

Kunsi Ksapa and Wisdom: Dakota Kunsis' Hitunkankanpi of the Hekta and Dehan,

or

Grandmother Knowledge and Wisdom: Dakota Grandmothers' Stories of the Past

and Present

by

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Abstract

I was born to Philip Myran and (late) Alma Myran in the community of *Cankaga Oti* (Birdtail), Manitoba. Our family belongs to the *Oceti Sakowin* (Seven Council Fires) of the Dakota *Oyate* (People) which includes; five sisters and two brothers. Because our family moved from the community of *Cankaga Oti* when I was very young, I became disconnected from our *tiospaye* (relations). Consequently, this migration to a rural farm, and later an urban centre, resulted in a generation of children who were uncertain of our Dakota cultural values. Upon returning to Manitoba, as a young woman, I was introduced to *tiospaye* and female responsibilities which had been absent for most of my childhood. As I reached adulthood, I became keenly aware of the many important responsibilities Dakota women and *kunsis* carry for our families and for our communities. However, both of these experiences, living in the *wasicu* world and the practice of walking the red road, allow me to walk between two cultures. The Dakota *oyate* call this *makoce nupa umanipi* (walking in two worlds). This experience has generated a cultural and spiritual interest to bring our *kunsi* voice alive in the academia, where the female voice was temporarily silenced. I want to honor and respect our *kunsi* voice through tradition. The Dakota people call this *wicakihnapi* (to follow in our ancestor's ways, traditions). This thesis is part of my own journey of learning the past and present positions and responsibilities of Dakota *kunsis*. I have examined a selection of scholarly articles on Dakota culture, with an emphasis on what has been said, or not said, that pertains to women.

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**Image of Our *Kunsi* Marjorie Standingready (Bunn)
Cankaga Oti Dakota Nation and Whitebear First Nation**



**Image of Our *Kunsi* Mary Paul (*Kunsi* Marjorie's *Ina*)
Wipazoka Wakpa and *Tatanka Najin* Dakota Nation**



**Image of Our *Unkan* (Grandfather) Moses Bunn (*Kunsi* Marjorie's *Ate*)
Cankaga Oti and *Wipazoka Wakpa* Dakota Nation**



Makoca Owapis (Maps)
Image 1: Makoca Owapi of Wipazoka Wakpa Dakota Nation

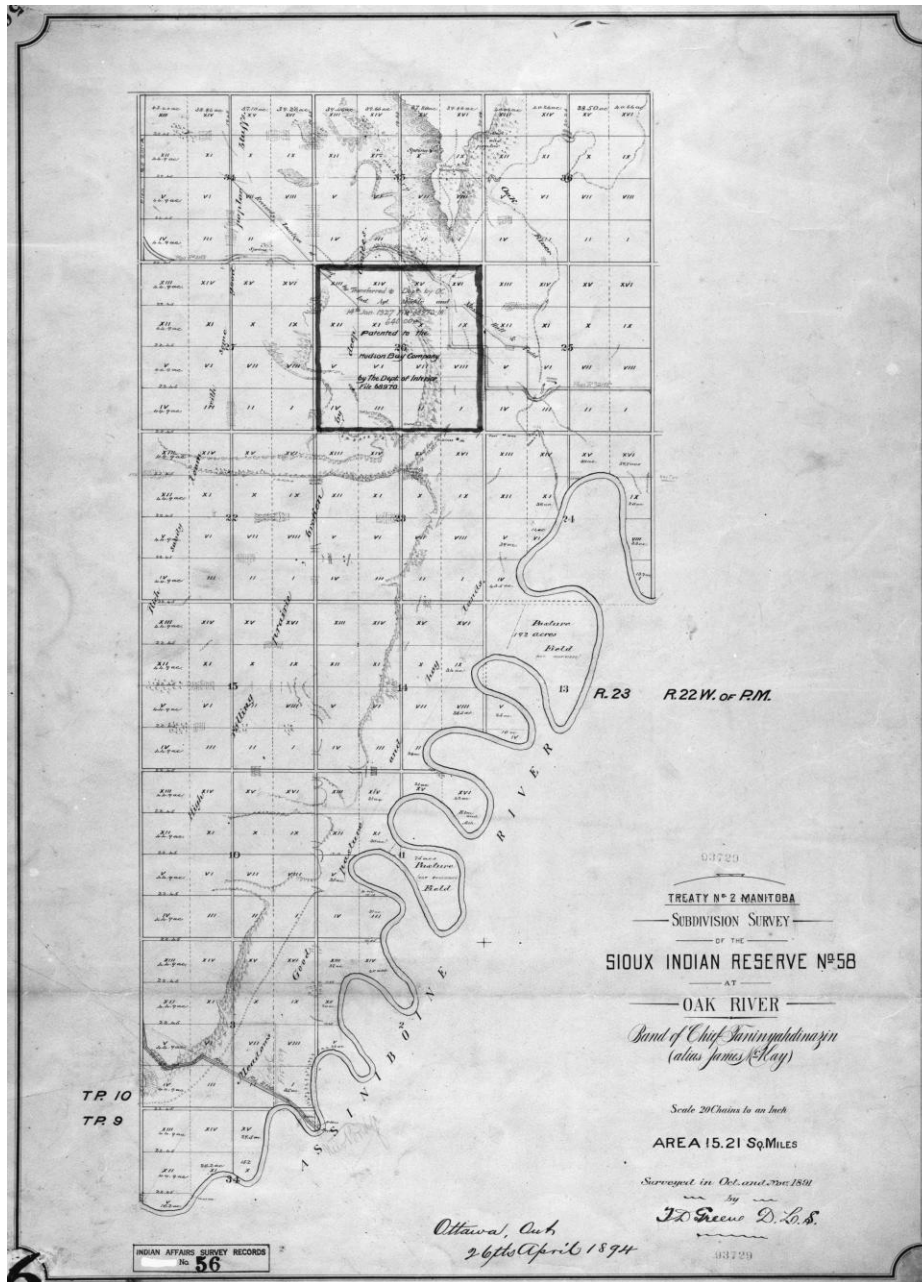


Image 2: *Makoca Owapi* of *Wipazoka Wakpa* Dakota Nation

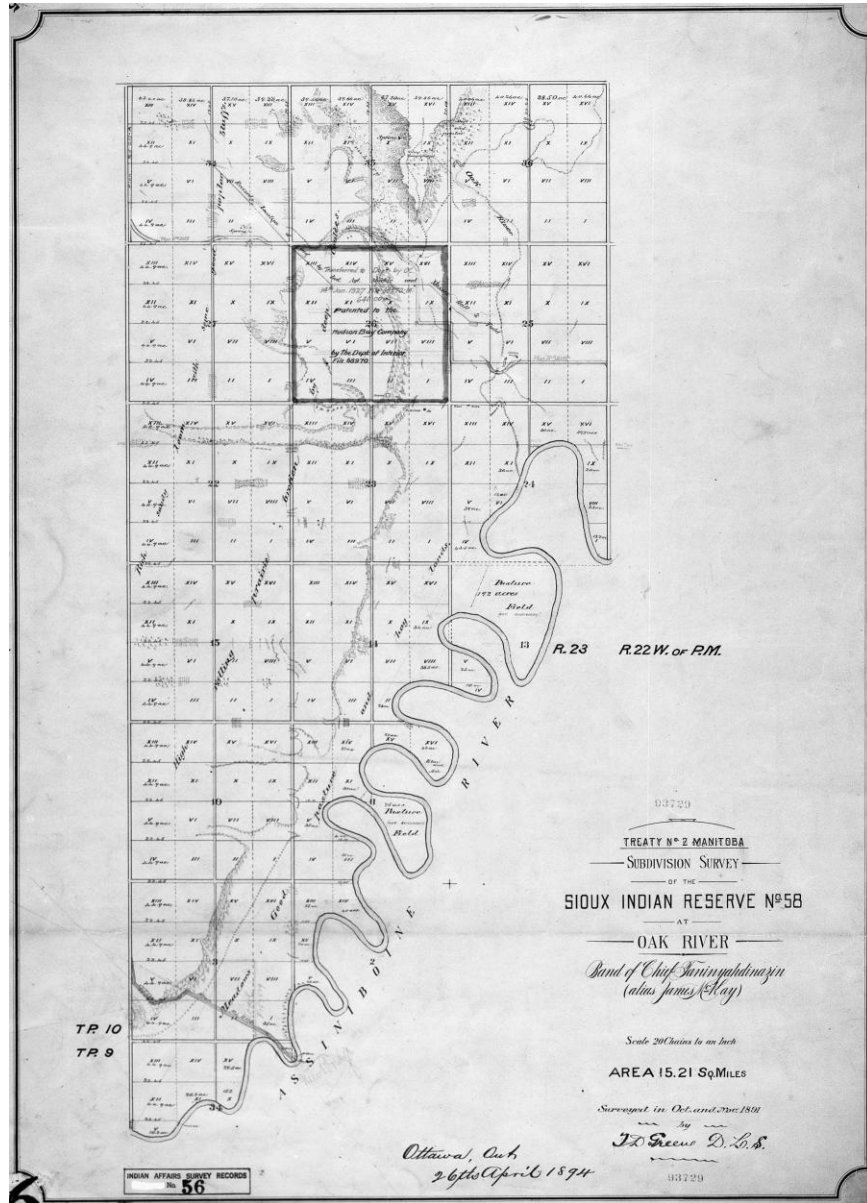
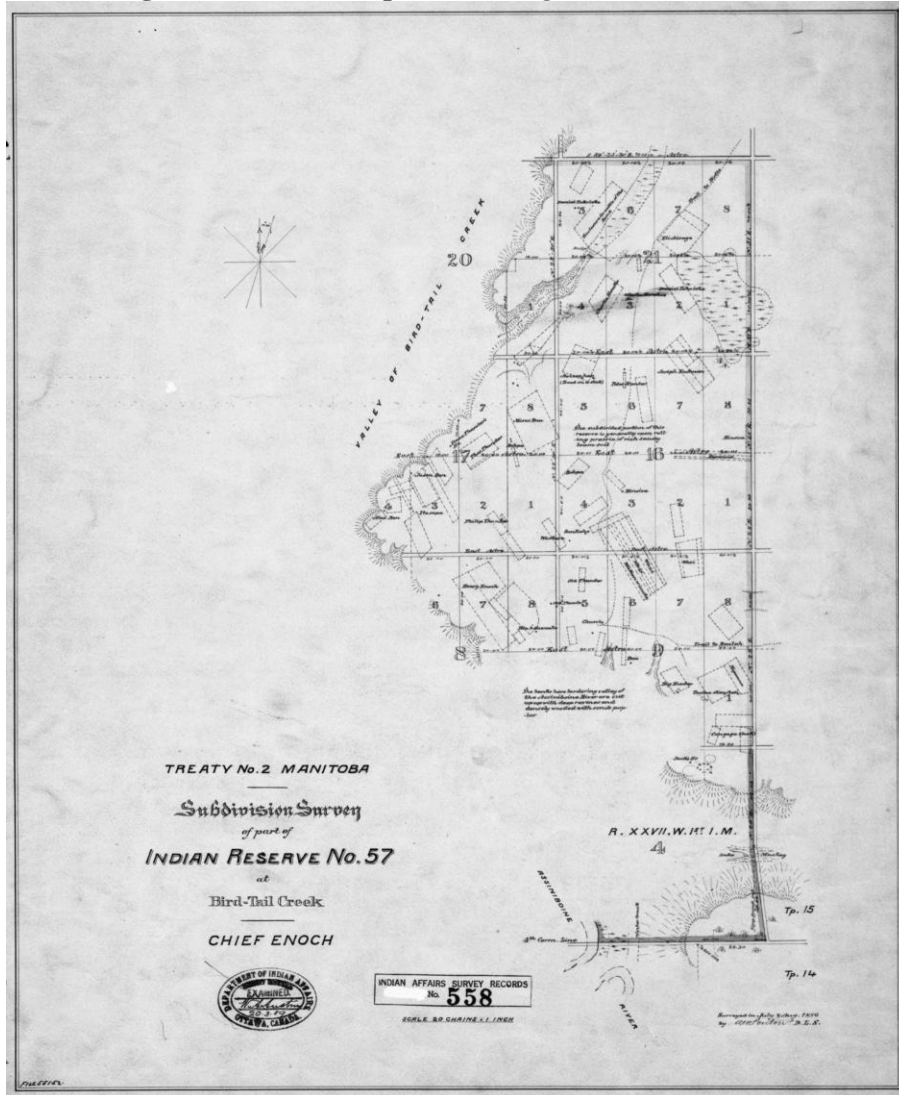


Image 3: Makoca Owapi of Cankaga Oti Dakota Nation



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This thesis would not have been possible without the support of the Dakota *Oyate* (People), Eugene Ross and the *unkans* (grandfathers) and *kunsis* (grandmothers) from *Wipazoka Wakpa*, (Sioux Valley), *Canupawakpa* (Pipestone), *Tipo Ihanke* (Dakota Tipi), and *Cankaga Oti* (Birdtail Sioux) Dakota Nations. For their valuable traditional knowledge which is also shared in the auto-ethnologies. This sharing of experiences and human histories empowers the carriers of oral historical scholarship. It was their kindness, patience, support, knowledge, love, and encouragement which brought life and inspiration to this thesis. I am also very grateful to my family and my children for their continued dedication of support and patience.

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Finally I dedicate this thesis and research project to our (late) *kunsi* Marjorie Standingready (Bunn) who dedicated her life to helping women and families.

Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to produce a cultural reconstruction of the missions of the Dakota women in Manitoba, through memory reflection of Dakota grandmothers. An accumulation of *kunsi* knowledge that repositions female heritage through space in time will be examined. Women continue to have special responsibilities within the Dakota *Oyate* and it is important to reawaken this sense of admiration, appreciation, and connection to *kunsi* knowledge. Historical knowledge has cast women aside in the development of the historical narrative. Most historical ethnological studies and textual material briefly mention the position of women. This thesis will acknowledge how our grandmothers provide the cornerstone of cultural values, spiritual beliefs, and women's responsibilities which transforms the power of knowledge across generations of people.

Chapter one will re-examine, challenge, and de-scribe historical textual knowledge to provide a critique of secondary literature in areas of history, language, cultural values, spiritual beliefs, and women's responsibilities. Chapter two will strengthen the cultural protocols that exist in Dakota epistemology and methodology. Because this project involves a qualitative rapid description of a living culture, based on participant-observation techniques, analyzing human history processes that values honor, trust, and respect was critically important. The participatory fieldwork for this thesis involved gathering oral knowledge and memory reflection, however, gathering data in traditional knowledge is necessary for living human culture and life cycles.

Chapter three is a brief historical review of the Dakota *Oyate* which includes the traditional names of the camps, sub-camps, and communities of the people. Chapter four examines the social fabric of the *tiospaye* and maternal family values. Chapter five

examines the importance of language which connects identity, spirituality, and ceremonies. The colonial acts of acculturation will also be examined as they relate to the modernization of language terms. Chapter six describes the narrative of marriage and family responsibilities and how these positions are affected and change through the centuries.

Chapter seven provides a historical cultural construction of family responsibilities. Historical imagery, visual imagery, and romanticized ideology of women will be re-examined. The the position of women is important to the future of generations. Chapter eight examines the distribution of labour that balances men and women in the survival of centuries of acculturation. The honored gifts of knowledge in areas of harvesting, sewing *wicanhpi sina okipata* (starquilts), *sina okipata* (crazy quilts), and sewing *hambikcecka* (moccasins) will be shared. Chapter nine is a sharing of female spiritual responsibilities and cultural knowledges which include; *heyoka* (thunder dreamers) positions, female medicine women, *winkta* (sacred, helper of the people), the *canuhupa* (pipe), the *wiwanyak wacipi* (sundance), the *inipi* (*sweat lodge ceremony*), *wokiksuye k'a woyuonihan* (remembering, honoring), *Oyate Ceyapi Wopakinte* (Wiping of the Tears Ceremony), traditional wakes, *waehdepi* (setting out food), and memorial feasts.

Chapter 1: Historical Review: Who Are The Dakota Oyate?

Historical and contemporary Dakota people continue to identify with the *Oceti Sakowin* of the Dakota Oyate (Seven Council Fires of the Dakota People). These people make up three linguistic groups which include: the Dakota, the Nakota, and the Lakota-speaking people. The Dakota-speaking people are comprised of the *Sisitunwan*, *Wahpetunwan*, *Bdewakantunwan*, and the *Wahpekute* people. Further west are the *Ihankunwan* and *Ihankunwanna* people who are the Nakota-speaking people. The third are the *Titunwan* people and are the Lakota-speaking people. They are the most populous group of the *Oceti Sakowin* and are also members of their own Seven Council Fires. (Taylor, 2005, pp.4-5)

The challenge, for early explorers and missionaries, like Goddard (1984), Baraga (1878), Pentland (1979), and Siebert (1996) was naming through identification and categorization of the *Dakota Oyate*. They grouped the whole nation together and identified them as the “*Sioux*” people. This is a historical textual misrepresentation of identity and is followed in later years by missionaries such as Riggs, Meyer, and DeMallie, to name a few. According to DeMallie et al. (2001),

the historical identification of the term "Sioux" to identify the *Dakota Oyate* derives from the early Ottawa designation *na-towe-ssiwak* (sg. *na-towe-ssi*) 'Sioux', which was borrowed into French as *Nadouessiouxak* and adapted as *Naddouessioux*, with the French plural *-x* substituted for the Ojibwa plural *-ak* (Goddard 1984: 105; Baraga 1878-1880, 2: 264). The name was shortened to *Siouxxx*, the last syllable of the longer form, a type of abbreviation that was common French practice. The Ottawa name *na-towe-ssi* is derived from Proto-Algonquian **na-towe-wa* 'Northern Iroquoian', which in several Algonquian languages also means 'eastern massasauga (Sistrurus), a small rattlesnake. The name **na-towe-wa* appears to be related to a Proto-Algonquian element **a-towe-* 'speak a (foreign) language', suggesting that the meaning 'massasauga' is secondary (Pentland 1979; Goddard 1984: 105). Alternatively, Siebert (1996) argues that the original form was **na-tawe-wa* 'massasauga (literally 'seekers of heat') and was later extended to designate Northern Iroquoians. The translation of

Ottawa na-towe-ssi and hence of Sioux as 'snake; enemy' is a misrepresentation based on the alternate meaning of the related name *na-towe-wa; the name Sioux never meant 'snake'. (pp.749)

According to Taylor (2005), “the *Santee* Dakota-speaking people include four sub-camps which include; the *Sisitunwan*, *Wahpetunwan*, *Bdewakantunwan*, and the *Wahpekute* people.” (pp.4-5) Further, ancestry of the *Sisitunwan* people involve 16 camps which include; the *Can-Huaisin*, *Psinca-Ton*, *Wahpeton*, *Psin-Hytankin-Ton*, *Ti-Tanka-Kaga-Ton*, *Unkikce-Ota-Ton*, *Wahpeton Tetunwan*, and the *Hinhane-Ton* peoples. (Lavolette, 1991, pp.4) The remaining eight camps include; the *T'iza-Ptanna*, *Okopeya*, *Cansda-Cikana*, *Amdowapuskiya*, *Basdecesni*, *Kapoja*, *Ohdihe*, and the *Cankute* peoples. (Riggs, 1893, pp.156-161) The English translations for the sub-camps and chiefs are provided, when available, in the *wicoiewieska wowapi* in Appendix A.

The *Wahpetunwan* people are considered to be of the Upper Sioux Council. Ancestry involves seven camps which include; the *Inyanceyaka Atunwan*, *Tabkapsin Tunwanna*, *Wiyaka Otina*, *Otehi Atunwan*, *Wita Atunwan*, *Wakpa Atunwan*, and the *Cankaga Otina* peoples. (Ashley, 1893, pp.157-158; Garcia, 1984, pp.19) Three additional ancestral camps were further remembered which include; the *Hinta Hankpa*, *Ispa Tahinspa*, and the *Cusdipa* peoples. (Garcia & Kiyewakan, 1984, pp.19-20)

The third sub-camp of the *Santee* people includes the *Bdewakantunwan* people. They are also identified as the Lower Sioux Council. The seven ancestral camps they identify with include; the *Kiyuksa* people with Chief *Wakute*, the *Hemnican* people with Chief Red Wing, the *Kapoja* people with Chiefs Little Crow and *Taoyateduta*, the *Magayutesni* people with Chief *Mazahota*, the *Heyatatunwe* people with Chief *Mahpiyawicasta*, the *Oyate Sica* people with Chief *Tacankuwaste*, and the *Tintatunwe*

people with Chief *Sakpedan*. (Riggs, 1893, pp.15)

The fourth sub-camp of the *Santee* people are the *Wahpekute* people. The names of these ancestral camps include; the *Mdewakanton*, *Psinomaniton*, *Wahpeton*, and the *Cankaskaton* peoples. (Lavolette, 1991, pp.4)

The *Wiciyend* people are the Nakota-speaking people. The names of the two ancestral camps include the *Yankton* or *Yanktonai* peoples. They identify with five ancestral camps which include; the *T'ahuha Yuta*, *Pabaska*, *Wazikute*, *Kiyuksa*, and *Hunkpatidan* peoples. (Taylor, 1984, pp.22; Lavolette, 1991, pp.4-5) Further, Lavolette explains that the Assiniboine people are an offshoot of the *Wazikute* people, who separated from the Dakota people over 400 years ago, The Dakota people called them *hohe*, which is translated, rebels. This was due to evidence of the fact that the Assiniboines seceded from the Dakota people and became their enemies. (Lavolette, 1944, pp.13) Lavolette's knowledge of this separation and enemy status of the Assiniboine people was not affirmed by the grandmothers during the final revisions of this thesis.

The *Titunwan* people are the Lakota-speaking people. These people identify with an independent seven council fire camps, from the north to the south, which include; the *Oglala*, *Sicangu*, *Kulwicasa*, *Itazipcos* or *Sans Arc*, *Sihaspas*, *Minnekonjus*, *Oohenonpas*, and the *Hunkpapa* peoples. (Lavolette, 1991, pp.5)

The Dakota people who resettled in Canada, after the 1862 Minnesota Uprising include an initial estimated population of 2000 people. On June 17, 1865, Urban Delorme reported that "2000 Dakota people at these locations: at Portage 30 lodges with [...Chiefs] Little Six and Crow, at Sand Hills, east of Brandon 50 lodges with *Wambdiska*,

and 100 lodges with *Tatanka Najin*. On the Souris River are 500 lodges with Red Dog, *Waantan*, Thunder, Black Eyes, *Bohipa*, and *Mato*."(pp.157) In October, 1866, some *Sisseton*, *Wahpeton*, and *Yanktonais* people traveled to Canada. Although *H'damani* and a few *Wahpeton* and *Wahpekute* people remained in Turtle Mountains, they eventually settled on the *Canupawakpa* community. *Wapahaska* and his people hunted from Oak Lake to Moose Mountain, northward to the Saskatchewan River. *Mahpiya-hdinape* and his people remained at *Cankaga Oti* Creek. (Lavolette, 1991, pp.159)

By the year 1877, there is a further estimated increase in the population of 5000 Dakota, Nakoda, and Lakota-speaking people settled in Canada. According to a report by Honorable Pascal Breland, former member of the Northwest Council, (1877), there were documented, "5000 Sioux people or 1227 lodges, in Canada." (pp.120) The estimated territorial locations of these camps of people are further described in Breland's confidential papers; 150 lodges of Minnesota Dakota people, near Portage la Prairie, located west of the Assiniboine River. Further, 127 lodges of *Santee* people on the Souris River, 200 lodges of *Sisseton* and *Wahpeton* people camping between Wood Mountain and the Cypress Hills with Chief *Tatanka Najin* and Chief *Wamdiska*, 200 lodges of *Titunwan* people who had crossed the frontier in 1876 with Chief *Matowakan*. This camp was located in the Wood Mountain area. There were also 60 lodges with Chief *Tatanka Iyotake* and *Inkpaduta*. This lodge census is not entirely accurate as there were increased populations of *Titunwan* people who settled in the Wood Mountain area. (Lavolette, 1944, pp.30)

There is the historical and legal argument that has defined the Dakota people in Canada, as "refugees" or "immigrants" because ancestral lineage originates in the United

States. These ancestors settled and hunted on their traditional territory. They migrated freely across the invisible border, up until the middle of the nineteenth century. This historical argument is critical in negotiations today. However, government representatives claim, Dakota people in Manitoba, do not have land to relinquish, and thereby do not have right to treaty on Canadian soil. Historically, the British Crown's *videsupra* relationship to Dakota people determines the British Crown's permanent commitment to the Dakota people. For further acknowledge see Robert Dickson's Speech, Appendix B. Medals and flags were gifted to the Chiefs and headmen of the Dakota people, who participated in the British defense of Canada during the American Revolution and the War of 1812. These chiefs include: *Wapahasa, Wankanto, Iyangmani, Wakinyanduta, Waanatan, Wamanza, Tawahukezanonpa*. The Dakota headmen who also received British medals include: *Wambdihotonmani, Hupaduta, Tacante, Hintonkasanwakan*. (Lavolette, 1944, pp.22) Refer to Allen (1993), *His Majesty's Indian Allies*, for a historical study of the co-hesive and fragmented political relationship between the Dakota people and the British Crown in Canada.

Canadian treaties and treaty adhesions were never granted to the Dakota people who permanently settled in Manitoba. Instead, Orders in Council in Manitoba, were granted from 1872-1874. Orders in Council defined as Order in Council Numbers 1873-002, 1894-3221, and 1894-3251 are located in the Appendix C from Library and Archives Canada. Orders in Council in Canada, are defined by Collections Canada (2011) as,

A legislative instrument generated by the government in council, and constitutes a formal recommendation of Cabinet that is approved and signed by the governor general. Orders-in-council are not discussed by Parliament before they have been implemented. Further, the Privy Council of Canada,, which was established at the

time of Confederation under the Constitution Act, 1867, is the successor to the Executive Council of the United Provinces of Canada. Membership in the Privy Council is synonymous with Cabinet membership because Privy Council members are heads of ministers of departments in the administration of the day. Although one becomes Privy Councillor for life, the governor general acts on the advice of Cabinet, not of the whole Council. The exercise of power through this system of executive advice and approval is identified in the Constitution Act, 1867 with the governor-general-in-council, commonly referred to as the governor-in-council. The most important documents produced by the governor-in-council are orders-in-council. Further, Orders-in-council address a wide range of administrative and legislative matters, including [...] the disposition of Aboriginal lands and other important policy items. (pp.1)

In June 1872, Spragge reported that an "Order in Council had been passed authorizing 100 acres for each family of Dakota residing near the English communities of the Assiniboine." (pp.39) An official document authorized an appropriation of land for the settlement of a band of Dakota people. Laviolette (1944) explains, "This official document [...] was approved by the Earl of Dufferin, Governor-General of Canada, on June 4th, 1873. The document, Order in Council Number 1128, is as follows: On a memo dated 31st Decr. 1872, from the Hon. the Secy. of State for the Provinces stating that Lieut.Governor Morris in a letter of the 16th of November last calls attention to the subject of an appropriation of land for the settlement of the Band of Sioux Indians who some time since entered the N.W. Territories." (pp.111) Further, this Order in Council incorporated three points that would later form the basis of policy for dealing with Dakota land matters: eighty acres of land would be allowed for each family, the reserve was subject to increase if warranted, and the Dakota reserve would be located well away from the international boundary. (Elias, 1988, pp.40)

Further, another Order in Council, dated April 24, 1873, recognized that the Dakota would be 'remaining under the British Flag,' and proposed that the band should be placed in a proper locality in the vicinity of Lake Manitoba. This Act was later

interpreted to define the Dakota people as status Indians, even if not treaty Indians.

Morris advised the Dakota people that their American relatives could not join them on the reserve and that the reserve was set aside solely for those who had been in Canada for the previous 12 years. (Elias, 1988, pp.40)

There are fifteen Dakota, Lakota, and Nakota speaking communities permanently settled in Canada. These settlements involve communities in Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Manitoba, whose ancestral Chiefs signed Orders in Council, treaties, and treaty adhesions with the British Crown. Maps of the Manitoba communities are available on pages 6-8 from Library and Archives Canada. The Saskatchewan communities include: *Tatanka Najin* reserve number 78, *Tintamibena* reserve number 94A, *Wapahaska* reserve number 94, and *Canowancaya Paha* which is formally named Forest Mountain. (Howard, 1984, pp.22-24; Laviolette, 1991, pp.215-268; DeMallie, 2001, pp.736-750) Additional communities in Saskatchewan include: *Chakagin*, reserve number 378, White Bear First Nation reserve number 365, Mosquito reserve number 343, Grizzly Bear's Head reserve number 109, Lean Man First Nation reserve number 111, and Little Black Bear reserve number 110. (Thompson, 2007, pp.1)

In the province of Alberta, there are Stoney communities of Nakota-speaking people, who are signatory to treaty seven which include; reserve numbers 142, 143, 144, 142B, Big Horn reserve number 144A, and Eden Valley reserve number 216. These communities are also named Bearspaw First Nation, *Chiniki* First Nation, and Wesley First Nation. (Thompson, 2007, pp.1)

The Manitoba communities include: *Tipo Ihanke*, *Wipazoka Wakpa*, *Canupawakpa*, and *Cankaga Oti*, which will be the focus of this thesis. Historical

summaries of these four communities will be briefly re-examined for Order in Council historical knowledge, location, and registered population. The first Manitoba community, *Tipo Ihanke*, is identified as reserve number 89. *Kunsi* Marina shares her knowledge of the origin of the name, *Tipo Ihanke*;

Deborah: Do you remember the name Farthest Camp? In English it was called Farthest Camp, *Tipo Ihanke*, was that the old name? Who named it that? The chiefs?

Eugene: *Teebo Ehanki*.

Kunsi Marina: Yeah, there was no chief when they have the, a long time ago, they used to have, the men gathered together, and then they are the ones who looked after the people. They named things, and I guess, that's how they got their name.

This community was also historically named Sioux Village, Long Plain, Dakota Plains 6A, and Portage, from the year 1898 through to 1934. It is formally named Dakota Tipi First Nation, identified as band number 295. These Dakota-speaking people have ancestry with the *Santee* and *Wahpetunwan* people. On May 25, 1955, an Order-in-Council, confirmed the creation of the Dakota Plains reserve. On May 4, 1957, the Title to Lot number 99 was returned to the Crown. Further, an Order in Council dated June 26, 1973, created the *Tipo Ihanke* community. This community is settled on 59.3 hectares of land and is located approximately 80 kilometers west of Winnipeg, Manitoba.

(Lavolette, 1944, pp.114; Lavolette, 1991, pp.216; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada)

The second community, *Wipazoka Wakpa*, is identified as reserve number 58. In 1880, this community was also historically named Oak River reserve, by an Order-in-Council dated April 27, 1874, for an area of approximately 4136 hectares. The first hereditary chief was *Taninyanhdinazin* and chief *Tahampagda*, with *Wambdiska* as the interpreter. This *Sisseton* band originally involved a settlement of thirty families of *Sisseton* and *Wahpetunwan* people with Chief *Dowa*. In addition, a few *Wakpekute* and

Mdewakanton people also settled in this location. It is formally named Sioux Valley Dakota Nation, band number 290. These Dakota-speaking people have ancestry with the *Santee*, *Sisseton*, *Bdewakanton*, *Wahpekute*, and *Wahpetunwan* people. *Kunsi 1AA* shares;

Deborah: Do you remember when they changed the name to Sioux Valley?

Kunsi 1AA: Oak River.

Deborah: Before Oak River, Juneberry Creek?

Kunsi 1AA: *Wipazoka Wakpa*, Saskatoon River.

Deborah: What was it called, Juneberry or Saskatoons?

Kunsi 1AA: Saskatoons. In the states they called it juneberries, that's when.

Deborah: But those are saskatoons right?

Kunsi 1AA: Yeah, those are saskatoons.

Deborah: Oak River. Do you know why they changed it to Oak River?

Kunsi 1AA: I don't remember.

Deborah: Then changed to Sioux Valley. Who was changing it?

Kunsi 1AA: The chiefs, when there was a new chief.

Deborah: When they have a meeting and change it?

Kunsi 1AA: Uhuh [affirmation] 1971, changed to Sioux Valley.

Deborah: Do you know why it was called Saskatoon River?

Kunsi 1AA: Because that is where all the saskatoons were.

[laughter]

Historically, Howard (1984) identifies Sioux Valley as *Wipazuka* River, when it should be identified *Wipazoka Wakpa*, or *Saskatoon River*. (23) Further, in Canada *wipazoka* is translated saskatoon. This community is located west of Oak Creek, at the junction of the Assiniboine River, twenty miles west of Brandon. The existing population for *Wipazoka Wakpa* is approximately 2457 registered Dakota people. (Lavolette, 1991, pp.243; Howard, 1984, pp.22-24; Stanley, 1978, pp. 80; dakotanation.com; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada)

The third community is *Canupawakpa*, reserve number 59, which has also been translated as Pipestone. It was also originally named Oak Lake in 1878 and *Candupa Wakpa*, which is translated Pipe Creek. This community is formally named

Canupawakpa Dakota Nation and is identified as band number 289. These Dakota-speaking people have ancestry with the *Santee*, *Yanktonais*, *Wahpetunwan*, *Bdewakanton*, *Yanktonais* and *Wahpekute* people. A 1036 hectares land allotment was granted by an Order-in-Council dated November 9, 1877. This community is located approximately 30 kilometers north of Pipestone. This community is presently settled on 2760 hectares of land. The existing population is 662 registered Dakota people. (Lavolette, 1991, pp.230; Howard, 1984, pp.22-24; dakotaoyate.com; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada)

The fourth community is *Cankaga Oti*, identified as reserve number 57, which is translated Dwellers in Log Cabins (23, Howard) On November 12, 1874, a separate reserve was approved by Order-in-Council. It is formally named Birdtail Sioux Dakota Nation, and is identified as band number 284. The original reserve was 2784.298 hectares, which was surveyed in June 1875 and involved 32.376 hectares for each family. Further, in October 1894, two quarters of land, Birdtail Creek hayands 57A was added for haying purposes. The *Can Kaga Oti* community presently extends approximately 2884.662 hectares and is located 50 kilometers north of Virden, Manitoba.

Chief *Mahpiyaduta*, with some *Wahpetunwan* people, and Chief *Mahpiya Hdinape*, with some *Sisseton* people settled in this area. These Dakota-speaking people have ancestry with the *Sisseton*, *Yanktonais*, *Wahpetunwan*, and *Bdewakantonwan* peoples. The existing population for *Can Kaga Oti* is 820 registered Dakota people. (Howard, 1984, pp.22-24; Lavolette, 1991, pp.215-268; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada)

Chapter 2 *Tiospaye* and Maternal Values

It is important to understand band formation because it is these band organizations that formed communities in Canada. Deloria and DeMallie have defined the pre-historical organization of the Dakota people as bands of families or kinship units, related through bilateral descent. Band structure, was based on *tiospaye* (lodge group), which is a term that is designated as an extended family. These *tiospayes*, probably averaged 10 to 20 families, or approximately 100 people. (Deloria, 1983, pp.734) This narrative affirms Dakota knowledge and contributes to the historical conscious of the present. It connects the band formations to the *tiospaye* of historical family relationships, as they existed, and continue to exist in Dakota communities. The defining narrative of band has become extensive *tiospaye*, connecting families through all Dakota communities. Ross shares this *tiospaye* knowledge, “All this reserve here, all these people in *Wapazoka Wakpa*, all the Dakota people, from Saskatchewan to Manitoba and down in the States. We are all related in some way to one another. We are just now finding out how we are all related.” (auto-ethnography). The pictures located on pages 4-5 include kungsi Marjorie Standingready, and her mother, Mary Paul, and her father Moses Bunn. All three have ancestral *tiospaye* with the communities in Canada which include; Whitebear First Nation, *Cankaga Oti*, *Wipazoka Wakpa*, and *Tatanka Najin* communities. Extended ancestral relations would also include the communities of *Tipo Ihanke*, *Canupawakpa*, *Tintamibena*, *Wapahaska*. Further ancestral *tiospaye* include most of the Santee or Dakota communities in the United States.

The nineteenth and twentieth century was defined according to imposed Indian Act policies, reserve settlement, and migrations to urban centres. Band and *tiospaye*

relationships were temporarily interrupted with paternalistic ideology which created a sense of group elusiveness that had not been present in pre-reservation times. Land ownership coupled with restrictive rules of reserve membership led most Dakota people to marry and remain in the communities in which they were registered. (Wilcox, 1943; Meyer, 1967, pp.155-272; Albers, 1983, pp. 182-186; Elias, 2002, pp.34-70)

However, this interruption in band and *tiospaye* relationships was temporary. Families that were historically fragmented are being reconstructed in many communities. More importantly, grandmothers are depended upon to teach *tiospaye* relations. They have become the family's genetic and historical footprint connecting bands and *tiospaye* relations across Canadian and United States communities.

An important female position that is being reconstructed is the maternal responsibility for the home. These traditional values are explained by Eastman (1985),

The wife did not take the name of her husband [...] and the children belonged to the [...] mother. All the family property was held by her, descent was traced in the maternal line, and the honor of the house was in her hands. Thus women maintained a secure status within society, regardless of their relationship to men. Even if men from their immediate household were no longer available to provide food for them, societal structure allowed for other men from the village to help them. Unlike in western society, where homes have typically been the property of the men, in Dakota society women maintained considerable influence over everything that happens in the home. Because all the household possessions belonged to the woman, she never had to worry economically about losing her material goods with the loss or death of a husband. Furthermore, because children belonged to the lineage of their mother, women were not dependent on men for children to be recognized as lineage members. There was never a fear that if a woman left her husband that her children could not be claimed. (pp.132)

Although most Dakota women continued to honor the maternal value system during the twentieth century, most were overwhelmed with the introduction of paternalistic Indian Act policies, which suppressed traditional households. A detailed collective analogy of

these effects can be found in Beverley Jacobs and Andrea J. Williams's summary, *Legacy of Residential Schools: Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women*. Stevenson (1999)

explains,

The immediate and long-term effect of enforcing patrilineal descent was to reduce the number of status people the government was responsible for, impose the European patrilineage system, and elevate the power and authority of men at the expense of women. The result was a major disruption of traditional kinship systems, matrilineal descent patterns, and matrilocal, post-marital residency patterns. Furthermore, it embodied and imposed the principle that women and their children, like European women and their children, would be subject to their fathers and husbands. (pp.123)

The post reservation era, this twenty-first century, shows signs of a reconstruction of traditional forms of maternal values in those families who had been disrupted.

Although there may be lingering paternalistic ideology, traditional men and women continue to honor the ancestral maternal lineage, as it related to the family's home and responsibility of this home.

Consequently, in this century, the paternalistic Indian Act still challenges the traditional line of maternal descent. The maternal social fabric of the family is undermined according to Indian Act policies of qualification. Clatworthy (2003) explains,

In cases where the father is unreported or not recognized as an "Indian" and the mother is registered under section 6(1), the child would be registered under section 6(2). Where a child's mother is registered under section 6(2) and the father is unreported or not recognized, the child is not entitled to be registered at all. Under the current rules, failure to report a registered Indian father results in either inappropriate registration of the child, such as 6(1) or 6(2), or denial of registration and loss of associated entitlements, benefits, and privileges. Although direct measures are of unstated paternity cannot be developed for children born to women registered under section 6(2), indirect estimations for the 1985-1999 period, suggest that as many as 13,000 of these children may have unstated fathers and do not qualify for Indian registration. (pp.125)

Consequently, traditional maternal descent poses a challenge for Indian and Northern Affairs government representatives. There is no exceptional registration category for

traditional maternal lineage. Registration policies set out in the Indian Act continues to oppress women and children because it ultimately decides who qualifies for registration and who does not, according to stated or unstated paternity.

Chapter 3 Language, Identity, and Oral Knowledge

The Dakota language is ancient knowledge. The original footprint of the Dakota language connects the spirituality and the sacredness of the language to the people because it was brought to the Dakota people from *Wakantanka* (The Great Mystery).

Taylor (2005) makes this connection,

The history of the Dakota people cannot be cut from its roots. The Dakota perspective is holistic and inescapably linked to language. Language is linked to systems of thought, which are linked to history and to identity. Every description of the world depends on language, every ceremony conducted depends on language, every teaching about the past depends on language; language conveys the meaning of life. Because of this connection, history cannot be discussed without consideration of the Dakota language [...] within Dakota culture, Dakota is the language in which our stories are told, our ceremonies are conducted, our prayers said, and our songs are sung. Without the language, much of the meaning is lost [...] the term *wakan* is used in reference to the language, meaning sacred. It is viewed this way because according to our teachings, our language was given to us from *Wakantanka*, “The Great Mystery.” Thus, it is a sacred language. (pp.51-61)

The Dakota language connects the people to spirituality, ceremonies, identity, and beliefs. To understand this sacred origin is to understand the goodness that language brings to our *kunsi*'s hearts when they hear Dakota being spoken.

Even the seasons of the year, written in the Dakota language, are complementary to animals and the environment. According to Pratt and Taylor (1986), “There is no differentiation between saying, *winter*, or *it is winter*. Intonation pattern indicates whether one is stating one or the other, for example; *Waniyetu, Wetu, Bdoketu, and Ptanyetu*.” (pp.43) Interestingly, there are 13 months which include; *Witehi wi, Wicata wi, Istawicayazan wi, Magaokada wi, Watopapi wi, Wazustecasa wi, Bdokecokaya wi, Wacutun wi, Canpa sapa wi, Tahecapsun wi, Tasna Heca-Hakikta, Takiyuha wi, and Waniyetu cokaya wi*. Pratt and Taylor translate and provide these pronunciations in Appendix A.

Interestingly, the eleventh month is named *Tasna Heca-Hakikta* (Indian Summer). (Pratt and Taylor, 1986, pp.50-52) This month is the exception to the twelve month naming schema it reflects Dakota interpretations of human history. Equally important, it has survived through the historical era. It is also remembered by existing Dakota fluent speakers, who remember it being taught to them by their grandmothers and grandfathers.

When Dakota human history and textual knowledge is re-examined an *Asiatic Language Theory* emerged. This suggested theory by Professor Frederick L. O. Rhoerig (1886) compares the Dakota language to those of the Mongolian language. Lavoilette (1944) states,

Comparative study of the language of the Dakotas presents the most satisfactory conclusions of the Asiatic origin. In 1886 Professor Frederick I. O. Rhoerig came out to Fort Wadsworth (Sisseton) and spent some time in comparing the Dakotas with the Mongolian dialects and found some striking likenesses. These most nearly resemble the dialects of the UralAltaic tribes. Professor Rhoerig does not argue that he has established such relationship, but has found evidence which strongly suggests it [...] In both languages there is a peculiar polysyllabic and polysynthetic tendency, by which, through an intricate blending of various parts of speech one huge word is produced. Probably the most striking resemblance, however, is in the reduplication of the initial syllable to add intensity to the thought expressed by it. Here are examples in point: Mongolian-*khara*, black; *kap-khara*, very black [...] and the] Dakota-*sapa*, black; *sap-sapa*, very black. (pp.16-17)

This suggested theory of identity raises issues of bias that can be misinterpreted. Re-examining this theory is important because it challenges and raises awareness to the dichotomy of historical misinterpretations. More importantly, this specific suggested theory twists the sacredness of the Dakota language.

However, most Dakota people agree with Hodge's (1907-1910) historical interpretation of language dialects, such as those found in Howard (1966a), which states,

Language dialects is most frequently used to characterize the differences among the speech of the three divisions: Santee *d* corresponds to *Yankton-Yanktonia d* and *n*, and *Teton* dialect *l*. The speech of the *Yankton-Yanktonia*, while frequently

designated as 'n' dialect, uses 'd' in various contexts, including at the beginning of words. Therefore, the historical self-designation of the *Yankton-Yanktonia* people was of the Dakota dialect, although some writers incorrectly used 'nakota' to designate this division. (pp.2)

Further, the *Oceti Sakowin* speak three distinct dialects, thereby constituting three distinct social groups. Nonetheless, extensive intermarriage and close associations blurred precise dialect boundaries and individuals' speech reflected and continues to reflect family history and life experiences. (DeMallie, 2001, pp.718) Problems likely occurred when attempts were made to comprise a blanket term, such as "Sioux" for all three divisions, and realized specific differences in language, family, social, political, and spiritual beliefs exist among the *Oceti Sakowin* of the Dakota *Oyate*.

It is important to mention the sign language that was documented to identify the Dakota people because it has found its way into history books. Past researchers, such as Mallery, (1881), followed by Clark, Scott, and DeMallie, describe this sign language which is synonymous to a prehistorical form of deadly and barbaric. DeMallie (2001) states, "In the Plains sign language, the gesture for the Sioux people is to draw the hand, extended and flat, palm down, across the throat from left to right, as if cutting it; a variant used by the Saux, Fox, Kickapoo, and Sioux people, is to draw the forefinger of the left hand from right to left, across the throat." (pp.751) Further DeMallie (2001) states, "The standard interpretation is that it represents slitting the throat or cutting a head off, said to be a trait of the [...Dakota people]." (pp.751) This prehistoric gesture has yet to be affirmed by the Dakota people.

As the new century arrives, change in the language over space and time is also happening. During contact, the need for a new acculturation of specific words was

necessary. Some of these modifications include religious and colonial holiday designations. They include; *Omaka Techa Washte, Anpetu Zaptan Wakan, Wokini Anpetu, Hunkupi Anpetu, Unchiyapi Ahanki Anpetu, Atkukupi Anpetu, Chanshushka Ape Makoche Anpetu, Bdoketu Ozikiyapi, Waechunpi ozikiyapi anpetu, Wopida Anpetu, Wokiksuye Anpetu, Hankiktapi Anpetu, and Hankiktapi Ihankhana.* (Sioux Valley Dakota Nation Governance Office) The translations for these language words are found in the *wicoiewieska wowapi* in Appendix A. While these modifications in the language could be interpreted to determine a movement toward accepted acculturation, this position has yet to be affirmed by the people.

Speaking To Language Decay and Extinction

There needs to be some attention focused toward concerns that the Dakota language would fall into language decay, which is defined by Miller (2007) as, “a condition of a language in which speakers adopt a new language for most situations, begin to use their native language only in certain contexts, and may be only semi-fluent and have limited vocabulary in their native language.” (pp.379) Fluent speakers of the Dakota language experienced aggressive imposed acts of assimilation and acculturation by the colonial project, which almost resulted in extinguished levels of language decay and language extinction. Because the children and grandchildren are not speaking the language fluently does not definitively mean the language is falling into decay. Wilson (2005) states, “If the language is still being passed on, it is still living!”(pp.25) Language decay may not be the definitive theory to apply at this time because fluent speakers still exist, teach, and share, the Dakota language in most communities.

Consequently, as a new generation of speakers enters a new century, the

grandmothers have raised concerns that a new adaptation of the language has been introduced. *Kunsi* 1AA has raised the concern that the Dakota language has entered a new phase that affects the traditional language from long ago. This new adaptation does not use all the words of the language, in proper grammatical format, to develop its full meaning. Thereby false interpretations can develop from this adaptation. *Kunsi* 1AA explains;

Eugene: How do you feel about the Dakota language?

Kunsi 1AA: In our language, there are very few of us that can speak the Dakota language, the real Dakota language. Today, it seems the Dakota language is going into slang, slang way. It seems you are cutting the Dakota language into slang, so you don't fully understand some of the words that they are saying because they cut it short. I was trying to think of a word how you can say that, cut it short, where they say that, then cut it short, that's happening today.

An example of this would be the language term for greeting someone. The greeting should be spoken as, *Waste, token yaon he?* (How are you?) (47, Pratt) Today, many people, simply use the shortened adapted slang version, *Waste* or *Washtay*, which grammatically simply means *Good*. The adapted version reduces the greeting to one word without asking the other person, how they are doing. Another concern, expressed by the grandmothers, is the understanding of the language because grandchildren do not always speak the language fluently. *Kunsi* 1AA shares;

Deborah: Do all your children speak Dakota?

Kunsi 1AA: My girls understand. My grandchildren understand but they can't speak it. My children, they speak Dakota, like her, my other girl, and my son, they speak the Dakota language, and if we speak Dakota language to my grandchildren, they understand it, they know what I am saying but they can't answer me back in Dakota. If they learn, I am sure they can speak it, but they know what we are saying if I ask the question, they will answer me from what I ask. So they know what I am saying, like that. They answer me back in English so they understand. They know what I am saying.

Further, *kunsi* Margaret shares her hope that her grandchildren begin to speak the language fluently and continue into the next century as fluent speakers. She expresses

that although her grandchildren do not speak fluently, the oral knowledge is absorbed and will eventually be expressed over time.

Eugene: Your children, your grandchildren? Do they speak Sioux?

Kunsi Margaret: No, my own do yeah. They speak Sioux yeah.

Eugene: Your grandchildren?

Kunsi Margaret: Those are the ones that know. Maybe they don't say a few words in Sioux, but like, they don't say a whole sentence, that's what you don't see, but they understand what you are talking about.

Further, *kunsi* Jean also shares her story and compares the generational differences. Her eyes have seen the practice of acculturation in her community of *Canupawakpa* Dakota Nation:

Eugene: How about your language? Dakota language?

Kunsi Jean: Oh, Dakota language is alive then.

Eugene: Not like today?

Kunsi Jean: Not like today, yes, you get up in the morning, you talk Dakota until you go to bed. No such as English words, yeah, but now it's different, my grandkids.

Eugene: Your children, do they speak?

Kunsi Jean: Yeah, no, maybe just a few words, yeah, just a few words, that's sad. One time they all came after school, they all came, they were sitting around the tv, and sitting in the living room, and they were sitting on the floor, watching this, whatever, cartoons, or something, so I said to them [speaking Dakota] They all looked at me, what is this grandma talking about? Just looked at each other. One said "coke" and "chips." Ahh, that wasn't what I said. It was sad.

Eugene: Tell her what you said, you said, in English, what did you say to those kids?

Kunsi Jean: I said to them, did you have a good day today? You have a good day at school today? What did you do today? In Dakota.

Eugene: And they wanted coke and chips.

Kunsi Jean: Yeah.

Kunsi Jean: Oh they make me laugh, oh shoot.

Deborah: Did you tell them after?

Kunsi Jean: Yeah, and yeah, and the mother said, do you know what *kunsi* is saying? No, isn't that sad, I said, yeah, but I'm trying to talk to them in Dakota when they come, at least a few words that are easy to say. I used to talk more to my granddaughters [talking Dakota, counting to ten] that's ten, counting to ten in Dakota, and she used to say it, she still remembers, yeah, yeah

Deborah: Yeah, that's good.

Kunsi Jean: Yeah, teach her how to one to ten.

The concern felt by *kunsi* 1AA is “language extinction,” which is defined by Miller (2007) as, “a situation, either gradual or sudden, in which language speakers abandon their native language in favour of a new language to the extent that their native language loses functions and no longer has competent users.”(pp.375) Cultural disruption in language precluded almost every single family in the twentieth century. Children were deprived of the social fabric of *kunsi* knowledge and language. By removing the language from the people, almost removed the cultural values and spiritual beliefs from family social systems. Although the intention was to assimilate the people into Canadian society, the colonial forces were not powerful enough to thoroughly remove “all Indian from the spirit.” (*kunsi* Alma) Fluent speakers persisted. These speakers refused to allow the spirit of the language to be removed from the hearts and minds of the people. However, due to a generation of displacement and colonial assimilation, language loss has become a primary concern for this generation. This concern has been expressed by *Kunsi* 1AA;

Eugene: What’s the future of Dakota language? What do you see? How do you feel?

Kunsi 1AA: I see, because of this slang language coming, we are gonna lose it. We are gonna lose it maybe after not too long we are gonna lose our language. There are a lot of people that don’t speak it, that’s why we are gonna lose it. It’s hard because you try to find people that speak Dakota, to communicate with people.

Further language decay may have been violently imposed into families. *Kunsi* Alma shared this story before her passing, which touches many hearts, as it is retold to grandchildren;

Deborah: Mom, how come *kunsi* never taught you guys, her children, to speak Dakota? I know you understand it sometimes, but did residential school completely take our language away?

Kunsi Alma: When Mom remarried to our stepdad, she was not allowed to speak Sioux, he would beat her, so she didn’t speak to us, in Dakota, so we never heard her speak, until after she left him. Now I hear her talking in Dakota and it feels so

good to hear her speak. It feels real good in my heart. I try to understand but I can only pick up a few words. Mom went through lots with that stepdad but she never forgot her language. Residential school [...] whatever language we had in our hearts was taken out of us. We were never allowed to speak our language at all. No one spoke our language so we never heard it. When I left your dad, he's Dakota, he knew Dakota, I understood him, but I had to leave him. I don't know our language, but I can pick up some words.

Further, the tragedy and assimilation involved from the residential school legacy, severely affected a generation of fluent speakers. It was a dark time in Canada's history when language abolishment almost removed the Dakota language from the *kunsi* voice and their families. Relearning the language, after returning home from residential school, shows how powerful the impact of language loss has been to the people. *Kunsi* 1AA shares her experience;

Deborah: Sometimes, my mom doesn't understand it, *kunsi*, she speaks it and understands it, my mom no, uncles no, me only a little bit, very few words, my children no, my grandchildren no.

Kunsi 1AA: When I was in residential school, I didn't even know a word of sioux, When I came out of school, I didn't know anything. When we spoke it in the schools, we had our mouths washed out with soap. Can't speak your language! So, I didn't know any sioux when I came out of school. I used to talk to grandpa and he would, he hurt my feelings, but I learned to understand what he meant, he said, "I can't understand you, you don't know what you are saying, until you learn, I will listen." It was hard for me. I used to cry. I used to cry because I loved him, when he told me that. My mom interpreted for me. He told mom not to do that until I learn to speak sioux, he won't listen to me. That's how I got my sioux language back. It was a very hard decision but that's the way he helped me to get my language. Even in our prayers, didn't know anything about prayers. We have it in schools, our English prayers now. I can speak in my language and pray in my language. It still comes out the same way, you are speaking English. Your prayers, to me, is more meaningful when you pray from the heart. That, I learned how to do too. So grandpa, I am so thankful for him, so I cooked for him, that's how he'd sit and talk with me anytime after I learned. I struggled. He used to laugh at me because I would, said, things differently. But I got it. I caught on. That's how from here, I spoke my language and there are lots of things that are more meaningful to me, now, than before.

Revitalizing Language

Communities have become part of revitalizing and relearning their language.

Fluent speakers in all communities play a vital role in language classes, workshops, and conferences. Revitalization of the language has become very important. Although there has been an increase in the loss of many older fluent speakers, their children, who are fluent speakers, carry the language in many communities. The language continues to be orally passed through generations of fluent and non-fluent speakers. The precious joy inside the heart when another fluent speaker greets each other is expressed by *kunsi* 1AA;

Kunsi 1AA: When you go someplace, like we are planning to go down south. I have a lot of friends [who speak the language]. When they come to you, they speak sioux. Oh, that just kinda perks up your ears. Like, its good, to hear somebody speak Dakota, and right away, you ask, you talk to them, and try to ask different things, how they are doing? When they answer you back, oh, that's a good feeling, somebody knows, somebody understands. That, to me, that's precious, to be able to see that.

There is great honor in the spiritual frameworks that are found within traditional stories. These frameworks involve Dakota stories of knowledge that existed at one time in history and are shared through generations. Further, vast amounts of knowledge in human history include; ancestral lineages, land occupancy, family values, cultural values, traditional beliefs, and spiritual knowledge. This knowledge is earned and sometimes, only a selective few will be honored to be the carriers of knowledge. More importantly, communities have their own stringent requirements for determining who has authority to speak about what topic, whose stories are reliable, what kind of upbringing and training of individuals is necessary, and who is the most knowledgeable about a specific topic. These tight regulations are not easily recognizable to those outside the community, but they do exist. (Wilson, 2005, pp.43-44) Even the selection of grandmothers for this thesis, was conducted by a trusted cultural advisor, Eugene Ross. Further, those who were taught by a family *kunsi*, continue to carry this knowledge. However, the authority

to speak about specific cultural knowledge would be determined by the elders of that community. Normally, an invitation to speak by the elders would grant this permission. Sometimes waiting for this invitation could take more than half a century.

Furthermore, grandmothers have their own stringent requirements in areas of spiritual responsibilities. This is highly respected when they are sharing specific spiritual knowledge about the deceased. This knowledge is tightly protected from outsiders. Even the knowledge that I have acquired from the spiritual work with the deceased, is strictly protected knowledge. After re-examining scholars, including; Lavoilette, Howard, Medicine, Wilson, Taylor, and Pettipas, very little spiritual knowledge and spiritual work that is taught amongst grandmothers was documented. Because of the theft of spiritual and ceremonial knowledge that existed and continues to exist, the protection of sacred spiritual knowledge is understandable.

Most of the spiritual stories that were previously shared by grandmothers and grandfathers were, at times, dishonored by Howard and Lavoilette in their studies. The stories that were edited in these books were disengaged as traditional stories and labeled as animatism, anthropomorphic, magic, myths and legends. These terms carry connotations that are typically associated with impersonal power of the supernatural world. (Miller, 2007, pp.375) Placing oral stories into this classification scheme puts oral stories outside the historical realm. The documentation of Dakota oral stories and their addition to the historical record are important tenets of historical enquiry. (Wilson, 2005, pp.181-182)

Interestingly, most traditional Dakota people do not have a historical concept of disbelief. Dakota oral stories have a place in Dakota human history, which continue to be

shared, from community to community. As Wilson (2005) explains, "How, does not really matter, the reality is they do. Many of the stories dealing with mysterious or spiritual beings, are still part of Dakota history. They are impossible to verify according to standard historical practices, but they are no less significant in shaping Dakota people's sense of the past, and the place we have in the past. To deny the legitimacy is to deny the legitimacy of Dakota human history." (pp.182) One of these stories, unverifiable, according to standard practice, is the White Buffalo Calf Woman Story, documented by authors such as Sneve (3), Wilson (59-133), and Medicine (123-273). This Creation Story contains human history lessons for the Dakota people in spirituality, traditional values, women and men's responsibilities, and sacred belief structures.

Finding translations for human history and history was challenging for this thesis, and has been proven to be difficult even for fluent speakers. Finding a single Dakota word that directly translates the word history is difficult. The closest appropriate word, *ehanna*, refers to long ago, but to signify the telling of long ago, *ehanna* must be accompanied with a term *woyakapi*, which may be translated as a narration. Together, *ehanna woyakapi* may be translated as a narration or telling of the past, which has an implicit oral meaning. While this category or phrase that the Dakota people use to identify a type of story may be the one most easily grasped by and recognizable to academic historians, stories of this type are not the only ones of historical significance. (Wilson, 2005, pp.63)

Chapter 4: The Honor of Marriage and Family Relations

It is very important to introduce the subject of family relations. The Dakota people call this, *watakinye*. This system crosses cultural boundaries and involves a specific form of respect in addressing individuals and kinship which is still practiced today. Pratt and Taylor (1986) explain,

In the Dakota culture, it is considered disrespectful to ask a person outright his or her name. The kinship system being so rigid regarding appropriate conduct and avoidance practices when addressing immediate brothers, sisters, and in-laws. It was safer to ask about who your relatives were than to ask out right for a name. Only elders could ask outright "Who are you?" or else "*Iye ciciye sni*." The appropriate way of asking a person who they were, was to ask who their parents were, for example, "*Tuwe ina yaya he?*" (pp.8)

The respect for kinship systems is further acknowledged to the *kunsi*. The highest level of respect, honor, and acknowledgement is given to the grandmothers. The greatest honor is given to the eldest *kunsi*. Children are taught to respect their *kunsi*. Ross and *kunsi* Deborah share this story,

See these young people today, talking back to their *kunsi*! We never did this. We did not dig around her things or help ourselves or go into her bedroom unless she asked us to go get something. We had so much respect for her. When she would tell us things we listened carefully. We never interrupted her or said hurtful things toward her. Some people thought she was very strict. To us, it was discipline and respect for our *kunsi*. She showed us this. When *kunsi* would call us home, we would always try to go see her. We never asked why because we knew there was always an important reason why she called us home. Even today, when they call you home to help with a feast or something, it is not wise to ignore this request. *Kunsi* honored those who helped her too. Many times I would get home from work and there would be a box of wild meat outside my door. Or she would pass me warm homemade crazy quilts in the winter time. She was very thoughtful and always offered in kindness. When she passed away, it was the first time, in a very long time, I had ever touched her things that were in her personal closet in her living room. It was also the first time, in a very long time, that I had ever entered her bedroom. I felt like everything I touched that had once belonged to her was very sacred. Of course, I used to see my mom do things for her but I was their helper, when I was a younger. (auto-ethnography)

Furthermore, Pratt and Taylor (1986) explain the extensive and intricate details of the

system of kinship,

A male or female speaking call their parents and grandparents: *ina* or *mama* for mother, *ate* or *atata* for father, *kunsi* for grandmother, and *unkan* for grandfather. Because the Dakota people are very specific concerning rank and order, when addressing brothers, sisters, aunts, and uncles, would depend which of the family they are from and if they are older or younger. Examples of these include: *misona* for a female addressing her younger brother, *tibdo* for a female addressing her older brother, *mitan* for a female addressing her younger sister, *micun* for a female addressing her older sister, *mamana* for a female addressing her mothers sisters which is equivalent to second mother, *atada* for a female addressing her mother's sister's husband through marriage. The cousins from this marriage are addressed as brothers or sisters. Further, *ateda* or *ate* for a female addressing her father's brother which is equivalent to second father. If these uncles have wives through marriage they become second mothers and are addressed *mamana*. Cousins from this marriage are addressed as sisters and brothers. A mother's brother is addressed as *esida* and their wives as *tuwina*. A father's sisters are addressed as *tuwina* and their husbands are addressed as *esida* also. *Ichesi* for addressing male cousins and *icepansi* for addressing female cousins. A female addresses her mother in law as *unci*. (pp.9)

Furthermore, the relationship for a male addressing female members of his family, are of equal importance; respect through address. The use of language ensures this respect is upheld because the male family member must address the female members of his family, specific to Dakota kinship. Pratt and Taylor (1986) further explain this address,

A male addressing his family members are not synonymous with female members. *Tanke* for a male addressing his older sister or female older cousin on his maternal side. *Mitanka* for addressing his mother's sister's older daughters (older cousins on mother's side or auntie's older daughters). *Tanksi* for addressing a younger sister or female first cousin on maternal side. *Tanksi* or *tankside* for addressing a mother's sister's younger daughters (younger cousins on mothers side or aunties younger daughters), *Cinye* for addressing his older brother, *mison* for addressing younger brother. *Cinye* for addressing father's brother's older sons, *mison* or *sunkaku* for addressing father's brother's younger sons. This will leave a group of cousins from the father's side sister's children and mother's brothers' children. There is no preferred distinction for older or younger but for male and female specific which includes: *tanhansi* for addressing male cousins and *hankasi* for addressing female cousins. A male addresses his mother in law as *unci*, same as a female addressing her mother in law. (pp.11-12)

The strict address to family members of both female and male genders is a powerful

example of Dakota kinship, which is still practiced today. When I was arriving to greet the *kunsi*, Ross, informed them of the name of my *kunsi* and where she was from, and the names of my mother and father and where they were from, before *kunsi* had to ask. He then proceeded to introduce me and which community I was from and the reason for the visit was explained to them. This indirect address is still practiced in this century.

Marriage

The practice of traditional marriages is characterized by honor and respect, and reciprocity for other family members. Historical writings of Neill, DeMallie, and Pond describe Dakota marriages as descriptively ambiguous through the selection of cultural anthropological terms that include captivity and polygamy. It is important to acknowledge this terminology because they provide historical analogies which define the image and position of women as passive objects. Eastman (1904) states, “[These] marriages arising from elopement and captive were not uncommon [...] monogamy was the most prevalent form of marriage, polygamy was practiced by older and influential men.”(pp.766) However, extended family responsibilities were necessary in pre-contact eras to ensure women and children were taken care of. Interestingly, traditional family responsibilities and historical polygamous marriages have been historically redefined. Polygamy was not considered to be a position that empowered Dakota men, as some might affirm, but rather, was an expected responsibility of the men.

Next, is the subject of widows, in relation to the practice of polygamous marriages versus traditional societies. Sneve (1995) explains, “Prior to the introduction of Christianity, single women, other than widowed grandmothers, were a rarity in Santee and other [Dakota] societies. Now, on the reservation, single, put-away mothers often had

to struggle to raise their children if there were not a brother or some other relative to give them a home. In the old way, there were no widows or orphaned children because the dead husband's brother, often took the widow as his wife and her children as his own. (pp.64) Defining polygamy in traditional societies is challenging because in most traditional societies, men ensured the safety and well-being of widowed women and their children.

Neill (1890) historically describe women as objects of ownership rather than the traditional views of the Dakota people. Neill (1890) and DeMallie (2001) explain, "During this time the man visited the girl nightly, making presents to her parents. Sexual relations were not permitted during courtship. If the union was approved, one night the man would arrive at the girl's lodge, fire his gun at the doorway, then hand it to one of her relations [evidently as a gift], then he led the girl away." (pp.726) Further, Pond (1986) explains, "It was as disputable for a young woman to become the wife of one who had not purchased her, as it is with us for a woman to cohabit with a man without the ceremony of marriage." (pp.133) Dakota historians, such as Wilson and Taylor (2005), re-define Dakota purchase marriages as reciprocal marriages which involved values in tradition, honor, and without shame. Taylor (2005) explains,

For Dakota women, the practice of buying women in marriage is far from degrading and is, instead, considered a high honor [...] in a culture where women were revered and celebrated for their contributions to society, this particular tradition of buying women for marriage represents nothing shameful or objectifying. Indeed, the man who risked public humiliation by so forthrightly declaring his interest in a woman might face more disgrace in this process. On the other hand, a woman might very much be more relieved to be asked for her hand in marriage by someone who had demonstrated himself as a successful hunter or provider and/or with the family support to pay a handsome amount." (pp.133-134)

The word, honor, is the word Neill, DeMallie, and Pond missed when they described Dakota traditional marriages. Further, horses, meat, or gifts, were used by men in exchange for the

honor to request a wife from her parents. Emma Pratt, from *Wipakuza Wakpa*, shares her story of marriage in exchange for horses, during the twentieth century, “Some men paid horses for the bride. I was paid for in this way myself. I guess I wasn’t such a good prospect, since my husband only gave three horses for me.” (pp.83) Because horses are considered sacred to the people, it was honorable to receive and gift horses. All the grandmothers shared a few stories descriptive to these marriages. *Kunsi* Margaret and her husband share this story;

Eugene: Horses?

Kunsi Margaret: Horses being given away? I think he tells that story. He knows about that, horses being given away.

Unkan Williams: Oh, oh, dances, given away. If want to marry a daughter, yeah, they give horses or something. If you are a good hunter, well, you will get a woman.

Next is the subject of traditional, arranged marriages. It is unclear if these types pre-existed before contact or were introduced post contact. However, they did exist and continued into the twentieth century. Arranged marriages are defined as marriages in which the grandparents or parents of a young woman determines her choice in husband for marriage. Ultimately, they will make all the arrangements concerning this marriage and it will be the young woman’s decision to believe in and accept her parent’s decision. Because young women trusted the advice of her elders, these arrangements were honored. It was not shameful but considered very honorable to have older family members seek out a respected and responsible husband.

The grandmothers who were interviewed were either brides of arranged marriages or their parents or grandparents were brides of arranged marriages. It is determined that arranged marriages existed for three generations. *Kunsi* 1AA and *kunsi* Margaret share their knowledge of arranged marriages existed and were practiced in the twentieth

century;

Deborah: Was marriages arranged?

Kunsi 1AA: Marriage was arranged. I didn't know my husband, but I went to school. I don't know anything about a man because my life was hard labour.

Deborah: Was your marriage arranged?

Kunsi Margaret: With him, [looking at husband] no, it wasn't arranged. I know they did that long ago, yeah arranged, like my mom and my dad, those were arranged marriages, that time.

Deborah: Did they tell you about it?

Kunsi Margaret: Because my dad was the friend of my mother's brother, the oldest brother, so that's's how it came that she was to marry him, I guess, yeah.

Deborah: It wasn't a shotgun marriage?

[laughter]

Deborah: Who arranged it? The mom and the dad, or was it the women?

Kunsi Margaret: The parents, yeah, both parents.

It will be interesting if these marriage customs continue or completely fall away to memory reflection. However, both types of marriages are descriptive to the honor and position of women.

Next, is the subject of the murdering of wives by fellow Dakota men in traditional societies. This violent narrative is documented by Hans, (1907) which states, "Men could kill their wives at their discretion, without fear of public protest, and if he killed another man's wife, he was usually required only to compensate the husband in some manner." (pp.59) The murdering of wives or women was a ridiculous assertion, as Dakota men are responsible for the protection of their female relatives. Mistreatment of a Dakota woman would be impossible without severe backlash from her male relatives. Further, the killing of another Dakota, by Dakota accounts, has always been a crime of the most serious offense. The murder of a fellow Dakota was a crime punishable either through immediate reprisal by the kinsmen of the slain or a resort to the ancient ordeals, supervised by the Council. The ancient ordeals were nearly impossible to survive.

(Deloria, 1983, pp.132) This knowledge was not discussed during the interviews, due to

time constraints. However, it is important to bring this narrative forward because they are unsupported by evidence from Dakota people. It is also important to expose these types of biased historical narratives.

The historical missions of the religions in the nineteenth century introduced and imposed powerful colonial movements, in most, if not all communities. Opportunism was generated by religious missions, Indian Act regulations, and residential schools. First, the grandiose ideologies of religious conversion moved forward at initiating acculturation missions with powerful conversion frameworks. Religion missions that settled into communities were part of the acculturation process and religious opportunism was widespread. If the missionary could convert the women first, they had a much better opportunity at converting the whole family because most communities were maternally protected. Once the woman was converted, the children and husband were much easier to convert. (Trott, 2008, Native Studies Lecture)

Author and OMI Father Laviolette is remembered by *kunsi* 1AA as a missionary who worked alongside the Indian agent. *Kunsi* 1AA shares;

Kunsi 1AA: Our indian agent, we also had missionaries, the missionaries were the ones that took us to the schools with the indian agent standing right there.

Deborah: What did they dress like?

Kunsi 1AA: They had those white collars.

Deborah: And they would stand there with the Indian agent?

Kunsi 1AA: Yeah, you had to go.

Kunsi 1AA: He was known for Catholic, but us, we were Anglican. In Elkhorn, some went to LeBret, that is where, Laviolette, he spoke sioux.

Regretfully, in this instance, missionaries such as Father Laviolette, is remembered through his historical actions in the apprehension process of the residential school era, rather than a historian. However, religion was not always fully accepted by most Dakota families. Those that did convert, as was the case with *kunsi* Marjorie, religious

conversion was a balanced approach. *Kunsi* Deborah shares,

Kunsi believed in both religion and spirituality: she still accepted her traditional values and she attended church regularly. She might have put her pipe away but she still believed in Dakota spiritual values. She would travel great distances by horse and buggy from Whitebear to visit spiritual healers and attend ceremonies. I remember when she was quite young she went to *Canupawakpa* to go see this old lady (female healer) because the doctor told her she had sugar (diabetes) and she was given Indian medicine for this. Before she passed away, she asked her sons, she said, go smoke my pipe for me she said. She was our strength and there are still many who miss her stories, knowledge, and humour. (auto-ethnography)

Although these religious missions took great efforts to convert the women of the families, complete conversion were not always successful. However, the creation of community dissension and animosity between spiritual people and religious people developed. “Others” may not even notice this dissension because it may be cloaked in humour, but it exists. It will be interesting to see how the future generation balances this community dissension.

Further, textual documentation in Laviolette has de-scribed and compared Dakota spiritual belief processes and practices with the broader world of religions. By making Dakota belief processes inferior to *wasicu* religion, invites ethnocentrism. Laviolette, in his book (1991), suggests that Dakota spiritual belief processes are “evil, occult powers, and bewitching.” (pp.21-30) He could not be further from the truth. The misconception of this description needs to be explained. Dakota traditional people who believe in the spirituality of Dakota human process do not accept their spiritual beliefs as evil, occult, or bewitching. Nor is it a type of religion. Rather, the Dakota people see their spiritual beliefs as an independent sacred spiritual lifelong human process. These spiritual beliefs are connected to *Wakantakan* and White Buffalo Calf Woman. Accordingly, most spiritual Dakota people believe Dakota spiritual beliefs are not comparable to Christian

biblical beliefs.

Further, some grandmother's believe that a theft of the spirit occurred by the missionaries. This is explained by Ross, "Long ago, when the missionaries and indian agent came and were taking pictures, our *kunsi* believes, when they did that, they also took our spirits. This is why we should not forget to ask, don't forget to ask every *kunsi*, if it's okay to take their picture. We have to be very careful of this." (auto-ethography)

Further, the Indian Act in 1876 introduced patrilineal policies that degraded women. The early conditions of reserve settlement created a sense of group exclusiveness that had not been present in pre-reservation settlement. Land ownership coupled with restrictive rules of reserve membership led most Dakota people to marry and remain in their communities in which they were band members. (Wilcox, 1943, pp.34-70; Meyer, 1967, pp.155-272; Albers, 1983, pp.182-186; Elias, 1988; DeMallie, 2001, pp.774) The cultural effect this had on the traditional structure of families was and is historically important. It is important because the ancient custom of matrilineal family honor was challenged. The status and position of women changed. The religious doctrine of *wasicu* values associated with endogamy, hypergyny, and hypogyny was introduced. Women were forced to acculturate or adapt.

Acculturation in marriage ceremonies may follow either Christian or traditional forms of marriage. Where some families might choose a specific form of marriage, others might choose both marriage ceremonies. However, traditional forms of marriages are returning. Traditional, because the sundance chief or male elder marries the couple and follows traditional forms of customs and ceremony. Reciprocity amongst families continues. Traditional Dakota men continue to seek honor and respect from the *kunsi* and

family of the bride.

Family Social Systems and Marriage Today and in the Future

There is growing concern within families that marriages of this century and future centuries are become exogamic. Exogamic marriages may have reached the extent that “full blood” Dakota children may no longer exist. In the twentieth century, on some smaller reserves, such as White Cap and Wood Mountain almost every individual is genetically related to everyone else and young people must look outside reserve for marriage partners. Men have married into Plains Cree, Plains Ojibwa, and Assiniboine villages. On larger reserves, such as Standing Buffalo or Sioux Valley, one finds a number of separate patrilineages. Lineage ties are evident in church membership, where all the members of a patrilineage, together with spouses, are liable to belong to the same sect. (85, Howard)

The migration to urban centres which began in the midde to nineteenth centuries still continues today. Consequently, this century, involves an extenstive population residing off- reserve. Some of this population has resulted in neolocality and bilocality, leaving marriage partners to individual choice. The arranged marriages of long ago may become past-tense, as more marriages become exogamic resulting in cross-cultural partners which may include; *wasicu*, Ojibway, Cree, Squamish, Inuit, or Metis marriage partners. Sneve (1995) explains this multicultural heritage or blending of families as, “a heterogeneity of races and cultures.” (xiii) Bilocality presently exists but there is no pre-existing kinship rule that defines it. In the twentieth century, most marriages followed paternal residency settlement. However, not all wives followed this residency pattern, and chose to relocate from one or both of their communities.

Kunsi cultural advice exists which explains that the wife should adopt her husband's cultural practices but remember that she is a Dakota woman. *Kunsi* Marjorie explained "If you are to marry into the Ojibway Medewiwin Society, then you learn and follow those ways of your husband, but remember you are still a Dakota woman." (auto-ethnography) Bilocality, as it refers to Dakota families engages residential settlement in this generation but does not define patterns of settlement. The adoption of paternal cultural beliefs and customs are important and are acknowledged in Dakota female knowledge.

There is a subject that has seldom been discussed within communities. Cross-cultural racism existed and continues to exist in many communities. Seldom is this subject discussed. This racism might exist with some Dakota people toward other cultural groups including: wasicu, Cree, Ojibway, and Metis people. There was ancient conflict among cultural groups that existed between the Dakota, Cree, and Ojibway people. Perhaps this ancient conflict was unfinished. Further, *kunsi* Alma had requested to her daughters and grandchildren, "to make sure you marry and have children, if not with a fellow Dakota then a status or treaty Indian, to keep the blood-line pure." (auto-ethnography) Her request in "pure blood-line" heritage might not appear racist to some, however, to others, it is a request that pre-determines or pre-arranges a future partner of "pure" blood-line descent.

The practice of divorce also existed in pre-contact marriages. There is no evidence that a traditional law pre-existed that expected women to stay married. DeMallie (2001) explains, "Marital bonds tended to be brittle and [...] divorce was obtained easily by both sexes. Stigmas were not attached to the divorced or the widowed, who usually remarried.

Levivate and sororate was optional.”(pp.766) Because most Dakota family structures followed traditional values, women almost always maintained their home in the event of a divorce. Further, because women are also the primary caregiver, they usually maintained sole responsibility of the children. If the husband wanted to divorce, he would leave with his belongings. The grandmothers who were interviewed agreed that women should always maintain their home and their children in the event of a divorce. However, the Indian Act 1876 imposed paternal property rights that impacted and continue to impact the traditional family social patterns that existed long before the nineteenth century.

Chapter 5: The Position of Women and Caring For Our Children

This chapter will re-examine the status and position of women and the importance of honoring our children. The historical imagery and the stereotypes of women, documented by the Minnesota Historical Society and Hans, will be re-examined. Hans classifies women's positions during the pre-contact, as that of drudgery, slavery, and property, to name a few. Women were placed into a class system, where they were positioned to the lowest class, below men. This paternalistic positioning of women is documented in the Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society (1872), which states, "women lead worse than a dog's life or that a Dakota wife is subject to all the whims of her husband." (pp.132) Consequently, one century later, the positioning of women continued. Hans (1907) states, "Dakota women were nothing more than men's property with no power whatsoever."(pp.132) Images such as these intentionally dishonored women. Because anthropological researchers have initially and predominately been European males, the historical description of the position of women was culturally biased. Often these descriptions furthered a colonial project as non-Natives could justify their interference in the name of 'saving the women'. Did they know they were repositioning women to the bottom of the social status? (Medicine, 2001, pp.92) Medicine examines this imagery to provide the highly dramatic effects this imagery has in current social positions in communities and beyond. Never had women been so misrepresented than in these historical analyses. Medicine (2001) explains,

By isolating the imagery inherent in previous literature, the roles of [...] women surface in a dichotomous fashion and should clarify future research endeavors [...] women were seen as 'princess or prostitute.' To recall, 'Pocahontas as princess' syndrome (Green 1975) as opposed to the picture of the proffered and highly sexed feminine object of explorer, trapper, and trader chronicles places [...] women in the historical framework indicative of the assigned sex role and position that befitted women of [...] forest, plain, and tundra [...] the picture [or

image] of [...] women as gatherer, drudge, and human pack animal abounds in novels and in historical and anthropological writings. [...] This image, unfortunately, is also paramount in the minds of [some] men. Exploitation of feminine wiles, wills, and intelligence is apparent in the behaviors and attitudes of some Native men. Paradoxically, [...] women have seemingly adjusted to this double bind and have androidly managed to coexist in [community] and urban contexts. (pp.93-94)

Regretfully, not until other researchers, like Medicine, Taylor, Wilson, and Sneve, to name a few, re-examined documented historical knowledge, does the honor for women become explained in scholarly texts. Providing the Dakota perspective moves historical imagery of women to qualities of honor, respect, and dignity. Historically, women had special responsibilities when the family social structure was re-examined. These responsibilities included: setting up camp, tanning hides, cooking, caregivers, sewing, beading, and taking care of children, to name a few. Sandoz (1995) shares, “Not only the honor, but the very existence of the tribe lay in the moccasin tracks of their women.” (pp.10)

As the discussion of the position of women moves into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, writings begin which surpass preconceived notions and repositions the importance of women. Reclaiming this position has moved many women to challenge paternalistic stereotypes. However, romanticizing the position of women would be untruthful. Truth lay in the reality of the behaviour that has positioned some women as both victim and survivor. Women still struggle, due to historical tragedies experienced by their *kunsi* and female members of their families. This century women are moving above this. Female authors and Dakota authors, like Medicine, Sneve, and Wilson, are challenging the historical bias to reaffirm and reposition women’s responsibilities in communities. Sneve (1995) explains the behaviour of women that still exists, “Certain

behaviour was expected of women because they were the role models, teachers, caregivers, and life blood of the camp. Modesty, not going about calling attention to oneself, modest women, never expecting recognition for their accomplishments, and uncomfortable when they receive any, if recognition given to a woman, it was given to her whole family, so it was important that she conduct herself, so as never to bring shame on herself and thereby on her family.” (pp.104)

Further, female honor and responsibility continues in many communities. Even through acculturation and conversion, women still maintain their position within the family, within the home, and in many other communities beyond their home community. The cultural construction of household decision-making was primarily matriarchal, however, family and financial responsibilities have shifted across time. Increasingly, women have become the primary household heads. Changes have occurred today. Maternal and paternal responsibilities have sometimes reversed in responsibility. Some men will stay home and take care of the family home and children, while some women assume employment outside the home. The sharing of family and household responsibilities are occurring and are usually based on financial need.

Consequently, an increased rearrangement of family responsibilities in social systems is occurring. This may be the result from the loss of spiritual and female direction which may include; residential school trauma, addictions, urban settlement, adoption, religion, family violence, sexual abuse, mental health and or health problems. However, grandmothers have witnessed the reconnection back to Dakota spiritual values. Through the practices of ceremonies and guidance from the grandmothers, families are re-establishing their position as women and upholding family responsibility. It is a

strongly held belief that the continuation of spiritual guidance will continue to nurture and guide women and their families to healthier choices. However, Ross explains,

Our *kunsis* are dying too fast. Women have a responsibility to visit them before they leave. They have *kunsi* knowledge that may be lost forever if we do not visit them. This responsibility has to happen now because every month a *kunsi* passes away and it is getting scary because there are only a few of us who have taken up this responsibility. What is gonna happen to our people if we don't try to listen to our *kunsi* more and pass on this knowledge? Our communities are going to be lost in the *wasicu* way. (auto-ethnography)

Consequently, honor and respect for women was important and continues to be important. To dishonor a Dakota woman would still bring shame to that person's family. To dishonor a traditional woman would bring greater shame. The greatest shame: to dishonor a *kunsi*. However, the dishonor that previously existed in the dark tragedies of the nineteenth and twentieth century brought the most severe dishonor to grandmothers and the women of the *Dakota Oyate*. Wilson, in *Walking in The Footsteps of Our Ancestors*, chronicles these *kunsi* narratives, women stories, and tragedies that traumatized generations of families. Hopefully, this tragic history shall never be repeated.

The next position that will be briefly re-examined is the position of the *winkta* person. Due to the timing of the field research this topic was not discussed at the interviews. Ross had requested that this topic be avoided due to the residential school experiences that were being discussed in court processes at this time. However, the textual documentation will be re-examined, as they relate to this century. *Winktapi*, was a name used when referring to the *winkta* person. The Dakota people do not have gendered pronouns in their language, except when discussing kinship terms. The reason the subject of the *winkta* person is mentioned in this thesis is because *winktapi* people had and continue to have a purpose in most communities. The historical misconception and

traditional position will be further discussed. How an individual decides to interpret this knowledge is to their benefit. Taylor (2005) explains that, “the term *winkta* may linguistically be broken down in a couple of ways. The first would be *win*, a contraction of *winyan*, meaning women, and *kta*, an indication of future tense, meaning *shall be a woman*, indicating an inclination toward being female. The other possibility is that the last part, the *kta*, is a contraction of *kyte tka*, which translates *should have*, making the translation *should have been a woman*. While this is specifically a Dakota term, *winkta* has also been encompassed in other non-Dakota terminology.” (pp.231)

The responsibility of the *wintapi* people was and is that of the helper. They are called upon to help women and families in certain ceremonial responsibilities and assist in advising in spiritual work. Further, there was not a large population of *wintapi* people in each community, rather, they were found sparingly throughout the communities.

Taylor (2005) explains,

Totana kage translated he made a few, it was not the norm, it was the exception [...] they are *wakan*, holy, sacred, and in the old days, when this *winkta* would say something, it will be like that then. And it was thought that he had powers and his powers were to help. And *Wakantanka* made very few of them so maybe one would be here and maybe one over there and in another village maybe one would be over there, *tonana kage*, and then he was saying that he hardly ever hears of any now among the Dakota society, hardly ever hears of any *winktas* [...] And that’s what their one purpose is, just that one, they are going to help people. And he is not to be ridiculed. That’s the way I heard it. (pp.222-223)

Further, the modern usage of the *winktapi* people’s identity has been misunderstood.

Using the term two-spirit person in the place of *winkta* person denies the traditional and spiritual role the *winktapi* people played in Dakota culture and the sacredness of that position. Two-spirited is used more loosely in contemporary communities in reference to sexual identity. This usage has little to do with cultural responsibility and *winkta* position.

Another distinct but critically important role of women is in relation to the responsibility for children. Families considered their children as treasures, the precious reason for being a woman, which ensured the survival of the people. The love of children was paramount. It was not confined to the biological parents, but within the extended family. Children were surrounded with tender care and affection. Grandmothers, grandfathers, uncles, and aunts, gave as much love, training, and discipline, as did the parents. If the parents died, other family members assumed this role. There were never orphans in the communities. (Sneve, 1995, pp.40-41)

It was and is a very special blessing to be gifted with children. Not until a woman becomes a *kunsi*, does she know the great heartache a *kunsi* feels when a grandchild is hurting. *Kunsi* Harriet in Sneve (1995) explains, “The Dahkotahs assert that a mother is with their absent children whenever they think of her, and that she feels a pain in her breast (or heart) whenever anything of moment happens to them.” (pp.78) The multiple apprehensions of the grandchildren and children during the “residential school era” and the “sixties scoop” must have caused deep emotional and physical pain for the mothers, grandmothers, and families. It is deeply rooted in the hearts of many grandmothers who experienced these historical events. These traumas will be further discussed in the upcoming chapter.

Childbirth

The subject of childbirth as it relates to the responsibility of women in this century also bears re-examination. Childbirth almost always involved the female members of the family, more importantly, the *kunsi* as the midwife. Howard shares a few of these midwife experiences as they existed up to the middle of the twentieth century.

Kunsi knowledge tells of the responsibility as midwife and how this practice continued right up until the late twentieth century. In this early reserve settlement period, childbirth did not always involve the assistance of trained medical staff and hospitals. Regularly scheduled immunizations for some babies and children did not exist. The specifics of the time period would require further research. However, these missed immunizations for the children would have been in the middle to late twentieth century. The existence of diseases such as measles, mumps, rubella, to name a few, were prevalent, during this time period. However, immunizations for most babies were not available. The grandmothers interviewed were witness to this. *Kunsi* 1AA shares her story;

Deborah: How many kids do you have?

Kunsi 1AA: I have seven children.

Deborah: Did you have them in the hospital?

Kunsi 1AA: I had the last three in the hospital, my mom took care of me when I had them at home.

Deborah: Oh, so you had them at home? No doctor?

Kunsi 1AA: No doctor and no nurse, the first one I had a doctor come out, it was forty below that winter because it was my first child, I was in labour about 12 hours, just hard, my first one, but after that I had them at home. My mom and my grandpa Joe.

Eugene: Helped you?

Kunsi 1AA: Grandpa, he's part of our family too, that's the grandpa, he raised my mom, so he would always help my mom, and the rest, the last three, I had at the hospital. I had them in the hospital.

Kunsi Margaret: I know my grandma was a mid-wifer, like she, I was born and she was a mid-wife my mom, cause we were born at home.

Deborah: How many were born at home? All of you's?

Kunsi Margaret: Me, my brother, we were born at home.

Deborah: So you just stayed in the home? You didn't go to the hospital after you were born?

Kunsi Margaret: No, no.

Deborah: No Immunization?

Kunsi Margaret: At that time, no.

Deborah: And you never got sick and did not need immunization? You must find that funny that we are taking our kids to be immunized?

Kunsi Margaret: Yeah.

Kunsi Margaret's story involves new knowledge that was not asked specifically in the formal interview. It explains the lack of medical services available to the communities, during this specific century. Was immunization not available? Questions remain unanswered which include: Were non-Dakota babies immunized in urban towns or farms? Were urban Dakota and non-Dakota babies immunized if they resided in urban centres in Manitoba? Further, is there a correlation of health statistics from past to present to determine health outcomes and mortality rates of non-immunized babies? Apparently, according to *kunsi* 1AA, there was a large population of babies that were not immunized, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Further, the Indian and Northern Affairs reserve population statistics show a sharp decrease in population for some Manitoba communities, during this time period. The Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Reports (1895-1897) states, "High mortality, not only at Moose Woods, but of all the Sioux reserves, disturbed the agents. Until about the end of the nineteenth century, the death rate usually exceeded the birth rate, sometimes dramatically, as in 1885, when 11 of the 88 heads of family at Oak River died, together with 17 children under the age of three [...] This, the agents could not explain." (pp.123) Further, according to estimated population statistics from The Department of Citizen, Immigration, and Indian Affairs Branch (1904-1964) state "the population from 1884 to 1900 decreased from 143 people to 65 people. The population in Oak Lake from 1884 to 1896 decreased from 78 to 37 people." (pp.25-28)

Further, because of medicine women and medicine men, during the nineteenth century, some of the sicknesses might have been addressed through healers. Further, some of these *wasicu* sicknesses are very difficult or non-treatable by healers. Some

traditional medicine will not be as helpful if the individual has been sick for a lengthy period of time. Therefore, sicknesses such as measles, mumps, rubella, and whooping cough would most certainly fall into this category of *wasicu* sickness: non-treatable or not as treatable by healers.

Traditional gathering of grandmothers and women before and after childbirth continues in most families. Grandmothers assist the mothers and medical staff during delivery and after childbirth in the home. It would be unnatural to not have a *kunsi* or older woman available for support, advice, and traditional knowledge during this time. For example, for the birth of my youngest daughter, in 1993, in Brandon, Manitoba, our *kunsi* and our mother came from Whitebear, Saskatchewan. Our aunt came from Arcola, Saskatchewan, to await this birth. They waited a week for the baby to arrive. This practice does continue. Further, grandmothers and the older women take special care of the baby and mother during childbirth and for many months after the birth. Seldom is the mother left alone. She is usually fully supported by the female members of the family.

Another important issue for re-examination is the historical interpretation of naming practices. There are a combination of naming practices that have evolved over the last two centuries which include; the old names, spirit name, Dakota name, Indian name, traditional name, and the *wasicu* name, not necessarily in that order. To clarify a misconception that is seldom recognized regarding the old names: these names were spoken in the Dakota language but were later translated into the English language, during the contact era. Some of these names include: *Oinajin* (Cause To Stand), *Inkpaduta* (Red Point), and *Mahpiyahdinape* (Cloud Appears or Holy Cloud). (Howard, 1984, pp.23; Lavolette, 1991, pp.224) Of course these names are also considered spirit names.

Further, the spirit name, Indian name, and Dakota name, are all the same and are used interchangeably, in this century, as spiritual identity names. This name goes beyond the cultural theory of identity because the purpose of receiving a name is self-identity in the spirit world to *Wankantanka*. This subject of spiritual identity will be discussed in the last chapter.

Further, some were given a specific spirit name, directly from birth, and again as a youth, and then again as an adult. The significance of this spirit practice involves the cycle of life: from birth to death. However, sometimes, only one spirit name was given and that person honored this spirit name throughout their life and into the spirit world.

Kunsi 1AA shares her knowledge:

Eugene: Dakota names, Indian names?

Kunsi 1AA: I have an Indian Name, it's kinda hard to interpret, [speaking Dakota *Wakan Tahe*]. When you interpret, Loves Her Thunder, [speaking Dakota *Wakan*] Is somebody you love, cherish, that's what speaking Dakota *Wakan Inyah*] means.

Eugene: Who gave you that?

Kunsi 1AA: A medicine man gave me that name, Ted Benson, about thirty, forty years ago.

There were specific members of each community who were gifted to do naming ceremonies. These people could be *heyoka* or certain spiritual people. Some grandmothers even have spiritual dreams of these names. For example, after my first grandson was born, *kunsi* Marjorie informed me of his Dakota name, *Running Fast Horse*.

The second naming practice has been documented by Riggs, Howard, and Sneve (1893) are the traditional names. These names have also been shared by grandmothers as a counter-narrative today. This practice is called the traditional naming practice. It existed before contact and includes specific names for all girls and all boys, depending on order

of birth. Girls names include; *Winona, Hapan, Hapistinna, Wanske,* and *Wihake* or *Wehake*, for first, second, third, fourth, and fifth born daughter. For boys, it includes names such as; *Caske, Hapan, Hepi, Catan,* and *Hake*, for first, second, third, fourth, and fifth born son. (Riggs, 1893, pp.45; Howard, 1974, pp.66-7; Sneve, 1995, pp.42) *Kunsi* Margaret shares her knowledge of this traditional naming practice;

Deborah: Do you know if they still use those old names, like *Chaske? Winona?*

Kunsi Margaret: Yeah, there is people using that.

Deborah: That's good.

Eugene: [speaking Dakota]

Kunsi Margaret: *Chaske*, first born, *Hapan*, second one, *Hepi*, third one, Girls, *Winona* first one, *Hapan* second, *Hapistinna* third.

Identity also includes the *wasicu* name. *Wasicu* naming practices started after contact and continues. Sometimes, *wasicu* names were gifted to the child of a *kunsi* or *unkan* who was either living or had passed on. Because *wasicu* names were not always considered to be of spiritual significance, these names did not always follow cultural or spiritual patterns. However, although past generations accepted *wasicu* names, the spirit naming practices continues. This produces evidence that full acculturation was not fully accepted by all people.

The next subject of female responsibility is the keeping of the umbilical cord. Past research in Howard (1984) shares knowledge that the “umbilical cord was dried and preserved in a buckskin pouch, which was regarded as an amulet or talisman.” (pp.79)

The difficulty with Howard's interpretation is his assertion of the umbilical cord's purpose as a “charm against evil.” The Dakota interpretation of the keeping of the umbilical cord is to provide protection from childhood into adulthood. Further, the responsibility of the keeping of the baby's umbilical cord is the women or the *kunsi* of the family. She ensures it is taken care of immediately once it falls from the baby after birth.

She might bead the pouch in which it is kept. *Unkan* Hector explains, “Sometimes, powwow dancers were known to dance with their umbilical cord in a beaded buckskin pouch, as a form of protection.” (auto-ethnography) The keeping of the umbilical cord crosses cultural boundaries and crosses through centuries of generations. Stories exist of this cultural practice. Existing knowledge that was available was shared by *Kunsi* 2B;

Kunsi 2B: There’s that, and another thing, my mom was telling me that when you have a baby, first born, their umbilical cord, when you cut them, you keep their button. So I did with my older son. It was for ten days. So who knows where it went, we were in the hospital for five days and came home with his on. Beaded it, and they say you are supposed to try to keep that. That’s what they said. Oh, my I keep hearing different stories. But what my mom said was if you do that, with that, your child won’t go searching, digging, that’s what she told, so that was his, my older sons. (Interview 2B)

The transmission of this cultural knowledge is important because young mothers need to know this traditional responsibility. Because most babies are born in hospitals, the umbilical cord might not always be traditionally cared for. Although grandmothers hope to continue to teach new mothers this cultural knowledge, generations are lacking this important spiritual knowledge of protection and guidance.

Interestingly, as young women intermarry into other cultural groups, such as Cree or Ojibway families, their children might adopt their father’s cultural belief. Both the Cree and the Ojibway have their own teachings. Whether mothers chose to adopt their husband’s cultural values or continue with the Dakota cultural values, the protection and care of the umbilical cord remains with the women and grandmothers of the family.

The next cultural responsibility relating to children and women is the *wapostan*, which is translated baby cradle hood. DeMallie (2001) explains this historical documentation, “the Santee people used cradleboards with solid wood backs to which the child was secured with soft hide wrappings for carrying on the mother's back. A

projecting loop protected the child's head if the cradle fell, while designs on the board and cover invoked spiritual protection. Figures of thunderbirds and deer are worked on the cover in porcupine quillwork between lines of geometric figures.”(pp.763) Further, Howard (1984) in the late twentieth century documents this information,

The Dakota cradle was either of the *wapostan* type, to the back which wooden supports could be attached for rigidity, or was solid wooden board to which a bent wooden bow was attached at the top and a cloth bag to hold the baby attached further down. In both types the infant was in the pouch, which was laced up and bound around with buckskin thongs so that only the baby's head appeared. Before lacing up the bag, moss was placed between the infant's legs to absorb excrement. The cradle could then be carried in the mother's arms, on her back, by means of a strap, or could be slung from the saddle horn when the mother was riding. When she was working in her garden or tanning hides, the cradle could be set up nearby or hung on a tree limb. (pp.80)

This abovementioned quote was documented from Howard's field research in early 1972 and it is important to mention that the cloth bag that is mentioned is precisely of exact replica to the moss bag that is made today for babies, with the exception of moss and a cradle.

Further, Goodwill (1984) shares, “the first-born son in a family was put in a highly decorated *wapostan* or baby cradle hood, often completely decorated with quillwork or beadwork. Since it had taken many months to manufacture and would be used only a short time, this *wapostan* was designed so that the beaded or quilled pieces on either side could later be used as shoulder ornaments on the boy's dancing [regalia]. John's own *wapostan* was used in this way when he was sixteen years old.” (pp.79) Interestingly, DeMallie, Howard, and Goodwill fail to mention the women's responsibility of the *wapostan*. Women are the keepers and the makers of the *wapostan* or more formerly named, moss bags for the babies. The woman who is asked to make this moss bag usually considers it an honour to be selected to do this for the newborn. In the

Myran family, the mother selects the colors and she passes this cloth, hide, sweetgrass, and tobacco to the *kunsi* selected. There is medicine sewn into the moss bag for the infant for protection. *Kunsi* Deborah shares,

My sister still makes these for our family. I don't know how to make them but I seen her make one before. If I sat with her again I am sure I could learn how. She visits the new mom and it only takes her a few days to finish it. She even puts this beautiful beadwork and designs all the way down the sides. Baby is protected both spiritually and physically because the moss bag goes all the way up the back and baby is wrapped securely as if still in the mother's womb. Medicine is placed for the protection of the baby. Leather ties secure baby into the bag. Only her face was out. She made one for my youngest daughter when she was a baby and now she is making one for the same daughter's baby. (auto-ethnography)

The next carrier used for babies was the blanket wrap. It is a form of a large piece of thin cloth or blanket that is used to securely hold a baby. Not only is it soothing for the baby but the mother is able to hold baby close while she does her chores. Children were still held or carried very close even when women were hauling water, hauling wood, working in the gardens, or berry picking. Today, these wraps are seldom used because many women do not work out in the bush as much as they had in the last century. *Kunsi* Jean remembers her *kunsi* and her mom using these wraps. *Kunsi* Jean shares her story about using the blanket wraps, recently, to comfort a child;

Kunsi Noella: I guess when you talk about roles and responsibilities. We have our kids, she always said that, first year you don't leave your baby because that's the time you bond with your baby. You don't be leaving the baby, even now and then, encouraging before, that's the best way to bond with your baby and not go. We didn't have these bottles [...] To have responsibility for your kids, and she made it very clear, since we were teenagers, I raised you, and when you have kids, that's going to be your responsibility, she said, I'm not raising any of my grandchildren, and we are very fortunate, that she never did raise any of her grandchildren. Again, that is a responsibility as a parent and you have to pass on to your kids. Tell them what their expectations are.

Kunsi Jean: I used to live over there, but she had her first born, my grandson. I used to carry him on my back. She's busy, he'd be crying. I's say, put him on my back. Just take a sheet and I used to walk around with him. I'm way over here. By the time I'd get back, he'd be sleeping.

Eugene: Can you see a picture of that?

Kunsi Noella: The thing is, it was funny, she did that with younger one, like, not like, even when he was just that age, his legs were kicking out.

[laughter]

Kunsi Jean: Yeah.

The next carrier, that was remembered, was the *hohotena*, which is a swing used for babies. Although the grandmothers remember the continued use of the *hohotena*,

Good Voice and Buffalo (1972) explain the traditional origin as it is related to *Winuhca Nunpapi*,

To dream of a *winuhca nunpapi*, is usually a benevolent diety. She is conceptualized as a woman with a face on both the front and the back of her head, and has the ability to stretch her body to enormous lengths. Both men and women could dream of *winuhca nunpapi*. They may even see her when walking in the bush. She remains invisible to all except those whom she wished to reveal herself. To dream of *winuhca nunpapi* was to have a vision conferring unusual skill [...] One person who had dreamed of *winuhca nunpapi* invented the *hohotena*. (pp.107)

Kunsi Marina shares her story about the *hohotena*:

Eugene: Do you remember any stories your *kunsi* used to sing, with a [speaking Dakota], I mean, long ago, those swings? You don't hear that anymore?

Kunsi Marina: We used to make a rope.

Eugene: In the tent, then they sing while they?

Deborah: What did you put under those swings?

Kunsi Marina: Nothing, a blanket.

Deborah: Well, today, we put a bed under them because we are not too confident on how we are making those swings.

Sheila: When my boys were small, and we go camping, she makes it between two trees, and she makes a swing, and we put the boys in there.

Eugene: And *kunsi* still makes it, and they are called *hotidahs*.

It is apparent that the *hohotenas* or *hotidahs* existed as a counter-narrative and continue to be practiced today.

In addition to *hohotens*, the women would make beaded bonnets for their babies.

There were no limits to what women would do to honor their precious babies. It was not a romanticized image but rather a deeply-rooted family value of respect, pride, dignity, and

honor for their children. There are few pictures of these baby bonnets that were intricately beaded during the nineteenth century. However, because women protected the babies head with special headwear, the bonnets may be an adaptation of this traditional dress. Further, there was a picture sent out of one of *kunsi* Marjorie's great granddaughter in *Wipakuza Wakpa* in 2012, who was wearing a fully beaded bonnet. *Kunsi* 2B shares;

Kunsi 2B: And I made this, my war bonnet for my great great grandchild that's coming.

Deborah; Oh, that's nice.

Eugene: You made that! Look how neat that is. She's gonna be a great *kunsi*, and she made this.

Deborah: Has lining, fancy. I'm gonna make a little boy one too.

Eugene: Is this your mom's pattern, no?

Kunsi 2B: No, [xxx] gave me that.

Eugene: Pattern?

Kunsi 2B: Yeah.

Deborah: After seeing all that, I'm gonna go home now, make him a bonnet now, my grandson.

Eugene: You're very rich in your culture.

Kunsi 2B: Yes I did all that with my mom. She taught me everything and she knows.

In this new century there continues to exist an increase in ambilineal and bilateral descent relations. These relations are the result of multicultural intermarriages, which results in an increased number of multi-cultural children. Normally the mother will decide with the father about how the children will be raised. However, in the event of a family break-up, the mother usually returns to her maternal family roots. It is difficult to re-examine this area of family values due to the scope of this thesis. However, there is no existing cultural law determining paternal or maternal cultural values. In *kunsi* Alma's family, the grandchildren are not denied their paternal cultural heritage. (auto-ethnography)

One of the struggles today, as was previously mentioned, is the disintegration and

disconnection of family values. It is important to re-visit this disconnection because some children have lost family connection to their grandmothers. Further, because some of the grandchildren are in the care of Child and Family Services of Manitoba, some may not have seen their *kunsis* for extended periods of time. These children may be spiritually disconnected from both their maternal and paternal familial cultural values. *Kunsi* Jean shares her concerns;

Kunsi Jean: And what's there important too, in Dakota, is we should all have an Indian name, but nowadays, a lot of these young people, young babies, young girls, they don't have Indian names.

Eugene: So do all your grandchildren, your children, your grandchildren, do they all have Indian names?

Kunsi Jean: No. not all of them because some of them are in a foster home, that is what I was telling. Isn't that sad? That's what I was telling my girls here yesterday. I said, isn't that sad? Last year, I said, my nieces, my granddaughter had two boys, have no Indian name. So in my mind, I'm gonna ask her, to take those two little boys to [xxx] sundance, where they can get Indian names. So, here what happened. It didn't work out. They are in Winnipeg somewhere. I haven't seen them since they took them. That's sad.

Kunsi Jean: Yeah, yeah.

Deborah: Yeah.

Another previously mentioned struggle within some families is cross-cultural racism and how this racism could affect children. It is important to re-examine this racism because it existed and continues. Some of the multi-cultural children, who were adopted out of their communities, may be less inclined to return to their roots because of fear of not being accepted. A traditional Dakota story from Taylor (2005) addresses the valuable importance toward understanding cross-cultural and mixed-cultural heritage,

We were made so we don't understand each other. Yes, I also heard those things a long time before. Yes, why did he do those things? All of them, each and every common man, we were given a way of life and different language. If it is so that *Tak Wakan* gave to us many things to walk with a good heart, I don't want to have ill feelings. If we walk with only those [the good] in our thoughts, we will walk happily and no matter where or how we walk-because each and every nation was given a direction-if they live in a good way and if we as Dakota do the same, we

will accomplish what we have been journeying toward.” (pp.99-100)

Wilson suggests that Taylor forms a belief in the equality of people and their divine creation. Central to this is an understanding that every living being was created with a purpose and with a divine right to exist. Honor and respect towards others of a different culture is important for all races.

Although the historical colonial attempts at acculturation through the discouraging of practices that reflect family values, grandmothers continue to maintain the importance of women, for the children, for the men, and for people. The disconnection of some families due to the residential school legacy may take a few generations to recover but the reconnection to female traditional positions is returning. Children and babies are still held especially close to the heart in a very sacred and honorable place. Many grandmothers and women are directly involved in the pregnancy, birth, and post-delivery of babies and new mothers. Most traditional babies and children are gifted with both a *wasicu* and spirit name. To a *wasicu*, this might not be apparent. In most instances, only the *wasicu* name is evident on the birth registration documents. The spirit name or Dakota name is evident to family members. Perhaps, in the future, the traditional names will return and *wasicu* names will belong to the twenty-first century.

Chapter 6 Female Contributions in the Distribution of Labour

This chapter will re-examine gender distribution of labour and how it evolved through the centuries to the present. The historical interpretation of ancestral camp life has been reconstructed by past researchers, such as Sibley, Landes, and DeMallie. They defined the division of labour instead of describing male and female responsibilities as a mode of distribution of labour according to physical ability and necessity. Sibley, Landes, and DeMallie (1950) explain, “Notwithstanding local variations, division of labour among the Santee people were fairly uniform. Males were primarily responsible for hunting, care of horses and weapon-making, but they assisted in gathering activities as well.” (pp.764-765) Further, Landes (1968) explains, “Women played a central role in production, not only in the processing of game secured by men but also in their own foraging efforts. They trapped small birds and mammals, offered supplemental help in collective drives, and a few were even proficient big game hunters [...] Plant gathering and cultivation, however were their most important subsistence occupations. In addition, the fabrication and repair of clothing, housing, and domestic utensils were female tasks. (pp.764-765) Interestingly, Dakota writers also describe camp life during contact, which is shared by *kunsi* Hazzodowin (1995),

Like all Dakota women of her time, would have engaged in demanding physical labor and not complained. For example, during the cold months of winter, walk as much as ten miles carrying her teepee cover (7 or 8 buffalo skins) , kettle, ax, child [...] in late afternoon would stop and make camp, clearing snow, cutting lodge poles, cutting and hauling wood for cooking and warmth, preparing supper [...] but when other women at the camp [...] they all helped each other [...] besides doing planting and harvesting the women dried corn, berries, and meat, which was stored in bark or raw hide containers (parfleches). (pp.44-45)

This description of female responsibility may also have been interpreted as a life of “drudgery” or demeaning to women. However, it was from necessity that the distribution

of labour was crucial for the survival of the camp. It was considered essential work, in the outdoors, carried out at a pace and in the sequence as each woman saw fit. Today we categorize such activities as ‘camping’ and see them as recreational. Only through European eyes at a time when middle class women were being confined by an ‘angle of the household’ ideology would this form of activity be constructed as demeaning or ‘drudgery’.

Further, women had the responsibility to gather wild vegetables and fruit. Past researchers, such as Stipe, Pond, Deloria, Landes, Skinner, and DeMallie (1968) in the twentieth century, share this gardening and cultivation knowledge,

Gathering furnished additional sources of food in Santee diets, and when game was unavailable, it was the primary method of food procurement. Further, ‘in fall, they gathered wild rice and in spring, maple sap was tapped.’ During the early nineteenth century, horticulture was still a secondary occupation among the Santee people. Not all local groups cultivated and those who did appear to have planted at irregular intervals. The major crop was corn, but squash, beans, and tobacco were also domesticated. Crop yields were usually small, and rarely lasted more than a few weeks. (Stipe, 1968, pp.126-142; Pond, 1908, pp.342-369; Deloria, 1967, pp.102-112; Landes, 1968, pp.202-204; Skinner, 1919c, pp.167; DeMallie, 1971, pp.764)

During the 1890’s marginalization in the “application of departmental policy,” through Indian agents was imposed into communities. Expropriation of land and cattle, appropriation of agricultural produce, forced reorganization of labour, suppression of technology, and Indian Act regulations were imposed in every community. (Elias 2002, 86) Indian agents, such as agent Markle, were instructed to enforce them. One of these policies included the permit system, which is explained by Elias (2002) which states, “In 1891, all the Dakota bands were compelled to obtain permits to sell any product off the reserve, including firewood, hay, cattle, grain, and garden produce.” (pp.88) It is the affect of these historical regulatory forces that began to downgrade the playing field in

economic stability for the Dakota people. Elias (2002) provides a detailed historical summary of these significant changes that affected Dakota economic independence. Grandmothers are direct witnesses to these changes and most have experienced these hardships. Excessive expectations were at times required of a single female member of family. If there was no male child born to the family, a female child was expected to physically work as a male child. *Kunsi* 1AA shares her story;

Kunsi 1AA: My parents broke up when we were small, like I am, I don't know how to say this, my sister and I stayed with my mother, we were raised by my mother and stepfather, but then, between that time, we were small. We were residential school but after school I stayed with my mom and my stepfather. I worked hard. He didn't have any sons, so I was the son that they didn't have. We had the farm. We had horses, chickens, and we had to, I had to work hard in the fields, like harnessing up the horses, harnessing wagons, implements. I used to go out in the fields to work. It was a hard life. Had to plough the fields. Was quite away from that place where we lived, must have been three miles or so. I drove the team of four horses, hooked to this wagon and I was about fifteen years old at that time and I was scared of horses but I had to do it in order to help him out. So that the place where we had to go, I had to get out and open the gates and I was scared to, but I had to do that. So we wrapped the reins around us, it was cold, and get out, and open the gate, and get back in, and let them go, and shut the gate, and hook up the horses up to the plough, and then work all day ploughing the field. Then, come home in the evening. But he was always there when I came home. He unhitched the horses and did whatever. But I came in and still there was so much things to do, when you are young. You have to do the housework, cook, and stuff. I learned to cook when I was just young, did a lot of chores and things like that, when I was young. This went on for so long and we planted gardens and we had to weed and all that and still work, and even I tried to grow some watermelons, but it didn't work out for me, but anyway, there was a lot of things we tried when we were young. My mother had a big family, we raised a big family. I helped raise the kids, washed diapers, at that time there was no such thing as pampers, you had to do diapers, hang them out in the winter time, it was hard hanging them out when they are frozen, bring them in, and they are still frozen, hang them when they are frozen, that was tough on my hands, but somebody had to do it, we did it, I guess we did all those things. Like my stepfather will go out and cut oak trees for fence posts. I used to have to hang onto those poles and he would be cutting them, sharpening them, and that used to be hard on the shoulder, he used to try, he used to try to do about one hundred a day, and that was hard, and then I would try on this side [other arm and shoulder] he would [...]

Eugene: And that skin would rub?

Deborah: Injury there?

Kunsi 1AA: Oh, yeah, because my life was hard labour and in the fall time, I even had to, when they used to use that old threshing machine, I did that, pick the sheaves, throw them in the rack, and when you get to the machine you got to throw the sheaves into the threshing machine when the grain comes out, it goes into a wagon, a wagon with a high bin. Sometimes I have to drive that wagon and unload it by myself.

Deborah: Working like a man?

Eugene: Whole box of wheat?

Kunsi 1AA: And I had to unload that, yeah, whole box full of wheat, unload that, to shovel into the grain bin, yeah, I worked hard.

Deborah: So when you got married, was it still expected of you to work hard?

Kunsi 1AA: We still had to, because we're starting up, you still had to, to build log houses ourselves, you haul the logs, you cut the logs, we still had to peel them, and he got somebody to help him, and then they cut the logs to build the loghouses, you still had to cut wood, put the roof on, we tried to get whatever cardboard, odd lumber, to cover that, cover it up with dirt.

Deborah: You know how to build a loghouse?

Kunsi 1AA: Yeah

Eugene: Put mud on it?

Kunsi 1AA: We had to get your own mud, straw, we used to have a barrel, warm the water, used that to mix the straw and dirt, throw that on the wall, in between the logs. In the loghouses, almost everybody had log houses at that time, when fall came around, you plastered the house, each one helped another plaster the houses.

Consequently, the aftermath to pushing a female daughter to work, both as a son and a daughter, has caused permanent damage to this *kunsi*'s health. She explains;

Kunsi 1AA: I walk around a little bit. I had an infection in my back. I couldn't walk. I couldn't move. I couldn't even sit up. About five or six years ago. I couldn't even sit up. That's why I'm in a wheelchair and arthritis set in after.

Deborah: Are you able to walk around a little bit?

Eugene: That's from all her hard work.

Deborah: I think so.

Kunsi 1AA: When I had that sciatis, how women are, well everybody has that little cushion in between the spine, mine are all worn out, from hard work, he said, "I've never seen a woman like this, in my practice, I've never seen a woman with no cushion in between the spine. We're gonna infuse it with a wire, screw, big screws." They were use, to hold it together, in case it comes apart, gonna infuse it, but I refused. That's why I'm in a wheelchair. I don't want to fall.

Deborah: Oh, we have to be careful?

Kunsi 1AA: Uhhuh.

Deborah: We'll be careful when we hug you. Might hug you too tight.

This very demanding work expectation existed for this *kunsi* is the direct result of

paternalistic mindsets of some males, even within Dakota families. While some men were traditional, spiritual, and very gentle and kind, others could be aggressive, abusive, and very violent. The aftermath of the colonial years disrupted, and continues to disrupt many families.

However, women continued traditional economic practices which included; fishing, hunting and trapping small game animals, assisting with small farming activities, tanning hides, smoking meat, gardening, berry picking, and wild turnip and onion gathering, to name a few. These practices continued right up to the late twentieth century. *Unkan Russell* explains, “Your *kunsi* tanned hides, I remember your *kunsi*, she had those hides out there in her yard, she did that herself. She knew how. I remember when I was a little boy. I remember her doing that. You won't see women doing that today. It's gone.”

(auto-ethnography)

Kunsi 2B shares her knowledge of being raised on wild meat;

Eugene: What do you remember about your mom and dad? Did they work hard? What did they do to provide?

Kunsi 2B: Well, it was, I remember, my dad was a hard worker. He farmed. He farmed his land around here with a team of horses, and everything was done by hard labour. No such thing as tractors and all that. It was powered by working with horses and he would also work uptown, looking after gardens for farmers, in town looking after flower beds and stuff like that, cause my dad said he went into residential school for 13 years, when he came out, he only had a grade six education, half of it, he said, was agriculture. So he's interested in gardening, doing all that stuff, and he did all the hunting. We lived on wild animals like deer, and beaver, muskrat, fish. He did all that to feed his family, and the same with mom. Yeah, I like skinning deer, beaver, muskrat, how to clean fish, all that she taught me how to, a muskrat, so that's how I was lucky to learn all these things while my older siblings are at residential school. Tanning a moose hide, deer, taught me step by step. Her and I did a deer hide. So I know how to tan that. I never tried one now because they said you got to be pretty strong to do that.

Some grandmothers do not believe these practices will continue unless it becomes necessary to relearn these practices. However when they were practiced they provided a

healthy supplement and economic assistance for her family. Further, *kunsi* Margaret shares her knowledge about gardening and berry picking but raises the concern that women are no longer smoking meat or tanning hides;

Eugene: Farming, farming, did you help your *kunsi*? *Unkan*?

Kunsi Margaret: Farming, I helped my grandma do gardening, but I know my grandpa did farming cause he, yeah, I helped in grandma's garden.

Eugene: Berries?

Kunsi Margaret: Yeah, I helped my grandma pick berries too, *chanpa* (chokecherries), crushed berries, sort of a stone, like another smaller stone that she crushed with.

Eugene: *Wipazoka*? *Sakatoons*?

Kunsi Margaret: Yeah, saskatoons, she kinda dries that out, and the *chanpa* she dries that out, she well, yeah, dried meat, that's kinda a lot of work too, you make the fire outside, and put some branches on like this, and the fire is going, the sliced deer meat or whatever wild meat, you put them to dry, same time they are smoked cause fire's going out, get them dry real good, the meat, yeah.

Deborah: Then mix it with dried berries?

Kunsi Margaret: Yeah, mix it with dried berries, yeah, then some you use some kind of grease, I don't know what kind of grease they used that time.

Eugene [speaking Dakota]

Kunsi Margaret: But that is how you, oh yeah, you have to soak the skin, in some kind of, soak it, fur is soft to come out, I remember grandma had a little thing, grandma, so she scrapes the hair off and then she kinda dries it, I think she used butter too, like soften it, and of course you make a fire again, don't get it, not too close to the fire and that's how to tan it, sort of make a shelter against the wind, then kind of tan it, she has to really watch it.

Deborah: And the women did that?

Kunsi Margaret: Yeah, women did that.

Deborah: But the women don't do that anymore?

Kunsi Margaret: No more.

Deborah: No more hunting, anymore hunters?

Kunsi Margaret: No, well few people now, hunt yet.

However, the knowledge and the practice of hunting, tanning hides, and smoking meat might become important and beneficial for all people to relearn as farms become flooded and non-recoverable. There are workshops in some communities, such as *Wipazoka Wakpa*, which are re-teaching the practice of tanning hides.

Another important economic activity that was practiced and continues in most

communities is berry picking. This practice not only crosses cultural boundaries but also crosses many generations. Every *kunsi* visited remembers picking berries with their families. Berry picking is not only economically and socially important but has a substantial purpose in ceremonies, pemmican, and as a healthy food supplement. Some of the berries that were picked were *wipazoka*, *chanpa*, and cranberries. Wild turnips, onions, and rutabagas were also dug out from the bush.

The custom of berry picking was a time for women to form close bonds, share knowledge, stories, and experiences with each other. Further, the custom of working together was a time of organized socialization for women. Because certain personal events were never discussed in the presence of male family members, this gave women the opportunity to share in the close relationship of their female family members. Deloria (1988b) shares this historical knowledge of this practice,

The women had organized into *tiyospaye* groups, or into congenial parties of friends from here and there who wished to spend the day together and make the communal enterprise a sociable excursion as well. At sunrise they went out and set up their awnings all along the first shelf of land above the valley floor where the silvery-leafed bushes grew thick. They spread blankets about and set their drinking water and food under the shades. There they left one or two of their party to look after things and keep an eye on the babies and small children who could not walk far. (pp.12)

Even in the late twentieth century, berry picking continued and was considered a time of socialization and sharing of knowledge. Many generations of women enjoyed this time spent together and were taught how to clean and cook *wipazoka* and *chanpa*. *Kunsi* 2B shares her experience of picking berries with her mom and *kunsi*;

Kunsi 2B: Well, she [mom] was busy looking after us, there was me, my deceased brother, we were the only ones at home and she would look after us. At the same time we have a garden she looks after, looking after the garden. As a young girl I remember we would go with my *kunsi* berry picking and she would can and dry berries, pick chokecherries, and she'll crush them and dry them, and I remember

she used to put them in sacks. You have to put one or two at a time because if you put more than that they will scatter all over. Saskatoons, cranberries, and *chanpa*, and raspberries, strawberries, picked those.

Further, *kunsi* Marina, shares her knowledge about berry picking, grounding the *chanpa*, and picking wild vegetables. These fruits and vegetables were also used toward the contribution to the household. This economic activity was further taught to daughters and granddaughters;

Eugene: Did you [speaking Dakota] lots with your *kunsi* and mom?

Kunsi Marina: We picked berries all through.

Eugene: Lots of berries?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah, you know we used to pound the chokecherries with the rock.

Eugene: Where are those rocks?

Kunsi Marina: They were big as this, and they got kind of a little cup in the middle, and they used to put them in there with the stone and crush them.

Eugene: Remember your mom and *kunsi*?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah, yeah, make them into little patties, dry them out, and then they put them in a bag, in flour bag, and hang them up, and they used them as, through the winter, if they needed them, so that's wild onions, rutabagas.

Eugene: Turnip? *Tipsina*? Turnips?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah, *tipsina*, they used to pick those, and they dried them all up, and hang them up, and a lot of sweetgrass [speaking Dakota].

Eugene: [translated] Bitter root.

Kunsi Marina talks about manually crushing *chanpa* with a stone bowl and stone grinder. There is little, if any, existing knowledge of grinding these berries through a crushing machine because the *chanpa* seeds tend to plug the machine. Even today, the crushing of *chanpa* is done manually. The practice of grinding requires patience and careful skill because the task is physically challenging and time consuming. The ceremonial use of these *chanpa* will be further discussed in this thesis.

Further, environmental change has occurred in some communities that has caused changes to the availability of berries, as *kunsi* Jean shares,

Eugene: The changes, the changes that you see, about all the changes?

Kunsi Jean: All the changes, well, what I remember, when I was growing up, oh,

nice fresh air. Talking about fresh air, we had it, but now, it's totally different. Just like this morning, there is a plane going, just back and forth here. I think they are spraying something. You can smell it. It just came. I was standing there outside, watching the plane, and that's not good. It kills the fruits too and damages the fruits. That's not good. Shouldn't allow that plane to come further down this way to the reserve, but he always does that. I told that to the chief once and he said, yeah, we are going to look into it. They never did. So, long time ago, it was good. Everything was good. There's no bad, how do you say, air, now totally different, but now it's terrible. To look at all the different flies and insects, now that we have to. Oh, those little black flies that go out in the evening, oh just terrible, you get so itchy. I was sitting here like a monkey when I came in, just scratching.

Eugene: You don't remember that long ago?

Kunsi Jean: No, there was no black flies. There was nothing, but now, maybe because of the water, so much water. There is mosquitos back in years, but not as much as what we have now.

Eugene: How about flies because mom was saying [speaking Dakota]?

Kunsi Jean: Oh, there isn't. Now, there is a lot of flies. Now, everything is getting different, and also, you know, when was this, a couple of days ago, last week, the sunset, the sun was coming up and you know, I seen a rainbow over there. That's weird. You never see a rainbow over there with the sunset, and it's clear, there is nothing. Why's that? [referring to after it rains, there is usually a rainbow, but there was no rain, just the sun setting with a rainbow on a clear day]

Eugene: Those are the changes?

Kunsi Jean: Yeah, those are the changes, must be a sign of something, I was thinking, Laura said she seen that too.

Eugene: Do you know how to say rainbow in Dakota?

Kunsi Jean: [speaking Dakota] That's a rainbow.

Eugene: So, those are some of the changes?

Kunsi Jean: Yeah, those are some of the changes. Oh, there is a lot of changes that's happening now.

Further, the nutrient value of these fruits has changed also. The texture and flavour was

noticed by *kunsi Jean*, from *Canupawakpa*. She shares her knowledge;

Eugene: The fruits or the food? [referring to the nutrient value of fruits]

Kunsi Jean: Oh why, because you are always giving them needles, that's why the meat is not good anymore, and he said, I'm not going to eat this and he pushed his dish, you spoiled my breakfast he said, but to be honest, I tasted the difference.

Eugene: From *ehanna* to now?

Kunsi Jean: Yeah, yeah, yeah, and also the fruits are like that.

Eugene: The fruits or the food?

Kunsi Jean: The fruits, a long time ago, nice and juicy, compared to today, some of them don't even taste like fruit, not anymore, yeah, that's what I was telling everybody, the one that just here, left. So I really don't know, but I know all the,

everything about the beadwork, and the starquilt-making, and berry picking, and all those sort of thing, my mother does all that, my grandparents do that. So I've seen it all, but the thing is I never do it. I wish I know how to do, beadwork, but I don't. Maybe if it's little things that I do, but him [Eugene] he's great at making beadwork. I wish I could make beadwork like that.

Deborah: Me too.

Kunsi Jean: Yeah, but anyway, yeah, a long time ago, about this time of year, the summer like this, like in July, it's not July yet, but in July, the elders go out picking saskatoons, and they dry them. They don't freeze them like we do now, they just dry them.

Deborah: How do they dry them?

Kunsi Jean: They just put out, like make something like a tablecloth, and then they put them on there. Dump them on there, and then, you know, they clean whatever is on the berries, and they leave them there until they are dry. They are just like rocks. You know when they are dry. But in the wintertime, they cook them. Oh it's nice, when they make, what do you call it? Saskatoon desert. Same with the plums, they do that with the plums, and September too, they go out picking, and that's how they do that, they dry them, take all the seeds out and then they dry them, and that too, they cook them in wintertime. They say when its really storming or something like that, the weather is bad, who cares about the weather, we have lots of food, I'm gonna cook some plum desert, and that is when they cook these [laughter] Yes, it was good, back in those days, but now, I wonder if anybody does that now. I don't think so, and also, I don't think they dry saskatoons anymore. I don't think anybody does those things anymore, now, but the young generations, the elders, I don't know about the elders, if they still do that, and then in the fall, they go out hunting, in October, they go out hunting, away, hunter out on the sand hills, the man, well they all go as a family. They camp and they hunt. The man will kill whatever wild, like say jumpers, or moose, or whatever, elk, and they skinning it, and then the women have to make dry meat, that's hard work, dry meat, doing that. Then have to leave it there for four days before the meat can dry, and then they bring them home for the winter. They share with the families, yeah, that's what they do. Am I making sense?

[laughter]

Deborah: Yeah.

Eugene: Yeah.

Kunsi Jean: But anyway, as far as I remember, those things, and I used to say those good old days, they are gone now. I don't see anybody will ever do those things.

The traditional practices and knowledge that are shared may become important and necessary as changes in the natural environmental decline. The practice of drying meat and berries is seldom done this century but the relearning of these practices could be beneficial as a food supplement.

Furthermore, there are women today who have chosen to make berry picking an economic supplement for family incomes. In Whitebear, Saskatchewan, *wipazoka* and *chanpa* are picked by a small group of women from this community. The price for a four litre bucket of *wipazoka* and *chanpa* ranges from five to ten dollars. However, in the late twentieth century to early twenty-first century, these economic practices have become almost non-existent. It was unclear why these practices slowed but the afterthought would be the convenience of grocery store food and decreased availability of the berries.

The ceremonial cooking of *chanpa* and *wipazoka* is the responsibility of women. To be selected for this responsibility is an honor because it is *kunsi* cooking knowledge from long ago. As more burials and ceremonies are returning to Dakota tradition, these specific berries are needed as part of the last meal for the spirit of the deceased. They are cooked as part of sacred feasts which have increased over the last century.

Women's responsibilities that existed in the last few centuries and continue today may include; basket-making, quillwork, sewing *hambikceckas*, traditional clothing, *wicanhpi sina okipatas* and *sina okipatas*. Many women were making baskets right up to the middle of the twentieth century. There are very few baskets remaining in the possession of Dakota families, as most were sold to local farmers and urban collectors, due to financial hardship. Eugene is still attempting to relocate these baskets. At the time of this thesis, *unkan* Eugene has been successful in learning how to make these baskets.

Women also had a special responsibility in *hambikcecka* making. Historical research from the Minnesota Historical Society and DeMallie (2001) document the different patterns and styles various groups of Dakota people used before contact and during contact. This thesis will not verify or re-examine this previously documented

knowledge. Rather, the significance of this female responsibility will be further discussed.

The making of the baby's first *hambikceckas* normally went to the family's *kunsi*. It is an honor to be able to make these little *hambikceckas*, the very first shoes that they will put on their feet. This special request by young mothers continues. Many grandmothers in many households still continue to hand sew these *hambikceckas* for many children, many grandchildren, and many great grandchildren. *Kunsi 2B* showed the research team her tiny newborn *hambikceckas* that she hand made for her son and her grandchildren. They were beautifully decorated with beadwork. However, in in this century, new interest to learn to sew *hambikceckas* has increased. It is a shared interest with both men and women. There is no defining cultural law which determines gender responsibility in this area. Today, both genders are taught how to sew *hambikceckas*.

Further, certain types of *hambikceckas* were made for sacred purposes. These included fully beaded *hambikceckas*, which had fully beaded soles. The counter-narrative for these *hambikceckas* is explained by Ross: "These moccasins were made only for the deceased or for the very sacred person, one who does not walk much. Not everyone wore these types of moccasins. In most instances and even today, these types were normally for the deceased. I just finished a pair for someone in Saskatchewan. They are still asking." (auto-ethnography) These sacred *hambikceckas* were sewn during the pre-contact era and are still being made today.

However, there is an ongoing concern of the repatriation of beadwork that was sold, buried, or traded to *wasicu* farmers and *wasicu* collectors. In the early twentieth century, our ancestors suffered great hardship and were forced to sell some of their

beadwork, amongst other things. In one instance, there are fully beaded *hambikceckas* being sold by a farmer, however, the asking price is too high to be considered. How farmers came into possession of these fully beaded *hambikceckas* is an untold story. However, this same farm has a Dakota burial site on his property. Ultimately, the honorable repatriation is to return the *hambikceckas* to the people. However, this repatriation has not happened at the time of writing this thesis. (Ross: auto-ethnography)

Sewing clothing was also a special responsibility of women. The sewing of traditional clothing changed from everyday sewing to sewing clothing for traditional gatherings. The turn of the twentieth century brought many changes. Leather was replaced with cloth but the artful skill of creation rested with the women. Beautiful sewn ribbon shirts and dresses replaced many leather outfits. Beautiful traditional clothing including; *hambikceckas*, wrap-arounds, and skirts were reserved for ceremonial, traditional, and powwow gatherings. *Kunsi* Jean shares;

Eugene: So how about traditional clothing? The female responsibility for traditional clothing? Moccasins?

Kunsi Jean: I'm not answering. Eugene will answer. [laughter because Eugene is well known in all Dakota communities for his special gift in sewing, beading, moccasin making, etc]

Eugene: So, did you sew? Did your mom wear moccasins?

Kunsi Jean: Oh, yeah, they make their own moccasins, make the old moccasins, they make it for the man too, when they go out hunting, they make them, long ones, up to below the knee, so this way, when the snow won't get into their feet.

Eugene: Did she make ribbon shirts for your dad?

Kunsi Jean; Not that I know of, no, I know, but they make them, I don't know who they make them for. My mother used to make nice fully beaded vests for my brother.

Eugene: Quillwork? Quillwork?

Kunsi Jean: Yeah, quillwork on the moccasins too.

Eugene: Does anybody have any of her quillwork? Do you see it?

Kunsi Jean: Oh no, I have no idea, There's one in Reston, but I don't know. I hardly never go there. I don't know what's there. I'm going to go over there this afternoon. I'm going to go check it out.

Deborah: Like a museum?

Kunsi Jean: Yeah, in Reston, like a park.

Kunsi Marina also shares her knowledge about the socialization that was involved in doing quillwork, beadwork, and sewing blankets. Further, because the middle of the twentieth century was a financially difficult time, the practice of dying material was once done. The struggle for most of the *Kunsis* from these communities is the disconnection that resulted from the being removed to residential school. Because most girls were removed from their families at a very young age, the cultural continuation of these skills was temporarily interrupted. However, all the grandmothers interviewed remembered their female members of the communities working together to sew, bead, and do quillwork. *Kunsi* Marina shares;

Eugene: Who used to [speaking Dakota washoo] quillwork?

Kunsi Marina: All the old ladies used to get together and do that.

Eugene: Do you remember that? Beading? Quillwork?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah, they used to, and they used to use the, that porcupine.

Eugene: Did you see anybody do that?

Kunsi Marina: Grandma used to do that.

Eugene: She used to do quillwork?

Deborah: Do you still do it?

Kunsi Marina: No, no.

Eugene: Crazy Quilts?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah, crazy quilts, mom used to make lots too.

Eugene: Did she? Did you help her as a little girl, make them, cut the things?

Deborah: Starblankets?

Kunsi Marina: My mom, but we never helped.

Eugene: No?

Kunsi Marina: Like the starblankets.

Eugene: Moccasins?

Kunsi Marina: *Kunsi* [speaking Dakota]

Eugene: She made lots of moccasins?

Eugene: Ribbon shirts? Ribbon dresses?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah, when sometimes, when they, if they can't find the material they used flour, bleached the flour bags and they used them.

Eugene: For dresses, shirts?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah, shirts.

Deborah: Oh and they went white?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah, sometimes they put berries in, to make it color. I don't know

what kind of berries, maybe cranberries and stuff like that.

Personal knowledge about traditional dress, involved the wearing of long sleeved shirts and long skirts, which covered the whole body; from the ankle and wrists up to the neck. This type of dress can be compared to that of the female colonial dress style. Some acculturated women may have adopted this colonial dress style. However, Dakota women had specific reason for this dress style that is not always shared information. Ross explains that, “Women dressed this way, long sleeves and long dresses to cover up their bodies, so *wasicu* men would not look at them.” (auto-ethnography)

Wicanhpi Sina Okipata (Star Quilts)

Women responsibilities and self-interest also involve sewing *wicanhpi sina okipatas* or *sina okipatas*. These sewing projects cross cultural boundaries from the communities in the United States and up through the communities in Canada. Many published sources, including for example, in Sneve and DeMallie, show beautiful pictures of *wicanhpi sina okipatas*. However, the real honor is receiving a quilt that is hand-stitched. The historical origin of the honorable *wicanhpi sina okipata* is a counter-narrative, told to Sneve, shared to her by *kunsi* Flora (1968),

She used her cardboard diamond template painstakingly to cut the hundreds of pieces needed for the quilt. Her design was the traditional “Sioux star,” one large, eight-pointed star pieced together from the multicolored diamonds to a white background. She was patient in her work. The diamond pieces, cut on the bias, had to be individually stitched together in the right way so that the star would not be crooked. She scornfully told of women who hurried their quilts so that the tops bunched and would never lay flat. You learn to sew so that you can make quilts for your grandchildren. (pp.110-113)

Further, the personal pattern that is crafted through each *wicanhpi sina okipata* is significantly special. In just about every Dakota family there is a woman who is honored for her beautifully crafted star blanket. Each blanket is different even though the design is

similar to every other, just as each woman has her own family history, her own quest. Quilting therefore, encouraged each woman to search out and take pride in the pattern of her heritage. Starblankets have a resemblance to the traditional geometric quill design of the morning star, a symbol of a new day and new life. (Sneve, 1995, pp.xvi-66) *Kunsi* 1AA shares her story of learning how to sew a *wicanhpi sina okipata*. However, not all families were taught from mothers or grandmothers, as previously mentioned;

Eugene: Traditional clothing?

Kunsi 1AA: I learned to make starquilts when I was working as a CHR [community health representative] representative, during my time I'll watch, I'll make some home visits and some people making starquilts. That's how I learned, to watch when they make them and I did it myself. I got home and I started to cut some material to make starquilts. The first one I made became a Mexican hat. The centre you have to pull tight.

Deborah: That's how mine is.

Kunsi 1AA: I always laugh at that. When I tell it, it depends on how you sew the centre. When you think you are doing it right, after it's completed, it's a different thing. Anyway, I learned how to get it together, ever since then, I've been making starquilts, I must have made over eight hundred. Today, I can have make an eagle in the centre, I can make a medicine wheel in the centre, and today, I can make satin ones, satin starquilts, and when my granddaughter became a chief, I made a warbonnet because women don't wear warbonnets. I made on her, a shawl. I made a warbonnet because she's a woman, women don't wear head dresses. So, I made that head dress shawl. She can wear it over her shoulder and she still has that.

There has been past research documenting how *wicanhpi sina okipata* have become a commodity. However, none of the grandmothers that were interviewed participated in this commodity exchange. This does not mean it did not happen long ago or does not exist today. Rather, most *wicanhpi sina okipata* have been gifted or sold to be gifted. The personal request can be for certain patterns and certain colour arrangements. Medicine (2001) shares her understanding,

Female quilting groups formed and continued in the pattern of the older traditional porcupine quillwork societies, and involvement in these societies fostered recognition of women's contributions to their community. Women's

groups also were fostered by missionaries to promote industriousness. To excel at quilting became a matter of status for many Lakota women [...] quilts began to function as both commodity and ceremonial object (Albers and Medicine 1983) but the dispersal of these quilts seems less important than their economic and ritual roles in contemporary Lakota Sioux life. Seldom is a star quilt used as an ordinary bed covering in homes, rather, star quilts are used in ways that distinguish their meaning and role within a community [...] worn by healers in ceremony, and honorable gifts in ceremonies and give-aways [...] most importantly star quilts have long been a critical element in the life-cycle events, from birth to death. Miniature star quilts often are made or obtained by members of a tiospaye for a newborn child. Because cradleboards are not functional in contemporary times, a gift of a starquilt to a child is purely honorific, serving to recognize the child's entrance into the family. (pp.168)

The common misunderstanding regarding the accumulation of *wicanhpi sina okipatas* and *sina okipatas* as a form of commodity, could not be further from the truth. *Kunsi* Deborah shares,

Never once did I ever see a starblanket on *kunsi*'s bed or on her couch. After *kunsi* [Marjorie's] passing, we found a generous amount of starblankets and crazy quilts in her basement closet and bedroom closet. Apparently, she had informed another *kunsi*, that they be used for her burial and giveaway ceremony. Because of the high respect her daughters and granddaughters had for *kunsi* no one ever went into her closet or bedroom unless she made this request. We did not even go into her basement unless she asked us to get her something from there. Thereby, her generous collection of *wicanhpi sina okipatas* and *sina okipatas* was unknown until her passing. Furthermore, she instructed four starblankets to go to her four living daughters and four ribbon shirts to go to her four living sons, in a private gifting ceremony. *Kunsi* Marjorie's surviving daughters and granddaughters continue to honor starblankets. One of her older great granddaughters has picked up the gift of sewing beautiful starblankets and continues to share her skills in community sewing circles. (auto-ethnography)

Another gift that has become honorable to receive is a *sina okipata* made from a *kunsi*. This is a multicoloured sequence of squares sewn into a huge quilt. During the twentieth century, when material was scarce and poverty was at its highest, crazy quilts were the commodity of exchange for both monetary reasons and gift giving. Traditionally, crazy quilts are also used in the initiation of female dancers into the circle. They are then gifted to other grandmothers who are close to the family. Consequently, these *sina okipatas* are

becoming souvenirs, due to the increased loss of grandmothers, in the last century. The receiving of one of these *sina okipatas* at a powwow or giveaway ceremony has become a very honorable and special gift. There are women in all four communities who continue to sew these quilts.

Another important narrative to re-examine are war stories, which involve the wearing of warbonnets and how the war stories are related to *kunsi* stories. Long ago, war bonnets or head dresses, were strictly reserved for the warrior. Further, war bonnet stories are immersed in stories of war, some of which are shared by Eastman, Wilson, and Taylor (1974),

Sometimes a man wears an eagle feather dyed or trimmed, meaning that he was wounded at the time he counted the coup. An eagle feather notched and the cut dyed red, means that the wearer counted the coup and took the scalp also, but was wounded while doing so. He may have the feather cut at the tip, showing that he killed his foe and counted the coup on the same enemy. If he fought a desperate battle with the odds against him, in which he came off the victor, he may tip his eagle feather with buffalo hair; and if he counted coup in a charge on horseback in the face of imminent danger, he may tip it with hair from a horse's hair [...] when killing is involved, glory for glory's sake should not be sought [...] *unkan, he ecan wanna tawicin tuwe tid wicaktepa wiyaka keya aopazo unpte, wakantuya eciadaptawacin [...] wakantuya wica wacinwicakiyuzapi cinpi hena takuda ed unpn sni*. And so already in their minds [before], were thoughts of those they killed and that they would wear some feathers, thinking highly of themselves were their thoughts [... now,] that they would want them to think highly of them was not even in their minds. (pp.191-203)

This honored position had become romanticized during the twentieth century when pictures and movies showcase women wearing eagle feather war bonnets in select poses. There are a few pictures in Laviolette (1944) depicting women wearing war bonnets. The grandmothers are unclear why or how this may have happened. A few theories are; the missionary wanted to take a picture of the *kunsi* with the war bonnets on and thereby made that request to them, or there was an exchange of gifts for the pictures, or the *kunsi*

wearing the war bonnets were wearing their (late) husband's war bonnet. Either way, pictures exist of women wearing war bonnets, taken in the early twentieth century. It is unclear to the grandmothers, who were interviewed, how these romanticized versions developed. It is clear to the grandmothers, that war bonnets were strictly worn by male warriors. *Kunsi Marina* shares her story of her grandfather's war bonnet;

Eugene: Did he have a [speaking Dakota] he had a headdress?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah, he had one but I don't know what happened to that, but he never wore it, because they are supposed to wear it on a special, special days.

Eugene: So, he never wore it?

Kunsi Marina: No, he never wore it, when he said there is no more war, war bonnet, he called them, there's no more war, he packed it, it's not for, like nowadays, the chiefs have theirs, but it's for something else, it's not for.

Eugene: How about Dakota *winyan*? Did you ever hear about them wearing the headdress?

Kunsi Marina: No.

Eugene: If Dakota woman can wear one? Yes or no?

Kunsi Marina: They shouldn't wear one.

Eugene: They shouldn't wear one. We just had a big meeting.

Deborah: Some want to wear one?

Eugene: Can you? Can't you?

Kunsi Marina: No, you can't. It's made for the men, on the war bonnet, that's what they called them, war bonnets. So when the war is over, they put, they packed all those away.

Economic change is important in the re-examination of the distribution of labour.

The adaptation and evolution to changes in economic practices existed during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Most men adapted to change in economic responsibilities from hunting to farming. When crops failed and imposed Indian Act policies were enforced, some members turned toward education and casual labour to improve economic status. Women also adapted to change in economic stability. However, considerable change exists in the modernization to the distribution of labour among family members. Men will often do domestic work and women will be the wage workers. The distribution of labour according to necessity now exists within

communities.

Grandmothers have watched the evolution of economic stability change the status of women and men. They have expressed the concern that this change in economic responsibility could greatly affect a man's position within the family unit and within their community. Warriors were once the alpha hunters and left historical footprints as great warriors, skilled hunters and providers. Throughout the twentieth century, men continued to adapt to change; most turned to agriculture and continued to hunt, fish, and trap. Women, at this time, continued to support the family through tanning, gathering, gardening, and cooking, to name a few. In the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries, education and politics have become both male and female personal agendas. Increasing masses of the population have migrated to cities to benefit their employment status and educational opportunities. Grandmothers have watched this change. As the new century approaches, the adaptation and outcomes of these economic changes, as they pertain to female missions and male status, will ultimately tell a new story in projections of the future.

Chapter 7 Spiritual Responsibilities of Women

Women continue to honour cultural responsibilities and practices in areas which include; ceremonies, sacred items, and *wokiksuye k'a woyuonihan* (remembering and honoring). These practices continue and are the cornerstone to Dakota beliefs and culture. Taylor (2005) calls this, *Heced wicaundapi*. (pp.59) Acculturation and cultural imperialism imposed by the colonial masters almost lead to genocide of the people. Had spiritually rich Dakota ancestors not continued to practice ceremonies, this generation could have become spiritually and culturally bankrupt. The protection of spiritual knowledge was the request from *kunsi* Margaret and this request will be upheld. Dakota people call this *Ominiciyapi*, which is translated, *protecting spiritual ceremonies*. (Taylor, 2005, pp.59) Protecting sacred and spiritual personal knowledge will continue in part through this thesis.

The first discussion relating to spirituality is the *heyoka* person. Stories relating to the *heyoke* person describe these people as very sacred, very gifted, and very spiritual people. Although stories have surfaced that refers to the *heyoka* people as clowns who did things backwards, they also had very powerful medicine and were considered very powerful healers. Howard (1984) shares this narrative, "Later I visited with a man Mr Goodwill had indicated to be a *Heyoka*. He accurately described the costume and behaviour of a Clown but would not admit to being a member [...] The *Heyok'a Kaga* could make it rain." (pp.173) Another story from Buffalo, of Round Plain, (1972) commented that "The Charging of the Kettle feature of the Grass Dance is sometimes called *Heyok'a Woskate* 'playing Heyoka', because the clowns used to dip their bare arms into the scalding water to recover the beef heart or dog's head." (pp.173) A third story from Eastman, from Oak Lake, (1972) remembered that, "A *Heyoka* wearing a ragged costume and a bladder mask used to appear at Grass Dances on that reserve. He carries a crooked bow and arrow and would dance between the beats of the song, not in

time with them.” (pp.173) It is important to share these stories because historical misinterpretations could position the *heyoka* as a *clown* in the Webster definition of the dictionary. Further, Taylor (2005) shares, “The *heyoka* is a contrary in Dakota culture, a bit of a clown, someone who does things backward, compared to what most of the people do. For example, in winter he might dress lightly and in summer he might dress warmly. There are those individuals in every culture who are inclined to be in opposition to the *norms* and who go against what the rest of society is doing. That behavior is expected of a *heyoka*, and they have a revered status within Dakota culture.” (pp.212) Further, the *heyoka* is a contrary, spiritually gifted to heal, and gives Dakota names. Taylor further shares that, “The last one was *Wan Duta eciyapi*.” (pp.213) Martha Tawiyaka, (1972) who is both the wife and daughter to the *Heyoka* people, shares this story,

I used to be a great dancer, too, before my husband died. I had good medicine, too. But when I joined the Evangelical Church I dug a big hole and buried all my medicine [...] My husband was an Indian doctor. He blew on people [to cure them]. I was a midwife and I made good medicine [...] One year at a Regina Fair I saw the *Heyoka* [Thunder Dreamers]. They embarrassed me by calling me “Mother.” My maternal grandfather used to be a *Heyoka*. He had a medicine they used to prevent being burned or scalded. They used to punish people at dances by making them dip into a boiling kettle to get meat. He could do this without getting scalded. He gave this medicine to my uncle and he did the same thing. My late husband was a Thunder dreamer. He used to fill a pipe before a storm and ask the Thunder to come quietly. He also smudged with sweetgrass for the same purpose. Sometimes, he would cry [to make himself pitiful in the eyes of the Thunderbirds]. Before a fierce storm the Thunders would shout “Wuwoo!” to let him know lightening was going to strike... We used to use buffalo ribs as knives and we had wooden plates and spoons. (pp.48)

Further, *kunsi* 1AA shares her story about the ceremony where the *heyoka* and the puppy are involved;

Eugene: Sun dances, vision quests? Feasts?

Kunsi 1AA: My dad was part of that.

Eugene: [speaking Dakota] ceremonial bowls? Did women have?

Kunsi 1AA: That’s how you say it, ceremonial bowls. My dad was part of that. It

was a man that bowl belongs to and they cooked the puppy. Even when it is cooking in the pot, a cast iron pot, they cook the puppy. [*heyokas*] Indian clown is part of this ceremony. They just put their hand while it is boiling and pull the head out and put it in the wooden bowl.

Eugene: Did you know that?

Deborah: Yeah...I heard about it.

Kunsi 1AA: And they have a spoon, a wooden spoon.

Eugene: Or else a buffalo horn?

Kunsi 1AA: Uh huh, a wooden spoon, all beaded.

Deborah: Do these exist somewhere?

Eugene: I made two for Saskatchewan.

Kunsi 1AA: Nothing around here, I don't know who would have it.

Eugene: Hector has those.

Deborah: Who did the beadwork?

Kunsi 1AA: Probably one of the men's, their wife, yeah, medicine society, with that spoon, dance around, go towards that bowl but they don't pick it up, they just go like this, and the go around.

Deborah: Do you know if that went away?

Kunsi 1AA: No, that went out quite a while ago.

Deborah: Do you know why it went out?

Kunsi 1AA: The people that ran them passed away.

Deborah: Do you think that will come back?

Kunsi 1AA: No, I don't think so, there is special songs for what they do.

Deborah: And no one knows those songs anymore?

Kunsi 1AA: Nobody knows those songs.

Deborah: Not in the states? Nobody?

Kunsi 1AA: Most of the elders are gone.

Eugene: Who's the last one?

Kunsi 1AA: The last one was dad, five years.

Eugene: Omaha Society?

Kunsi 1AA: I never heard of anything else, where they bring those bowls and songs.

Deborah: And it was the men who knew the songs?

Kunsi 1AA: Uh huh, the men, it was just a Men's Society.

The cultural position of all *heyokas* was spiritual power. Both scholarly research and interviews from grandmothers and grandfathers strongly suggest that they no longer exist. However, at the *Wipazoka Wakpa* powwow in 2012 there was a *heyoka* dance special. Perhaps with the increased interest in spirituality and ceremonies, the position of the *heyoka* person will return to their rightful place, for the spiritual health and protection of future generations.

In this context it is important to consider female healers. Memory reflection tells of healing ceremonies that survived even with the suppression of ceremonies during the twentieth century. Female healers still practiced healing ceremonies, knowing the danger of imprisonment or fine could result if they were caught. Ceremonial sundances, healing ceremonies, vision quests, *inipis*, and giveaways, in the twentieth century were still practiced. Tawiyaka shares these healing stories, except the spiritual and cultural knowledge has been interpreted in *wasicu* narrative. It would be interesting to review Howard's original manuscript for a re-examination of these stories as they were originally shared. However, ceremonies simply went "underground," and were secretly practiced far in the bush or in a secluded area in the communities.

Knowledge within *kunsi* Marjorie's family involves the diagnosis of the disease of diabetes in the middle of the twentieth century. *Kunsi* Deborah shares, "When *kunsi* was a young woman, she traveled by horse and wagon to see a healer close to *Canupawakpa*. She lived on the edge of the reserve. She was a real old lady that everyone went to. She had medicine that she gave *kunsi* and *kunsi* drank this medicine for four days. Throughout her life, she never suffered from the ailments of diabetes. *Kunsi* Marjorie lived to be 89 years old. When she passed her diagnoses was not from diabetes complications." (auto-ethnography) *Kunsi* Jean and *kunsi* 1AA also share their knowledge about female healers. They were practicing healing ceremonies up to the late nineteenth hundreds. This was the last female healer that was in *Wipazoka Wakpa*;

Eugene: [speaking Dakota] How about [speaking Dakota] medicine woman?
Have you ever heard about?

Kunsi Jean: Yeah, I know these [speaking Dakota] from Sioux Valley.

Eugene: What's her name? Do you remember? [speaking Dakota]

Eugene: She was a medicine woman?

Kunsi Jean: Yeah, and my mom and dad used to use her, need her. I remember I

got so sick. We were camping out, and the sand hills, because my dad was helping this farmer, cutting hay. All of a sudden I got sick. I got so sick. I couldn't even get up, so that woman, they went and got that woman by wagon. They brought her back and she doctored me and she said that something to do with a long time ago.

Eugene: Do you remember how old you were?

Kunsi Jean: I must have been about 12 years old.

Eugene: Twelve years old?

Kunsi Jean: Yeah, I remember that day. I didn't know that these things can happen [speaking Dakota] and a long time ago, [speaking Dakota *wapiyas*] used to say, ok I'm going to [speaking Dakota].

Eugene: [speaking Dakota] And they will blast it right out of you.

Kunsi Jean: They do that, yeah, and I was ok after that. I was well again.

Eugene: How about your mom and *kunsi*?

Kunsi 1AA: When *kunsi* was old, she didn't do very much. Mom, my mother-in-law, took me to a medicine woman. She took me to that medicine woman because [speaking Dakota] not supposed to touch them, do anything with them.

Eugene: It came upon you, it came upon you.

Kunsi 1AA: My mother-in-law took me to a medicine woman because of a gopher. I didn't know anything about gophers but my sister-in-law caught a gopher, and I'm not supposed to do anything with gopher, touch it or nothing, but she bought it into my house and it affected me. It affected me and it, she took me to a medicine woman and she prayed. She prayed for me to take whatever happened that I'm not supposed to be near gophers or anything, and this thing, this was the doing of my uncle way back, way back, [speaking Dakota]. A plague upon her from way back, generations back [speaking Dakota]. A plague came upon me, that whatever he did to that gopher came to me. That's how it affected me. My whole throat was swollen. My neck was swollen. I couldn't swallow. I was choking, so she took that away.

Deborah: Do you remember what her name was?

Eugene: *Wakpe Waminay*. I think she was the last medicine woman here.

Deborah: Here in Sioux Valley?

Kunsi 1AA: Harriet Akisha is her English name.

Further, *Kunsi* Jean shares her story about a female sundance chief;

Eugene: [speaking Dakota]

Kunsi Jean: [speaking Dakota] Sundance, they just had one here.

Eugene: Did you remember?

Kunsi Jean: No, I don't, don't even know anything about the sundance, not until this lady came from back home, back over here, her name is Mrs Sinclair. Well, she's got a son that's living here with a woman and she came down and she said she's going to have a sundance and they made a [...]

Eugene: [speaking Dakota]

Kunsi Jean: Over here now, where Mrs [xxx] used to live there.

Eugene: There?

Kunsi Jean: Yeah, so people know to cloth over there. So people went and took cloth over there and hang them. It was a blue sky, not even a cloud, not even, in the sky, and she said, after I finish this song, after the dance, she said it's going to pour. She was telling everybody sitting there. It was very hot, and here, after she finished her song and whatever, oh it was just pouring. I couldn't believe it, and look, no clouds, and it just stopped again.

Eugene: That's what she did?

Kunsi Jean: Yeah, and that's what she told the people here.

Kunsi 1AA shares her knowledge concerning dishonest medicine people, elders, or helpers and the importance of being careful around medicine people when seeking out spiritual guidance and knowledge;

Deborah: Is there any medicine men here [*Wipazoka Wakpa*]?

Kunsi 1AA: I don't know, it's pretty hard to say, sometimes, I don't know, I can't say.

Deborah: Medicine women?

Kunsi 1AA: No, I don't think so, there's a lot of wannabes, when I look around, a lot of wannabes.

Eugene: Go on.

Kunsi 1AA: According to my way of looking at it, it's what's within you. You learn from what's within you, but watch yourself. Watch what they are doing. Be careful of who you might come across. It's really up to you. How you feel, in your mind, look, be careful, you could be led in a wrong way, or you could hurt somebody. Those are the things I watch for. That's why I say I don't know, because I don't know who they really are, what they really do, how they were raised, what did they learn, you know, all these things, it's up to you to be careful, of who you get in contact with, but you always have to be careful. If you want to pray on your own, we have Creator, pray on your own. That's where I learned to pray and it always comes from the heart, and you're always sincere with what you say. That's the way I interpret that.

Further, it is shared traditional knowledge among the grandmothers and grandfathers that the most powerful of the healers are passed on. *Unkan* Hector explains,

Those old ladies don't exist anymore they are all gone, the last one from here passed away, she was our last one around here. The old men, they were powerful. There were no missing people then, but today, if they are medicine men they should know where to find them, they don't know, they aren't powerful like long ago, long ago they had real power. This one, this old man, he knew when you were coming to see him. His water, you know, in the cup, the water there, would swirl when he was to have a visitor. He knew. (auto-ethnography)

Further, *Kunsi Marina* shares her knowledge of a female medicine healer, her *kunsi* and her mother. It was practiced right up the end of the nineteenth century;

Eugene: Did you go with her? Do you remember any of those things?

Eugene: Did [speaking Dakota]

Kunsi Marina: She just gathered the medicine, she knew which ones, I thought she did, she had all kinds.

Eugene: A little bit? She must have known [speaking Dakota].

Kunsi Marina: [speaking Dakota] Always wish I had of known, things along the road, I always remember those, kind of prickly, she used to boil the roots for her, she had one eye, and it wasn't good.

Eugene: So she did that [speaking Dakota]?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah, I remember that, those big leaves, and those big leaves, and where it's wet, and I used to pick them and dry them and when, if, you cut yourself, you put those things on.

Eugene: Washtay, like a waterlily?

Kunsi Marina: She used to have lots of those too. I remember Uncle George, he would bring cutting wood and he cut his foot, his toes off, and she put that stuff on it, and wrapped it up, with like, little bits of tobacco, and he had it on for two weeks and his, all, it healed.

Eugene: [speaking Dakota]

Kunsi Marina: Yeah, just a wee little scar.

Deborah: Oh

Eugene: That must have been good stuff.

Consequently, the most powerful and the most gifted of the spiritual healers has since passed away. Further, the practice of acculturation exists today for many communities. Some of these people do not believe in the spiritual practices of the ceremonies. In the twentieth century, when migration to urban centres took place and religious conversion was at its highest, some people, especially young women became disconnected from their grandmothers, families, ceremonies, cultural beliefs, and spiritual knowledge. Perhaps, the next century will reconnect those people back their heritage.

Another important spiritual narrative is the *canuhupa*. To the Dakota people, the *canuhupa* is considered one of the most sacred items that men smoke to connect with *Wakantakan* to pray for the people. Men are very disciplined in areas of self-control,

abstinence, traditional knowledge, and spiritual guidance before they are honored with this responsibility. Not anyone was chosen to be a *canuhupa* carrier. Because, long ago, women did not touch the man's *canuhupa*, there is growing concern in the communities that some young women have become *canuhupa* carriers. When a person has reached the *kunsi* stage in their life cycle that is when she can smoke a *canuhupa*. *Kunsi* Marina shares her story about women and the *canuhupa*;

Eugene: Did you smoke a pipe when you were a little girl?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah, just when they let you touch the pipe.

Eugene: As a little kid?

Kunsi Marina: As a little kid, they put the pipe on my head.

Eugene: They did that to you? But you didn't smoke it?

Kunsi Marina: No.

Eugene: You should put that down [speaking Dakota].

Kunsi Marina: That's when you're old, and when finish your times, that's when you are supposed to have a pipe and that [speaking Dakota].

Eugene: When you become a [speaking Dakota]? What did you know about that?

Kunsi Marina: [speaking Dakota] You can't. They used to put you in by yourself, someplace, [speaking Dakota] Then you don't go walking around, where, you know, wheres there little kids or [speaking Dakota] You can't step over your clothes or anything like that.

Eugene: [speaking Dakota]

Kunsi Marina: You respect Mother, Mother Earth, that's your, that's how you're respecting, respect your stuff, and when you go to ceremonies and stuff, they don't, you don't go near them, stuff like that, that's your refreshing, your ground [speaking Dakota].

The *canuhupa* is for the men, however, as mentioned by *kunsi* Marina, when a woman has reached the life stage of *kunsi*, she can smoke and become a female *canuhupa* carrier.

The knowledge for the female family *canuhupa* is shared by *kunsi* Deborah,

Kunsi Marjorie was a female *canuhupa* carrier for the Bunn family. She carried this family *canuhupa* and kept it so sacred, the women of the family were not aware she had the *canuhupa*. If and when she smoked it, the young female family members were unaware. Upon her passing, this family *canuhupa* was passed to her oldest daughter, *kunsi* Alma. When *kunsi* Alma passed away, this *canuhupa* was passed to her oldest daughter, *kunsi* Sandra. However the stem of the *canuhupa* is buried with the passing of each female family member. (auto-ethnography)

A new *canuhupa* stem is made with each *canuhupa* carrier. *Wasteste* explains this knowledge, “This is how we do this, upon the passing of your mom, take the stem and bury it, and then when you are ready you can come see me or another *kunsi* and receive the teaching for her *canuhupa*, this is how we do this, the Dakota way.” (personal communication)

Cermonies such as the ghost dance, *wiwanyak wacipi*, giveaway, *Oyate Ceyapi Wopakinte*, *inipi*, to name a few, were strictly prohibited, according to the Indian Act in Canada. The following is an excerpt from a Colonial Report prepared by the Department of Indian Affairs for the purpose of an address in the Imperial House of Commons. It contains information relating to the restrictions imposed upon Dakota people, required for the preparation of a return to an address presented by the British House of Commons to her Majesty on May 11, 1899, “Indian dances, by section 114 of the Indian Act the celebration of certain festivals, dances, or ceremonies, where presents are made, or human or animal bodies are mutilated, is an indictable offense, punishable by imprisonment, not less than two months or not more than six months.” (Lavolette, 1991, pp.213) Further, revisions to the Indian Act in 1901 had made ceremonial dances and festivals illegal. According to Elias, (2006) the Department [Indian Affairs] had hired detectives to attend Brandon fair to “see that the law is obeyed and if violated, that the violaters be punished.” (pp.118) However, ceremonies continued and one century later, still continue. An example of this would be the Ghost Dance ceremony. Missionary Lavolette in 1991 made the assumption that this ceremony had completely stopped. In the community of *Canupawakpa*, this ceremony continues. *Kunsi* Jean shares her knowledge;

Eugene: Dancing? *Wacipi*? [speaking Dakota] Societies, did you see the buffalo dance? [speaking Dakota] War Dance? All those different dances? *Wahana*?

Kunsi Jean: Oh yeah, there's lots of different dances. That's what they do, a long time ago.

Eugene: Do you remember any? Ever heard of them?

Kunsi Jean: Oh yeah, heard of them but I've never been to those buffalo dances and ghost dances and all those.

Eugene: [speaking Dakota]?

Kunsi Jean: Yeah, yeah, I heard of that, I know. Had one recently, ghost dance, but they said a long time ago, they said, that's dangerous because so powerful, that you really have to handle it the right way. I said [speaking Dakota] got to be careful, I was saying, but nowadays, nobody doesn't hardly do that because all these, the old elders that used to do that are gone.

Another example is the *wiwanyak wacipi*. Past *wasicu* researchers like Meyer, DeMallie, Laviolette, and Howard provide a full description of the *wiwanyak wacipi*. The textual trail explains the ceremonial aspect of this ceremony. However, the writings are suspended in time, as “missionary language” which has textually and temporarily replaced spiritual and traditional knowledge. Further, Howard (1984) has stated, “The sundance, as of 1972, was no longer practiced by the Canadian Sioux as a tribal ceremony on any reserve.” (pp.139) However, this could be further from the truth. According to *unkan* Hector, “these ceremonies are practiced every year in every Dakota community in Canada and in the United States.” (auto-ethnography)

There are strict teachings from *kunsi* Jean, *kunsi* 1AA, *kunsi* 2B, who agree that this ceremony was practiced by the men. Dakota women very seldom participated or attended. Further, the spiritual involvement of this ceremony is considered protected, due to the “spiritual theft” that has occurred. These ceremonies were and are considered very sacred and very spiritual. Men had to earn honor and privilege to attend. Not anyone was allowed to attend, even as a visitor. These ceremonies were once tightly protected and the spiritual knowledge was protected ceremonial knowledge. Sadly, people have been

attending *wiwanyak wacipi* without earning this privilege. Discussions have started to return the Dakota *wiwanyak wacipi* into a protected ceremony.

Over the last century this ceremony continues to cross cultural boundaries. However, changes are occurring. Women as well as *wasicu* people are participating as sun dancers. *Kunsi* 2B shares;

Kunsi 2B: We just had a sundance last week.

Deborah: Is that your first sundance?

Kunsi 2B: No, one family had it, but over the years, sundance been going on over the years.

Eugene: Do you partake now?

Kunsi 2B: I help out.

Deborah: Do you cook?

Kunsi 2B: Yeah.

Deborah: When they have the giveaway, do you help?

Kunsi 2B: Yeah, one of my sons, so we had a giveaway.

Deborah: Do you see women dancing at the sundance?

Kunsi 2B: We even had a *wasicu* dancing in there, but that, I don't know if that changed now over the years.

Eugene: Those are the changes we are talking about.

Deborah: How do you feel about that?

Kunsi 2B: I don't think it was right, see a *wasicu* woman dancing and she was even what do you call it?

Eugene: Piercing?

Kunsi 2B: Piercing.

Some women might offer a flesh offering during this ceremony. There was no clear understanding if flesh offering pre-existed in sundances from long ago or if it is a practice that started in the past century. *Kunsi* Marina shares her story;

Deborah: Did you want to share anything else?

Eugene: How about [speaking Dakota] ?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah, since I was four [speaking Dakota]. I was cut off my traditional ways and stuff, Indian school take it away [speaking Dakota]. When I was supposed to, but I still respect our traditional ways. We go to sundances and that, and my boys take me too, and they pray for me at sundances, and they pierced them [speaking Dakota]. They shouldn't pierce but that can put.

Eugene: [speaking Dakota].

Kunsi Marina: Just that, for the woman, but they can't pierce, just the flesh offering, but my son he pierced every time we would have a sundance, go to the

sundance.

Sheila: He started when he was like little, 14 or 15, he started, like, he would go out and fast.

Kunsi Marina: [speaking Dakota] and go up in Bear Butte.

Sheila: They would put him out on the hill there, and he did that for four years, and then he start with the sundances, and he sundances just about every year, if not, he helps out.

Another ceremony that continues is the *inipi* ceremony. Among the changes that have been occurring over the last century, is the increased participation of women. Long ago, women never entered the *inipi* lodge. It was solely for the men for spiritual and physical healing purposes. *Kunsi 1AA* shares;

Eugene: *Inipi*? Sweat for women?

Kunsi 1AA: I went into a sweat long ago, that's when I left my husband. I went down to Minneapolis, went to a medicine man there, and he explained what the sweat is about. It's sort of purification for your body, your soul, your mind. What you say in the sweat is coming and you're sincere with it so you get the cleansing. You get that cleansing to purify yourself with the rocks. You pray with the rocks. You'll even see images in the rocks, as to what they are telling you, and the water you pour on the rocks is a symbol of purification because it hits the rocks. That's what you're getting, the sweat off the rock, but even that, you have to be careful as to who is doing the sweat. Do you know him well enough? Do you know? Always have to be careful, and be on the look out. That's the way I see things today, and you could be hurt by that, to be led in a different way. Get it?

Eugene: How about women going into sweats? Dakota *winyan* (female) going into sweats?

Kunsi 1AA: I never used to believe that woman should go into a sweat, I only went into that sweat because a medicine man was taking us on that vision quest, but after that I'll go to one, but I have to know who is going to run it. Who's gonna pray. How things are going to turn out. I'll go into one, but it's not very often I'll go into one. I have to trust that man who is going to run it, but if a woman runs it, it's a different thing. I only ran one sweat, I ran one. It was behind here, when my girl was living, Marian, I ran that sweat because she was sick and I wanted healing for her and I ran that sweat for her, and that's the only one I ever ran, So, it's the same thing, believe what you believe.

Kunsi Marina also shares her knowledge about women and the *inipi* ceremony. However, she also shares the cultural continuation of ceremonies;

Eugene: Did Dakota women go in sweats long ago? Did you go in a sweatlodge?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah, or no, some of them.

Eugene: Did your kungsi, your mom?
Kungsi Marina: [speaking Dakota] Just your older men.
Eugene: Just the old grandpas?
Kungsi Marina: They have the [...]
Eugene: [speaking Dakota].
Kungsi Marina: They used to do that, but they couldn't do it, on the, like, the [speaking Dakota].
Eugene: Privately?
Kungsi Marina: Yeah.
Eugene: Privately? They privately did those things?
Kungsi Marina: Because if the whiteman, or somebody like, see you, and they were not supposed to do that, not supposed to do that and [...]
Deborah: They do that in Sioux Village? Like in the bush, far in the bush?
Kungsi Marina: Yeah, far in the bush, or in the, like ceremonies, they have a great big tent or a *tipi*, they used to have ceremonies in there.

Further, *kungsi* Jean also shares her knowledge about women and the *inipi* ceremony and the changes that has evolved over time. *Kungsi* Jean expresses her concern for women entering the *inipi* ceremony today. Because the grandmothers have seen these changes take place, over a space in time, they have expressed their concern over these changes;

Kungsi Jean: It's a different story, these sundances and moccasins, and sweats, the women are there now.
Eugene: So Dakota women never went?
Kungsi Jean: No, no.
Eugene: Women didn't go into sweats, never?
Kungsi Jean: No, never, never.
Eugene: You ever heard of that?
Kungsi Jean: Because you know why? Long time ago, they said, women when you have your monthly, that means you are pure for your body. When you have your monthlys, we are not like the men, the men do that. I remember my grandma said, that's just for the men, don't go into one of those, you know, [speaking Dakota] men only, but now it's different. That's why I asked a healer from the states. I said to him, "You know my mom and dad used to tell me that's just for men" Now, that's nowadays, women can go in there, I said okay.
Eugene: You never?
Kungsi Jean: No.
Eugene: So what do you think seeing that today? Does it sadden you or is that changes we're talking about?
Kungsi Jean: Yeah, those are the changes we're talking about.
Deborah: What do you think about women going in there?
Kungsi Jean: Well, the way I look at it, women shouldn't even be in there, and that will affect the man's side you know, what I mean, that's how I looked at it, but

can I tell that to anybody, they wouldn't listen to me anyway.
 Deborah: They'll do it anyway?
Kunsi Jean: Yeah, going to that sundance, just go in.
 Deborah: Yeah, it was like, before you had to earn your way to the sundance?
Kunsi Jean: Yeah.
 Deborah: A long time ago, had to be clean?
Kunsi Jean: Yeah.
 Deborah: Then, go, just to cook, or just to watch with *kunsi*?
Kunsi Jean: Yeah.
 Deborah: But today, they are dancing?
Kunsi Jean: Oh yeah, today they are dancing, they are dancing.
 Deborah: Oh, and it's hard to understand it?
Kunsi Jean: And what really bothers me now, too, I get after my daughter for that, to walk away from that. [laughter] This eagle feather, women is not supposed to touch that. My dad used to say, never touch the eagle feather, women not supposed to touch them, but now, they are wearing the eagle feather. Yeah, because we don't know who is there amongst the dancers with their, you know, so my dad used to say that [speaking Dakota]. You know what I mean?
 Eugene: Yeah [speaking Dakota].
Kunsi Jean: Yeah, so that's not good, and you women carry that in your body and you are going to get sick, he says.
 Deborah: Can we just go back to that for a second? If so, you were to carry eagle feathers, because they are now, it can make you sick in your body?
Kunsi Jean: Yeah, long time ago.
 Deborah: And you think, maybe that's what's going on now, because there is a lot of sickness and a lot of eagle feathers everywhere?
Kunsi Jean: Yeah, true.
 Deborah: Women are carrying them, and fans, and maybe they need to go back to the old teaching?
 Eugene: Who's going to stop them? She said, who's going to listen to me?
Kunsi Jean: I tell them that [speaking Dakota].
 Deborah: Well, I'm going to listen now.
Kunsi Jean: Yeah, okay.
 Deborah: Yeah, I'm going to pass those feathers.
 Eugene: You have some feathers?
 Deborah: Yeah, I have my mom's feathers. I keep them in my room away from everybody.
Kunsi Jean: Yeah, what you could do is take them down once in a while, and smudge them, and say a prayer, and put them back, and that's what I have to say, they will guard you, that's what they say now.

Sword (1991) and Taylor (2005), with translations from Mato Nunpa, Running Walker, *kunsi* Naomi, and *kunsi* Carolynn (2005) provide a deeper spiritual understanding of the *inipi* ceremony and its connection to women,

Inip de, inip de de de wicasta pezihuta yuhap he ka inipa winyan tankad yakap he he ka hehan, hehan nakun he wicastahe nagiyewicayapi kanhan hena he wo wo taku wosape ikoyakapi hena hena inip de un ihduskapi. Translated, this *inipi*, this *inipi*, the men that carry the medicine and the women sit on the outside of the *inipi*, if the men are bothered by them they go in the *inipi* and cleanse themselves from the *wosape* the women have within themselves [...] *Wosape* is one of those words that is difficult to translate accurately. In Dakota there is not a bad or evil connotation associated with them, but it is a time when women should not be around others because of the power deriving from this natural occurrence. *Wica ka hehan winyan ekse inip, inip sni tohnina.* Translation, men and then women sweat but they women never sweat. Sweat here is used to indicate participation in an *inipi* ceremony, though it should be noted that the purpose of the ceremony is not to "sweat." When a Lakota says *ni*, or *ini*, or *inipi*, or *initi*, he does not think about sweat. He thinks about making his *ni* [lifeforce] strong so that it will purify him. *Sdodwaye sni, askatuyada de winyan dena inip ce keyapi nakun ka hekta imacage he ehan hena winyan tohnina inip sni. Iyexse hena winyan ihunniya ska ya yakunpi. Wiwanzi ca ake taku we iyecetu sni un tancan ekta ikoyak unpi hecihan hena winyan wakanyan wica kagapi ka hena wek hena hiyu ka ake etanhan tecaniyan ake manipi.* Translated, I don't know, lately they say these women also sweat, back then, when I was growing up, the women never did sweat. They themselves, the women, always walked in cleanliness. In a month when they [...] they are not well, whatever is not right hangs in their body, those women were created in a sacred way and the [unhealthy] comes out and after that happens, from then on they walk again with a new life. *Tona ca tankad yakanpi kanhan he ecan pezihuta hena tuweda iki yeda up sni taku wakan unpa taku ot'insya hena ed ayap sni.* Translated, The many times that they sit on the outside, during that time no one brought any of the medicine near them, whatever was sacred that they used, they did not take those there. *He anpetu tonakca tankad yakanpi hecihan asnip kanhan tokiya mni wanzi ekta ipa tanyan ihduzazapi hehanyan wanna ihduskapi he.* Translated, so many days that they sit there, they go to where there is water and wash themselves really well, by that time they have cleansed themselves. *Unkiye hena wicak hena hed isam iyaya nakun taku wowahtani ikoyak unki'iyapi hena. Tukte kted taku sica ikoyak unki'iyapi kinhan hed inip he unyanpa teunmni yap inyan hena kad yapa. Haw hena inyan hena dena tuweda wicasta kage sni hena inyan Tak Wakan ka ge ka hehan he inyan he tukte obe wan he he he un kadyapi. Heca sni sta kadyapi kan han nabdebde ce kte. Mni sni akastanp kan nabdece. Unkan hena heca inip hena heca un ihd u skapi wicak heka winyan is hena, haw wek hena sica hena hiyu ka hena wowahtani yuhapi ecchna ikoyak hena hiyu, hiyu ka hehan etanhan ake tecahani ihduzazapa ake hetanhan skaya manip wakanya manipi.* Translated, as for us [men], the hardships we have brought on ourselves as men are worse than that. Sometimes when we bring bad things on ourselves, we go into the *inipi*, they heat the stones and we sweat. Yes, those stones, no man made those stones, *Tak Wakan* made those stones and then, one certain stone, that is the one they use to heat up. If that is not the right kind [that they heat up], it cracks up. If they pour cold water on it, it will crack up. And so, the men, they cleanse themselves in the *inipi*, as for the women,

when they pass the [unhealthy], the hardships they have and everything that clings to them all those come [out], and then at that time they wash themselves, and then again from there they walk clean in a sacred way with a new beginning. (pp.118-121)

Accordingly, women have a natural healing ability which maintains health and well-being. This involves the physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual cleansing. Most of the grandmothers interviewed agree that the *inipi* is solely meant for the men. However, this century, some women are participating in the *inipi* ceremony and some are even keepers of these *inipi* lodges. This is one of the changes that have been occurring in most communities. Some women justify that human history and human needs have changed over time and part of this change may include: increased sickness, increased stress, and increased two-spirited women, to name a few. Understanding the changes that are occurring is a difficult challenge for many grandmothers and many traditional women because of teachings from their ancestors. However, in the event of extreme sickness, exceptions to participate in ceremonies are acceptable, as expressed with *Kunsi* 1AA. However, most grandmothers agree that ceremonies are solely for the men, and the concern for Dakota women is expressed. The challenge today, is for women to honor this teaching. For some, it is a challenge, because they may have been holding eagle feathers for a very long time, or they may be young female *canuhupa* carriers. However, the ancient women's teaching from *kunsi* Jean tells a very important story.

The next responsibility involves cooking. In most traditional *wasicu* cultures, women were the primary cooks in their households. This also applies with Dakota women except for Dakota people, it was important to know how to cook specific foods for ceremonies, feasts, and for families. *Kunsi* Deborah shares,

The discipline of learning how to prepare these foods was taught by the

grandmothers and women of the community. When there is a feast or memorial, it is the grandmothers who are most successful in pulling communities together. It is considered an honor to be asked to prepare these foods. Although food was always prepared in traditional households by the women, the last century has seen some two-spirited men helping in the preparation of community feasts. Sometimes, they are even called upon to guide and teach women how to shop, prepare, and cook these food for ceremonial purposes.” (auto-ethnography)

The twentieth century brought changes of convenience for women. The difficult years of cooking over a wood stove to cooking over a modern stove made life more convenient for women. However, skinning, cutting, smoking, and cooking wild meat continued up to the end of the nineteenth century. The purchasing of prepared domestic meat is a modernization change that began in the middle of the nineteenth century. Further, the seasonal gathering of wild fruits and vegetables changed to the purchasing of grocery store produce. Interestingly, although hunting and gathering still exists in some communities, the commitment is less common. Further, wild meat, wild berries, and wild vegetables are normally reserved for ceremonies, feasts, and special gatherings. Further, these foods were served in wooden bowls with buffalo ladles. These foods also consisted of cooking a puppy, for ceremonial purposes only. All the grandmothers have memories of these foods prepared this way. However, this ancient practice has seen some changes, as puppies are seldom cooked. The old wooden bowls, used by the old men, are selectively used for ceremonial use only. According to *kunsi* Marina, her *kunsi*, cooked for ceremonies;

Eugene: How about a [speaking Dakota] wooden bowl?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah, I still have my grandpas.

Eugene: You still have your grandpa’s, how big is it?

Kunsi Marina: It’s about that big I guess.

Eugene: Does it have a buffalo ladle?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah, but I still have the bowl.

Deborah: Oh, That’s old. So, did you cook for them?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah, *kunsi*.

Eugene: So, did you cook for them? They were having [speaking Dakota] your *kunsi*?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah.

Eugene: What did she cook, you remember?

Kunsi Marina: [speaking Dakota] A soup [speaking Dakota] and they usually use wild ducks and that, like, and the ceremonies, they [speaking Dakota] puppy soup.

Eugene: [speaking Dakota] Puppy, puppy soup. Dakota helping.

Eugene: How about [speaking Dakota] where they eat in there? Wooden bowls?

Kunsi Marina: They put meat in there. Like long ago, my grandpa said, they used to put buffalo meat and berries and all that stuff, grind pemmican, they used to, then, that's, they used to have their ceremony, those big bowls.

Eugene: Did you ever see them being used?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah.

Daughter: We used those too when we have ceremony.

Kunsi Marina: I still have that dinner bowl, that wooden one.

Further, young women are taught how to prepare the food for the men after the *inipi* ceremony. Because men prayed for women, children, and families, in the *inipi*, women made sure the men were well cared for after the *inipi*. *Kunsi* Deborah shares this story in reference to *kunsi* Marjorie's teachings,

I believe I started to cook with *kunsi* when I was 14, maybe younger. *Kunsi* knew when uncle was starting his sweat because she could see the smoke from his lodge coming up through the bush, even though she lived some distance from his house. Even when she was partly blind, I always think about that, how she knows. The soup was made with wild meat, whatever she gives us. In her big pots. All the water was boiled first. We put the meat, then carrots and potatoes in there, no onions, no celery, no broth thickener, no flour. Just soup like that way she told us. Then we make the bannock. We make both kinds fried and oven and we make sure we make lots. *Kunsi* always made sure they were very well fed. I remember she said no turkey. When she passed away I was asked to cook her setting or spirit dish. It is the dish she is to have when she is traveling to the spirit world. I felt both nervous and honored because I had always been the helper to *kunsi*, and now I was the *kunsi* preparing this setting. *Kunsi*'s friend, another *kunsi*, guided me patiently. However, I noticed that this spirit dish takes all day because it is cooked very slowly. Every dish must be cooked a certain way. It can not be cooked the night before either. It is usually cooked before the wake and is fed to the deceased throughout the night and placed with them as they travel. This food involves wild meat, bannock, *chanpa*, *wipazoka*, rice pudding, and mint tea. When my mom passed away, I was honored to cook this food again. I asked my daughter and niece to help me so they can know how when they are older. Thereby, training other young women has begun. (auto-ethnography)

Ceremonial cooking is done specific to the ceremony and is considered an honor to be asked to do the cooking. Further, it is considered very honorable to cook for the deceased as they travel to the spirit world. Dakota people call this “*Waehdepi*” and it will be further discussed.

***Wokiksuye k'a Woyuonihan* (Remembering and Honoring)**

The next female responsibility to be discussed involves remembering and honoring the deceased. The Dakota people call this, *wokiksuye k'a woyuonihan*.

Traditional wakes and funerals in Dakota communities are not to be compared with religious wakes. While religious wakes and funerals do exist, most traditional Dakota wakes and funerals, in this century, are guided by cultural protocols and spiritual beliefs from previous ancestral knowledge. Ross shares,

It is a very spiritual and very sacred time because the deceased has been touched by *Wakantakan* and are thereby very sacred. When you go up to her for last viewing remember that, do not touch or kiss her because she has been touched by *Wakantakan*. Only when we have to, we will not walk in the space behind the deceased. We have to be careful because we do not want to disturb her spirit. Same with that area there in front of her, be careful, her spirit is there. When we work around her we have to be very careful. (auto-ethnography)

Because mourning is a very personal and sacred time, *kunsi* Margaret had asked that the spiritual work involving wakes and funerals be excluded from this thesis. This thesis will honor her request, through careful editing, re-examination, and excluding protected spiritual knowledge. Important cultural protocols should be considered for future research projects in this subject area.

After the news that a family member has passed, many events take place, but most importantly, if the family has requested a traditional Dakota wake, spiritual and cultural protocols, practices, and responsibilities become very important. Grandmothers and

grandfathers, who are most knowledgeable of spiritual work, are visited and their help is immediately requested. It is important to mention that not all communities follow the same protocols. Where some might have a *canuhupa* ceremony, traditional settings, mourning song, and a traveling bag, others might only have traditional settings and a traveling bag. It is at the discretion of the family of the deceased. However most cultural protocols and practices are still upheld and practiced.

Men's responsibilities are directed by the family's *kunsi*. These may involve; the *canuhupa* ceremony, *cancanga* (drum) song, the fire-keeping, the grave diggers, and the feast servers for the feast. The *unkans* and *atedas* (uncle) may be consulted for cultural protocols and spiritual direction. These responsibilities are further guided by a *unkan* or an *ateda*.

Women's responsibilities become very important and the preparations are directed by the family's *kunsi*, which may include; the traveling bag, dressing the deceased, the *wicanhpi sina okipata*, passing of tobacco, preparing the feast, preparing settings, and caring for the fire-keepers and grave-diggers. Her spiritual work is endless. She will direct all family members from the beginning right up to the burial. However, in the event of a *kunsi* not available for these responsibilities, the oldest and second oldest daughters or granddaughters will ensure these spiritual protocols are upheld. Because the spiritual responsibilities are extremely important, the direction is often taught within families by the *kunsi* from the time of young adulthood.

There is a strict cultural protocol that children not be brought around the deceased. Young women are usually given small tasks and are guided by the female members of the family. Never are the young women excluded from responsibility. They

are continually taught their responsibility from this time forward. It is of great significance that these young women are taught their responsibilities with guidance and patience, because it will be their responsibility at some time in their lives. The teachings from *kunsi* are taught and discussed as they complete their responsibilities. The responsibilities of these young women are entrenched in spiritual teachings. This spiritual knowledge is passed to another female generation.

It is very important to include the mourning practices which involve honoring the spirit of the deceased and may include: dressing in black, cutting of the hair, and exclusion from social gatherings. Others may suggest that women do not do this anymore. This is a tragic misconception. Women who are mourning avoid wearing bright colors and wearing red for one full year. Many Dakota grandmothers and members of their family will wear only black clothing until the Wiping of the Tears ceremony. Dakota people call this ceremony, *Oyate Ceyapi Wopakinte*. If another family member is to pass during this mourning time, most traditional women will continue to honor this loss and continue to dress in dark clothing for an additional year. *Kunsi* Deborah shares,

We lost our *unkan*, then our *kunsi*, then our *tuwina* (auntie), then our *ina* (mom), then our other *tuwina*, so we have had quite a hard time. Five years or more, we have been mourning. When I was young, our *kunsi*, I remember her, she started to dress in black after our *ateda*, her son died. A few months after, I thought I would bring her a nice white blouse and a white jacket you know, because she was always dressed in dark, black clothes. I was very young and I didn't know or understand the mourning phases. So I bought her these new white clothes. She said *pidamaya* and put them away. Not once did I ever see her wear them. She attended many many family funerals after her son died and was seldom seen wearing anything other than black clothing. Even when she herself passed on, she was still mourning loved ones. Today, I understand the meaning of losing a loved one and how our hearts are on the ground. I too dressed in black for a very long time. I cannot speak for other cultures but I will continue to honor what *kunsi* has taught us Dakota women. (auto-ethnography)

Further, *kunsi* Margaret shares her knowledge about other mourning practices that

continue;

Eugene: Wearing black in mourning?

Kunsi Margaret: Wear black, in mourning.

Eugene: For how long?

Kunsi Margaret: A whole year.

Eugene: When you go out all the time?

Kunsi Margaret: You are going to be in places that you did before, not unless it is something important, that is the only time you would go.

Deborah: You didn't go to powwows, dance?

Kunsi Margaret: No, no.

Eugene: You grow your hair. You don't braid your hair?

Kunsi Margaret: No, you don't.

This mourning practice of cutting the hair was and is considered very sacred, private, and honorable. Normally the female family members would do the honor of cutting their hair, however, male family members have been known to also cut their hair. To accept this responsibility is considered a great honor. The person's hair is braided before it is cut and it is placed beside the deceased. This braid, they will carry with them.

Kunsi Marina shares her knowledge;

Eugene: The grandmas do that? Do they cut their hair, *ehanna*?

Kunsi Marina? Yeah.

Eugene: [speaking Dakota] Do they cut their hair? Did your *kunsi* cut her hair?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah she cut her hair when her sister died.

Eugene: What did you do with the braids? Did you put them in the coffin?

Kunsi Marina: Her braids, I think she put them in the coffin.

Eugene: She put them inside there? Her sister, that's to show how much she [speaking Dakota] loves her sister, when her sister passed away, her braids went inside the coffin.

Eugene: [speaking Dakota].

Kunsi Marina: Oh, they dressed them.

Deborah: The *kunsi*s?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah, they dressed them all up.

Eugene: What does a [deceased] *kunsi* wear?

Kunsi Marina: Like a skirt, and a ribbon skirt, and top.

Eugene: Shawl?

Kunsi Marina: Necklace, like bone necklace, or like, some have bearclaws, or something like that.

Eugene: Shawl?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah, they have to have the shawl, they have to have a shawl.

Eugene: A kerchief?
Kunsi Marina: Yeah.

Another mourning practice that exists for Dakota people, especially traditional people, is the exclusion from watching television, playing loud music, and attending gambling establishments, powwows, or other big celebrations. Honoring the spirit of the deceased for four days before burial and four days after burial is still practiced. However, most traditional families have been known to mourn for an additional year, until the *Oyate Ceyapi Wopakinte* and the memorial feast. This practice is not gender specified, as both men and women will uphold this tradition. *Unkan* Hector shares his story,

We went in deep mourning and did not go out in public for one year, never brushed our hair, never wore new clothes, we really really mourned hard for our loved ones back then, you can't do this today because of work and school and family responsibilities. It is different today. We never even danced. [powwow] One time I tried to dance after I lost my dad and I was up there dancing and then I felt this pain right there, *cante* (in my heart), it hurt, in my heart, my heart was on the ground, I could feel him, my dad, and my heart was heavy and right there, I started to almost cry, so I took off my stuff [regalia] and just sat down and watched them. I couldn't dance for one year. Nowadays, I see them, right after they go to a wake, they are up there dancing. Me I couldn't do it. (auto-ethnography)

Further, the Dakota people used to wrap their deceased in a buffalo robe. The last time the Myran family witnessed this was in Whitebear, Saskatchewan, 2009. *Kunsi* Alma shares, "When *unkan* Bill passed away, he was wrapped in a buffalo robe. He was taken to the burial site by a team of horses on a wagon, just like long ago." (personal communication) However, most communities have changed to wrapping the deceased in a *wicanhpi sina okipata*. If the deceased is a woman, she will have a new ribbon dress, fully beaded *hambikceckas*, new ribbon dress, a *kunsi* dress, everyday *hambikceckas*, a traveling bag, and a meal. A man will have almost the same items; a new ribbon shirt, fully beaded *hambikceckas*, a new *wicanhpi sina okipata*, a traveling bag, and a meal.

However, most importantly, they need a pair of *hambikceckas*, a Dakota name, and a Dakota song. These personal items are prepared by the *kunsi* and the women of the family. The deceased are given the utmost honor at this time. Taylor (2005) shares,

He left me with that-when someone dies, if we are to pray with the eagle feather and whatever else, if they are placed in the box, it doesn't go anywhere. That is how we believe. For that reason, the feather and the pipe and the stones, the spirit hangs on to those things there, on the fourth day they will leave somewhere. The pipe and the eagle and the winged, all those things *tak skan skan* (traveling stones) holds the spirit there, hovering above and going nowhere. So we also understand this, we tell each other, when someone is buried they don't put those things in with them, [they put them] elsewhere. When someone passes on that person will have a pair of Dakota moccasins and a Dakota name, and then he will also have a song. (pp.210-211)

There has been misunderstanding from cultural protocols involving burying sacred items with the deceased. It is understood by ancestors that to bury any personal sacred item such as a medicine bag, eagle feather, pipe, drum, or jewellery would prevent the spirit from traveling to the spirit world. Some family members who honor other cultural beliefs struggle with this belief process. However, most Dakota burial beliefs continue to be honored and upheld.

Further, *wasicu* land owners from old Dakota burial sites are bringing forward items that most likely were buried with Dakota ancestors or were buried after the adoption of *wasicu* religions. Either way, these sacred items need to be offered back to the people. In *Tipo Ihanke*, there was the discovery of Dakota ancestral remains that were removed from their burial site for the construction of a housing complex. *Kunsi* Marina shares this knowledge;

Eugene: How about that one on the island? Where they built those new houses? Remember, they said they found stuff there? What did they find there?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah, they found, they found nine people there, we went to the burial, they moved them all and took them to Winnipeg.

Eugene: Did they?

Kunsi Marina: The bones and all that, they know they are Dakota, they know that by the beadwork and stuff they had on.

Eugene: Were they kids or Dakota women or men?

Daughter: They are a mother and a baby.

Kunsi Marina: A mother and a baby in her arms.

Deborah: In her arms?

Daughter: There was a doll or something.

Kunsi Marina: I went to see the [bones] when they told me to go and see, so I went down there and they, bones, [speaking Dakota] They had that woman, the baby, was the bones were laying, guess she must have dies with the baby and that, and she had a beaded necklace so, like, those people are way old, ole people, and then the man, they had the moccasins. Yeah, I just seen their feet and the bones, but I told them that, they called me in to see if they are Sioux Dakotas or whatever. They took all the bodies and they built the houses there.

Eugene: They just continue building?

Kunsi Marina: They should have moved over.

Further, because fully beaded *hambikceckas* are considered very sacred, it is very honorable to be chosen to put the *hambikceckas* on the deceased. The family's *kunsi*, usually the oddest and most knowledgeable, is the *kunsi* who makes these decisions. *Kunsi* 1AA and *kunsi* Marina share this knowledge of fully beaded of the *hambikceckas*;

Deborah: What about those fully beaded moccasins? Do you make those?

Kunsi 1AA: Yes, that's still happening, yeah, that's still happening, fully beaded moccasins and he made a pair for my daughter when my daughter passed away, she's gone now 20 years, while I was in Toronto, he phones, and I told him, he beaded them, fully beaded moccasins, and the sole for her.

Deborah: It's still practiced?

Kunsi 1AA: Yes, from long ago.

Eugene: Who puts the moccasins? [speaking Dakota]

Kunsi Marina: They put the, the, like mom put moccasins on my dad and grandpa.

Eugene: Your mom did that? Oh, ok.

Kunsi Marina: And like, my, I just lost a brother, like my youngest brother put his moccasins on him, like, a family.

Eugene: Wasn't that an honor? That was a big honor, it was a big honor to be selected to put moccasins on?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah.

Deborah: Were the moccasins fully beaded? Like the bottom, the top?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah.

Kunsi Marina: No, just the sides.

Deborah: A long time ago, did they do that, fully beaded moccasins?

Kunsi Marina: Long time ago.

Eugene: Did you ever see a pair with the soles? [speaking Dakota]

Kunsi Marina: Yeah.

Eugene: You seen a pair?

Kunsi Marina: Yeah.

Eugene: Who made them?

Kunsi Marina: My grandma made some for my grandpa, but he didn't die until about 1959, I think, he dies, but he had his moccasins my grandma made, he had them ready for him.

There was a concern brought forward by *kunsi* Jean regarding cultural protocol of the drum at wakes and funerals. The drum was not part of the traditional wake long ago. This century, there are mourning songs and sun dance songs at traditional wakes. *Kunsi* Jean shares;

Eugene: How do you feel about them singing sundance songs at a wake like that?

Kunsi Jean: That's not right.

Eugene: That's not right?

Kunsi Jean: No, that didn't happen.

Deborah: They shouldn't be singing there?

Kunsi Jean: No, not even singing at a funeral.

Eugene: I was telling [speaking Dakota].

Kunsi Jean: Yeah.

Eugene: [speaking Dakota]

Kunsi Jean: Yeah, they don't do that, that's supposed to be a sad day, and the drum, supposed to be for happier, okay, that's all.

Deborah: Okay, thank-you.

Further, there is cultural disrespect in historical pictures of burial sites. Some of these grave site pictures are located in the Wallis Records, from the community of Griswold Reserve, Manitoba, in the year 1914. Because Dakota people considered and still consider burial sites as very sacred, spiritual, and personal. It is highly unlikely that permission was granted to take these pictures.

Further, there is also a historical misunderstanding with scaffold burials. The belief that the Dakota people in the Plains placed the deceased by scaffold is not entirely true, as written by Laviolette 1991 (50-53) and DeMallie 2001 (726). *Unkan* Henry

shares, “This is not entirely true. In the history books and what some *wasicu* believe about our people and the way we buried them, put them on scaffolds is not completely true. They left out the importance of why we did this. We put them on scaffolds if they were sick of disease, and we burned them. To prevent others from the same sickness.” (auto-ethnography)

There are ceremonies that cross cultural boundaries, span many generations, and continue to be practiced in most communities. These ceremonies include; *Oyate Ceyapi Wopakinte*, *Waehdepi*, Flower Day, and Memorials.

***Oyate Ceyapi Wopakint* (The Wiping of the Tears Ceremony)**

The Dakota people call the Wiping of the Tears Ceremony, *Oyate Ceyapi Wopakint*. It is a ceremony that is still remembered and practiced in all four communities. Its purpose is a healing ceremony for the family of the deceased and is held one year after the family member has passed. Blue Bird (2006) explains, “The *Oyate Ceyapi Wopakinte*, this ceremony was very important because it unites the spirits of our dead relatives and lets them pass on to the world up above. In this ceremony, we gather the family and the relatives of those who are deceased, and we release the dead through prayer, memorial songs, food, tobacco, and crying.” (pp.97)

The food that is prepared involves the food that the deceased enjoyed when they were living and this food is shared with the deceased one more time. Some families may even have a *canuhupa* ceremony and *cancanga* songs to honor the deceased. The grandmothers have shared that this is some of the changes over the last century. Long ago, they did not do this the same way. *Unkan* Henry explains, “This is okay too because today, we have to think about this difference. If the family wants to have a *canuhupa*

ceremony, we do that for them. If they want to have a *cancanga* song, we do that too. We try to honor whatever the family wants. Sometimes we bring in a minister too. It is whatever the family wants.” (auto-ethnography) *Kunsi* Jean shares her knowledge of the *Oyate Ceyapi Wopakinte* ceremony;

Eugene: What about Wiping of the Tears and Memorial Feasts, one year later?
[speaking Dakota]

Kunsi Jean: Yeah, yeah, yeah, that’s when they have this feast, but then, long ago, I don’t know when they start doing that, long time ago, it’s different.

Eugene: [speaking Dakota]

Kunsi Jean: No, not like that, today, they give only four settings, like you know, four settings. Invited a few people that this person knows, best friends, then they give this up. Whatever you think. Some of them say a prayer for you, a prayer, a prayer for this person. Now they are going to let the family go, good journey. That’s how they do the journey for their relatives.

Further, *kunsi* Deborah shares this story,

We asked *unkan* Harold from Sioux Valley, said my sister. He knows, because *unkan* Henry said that. Henry knows the ceremony too, but Henry said to talk to Harold. Harold and Eugene advised family to start to get ready, giveaway, feast, tobacco, wooden bowl, starblanket, blankets, drum, pictures of the deceased, settings, *wakan* water. My sister said what about water? Where do we go? Harold directed family to a spiritual stream and Eugene [speaking Dakota] gave family direction. After the sacred water was retrieved, I looked in the pail and mentioned that ‘Oh, the water doesn’t look very clear.’ Family was concerned, about drinking this water. We women even had a little huddle and discussed with Eugene about this water because we thought maybe we should go back and get clear water, maybe we went to the wrong spot. Eugene directed us to speak with Harold. Harold shared, ‘It’s okay,’ he looked at it and said, ‘It’s good.’ So I went back to the family and said, ‘Well Harold said it’s ok.’ Then Eugene said to me, ‘Okay, then, if that’s what he said, you have to trust him.’ Okay, I’m okay then. My sister said, ‘But what is he going to do with this water then?’ ‘I don’t know,’ I said to her. Harold understood we had some concerns about the water and he spoke, ‘This *wakan* water [speaking Dakota] we won’t be drinking it,’ when he said this I made eye contact with my sister and we shared a little smile. He continued, ‘This sacred water is for wiping your tears, you will all sit here and we will pray and wipe your tears for your mother, so its ok, it’s not clear, it is *wakan* water from the [speaking Dakota] so we will do this for all of her family.’ As our cousin went up to each of us and prayed, brushing out our hair, and Harold wiped our tears, for our mother, with the eagle fan, I had never experienced such great care, comfort, strength, kindness, love, honor, respect, and humility in my heart, as I did at that very special moment. Our family was truly blessed to have such

caring hearts to help us, guide us, and take great care of us. We were truly blessed in our hearts for this ceremony to help us through our mourning time. (auto-ethnography)

The Giveaway

The giveaway ceremony is the ceremony that follows the burial. However this ceremony also takes place one year after the deceased has passed away. It involves all donations received from friends and family members over the past year. The belongings of the deceased are distributed amongst the friends and extended family members. Immediate family members of the deceased gave everything away. The spiritual belief of this giveaway is to ensure the family does not hold onto the spirit of the deceased. The family is guided by a *kunsi* for this giveaway. There have been some changes that have been occurring in the last century which include; elaborate giveaways, souvenirs, and absence of the sacred fire. Some families like to hold onto keepsakes of the deceased, as a souvenirs. This was seldom done long ago. Centuries past, the giveaways were less elaborate and more traditional. They may have simply included the deceased's belongings, blankets, and maybe a horse. The spirit of the deceased was honored through the burning of their personal belongings in a sacred fire to release their spirit to the spirit world. *Kunsi* Margaret and *kunsi* Jean share their knowledge of the giveaway from their deceased ancestors;

Eugene: Did your Mom have a giveaway? Your *kunsi*?

Kunsi Margaret: Let's see. Maybe, when my uncle went to second world war, my grandma did a lot of, and honored her son.

Eugene: Did she give a horse away?

Kunsi Margaret: Yeah.

Kunsi Margaret: That time, they had blankets, give those away, but I don't know of any other thing, blankets.

Deborah: So long ago, it wasn't like what they give away now, tea towels?

Kunsi Margaret: Yeah, no, it was long ago, it was just what they had, new teatowels no.

(late) *Unkan Williams*: They give some away from Value Village.
[laughter]

Kunsi Jean shares her knowledge of the giveaway;

Eugene: You have a giveaway? Remember that? [speaking Dakota]

Kunsi Jean: Yeah [speaking Dakota] Long time ago, the funerals, after the food, we giveaway everything, nothing is left in the house.

Eugene: You seen that?

Kunsi Jean: I've seen that, yeah. I've seen that. My mom did that, I think it's my brother, yeah, it's my brother, nothing left in the house, yeah.

Deborah: They don't do that now?

Kunsi Jean: No, they don't.

Deborah: They keep some of their stuff?

Kunsi Jean: Yeah, yeah, they do, as a souvenir they say, now, now.

Deborah: What do you think about that?

Kunsi Jean: It's one of those changes.

Eugene: That's one of the first questions.

Deborah: The family is supposed to give everything away?

Kunsi Jean: Yeah, yeah, and look at everything.

Deborah: Even the clothes that she [mom] had, when she passed away, those get burned, those clothes go in the fire.

Kunsi Jean: Yeah, four days after, yeah.

Deborah: Four days after? They are still in my brother's basement, so we have to take care of that?

Kunsi Jean: That means, that you are holding her spirit back.

Deborah: We better get those away.

Kunsi Jean: So, well you know, some people like to, if you keep your stuff like that, you will hear things because they come for their stuff.

Kunsi 1AA shares her knowledge of a woman's responsibility of a traditional giveaway.

She explains that there are seven sacred responsibilities that a Dakota woman should try

to giveaway and these responsibilities are considered of the highest honor that a Dakota

woman can giveaway in her lifetime. These include; an eagle feather fan, a *cancanga*, a

teepee, a satin *wicanhpi sina okipata*, a horse, a war bonnet, and a pair of *hambikceckas*.

Kunsi 1AA shares;

Kunsi 1AA: And I am in the process, because my son passed away, we carry a memorial for four years, and his passion was moccasin games, liked to play the moccasin games, so we carry that passion for him, for the next four years, we already did one, we have three more to go. The fourth year, I have a big feast and

a big giveaway for him. I am in the process of having ribbon shirts made because these are men, I'd like to give them, in memory of him, and because of my two sisters, I lost two sisters five days apart, and my other sister, Im in between the two of them, she's the older sister, I come next, and the next one is the other sister. So, I'm in the process of making skirts, ribbon skirts for them, for my giveaway, plus blankets, and all what I could collect.

Kunsi 1AA: And I have little hand drums for the men because of that.

Eugene: How many drums?

Kunsi 1AA: I have, we give four, because there is four to a team, we give four hand drums for each one. Ribbon shirts, and I'm getting ties, those [...bowties] ties [Dakota...hankerchiefs], anyways, there's kerchiefs for them, and gloves. That's what I'm giving on the fourth year, plus feeding everybody.

Deborah: Do you have a setting on that fourth year?

Kunsi 1AA: We do have a setting and then we have a feed for everybody.

Deborah: Cooking?

Kunsi 1AA: A lot of cooking. And in my time I used to work as a handicraft, manadress, I used to make gloves, moccasins, mukluks. I used to make all of those, teach how to make them. Some would make medallions, hairpieces, whatever, beadwork, we used to have a lot of homework, to bead the vamps, clips. That's how, when it comes back to the shop, put it together, we have those great big machines and just put them, some do them by hand, whichever way is good for them.

Deborah: What about those fully beaded moccasins? Do you make those?

Kunsi 1AA: That's still happening, yeah, that's still happening, fully beaded moccasins. And he made a pair for my daughter, when my daughter passed away. She's gone now twenty years, while I was in Toronto, and I told him, and he beaded them, fully beaded moccasins, and the sole for her.

Deborah: It's still being practiced?

Kunsi 1AA: Yes, from long ago.

Deborah: And that's from long ago, same with moccasin making every day?

Kunsi 1AA: Yeah, they still exist.

Eugene: Tell us about the seven stuff you have to giveaway, [speaking Dakota] you have to give?

Kunsi 1AA: We have, in our time, in our time, because we are Dakota people, we have seven gifts through life to giveaway, the tipi, you have a tipi, a head dress, beaded moccasins, satin starquilt, pipe, and a fan, a eagle fan, and a horse, but in my time, I've already given, in my time, I'm eighty, I've given these, maybe some twice, I gave horses, I think I gave about three horses away now, I gave a tipi away, a medicine man came up here, and I had one of those tipis. I gave that to him. And I had twelve war bonnets when my son passed away, I had twelve war bonnets, I gave those away. I gave twelve fans away, to dancers, satin star quilts, I have given quite a few of those away. He knows what I've been doing. So, in my time, I have given all these things away. Those are the highest things a Dakota person can give.

Deborah: Do men do this too?

Kunsi 1AA: It's just up to the family, how your family feels and if they know.

I've been giving on my settings, give moccasins out too, and my settings, you give those out.

Memorial and *Waehdepi* (To Set Out For Someone)

Every year after the *Oyate Ceyapi Wopakinte*, families have an annual Memorial, or more commonly known as Flower Day. This is a time to honor and feed the deceased at the burial site. Dakota people call this, "*Waehdepi*, would mean *they set out [something]* and *Waekihdepi [with the ki in the middle]* would mean *they set out for [someone]*." (Taylor, 2005, pp.164) This normally involves the foods that the deceased liked to eat. This is an ancient custom that crosses cultural boundaries and has survived many centuries.

Sometimes families may have a *canuhupa* ceremony and a drum song. The ancient story of this custom and spiritual belief is shared by Taylor (2005) with English translations by Mato Nunpa, Running Walker, *kunsi* Naomi and *kunsi* Carolynn (2005),

I have this thought, for that reason first I will tell why they say *waehdepi*, *Unkan koska num icagap keyapi tokaheya. He obdake kta koska num etanhan nazin icagap. He tohanya esta kodakiciyapa sakib yakunpi sakib yakunp heced iyokpiya yakunpi ka awihnip kanhan hena iyokpi yakunp. Unkan he wanna tawicu tunpi, hehan he is bde wan iyatayada hed, he hekta hena taku un owoohoda tukted tuwe wihni kinhan hena tuwed tokca ed yap sni. Wan hena is wihni hena tawapi do, eyapa un inagi yewicayapa okiciza wacin okciga wicanskan sni takuda sni. Haw is hehed yapa he htayetü can ipa ake wetu ca nakun ipa heced. Unkan he wetu wahmun ip kankan unge ihnuh uman taku woyute waste okinni kinkan haw he wakeya icikiyeda yakapi naka tawicu taku ahdik he spanye si. Deci htayetü ecin wahdik kanhan koda kci wate kta ce. Haw heced, "Spanya ehde wo," eya ca tawicu he spanye. Hehan oyokihe wihni yakunp. Wanna htayetü hdi kanhan he ecan wanna wotapte cinhan haw wotap 'Wan ka wanzi ehde wo.' Takodakup he kco. Koda u wo d edded waun dekte do. De woyute de spanya ehde de waunyapte.' Haw, haw, ' eyek heced ekta i ekta i ka heced he woyute ekihde, hena hawkci iyokpiya yute. Ihnunah magaksicak wanzi magaksica ahdi ka pagunta wanzi waste kte sin kpe wanzi waste cepa kte kinhan he woyute waste Dakotak etuk inagi ikicicopa heced. Haw iza kakiyak he uman eciyatanhan yankek he iza haw tohan takun woy ute waste wanzi oki ni kinhan haw iza tawicu okiyake ka 'Haw de koda htayetü kanhan kci wate kta spanyan wo,' eya okiyake. Haw hece spanyan ekcihde hde ca hdipa wanna htayetü kin. Hanpa taku spayak hena taku hena hdusdokapi hehan, hehan 'Koda u wo, dena unte ktado.' Haw haw hi ka iza kci wote ce. Heced waniyetü opta upa ake bdo ketu optayapi ihnuh uman wayazan*

hda. Wayazan hda ka heced nina kuwapas heced ocib u ka heced wanice. Wanice ka heced ehnakap hehan nina wocante sica iyahde wawicu kci ka hankaku hena nakun koya nakun wocante sica. Unkan ihnunah heyap keyapi heced dena wihni unyan cek un de heciya tawat'e ed waye sni tka hed eceyeda un kis he wiunhnip ce. 'Toked icunkun kta wo?' tawicu kci iyukca. 'Han, ekta unye kte ye, heciya wadita ka ekta unye ka heciya wiyahni kta.' Haw haw heced wakic'im ipa heced ekta atipa isnana etipi. Wan na wakeya wanzida wanna ed tipi. Hecece ktukin ihnunah ihnunah pagunta he nakaha ahdi ka nina waste. Haw hena he nina waste cepa. Iwanu kta sni he maza nahpe ka ahdi ka kte. Haw, 'Ded de spanya wo eyake ka ecin htayetu kanhan wahdi kanhan he wate kte do.' Han, 'eyake. Haw heced spanye ehde wanna hdi ka hehan wanna tanyan span, de ih dastoke pasic'ie ka haw ehan waksica ohna wote kta ehde ka, 'Wanzi ehde wo,' unkan eya keyapi. Haw hekta takodaku kci wota cee heun iyeced wanzi akab ehde si. Heced taku itkop wawiwangi, 'He toked ewahde kta?' is takuda un eye sni. Izaake hed wanzi ehde. Magaksica unspa okihnake taku is oyatkeda ceek wahanpi nakun ohna ehnaka. Haw he de is de iyotanke ka tawicu iza iyotanke, eya keyapi. Haw haw koda tokiya yaan hecihan, haw de woyute ewahdek de ed uwa ececi hde do eya. 'Unkan awa wauntekte do.' 'Haw, 'eya keyapi tankad tiyopa ed. 'Ho, 'eya ka hece timahed hiyu. Tancan hee takodaku he timahed hiyu. Kaes heced de inihanpa is kokipapa takuda sni. He woyute ehdek wahanpi is henaukahed hiyu tanke ka he u ia okihi sni tka hehan kicopa, 'Haw, 'ite ka hik he. Tawicu de iza kci wote ekta wayakapa tado hena owa tanyan yasmi ka huhu hena eca waksica ka ohnake wahanpi is iyokpiyah yatke ka he wahanpi yahepe. Haw hehan wanna tebye ka wanna ayakepa unkan heya keyapi, 'Koda pidamayayekiya do,' eya keyapi. 'Tokiya waik ekta he woyute ka taku yuke kaes unge wotehda yakunpido.' 'Do wotehda waun ecantudah de haw de woyute emayakihde, haw iyomakpiya, tuwe eya ob wahi ka unhdutapi do. 'Iza hena wotehdapi,' eya keyapi. 'Haw de wakiyeda wakinawape kanhan he inunpada he tohnina wamayadakapte sni do. 'Tka deced woyute eyahde kinhan ed wau ka he wate kte tka wamayada kte sni ka nakun namayah'un kte sni do tawacin eceedahin, eya keyapi.' 'De yaki kanhan tiyata awicakiyaka wo. Wotap kankan wokitanyan kaes ehdep kanhan hena icakis hiyeye do heciya okicic'u wotapi do' eya kinhdakeye. Haw heced wanna ayastan ka hehan tawicu de kanhan waksica hena ikicic'u to hena es tanyanhuhu yasmi heced kaes conica ikoyake. Wahanpek yahepe un hna heced ohna he. Haw hecehna deciya ahdi hde ce hece etanha's hena wanna oyapte heced hihnaku kci akipta yutapi.' 'Haw, he he heced oyak ki wo,' eye. Yuhahdik oyake. He etanhan de waekihdep hi. Unkan waekihdepi eyapa de obek nunpa do. Nis htan yetu iyohi nihun de wae kihdepi . Waekihdep ka heced hah'anna kanhan wekte kanhan hena wowacekiya epe ka dena nuske...ka anpetu opta toked unkaya hena wopida epe ka taku wacinwaye hecihan mitakuya ob wicahduha, hoyewaye. Translation, And first they say two young men grew up together from the beginning. They were friends for a long time, they were each other's side, beside one another, they were happy together and when hunting they were happy. And so now they took wives, then there was a lake by itself there, way back then some things were respected, when someone hunted somewhere, those different ones never went there. 'Those are theirs to hunt there,' they said, and they did not bother them, trying to fight, argue,

there was nothing. As for them, they went there when evening came and in the spring they also went again. And so in the spring when they went trapping, if the other may have some good food, because the tents were close together then, he told his wife to cook what he brought back, 'When I return this evening, I will eat it with my friend.' And so, 'Set it to cook,' when he says that to his wife cooks it. Then in the meantime they were out hunting. Now about that time he returned in the evening when they were about ready to eat. 'Set another place.' He invited his friend. 'Come friend, we are going to eat here. She put this food on to cook, we are going to eat.' 'Yes, yes,' he said and so he went there, he went there, and so he set the food for him, those yes, he happily ate it with him. If by chance, the duck, a duck, he brings home a nice mallard kill, a nice fat muskrat kill, among the Dakota [people] that is good food, they invite the spirit for these things. And so, as for that one who sits over there on the other side, as for him, yes, when he is able to have some type of good food, 'Yes, when it is evening I will eat this koda, cook it,' he said telling her. She sets on to cook when they return, and it is the evening now. Then they took off those moccasins and whatever things were wet, then, 'Friend, come over, we are going to eat these.' Yes, yes, he too will come and eat with him. And so they came through the winter and again went through the summer, suddenly the other one became sick. He felt sick and so they treated him a lot and so after coming a while, he was no more. He was no more and so they put him away, then very much heartache fell on him, with his wife and sister-in-law also included in the heartache. And so, and here they said that they said these hunting places we used to go over there, I am not willing to do that but that is the only place that is ours to hunt. 'What will we do?' he thought with his wife. 'Yes, we will go over there, be brave, and we will go there and over there you will hunt.' Yes, and so they put packs on their backs and they camped over there, they camped alone. Now there was only one tent where they camped now. Just as one would have it, immediately a mallard he just brought home and it was very good. *Pagunta*, they call that a mallard and, yes, you know those already. Yes, those are very good fat. By accident he [mallard] stepped on and tripped the trap and was killed. Yes, 'Cook this here and later when it is evening when I return, I will eat that.' 'Yes,' she said. Yes, and so she put it on to cook now, he returned and then it was cooked well now, he undressed, dried himself and then she put a plate for him to eat in and, 'Set [...another] one there,' they say he said. Yes, back then he used to eat with the one who was his friend, for that reason he told her to set an extra one. She did not question him. 'Why should I set one?' or she did not say anything. Again, she set another one. She put a portion of duck for him, also she put soup in whatever he used to drink from. Yes, as for him he sat down and his wife, she sat too, they say he said. 'Hello friend, wherever you are, yes, I have set this food for you, come to it, I set it for you,' he said. And so, come, we will eat.' 'Yes,' they said he said outside the door, 'Yes,' he said and so he came in. That was his body, the one who was his friend who came in. Even so, they were not anxious or afraid, and nothing [...or anything]. She set the food and soup as well, he came and there he sat down here, that is the way he came but he could not speak but they invited him and, 'Yes,' he said when he came. His wife she too ate with him, they looked over there at the meat, he ate it well down to the bone,

those bones he put them in that dish, as for the soup he drank it happily and that soup he drank up. Then now he ate it all and drank it up and here they said he said, 'Friend, I am grateful to you, they say he said. 'Where I went to, there are food and some things to be had, even so some go hungry.' 'I was hungry, just about then you set food for me, yes I am happy and I came with some others and we all ate it. 'They too are hungry,' they say he said. 'Yes, when I leave here and step out there you will never see me a second time. But when you set food out like this I will come to it and I will eat that, but you will not see me and also you will not hear me, just with the mind alone,' they say he said. 'When you get home, tell them this at home. When they eat set out even a small portion, when they are in need over there, they share what they eat,' he left saying that he said. They had finished eating and then his wife, she went to get her dishes, those he had eaten down to the bone, and here the meat was still hanging on. Yes so right away she brought them right back over here and set them down, now they were already left over and so she and her husband ate it together. 'Take this hoom and tell this as it is,' he said. He told what he brought back. From that time forward, the setting out of one came to be. And so they call it *waekihdepi* and there are two different ones. As for you, every evening for your mother they set out for her. They set for her and so when it is morning when I awake I say a prayer for those and, these *nuske* [...] and I say thanks for how those take us through the day, what it is that I depend on, with my relatives gathered around, I cry out. (pp.158-165)

Taylor's sharing of this story brings out the cultural knowledge in spiritual human history that the people have carried from past practice. This traditional story carries rich knowledge and spiritual teachings which includes; heartache of losing a loved one, cooking of the *pagunta*, sharing of the food, *hambikceckas*, the spirit world, and of the deceased eating with the family. Further, Taylor (2005) shares,

Haw wahinawape kanhan hehan ho ka woyute itokab mihduzaza mihdustan ka hehan he woyute iwacu deciya awaku ded ahi wahde. Haw ka hece hena waekihdepi hena wosnapi hena taku he dedication eyap hena hena tokiya hena. Haw he waehdepi eyap hehe hehan ahake wotapi eyapi nakun wanzi. Haw he kitanna tankaya ecunpi he kitanna tanka oyate tanka wowicak'upi wicakcoba. Ate. Ina, de mincin ksi, micunksi, ahpeimaye he de haw de oyate he ahake kci wayatapta ka de unp sni. Which is translated, When I appear, then yes, over there, before the food I finish washing myself, then I take the food over here and I set it down. And so those are *waekihdepi*, those things are gifts, somewhere they call those *dedication*. 'Yes, that is what they call *waehdepi*, then there is also another one they call the last feast. They do it in a bigger way, a little bigger, they invite and feed a larger group. My father, my mother, my son, my daughter, they left me, you the people will eat with them for the last time and they are not here. (pp.165)

The honor for the deceased crosses generations and is still practiced today. Although stories shared are not always identical or adhere to stringent cultural norms, the spiritual beliefs of cultural practices are still remembered and most are still practiced in many communities. *Kunsi* 1AA shares her story;

Kunsi 1AA: I lost a son just last year, lost three of my children and just a year ago, same time and my sister here, my son passed away, so I have hard times with that, healing loss of family.

Deborah: So, they will be having a memorial here?

Eugene: They did already.

Kunsi 1AA: Oh yeah, we have a memorial for them, the whole year we would collect, and then on that year we have a feast for giveaway. That's how we started making star quilts, colored quilts.

Deborah: Did you have a pipe ceremony? Settings?

Kunsi 1AA: Yeah.

Eugene: We had settings.

Kunsi 1AA: My mom used to do settings for, at the ceremony.

Eugene: What did she put out?

Kunsi 1AA: Of course, I was young in those days, we didn't have any vehicles and its not that far from where we lived, by the cemeteries, so we used to carry our pots of soup, meat, tea, and she'll carry hers on her back, to carry like the apples, candies, stuff, she'll have on her back, she'll tie it here, and then carry the soups, tea, of course we did that too, to take to the cemetery.

After the death of a loved one, there is a year of mourning and great heartache for the family, as previously mentioned. Once this time has passed, families would adopt to fill the emptiness in their heart. Because families were and are closely associated, formal ceremonial adoptions existed and continue in some communities. These adoptions, formal or informal, exist to replace deceased kin. Aunts or uncles have been known to replace moms and dads. "Others" have misinterpreted the loss of family members because aunts and uncles, accordingly, are normally positioned as extended family. In Dakota societies, they are considered as close as mother and father. More importantly, some uncles have replaced the position of father for single parent sisters. If this child was to lose this uncle, it would be just as devastating as losing their father. This same male

responsibility, of protecting and caring for women and children, as it was in camp societies, continues today.

Discussion and Conclusion

The cultural constructions of the missions of the Dakota women in Manitoba, through *kunsi* memory reflection and historical textual knowledge, has produced a fresh approach to female responsibilities, as they once existed and exist today. Through the lens of Dakota women, carrying the voice of Dakota ancestors, guided by *kunsi* knowledge, this thesis has the opportunity to recenter, honor, and dignify Dakota human processes in a culturally appropriate format. It is through language and the reclaiming of memory that ongoing denigration of women's missions will be repudiated and their rightful place restored in the hearts of the Dakota *Oyate*.

The accumulation of historical narratives from *wasicu* and Dakota authors has produced a historical consciousness that has contributed to the development of this thesis. Although *wasicu* writing formulated interpretations of cultural knowledge, they were frozen in missionary language and ideologies of the time. They deployed preconceived religious or *wasicu* ideologies that had not always been defended by the Dakota people. Although the intentions of some of the *wasicu* authors might have been for the defence of the Dakota people's position in Canada, the exclusion of female knowledge was gravely overlooked. As Dakota writers arrived to reclaim control over the production of female knowledge, they recentered women in cultural patterns that dignified female heritage.

The *kunsi* narratives of Dakota women discussed in this thesis include; cultural protocol, matrilineal family social systems, language and identity importance, acculturation, marriages, family, and children responsibilities, distribution of labour, and spiritual responsibilities. Although cultural patterns may have undergone changes, the spiritual beliefs have remained consistent to Dakota cultural knowledge. *Kunsi*

knowledge shared in this thesis has provided an influence in memory reflection that should not be overlooked in the production of narrative historical knowledge.

The traditional life of growing up as a Dakota person has changed dramatically. The yearly cycle of spring trapping and the planting of crops, a summer of hunting and gathering, the fall harvest, and then the quiet winter, is long over for most Dakota people, today. Most families were forced into reserves, divided into factions, and either favored or rejected assimilation and acculturation. Genocidal efforts of the Indian agents, reserve officials, and missionaries caused great tumult to the social systems and cultural values of Dakota people. (Beck, 1958, pp.55) The cultural trauma and religious subjugation is entering a human recovery phase that involves cultural recognition through the restoring of cultural social order and spiritual belief processes. Because Dakota people and culture have gone through tremendous changes, with much of our cultural identity sacrificed along the way, the values and traditions of mainstream contemporary society are often difficult to reconcile with those we consider to be Dakota values and traditions. (Wilson, 2005, pp.8) Grandmothers and traditional Dakota women have persisted to practice traditional values, even through colonial intrusion into the family. They continue to teach the importance of family values, against, and alongside, mainstream influences of the “Other”. They continue to teach the importance of being a Dakota woman, placing the highest honor to traditional values to enrich cultural identity. Taylor (2005) teaches, “It is what makes us a Dakota person and separates us from other cultural groups-the requirements to be recognized by our ancestors in the next world, a Dakota name, a blanket, a pair of moccasins, and a song of our own.” (pp.9)

It is time to put the historical stereotypes, biased ideologies, romantic and

unromantic fantasies, spiritual disbeliefs, and cultural genocide behind us and re-examine a fresh approach in this new century. The knowledge of our grandmothers has revolutionary potential which can bring success in the future of the Dakota *Oyate*.

Of equal importance, the profound historical sacrifice of our warriors, grandmothers, women, and children has granted the Dakota people to be free from subjugation and genocidal ideologies. Using this knowledge is the cornerstone to the decolonization of our minds, hearts, and spirits. Taylor (2005) teaches, “We live because of our ancestors and we live through our ancestors, we share their ancient ceremonies. We share their knowledge and guidance. We are proud to be Dakota people and continue to honour our ancestors, as they continue to guide us in the spirit world.” (pp.9) To the Dakota people, this *waehdepi* for the deceased, for the loved ones who have passed on, is cultural, traditional, spiritual, and honorable. There is nothing more powerful than honoring the deceased, according to the Dakota people.

Pidamayakiye Mitakuyapi Owasin (Thank-you All My Relations)

Appendices

Appendix A: Dakota-English *Wicoie Uieska Wowapi*: Translations

Note: Almost every Dakota language word used in this thesis is from the contribution of Doris Pratt, Eli Taylor, and Eugene Ross. Translations from Taylor and Wilson were assisted by Chris Mato Nunpa, Naomi Cavender, Caske Running Walker, Carolyn Schommer. The written diacritics in the Dakota language were excluded due to time constraints, however, they would have provided the assisted device to indicate the different phonetic sounds such as glutteral and nasal sounds, which is distinguishable to the *Oyate*. Those language references that were used by Howard and Laviolette have been referenced in this dictionary. These *wasicu* references were used with caution, as translations are helpful tools and are not always accurate.

There are 5 vowels in the Dakota dialect.

a-makes the same sound as the short u in English

e-makes the same sound as the long u in English

i-makes the same sound as the long e sound in English

o-makes the same sound as the long o in English

u-makes distinct sounds-the first is the long u sound in English

-the second is the sound of double oo in English

Dakota consonants

b-has the same sound as in English

c-has two distinct sounds

-makes the same sound as the English digraph ch

-comes at the end of words and is made by putting the tongue against the teeth

d-has the same sound as the English d

g-has two distinct sounds

-the hard sound of g in English, usually comes at the end of words

-glutteral, as in words like gi (brown) made in the throat

h-the same sound as English, but glutteral made with the roof of the mouth

j-same sound as in English, almost always in the middle of the word

k-same sound as English

m-the same sound as English

n-the same sound as English

p-the same as English with added stress

q-a clicking sound very close to k

s-the same as English

t-the same as English sound

w-the same as English sound

y-the same as English sound

z-the same as English sound

unaspirated p t k c

in English sounds like b d g j

such as Dakota would sound when spoken as Dakoda

n with the line would be the nasalized sound
as in drink in the English language

c would most sound as a ch in most words
s with dot on top would sound as sh in English sound

- Abdohoksidan-gin-ye- He Who Carried On His Shoulder A Hunter's Bag, Gonrad Laviolette's Dakota name (Laviolette, 1991, pp.xii)
- Amdowapuskiya- Driers on the Shoulder [people] (Garcia, In Howard, 1984, pp.17)
- Anpetu Zaptan Wakan-Good Friday
- ate-(a/ta)-father
- Ateda-(a/ta/da)-uncle
- Ateyapi- refers to the indian agent but it may be used to describe any *fatherlike figure*, or *authority figure* (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.104)
- Atkukupi Anpetu-Father's Day
- Basdecesni-Those Who Do Not Split [people] (Riggs, In Howard, 1984, pp.17)
- Bdewakantunwan-Spirit Water Dwellers people, also Lower Sioux Council, (Wilson, 2005, pp.96)
- Bdoketa Ozikiyapi-Civic Holiday
- Bohipa-no translation (Laviolette, 1991, pp.157)
- Bungi-Plains Ojibwa (Merrick, In Howard, 1984, pp.43)
- cajeyate-(cha/ze/ya/te)-name someone
- cancanga-(chu/cha/gu)-drum
- Can-Huaisin- Pole Village people (Laviolette, 1991, pp.4)
- Cankaskaton- Fortified Village (Laviolette 1991, pp.4)
- Cankaga Oti or Cankaga Otina-Dwellers in Log Cabins formally known as Birdtail Dakota Community Also spelled C'ankaga Ot'i, translated Dwellers in Log Cabins, so named because this group was the first to build and live in this type of dwelling. (Ashley, In Howard, 1984, pp. 23)
- Cankute-Shooters At Trees [people] (Ashley, In Howard, 1984, pp.17)
- C'anowancaya Paha-Formally known as Wood Mountain or Forest Mountain. (Howard, 1984, pp.23)
- canpa or chanpa-chokecherry
- canpasap wi-black cherries moon, August (Howard, 1984, pp.40)
- Cansda-Cikana-Little Place Bare of Wood [people] (Riggs, In Howard, 1984, pp.17)
- cante waste-(chun/ta wash/te)-happy
- canuhupa- (cha/nu/wa/pa)-pipe
- Canupawakpa-Pipestone, also formally known as the community of Pipestone Dakota Nation, also documented as C'andupa Wakpa translated Pipe Creek, so called because when the sioux first came to this locality they found a pipestone pipe at an abandoned plains cree or plains ojibway camp; another name for this locality is

Wic'ap'aha Iyeyapi, translated Where They Found The Scalp, so called because when the sioux first came here they found a human scalp stretched on a loop, the whole affixed to an upright stick that was stuck in the ground (Howard. 1984, 23)

Chakagin-no available translation (Thompson, 2007, pp.1)

Chanshushka Ape Makoche Anpetu-Canada Day

Chiniki-no available translation, Nakota community in Alberta (Thompson 2007)

Cusdipa-Dew Lickers [people] (Garcia, In Howard, 1984, pp.20)

Dakota Oyate-Dakota people

Dakotak hena wicawada-I believe in those Dakota ways (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.126)

Daunkotapi-We are Dakota! (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.1)

dehan-(day/han)-today, now, presently

Dohenonpas (Laviolette, 1991, pp.5)

doketu-(bdo/kay/tu)-summer

Dowa [Chief]-no translation

ehanna-(ay/ha/na)-long ago, but to signify long ago, *ehanna* must be accompanied with the term *woyakapi*, which may be translated as a narration. Together *ehanna woyakapi* may be translated as a narration or a telling of the past, which has an implicit oral meaning (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.63)

hambikcecka-(hu/beek/cha/ga)-moccasin

hanbdeceya-crying for a vision (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.46)

Hankiktapi Ihankhana-Boxing Day

Hankiktapi Anpetu-Christmas Day

hda-(hdu/ya)-rattle

H'damani-[Chief] Rattles Walking (Laviolette, 1991, pp.154)

hecéd wicaundapi-that is how we believe (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.210-212)

hekta-(he/kta)-in the past

Hemnicán-no translation (Riggs 1893, pp.15)

Hesica-may refer to *hills, buttes, mountains, or badlands*. (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.78)

Heun etanhan dehantu ekta oun num ikoyak waun-for that reason at this time I live in two worlds or I am tied to two ways of living

Heyatatunwe, or Heyataotonwe-Back Villagers [people] (Riggs, In Howard, 1984, pp.15)

Heyoka-Thunder Dreamers, spiritual clowns, healers(Tawiyaka, In Howard, 1984, pp.48)

Hinhane Ton [people]-no translation (Laviolette 1991, pp.4)

Hinta Hankpa-Bass Wood Legging [people] (Garcia, In Howard, 1984, pp.20)

Hintonkasanwakan-Holy Weasel (Laviolette, 1944, pp.22)

hipi itokab-before they came; otokaheya (o/to/ga/ya)-in the beginning (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.59)

hipi ohakab-colonized time period (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.59)

hitunkankanpi-stories from elders that teach about the past and involve things of a [spiritual] nature (Taylor and Wilson, 2005, pp.63)

Hohe-Assiniboines (bitter enemies up to the reserve period) (Howard, 1984, pp.55)

hohotena-swing for babies

Hunkpapa-Campers At The Entrance Of The Circle (Lavolette, 1991, pp.5)

Hunkpapas-(um/pa/pas) (Kunsi Marina James. Tipo Inhanke)

Hunkpatidan-Dwell At Entrance (Lavolette, 1991, pp.4)

Hunkupi Anpetu-Mother's Day

Hupaduta-Red Wing (Lavolette, 1944, pp.22)

ieska-(e/a/ska)-interpreter

Ihanktunwan-band of Nakota people

Ihanktunwanna-band of Nakota people

ina-(ee/na)-mom

inipi-sweat lodge ceremony

Inkpaduta-[Chief] Red Point, (Howard, 1984, pp.23)

Inyanceyaka Atunwan-Village at the Rapids [people] (Ashley, In Howard, 1984, pp.19)

isnati-she lives alone or isnatipi-the live alone refers to the lodge where menstruating

women would stay (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.136)

Ispa Tahinspa- Needle Elbow [people] (Garcia, In Howard, 1984, pp. 20)

Itazipcos-No Bows or Sans Arc or Sans Arc [people] (Lavolette, 1991, pp.5)

Iteskada Poghosan-Louis Riel Day

Iyangmani-[Chief] Running Walker (Lavolette, 1991, pp.135)

Iye ciciye sni-Who are you?

kiwasicu e tanhan ihduhdayapi-tearing oneself away from that which is wasicu or
ihduhdayapi-peeling one self or stripping one self or uhdutakudasni-making
yourself into nothing, as a term for assimilation (Charles White Elk, Pine Ridge,
In Wilson, 2005, pp.15)

Kiyuksa-Breaders Of Their Own Law [people] (Lavolette, 1991, pp.5)

Kiyuksa-Breakers of Custom or Law (Howard, 1984, pp.15)

Kopaja or Kapoja-no translation available (Riggs, 1893, pp.15)

ksapa-(ksa/pa)-knowledge

Kulwicasa-Lowland [people] (Lavolette, 1991, pp.5)

kunsi-(ku/she)-grandmother

Magayutesni-Those Who Do Not Eat Greese (Goodvoice, In Howard, 1984, pp.15)

Mahpiyahdinape-[Chief] Cloud Appears (Howard, 1984, pp.23) or Holy Cloud
(Lavolette, 1991, pp.224)

Mahpiyaduta-no translation available

Mahpiyawicasta-[Chief] Sky Man

Makato Icu, Cansayapi taku hena makoce heciya-Where They Get Blue Earth, Painting
the Trees Red, those were that kind of land - Where They Get Blue Earth refers to
the Mankato area of Minnesota. The city of Mankato has retained the ancient
Dakota word for the land there. Cansayapi, Painting the Trees Red refers to the
Lower Sioux Coomunity today but is a reference to the area's large number of
redwoods. Redwood Falls is the name of a nearby town, retaining the Dakota
placename. (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.73)

makoce owapi-(ma/ko/wa/pe)-map

makoce nupa umanipi-(mah-ko-chay na-pah uh-man-epi)-walking in two worlds (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, 116)

Mascotopah-the Red Head, referring to Robert Dickson, British Officer, who built trust and friendship between the Dakota people and the British crown to further enhance the King's objective. He was also identified as the British officer who married To-to-win, a young woman of the Wahpeton branch of the Santee Dakota, sister of the chief of the Cut-Head Yanktonai, Wakinyanduta, or Red Thunder (Lavolette, 1944, pp.24; Allen, 1993, pp.127)

Mato Wakan-[Chief] Holy Bear (Lavolette, 1944, pp.48)

Mazahota-[Chief] Grey Iron

Mazamani-[Chief] no translation (Lavolette, 1991, pp.154)

Mazasha-[Chief] Red Iron (Lavolette, 1991, pp.154)

Minnekonjus-Plant Besides Water [people] (Lavolette, 1991, pp.5)

Mnidiheye-refers to Niagara Falls, which indicates the great distance Dakota people traveled at various times. (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp74)

nagi-(na/ga)-spirit

nah'un waun-is a phrase that maybe translated as *I heard growing up*, but also implies *that what was heard became a part of the state of being*, waun also being *I am*. (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp71)

nawah'un-meaning I heard, may have been used here [bk] instead of something more authoritative, indicating that perhaps his mother never actually saw, [...] but was told that [...] (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.69)

nu, nuske-is a Dakota term used when the speaker cannot recall information immediately, similar to the English *ah* or *um* (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.78)

Oceti Sakowin-Seven Council Fires (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.5)

Oglala-Scatter Their Own [people](Lavolette, 1991, pp.5)

Ohdihe-no translation available (Riggs, in Howard, 1984, pp.17)

Oinajin-[Chief]-Cause To Stand (Howard, 1984, pp.23)

okiciyaka unyanpi-oral tradition (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.18)

okisize-(o/ge/chee/zay)-war, combat

Okopeya-no translation available (Riggs, In Howard, 1984, pp.18)

Omaka Techa Washte-New Year's Day

Ominiciyapi-Protecting Spiritual Ceremonies (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.59)

Oohenonpas-Two Kettles [people] (Lavolette, 1991, pp.5)

Ota Kuteda-Many Shots, Dr. Elijah Taylor's Dakota/Spirit Name. (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, 213)

Oteni Atunwan or Otehi Atunwan- no translation available (Ashley & Garcia, In Howard, 1984, pp.157-158)

Oyate-the people

Oyate Ceyapi Wopakinte-Wiping of the Tears [ceremony]

Pabaska-Cuthead [people] (Taylor, In Howard, 1984, pp.22; Lavolette, 1991, pp. 4-5)

Pagunta-duck

Pahinshashawacikiya-When the RedHead Begged For Our Help (referring to the War of

1812) (Allen, 1993, pp.142)
 Pezibutazizi-refers to the Upper Sioux Community outside of Granite Falls, Minnesota. Historically, the yellow medicine grew in abundance in this area, and Dakota people would gather it to use for healing purposes. (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.74)
 Pidaymayakiye-(pe/da/ma/ya/ye)-thank-you
 Poh'osan-is an older Dakota word referring to a *leader* or *chief*. It is rarely used in this way today. (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.74)
 Psinca-Ton-Red Wild Rice Village [people](Lavolette, 1991, pp.4)
 Psin-Hytankin-Ton-Great Wild Rice Village [people] (Lavolette, 1991, pp.4)
 Psinomaniton-Wild Rice Gatherers [people] (Lavolette, 1991, pp.4)
 Ptanyetu-no translation available
 pte-(ptay)-buffalo

sakowin-(sha/go/wee)-seven
 Sakpedan-no translation available
 Sans Arc-no translation available (Lavolette, 1991, pp.5)
 Shakpee [Chief] Little Six (Howard, 1984, pp.28)
 Sihasapas-Backfeet [people] (Lavolette, 1991, pp.5)
 Sicangu-Burnt Thigh [people] (Lavolette, 1991, pp.5)
 sina okipata-crazy quilts
 Sisitunwan-Dwellers At The Fish Ground [people] (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.4)
 sunka wakan-(shun/ka/wa/ku)-horse

Tabkapsin Tunwanna -Those Who Dwell At the Shiny Ground people [people] (Ashley, In Riggs, In Howard. 1984, pp.19)
 Tacante [Chief]-His Heart (Lavolette, 1944, pp.22)
 Tacankuwaste [Chief]-Good Road (Lavolette, 1944, pp.15)
 Tahampagda-no translation available
 T'ahuha Yuta-Eaters of Hide Scrapings [people] (Taylor, In Howard, 1984, pp.22; Lavolette, 1991, pp.4-5)
 Tak skan skan-traveling stones
 taku ociciyake wacin-I want to tell you something (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.92)
 Tampihda- [Chief] (Lavolette, 1991, pp.154)
 Taninyanhdinazin-no available translation
 Taoyateduta [Chief] Little Crow (Lavolette, 1944, pp.39)
 Tasna Heca-Indian Summer
 Tatanka Iyotake [Chief]-Sitting Buffalo Bull (Howard, 1984, pp.39)
 Tatanka Najin-Standing Buffalo Bull. Also documented as T'at'anka Najin, translated Standing Buffalo Bull, named after the chief of the band that settled there. (Howard, 1984, pp.23) Formally known as the community of Standing Buffalo
 Tate-icasn-mani-[Chief] Medicine Bottle (Lavolette, 1991, pp.154)
 tawacin suta wan hipi itokab-seeking decolonization of our minds, or a strong mind before they came (Pratt, In Wilson, 2005, pp.15)
 Tawahukezanonpa [Chief]-His Two Lances (Lavolette, 1944, pp.22)
 Teton-(tee/tone)-(Kunsi Marina James, Tipo Ihanke)

Tetunwan-no translation available (Lavolette, 1991, pp.4)

Tintamibena or T'intamibena-Round Plain, named for the locale of the reserve, an open place in the woods. (Howard, 1984, pp.23) Formally known as the community of Sioux Wahpeton or Round Plain

Tintatunwe or Tintatonwans-Prairie Villagers [people] (Riggs, In Howard, 1984, pp.15)

tiospaye-family, lodge family

Tipo Ihanke-community of Sioux Village, formally known as Dakota
 Tipi Dakota Nation. Also documented as T'ipo Ihanke, translated Farthest Camp, so named from the fact that at one time this was the farthest extension of the Sioux to the north and west. (Howard, 1984, pp.23)

tipsina-(teep/see/na)-turnip

Ti-Tanka-kaga-Ton-Grand Lodge Village (Lavolette, 1991, pp.4)

Titunwan-Dwellers of the Plains [people] (Wilson, 2005, pp.4)

Tiyospaye-(Lakota translation)-communa groups of famiy and friends

Tiza-Ptanna- Five Lodges (Garcia, In Howard, 1984, pp.18)

t'oka-enemy, the Cree [people] (Tawiyaka, In Howard, 1984, pp.45)

tokatakiya-in the future (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.223)

tuwin-(tu/wee)-auntie

Unchiyapi Ahanki Anpetu-Victoria Day

unkan-(oo/gu)-grandfather

unkan-is a word that may be translated as *and so*, but often within the text it doesn't get translated as it may not make sense in the Englisg translation. This should not be confused with the Dakota word for *grandfather*, *unkan* or *unkanna* (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.68)

Unkikce-Ota-Ton-no translation available (Lavolette, 1991, pp.4)

Waantan [Chief]-Charges At (Lavolette, 1944, pp.22)

wacekiye-(wa/chay/key/ya)-pray

Waechunpi Ozikiyapi Anpetu-Labor Day

Waehdepi-they set out [something...food] (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.20)

wahanpi-(wa/hu/pe)-soup, broth, stew

Wahpekute-Shoot Through The Leaves Dwellers [people] (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.277)

Wahpeton-Leaf Village (Lavolette, 1991, pp.4)

Wahpetunwan-Camp Among The Leaves [people]

wakan-(wa/ku)-holy, sacred

Wakanyanduta [Chief]-Red Thunder (Lavolette, 1944, pp.22)

Wakantanka-The Great Mystery

wakpa-(wa/kpa)-river, creek

Wakpa Atunwan-Village On The River [people] (Ashley, In Riggs, In Howard, 1984, pp.19)

Wakute (Chief)- Bounding Wing

Wamanza [Chief]-Maize, unclear translation (Lavolette, 1944, pp.22)

Wambdihotonmani [Chief]-Eagle Cries Walks (Lavolette, 1944, pp.22)

Wan Duta Eciyapi- (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.213)

Waniyetu-no translation available

Wamdiska or Wambdiska-White Eagle (Howard, 1984, pp.39)

waniyetu opawinge-(wa/ne/ya/too o/pa/wee/ha)-century, one hundred years

Wankanto [Chief]-Blue Above (Laviolette, 1944, pp.22)

Wapahaska or Wap'ahaska-White Warbonnet, also named after the chief of the band that settled there. (Howard, 1984, pp.23). Formally known as the community of Moose Woods or White Cap Cap community (Howard, 1984, pp.23)

wapiya-(wa/pee/ya)-medicine man

wapostan-baby cradle board

wasicu-(wa/she/choo)-is the Dakota word for whiteman [non-Native]. Various explanations exist concerning the etymology of the word. While Riggs does not provide an etymological discussion of the word, he does say this, "Frenchmen, in particular; all white men, in general. It is said that this word is nearly synonymous with 'wakan'. (Riggs, 1992, p.536) Others have similarly suggested this saying might be interpreted as 'any person or thing that is wakan wrapped in mystery' and upon contact applied to the whites who came across the ocean. It also might derive from words meaning "one wearing inappropriate clothing." (Beuchel and Manhart, 2002, p.352) Other translations suggest it means '*takes the fat*;' from the words *wasin* (fat) and *icu* (to take). However, there is no consensus about this. (Wilson, 2005, pp. 249)

waskuyeca-(wa/skoo/ya/chu)-sweets, berries

wasna-pemmican (Martha Tawiyaka, Tataka Najin, In Howard, 1984, pp.47)

waste-(wash/tay)-greetings, hello

waudepi-no translation available

wawokiye-(wa/wo/key/ya)-helper

Wazikute-Pine Shooters (Taylor, In Howard, 1984, pp.22; Laviolette, 1991, pp.4-5)

Wetu Wicakihnapi-implies that they follow the ancestor's ways, traditions (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.109)

Wicanhpi sina okipata- star quilts or star blankets

Wicapaha Iyeyapi-Where They Found The Scap, [also known as Pipe Creek] (Howard, 1984, pp.23)

Wiciyend (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.22; Laviolette, 1991, pp.4-5)

wicoie uieska wowapi-(we/cho/ee/ya yu/ee/ya/ska/pe wo/wa/pe)-dictionary

wihmuke-(we/hamu/kay)-rainbow

Wimanza-no translation available

winkta-(plural is winktapi) Wakan, holy, sacred, helper to the people (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.222)

Winuhca Nunpapi-Spiritual Double Woman, gifted

wipazoka-sakatoons

Wipazoka Wakpa-Juneberry Creek or Saskatoon River, because that was where lots of sakatoons could be found, the chief of the time named it Wipazuka Wakpa, In the states they call saskatoons, juneberries, that's why they say juneberry (kumsi Jean Eagle) Formally known as Sioux Valley Dakota Nation. Also documented as Wipazuk'a Wakpa translated Juneberry Creek (Howard, 1984, pp.23)

Wita Atunwan-Dwellers In The Island people (Ashley, In Riggs, In Howard, 1984,

pp.19)
 wiwanyak wacipi-sundance (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.20)
 wiyaka-(we/ya/ka/ha)-plume, feather
 Wiyaka Otina-Dwellers On The Sand [people] (Ashley, In Howard, 1984, pp.19)
 wokiksuye-(wo/key/ksu/ya)-souvenir
 Wokiksuye Anpetu-Remembrance Day
 Wokiksuye k'a Woyuonihan-Remembering and Honoring
 Wokini Anpetu-Easter Sunday
 wopapi-pemmican (Jim Kiyewakan, Wipazuka Wakpa, In Howard, 1984, pp.55)
 Wopida Anpetu-Thanksgiving Day
 wapostan-baby cradleboard hood
 wosnapi-(wo/shna/pe)- offering
 wowacinyek-translated as beliefs, but in Dakota it implies something deeply
 believed in and depended upon (Taylor, In Wilson, 2005, pp.155)
 Yankton or Yanktonais -Little Dwellers at the End (Taylor, pp.22, In Howard, 1984,
 pp.22; Laviolette, 1991, pp.4-5)

Monthly Naming Schema (Pratt and Taylor, pp.50-52)

Witehi wi-January. The Dakota people called this month De wi kin osnike, wihni pi cha sni, wa kin tke hehan wamanicha hena okhdoka mahed waniyetu ishtima pte iwonka pi, which is translated, Moon of extreme conditions. The weather is most severe this month and most animals trapped for their fur go into hibernation. Heavy snow makes hunting very hard.

Wicata wi-February. Dakota people called this month, De wi kin wicha kin iwohdakapi, hehan owashte chake etkiya onyapi kin he. Hehan wicha kin waniyetu ishtime ga hinape, chan okhdoka akan amashteya hiyutakapi, which is translated Moon of the raccoon, so called because during February, the first changes toward warm weather take place, and the raccoon comes out of hibernation, sunning themselves at the opening of hollow logs.

Istawicayazan wi-March. Dakota people called this month, De wi kin, wi kin ishta okoyazanzan, ishta kin oyazan pi, he kapiye. Wi kin kutkiya koakhanya wan kin etkiya izanzan, which is translated, the moon when sore eyes prevail due to spring's sun rays slanting down on the snow during this time, or snowblindness.

Magaokada wi-April. Dakota people called this month, De wi kin ichaze, magha ahdi he kapiye, hehan wahokhpe hdagha pte hehantuye, which is translated, the name comes from the return of the wild geese in April and the beginning of the nesting period.

Watopapi wi-May. Dakota people called this month, Dakota kin heyapi ye, wakpa ga bde kin hena wana chagha shni, hehan mni tangkte sam iyaye, hehan wata ohna unpte hehantu ye, which is translated, the Watopapi wi, because it meant that the rivers and lakes were finally free of ice and flooding and travel by canoe could be resumed safely.

Wazustecasa wi-June. Dakota people called this month, De wi kin wazustecha hena sha, he kapiye, which is translated, the moon when the wild strawberries turn red.

Bdokecokaya wi-July. Dakota people called this month, De wi kin bdoketu chokoya, hehan wamanicha ga pezi ga wakhchacha hena ichanghe pi. Wichoni pte wa ichaghe, which is translated, the middle of the summer moon. So called because all activity pertaining to life and growth reaches the final stage. All plant and animal life seems to be in preparation for this, three months prior to and again declines slowly after this to the other end of the spectrum.

Wacutun wi-August. Dakota people call this month, De wi kin, wozupi kin hena wi yaye, which is translated, the moon when the most vegetation begins to ripen.

Canpa sapa wi-September. Dakota people call this month, De wi kin, chanpa kin wiya ye. Dakota pi woshpi pi hehan champa kin inya un kashkipi, pusyapi hehan waniyetu unpte mahed ehnapki. Chanpa kin waniyetu kehan woyute wo indag yapiye, which is translated, the moon when the chokecherries turn black. These berries were plentiful during September, and played a significant role in the winter food supply. They were usually pounded with a stone, rolled into patties and fried for winter use.

Tahecapsun wi or Chanwapa ghi wi -October. Dakota people called this month, De wi kin chanwapi kin ghi. Dakota pi abdeza pi wamanicha he aikoyaka pi hena hdekhpe kiyapi ye. It was called by this name because the Dakota people had observed that the deer and other animals with antlers shed them during this moon.

Tasna Heca-Hakikta-Indian Summer, the time when the striped gopher looks back to see if he had adequately prepared for hibernation. It was the last time the people and the animals gathered their food in preparation for winter. This two week period of time is commonly known as Indian Summer.

Takiyuha wi or Wihnipi wi -which is translated November, the mating season of the deer or Wa/hne/pe we, which is translated, the moon of hunting. Dakota people call this month, De wi kin, wihni pte hehantu ye, which is translated, the moon of wintertime.

Waniyetu cokaya wi-December. Dakota people call this month, De wi kin, waniyetu chokaya eyapi, waniyetu hanke iyecheche. Dakota pi kin eheyata wi yamni kaitokab hehan wi wanzi iyohakab hena ihduwiya ya unpiye, waniyetu kin un, which is translated, the middle of winter months. In the Dakota, the three months prior to and after this month have to do with preparation for and maintaining life through the season of winter. (50-52)

Appendix B

Speech of Robert Dickson Esquire to Indian Tribes, 18 January 1813.

"To each of the Tribes of Indians whom Mr. Dickson may have occasion to Address-it would be [ordered] that with a few strings of Wampum to them respectfully, he should open the business with a Short Speech saying,

Brothers, I have been to Quebec to see the great Chief Sir George Prevost, who holds there the place of your Father and ours, the Great King George, that I might know from him everything which relates to the War, which yours and our Enemies the Big Knives are Carrying on against you & us., and I am returning with his Talk to al the Indians. Here then what he says, and let these Strings of Wampum open your Ears to his voice The Ottawass or Others.

My Children-It is now a longtime since you were adopted by me as my Children-Remember Sir William Johnson, he told you I never would forsake or abandon you, but on the Contrary, having pity on your wives and Children, I would send Traders amongst you with Cloathing, and with Arms and Ammunition, that they might be covered, and provisions provided by your Young Men for their sustenance.

My Children-I have not forgotten you, I have kept my word, and although many difficulties were thrown in their way, my Children the Traders got to your Villages with Cloathing and Ammunition, and even a little Milk to gladden your Hearts.-

My Children, You are no Strangers to the War which the Big Knives have most unjustly begun and carry on against the Indians and my other Children:-Although placed at a greater distance from the frontiers of their Country, you have long felt the effects of their wicked policy, whenever they have had policy, it has been uniformly exerted to distress the Indians - first in forcibly taking their lands from those immediately in their vicinity, and depriving those at a distance of the Goods and Ammunition which were absoutey necessary for the Support of their Famiies. My Children, The Traders and the Indians have often complained to me of these Acts of aggression, I advised to patience, and always spoke the words of peace - But when I found these words had no other effect than to increase the arrogance of the Big Knives, and that they had actually began the War with the Indians, I got angry and Ordered my Warriors to take their Arms - Our success in every rencounter with the Enemy has hitherto been complete.-

My Children, I speak the Truth, Compare my words with your own experience - compare the situation of Your country at this timewith what it was 15 Winters ago when the Fort of Michilimackimac was given to the Big Knives - you then wanted for nothing - Your Country was full of Traders and Goods - You were happy - How is it now? These Traders have been ruinrd and chased away from amongst you, and you are reduced to the hard necessity of making use of your Bows and arrows for want of Powder to kill the Deer, But my Children, I have not nor will I lose hold of the Belt which has been so long amongst from Sir William Johnson - on the contrary, I will now make it stronger by the Belt which I now present to you, and never will I leave you but as Your Father, see that

Justice is done to you by the Big Knives and that your hunting Grounds shall be preserved for your use, and that of your Children agreeably to the Treaty made at Grenville with their General Wayne some years ago - My Children, with this Belt I call upon you to rouse up your young Warriors and to join my Troops with the red Coats, and your ancient Brethrin the Canadians, who are also my Children, in order to defend your and our Country, Your and our Wives and Children from becoming Carriers of Water to these fathlefs people - they must be told in a Voice of Thunder that the object of the war is to secure to the Indian Nations the boundaries of their Territories, and that all those who may be found withing their boundaries, shall perish if they do not immediately remove - My Children, we have not attacked them, they have made war upon us and would remain at Peace - One of the reasons they give for that war is, that we have been kind to you and give you good advice - They offended the Great Spirit, and he gave us Victory - You know that Michilimackinac and Detroit were taken from them, for you were there and behaved Nobly in Arms, and not left so in humanity by sparing their lives after they were conquered -. You know also, that twice they have been thrown upon their backs at Niagara at this place also, you and my white Children fought together like Bretherin in Arms, and were again Victorious. - My children, I have already said that the Big Knives would not remain at Peace - They will have War - Come then my red Children and join yourselves to me and my white Children, and let us Fight them together until they shall ask for Peace, but I intreat of you my red Children that in fighting You do not injure poor Women and helpless Children As you have neither Arms or Cloathing or yourselves, my Chiefs will take care to provide for you. - be kind to my Traders when they go among you, let them not return with empty canoes, but let them come back joyful to pay their debts. - And now my children, I invite you to the War Feast of your Father, be then Couragous and Stout hearted, and depend upon it that I shall hold firmly one end of the Belt whilst you hold the other which shall bind us to assist one another against our common Enemy. - Many Chiefs are dead since you became my Children, but others have grown up in their places - In the number is Sir John Johnson, Son of the Great Chief of that name, whom you can never forget, because he counselled you wisely, and his assurances of you having an English Father were not said in vain. - My Children, listen not to the Songs of wild birds who may tell you that the English will make Peace with the Enemy when it suits their own convenience without consulting your Interest. My words are pledged to you that this will never happen.

My Children, open your ears to my words, and do not throw then away - the Indian Nations united with my other Children are much Stronger than the Enemy, and wish four, them to demand Peace, but should any of the Nations be deaf to my words and think their distance will secure him from oppression, they will be miserably deceived. - The policy of the Big Knives, the Americans, which they never lose sight of and of which you have had so many proofs, is to posses themselves of all the Indians lands and to destroy one Nation after another until they get the Whole Country within the Rocky Mountains. - My Children, that you may bear in mind the Alliance now renewed between you and my White Children, I give you a Flag and a Medal to be preserved in your Nation forever. By looking at this Flag you will remember it came from your English Father, and when any of my Chiefs shall see it, they will be happy to take you by the hand and do you all the good they can. - And that you may see that I have the greatest regard for you, I have

made your old friend the Red Head a Chief in order to carry to you my Speech, and have also given him a Flag as a pledge that I consider him as your Brother

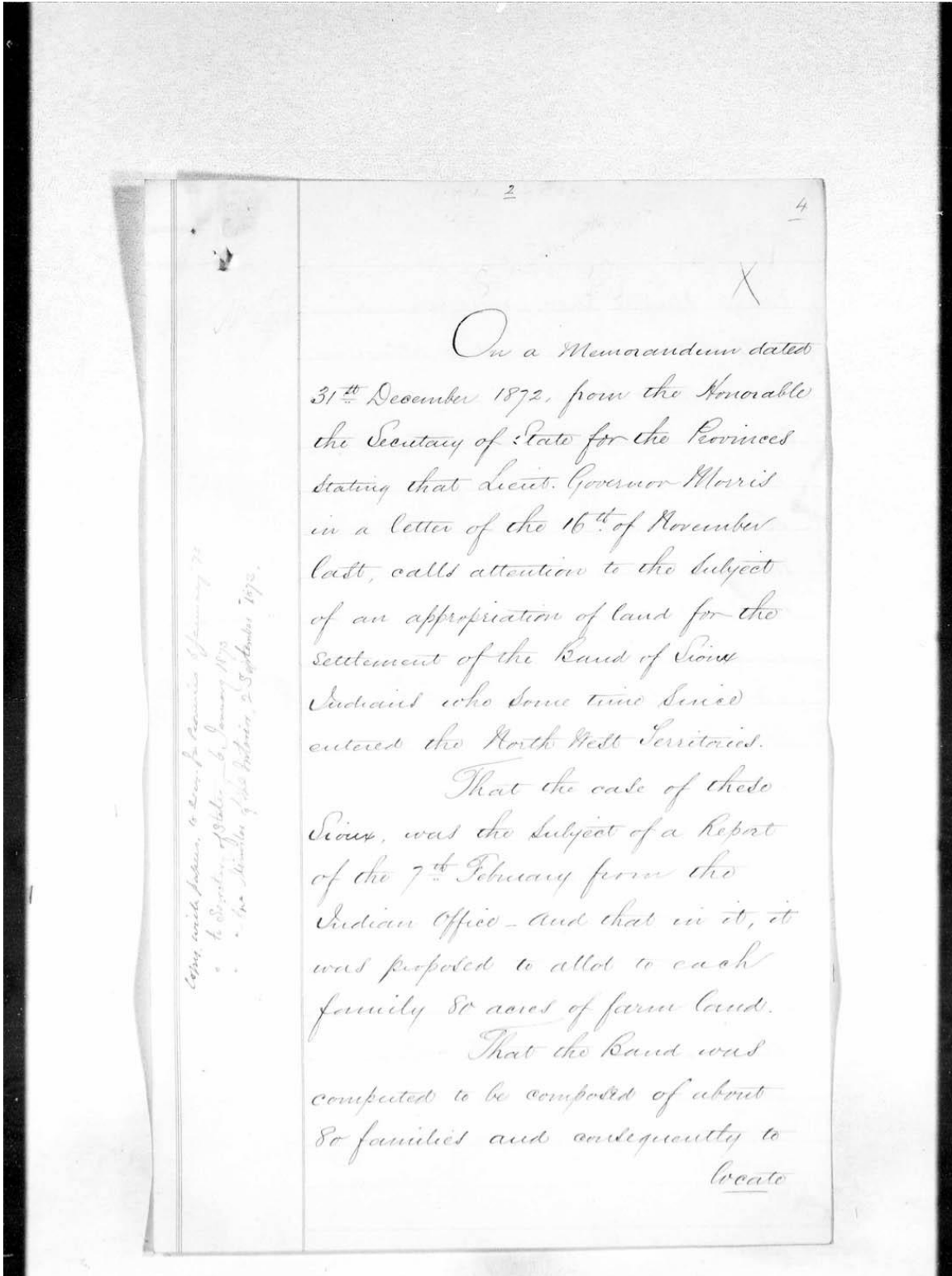
/Signed/ Francis De Rottenburg
M General

Montreal 18 January 1813
/Signed/John Johnson

I.G. & S. G. I. A.
True Copy
W. Claus DIGS Ind. Affs

(Reference: McCord Museum of Canadian History, M640, In Allen, 1992, pp.223-224)

Appendix C: Reserve Granted 12000 Acres Order-In-Council Number 1873-0002



X

On a Memorandum dated 31st December 1872, from the Honorable the Secretary of State for the Provinces stating that Lieut. Governor Morris in a letter of the 16th of November last, calls attention to the subject of an appropriation of land for the settlement of the Band of Sioux Indians who some time since entered the North West Territory.

That the case of these Sioux, was the subject of a Report of the 7th February from the Indian Office - and that in it, it was proposed to allot to each family 80 acres of farm land.

That the Band was computed to be composed of about 80 families and consequently to create

Copy sent to Secy. of State for Provinces 6 January 1873
to Secy. of State 6 January 1873
to Hon. Secy. of State 2 September 1872.

locate them 6400 acres would
suffice. But that due allowance
for inferior land not adapted for
Agriculture, and provision likewise
for some excess over 80 families,
should be made - and recommending
that a Reserve be set apart for
them, to contain about 12,000 acres
with the understanding that an
additional quantity will be reserved
should their actual numbers require
it.

The Secretary of State observes
that Commissioner Simpson in a
letter of the 15th instant, suggests
that a Reserve should be set
apart West of the Province of
Manitoba towards the International
Boundary line; - But that it
must be borne in mind that

Henny

many of these people were refugees from the United States, and it is very questionable whether it would be good policy, or consistent with humanity to insist upon the Reserve being in such proximity to the American Territory; that inroads therefrom would not be difficult of accomplishment, by those who are still hostile to them, and a possible series of complications be the result. He, therefore, suggests that the precise locality, west of Manitoba, should be left open for future arrangement.

The Committee submit the foregoing recommendations and suggestions for Your Excellency's approval.

approved 4/1/73

Duggan

Wm O'Farrell

3221.

On a Report, dated 1st October, 1894, from The Minister of the Interior, stating that it is desirable to reserve the North East quarter of Section 23, Township 22, Range 24, West of The 1st Meridian as a fishing station for the Bird and other Sioux Indians in the Battle Indian Agency, so that they may obtain a supply of fish which would contribute materially toward their maintenance.

The Minister further states that the quarter section in question is within the tract set apart by The Order in Council of the 4th of October, 1884, for the purpose of aiding in the construction of the Manitoba and North-Western Railway, but no patent has issued to the Railway Company

to Minister of the Interior & Commissioner 1894

Ind

AMENDING O. C. 1916
4 OCTOBER 1884

Company for it.

The Minister adds that he is aware that that Company is, at present, in liquidation, and it is doubtful whether any effective consent could be obtained from them to the appropriation of this land for the purposes of the Indians, but he recommends that he be authorized to withdraw the quarter section from the appropriation of the Order in Council of 4th October, 1884, and set it apart, under Sub-section A. of Section 90 of the Dominion Lands Act, for the purpose of the Indians as above indicated; and the Minister further recommends that if, at any time, it should become necessary to designate some other quarter section for the purposes of the Railway Company, he be authorized to do so.

The

3221

7

The Committee submit the
foregoing for Your Excellency's approval.

[Signature]
Approved
30 October 1894
Henry Shoug
Deputy Governor

Privy Council Minutes. 27 October - 3 November 1894.
(R.G. 2, Series 1, Volume 618)

Reference: Library and Archives Canada. RG2, P. C. O., Series A-1-a, Volume 663, Reel C-3628, Access Code 90.

3251.

At the Government House at Ottawa
Tuesday the 30th day of October 1894.

Present.

His Excellency The Governor General.

The Right Hon. Sir John S. D. Thompson

The Hon. Mr. Russell

" - Sir Adolphe P. Caron

" - Sir Charles Herbert Tupper

" - Mr. Haggart

" - J. A. Ouimet

" - J. Mayne Daly

" - A. P. Angus

" - W. B. Ross.

In Council.

His Excellency, in virtue of the
provisions of Section 90 of "The Dominion
Lands Act", Chapter 54 of The Revised
Statutes

To Minister of the Interior & Privy Council
Ottawa - Sept 8 1894

Statutes of Canada, and by and with
The advice of the Queen's Privy Council
for Canada, is pleased to order that the
North-East quarter of Section 23, Town-
ship 20, Range 24, West of the First
Meridian, be reserved and set apart as
a fishing station for the Birch Tail and
other Sibley Indians in the Birch Indian
Agency; and the same is hereby reserved
and set apart accordingly.

Approved *[Signature]*
30 October 1894
Henry Shook
Deputy Governor

Privy Council Minutes. 27 October - 3 November 1894.
(R.G. 2, Series 1, Volume 618)

Informed Consent/Personal Release Form

Research Project Title: Dakota Oral History Research Project: Women's Perspectives

Researcher: Deborah Myran

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what this research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

Name _____

Date _____

Address _____

Phone _____

I _____ (**your name**) hereby freely grant Deborah Myran (Graduate Student, Native Studies Department, University of Manitoba) and her representatives, being the Native Studies Department, the following right: (**Please circle yes or no**)

1. to audiotape (**yes/no**) and/or photograph (**yes/no**) and/or videotape (**yes/no**), my voice (interview) (**yes/no**) and/or image (**yes/no**) as part of the Dakota Oral History Research Project, see attached description;
2. to use my voice and/or image in whole or in part, edited or non-edited, in print (journals, books, or other print media), electronic format (as part of a web-site, cd-rom, audio or videotape or other electronic media), and in class lectures or other public presentations; and, (**yes/no**)
3. to make available my voice and/or image in whole or in part, edited or non-edited to other researchers and the general public.) (**yes/no**)

In addition, I understand that this project is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without penalty.

Furthermore, I _____ **agree/disagree** (circle one) to be identified in name and have my name associated with my image and/or voice and/or transcribed text.

If I circle disagree then I have the assurance from Deborah Myran that my identity shall remain anonymous and the information confidential. The audio recording of your voice shall be transcribed and the recording erased. Confidentiality and anonymity of the subjects/informants will be given a blind number for this research project. Upon completion of this research project, these recordings will also be erased and/or destroyed.

Audio and visual recordings will be transferred to Deborah Myran's personal home computer and at least one back up copy will be kept on cd rom and stored in Deborah Myran's personal collection. All other copies will be submitted to yourself and the Native Studies Department, University of Manitoba. The goal of the project is to make this material available to other researchers and the general public.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding your participation in the Dakota Oral History Project and agree to participate as the subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from this project at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Principal Researcher: **Deborah Myran**
 Masters Student
 Native Studies Department
 University of Manitoba

Supervisor: **Dr. Peter Kulchyski**
 Professor
 Native Studies Department
 University of Manitoba

This research has been approved by the Native Studies Department. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at 474-7122, or email margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this consent has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Participant's Signature

Date

Researcher's Signature

Date

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