods, angered the Dakota.

This treaty went largely unrecognized because the tribes continued to hunt on the lands and the boundaries established by the treaty. As the game dwindled in the Minnesota River area, the Dakotas became more dependent on annuities.

During this period, missionaries were disproportionately represented among the Dakotas. The agent, Taliaferro welcomed them, believing that before christianizing the Indians, they needed to be "civilized." Early missionaries, such as Stephen Riggs and Pond went about their task of "civilizing." A part of their efforts included the development of a dictionary of the Dakota language, in anticipation that the text would be useful once the language had died out. (Riggs, 1834 in Meyer, 1993, p.54).

THE 1851 TREATY AT TRAVERSE DES SIOUX

James Doty, Governor of Wisconsin Territory in 1841, believed the Sioux needed their own territory. He believed that by providing a permanent Indian territory, continued conflicts between the Sioux, Chippewa, Sacs and Foxes, and with other migrating eastern tribes would be limited. A part of Doty's plan included proposing another treaty, employing traders as government employees, and placing Henry H. Sibley in charge. The date for treaty negotiations was set for July 31, 1841. (Meyer, p. 74). This treaty was designed to provide an Indian territory within which the Dakotas were to reside. Tracts of land were to be set aside for each band on the left bank of the Minnesota River and each provided a school, agent, blacksmith, gristmill, and sawmill. The initial treaty was negotiated with the Sissetons, Wahpetons, and Wahpekutes. In August, he negotiated with the Mdewakanton bands, but Red Wing and Wabasha, their chiefs, refused to sell.

Lawrence Taliaferro, former agent for the Sioux, denounced the treaties, believing them to be a plot for the traders to gain complete control over the Sioux. Alexander Ramsey, who became governor of the newly established Minnesota territory in 1849, urged the passage of the 1841 Traverse Des Sioux treaties. The Senate rejected the treaties in August of 1842.

In the summer of 1851, Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was sent to the Upper Mississippi valley, to help Alexander Ramsey negotiate the treaty. On July 18, at Traverse Des Sioux, the upper Sioux - the Sissetons and Wahpetons, were coerced into relinquishing all their claims in what is today Minnesota and a small portion of South Dakota. They were to receive \$1,655,000 for which:

- \$275,000 was to be given for chiefs to settle traders' debts, and the cost of removal and subsistence for the people for one year. The Mdewakantons refused to sign these trader papers."
- \$30,000 to establish schools, blacksmith shops, mills, and farms in the new area

- \$1,360,000 was to bear interest at a rate of 5 per cent per year for fifty years for annual cash annuities of \$40,000, \$10,000 for goods and provisions, \$12,000 for general agricultural and civilization purposes, and \$6,000 for education.

A similar treaty was negotiated a few days later with the Mdewakantons and Wahpekutes at Mendota. The 1851 treaties were termed a “monstrous conspiracy.” According to Meyer:

All the standard techniques were employed by the commissioners. The carrot and the stick-and at least once the mailed fist-were alternately displayed, as the occasion seemed to demand. If the Indians asked for time to consider the terms offered them, they were chided for behaving like women and children rather than men. If they asked shrewd, businesslike questions, the commissioners uttered cries of injured innocence; surely the Indians did not think the Great Father would deceive them! If they wanted certain provisions changed, they were told that it was too late; the treaty had already been written down. The Indians were flattered and brow-beaten by turns, wheedled and shamed, promised and threatened, praised for their wisdom and ridiculed for their folly. In such fashion was their “free consent” obtained. (Meyer, 1993, p. 77).

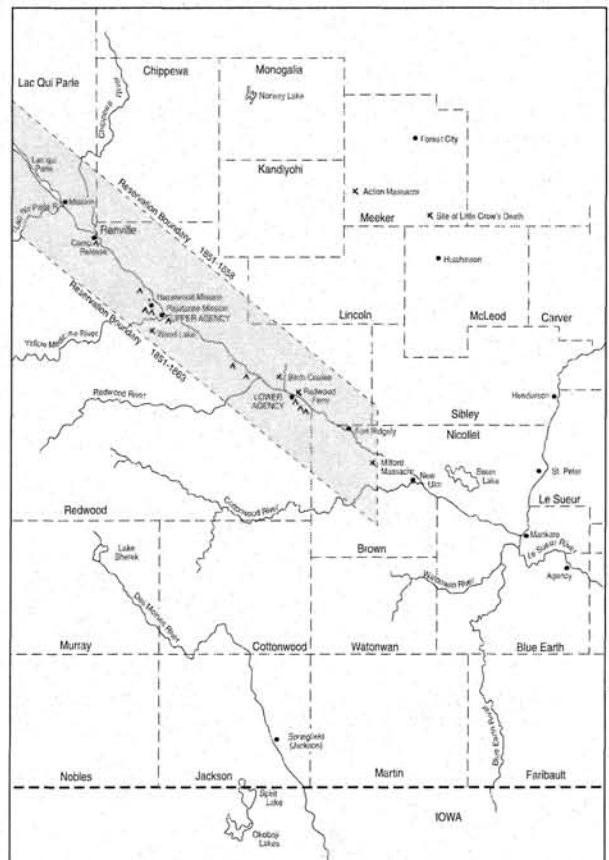
The Sissetons and Wahpetons gave up all their remaining lands except a narrow reservation extending 10 miles on either side of the upper Minnesota River. This treaty opened farming areas of Minnesota to settlement. By the summer of 1862 the new territory was filled with settlers.

When the treaty arrived, the Indians demanded the promised money, which amounted to nearly half a million dollars. Knowing the money had been pledged to the traders, Ramsey, turned to the traders and mixed-bloods to assist him by getting the Indians to sign “receipts” to legitimize the diversion of most of the cash to the traders. The traders received virtually all the cash, their share amounting to about \$350,000.

When the treaty was ratified, the Senate decided the Indians did not need any land at all and struck out an important article which provided for a reservation on the upper Minnesota, extending ten miles either side of the river down to the Yellow Medicine River. (Meyer, 1993, p.80).

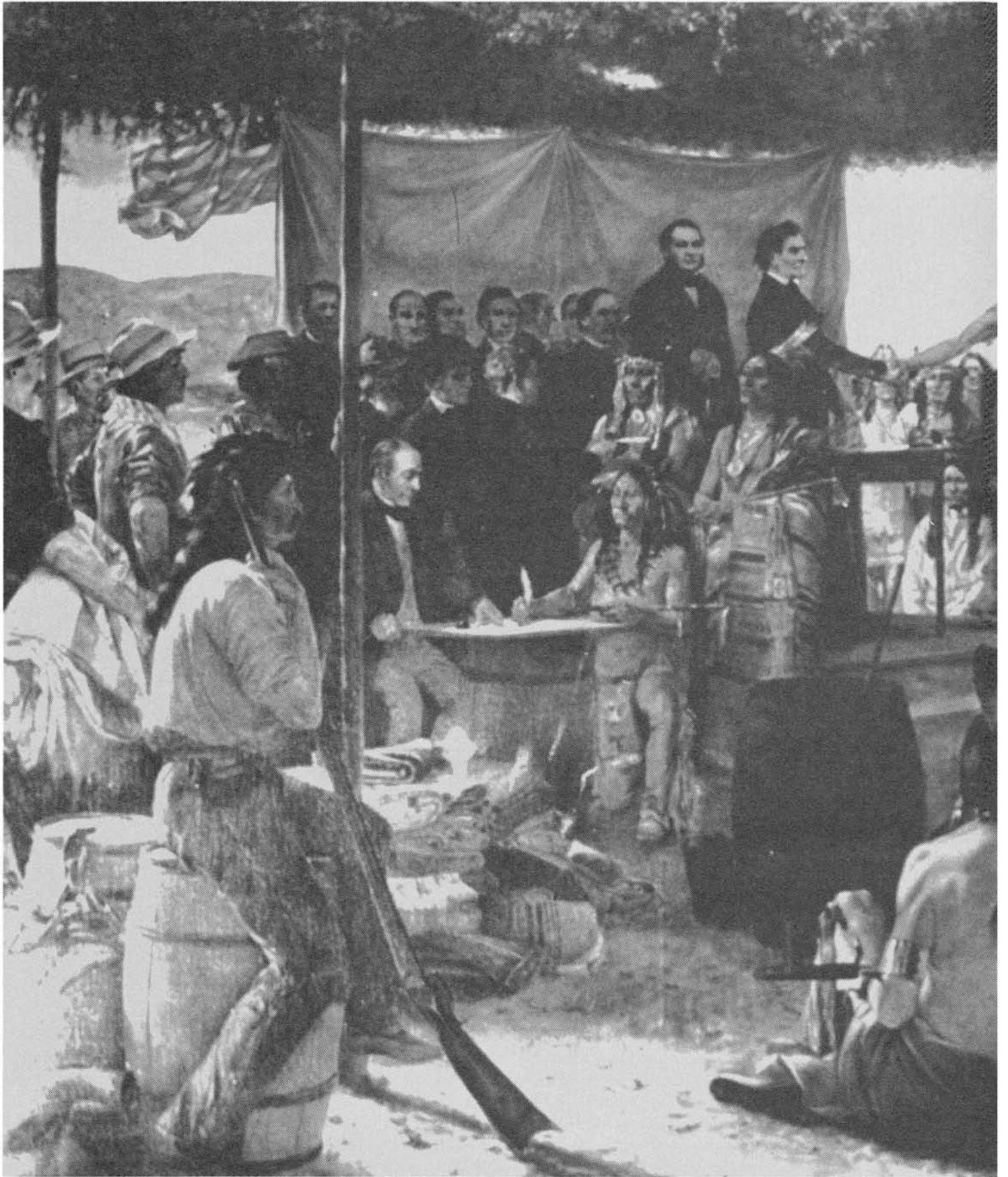
Ramsey, then Governor of Minnesota and Henry H. Sibley, territorial delegate, fearing the Sioux would not accept treaties that left them with no home, persuaded the president to authorize the occupation of the reservation for five years.

By 1854-55 military officers at Fort Ridgely reported that most of the food, promised to the Dakota as a result of the treaties, never made it beyond St. Paul. The food that did reach the agencies was inedible. The Dakota became increasingly frustrated. They were unable to maintain a living by farming. They were starving and even more angry at the government for not sending “annuities” as promised. It was the general sentiment of a majority of the Dakota that the Great Father [president] had cheated them out of their birthright, and failed to keep the governments’ promise that the Indians would no longer suffer from hunger and need.



Sioux Reservations - 1859-1862
Upper Sioux Reservation Boundary Map (Meyer, 1993)

TREATY AT TRAVERSE DES SIOUX.



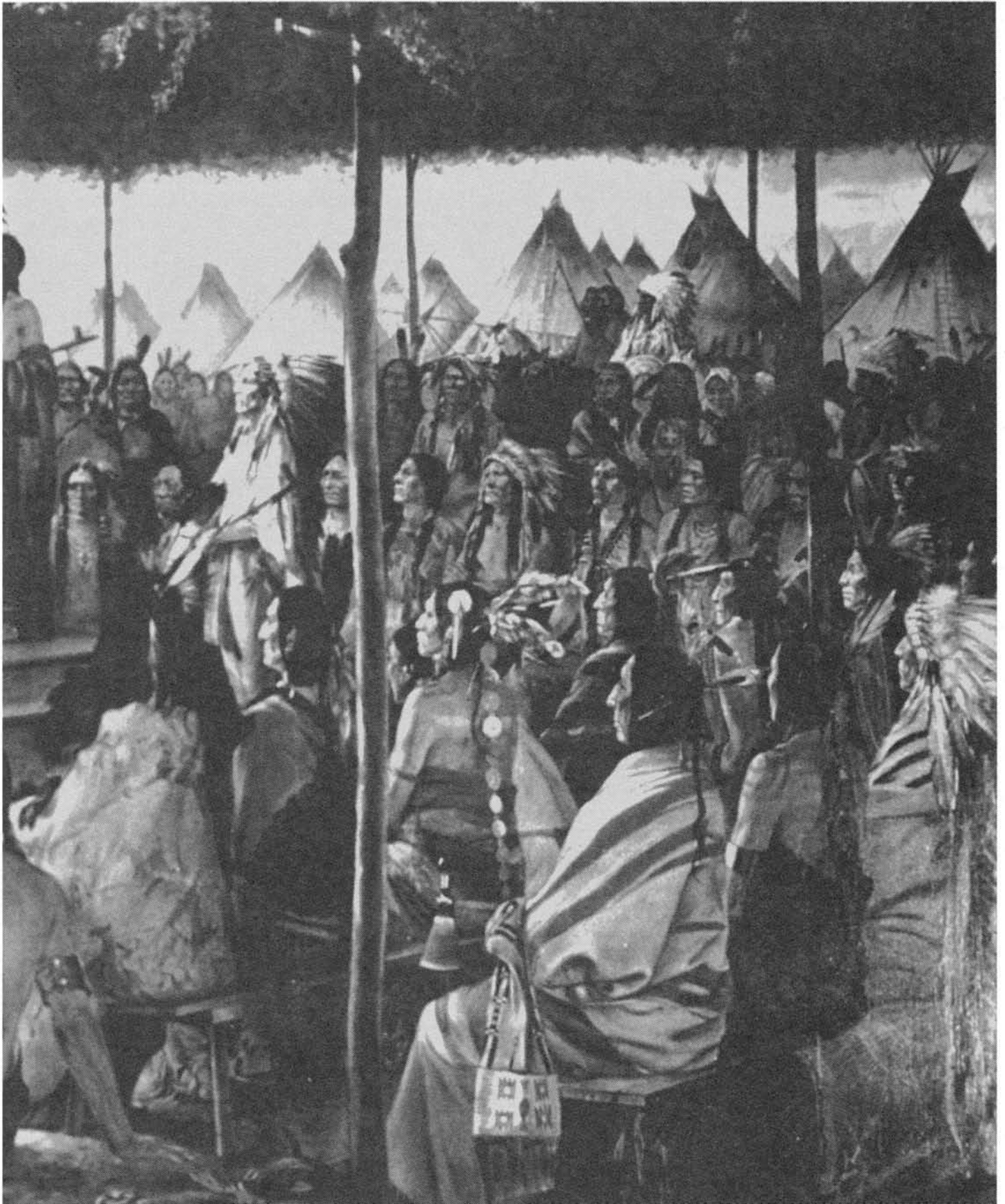


Photo: Oil painting by Francis D. Millet in the Minnesota Capitol, courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.

THE DAKOTA CONFLICT

CAUSES OF THE GREAT DAKOTA CONFLICT

Originally known as the Great Sioux Massacre, Minnesota, or Sioux Uprising, a conflict arose which involved the Dakota and settlers in the Minnesota Valley. Under pressure from government agents and missionaries, many Dakotas were giving up traditional ways and adopting the ways of white men. Many cut their long hair, wore white man's clothing, plowed the land and worshiped the white man's God. A conflict was developing between the Dakota who clung to the old ways, and those who were adopting the new. Tensions were heightened by the policy of the government agents who would give food and supplies to the "Cut-Hairs" (Indians' who had taken up farming) while denying them to those Indians who refused to become like the whites. Warriors, on the other hand, were resisting the pressure to change Dakota ways, and organized a soldier's lodge and other secret societies to preserve Dakota tribal traditions.

From the Dakota standpoint, the causes of the outbreak of 1862 were many. Big Eagle, a Mdewakanton, gave his account:

There was great dissatisfaction among the Indians over many things the whites did. The whites would not let them go to war against their enemies. This was right, but the Indians did not then know it. Then the whites were always trying to make the Indians give up their life and live like white men - go to farming, work hard and do as they did - and the Indians did not know how to do that, and did not want to anyway. It seemed too sudden to make such a change. If the Indians had tried to make the whites live like them, the whites would have resisted, and it was the same way with many Indians. The Indians wanted to live as they did before the treaty of Traverse Des Sioux - go where they pleased and when they pleased; hunt game wherever they could find it, sell their furs to the traders and live as they could.

Then the Indians did not think the traders had done right. The Indians bought goods from them on credit, and when the government payments came, the traders were on hand with their books, which showed that the Indians owed so much and so much, and as the Indians kept no books they could not deny their accounts, but had to pay them, and sometimes the traders got all their money. I do not say that the traders always cheated and lied about these accounts. I know many of them were honest men and kind and accommodating, but since I have been a citizen I know that many white men, when they go to pay their accounts, often think them too large and refuse to pay them, and they go to law about them and there is much bad feeling

...

Big Eagle went on . . .

Then many of the white men often abused the Indians and treated them unkindly. Perhaps they had excuse, but the Indians did not think so. Many of the whites always seemed to say by their manner when they saw an Indian, "I am better than you, and the Indians did not like this. There was an excuse for this, but the Dakotas did not believe there were better men in the world than they.

(Narrative Source: Jerome Big Eagle, "A Sioux Story of the War," Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society 6 (1894): p.312-400.) in Anderson & Woolworth, 1988, pp. 23, 24).

In 1862, there was a long, harsh winter, and crop failure among the Dakotas had been severe the previous year. As a result the Dakotas were starving. Rumors that the government

was financially strapped in the second year of the Civil War, and might not make the promised treaty payment, caused great unrest. Amounting to \$10 per person, the money was due the Dakota in late June, but had not arrived by mid-August. No one knew when the treaty payments might come. Adding to this hardship, the traders closed their stores and cut off credit to the Dakota until the treaty cash arrived.

In early August 1862, 5,000 hungry Dakotas gathered near Yellow Medicine (Pajutzee) River at the upper agency, to demand the food and supplies due them. After being refused by government agents, they stormed the agency warehouse and took 100 sacks of flour.

In order to calm the disturbance, a military detachment was called and soldiers pointed a cannon at the Dakota and the warehouse and threatened to blow it up. Little Crow, traditional Chief of the Dakota, intervened and urged that supplies be given, saying that the traders could be reimbursed by the government when the proper authorizations came through (Coleman & Camp, 1988, p.9). Little Crow said, "When men are hungry, they help themselves." A trader named Andrew J. Myrick, refusing Little Crow's compromise said, "So far as I am concerned, if they are hungry, let them eat grass." The Indians sat in silence while Myrick's remark was translated for them. When they heard it in their own language, they were outraged. Tensions were eased and fighting was averted when an agent sent for soldiers from nearby Fort Ridgely. Food was given to the Dakota to ease the growing tensions at the Upper Agency.



Sioux at Pajutzee in front of the Missionary's house at Pajutzee. Photo assumed to be taken just before the uprising of 1862. Courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.

As the situation worsened, the influence of hereditary chiefs such as Wabasha and Little Crow declined, and the influence of more militant warriors became stronger. Many Dakotas blamed Little Crow for the 1858 treaty that had resulted in the loss of half of the reservation that lay on the north side of the Minnesota River. This area was now filling with settlers. Although the million-acre parcel was worth at least \$5 an acre, the Dakota received 30 cents an acre, most of which went to the traders.

The incident which started the conflict began when four Dakota warriors *Killing Ghost*, *Breaking Up*, *Brown Wing*, and *Runs Against Something While Crawling*, hunting near Acton, Minnesota, took some eggs from a farmer. Although he was starving, the warrior was urged to return the eggs. Unwilling to do so, he was chided as a coward. Hearing this the warrior smashed the eggs. The warriors moved onto the farm encountering the postmaster and engaged him in a shooting match. The postmaster, his wife, her son, and adopted daughter, and some new settlers were killed. The Dakotas, believing that the tide of events could not be reversed, became committed to win the return of their lands. From August 17 to August 25, 1862, under the leadership of Chief Little Crow, traditional chief, the Dakota took over trading posts and attacked settlers. When the conflict ended, 450 settlers and soldiers had been killed. While most of the attacks occurred in scattered settlements, the Dakota raided Fort Ridgely and New Ulm, hoping to clear the Minnesota Valley of its most important settlements. The Dakotas had failed to take either Fort Ridgely or New Ulm. Convinced from the beginning that the war could not be won, Little Crow and a number of followers retreated to the plains. (Coleman & Camp, p. 33).

On October 12, 1862, the Army under Sibley moved against the Dakotas, disarmed and put into chains all of the men. All together, they numbered 400. From October 25 to

November 5, 1862, 392 cases were heard and death sentences were handed out to 307 Dakota warriors, that number was later reduced to 303. (p.33). On December 6, 1862, President Abraham Lincoln approved the execution of 39 Dakota warriors, later reduced to 38. On December 26, 1862, 38 Dakota warriors were hung in a mass execution at Mankato, Minnesota, the largest mass execution in this nation's history.

Early sources termed the outbreak as one of the worst of American history because it sparked a series of Indian wars on the northern plains. It was not until the middle 1960's that researchers were able to sort out the causes of the conflict, and tell the Dakota's side of the events. As a result, in 1987, one-hundred years after the Conflict, the Governor of Minnesota declared a "Year of Reconciliation" between the Dakota and the state of Minnesota.

DAKOTA REMOVAL

On November 7, 1862, 1,700 Dakota women, children, and a few old men, were taken to an internment camp at Fort Snelling, MN.. Between April and May 1863, two boats carrying 1,700 people were shipped from Fort Snelling to St. Louis, and Hannibal, Missouri and then transferred by train and boat to what is now the Crow Creek Reservation in South Dakota.



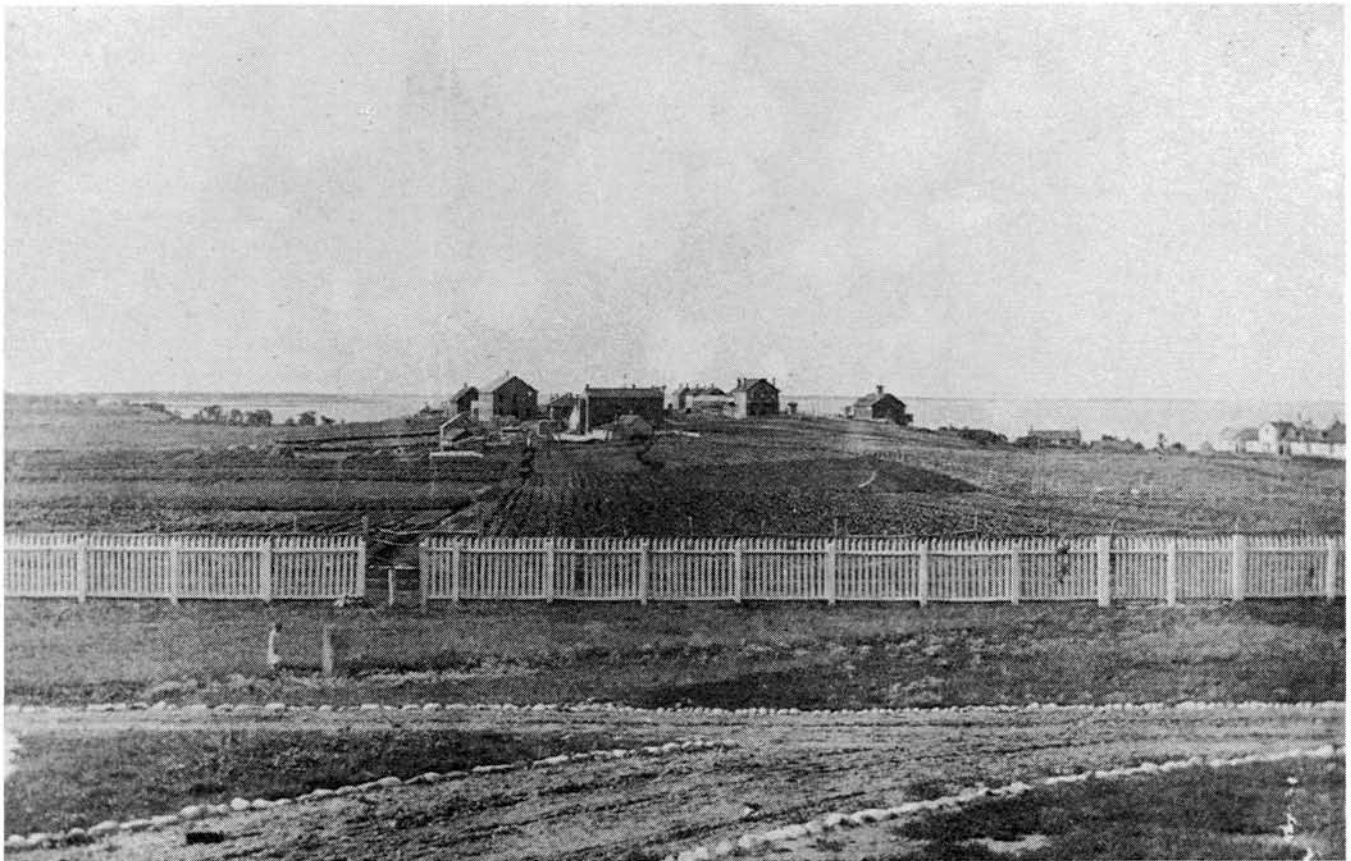
In the spring of 1866, the federal government realizing that Crow Creek was unfit for habitation, moved the surviving 1,000 Dakota down the Missouri near the Niobrara River to what is now known as the Santee Reservation. Other Sisseton and Wahpeton continued to hunt buffalo throughout the territory, but eventually settled near Devils Lake, which they called Spirit Lake, "Mni Wakan" in the northern section of the region. These residents continuously occupied the Spirit Lake Reservation. Descendants of the Dakotas who fled to Canada remain there today and many Dakotas travel to Canada to participate in ceremonies with their relatives who reside on reserves in Canada.

771 Dakota men, women and children are shipped by river boat to the Crow Creek Reservation, and 547 are transported to Hannibal, Missouri. Adapted from the original map by Alan Ominsky.

CREATION OF THE DEVILS LAKE SIOUX RESERVATION

After the Dakota Conflict of 1862, a few Dakotas remained in Minnesota. Most were driven or fled onto the plains of the Dakota Territory while others fled to Canada. The Mdewakanton and Wahpekute bands had been removed to the Santee and Crow Creek reservations on the Missouri River. The Sisseton and Wahpeton bands, who had been mostly innocent of participating in the uprising, settled in northern Dakota.

In February 1867, delegates went to Washington to make a new treaty. The treaty provided for setting up the Lake Traverse or Sisseton Reservation in eastern Dakota, and another reservation south of Devils Lake for those wandering groups of Sissetons and Wahpetons who refused to come to Lake Traverse, as well as for the Cut Head band of the Yanktonai Sioux were also included in the Treaty. (Pfaller, 1978, p.6). When Fort Totten was built in 1867, there were no Indians in the immediate vicinity. The fort was established by General A. H. Terry, and named in honor of Brevet Major General Joseph Gilbert Totten, late chief engineer of the U.S. Army. (DeNoyer, 1901, p.183).



Photograph of Fort Totten Agency, Dakota Territory. Photo courtesy of the picture collection of the North Dakota State Historical Society.

The “acting head chief” of the Sisseton’s at Devils Lake, was Tiowaste, or Good Lodge (called Little Fish). Although provided for in the treaty of 1867, it was not until 1870 that William H. Forbes, was appointed the first agent for the Reservation. It was believed that the Dakotas were induced to move to the Fort because of the harshness of the winter and the degree of starvation amongst them.

During the 1870’s, the number of Dakotas at Fort Totten grew, from the few who gathered around the region, to more than 500. These Dakotas, because of their numbers, brought financial support and an agent to the military fort. The Dakotas, through the urging of this agent, named Cramsie, were seeing a measure of self-sufficiency during this period.

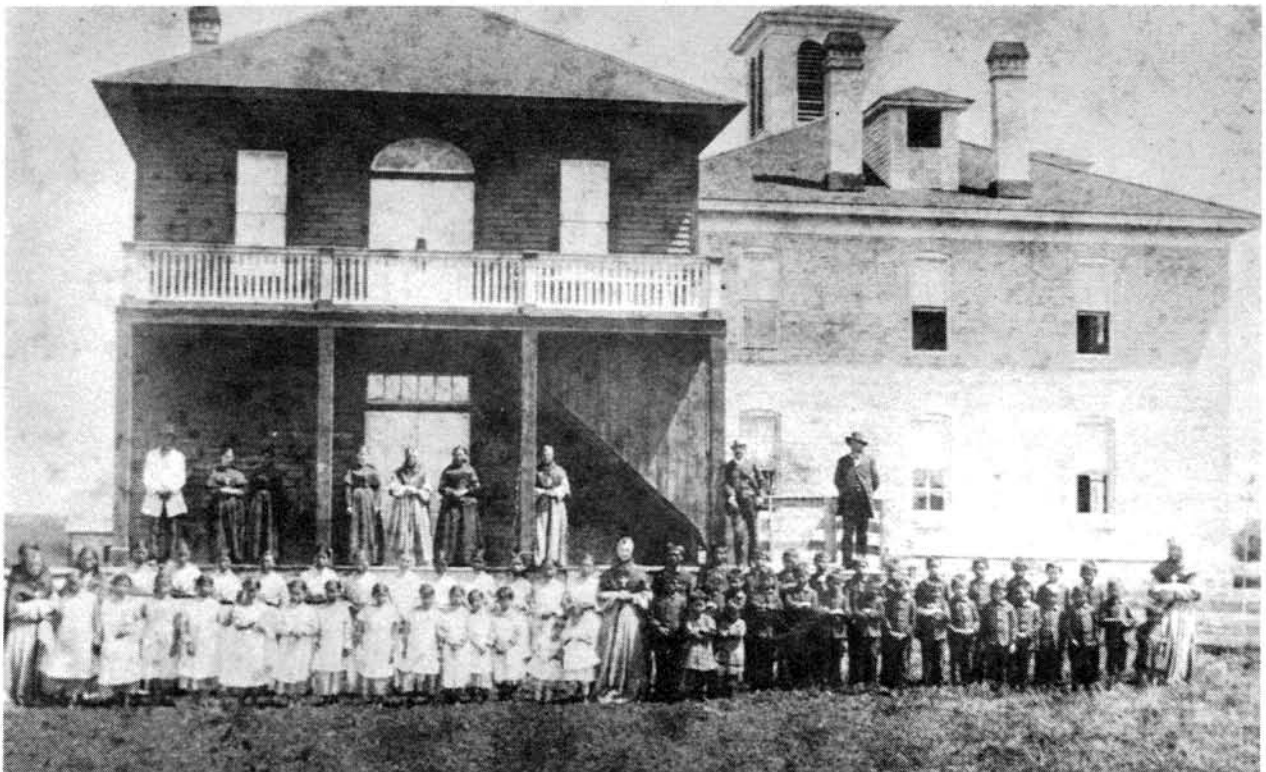
They were cultivating their own farms and living in their own houses. The Fort, during these years, took up much of the Reservation's land, an issue of contention with the Dakotas. They saw their game becoming depleted and the reservation lands assumed by the military fort. The gradual loss of the buffalo, followed by a series of severe winters and droughts, and an increased supply of annuities, caused the Dakotas dependence on the reservation system and the military fort.

The growth of the region became a reality with the creation of Creelsburg, a squatter's town, which later became the community of Devils Lake. The military fort, in the late 1890 - 1891, considered an unnecessary expense, was closed by the government. Fort Totten was then turned over to the Superintendent of the Indian school at Fort Totten.

THE BOARDING SCHOOL ERA

Between 1878 and 1930, boarding schools for Indian students took roots. Several boarding schools in places like Carlisle, Pennsylvania and Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia were seen as a way to transform Indian people. Between the 1880's and the early 1900's, the government built a series of boarding schools on the newly established Spirit Lake Reservation. The boarding schools at Fort Totten had an unmeasurable impact on the culture of the Dakotas on the Reservation.

At the urging of Major Forbes, four Sisters of the Community of Gray Nuns of Montreal arrived on October 17, 1874, to begin teaching. They occupied and taught school in a small building erected for them by the Sioux people. This school became known as St. Michael's Manual Labor School, and provided education from 1874 to 1890. Fifty children were taken to the school the first year, reluctantly, and twenty-five remained the whole year. (DeNoyer, 1901, p.293). In 1890 the government abolished contracting with various bureaus, such as the Catholic Bureau or the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, so the Gray Nuns began direct employment as teachers.



The Assimilation policy of the U.S. government was to civilize and Christianize the Indians. Grey nuns are photographed in front of the first mission school. Photograph courtesy of the picture collection of the North Dakota State Historical Society.

On February 16, 1893, the main building of the Old Mission burned down. The students, then numbering ninety-six, were crowded into smaller building, and the school continued in that manner until 1885. In 1890, the military abandoned Fort Totten and the post buildings were turned over to the agent as an industrial school. The mission school was then consolidated with the industrial school. In 1904, the Turtle Mountain reservation was also placed under the administration of the superintendent at Fort Totten.

Consistent with the Quaker “civilizing” policy of the government, instruction at the industrial school included harness making, tailoring, shoe making, engineering, carpentry, farming, gardening, dairying, and for the girls cooking, sewing, fancywork, and nursing. Boys over twelve years of age were required to attend the industrial school proper for the purpose of learning a trade. All the Children were kept until they completed their course of study. Some were allowed to return home in the summer. (DeNoyer, p.201).

In 1897, 270 students were enrolled at Fort Totten Industrial school. The curriculum focused on industrial training and the course of study included the carpentry, plastering, and plumbing trades. These were necessary for the upkeep of the school. By 1910, the school enrollment was 473 students, one-half of which were Chippewa and Métis children from North Dakota and Montana. In 1911, the enrollment was 400 students. Academic courses were reduced and more emphasis was placed on producing food and clothing because of the reduced funds from the Indian Bureau. The school closed in 1917 because of deficits, and reopened in 1919, with an enrollment of 313 students. Between 1919 and 1921, severe crop failures and hard times forced sending children attending Fort Totten schools from other reservations back to their homes. Between 1926 and the late 1930’s, enrollments were large. It was not until the late 1930’s and the early 1940’s that Indian boarding schools across the country were closed, this included the Fort Totten boarding school, which closed in 1935. Relations between the agent and the Dakotas was relatively harmonious due largely to the fact that Agent Forbes did not try or interfere with the traditional customs of the people. Agent Forbes died, in the summer of 1875.



Photo courtesy of the North Dakota State Historical Society.

IMPACT OF FEDERAL POLICY AND LEGISLATION

ALLOTMENT

In 1874, when the agency building was being built, the Indians were dispersed in five or six settlements, mostly in wooded areas. After a few years, they began to scatter over the reservation on individual farms, at the wishes of Forbes. Commissioner of Indian Affairs reports noted that progress in assimilating the Indians at Fort Totten were slower than at Sisseton. Agent McLaughlin, who took charge on July 31, 1876, encouraged the transformation by reducing the quantity of blankets issued and substituted clothing. He even went so far as to issue only white blankets, which the Dakota almost had to use exclusively as bed covering. “(Meyer, 1967, p.229).” The issuance of rations was a source of disagreement and resentment among the Dakotas. At Sisseton, some of the Indians objected to working for the annuities to which they were entitled under the terms of the agreements providing for the cession of their lands. With a continuing influx of settlers, the agent proposed surveying the reservation, which was met with great opposition. Immediately upon the passage of the General Allotment Act in 1887, John W. Cramsie, the agent at Fort Totten, began the process of dividing the reservation consistent with the allotment policy of the government.

In 1883 a survey of the reservation boundaries found a majority of non-Indians homesteading on 64,000 acres of land that belonged to the reservation. The United States government was not living up to its treaty responsibility to prohibit settlers encroaching on Indian lands. Nothing was done to remove the settlers or compensate the Dakota until 1891. McLaughlin, as a part of the General Allotment policy, met with several adult Indian males and the federal government to discuss allotment of the reservation. They agreed upon the sum of \$345,000 to cover the 64,000 acres and other wrongful land uses. (Kappler, 1902, Vol. III, p.83). When the reservation lands were opened for sale to non-Indians in April 1904, Congress deleted the money owed the Indians and stipulated that the settlers pay for the land at the rate of \$3.25 an acre (Kappler, p.85).

Allotment continued and by 1904, the Dakota rather than being forced onto lands they did not want, chose allotments in the area of their camps and near their relatives. This resulted in the creation of certain communities. The Yankton settled in the Crow Hill area. The Sisseton and Wahpeton established the communities of Wood Lake, Tokio, and St. Michael (Schneider, 1990, p.90).

The allotment acts severely reduced Indian-owned lands. Before allotment, Indian owned lands on the reservation consisted of almost 300,000 acres. This was reduced to 166,400 acres after allotment.

According to Agent Cramsie, from 1883 to 1889, the Dakotas were doing all of the actual farming on the reservation. Allotment in severalty was tragic for the Dakota. Starting in 1886, drought reduced crops raised by the Dakota, and in the seventies, grasshopper plagues contributed to massive crop failures . . . "On account of rigidity of soil, unfavorable seasons, inexperience, and a multiplicity of causes." (Commissioner of Indian Affairs Annual Report, 1881, p.35). The Dakota slipped back to almost total dependence on government assistance. In 1893, they were living largely on parched corn and wild turnips.

EARLY 1900'S

At the turn of the century, the civilizing policy on the part of the government to force the Indians at Spirit Lake and Sisseton into citizenship was disastrous. In 1905 the superintendent of schools reported that two schools on the Reservation had an enrollment of more than 330 students. (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1905, p.278). The several day schools opened by the Government failed to convince the Dakota to continue sending their children to school. In 1927 when the Grey Nuns' government employment ended, they built a new mission boarding school, the Little Flower School at St. Michael, N.D.

From the outset, the issue of language proved to be a problem. In 1887, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs required English to be used in all Indian schools. In the first place, the Dakotas were reluctant to send their children to these schools. One Commissioner reported that parents, with justifiable cause, refused to send their children to the schools because they were ill-treated. The federal government realized that there was a growing problem in educating Indian children.

In 1928, a report was issued entitled "The Problem of Indian Administration," better known as the Meriam Report. The findings of this report provided Congress and the Bureau of Indian Affairs with the basis for formulating policies affecting Indian education into the 1930s' and 1940s'.

The Dakotas, like most tribal people, believed that service in the military was a great honor and a responsibility. Like men from other tribes, when World War I began, a disproportionate number volunteered in the armed forces at home and overseas. Because of this action, Congress was left in a dilemma of how to deal with the Indians who were not then citizens. As a result, in 1919, Congress granted citizenship to those Indians who had

participated in the war. The war affected the reservation as it did the general population. The economy and the social environment suffered greatly. In 1924, with the passage of the Snyder Act, called The Indian Citizenship Act, all Indians were granted citizenship.

INDIAN-REORGANIZATION ACT

By 1934, the Dakotas faced a crisis over the lack of land available to its members. Congress at the urging of John Collier, passed the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) known as the Wheeler-Howard Act. This piece of legislation was designed to ease the land situation by halting the sale of Indian lands by providing funds to buy reservation lands. The Act also provided economic support by establishing elected governments. The Tribe did not vote to adopt this IRA provision. In 1944, the Tribe did however, draft its first constitution and bylaws, these were not approved until February 13, 1946, by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs approved them.

Throughout the nineteen thirties, forties, and fifties, economic and tribal self-sufficiency was an issue of primary concern. Reservation lands were so divided that it was impossible for most people to make a living by farming or ranching. Rather than providing the assistance necessary, the federal government promoted a policy of leasing Indian lands to non-Indians. In 1944, Indians worked only 12,628 acres of trust land, while non-Indians leased and farmed 27,879 acres. (Fine, 1951, p.39). In spite of the poor economic situation on the reservation and the potential of relatively good pay, many Dakota had established a measure of self-sufficiency. Many families moved to the Red River Valley to work in the potato harvests. Some men farmed and worked to build day schools. They also worked in the Civilian Conservation Corps, (CCC), planting trees. The women cultivated large gardens.

TERMINATION

Between 1952 and 1960 Congress, believing that many tribes were well on their way to self-sufficiency, enacted legislation to terminate the federal trust relationship between the federal Government and Indian tribes. This piece of legislation served to significantly worsen the already severe economic conditions on most reservations, as well as on the Spirit Lake Reservation. During this period . . .

The Bureau of Indian Affairs dominated efforts of the tribes and community life revolved around the Bureau. Poverty was evident everywhere with employment possibilities practically nonexistent. Housing was poor and substandard, school dropout rates were high and children were sent away from friends and families to boarding schools because of isolated from public schools, poor living conditions, transportation problems. Health problems were rampant and the average life span was only 40 years of age on most reservations. (United Tribes, 1985, p. 23).

Many families, were provided with federal "relocation" assistance, and moved to cities such as Chicago and Minneapolis, to train for employment. While many people today still live in several large urban cities, most returned home.

SELF DETERMINATION

The period from 1960 to 1980 became known as the era of self-determination. In the early 1970's a new Indian activism created a national awareness of the severe economic conditions tribal governments and reservations faced. Without income sufficient to meet basic needs, training or jobs, the economic depression on the Reservation worsened. With the assistance of the senior ranking North Dakota Senator, Milton R. Young, the Sioux Tribe entered into a joint venture relationship with the Brunswick Corporation to manufacture camouflage nets under contract with the federal government. With a fluctuating labor force, employment figures at the plant varied from 150 to 300 annually. The Sioux

Manufacturing Corporation operated successfully from 1973 - 1987. At its high, the plant completed contracts annually in excess of \$60 million. Having completed its fixed participation period in the government's minority small-business set-aside program, the company diversified. In 1986, Dakota Tribal Industries, a 100% tribal owned company, was created and began the manufacture of military helmets and camouflage netting. In the late 1970's the tribe added an economic stimulus with the assistance of the United States Economic Development Administration (EDA) by establishing a small shopping center complex on the reservation. The shopping center featured a small cafe, Laundromat, grocery store, and gas station. Because of the Tribes' location to Devils Lake, Sully's Hill National Game Reserve, and the declaration of the old military fort at Fort Totten as a national historic site, tourism became a plus factor for the community.

In the early 1970's, Indian education became a national focus with the passage of the Indian Education Act of 1972. This Law, Public Law 92-318, provided funds for schools to meet the culturally-related academic needs of Native American children. The Indian self-determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 (Public Law 93-638) provided funds to tribes for administrative support.

In 1960, a new elementary school was erected at Fort Totten. This school was operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Most high school Indian students attended public high schools in Devils Lake, or in one of the other non-Indian communities near the reservation. As the reservation school population grew, students studied in portable buildings behind the Bureau of Indian Affairs elementary school. In 1974, a public high school was constructed. The new facility, the Four Winds High School was designed to bring together all the Indian students on the reservation and to promote the tribes desire for a culturally responsive curriculum. In 1993 the schools boast an enrollment of 500 elementary students, and 125 high school students. Today, Indian students continue to attend public schools in the surrounding communities of Warwick, Sheyenne, Oberon and Minnewaukan.

From the period of allotment through the 1930's, millions of acres of Indian trust land went out of Indian ownership. Because few Indians made wills and died without providing for the division of land, a problem of "fractionated heirship" arose. As the years progressed, claims for shares were so numerous and small, that it virtually made land lease payment administratively impossible. In 1983 Congress passed the Indian Land Consolidation Act, to deal directly with this situation on the Reservation. This Act permitted tribes to receive ownership of small shares of land (if that land represented less than 2 percent interest and had earned less than \$100 in the previous year) from deceased tribal members. Because of the "checkerboard" pattern of Indian and non Indian land ownership on Indian reservations creating numerous jurisdictional problems, the Act provided an opportunity for tribes to reacquire portions of their reservation land base.

EDUCATION

The early history of providing schooling for Indian students was "more not so much to educate as to change." (United Tribes/Indian Affairs Document, p.42). Boarding and day schools in early reservation life were dismal failures. As the tribe was concentrating efforts on the elementary and secondary school systems on the reservation in the 70's, there was a movement nationally to provide locally-controlled higher education opportunities for Indian people. The efforts of the Sioux Tribe culminated in the establishment of, in 1974, a charter for Little Hoop Community College. Little Hoop Community College was named in honor of *Cankdedéska Cikana* (meaning Little Hoop), the Indian name of Paul Yankton, Sr. a tribal member who brought honor to his people. He was the recipient of two Purple Hearts, the military's highest award for bravery.

LITTLE HOOP COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Prior to the establishment of Little Hoop Community College, Indian students, when they were able, attended colleges distant from the reservation and families. The cultural adjustment, coupled with a new academic environment were often too great on Indian students. The attrition rate for Indian college students attending state schools was between 85 percent and 97 percent. (United Tribes Technical College, 1985, p.57). It became evident that the community required a post-secondary educational setting that was culturally responsive and provided a supportive network for close-knit families. What evolved was a two-year community college directed at providing for the special needs of the local population. In reality, community colleges like Little Hoop, were successful because they provided limited disruption of the lives of families. Many of the students enrolling were older and married.

Located on the reservation, in makeshift facilities, the College began actual operation in 1975. During the development phase, the colleges' board of regents (the tribe) entered into a bilateral agreement with Lake Region Junior College. The agreement took place in 1974, and provided academic instruction. Funded with a grant from the Higher Education Act, Little Hoop began operations in the Tribal Administration Building. It had a staff of four. From 1975 - 1980, the college gradually increased its enrollments and program offerings. In 1978, the College joined three other Indian post secondary institutions to form a North Dakota Vocational Consortium, permitting the college and its sister schools to develop and equip vocational programs.



Photo courtesy of Dennis Brusven

By 1982, Little Hoop discontinued its bilateral agreement with Lake Region Community College, and was granted candidate status for accreditation by North Central Association of Colleges and Schools. In the summer of 1984, they acquired the buildings that had housed the reservations' BIA elementary and secondary schools.

The college grew from a staff of four in temporary quarters, to a modern 21,000 square foot facility with a staff of forty full and part-time staff. The college currently offers both two-year associates' degrees, one-year vocational certificates, short courses for tribal industries and community interest courses. It also operates a day care center, supports a public library, and the Reservation Head Start Program. In 1993, Little Hoop Community College enrolled 177 students, with 15 non-Indian students attending the institution.

SPIRIT LAKE CASINO

The opportunity to strengthen the tribes' economic potential came with the passage of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act in 1988. Following the signing of an agreement between the Governor of North Dakota and the Tribes, the first tribal casino on the reservation was opened at St. Michael, ND. The facility employed 35 individuals, most of whom were tribal members. In 1994, the tribe renovated a gymnasium and added a casino in Tokio, ND. This development created employment for 191 people 75 percent of whom were Native American.

In 1996, the Spirit Lake Tribe closed its two existing casinos and invested 7 million, and began the construction of a new 49,000 square foot casino. The facility began operation on June 1, 1996, and was named the Spirit Lake Casino. This new venture created an additional 150 new jobs for the reservation and the surrounding communities. The facility is located 6 miles south of Devils Lake, ND on Highway 57. A lodging facility is currently being added, including hotel suites, dining area, and a collegiate size swimming pool.

DAKOTA HISTORICAL TIMELINE

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS:

- Pictographs
- Wintercounts
- Oral Tradition
- Circadian rhythm

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Historically, how did many plains tribal people record history?
2. How are events recorded in contemporary times?
3. How did plains Indian recordkeeping differ from records kept by ancient societies? immigrants? How were they similar?
4. What is ledger art and how is it significant in recording history?
5. Why is oral tradition crucial to cultural survival?
6. What role does oral tradition play in maintaining culture and culture practices?

DAKOTA HISTORICAL TIMELINE

1650'S	Dakotas live in north woods in area of Minnesota.
1679	First contact of white men with Dakotas, at their home near the Minnesota River.
1742	Probable date for acquisition of horse among the Dakotas.
1750	Yankton (Middle Sioux) settle along eastern side of Missouri River. They are pursue the buffalo and acquire horses and tepees. Eventually some bands begin to farm and live in earthlodges. Chippewa expel Dakotas from their traditional homelands around Mille Lacs Lakes.
1755	Jonathan Carver, early explorer, identifies organization and bands of the Dakota.
1787	July 13 - The Continental Congress passes the Northwest Ordinance, stating that "the utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their land and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property rights and liberty, they never shall be invaded or disturbed." September 17 - The U.S. Constitution is adopted. Article I, section 8, grants Congress the power to "regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indians tribes." This establishes a government to government relationship with tribes. Consequently the federal government, rather than states, are involved in Indian affairs.
1789	Congress gives the War Department authority over Indian affairs.
1802	The U.S. Congress appropriates ten to fifteen thousand dollars annually to "promote civilization among the Indians." This money goes to Christian missionary organizations working to convert Indians to Christianity.
1804 - 1806	The Lewis and Clark expedition to the Pacific Northwest makes first American contact with many northern tribes.
1805	September 25 - Dakotas sign their first treaty with the United States government at the urging of Zebulon Pike. Dakotas cede 100,000 acres of land worth \$200,000 in return for which they receive \$2,000 and some gifts.
1812	Many Dakota ally with the English in the War of 1812.
1819	Congress appropriates money for the "Civilization Fund," the first federal Indian education program. Christian missionary societies receive this money to establish schools among Indian people.
1823	The first Prairie du Chien treaty. The Dakota, Chippewa, Menominee, Winnebago, Sac and Fox, Iowa, Potawatomi, and Ottawa are brought together to sign a peace treaty.
1824	The secretary of war creates a Bureau of Indians Affairs within the War Department.
1825	Largely unsuccessful, a second Prairie du Chien treaty is entered into among all the tribes to cease intertribal warfare and establish boundaries of each tribe.
1837	Smallpox epidemic kills more than 15,000 Indians in the Upper Missouri area, including over 400 Yankton.

First Traverse des Sioux treaty is negotiated but not ratified.	1841
Bureau of Indian Affairs is transferred from the War Department to the newly created Department of the Interior.	1849
Dakotas negotiate Treaty of Traverse des Sioux and Treaty of Mendota with U.S.. They cede over 21 million acres of their Minnesota homeland to the U.S. in return for \$3.00 in annuities payable over 50 years. Four Dakota tribes are left with a reservation 150 miles long and 20 miles wide across the Minnesota River.	1851
September 25 - United States holds Fort Laramie (Wyoming) Treat Council with plains and mountain tribes, the results of which open the central plains for transportation routes through Kansas and Nebraska. Yankton are omitted from treaty because their traditional areas were far removed from the overland route to the Pacific Coast which the treaty aimed to safeguard.	
Winter - Smallpox epidemic among the Dakota bands.	1856-1857
Dakotas negotiate treaty with U.S. and their reservation as established in 1851, Reservation land base is cut in half.	1858
Dakota Territory established. Yanktonai occupy areas on the east bank of the Missouri River. Gold is discovered on the headwaters of the Missouri River.	1861
August 25 - Unresolved grievances and dissatisfaction with 1851 Treaty lead to the Dakota Conflict in Minnesota. Traders and agents defraud Indians of annuity moneys, government annuities are late, and not distributed once they arrive.	1862
October 12 - Sully's army captures and put in chains 400 Dakota men. Settlers demand protection.	
November 7 - 1,700 Dakota women, children, and men are marched to an internment camp at Ft. Snelling.	
December 26 - 38 Dakota are hanged at Mankato, Minnesota for their part in the Dakota Conflict. The hanging is the largest mass execution in this nations history.	
January 1st - Dakota Territory opens for homesteading.	1863
April/May - 1,318 are exiled by boat to St. Louis and removed to the Crow Creek Reservation in South Dakota.	
September 3rd - Soldiers under General Alfred Sully attack Yanktonai hunting camp at Whitestone Hill, North Dakota. At least 300 Indians killed.	
Surviving 1,000 Dakota are moved from the largely uninhabitable Crow Creek Reservation, to the present day Santee Reservation in Nebraska.	1866
Military fort established at Devils Lake and named Fort Totten in honor of Brevet major General Joseph Gilbert Totten, chief engineer of the U.S. Army.	1867
February 19 - Spirit Lake Sioux Reservation is established by treaty. Provisions include agricultural and mechanical labor, and support for local and manual-labor schools.	

1867

February 19 - Dakotas negotiate treaty between the United States and the Sisseton and Wahpeton Bands of Dakota. The treaty recognizes the Spirit Lake Sioux Tribe and establishes the Spirit Lake Sioux Reservation.

1868

The United States signs Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 with Lakotas, Dakotas, Arapaho, and Cheyenne. This treaty confirms a permanent reservation for the Dakota in all of South Dakota west of the Missouri River. The Indians in turn release all lands east of the Missouri except the Crow Creek, Sisseton, and Yankton Reservations.

March 15 - The Sisseton-Wahpeton treaty is ratified by the Senate of the United States. The original treaty is amended to read as it reads today.

1870-1886

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

1870

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

1871

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

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

1872

May 2 - Treaty is promulgated by the President of the United States. This document constitutes the official agreement between the government of the Spirit Lake Sioux Tribe and the government of the United States.

September 20 - Agreement with the Sisseton and Wahpeton Bands of Dakota with Indian Commissioners is ratified. Negotiations are completed and they award the tribe payments for land redeeded in article two of the treaty, and for unoccupied lands of the band.

1873

May 2 - Agreement with the Sisseton and Wahpeton Bands of Dakota with Indian Commissioners. Agreement completes sales of unoccupied lands.

1878

Hampton Institute in Hampton, VA, a non-sectarian Christian Vocational School for educating ex-slaves, admits Indian students. It's motto is "Education for the Head, the Hand, and the Heart." Young people from the area are sent to Hampton.

1879

Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, PA., opens. It's motto is "To Kill the Indian and Save the Man." This is the first federally sponsored Indian school and it serves as a prototype where Indian children are removed from the home environment in order to hasten their "civilization into the white man's world." Young people from the area are sent to Carlisle.

1883

Indian Offenses Act passed making practice of many Indian customs and all religious ceremonies illegal. The federal government outlaw these aspects of Indian life to hasten assimilation of Indians into mainstream society.

Hot winds and drought cause crop failure.	1883
September 1 - U.S. government-sponsored Haskell Institute training school opens in Lawrence, Kansas.	1884
Commissioner of Indian Affairs requires English to be used in all Indian schools because "it is believed that teaching an Indian youth in his own barbarous dialect is a positive detriment to him."	1887
February 8 - Dawes Allotment Act is passed by Congress providing for allotment of Indian lands in severalty. The purpose of this law was to break up the Indian land base, the reservation. After individual allotments are made the government opens the remaining reservation lands to homesteading.	
Pressure from citizens in the Dakotas results in a federal commission to break up the Great Sioux Reservation.	1888
North and South Dakota are admitted to the Union.	1889
Pressure from citizens results in a federal commission which seeks to break up the Great Sioux Reservation into 6 smaller reservations, open up 9 million acres of land to homesteading. Despite opposition from the various bands, just over requisite three quarters of adult Sioux males agree. Most good farmlands lost.	
Sever drought strike the Dakotas.	1889-1890
December 29 - Over 300 Lakotas are massacred at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, by U.S. Seventh Cavalry.	1890
Military abandons Ft. Totten.	
Spirit Lake reservation is allotted.	1891
Indians who serve in military in World War I are recognized as citizens of the United States and entitled to vote in federal elections.	1919
Snyder Act confers United States citizenship on all Indians.	1924
Little Flower mission is built at St. Michael's.	1927
Indian Civilian Conservation Corps is active on reservations.	1933-1936
June 18 - Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) passes. This legislation ends allotment, provides funds for tribal self-governance, and launches the Indian credit program.	1934
Repeal of act prohibits the sale of alcoholic beverages to Indians.	1940
February 3 - Dakotas at Spirit Lake Sioux Reservation adopt their first Tribal Constitution.	1944
August 1 - Indian Claims Commission is established to end Indian land claims by making monetary compensations.	
February 14 - Bureau of Indian Affairs approves revisions to the original constitution and bylaws of the Spirit Lake Sioux Tribe.	1946

1952	Indian relocation program established for all Indians. This program was part of the termination program initiated by the federal government. The government sought to end the reservation system and in preparation, relocates Indian families to urban areas.
1953	June 9 - U.S. Representative William Henry Harrison of Wyoming introduces House Concurrent Resolution 108, which states that Congress intends to “terminate” at the “earliest possible time” all Indians, meaning that Congress will not recognize them as Indians and will remove all Indian rights and benefits.
1958	January 10 - Tribe submits its first revision to their constitution and bylaws.
1960	May 5 - Constitutional revision number two.
1961	July 14 - Tribal constitutional revision number three.
1968	April 11 - American Indian Civil Rights Act is passed, guarantees to reservation residents many of the same civil rights and liberties as other citizens.
1973	Tribe enters into agreement with Brunswick Corporation and incorporates the Sioux Manufacturing Corporation, Inc.
1974	<p>Little Hoop Community College is established.</p> <p>May 3 - The Dakota pass a constitutional revision containing three provisions. The Code permits 18 year olds to vote, authorizes purchases and other acquisition of lands, and establishes staggered terms of office and two-year terms for the tribal council.</p>
1975	January 12 - Congress passes the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act. This law which expands tribal control over reservation programs and authorizes federal funds to build needed public school facilities on or near Indian reservations.
1976	<p>April 16 - By referendum vote, The Dakotas revise the Tribal constitution and specify that: (1) They recognize the 1972 Judgement Roll as a document for determining tribal membership. This (sixth) revision, Article II, deletes the Superintendent of Turtle Mountain Agency and designates the Superintendent of Fort Totten Agency as the official responsible for approval or disapproval of tribal enactments.</p> <p>October 8 - Congress passes a bill to terminate the Indian Claims Commission at the end of 1978. The U.S. Court of Claims is to take over cases that the commission does not complete by December 31, 1978.</p> <p>August 1 - Congress passes the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA), in which Congress recognizes it’s obligations to “protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express and exercise [their] tradition religions.” This reverses official government policy prohibiting the practice of Native American spirituality passed in 1883.</p> <p>November 1 - Congress passes the Education Amendment Act of 1978, giving substantial control of education programs to local Indian communities.</p> <p>November 8 - Congress passes the Indian Child Welfare Act, establishing U.S. policy to promote the stability and security of Indian tribes and families this Act gives tribal courts jurisdiction over Indian children living on or off the reservation.</p>
1978	Congress passes the Tribally Controlled Community Colleges Act.

<p>May 4 - By referendum vote, the Dakotas revise the tribal constitution and bylaws for a seventh time. Article V of the tribal constitution empowers the Tribal Council to prepare and present an annual budget to tribal members; establishes a primary election and provides that no person with a felony may hold office. The tribal court will also have enforcement authority to invoke this article.</p>	1981
<p>Congress passes the Indian Land Consolidation Act, which applies specifically to the Spirit Lake Sioux Tribe. The act permits the tribe to receive ownership of small shares of land from a deceased member if that person's share of land is less than two percent interest and has earned less than \$100 for that person in the previous year. The Act permits tribes to consolidate lands which have been so divided as to be usable by any one heir.</p>	1983
<p>Legislation enacted to repeal the termination policy established by House Concurrent Resolution 108.</p>	1988
<p>October - Tribal Constitution is revised. Under this revision, a civil code is established, and makes provisions for governing gaming and private sector development.</p>	
<p>November 1 - Congress passes the monumental Native American Languages Act. The Act affords a special status to Native American in the United States recognizing them as distinct cultural and political entities. The Act establishes federal policy to ensure, preserve, and maintain the unique cultures and languages of Native Americans.</p>	1990
<p>November 21 - Dakotas pass a tribal constitutional revision which changes the terms of office of tribal chairperson from two to four years.</p>	1991
<p>Tribe adopts the Spirit Lakes Sioux Tribe Law and Order Code. This revision creates the tribes criminal law and order code for tribal members.</p>	
<p>Spirit Lake Sioux Tribal Nation opens it first Tribal Casino at St. Michael's.</p>	1993
<p>May - By general referendum, the tribe places before the people a constitutional revision to change their name from Devils Lake Sioux Tribe to Spirit Lake Tribe.</p>	1995
<p>Tribe completes the construction of a new casino and names the facility the Spirit Lake Casino, and closes its existing two casinos.</p>	1996
<p>November -The United States government officially ratifies the tribes constitutional revision and the name of the Tribe is changed to "Spirit Lake."</p>	

DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE SPIRIT LAKE RESERVATION

LAND BASE

TOPOGRAPHY & CLIMATE

NATURAL RESOURCES

INFRASTRUCTURE

POPULATION

TRANSPORTATION

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS:

- Traditional Land Base
- Subsistence vs. Development
- Ownership in Severalty
- Ownership in Common
- Stewardship

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. The traditional seasonal cycle by which North Dakota tribal people supported themselves and structured their family life was dependent upon the land. What effect did placement on a reservation and limited land base have upon the Spirit Lake people?
Their lifestyle?
2. Is the land base of sufficient size and quality to support the tribe's needs and the needs of the people?
Why?
Why not?
3. Very often, tribes were placed in geographic areas in which the soil was not arable. Upon review of soil and growing season maps, assess and report how the people adapted to their current land base.
4. Compare and contrast how North Dakota tribal peoples and immigrants adapted to their environment.
5. Describe the tribe's economic infrastructure. Is it stable?
Why or why not?
6. Compare and contrast the economy on the reservation to neighboring communities and other North Dakota reservations.

LAND BASE

The Devils Lake Reservation was established by a treaty signed at Washington, D.C. on February 19, 1867, Article 4, . . . *it is further agreed that a reservation be set apart for all other members of said bands who were not sent to the Crow Creek reservation, and also for the Cut-Head bands of Yanktonais Sioux, a reservation bounded as follows, viz: Beginning at the most easterly point of Devil's Lake; thence on a direct line to the nearest point on the Cheyenne River; thence down said river to a point opposite the lower end of Aspen Island, and thence on a direct line to the place of beginning.*

TOPOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

The Spirit Lake Sioux Reservation is located in northeast North Dakota approximately 90 miles west of Grand Forks, ND. The reservation is primarily located in Benson County, but portions extend into Ramsey, Eddy and Nelson counties of north central North Dakota. The reservation is bounded on the north by Devils Lake and on the south by the Sheyenne River. The terrain on the southern portion of the reservation is relatively flat, much of which are prairie lands suitable for grazing and small grain crops. There are small potholes and fresh water lakes to support tree growth, but it is minimal on the southern portion of the reservation. The northern part of the reservation, bounded by Devils Lake, "Mini Wakan" - Spirit Water, is lush with forested rolling hills. These hills reach an elevation of more than 1,700 feet above sea level and more than 300 feet above the lake level.

The climate on the Spirit Lake Reservation is consistent with the general climate of the state. The mean summer temperature for the months of June, July, and August is 65.7 degrees F., and for December, January, and February, 9.7 degrees F. Humidity is relatively low, averaging 68 percent. ~~Winters are generally long and severe.~~

LAND STATUS

The reservation area includes approximately 245,000 acres of land, of which only 59,905 acres are held in trust, and under the jurisdiction of the Tribe. The rest is under private ownership by both Indian and non-Indian land holders. The Spirit Lake Sioux Reservation consists of 393.03 square miles or 245,141 acres. Land is the main resource of the reservation, and sales of production constitutes the economic framework of the reservation. Recreation and tourism potential is enhanced by the reservation's location and access to Devils Lake. The tribe has acquired additional reservation lands over the years through its land acquisition program. At present, all tribal lands are leased out or are in lease negotiations. Most tribal lands are used for agricultural purposes, with a small portion for residential purposes.

The following is the 1996 land break down on the Spirit Lake Sioux Indian Reservation:

Allotted Land	34,026 acres
Tribal Land	26,316 acres
Government	342 acres
Subtotal	60,684 acre's
State and Private Land	184,457 acres
Total Acreage Within	
Boundaries of Reservation	245,141 acres

NATURAL RESOURCES

The only mineral resource available within the reservation consists of numerous small deposits of sand and gravel scattered throughout the reservation boundaries.

WOODLANDS

The Spirit Lake Sioux Reservation possesses significant woodland areas, with 6,390 of woodland acres. Although these areas lack a timberland component, it appears they are of significant commercial woodland value.

WATER

Devils Lake is the largest natural body of water in the state of North Dakota. The lake has no natural inlet of fresh water and relies on drainage from summer runoff. The area is a natural tourist and sports attraction.

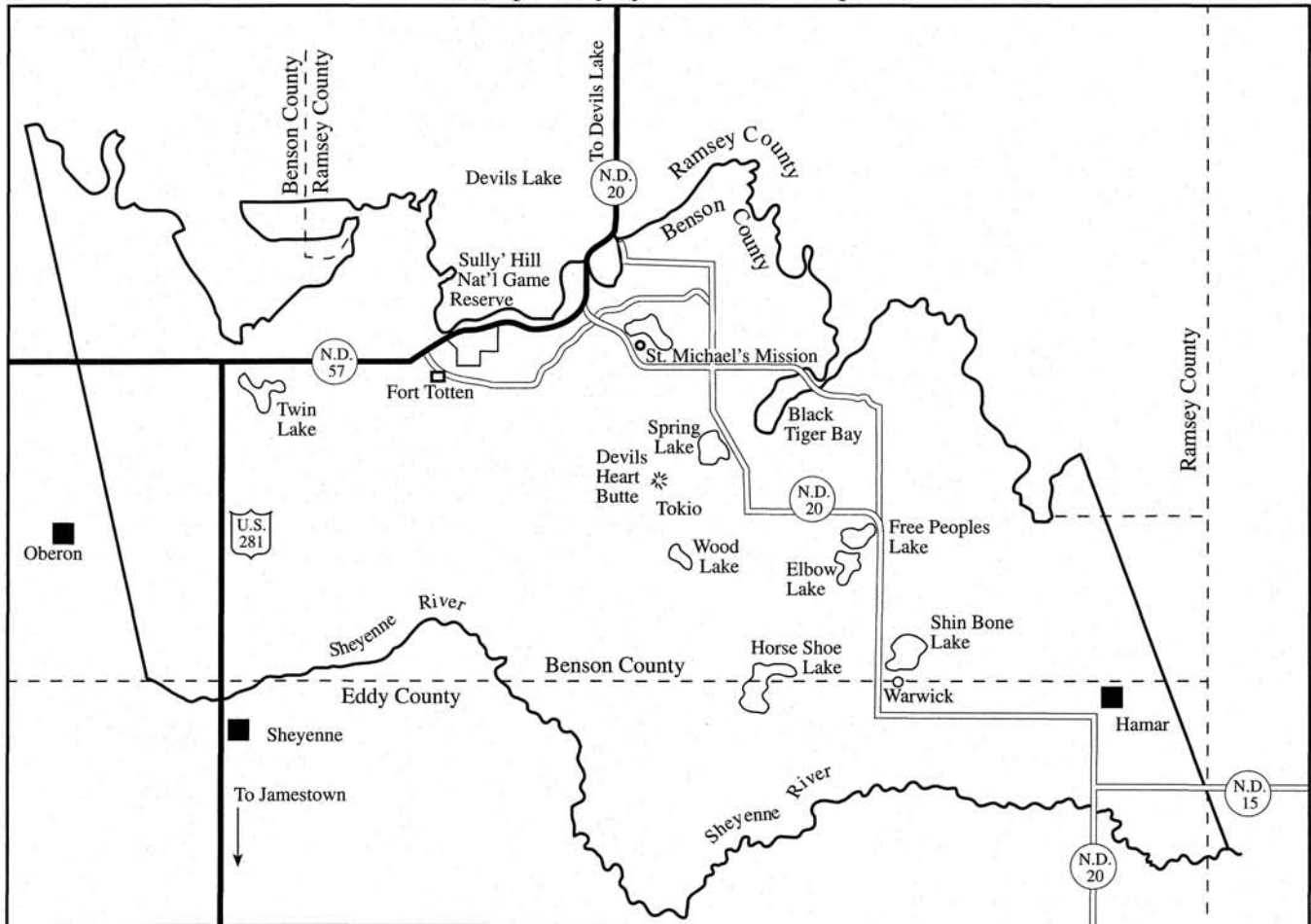
GAME

Sully's Hill National Game Reserve, located within the reservation, is divided into two parts. The original 994 acre big game unit is housed in a 70-acre enclosure. There is also a 680-acre hay unit located southwest of Fort Totten. Within the Game Preserve there are bison, white-tail deer, elk, prairie dogs, and waterfowl. There are also numerous species of foxes, raccoons, weasels, mink, squirrels, muskrats, rabbits and birds.

INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES

Fort Totten is the main tribal community and is the headquarters of the Spirit Lake tribe. The tribe's headquarters are located in the Community Building - called the Blue Building. This facility contains the Bureau of Indian Affairs offices, and Indian Health Services Clinic, along with a number of programs administered by the tribe.

Other principal communities are St. Michaels', Tokio, and Warwick. In addition, the Reservation is divided into four districts - Crow Hill, Fort Totten, St. Michaels', and Wood Lake. The reservation communities are served presently by their own municipal water



Meyers, 1993, p. 225

systems. Water is provided by wells located near the sites they serve. All three communities have sewer systems in existence, except in the Crow Hill District where, because of its smaller size, septic tanks are used. All four districts have small water treatment facilities. The reservation has one solid waste site. The tribal landfill is approximately four miles from Fort Totten.

The Spirit Lake Sioux Reservation is above two aquifers. They are the Sweetwater Aquifer and the smaller, more shallow, Warwick Aquifer. This aquifer is the target of the tribe's Municipal Rural and Industrial Project. Under Phase I, a main trunkline will be installed and run through each community. In Phase II the trunkline will branch off of into reservation homes .

The tribe is presently supplied with electrical power by three power companies: Ottertail Power Co., Sheyenne Valley Cooperative, and Baker Electric Power Cooperative. Montana Dakota Utilities has a natural gas line main running through the reservation. This also supplies part of the reservation with heat.

HOUSING

Within the last three years, 65 new housing units were built with funds from the U.S. Housing and Urban Development Program (HUD). Within this number there are mutual self-help homes, lower income homes, and elderly units. The quality of housing on the reservation is poor. The tribe assists home owners with plumbing and heating needs through various home improvement and weatherization programs.

TRANSPORTATION

The transportation system on the Spirit Lake Reservation consists of state and county highways 57, 20, and 15. These run through the reservation. The Reservation has access to two major highways, highway 281 which crosses the reservation north-south and, provides access to Jamestown, and Bismarck, and highway 2 which provides east-west access to Grand Forks, and Minot. Other roads include county and Bureau of Indian Affairs roads which are graveled or dirt roads. All other roads are hard surfaced.

RAIL AND FREIGHT

Three forms of rail services are available: Amtrak, a passenger service, provides some small freight service; Burlington Northern Railroad, which runs west of the reservation, can haul freight and agricultural products; and the Soo Line Railroad Co., which offers freight service all over the Midwest. The Midwest Motor Express Co. maintains an office in Devils Lake, ND. The tribe's industrial firms - Sioux Manufacturing and Dakota Tribal Industries use Consolidated Freight Company of Minneapolis, MN for most of their shipping needs.

AIR SERVICE

Air link service is available at Devils Lake Municipal Airport, located 15 miles from Fort Totten. Presently Great Lakes Airlines provides daily flights to Minneapolis, MN and Denver, CO. Air freight and passenger service is available for charter, rental, instruction, photography, and other industrial and agricultural purposes. The municipal airport has two hard surface runways, which will accommodate turbojet aircraft.

POPULATION

The Spirit Lake Sioux Tribe has an enrolled population of 4,425 members. According to the 1990 census, Indian reservations in North Dakota were a few of the only areas in the state which reported population increases by county. The 1996, Bureau of Indian Affairs Labor Force Survey, reported that the total resident Indian population was 5,150. The following is the latest population break down of the reservation:

Total Resident Indian Population	5,150
Total Under 16 years of age	2,420
Total Over 16 years of age	2,623
Potential Labor Force	2,546
Employed Total	627
Not Employed	1,917
Unemployment Rate	73%

TRIBAL INDUSTRIAL SERVICES

The Reservation has an industrial park located in Fort Totten, ND. Within the park there are three buildings which house the tribe's two major industrial plants.

SIoux MANUFACTURING CORPORATION

12,600 Square. Ft.
Precast concrete

DAKOTA TRIBAL INDUSTRIES

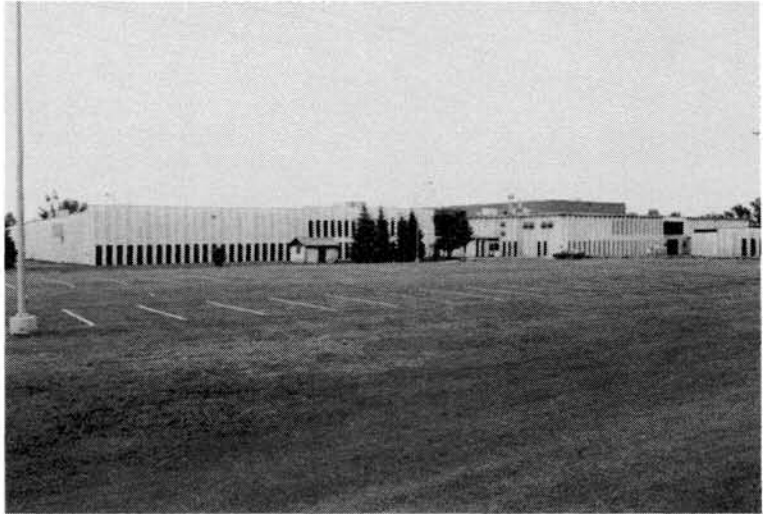
51,000 Square. Ft.
Precast concrete

TRIBAL UTILITIES BUILDING

12,950 Square. Ft.
Steel and precast concrete

SIoux MANUFACTURING CORPORATION

Sioux Manufacturing Corporation began operation in 1973. The Company produces Kevlar helmets and panels for the United States Department of Defense. The Corporation, is diversifying, and developing prototypes material for the aerospace industry. Sixty-five percent of the employees of Sioux Manufacturing are tribal members.



Sioux Manufacturing Co. Photo courtesy of Lenore Alberts.

DAKOTA TRIBAL INDUSTRIES

Dakota Tribal Industries (DTI) began operation in 1985. Government contracts have been the mainstays for DTI. Dakota Tribal Industries has produced a wide variety of specialty items for both government and various prime contractors. DTI manufacture's cargo slings, tents, and camouflage netting from treated and untreated canvas, as well as coated and laminated vinyl. They also manufacture cotton and cotton duck, cotton and nylon webbing, wool, woven kevlar, and charcoal impregnated nylon-laminated cloth.

BUSINESS SECTOR

The primary sources of revenue for the tribe have been derived, in the past, from federal grants and contracts, farming, land leases, and revenues generated as a result of profits realized from Sioux Manufacturing. Additional sources of income are generated from the tribe's bingo palace, and most recently, its tribal casinos. In 1989, twenty-four small retail and construction firms were operating on the reservation. In the late 1970's the tribe started a shopping mall complex which served as a catalyst for private entrepreneurs. This building contains 43,900 square feet. The mall houses a cafe, laundromat, video store, food and gas retail stores.

SPIRIT LAKE CASINO

The opportunity to strengthen the tribes' economic potential came with the passage of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act in 1988. Following the signing of an agreement between the Governor of North Dakota and the Tribes, the first tribal casino on the reservation was opened at St. Michael, ND. The facility employed 35 individuals, most of whom were tribal members. In 1994, the tribe renovated a gymnasium and added a casino in Tokio, ND. This development created employment for 191 people, 75% of whom were Native American.

In 1996, the Spirit Lake tribe invested 7 million, and began the construction of a new 49,000 square foot casino. The facility began operation on June 1, 1996, and was named the Spirit Lake Casino. This new venture created an additional 150 new jobs for the reservation and the surrounding communities. The facility is located 6 miles north of Fort Totten, ND on Highway 57. A lodging facility is currently being added.

EDUCATION

There is one elementary and secondary school operating on the reservation. In 1995, the tribe incorporated the elementary school called Tate Topa into the Four Winds School and rename the school system Four Winds Community Schools. In 1995, the elementary school had an enrollment of 459 students Kindergarten - eight. Four Winds High School, incorporated as a public school district, enrolls students in grades 9-12. The 1995 enrollment for Four Winds Community High School was 131 students.



Four Winds School. Photo courtesy of Lenore Alberts.

Cankdéska Ciĕana Community College is one of four North Dakota tribal chartered colleges, and is a state-accredited two-year college. It offers an associate of arts degree, associates of applied science degree, and associate of science degree. Alongside the college is the new tribal library. This facility was built in 1989, and is the proposed site of the tribe's future archives.

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS:

- Traditional Forms of Governance
- Modern Forms of Governance
- Self Governance
- Sovereignty

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How does governance differ in traditional and modern forms of tribal government?
2. What characteristics of limited and unlimited government apply to tribal governments?
To state governments?
To the federal government?
3. There are several kinds of relationships between the central government of a nation and other units of government within that nation. What is the relationship between tribal, local, state, and the federal government?
4. Are tribal governments the same as municipal and state governments?
Discuss and report.
5. There are alternative ways of organizing constitutional governments - representative and electoral. How are tribal governments organized?
6. Can tribal governments be defined as confederal, federal, or unitary systems of governments?
Why?
Why not?

SPIRIT LAKE TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

TRADITIONAL DAKOTA GOVERNMENT

CONTEMPORARY TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

TRADITIONAL DAKOTA GOVERNMENT

Government among traditional Indian cultures made little distinction between the religious and political world. Political decisions were made with spiritual guidance and served to fulfill both political and spiritual means. (O'Brien, 1989).

Harmony among all elements: the land, people, animal, plant life, is an important value among the Dakota. Human beings are not considered above other living things, but connected to them as a part of all life and thus are responsible for all aspects of life. Rights and privileges are never greater than one's duties and responsibilities. Power, in traditional tribal governments flowed from the community to the leaders. In a traditional context, an individual's status was based on that individual's ability and performance. In many instances, leaders existed to serve the will of the people and the village. Because tribal cultures were historically classless, government was highly decentralized and democratic. (Meyer, 1993).

Fraternal societies played a significant role in maintaining the governing structure of Dakota society. The Dakota "soldiers' lodge," was a society organized in the mid-eighteen hundreds for the purpose of governing the hunting expeditions of the Dakotas. It assumed a more active role at both the Mdewakanton and Sisseton and Wahpeton villages after 1862. (Anderson, 1986).

The village council was the standard forum for political discussion and decision-making. In the earliest times, Dakota elders brought the more important issues before the council. While anyone could speak in council, younger men generally listened to the advice of elders. Consensus was arrived at by allowing each council member an opportunity to speak. When a particular issue or course of action was agreed upon, the council then moved onto other issues. When a consensus was not reached, the issue was delayed until such time as an honored elder or leader could bring it up again.

While individual chiefs had no special privileges in a council, they generally announced decisions, opened council meetings, and focused attention to the issues. They developed influence, by showing good oratorical skills, and possessing good sense. In this way, they assumed the position of "speaker," a very important rank. Although historically the role of the speaker is unclear, they played important roles in a council. By the mid-nineteenth century they appear to have obtained the honor through a process of election.

During the late 1850's, a number of major societies emerged. Among the most important were the Bear Dance society, the Elk Lodge, the Raw Fish Eaters Lodge, the Dog Liver Eaters Lodge, and the Sacred Dance Lodge. (Anderson, 1986, p. 117). These societies organized to maintain the Dakota culture, to oppose Christianity and the loss of Dakota territory. The soldier's lodge grew to such prominence at the Sisseton and Wahpeton village that it controlled the chiefs.

The traditional Dakota government was made up of a leader and his advisors. The Dakota had four "Akicitas" (warriors) who enforced the decisions. They all made up the "Tiyotipi" (Tent of tents, e.g., council tents). In the council tent, they provided a stick for each warrior in the camp. This stick was used for counting and often used in the moccasin game. (Lambert, 1996).

In social order, discipline on the hunt was a necessity. If a warrior pushed ahead of the rest on a buffalo hunt, his tipi was pulled down and his meat confiscated by the "soldiers lodge."

CONTEMPORARY TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

In the early 1900's, much of the leadership for many tribes was provided first by government appointed agents, and Superintendents. During this period, the Dakotas, as a traditional group of people, found their land base diminished, their hereditary chiefs gone, and their lives controlled by an external governance system. According to the Fort Totten agency superintendent, it was difficult to get sufficient representation to elect a business council. The officers who served on the tribal council in 1938 were predominantly elders, most of whom were over sixty, and carried on their discussions in Dakota.

Between 1887 and 1934, Indian tribes lost 190 million acres. During this period, the Dakotas lost about two-thirds of their land base. The shift in government policy brought on by the passage of the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, known as the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), the loss of Indian lands was halted. Congress attempted to preserve what little land the Dakotas had left. Given the opportunity to reorganize as legal entities under this legislation, many tribes drew up constitutions. Others did not. The Tribe, skeptical of government motives, rejected participation in the Act. They did, however, under new leadership, draw up a constitution under which they have since operated.

During the late 1950's and into the 1990's, the authority and autonomy of the Dakota Tribal government transitioned from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the Tribe. In the 1990's, the Tribe, through its business council, operates under a constitution and bylaws approved February 14, 1946, revised May 6, 1960, further amended June 17, 1969, May 3, 1974, April 16, 1976, May 4, 1981, and in May of 1995. On that date, the Devils Lake Tribe, by general referendum vote, changed their name from Devils Lake Sioux Tribe to Spirit Lake Tribe. In November of 1996, the United States government officially ratified the tribes constitutional revision and the name of the Tribe was changed to Spirit Lake.

As a contemporary government, the governing body of the Spirit Lake Tribe is the tribal business council. The Tribal Council consists of six (6) members. The reservation is divided into four (4) political districts: Crow Hill District, located west of Four Winds School, the Fort Totten District, which includes the area north of the Ski Jump Road and State Highway #57 to west along the dividing line between township 152N and 153N. The St. Michael's District includes the area east of the Ski Jump Road, and bounded on the south by the East-West line between township 152N and 151N. The Woodlake District includes all territory between the Sheyenne Road and the East-West township line. Each of these districts elects one representative. (Seivgny, 1994).

The chairperson and secretary are elected at large, while the vice-chairperson is appointed from within tribal council membership. Elections are held once every two years, in May.

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS:

- Subsistence
- Harmony with nature
- Family and clan structure
- Contact with other cultures
- Culture in transition

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What is subsistence and why was it important to native cultures?
2. How did the environment and geography of a region influence the lifestyles and traditions of native peoples?
3. How are lifestyles affected by changing seasons?
4. What are some similarities and differences between native and nonnative family structures?
5. What are clans, bands, and why were they significant to the Dakota?
6. What are some differences between historical and contemporary divisions of work for both native and nonnative people?
You're family?
In the past and at present?
7. Why were native students taken from their homes and sent to boarding schools?

CULTURE OF THE SPIRIT LAKE PEOPLE

CREATION NARRATIVE

- SEASONS
- FOOD
- DWELLINGS
- CLOTHING
- UTENSILS
- WEAPONS
- CUSTOMS
- DANCE AND SONG

WAYS OF BELIEVING

- RELIGION
- THE FORT TOTTEN TREATY PIPE
- KINSHIP SYSTEM

THE IMPACT OF THE RESERVATION

THE DAKOTA CULTURE TODAY

ANNUAL EVENTS

CREATION NARRATIVE

There was a band of people who lived under the earth, even under the water. There was a young brother and sister, who always played together in the same area. One day, the young boy went exploring. But this time, he went a little farther than he ever did before, until he came to a very different area. When he looked up, he could see something blue. So he reached up and it took him. It was a whirlpool. It took him up to the surface of the earth. He couldn't swim, but he did his best to stay on the surface of the water. When he got to the shore, he was very tired. The water threw him up onto the shore. He did not know where he was or how he even got there. He began looking around. He found this was a very beautiful place. He wandered away from where he surfaced. As he did, he lost this place. He again began to wander around.

Meanwhile, his sister was looking for him. After many days, she went where he usually went, but he was not there. She noticed there were tracks and followed them. She hoped to find her brother. The tracks kept going and she kept following. She came to the same whirlpool. She was also very curious. So she reached up and the whirlpool took her. Just as her brother, the water put her on the shore. She looked around, but she did not see her brother. She did see trees and hills. This was a very different place. But she thought to herself, "how beautiful!", because it was not much different from where she had come. She began to walk in the direction that she thought he might have gone. She was also looking for shelter. As all young people of this time, she knew the skills of survival. She did not need much to eat for there were berries and roots. The weather was warm.

After many, many days, she came to a stony ridge. From walking for so many days, she became very thirsty. To keep from getting too thirsty, she put a small stone into her mouth. By accident, she swallowed the stone. This stone traveled through her body and developed into a child.

When the boy child was born, she named him "STONE BOY." This is how the Dakota people began on the surface of the earth. This is why the Dakota honor a stone. In both stories, we began from a stone. (Creation narrative retold, by Alvina Alberts, Tribal Elder).

Some people believe the western and eastern bands of the Sioux moved onto the plains before 1679. In a three-day battle with the Chippewa (1790), known as the battle of Kathio, the Eastern Dakota lost their traditional homelands around Mille Lacs Lake. This is identified as the event by which the Eastern Dakota began transforming from a typical eastern Woodlands culture to that of a plains Indian culture. After the battle of Kathio, those who remained in the homelands fled south. The Wahpekutes, who may have split off after the battle, became nomadic and did not settle in permanent villages. The Mdewakantons continued their village life in new surroundings near the mouth of the Minnesota river, but soon scattered to a number of sites. (Meyer, p. 21). The Sissetons and Wahpetons, like the Mdewakantons, adapted to their new lands and had permanent villages of bark houses.

SEASONS

In their Woodlands environment, the Eastern Dakota lived in permanent villages only during the spring and summer. They fished in nearby lakes and streams, hunted deer or waterfowl when game was available. They gathered berries, plums, roots and tubers, such as the wild turnip, the bdo (which resembled the sweet potato). After the corn was harvested, they left their villages for the hunt. The men took part in the fall muskrat hunt, while the women and some of the men gathered wild rice. In October, the deer hunt began. It was the most important hunt of the year. Assembling their household goods and their skin tipis, the entire population left their villages for a three-month search for deer and other game, such as elk, or bear. They generally stayed in one place for several days or weeks.

In January, the band returned to their villages or settled down in a sheltered spot, sometimes under a bluff, where they lived for several months. They subsisted on the venison

they killed, and the foods they preserved from the previous summer's crop. In March, the men went on the spring muskrat hunt. This hunt was important because hides were better in the spring. The women tapped maple trees and boiled the sap for sugar. When the men returned, the cycle was repeated. (Samuel W. Pond, "the Dakotas or Sioux in Minnesota as they were in 1834", Minnesota Historical Collections, pp. 342 -346), Edward D. Neill, "Dakota Land and Dakota Life," Minnesota Historical Collections, I (1850-1856, pp. 205-240), (Meyer, Chapter 1, pp. 1-23).

FOOD

The Sisseton and Wahpeton raised corn near the mouth of the Minnesota River. Their livelihood was dependent upon hunting, fishing, and wild-rice gathering. On hunting trips, buffalo were driven off the bluffs and into the river where they could be killed. In times of scarcity, fish eggs were smoked and then cooked in water in earthen pots. Early in their woodlands environment, the Dakota harvested wild rice, their principal food. Other foods included corn and other grains. They tilled the soil and harvested corn and tobacco. Soup was made of corn meal and boiled meat. Some of the corn was dried, shelled, and stored underground in bark barrels for use in the winter.

DWELLINGS

Their winter homes were made in a clearing with boughs of trees laid on the ground. Women were responsible for erecting the tipis. In the winter, women would collect marsh grass for use as floor covering and insulation of tipis. In their native woodlands, they lived in "bark cabins" covered with deerskins, carefully dressed, and sewn together. These bark structures were made of elm walls and roofs. Although they varied in size, they could accommodate two dozen people. At the entrance, large wood platforms were constructed for food drying, sleeping, and storage.

Their lodges were buffalo-hide tipis with a three-pole foundation. The Isanti and Wahpeton used the square bark house in summer and the hemispherical lodge in winter. The winter lodge was heavily built and covered with earth. The Dakotas never made benches around the inner walls of the lodge. Parts of the lodge were named and were used in a formal manner. (Skinner, p. 165).

CLOTHING

For important ceremonies, the Dakota painted their faces several colors, burned their hair off except for a tuft, and saturated the hair with bear grease mixed with reddish earth. The tuft was ornamented with "some small pearls and stones thought to be turquoise." (Meyer, pp. 209-211).

Warriors dressed in light deerskin robes or white robes of painted beaver skins. Their shirts were made of fringed buckskin. Their leggings were tight, with large ankle flaps, and a seam in front. This was fastened with a short fringe, half an inch long. Only the Isanti wore beaded garters below the knee. (Skinner, 1919, p. 164). The leggings and moccasins were embroidered with porcupine quills and decorated with a piece of buffalo hide that trailed more than a foot and a half behind them. Elders wore buffalo robes which swept the ground. Each carried a long-stemmed pipe, and a medicine pouch. Their faces were not painted, but their hair was dressed in the same manner. Men and women wore clothing decorated with sea shells, and their moccasins (hard-soled) were decorated with pieces of brass or tin. These were attached to leather strings an inch long, which made a tinkling sound when they walked.

Women wore the two-piece Central Algonkian dress. The Sissetons were more inclined toward the prairie styles. Men parted their hair in the middle and wore two braids which were wrapped with otter skins. Their shirts and leggings were decorated with extremely long fringes, to which strips of weasel skin were attached.

UTENSILS

The Dakota made cooking vessels of black clay and stone. Bowls and dishes were also made of the knots of maple or other wood. Their spoons were made of buffalo-horn. Wooden spoons were short handled and broad bowled, like those of the Algonkian. Bowls and spoons used in medicine ceremonies, feasts, and dances, especially wakan wacipi, had animal-head handles, and were held as sacred. (Skinner, p. 165). Pottery was made of pounded clay tempered with burnt flint which had been pounded. The vessel was built by pinching the clay from a flat bottom. It was stamped on the sided with a paddle and lugs were placed on it.

WEAPONS

The early weapons of the Dakota included hatchets, wooden clubs, bows, arrows, and shields which were elaborately decorated with figures of the sun, moon, and various animals resembling terrestrial beings. Before 1766, the knives used by the Dakota, were made of flint or stone, and were one and one-half feet long. After that time, these knives were made of iron, and measured ten inches long and three inches wide at the handle. The Dakota traded for knives and steel which they used to strike fire.

CUSTOMS

Order was critical. A strict division of labor was followed. The men hunted, while the women were responsible for practically all of the other work.

DANCE AND SONG

Dance and songs were critical elements of Dakota culture. Like most plains' tribes, song and dance were expressions of the people's beliefs. These were carried out in a daily context. There were songs for every occasion.

There are honor songs (songs which are created specifically for an individual, or songs sung to honor the deeds of that individual); sun dance songs; *inipi* (sweat) songs; vision-quest (hanbdeceya) songs; courting ("wincinyan odwan") songs; hunting and working songs; death songs, and victory songs.

Dance was the highlight of the customs of the Dakota. Historically, for ceremonial dancing, warriors painted their faces and bodies with the symbol of some animal appropriate to his clan or of his vision. Some wore their hair short, full of bear grease, and decorated with red and white feathers. Others sprinkled their heads with the down of birds which clung to the bear grease. The Dakota danced with their hands on their hips striking the soles of their feet on the ground. The *Wicasa Wakan*, holy or medicine man, retained his influence in the tribe through his knowledge of dance and religious ceremonies.

Around the late 1890's, the Dakota material culture changed. They acquired steel weapons and tools which soon replaced bone and stone. They still used many utensils of wood and bark, but had almost given up the making of pottery. The use of skins gave way to the use of trade cloth and trader blankets. Burial customs during this time period also changed.

WAYS OF BELIEVING

While the material culture of the Sisseton, Wahpeton, and Yankton who settled at the Devils Lake (Spirit Lake) Reservation, changed, they retained many of their "old ways." E.g., religion, culture, and social organization. (Meyers, 1993, p. 326).

RELIGION

Religion played a primary role in bringing up Dakota children. For the Dakota, religion encompassed a reverence for all daily life and death. Dakotas believed in an afterlife. At the center of Dakota existence and understanding is "Wakan," the Great Mystery or Great Spirit. Numerous spirits took shape under the umbrella of Wakan. Wakan Tanka was a neutral deity who also played a role in creation.

The animals were thought to represent good omens and were spoken of with deep reverence. The Dakotas believed that they were related to the animals and to all of life. Through dreams and visions, the powers of certain animal spirits were given by Wakan Tanka. Dreams or visions of the animal, was equal to the power given. For example, Bear medicine was the most powerful. Medicine men and powerful leaders were often recipients of these spirits.

Religion was based upon a philosophy of reciprocity and subsistence. Prior to traders coming onto the Dakota woodlands, game was taken to provide for the immediate and seasonal needs of the people, and no more. After reaching adulthood, a Sioux warrior would take only parts of a deer carcass, leaving the remainder to others or distributing the rest in the village. He then thanked the spirit of the deer for giving life to the people.

Generosity was essential to the survival of the village. Young children were told that ancestors became great hunters and providers because of the power and strength gained from the Great Spirit. Boys were taught to give up bows and arrows and other small items. Those things would soon give way to much larger contributions that would keep relatives alive. In this way, young warriors gained honor within the village, and they were looked upon as important men. The village, in turn, reinforced the generosity of these young men by sending criers out to proclaim good deeds and making them known to all.

Elder relatives reinforced the communal contributions by young hunters by congratulating them on their success at killing small game. The birds and small animals the young children hunted were added to the village food supply. In this manner, sharing and responsibility for the group was reinforced among young children.

THE FORT TOTTEN TREATY PIPE

The pipe was the vehicle for offering prayer and was considered Wakan. Pipe bowls of the Dakotas were made of red stone (pipestone) and were as large as a man's fist, and as long as his hand. The pipestem was made of a five-foot long hollow reed or branch which was as thick as a large thumb. This type of pipe, called a *calumet*, was decorated with painted eagle tail feathers which opened like a fan. The tobacco, known as kinnikinnick was made from the inner bark of the red willow bush. Kinnikinnick also had numerous other uses.

The pipe was used to conclude solemn ceremonies. The Dakotas in the late 1800's concluded the signing of the treaty of 1867 with a peace pipe. This pipe, became known as the Fort Totten Treaty Pipe. In the late 1880's, Indian peoples were being visibly forced to give up their traditional religions and practice of their native customs. The Dakota chiefs, fearing the loss of their sacred pipe, took measures to protect it. The following story was provided by Fr. Stanislaus Maudlin, OSB in 1993:

During the late 1890's, the Dakota chiefs were being pressured to relinquish their Treaty Pipe to the Agency Superintendent or to the Army. Fearful that the Pipe would leave their land and be held in disrespectful hands, they took the Pipe to Father Jerome, a Benedictine priest to keep it for them, until it would be safe to pray with it again. Father Jerome promised that he would keep it safe, which he did so, till near the day of his death. In 1922, he gave the Pipe to another priest, Father Ambrose Mattingly, of the same order who assumed care of the Pipe.

In 1941, Father Ambrose, nearing his own death, passed the Pipe onto Fr. Stanislaus Maudlin, OSB, for safeguarding. In 1978, Mrs. Alice Kimmerly, an employee of Cankdeška Cikana Community College inquired of the Sacred Pipe. In detail she related the details of the Treaty Pipe. In the late 1980's, Father Stanislaus, wrote to the tribal chairman, Elmer White, explaining how the pipe had been kept hidden, and it would only be returned to a representative of the Tribe. The Chairman wrote back, saying that "I think the Pipe is not ready yet to come back to us. You have kept it. It is safe. We know where it is. The right time

will come. Just wait. It might be slow, but that's all right. For nearly a hundred years our Pipe has been safe with you, and I think it will still be safe."

In 1988, two men traveled to the Abbey and retrieved the pipe. The priest transferred the sacred Pipe in a proper ceremonial way.

For nearly 100 years, the Fort Totten Treaty Pipe had been protected for the Dakota by the Benedictine Priests of Blue Cloud Abbey. (Excerpted from a letter by Fr. Stanislaus Maudlin, OSB read to the Fort Totten people, June 24, 1993).

KINSHIP SYSTEM

The Dakota kinship system provided a place for everyone in the society, regardless of age or sex. The role of elders was respected, for they kept the story of the people alive and were respected for their wisdom. Women and young girls took care of the lodge, gathered food, and were responsible for preparing hides for its varied uses. Middle aged and young men defended the people, hunted, and provided food for the village. The kinship system was structured around relatedness through the mother. The term for mother applied to the females of the birth mother's generation, her sisters, her parallel female cousins, and female cross-cousins. The Dakota term for father, was applied in a similar manner and applied to the biological father, his brothers, his parallel male cousins and his male cross-cousins. When Dakotas used the term children, it referred to their own offspring, as well as parallel cousins, nieces or nephews.

The Sioux people placed considerable importance on relationships. Male relatives were viewed by Dakota boys as important as their biological parents, for they were the individuals who defined their limits. They were also their teachers and role models.

The kinship system assured a strong sense of community and belonging to the group. The Sioux word for this is *tiospaye*. Within the *tiospaye*, or lodge, individuals were expected to be generous, kind and loyal to other kin, especially grandparents and parents. They were expected to secure their approval for actions, and to seek their advice. Dakota men knew the necessity of complete cooperation with cousins, brothers and other relatives, because their lives depended upon each other, and this meant the protection and continuation of the village.

Young men, as they reached puberty, underwent a spiritual cleansing. The ceremony, the "hanbdeceya" or rite of passage, was meant to produce a vision and through this vision, a young man was provided personal power. A medicine man, or *wicaśawakan* directed the purification. This four-day ceremony included participating in the *inipi*, the sweat lodge, and fasting. During this ceremony, the young man symbolically left life as an adolescent and emerged as a young adult.

THE IMPACT OF RESERVATIONS

When the Reservation was established by the 1867 treaty, the Sisseton, Wahpeton, and Yankton Dakota had already considered the area a part of their favorite hunting area. They often camped in the area during the winter. When the military post was established in 1869, the Dakota stayed away from the soldiers, because they did not trust them. With much of the buffalo gone from the great plains by this time, the Dakotas were starving. The following account, first printed in the *American Indian Curriculum Development Program*, in 1975, gives an account of early life on the Reservation:

My grandfather had two wives and several children, but some of the children died before the family reached this place. I think they starved. There was no wild rice here, and the game was not always plentiful. The government had promised to send cattle, but none had yet been sent. Sometimes they lived on prairie grass seed and fish from the lakes. They had dogs and often ate the young, half-grown puppies. Generally, they ate puppies only when a feast was given for some special occasion.

My grandfather's two brothers and four sons lived close together in the woods near the river. They built houses out of poles and mud. They had flat pole-roofs with dirt piled on top. They were warm in winter but they leaked mud when the snow melted or when it rained. The men all worked together to build houses and hunt game. The food was shared with everyone, when there was any to share. In the summer they lived mostly out of doors. The women did the cooking over one fire near the leaf-shelter. We sat on the ground under the leaf-shelter to eat and visit together. When any relatives came to visit us, they brought buffalo-skin tipis and set them up near the house.

We were more than 20 miles away from Fort Totten, where the White soldiers finally made their garrison (fort) when they took command of the reservation. We seldom saw any of the soldiers. A major came to see my grandfather once, but we children ran into the woods and hid by the river bank. We were afraid of the Big Knives, as we called them. They were called that because the officers had swords. The major came to enroll all of the Sioux in the reservation book. Each of us had a separate name, but the major enrolled us all under the name of my grandfather, and we have had that for a surname ever since.

Wahpeton Man

(United Tribes Technical College, Indian Country: Histories of the Five Northern Plains Tribes, AICDP (1975), pp. 39-40).

During the 1870's to the early 1900's, the Dakota's lifestyle changed from living in a nomadic lifestyle to dependence on the military at Fort Totten. The gradual loss of the buffalo, followed by a series of severe winters and summer droughts, and the influx of annuities secured as a part of the reservation's maintenance, brought about a dependence on the reservation system.

Between 1878 and 1930, the boarding school phase of American Indian education took roots. Boarding schools, such as those at Fort Totten, . . . "cut into the fabric of Indian cultures like a million little knives." (Ahern, 1983, pp. 108, 111).

Dakota parents did not appreciate having their children pulled away at an early age. They were subjected to harsh forms of discipline, and taught values that were contrary to those of the community and their kinship system. The Dakotas, who remained free from interference and coercion by agents, participated least in the schooling program. Resistance to this form of schooling at Fort Totten became routine. Rations, in some instances, were withheld.

Between 1897 and 1926, the enrollment of children at Fort Totten Industrial School (Cavalry Square) varied between 230 and 400 children. Discipline was harsh and children were punished by forced marching in sub zero temperatures. By 1910, the school enrollment was 473 students, one-half of which were Chippewa and MČtis children from North Dakota and Montana. During this time period, disciplinary policies became more humane.

Between 1926 and the late 1930's, large enrollments forced children to be housed in huge cramped dormitories, often poorly heated and ventilated, and because of little resources, diets were poor and inadequate. Under these conditions, children contracted infectious diseases such as trachoma, whooping cough, and tuberculosis and many children died.

Meanwhile, Indian children were subjected to schooling alien to their own culture. Religious training was seen as the vehicle to assimilation into the larger society. Of the

boarding school effect on Indian children, Mark Twain once offered, "Soap and education are not as sudden as a massacre but they are more deadly in the long run." (Twain, 1899, p. 350; in Remele, 1986, p. 24). The Fort Totten boarding school closed in 1935.

The material culture of the Dakota during the early part of the 20th century showed that they had adapted somewhat to the reservation environment. Standard annuity items included sugar, flour, meat (when available), coffee and dried goods. Gardens produced vegetables. Fresh meat was available when game was near.

Many Dakota lived on homesteads, a legacy of the allotment era. They built frame houses, but many preferred to live in log houses. The women often cooked in sheds removed from the living quarters or outdoors. Food included roasted dried meat, pounded and mixed with the tallow grease. The Dakota considered it honorable to be brought up on *hot* bread, which they referred to as "cowboy bread." This bread was made with baking powder, rolled and cooked in a frying pan over the open fire. Often the bread was spread with "bone grease" (bone marrow) which had the consistency of a margarine. (Carlson, 1977).

Other foods included ground corn, chokecherries, June berries, and wild turnips. These wild turnips, called, *tipsina* were tubers, a favorite food of many Dakotas. Wild turnips were plentiful in various parts of the prairies. In the spring they dug, braided, and stored them for the winter months. They dried rock hard, but boiled in a soup, expanded to twice their original size.

The Dakota also dried squash. The squash was peeled, sliced, and laced on string. They were then hung on drying racks, made of four poles stuck in the ground and covered with canvas. The racks were also used to dry corn, and choke cherry patties.

The dried chokecherry patties, which the Dakota and Lakota called *wosapi*, were considered a dessert. The chokecherry patties were prepared by soaking them overnight, cooked to a pudding-like consistency to which flour and sugars were added, as was a tablespoon of fat.

Utensils for cooking included wooden sticks for stirring and grasping food. Parfleches or *Wopiun*, (rawhide boxes) were used by the Dakota used for storing pemmican, corn, and other dried food items. Skunk oil was used as a cough syrup, and as a decongestant. The down fluff of the cattail was used as a diaper for babies. The down was stuffed into a sack made of cloth and tied around the baby.

THE DAKOTA CULTURE TODAY

While certain aspects of the culture of the Dakota have been impacted, much of the language, certain ceremonies, and other elements have been retained. Through oral language, basic values and principles of the Dakota culture have survived for hundreds of years and governs today's Dakota culture.

One value of the Dakota is quietness. The Dakota have a quietness about them and often do not speak out in public. This characteristic can be traced back to the time before treaties and before contact with whites. All communication and recollection of history were orally transmitted and not based on written text. Documentation by writing was not a method of communication. Therefore, all learning was through listening. Dakota ancestors believed that each cycle of life must complete its full cycle. By documenting a segment of that cycle - was breaking that cycle. The cycle was sacred (Wakan). Therefore, it was not something to break. The Dakota language has many of its words which have multiple meanings. If one wanted to learn the language, one had to listen. By not taking shortcuts, one learns patience. In order to live this life, one has to have a strong belief and faith in Wakan Tanka." (Lambert, 1996).

Several ways that the culture survives today are through adaptations of the kinship system. While not readily visible, kinship practices include demonstrated respect of elders by caring for them in the home of the extended family.

The culture of the Dakota, and of all tribal people is exemplified through their relationship to the earth. The earth is viewed as the mother of all, because she nourishes and provides for the growth and sustenance of all people. This relationship with the earth and nature has to be nurtured. Native peoples expressed this relationship by acting in a stewardship manner when they took and received sustenance from the earth.

Ceremonies are methods of communicating with the Great Spirit. Most of the ceremonies require the participant to endure hardships as a part of the process of communication. The Dakota still participate in the sweat lodge, the vision quest, and the sun dance.

A cultural renaissance is occurring on the Spirit Lake Reservation. For the first time in more than 70 years, the Sun Dance was revived after being absent from the reservation. The year 1993 marked the first Sun Dance ceremony held on the Reservation since the 1920's.

The Sweat ceremony, continues to be practiced. The purpose of the sweat lodge is to purify and return the participant to the state of purity or grace. By communicating with the Great Spirit through prayer and song, strengthened by the use of tobacco, the body and mind are cleansed.

The vision quest is undertaken to request of the Great Spirit a sign and special gift to be given to the participant. This "gift" is a guiding vision, or power to govern one's life. The participant must fast for four days and four nights without food or water. He is totally alone and is one with the Great Spirit as his protector.

ANNUAL EVENTS

The most visible elements of Dakota culture today, are the annual celebrations and pow wow's which are held throughout the year. These events, generally, last from one to four days and most often are held on weekends. They bring together tribes and other people and are designed to strengthen and reinforce the culture of the Dakota. Other annual events include:

APRIL

Cultural awareness and healing. Culture awareness is a part of the education of the school. Each spring a medicine man will talk with the children. The cultural instructors at the school reinforce his teachings.

APRIL

Bazaar. Each spring the Catholic Church at St. Michael's hosts a Bazaar. This event has been well attended by the community.

MAY

Sully Hill National Wildlife Preserve. The Park, maintained by the United States Department of Interior, is located just east of the community of Fort Totten. Self-guided auto tours are available throughout the park where visitors can view buffalo, deer, waterfowl, and other wildlife. There are a number of nature trails located in the park.

JULY

Annual Pow-Wow. The pow wow, known as Fort Totten Days, was changed in 1994 to "Akicita Honoring" to honor modern day veterans. The term "Akicita" is the Dakota term for warriors who guarded the camp. This celebration is usually the last weekend in July. Indian people from various tribes attend. This event, which is also open to the public, celebrates through dance, songs, parades, Indian games, softball tournaments, and rodeos. A Sobriety Run is held in conjunction with this event.

OCTOBER

Keeping the Circle Strong. Each year, the Four Winds Elementary sponsors a spiritual strengthening program for the school.

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS:

- Form of Leadership
- Ascendency
- Roles of Religion in Politics
- Hereditary Leadership
- Styles of Leadership

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How were leaders chosen in historic times?
2. How are leaders selected in contemporary times?
3. Compare and contrast historic and contemporary leadership.
4. What benefits were derived from traditional forms of leadership?
5. Many native cultures believe that it is critical for their survival to maintain traditional forms of leadership. What elements are important?
How do they benefit the people?

LEADERS

TRADITIONAL LEADERS
CONTEMPORARY LEADERS

LEADERS

History has characteristically cast Indian leaders in strong leadership roles. In their traditional homelands, and prior to 1862, all the Dakota who comprised the *Oceti Sâkowin*, Seven Council Fires, did not place all of the decision-making in the hands of one leader. It was through the process of oratorical debate, the ability to shape a vision for Dakota society, and build a consensus among the people, that leaders or spokespersons were chosen. All the bands of the Dakota were communal people. As a result, tribal and family identity was a critical factor because individual leaders needed to possess the desired skills to provide for the well-being of the tribe. The people depended upon them.

Many tribal people were similar in their social and political organization. In nonhierarchical societies, leaders “ascended.” Very often, individuals became leaders because they made “wise” decisions over long periods of time. Other leaders established status recognition through prominence within their kinship group, or because they were descended from “medicine” or “leadership” clans. These clans or bands often served to carry on the tribe’s history and/or religion. In some instances, leaders were chosen in the order in which they were born. Generally, the eldest son of the leader of a band, or clan, was chosen for the leadership role.

The form and substance of Dakota leadership was greatly influenced by the events following and 1862-1863 Dakota Conflict. Several bands of the Sisseton and Wahpeton, reluctant to take part in the Conflict, were inadvertently drawn into the conflict. Others, who refused to participate, were forced to flee because of the general outcry for retribution of all Dakotas. Many Dakota leaders and their bands, to be protected, were subjected to reservation life, while their land base diminished and government policy persistently attempted to assimilate them. A decentralized form of leadership was further dispersed as many traditional leaders were killed, deposed, fled, or replaced by those chosen by the Government to act as spokespersons. From roughly the late 1860’s to the early 1920’s, many of the long lines of hereditary chiefs ceased to exist or if they survived, were limited in their ability to function in that capacity on the Spirit Lake Reservation.

TRADITIONAL DAKOTA LEADERS



Photo by J. E. Whitney. Printed with Permission - Minnesota Historical Society.

STANDING BUFFALO

Standing Buffalo was born in about 1833 near the headwaters of the Minnesota River. His father was Star Face or Wicanpहितeton (later called The Orphan or Wamdenica). He was the leader of a Sisseton band. In 1858 his father passed the leadership to his favorite son. Standing Buffalo’s band was hunting buffalo on the Sheyenne River when the Conflict began. In about mid-September 1862 he and other Sisseton leaders visited Little Crow and spoke against the conflict. Standing Buffalo then sent a letter to General Sibley stating his band’s desire for peace.

After the battle of Big Mound the Sissetons fled northwest and by 1864 were in Manitoba. Gradually the band moved westward to Montana. Repeated attempts were made to induce their surrender, but Standing Buffalo could not make this decision. Eventually he was killed in battle with the Gros Ventres and Assiniboine Indians on June 5, 1871.

GABRIEL RENVILLE 1880-1890

Gabriel Renville or Ti'wakan meaning Sacred Lodge, was born in April of 1825 at Sweet Corn's Sisseton village on the west side of Big Stone Lake. His parents were both mixed-bloods. His father died in 1833, and he was reared as a Dakota by his stepfather, Joseph Akipa Renville, a full-blood. In 1859 Gabriel settled with his third wife on a farm on the north side of the Minnesota River.

When the Conflict began, Renville helped to organize a soldier's lodge that opposed the warriors. Renville served as a scout for Sibley in spring 1863, and for three years Renville acted as the leader of the Dakota scouts, working out of Fort Wadsworth in Dakota Territory. When peace finally came to the eastern portions of Dakota Territory, Renville began organizing the new Sisseton Reservation, and lead the delegation to Washington, D.C., to negotiate and sign the Treaty of 1867. He served as chief of the Sissetons and Wahpetons at the Spirit Lake reservation throughout the 1880's and 1890's and died at Samuel Brown's house at Browns Valley, Minnesota, on August 26, 1892. He adhered to Dakota customs throughout his life, and never spoke English.

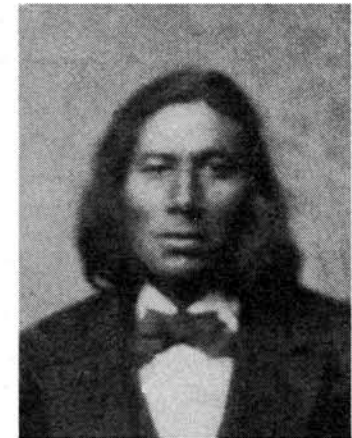


Photo by Joseph J. Martin - Minnesota Historical Society.

SIPTO (BEAD)

Bead was a hereditary chief of the Abdowapusikiya (Back Drying) Band of the Sisseton Dakota. He was born in 1834 at Wood Lake, located in Benson County, North Dakota. His father, Hoksīnawāsteka "*Doubtfully a Goodboy*" (1805-1890) was a relative of chiefs' Standing Buffalo and Waanatan. He spent his boyhood in the north Sisseton territory between the sand hills of the Mouse River and the woodlands of south central Minnesota.

He was a warrior and hunter of 28 winters when the Dakota Conflict occurred in 1862. During these trying times of near starvation his band moved to the Poplar River in Montana Territory. When his grandfather, Standing Buffalo died, Hoksīnawāsteka, Sipto's father, was in line to be chief. However, Hoksīnawāsteka, acceded to his son, Sipto, the chieftainship of the band. They separated from the main band, and Sipto led a group of 131 people to the new reservation and settled at Mni Wakan (Spirit Lake). He was baptized Adam Sipto. He took an allotment in the Mission Township and became an excellent farmer. Blind in his old age from glaucoma, he amazed everyone by his ability to tell the time of day and the phases of the moon, while in total darkness. He died at the age of 87 on October 20, 1921, the last Chief on the reservation. He is buried in the St. Michael Cemetery.



Courtesy of the ND State Historical Society.

CANTEMAZA (IRON HEART)

Chief Ironheart was born in 1822, a member of the Wahpeton Dakota. His father was Mahpiya Wicasta (Cloudman) 1796-1863, a leader of the Hazelwood Republic, a church-founded farming band. One of his three brothers was the famous Presbyterian missionary Solomon Tunkašaičiye (*Holy stone who makes himself red*). Another brother was Lot Iteojanjan (*Light on his face*) who rescued some of Little Crow's captives. The third brother, Četanmaza (*Ironhawk*) was the famous rescuer of Abbie Gardner in 1857. Solomon and Lot settled at Lake Traverse Reservation while Ironheart and Ironhawk settled at Devils Lake. Their eldest sister Tawapahatankawin (*Great Banner Woman*) was married to Chief Running Walker. He played a prominent role in the battle of New Ulm during the Minnesota Conflict. He often related his deeds from the pulpit, describing himself as a "bad Indian" during the Conflict. He ran a hotel where five trails met on the "east end" of Devils Lake during the 1880's. He was elected Elder of the Wood Lake Presbyterian Church in 1883 using the name Adam Ignatius Ironheart. He was able to locate his war-scattered extended family and moved back to the old reservation at Granite Falls, Minnesota to reunite with them in 1885. He died on May 21, 1896, at the age of 74. He is buried at the Downcaster Cemetery in Granite Falls, MN.

WAANATAN (CHARGE UPON) II



Courtesy of the ND State Historical Society.

Waanatan was born in 1828 to a Sisseton mother who was related to Chief Standing Buffalo. His father was the famous Yanktonai, Chief Waanatan I (1795-1840) of the Cuthead Band. His father claimed more than eleven million acres of land from Granite Falls to the Missouri River. Their main village was on the west side of Lake Traverse. The Cutheads traveled to all points in their territory hunting buffalo which brought them into direct conflict with the Ojibwa, and the riverine tribes, the Arikara, Mandan and Hidatsa along the Missouri River. Many Yanktonais were lost to the smallpox epidemic of 1837. At age 12 his father was killed by a rival in the year 1840. The Cutheads split into three groups. Waanatan's older brothers, Red Thunder and Catfish, took the majority of the band and remained near the Missouri River. Waanatan and his mother left the group and settled with her people, the Sissetons, at Lake Traverse. Eventually Waanatan II became chief and hunted mainly between Devils Lake and Lake Traverse.

In the fall of 1862, Waanatan and his Sissetons were hunting buffalo near present day Hamar, North Dakota, when news came of the Dakota Conflict. Together with Chief Standing Buffalo, Waanatan forbade Little Crow to flee across their territory. Anticipating the army would follow, Standing Buffalo and Waanatan declined to give them aid. In spite of their efforts to remain neutral, Waanatan and Standing Buffalo were drawn into the war. After the Battle of Big Mound in 1863 Waanatan remained in the Mouse River Loop area, his band traveled back and forth across the Canadian Border. Because of the dwindling numbers of buffalo, and the need to survive, he returned to Devils Lake and surrendered in 1867 at Fort Totten with only 62 people.

In 1872, through a series of entanglements between the government, the church, and business interests, Waanatan was cheated out of most of his money. He was forced to sell all of his father's land for 10 cents an acre. Later in life he remained active in political affairs and became a tribal judge. He died in 1897 at the age of 69 and was buried in the St. Michael Cemetery. Chief Waanatan lived in a large two-room log house beneath the blue water tower at St. Michael's. His son Suna (Bullets) Waanatan succeeded his father as a political leader. Many Waanatan descendants still live in the area.



Courtesy of the ND State Historical Society.

TIOWASTE (GOODHOUSE) OR LITTLE FISH

Tiowaste was not a hereditary leader but became a headman of the Sisseton Dakota by his own tenacity. His mother was related to Standing Buffalo and his father was a Frenchman. Goodhouse or Little Fish, as he was known, was fluent in Dakota and French. He was born in 1825 and was 37 years old during the Dakota Conflict. By his own testimony he was present at the battle of Big Mound. He was recognized as a chief on May 23, 1868, when he surrendered his band of 130 to the garrison at Ryans Hill, near Fort Totten. Fearing they would be mistaken for a band of Sioux under Rain-in-the-Face, (who had only hours before their arrival stole some of the soldiers mules and inflicted casualties upon the herders) Little Fish's group requested a special interpreter to relay their message to the fort.

Appointed chief by the soldiers, Little Fish and his band settled on the Fort Totten Reservation, and he became a farmer in the Mission District. Although he resigned himself to reservation life, he refused to give up his Indian customs. In 1878 Agent McLaughlin tried to depose him but failed. In addition to farming, Little Fish worked as a teamster delivering grain raised by the reservation farm to Fort Seward at Jamestown, which provided badly needed cash for the people.

Little Fish was a prominent figure at all the celebrations. He always led the parade at Chautauqua at Fort Totten from 1893 well into the new century. He was a noted orator and later became a judge of the Court of Indian Offenses. On these special occasions he always wore a stovepipe hat and a King George Medal, on a ribbon around his neck. (He purchased

the medal in 1877 from the son of Chief Red Thunder, Makanahunhunze (*rocking his foot on the ground*) for a good horse). On August 28, 1901, he testified for the claimants regarding the movements of Standing Buffalo's band during the battle of Big Mound before the U.S. Court of Claims. Little Fish or Goodhouse died December 8, 1919, at the age of 94. His grandson Louis Goodhouse was a longtime Chairman of the Spirit Lake Sioux Tribe between 1960 and 1970. Descendants of Little Fish's daughter, include Carl McKay, who became the youngest tribal chairman in the Nation, and Ila McKay-Lohnes, the first woman to become chairwoman of the Spirit Lake Tribe.

CONTEMPORARY TRIBAL LEADERS

Between 1901 and 1930's, much of the leadership for many tribes came was provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. During this period, the Spirit Lake Tribe lost about two-thirds of its land base. With the shift in government policy and the passage of the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, known as the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) the policy of Congress changed, and under this piece of legislation, the loss of Indian lands was halted, and Congress attempted to preserve what culture and land the Indians had left. Given the opportunity to reorganize as legal entities, many tribes drew up constitutions. Some tribes did not. The Spirit Lake Sioux Tribe, skeptical of its motives, by a vote of 144 in favor, and 233 opposed, rejected participation in the Act. The Spirit Lake Sioux tribe, did however, found new leadership, drew up a constitution by which to govern themselves, and began operation as a formal government. The Tribe has operated in that capacity since that time. Characteristically, their chosen leaders tend to hold office for lengthy periods of time, affording a measure of political and economic stability for the tribe.

CHARLIE BLACK BIRD 1946 - 1957

Charles was born on November 4, 1894 at Fort Totten. He received his education at Fort Totten and Carlisle School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania. He served in the United States Army during World War I - July 10, 1917 to August 27, 1919. After he returned home, he was married in 1920, and resided in the Fort Totten area with his wife, one son and two daughters.

He worked for many years as the agent for the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Fort Totten. In 1946, he was elected chairperson, and served for two years. He died at the age of 74 on October 29, 1968. ("Charles Blackbird," 1968).

JEROME ABRAHAM

Jerome A. Abraham was born May 24, 1905 at Fort Totten. His parents were Jacob and Virginia Goodhouse Abraham. He was raised and educated at Fort Totten. In 1926, he and his family established a farm at St. Michael and they farmed in the area for many years.

He was employed with the State Highway Department and the North Dakota Game and Fish Department. He later served as tribal chairman of the Tribe for two years. He also served on the Benson County Selective Service Board for 20 years. After serving on the tribal council, he was appointed as Tribal Judge, a position which he held for five years. He died February 4, 1978. (Jerome Abraham, 1978).

ERNEST SMITH 1955-1956 1956-1957?

Ernest H. Smith was born on March 28, 1912. His father was Moses Smith, and his mother Mary Emma Strait. He was born in the old hospital at Fort Totten, ND. He received most of his education at Fort Totten. He attended school at Wahpeton, Haskell Institute and

the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. He graduated from the University of North Dakota at Grand Forks, where he majored in civil engineering. Following his graduation, he married and lived in the Fort Totten area for a time.

During World War II he served with the Army Engineers in Seattle, WA. and St. Louis, MO. He also worked for a number of years as highway engineer in Rapid City, South Dakota. He became chairman in the mid 1950's, and served for two years. Mr. Smith was the first member of the Dakota to graduate from college. He died at the age of 49, while still employed as an engineer for the highway department. He died June 22, 1961.

LOUIS GOODHOUSE 1957 - 1972

Louis Goodhouse was elected tribal chairman in 1957, a seat which he held for 12 years until 1971. When Congress passed Public Law 280, giving some tribal jurisdiction to states, Goodhouse mustered support for retaining tribal rights. His administration was responsible for building the tribes physical (community) environment, securing numerous programs and improving the tribe's land holdings.

During those 12 years, the Tribe: saw the construction of a day care center, fire house, a badly needed jail (new in 1966), a new housing office, neighborhood center, 120 new homes, a juvenile detention and rehabilitation center, 20 elder housing units, lighted football field, trailers for teacher quarters, two new school buildings and new buses, arts and craft's library, a reservation information center, and maintenance shop. The tribal municipal systems received a sewage system, natural gas lines, \$90,000 for improvement and construction of roads, a park, reservation telephone system and new wells and water development.

His administration advocated for off reservation tribal members by securing medical care for them in Devils Lake. As chairman, Goodhouse worked extensively with various organizations, promoting education for Indian students at Devils Lake Junior College to establish programs for tribal members. He sold his own cattle so that students from Fort Totten could travel to Europe. He worked with the University of North Dakota to promote assistance for students aspiring to be physicians, and later sought funding for the Indians into Medicine Program (INMED).

He was responsible for having the administration of Fort Totten Agency returned from Belcourt, and changed the name of the tribe from "Fort Totten" Tribe, to "Devils Lake Sioux Tribe." He and four others were responsible for organizing United Tribes Educational and Technical Center (UTTEC), presently United Tribes Technical College. He was never afraid to open his billfold to anyone in need.

CLAUDE RED HAIL LONGIE 1971 - 1972

Claude Red Hail Longie, was born and raised in Fort Totten, North Dakota. After completing his early schooling, he joined the Navy embarking on a 20-year career. He returned to Fort Totten, where he resided for several years and involved himself in the local affairs of the tribe. In 1971, he was voted to assume the chairmanship of the Spirit Lake Sioux Tribe, after three members of the Tribal Council were recalled. He completed the term of Louis Goodhouse. He served approximately 1 year as the Chairman, after which he resigned for personal reasons.

Four years after leaving the tribe, he moved to the Pine Ridge Agency, on the Oglala Sioux Reservation, Pine Ridge, South Dakota. There, he immersed himself in learning about the customs of the Oglala Lakota. As a spiritual leader, he continued to practice his culture and participated in ceremonies.

He died in 1994 and is buried at the National Veteran's Cemetery, Rapid City, South Dakota.



Photo Courtesy of Louis Goodhouse family.

EVELYN YOUNG 1972-1973

Evelyn Young was born at the old agency hospital in Fort Totten on May 15, 1931. The granddaughter of a traditional Wahpeton Chief, Matochatka (Left Bear), Evelyn received all of her education in the Fort Totten community, first attending the east side day school, and then Fort Totten school.

She became chairwoman in 1972, completing the term of Claude Red Hail Longie, who had resigned. She became a council member in 1971 and served for 10 months.

During her ten-month term, the tribal administration: increased the minimum negotiated lease rate for tribal land from \$4.00 to \$12.00 per acre, continued negotiations with Senator Milton R. Young and secured contracts for Sioux Manufacturing Plant. In addition, she began negotiations with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and hand-carried the proposal to Washington, D.C. for the first high school in Fort Totten, and Little Hoop Community College. She worked on the Mississippi Sioux Claim, in December 20, 1972. She chose not to seek reelection in 1973. Her administration brought back the original name of the people as Sisseton-Wahpeton.

Today, Evelyn Young serves as post mistress at Tokio, North Dakota, where she lives. Ever concerned about her people, she believes that the welfare system continues to be a problem for the people. She questions a system where so many young people are not employed and receive general assistance.



**CARL MCKAY 1974 - 1977
1977 - 1979
1979 - 1981
1981 - 1982
1985 - 1987**

Carl McKay was born December 18, 1948 at Fort Totten. He attended elementary school at Fort Totten and high school at Devils Lake Central High School, Devils Lake, ND. He received all of his higher education at the University of North Dakota. From 1967 to 1971 he received a bachelor's degree in Social Work, and worked toward a master's degree in Education from 1973 to 1974. During his tenure as tribal chairperson, he resigned his position from the tribe and completed a Juris doctorate in Law in 1984.

He was elected tribal chairperson in 1974, making him the youngest tribal chairperson in the United States to hold that office. He served continuously from 74 to 1981, a three-year term, at which time the tribe instituted staggered terms. He resigned in 1982. He was elected tribal chairperson in 1985, served until 1987, and then reelected for two additional consecutive terms.

During his tenure as chairperson, he was able to put together a team of tribal members who worked hard to develop a tribal education plan, kindergarten through grade twelve. In 1972, at the age of 22, he became President of the Fort Totten School Board. At that time the Tribe didn't have a high school. Working with Glen Walking Eagle and Demus McDonald, McKay started the Tribes first high school. He worked diligently with the tribal members on the Board of Directors of Sioux Manufacturing to gain 100% ownership and management of the firm, at that time, the Tribe owned 51% of the company. Negotiating with State Street Bank of Boston, the tribe borrowed 3.2 million to secure full tribal ownership of the plant, and purchased Brunswick interest in the plant.

As chairman, he was instrumental in building the tribes business and regulatory infrastructures. Between 1985 - 1986, under his leadership, the Tribe formed Dakota Tribal Industries, a 100% Indian owned and managed company fabricating products for the Department of Defense. They became the first tribe in the state to develop a uniform



commercial code, and an employment rights ordinance. The tribe also incorporated federal rules of civil procedures and federal rules of evidence in their criminal code. A significant accomplishment of his administration was the preservation of the sovereign tribes right to regulate commerce [utilities] on the reservation.

His belief and goal were to make the Tribe and people self-sufficient. For a long time, McKay has held the belief that the present welfare system goes against the belief of Dakota culture. The ability of the people to put food on the table for the family is a matter of pride always known to the Dakotas. There was a time in history when the Dakotas were self-sufficient, farming, and reinvesting in their own lands. When the government intervened by instituting the 1904 Homestead Act, lands were taken away effectively destroying a growing tribal economy and with it the productivity of the people. He firmly believes that given the right tools, The Dakota have the capacity to be self-sufficient again. Carl McKay is currently General Manager at Sioux Manufacturing.

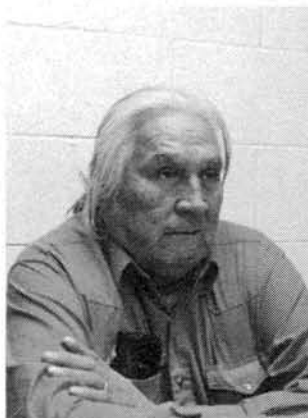


Photo - Courtesy of Lenore Alberts.

PAUL LITTLE 1979 - 1980

Paul Little was born on May 11, 1930 at Crow Hill, and was educated at Fort Totten, St. Michael's, and Standing Rock Boarding Schools. During his early years, he was an iron worker in Minnesota. He later attended the University of Minnesota and worked with them to develop a Dakota Language course.

He was vice-chairman of the Tribal Business Council, and became chairperson when Carl McKay, resigned. During his term the tribe was dealing with land concerns and farming. Under his leadership the Tribe secured piping for the reservation irrigation system, and funding for housing units. He worked along with others to support bilingual education for the community. His administration worked on a 10-year-old case to determine the tribe's ownership to the lake bed of Devils Lake.

After he left tribal politics, he served as a member of the Tribe's Repatriation Committee and the State Repatriation Committee for 12 years. He was a strong advocate for the Dakota culture believing that individual accomplishments of the people should be honored and recognized. A strong traditional man, Paul Little believed in education as a tool for survival today. He promoted both contemporary and traditional forms (Indian way) of education. He taught Dakota language and culture in the Fort Totten School system, and during his personal time, he traveled, participated in traditional ceremonies, drummed, sang and crafted pipes. He also spent his time as an artisan. He died in the winter of 1996.



Photo - Courtesy of Dennis Brusven.

DAN DUBOISE 1980 -1982

Daniel J. Duboise was born in Ft. Totten, on November 23, 1921. Up until the 9th grade, he attended Ft. Totten school. He graduated from Maddock High School in 1960, and spent several years in Cleveland, Ohio. After returning home in 1971, he attended the police science program at United Tribes Technical College.

Prior to becoming chairperson in 1980, he served two terms as district councilman for the Ft. Totten District (1976 to 1980). In 1980 he served as vice-chairperson. When then Chairperson, Carl McKay elected to return to the University of North Dakota, Mr. Duboise filled Mr. McKay's unexpired term, until 1982. During his term, the tribe secured a paving project for the entire reservation. He also testified to secure \$14.8 million for the new school which was then sixteenth on the list. He continued advocacy for Senate Bill 503, the Indian Land Consolidation Act, begun by former Chairman McKay. The Act was to preserve

the Spirit Lake Tribal land base. The Act was passed and Mr. Duboise was invited to the White House for the signing. He also worked to secure small business set-aside status for Sioux Manufacturing Co.

From 1988 to 1990 Dan Duboise served on the council as a representative for the Ft. Totten District. He worked for the school until 1990, and then moved to the Dakota Reserve at Sioux Valley, Canada. His long term vision was to build a tribal resort on Devils Lake. He believes in the importance of the tribe to reestablish self-sufficiency, as a legacy to children.

ELMER WHITE 1983 -1984
1995 -1996

Elmer White was born in Fort Totten in 1936. A lifelong resident of the St. Michael's district, his mother was the great, great, granddaughter of Chief Waanatan I. He was raised by his grandparents. He attended school at both St. Michael's mission and Fort Totten school.

He served as Tribal chairperson from 1983 to 1984. His administration was responsible for retiring a tribal debt of 4.5 million dollars. He advocated for the final settlement of the Joint Tribal Advisory Committee which negotiated claims and settlement for lands taken by the Picks-Sloan (Garrison Dam) Project. Part of the settlement included the construction of the McClusky Canal, a plan to transfer Missouri River water to central North Dakota and the Fort Totten Reservation to create a rural water system for the Tribe. He negotiated the Tribe's ownership of the buffalo ranch and ushered in their involvement in tribal gaming by authorizing the creation of the Dakota Bingo Palace at St. Michaels.

After leaving the tribe, he became housing Director, and later served as Dakota language teacher at the elementary school where he worked for seven years. He was one of the first Indian educators in the state of North Dakota to be named Indian Educator of the year by the North Dakota Indian Education Association.

In his early years, as a hobby, he began announcing at high school basketball games, an experience which has led him to a career as emcee for local rodeos'. This eventually led to a twenty-five-year career as emcee for pow wow's and celebrations, becoming known both nationally and internationally. From 1992 to 1995, he has served as bilingual resource teacher for the former Tate Topa Elementary School where he taught tribal songs and the Dakota language.

In September of 1995, he suffered a stroke and in November of 1996, he resigned as chairman. He currently lives at home in St. Michael's, N.D.

ILA RAE MCKAY - HINTUNKASAN WASTEWIN (PRETTY WEASEL WOMAN)
1990 - 1991

Ila Rae McKay was born on July 24, 1959 at Devils Lake, ND. She is the daughter of William F. McKay and Hermenia (Rainbow) McKay. Her ancestry is that of Cut Head and Ihanktowana. Her ancestors were scattered throughout the Dakotas and Canada as a result of the Minnesota Uprising of 1862. She is a descendant of Chief Little Fish and Chief Sleepy Eye. She was raised on the Spirit Lake Sioux Reservation.

Ila attended elementary and high school at Devils Lake Public Schools, and graduated from Central High School, Devils, Lake, ND. She attended the University of North Dakota in Grand Forks, North Dakota where she received a bachelor of arts degree in Public Administration/Indian Studies.



*Photo - Courtesy of
ND Department of Public Instruction*



Photo - Courtesy of Lenore Alberts.

She worked for the Indians into Medicine Program at the University of North Dakota School of Medicine for four years. During that time, she worked for Student Support Services.

When she returned home in 1985, she was employed as Health Educator for the Tribe. She was instrumental in the development of health and wellness programs on the Spirit Lake Sioux Reservation, by raising consciousness of prevention against Diabetes, HIV/AIDS, and Alcohol and Drug abuse. In her work she developed a K-6 curriculum on diabetes prevention.

On June 23, 1990, in a special election, she was appointed to replace Carl McKay, as Chairperson after he resigned. In 1986 she was chosen as an Outstanding Young Woman of America for her work in the areas of community organization in health and wellness. A strong advocate for Native women, she believes the woman to be the strength of the Dakota. Ila Rae McKay is currently a tribal planner for the Spirit Lake tribe.



Photo - Courtesy of
ND Department of Public Instruction

PETER BELGARDE 1991 - 1995

Peter Belgarde was born September 26, 1944 in Fort Totten, ND. He is a descendant of Waanatan II. Red thunder and Waanatan II were brothers. Except for the years of 1990 to 1994, he lived all of his life in the St. Michael's District. He attended his first years of school at Fort Totten, and then moved to St. Michael's Day school, "The Sister's School." He attended high school at Flandreau boarding school in Flandreau, South Dakota. He returned home and graduated from Maddock High School in 1964. After high school he relocated to California, where he was drafted. He entered the service in 1966 and served in Vietnam from 1976 to 1978.

Upon his return home, he became involved with law enforcement, a position which he held for 14 years. In the early 1990s', the tribal council hired him to work with a troubled court system. Confronted with difficulty in getting action from the federal government, he approached the Bureau of Indian Affairs for assistance. With no response, he closed the jail and took issue with the management of the situation with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, central office, in Washington, D.C. Through the assistance of the state's congressional delegation and the news media, it was an important victory for the Tribe.

In 1990, he was approached by tribal elders to run for tribal chairperson. From traditional standpoint, and he could not refuse. He ran and won. During his terms, his efforts were focused at reducing the tribes debt and establishing a tribal financial accountability system. His administration established a recreation program for tribal youth and expanded cultural programs. The result of the efforts of his administration, created more than 200 additional jobs on the reservation, through the establishment of the tribe's Dakota Casino. Funds were allocated for youth scholarship programs. He committed the tribe's involvement in repatriation efforts and brought back artifacts and remains from the Smithsonian that belonged to the tribe.

His personal goal for the tribe was the development of honest government and leadership. He envisioned the tribe establishing a dialysis center, and family development center. A strong opponent of substance abuse, he was one of the first Dakota chairpersons to provide drug free leadership.

MYRA PEARSON 1995 - Present

Myra Pearson assumed the chairmanship of the Tribe in December of 1996. She did so after Elmer White, former chairperson, resigned after suffering a stroke in the fall of 1995.



Photo - Courtesy of Dennis Brusven

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS:

- Governance
- Economic Survival
- Cultural Survival

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What are the responsibilities of tribal governments?
2. What are the positive and negative impacts of tribal gaming?
3. Why is it important to the Dakota to maintain their culture and language?
4. Why is education an important part of economic survival?
5. What are the similarities and differences between tribal government and municipal and state governments?

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

SOVEREIGNTY

ECONOMICS

**ENVIRONMENTAL
CONCERNS**

SOCIAL CONCERNS

**TRIBAL GOVERNMENT
RENAISSANCE**

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

SOVEREIGNTY

Similar to the issues faced by most tribal nations, the issue of sovereignty for tribal nations continues to be challenged. On the national level, issues materialize in disagreements between tribes and federal officials over the extent of services and appropriations given to the tribes resulting from treaty agreements. These services are generally funded through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The BIA has the fiduciary (*holding something in trust*) responsibility for overseeing tribal funds. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, as a monolithic agency, is cumbersome and must deal with 500 plus tribes nationally. As a result, this agency has difficulty carrying out some of its tasks. Tribes, on the one hand, are ambivalent about the role of the BIA. On the other hand, they fear loss of services so vital to tribal economic survival. States continue to challenge tribal sovereign rights, especially in light of an uncertain national economy.

ECONOMICS

Many tribes have entered into gaming, as a remedy for economic woes. The impacts of these business ventures are, as yet, undetermined. Because many of these ventures are new, especially to North Dakota, they have not had the luxury of stabilizing. The potential impact of these ventures on the economic condition on the reservation could be extensive. However, with a country confronted with a staggering national debt, and downsizing of the federal government, and pressures applied by both states, individual and collective tribal members, and private interests, tribes will have difficulty in maintaining what little gains they may be seeing from gaming. The net effect of these ventures, both nationally and at the state level, have seen pressure applied to tribes over issues of accountability, jurisdiction, and tribal rights.

One significant local issue of concern to the Spirit Lake Tribe continues to be the chronic high unemployment rates. Revenues generated by both of the Spirit Lake Tribe's Casinos and their business ventures, *Sioux Manufacturing Co.* and *Dakota Tribal Industries, Inc.*, have contributed to the economic well-being of the tribal communities. However, these enterprises have depended, to a certain extent, on defense related contracts, and are somewhat affected by changes in world economics. The relaxation of international tensions, and the aftermath of the GATT and NAFTA agreements, are having an effect on the labor and market supply. These changes provide challenges to the Spirit Lake economy. *Sioux Manufacturing Co.* has been pursuing contracting opportunities in the aerospace industry. The closing and downsizing of many air bases all over the world, has also impacted the Tribe's economy. Tribal industries perform on many Department of Defense contracts. A continuing trend in downsizing could seriously affect the number and availability of federal defense contracts.

Labor resources at Fort Totten are more extensive than generally acknowledged. In addition to agriculture, a co-located manufacturing environment contributes to the skill level of the Spirit Lake work force. The labor force has a broad background of mechanical farm experience supplemented by substantial manufacturing experience. Notwithstanding, the unemployment rates on the reservation remains chronically high.

ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS

One of the main environmental concerns of the Spirit Lake Tribe is its landfill. The present landfill, located approximately 4 miles east of Fort Totten, North Dakota, does not meet newly established Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) minimum federal criteria for landfills that receive municipal solid waste. All currently operating landfills must have met these requirements by October 9, 1993, or close. Because the cost is too prohibitive to bring these landfills up to the federal standards required, the Spirit Lake Sioux Reservation will close its present landfill and two other older sites. All seven landfills in North Dakota Region III should have been closed by October of 1993. The Tribe has joined this regional effort and plans to remove all solid waste off the reservation.

Another concern for the Tribe is Devils Lake itself. This lake is located in a closed basin and has no natural inlet or outlet. In addition to forecasted and present flooding concerns, as well as fluctuating lake levels, development is hindered. The Garrison Diversion Project was to help with this situation, but an immediate solution does not appear likely. One solution hinges upon three projects which would create an inlet and outlet for Devils Lake: the New Rockford Canal of the Garrison Diversion Unit, the Sykeston Canal, proposed to link the McClusky Canal and the New Rockford Canal, if completed.

The tribe's municipal rural & industrial projects consist of a pipeline running from the Warwick Aquifer, located in the Woodlake District. The project would extend from the Aquifer a trunkline to each reservation community. However, because of the shallowness of the Warwick Aquifer the tribe will have to closely monitor the aquifer and protect against mining its water supply. A recent grant will assess the reservation's ground waters by placing monitoring wells at various reservation sites and into the Warwick Aquifer. In this manner, the tribe will be able to maintain a close watch on its valuable water supply.

SOCIAL CONCERNS

One of the tribes' main social concerns is the high rate of alcoholism, which has a profound effect on the reservation's extremely high unemployment rate. The Fort Totten community and the City of Devils Lake have formed a Community Partnership Project to address substance abuse and prevention issues. The A.D.M.I.T. Center is governed by a board of directors who are pursuing a substance abuse and drug treatment center for lake region youth. The Family Circle Tipi is a program that works directly with individuals with substance abuse problems.

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT RENAISSANCE

The survival of the Spirit Lake People "Mni Wakan Oyate" is hinged upon the leadership. Tribal government proponents suggest that a renaissance in tribal government, patterned after ancestral Dakota government, is needed. The continued pattern of modeling tribal government after the United States Government will yield the same situation the federal government faces today, overburdened with massive debt, and ineffective policies, and enormous bureaucratic agencies.

The strength of the Dakota lie in their identity. The Sisseton, Wahpeton, and Yankton Dakota derive their strength by maintaining their cultural traditions and practices. The skill level of their labor force continues to grow and constitutes a strong community resource. Political stability of the tribal government is evident by the Tribes' consistent reelection of incumbent tribal leaders who have exerted strong, ongoing leadership for the Tribe. By ordering the tribes resources and reestablishing the spiritual philosophy of their ancestors, the Dakota will rebuild their society.



APPENDIX

TREATIES

DOCUMENTS

REFERENCES

FOOT NOTES

PHOTO CREDITS

DOCUMENT 1

TREATY WITH THE SIOUX, 1805

*Conference Between the United States of America and the Sioux Nation of Indians.**

Sept. 23, 1805
Laws Relating to Indian Affairs,
1883, P. 316
Ratified Apr. 16, 1806
Never proclaimed by the
President

Whereas, a conference held between the United States of America and the Sioux Nation of Indians, Lieut. Z. M. Pike, of the Army of the United States, and the chiefs and warriors of the said tribe, have agreed to the following articles, which when ratified and approved of by the proper authority, shall be binding on both parties:

ARTICLE 1. That the Sioux Nation grants unto the United States for the purpose of the establishment of military posts, nine miles square at the mouth of the river St. Croix, also from below the confluence of the Mississippi and St. Peters, up the Mississippi, to include the falls of St. Anthony, extending nine miles on each side of the river. That the Sioux Nation grants to the United States, the full sovereignty and power over said districts forever, without any let or hindrance whatsoever.

ARTICLE 2. That in consideration of the above grants the United States (shall, prior to taking possession thereof, pay to the Sioux two thousand dollars, or deliver the value thereof in such goods and merchandise as they shall choose).

ARTICLE 3. The United States promise on their part to permit the Sioux to pass, repass, hunt or make other uses of the said districts, as they have formerly done, without any other exception, but those specified in article first.

In testimony hereof, we, the undersigned, have hereunto set our hands and seals, at the mouth of the river St. Peters, on the 23rd day of September, one thousand eight hundred and five.

Z. M. Pike, [seal.]

First Lieutenant and Agent at the above conference.

Le Petit Carbeau, his x mark. [seal.]

Way Aga Enogee, his x mark. [seal.]

(The Treaty of 1805, reprinted from Indian treaties 1778-1883 - edited by Charles J.K. Kappler, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1904, reprinted 1972.)

DOCUMENT 2

TREATY WITH THE SIOUX/SISSETON AND WAHPETON BANDS, 1851.

Articles of treaty made and concluded at Traverse des Sioux, upon the Minnesota River, in the Territory of Minnesota, on the twenty-third day of July, eighteen hundred and fifty-one between the United States of America, by Luke Lea, commissioner of Indian Affairs, and Alexander Ramsey, governor and ex-officio superintendent of Indian affairs in said Territory, commissioners duly appointed for that purpose, and See-see-toan and Wah-pay-toan bands of Dakota Sioux Indians.

ARTICLE 1. It is stipulated and solemnly agreed that the peace and friendship now so happily existing between the United States and the aforesaid bands of Indians, shall be perpetual.

ARTICLE 2. The said See-see-toan and Wah-pay-toan bands of Dakota or Sioux Indians, agree to cede, and do hereby cede, sell, and relinquish to the United States, all their lands in the State of Iowa; and, also all their lands in the Territory of Minnesota, lying east of the following line, to wit: Beginning at the junction of the Buffalo River with the Red River of the North; thence along the western bank of said Red River of the North, to the mouth of the Sioux Wood River; thence along the western bank of said Sioux Wood River to Lake Traverse; thence, along the western shore of said lake, to the southern extremity thereof; thence in a direct line, to the junction of Kameska Lake with the Tchan-kas-an-data, or Sioux River; thence along the western bank of said river to its point of intersection with the northern line of the State of Iowa; including all the islands in said rivers and lake.

ARTICLE 3. [Stricken out.]

ARTICLE 4. In further and full consideration of said cession, the United States agree to pay to said Indians the sum of one million six hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars (\$1,665,000,) at the several times, in the manner and for the purposes following, to wit:

1st. To the chiefs of the said bands, to enable them to settle their affairs and comply with their present just engagement; and in consideration of their removing themselves to the country set apart for them as above, which they agree to do within two years, or sooner, if required by the President, without further cost or expense to the United States, and in consideration of their subsisting themselves the first

year after their removal, which they agree to do without further cost or expense on the part of the United States, the sum of two hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, (\$275,000): Provided, That said sum shall be paid to the chiefs in such manner as they, hereafter, in open council shall request, and as soon after the removal of said Indians to the home set apart for them, as the necessary appropriation therefor shall be made by Congress.

2nd. To be laid out under the direction of the President for the establishment of manual-labor schools; the erection of mills and blacksmith shops, opening farms, fencing and breaking land, and for such other beneficial objects as may be deemed most conducive to the prosperity and happiness of said Indians, thirty thousand dollars, (\$30,000.) The balance of said sum of one million six hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars, (\$1,665,000) to wit: one million three hundred and sixty thousand dollars (\$1,360,000) to remain in trust with the United States, and five per cent. interest thereon to be paid, annually, to said Indians for the period of fifty years, commencing the first day of July, eighteen hundred and fifty-two (1852,) which shall be in full payment of said balance, principal and interest, the said payment to be applied under the direction of the President, as follows, to wit:

3d. For a general agricultural improvement and civilization fund, the sum of twelve thousand dollars, (\$12,000.) 4th. For educational purposes, the sum of six thousand dollars, (\$6,000.)

5th. For the purchase of goods and provisions, the sum of ten thousand dollars, (\$10,000.)

6th. For the money annuity, sum of forty thousand dollars, (\$40,000.)

ARTICLE 5. The laws of the United States prohibiting the introduction and sale of spirituous liquors in the Indian country shall be in full force and effect throughout the territory hereby ceded and lying in Minnesota until otherwise directed by Congress or the President of the United States.

ARTICLE 6. Rules and regulations to protect the rights of persons and property among the Indians, parties to this treaty, and adapted to their condition and wants, may be prescribed and enforced in such manner as the President or the Congress of the United States, from time to time, shall direct.

In testimony whereof, the said Commissioners, Luke Lea and Alexander Ramsey, and the undersigned Chiefs and Headmen of the aforesaid See-see-toan and Wah-pay-toan bands of Dakota or Sioux Indians, have hereunto subscribed their names and affixed their seals, in duplicate, at Traverse des Sioux, Territory of Minnesota, this twenty-third day of July, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one.

L. Lea, [seal]

Alex. Ramsey, [seal]
Wee-tchan-h'pee-ee-tay-toan, (the Star face or the "Orphan,")
Ee-tay-wa-keen-yan, ("Limping Devil" or "Thunder Face,")
Eesh-ta-hum-ba, ("Sleeping Eyes,")
Oo-pee-ya-hen-day-a, ("Extending his train,")
Tan-pa-hee-da, (Sounding Moccasin,)
Eenk-pa, (the upper end,)
Wee-yoa-kee-yay, (Standard,)
Wa-kan-ma-nee, (Walking Spirit,)
Ee-tay-sha, (the one that reddens his face,)
Ta-ka-ghay, (Elk maker)
Wa-ma-ksoon-tay, ("Walnut," or Blunt headed arrow,)
Ma-za-sh'a, (Metal Sounding,)
Ya-shoa-pee, (The wind instrument,)
Noan-pa keen-yan, (Twice Flying,)
Wash-tay-da, (Good, a little,)
Wa-keen-yan-ho-ta, (Grey Thunder)
Wa-shee-tchoon-ma-za, (Iron Frenchman)

Een-yang-ma-nee, (Running Walker or "the Gun,")
Hoak-shee-dan-wash-tay, (Good Boy,)
Ee-tay-tcho-ka, (Face in the midst,)
Hay-ha-hen-day-ma-za, (Metal Horn,)
Am-pay-too-sha, (Red Day)
Eesh-ta-humba-koash-ka, (Sleepy Eyes young,)
A na-wang-ma-nee, (Who goes galloping on,)
Ma-h'pee-wee-tchash-ta, (Cloud man,)
Ta-pe-ta-tan-ka, (His Big fire,)
Ma-h'pee-ya-h'na-shkan-shkan, (Moving Cloud,)
Wa-na-pay-a, (The pursuer,)
Ee-tcha-shkan-shkan-ma-ne, (Who walks shaking,)
Ta-wa-kan-he-day-ma-za, (His Metal Lightning,)
Ee-tay-doo-ta, (Red Face,)
Henok-marpi-yahdi-nape, (Reappearing Cloud,)
Tchan-hedaysh-ka-ho-toan-ma-nee, (the moving sounding Harp)
Ma-zaku-te-ma-ni, (Metal walks shooting,)
A-kee-tchee-ta, (Standing Soldier.)

Signed in presence of

Thomas Foster, Secretary.
Nathaniel McLean, Indian Agent.
Alexander Faribault
Stepen R. Riggs

Interpreters

A. S. H. White
Thoms.S. Willisamson
W. C. Henderson
A. Jackson
James W. Boal
W. G. Le Duc
Alexis Bailly
H. L. Dousman
Hugh Tyler.

To the Indian names are subjoined marks.

supplemental article.

1st. The United States do hereby stipulate to pay the Sioux bands of Indians, parties to this treaty, at the rate of ten centers per acre, for the lands included in the reservation provided for in the third article of the treaty as originally agreed upon in the following words:

"Article 3. In part consideration of the foregoing cession, the United States do hereby set apart for

the future occupancy and home of the Dakota Indians, parties to this treaty, to be held by them as Indian lands are held, all that tract of country on either side of the Minnesota River, from the western boundary of the lands herein ceded, east, to the Tchay-tam-bay River on the north, and to Yellow Medicine River on the south side, to extend, on each side, a distance of not less than ten miles from the general course of said river; the boundaries of said tract to be marked out by as straight line as practicable, whenever deemed expedient by the President, and in such manner as he shall direct:” which article has been stricken out of the treaty by the Senate, the said payment to be in lieu of said reservation: the amount when ascertained under instructions from the Department of the Interior, to be added to the trust-fund provided for in the fourth article.

2nd. It is further stipulated, that the President be authorized, with the assent of the said band of Indians, parties to this treaty, and as soon after they shall have given their assent to the foregoing article, as may be convenient, to cause to be set apart by appropriate land-marks and boundaries, such tracts of country without the limits of the cession made by the first [2d] article of the treaty as may be satisfactory for their future occupancy and home:

Provided, That the President may, by the consent of these Indians, vary the conditions aforesaid if deemed expedient.

(Kappler, Charles L., (Ed.) (1904). (1972) reprint. Indian treaties - 1778-1883). pp. 588-590.

TREATY WITH THE SIOUX SISSETON AND WAHPETON BANDS, 1867.

Whereas it is understood that a portion of the Sisseton and Warpeton bands of Santee Sioux Indians, numbering from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred persons, not only preserved their obligations to the Government of the United States, during and since the outbreak of the Medewakantons and other bands of Sioux in 1862, but freely perilled their lives during that outbreak to rescue the residents on the Sioux reservation, and to obtain possession of white women and children made captives by the hostile bands; and that another portion of said Sisseton and Warpeton bands, numbering from one thousand to twelve hundred persons, who did not participate in the massacre of the whites in 1862, fearing the indiscriminate vengeance of the whites, fled to the great prairies of the Northwest, where they still remain:

and

Whereas Congress, in confiscating the Sioux annuities and reservations, made no provision for the support of these, the friendly portion of the Sisseton and Warpeton bands, and it is believed [that] they have been suffered to remain homeless wanderers, frequently subject to intense sufferings from want of subsistence and clothing to protect them from the rigors of a high northern latitude, although at all times prompt in rendering service when called upon to repel hostile raids and to punish depredations committed by hostile Indians upon the persons and property of the whites; and

Whereas the several subdivisions of the friendly Sissetons and Warpeton bands ask, through their representatives, that their adherence to their former obligations of friendship to the Government and people of the United States be recognized, and that provision be made to enable them to return to an agricultural life and be relieved from a dependence upon the chase for a precarious subsistence:

Therefore,

A treaty has been made and entered into, at Washington City, District of Columbia, this nineteenth day of February, A. D. 1867, by and between Lewis V. Bogy, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and William H. Watson, commissioners, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs and head-men of the Sisseton and Warpeton bands of Dakota or Sioux Indians, as follows, to wit:

Article 1. The Sisseton and Warpeton bands of Dakota Sioux Indians, represented in council, will continue their friendly relations with the Government and people of the United States, and bind themselves individually and collectively to use their influence to the extent of their ability to prevent other bands of Dakota or other adjacent tribes from making hostile demonstrations against the Government or people of the United States.

Article 2. The said bands hereby cede to the United States the right to construct wagon-roads, railroads, mail stations, telegraph lines, and such other public improvements as the interest of the Government may require, over and across the lands claimed by said bands, (including their reservations as hereinafter designated) over any route or routes that that may be selected by the authority of the Government, said lands so claimed being bounded on the south and east by the treaty-line of 1851, and the Red River of the North to the mouth of Goose River; on the north by the Goose River and a line running from the source thereof by the most westerly point of Devil's Lake to the Chief's Bluff at the head of James River, and on the west by the James River to the mouth of Moccasin River, and thence to Kampeska Lake.

Article 3. For and in consideration of the cession above mentioned, and in consideration of the faithful and important services said to have been rendered by the friendly bands of Sissetons and Warpetons Sioux here represented, and also in consideration of the confiscation of all their annuities, reservations, and improvements, it is agreed that there shall be set apart for the members of said bands who have heretofore surrendered to the authorities of the Government, and were not sent to the Crow Creek reservation, and for the members of said bands who were released from prison in 1866, the following-described lands as a permanent reservation, viz:

Beginning at the head of Lake Travers[e], and thence along the treaty-line of the treaty of 1851 to Kampeska Lake; thence in a direct line to Reipan or the northeast point of Coteau des Prairie[s], and thence passing north of SkunkLake, on the most direct line to the foot of Lake Traverse, and thence along the treaty-line of 1851 to the place of beginning.

Article 4. It is further agreed that a reservation be set apart for all other members of said bands who were not sent to the Crow Creek reservation, and also for the Cut-Head bands of Yanktonais Sioux, a reservation bounded as follows, viz:

Beginning at the most easterly point of Devil's Lake; thence along the waters of said lake to the most

Feb. 19, 1876

15 stats. 506.

Ratified April 15, 1876

Proclaimed May 2, 1876

preamble

Contracting parties.

Friendly relations.

Cession of rights to construct wagon roads, railroads, mail stations, and telegraph lines.

Boundaries.

Permanent reservation set apart.

Boundaries.

Reservation.

Boundaries.	westerly point of the same; thence on a direct line to the nearest point on the Cheyenne River; thence down said river to a point opposite the lower end of Aspen Island, and thence on a direct line to the place of beginning.
Reservation to be apportioned in tracts of 160 acres, to, etc.	Article 5. The said reservations shall be apportioned in tracts of (160) one hundred and sixty acres to each head of a family or single person over the age of (21) twenty-one years, belonging to said bands and entitled to locate thereon, who may desire to locate permanently and cultivate the soil as a means of subsistence: each (160) one hundred and sixty acres so allotted to be made to conform to the legal subdivisions of the Government surveys when such surveys shall have been made; and every person to whom lands may be allotted under the provisions of this article, who shall occupy and cultivate a portion thereof for five consecutive years shall thereafter be entitled to receive a patent for the same so soon as he shall have fifty acres of said tract fenced, ploughed, and in crop: <i>Provided</i> , [That] said patent shall not authorize any transfer of said lands, or portions thereof, except to the United States, but said lands and the improvements thereon shall descend to proper heirs of the persons obtaining patent.
Tracts to conform to legal subdivisions. Patents: when to issue: effect of.	
Congress will make appropriations to enable Indians to return to an agricultural life, etc.	Article 6. And, further, in consideration of the destitution of said bands of Sissiton and Warpeton Sioux, parties hereto, resulting from the confiscation of their annuities and improvements, it is agreed that Congress will, in its own discretion, from time to time make such appropriations as may be deemed requisite to enable said Indians to return to an agricultural life under the system in operation on the Sioux reservation in 1862; including, if thought advisable, the establishment and support of local and manual-labor schools; the employment of agricultural, mechanical, and other teachers; the opening and improvement of individual farms; and generally such objects as Congress in its wisdom shall deem necessary to promote the agricultural improvement and civilization of said bands.
Agents.	Article 7. An agent shall be appointed for said bands, who shall be located at Lake Traverse; and whenever there shall be five hundred (500) persons of said bands permanently located upon the Devil's Lake reservation there shall be an agent or other competent person appointed to superintend at that place the agricultural, educational, and mechanical interest of said bands.
Expenditures.	Article 8. All expenditures under the provisions of this treaty shall be made for the agricultural improvement and civilization of the members of said bands authorized to locate upon the respective reservations, as herein before specified, in such manner as may be directed by law; but no goods, provisions, groceries, or other articles-except materials for the erection of houses and articles to facilitate the operations of agriculture-shall be issued to Indians or mixed-bloods on either reservation unless it be in payment for labor performed or for produce delivered: <i>Provided</i> , That when persons located on either reservation, by reason of age, sickness, or deformity, are unable to labor, the agent may issue clothing and subsistence to such persons from such supplies as may be provided for said bands.
Goods, provisions, etc., not to be issued to Indians, etc., unless. Proviso.	
No person to trade furs and peltries.	Article 9. The withdrawal of the Indians from all dependence upon the chase as a means of subsistence being necessary to the adoption of civilized habits among them, it is desirable that no encouragement be afforded them to continue their hunting operations as a means of support, and, therefore, it is agreed that no person will be authorized to trade for furs or peltries within the limits of the land claimed by said bands, as specified in the second article of this treaty, it being contemplated that the Indians will rely solely upon agricultural and mechanical labor for subsistence, and that the agent will supply the Indians and mixed-bloods on the respective reservations with clothing, provisions, &c., as set forth in article eight, so soon as the same shall be provided for that purpose. And it is further agreed that no person not a member of said bands, parties hereto whether white, mixed- bloods, or Indian, except persons in the employ of the Government or located under its authority, shall be permitted to locate upon said lands, either for hunting, trapping, or agricultural purposes.
Members of bands only, except, etc., to locate on lands,	
Chiefs and head men may adopt rules	Article 10. The chiefs and head-men located upon either of the reservations set apart for said bands are authorized to adopt such rule, regulations, or laws for the security of life and property, the advancement of civilization, and the agricultural prosperity of the members of said bands upon the respective reservations, and shall have authority, under the direction of the agent, and without expense to the Government, to organize a force sufficient to carry out all such rules, regulations, or laws, and all rules and regulations for the government of said Indians, as may be prescribed by the Interior Department: <i>Provided</i> , That all rules, regulations, or laws adopted or amended by the chiefs and head-men on either reservation shall receive the sanction of the agent.

In testimony whereof, we, the commissioners representing the United States, and the delegates representing the Sisseton and Warpeton bands of Sioux Indians, have hereunto set our hands and seals, at the place and on the day and year above written.

Lewis V. Bogy,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs.
W. H. Watson.

Signed in the presence of

Charles E. Mix.
Gabriel Renville, head chief Sisseton and Warpeton bands.
Wamdiupiduta, his x mark, head Sisseton chief.
Tacadupahotanka, his x mark, head Warpeton chief.
Oyehduze, his x mark, chief Sisseton.
Umpehtutokca, his x mark, chief Warpeton.
John Otherday.
Akicitananjin, his x mark, Sisseton soldier.
Waxicunmaza, his x mark, Sisseton soldier.
Wasukiye, his x mark, Sisseton soldier.
Wamiduta, his x mark, Sisseton soldier.
Hokxidanwaxte, his x mark, Sisseton soldier.

Wakanto, his x mark, Sisseton soldier.
Ecanajinke, his x mark, Sisseton soldier.
Canteiyapa, his x mark, Sisseton soldier.
Tihdonica, his x mark, Sisseton soldier.
Tawapahamaza, his x mark, Sisseton soldier.
Wandiiyeza, his x mark, Sisseton soldier.
Tacunripeta, his x mark, Sisseton soldier.
Wicumrinumpa, his x mark, Warpeton soldier.
Xupehiyu, his x mark, Warpeton soldier.
Ecetukiye, his x mark, Warpeton soldier.
Kangiduta, his x mark, Warpeton soldier.

Witnesses to signatures of above chiefs and soldiers:

Charles E. Mix.
Benj'n Thompson.
J. R. Brown
Anexus M. A. Brown, Interpreter.
Chas. Crawford.

Thos. E. McGraw.
J. H. Leavenworth.
A. B. Norton.
Geo. B. Jones.
Frank S. Mix.

DOCUMENT 4.

MNIWAKAN OYATE FLAG SONG

Made about 1946 by Mike Jackson, Mission District

hay Makawita kin he (that the country)
hay Tawiyokihena kin han wa tewadaka ca (I love the flag)
Wahacanka waye kin ohinniyan (always I use (as a) shield)
Miwakam ka bobog najin yedo (stand flapping above me)

Free translation: The Flag of the United States I love, so:
I will always use it as a shield, standing flying above me.

DOCUMENT 5.

PAUL YANKTONS HONOR SONG

Akicita kin he wanna aku yedo.
Wanju oh ipe ni yedo.
Koda ah ektana wanke do.
Hunkuota kun, he wanke yedo.

Free Translation: The soldiers are coming home. One is not among them. Friend,
he lies over there. Paul Yankton lies there.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Cross, Henry II, (1927). Illustrated catalogue of Indian portraits, T.B. Walker Art Galleries. Louis Garcia, (1994). Research. Box 232, Tokio, ND 58379 February 10.
2. Anderson, (p. 29); "Discourse of Standing Buffalo," recorded (in French) by Father Alexis Andre' (1864) transcription in English, letters received, Northwest Department, National Archives Record Group 393.
3. Anderson, Gary Clayton (1988). Little Crow: Spokesman for the Sioux, p. 101; Gabriel Renville, "A Sioux Narrative of the outbreak of 1862", and of Sibley's Expedition of 1863, Minnesota collections 10 (1905); pp. 595-613: Gabriel Renville, "Narrative," undated, Joseph R. and Samuel J. Brown Papers, Division of Libraries and Archives, Minnesota Historical Society.
4. Probate files - Spirit Lake Sioux Tribe, Obituary notice (1921, October 20), Fargo Forum, page 16, Saturday. Louis Garcia Collection.
5. Special Collection (n.d.) Dana Wright Papers, North Dakota State Historical Society. Word Carrier Newspaper. Loundsberry, Clement (n.d.) History of North Dakota, A Report by the Historical Society of North Dakota. James McLaughlin papers, Richardton ND. In 1867, Father Genin met Chief Ironheart at a conference with the Plains Ojibwa/Metis to make peace between them. In 1878, Agent McLaughlin appointed him leader of the Christian Indians on the Reservation.
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7. U.S. Court of Claims no. 22524, part 1, p. 191-208, Little fish, "Evidence for the Claimants." The Sisseton and Wahpeton Bands of Dakota of Sioux Indians vs. the United States. 1901-07. in Anderson, Little Crow; Spokesman for the Sioux, p. 285.

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8. (1995). Interview: Evelyn Young. April 12.
9. The Spirit Lake Sioux Tribe incorporated business codes into Articles II and Articles IX of its tribal code significant portions of the Uniform Commercial Code and model business corporations.
10. In 1994 the Spirit Lake Sioux tribe brought suit against North Dakota Attorney General Nicholas Spaeth to Regulate utilities on the reservation. Early in 1995, the Tribe won the suit.
11. (1995). Telephone Interview with Dan DuBoise. Box 198, Griswold, Manitoba ROM OSO, May 16.
12. (1995). Interview with Elmer White, Tate Topa Elementary School, April 11.
13. (1995). Interview with Peter Belgarde, Tribal chambers, April 12.

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- P. 9. Map of Sioux Reservation Boundary, p. 33. Devils Lake Reservation, Meyer, 1993.
- P. 14. Dakota Removal. St. Paul Pioneer Press.
- P. 15. Fort Totten Agency, #B691, p. 16. Ft. Totten Boarding School - Nuns & Students #65-1, p. 17. Ft. Totten Boarding School, #D662, p. 54. Little Fish, #678-22, Courtesy of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.
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- P. 35, Sioux Manufacturing, p. 36, Four Winds High School, p. 58, Paul Little, p. 59, Ila Rae McKay, (Lenore Alberts).
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