

NEW OBSERVATIONS



MASSACRE O

Dec. 29, 1890, Chief Big Foot, with his Minneconjou and camped on this Flat, surrounded by the U.S. 7th Cavalry (47

The "Messiah Craze" possessed many Indians, who left of 1890. "Unrest" on the Pine Ridge Reservation was partly of Chiefs Sitting Bull, Hump, Big Foot, Kicking Bear, and Shing "Ghost Shirts," the ghost dancing warriors would become and white settlers, and bring back the old days of the

On Nov. 15, 1890, Indian Agent Royer (Lakota Wok sand U.S. Regulars were assembled in this area of Da

On Dec. 15, 1890, Chief Sitting Bull was killed by braves escaped from Grand River, and joined Chief E south folk of the Cheyenne River. Chief Big Foot

Dec. 23, 1890, they were ordered to arrest Big Foot away from the Cheyenne county, into the Badlands, head

On Dec. 28, 1890, without a struggle, Chief Big F

Wounded Knee:

Healing the Heartbeat of America

Edited by Mia Feroletto



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Contributors

Peter Champoux
Mitch Epstein
Mia Feroletto
Aaron Fitzgerald Miller
Elaine Goodale Eastman
David Grau
Kevin Killer
Owen Luck
Madeline McCullough
Alessandro Martire
Laurent Olivier
Chief Henry Red Cloud
Robbie Robertson
Annie Wenger-Nabigon
Keri Pickett
Alex White Plume
John Willis
Wendell Yellow Bull
Darien and Lane Young
Man

Back issues may be purchased at:
Printed Matter Inc.
195 Tenth Avenue New York, NY 10011
To pre-order or support please send check or money order to:
New Observations
P.O. Box 335
Chester, VT 05143
For additional information and to contact the publisher, please email: mia.feroletto@gmail.com

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Wounded Knee: *Healing the Heartbeat of America*

Edited by Mia Feroletto

Honoring two extraordinary women from Pine Ridge

Eileen Rose Janis
January 12, 1961 - November 19, 2022

Lula Mae Red Cloud-Burk
October 29, 1946 - October 23, 2022

AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT

Pledged to fight White man's injustice
to Indians, his oppression, persecution,
discrimination and malfeasance in the
handling of Indian Affairs. No area in
North America is too far or too remote
when trouble impends for Indians.
A.I.M. shall be there - to help the
native people regain human rights and
achieve restitution and restoration.

By LOUIS HALL DEC 1973

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Ghost Dance

Song by Robbie Robertson & The Red Road Ensemble

Lyrics

Crow's brought the message
To the children of the sun
For the return of the buffalo
And for a better day to come
You can kill my body
You can damn my soul
For not believing in your God
And some world down below
You don't stand a chance against my prayers
You don't stand a chance against my love
They outlawed the Ghost Dance
They outlawed the Ghost Dance
But we shall live again, we shall live again
My sister above
But she has red paint
She died at Wounded Knee
Like a Latter-day Saint
You got the big drum in the distance
The blackbird's in the sky
That's a sound that you hear
When the buffalo cry
You don't stand a chance against my prayers
You don't stand a chance against my love

They outlawed the Ghost Dance
They outlawed the Ghost Dance
But we shall live again, we shall live again
We shall live again
Crazy Horse was a mystic (yeah)
He knew the secret of the trance
And Sitting Bull, the great apostle
Of the Ghost Dance
Come on Comanche
Come on Blackfoot
Come on Shoshone
Come on Cheyenne
We shall live again (we shall live again)
We shall live again (we shall live again)
Come on Arapaho
Come on Cherokee
Come on Paiute
Come on Sioux
We shall live again (we shall live again)
You used to do the Ghost Dance
Used to do the Ghost Dance
But we don't sing them kinda songs no more

Songwriters: Robbie Robertson / William James Wilson
Ghost Dance lyrics © Universal Music Publishing Group, Warner Chappell Music, Inc



Photo by John Willis

“You don’t stand a chance against my prayers.”

from Robbie Robertson “Ghost Dance”

By Mia Feroletto

During my first trip to the Pine Ridge Reservation in July of 2018, I repeatedly drove back and forth between Henry Red Cloud’s compound in Pine Ridge and the home of Alex White Plume in Manderson. Each time I made the trip, I passed the graveside of the victims killed at the Wounded Knee Massacre in 1890. For some reason I still do not understand completely, I did not want to stop and spend time there. It is ironic given the fact that, for me, the entire year of 2022 was devoted to the topic of Wounded Knee.

Occasionally, I would pass a loose horse or two on the road to Manderson. This was a common occurrence at both Henry and Alex’s places. Henry’s next door neighbors had a herd of horses that would welcome me when I awoke in the morning and it was not uncommon for the White Plume horses to gallop as a group directly in front of my car as it climbed the hill to Alex’s house. The sun shone brightly over Pine Ridge and the crops grew steadily under that brilliant sky.

Several months later, over pancakes back in Vermont with Mary Collins, a woman who had been going out to Pine Ridge for a number of years, I learned about the Barre Museum Association. Mary told me that the museum was housed upstairs in the town library in the little town of Barre, Massachusetts and that it was only open for three days each year for several hours a day. The Lakota had been asking for the return of the artifacts there for decades. At the time, she asked me to look into it, thinking I might be able to help in some way.

Each time I visit Pine Ridge, I see the extreme effects of the Wounded Knee Massacre on the people who live there, particularly the young people who face more challenges on a daily basis than it is conceivable for anyone to be burdened with from the moment of birth. Lakota leaders and Elders work tirelessly to lessen this burden and occasionally some young people are able to slip through the turmoil surrounding them and succeed. They are rare.

At the end of April of this year, I sat in on a two-day meeting of the descendants of survivors of the Wounded Knee Massacre and listened again and again to a repeat of the same story of trauma and heartbreak that has been passed down from generation to generation over the past 132 years. Sitting there listening, I was struck by the similarity between the Lakota and the people of Iraq. Both are victims of American exceptionalism. In Iraq, the dirty bombs and white phosphorous are certain to impact the DNA of the people for generations to come, creating some of the most horrendous birth defects the world has seen since World War II and the bombing of Japan. For the Lakota, the results are on a similar scale but the damage is more psychological and emotional instead of physical. The damage becomes visible with the addiction and abuse of Meth and other drugs that often result in suicide, crime and violence. Or as with Gaza, the Pine Ridge Reservation

can be compared to an open-air prisoner of war camp. The reservation system provided the inspiration for Hitler to create his concentration camps throughout Europe during the second World War.

In my work on the repatriation of the artifacts stolen from the victims of the Wounded Knee Massacre, I have repeatedly been confronted with history and stories that have been hidden and kept secret for all these years. This issue of *New Observations Magazine*, “Wounded Knee: Healing the Heartbeat of America,” attempts, in an imperfect way, to address the atrocities that the people of Pine Ridge, Cheyenne River and Standing Rock Reservations have no place to hide from. They are carried daily in the spirits of the people.

Wounded Knee may be the most well-known of the massacres of Indigenous People in North America, but it is by no means the only slaughter of innocent people. All of the stories of all of the descendants of all of the massacres need to be told. Wendell Yellow Bull, descendant of survivor of the Wounded Knee Massacre Joseph Horn Cloud who built the memorial at Wounded Knee, is the person to orchestrate such an effort. The chronicling of these stories will begin to put American history straight in our minds and in our hearts. We still have a long way to go before that happens but in the year 2022, some small steps have been taken in that direction. This issue covers the Wounded Knee Massacre in 1890, the American Indian Movement in 1973 (AIM), and the return of the artifacts from Wounded Knee in 2022.

I would like to thank our many contributors to this issue who are determined to contribute their piece of the truth to setting the story straight. Mitch Epstein, Robbie Robertson, Annie Wenger-Nabigon, John Willis, Peter Champoux, Henry Red Cloud, Kevin Killer, Wendell Yellow Bull, Elaine Goodale Eastman, Keri Pickett, Alex White Plume, Madeline McCullough, Owen Luck, Aaron Fitzgerald Miller, David Grua, Laurent Olivier, Leola One Feather, Jeffrey Not Help Him, Alessandro Martire, In addition, I would like to thank Maureen Marshall for her leadership and friendship. We set a goal for the return of the artifacts by the end of October and we met that goal, against great odds. Justin Pourier, Henry Red Cloud and Wendell Yellow Bull provided the three legs to my stool. Without their participation and support the Wounded Knee artifacts from Barre, Massachusetts would not have made their journey home.

Additional thanks to Keri Pickett for providing *New Observations Magazine* with this series of previously unpublished photographs taken in 1990 on the 100th anniversary of the Wounded Knee Massacre. They are stunning. And to Diana Roberts for her wonderful design skills.

May we all find a way to support the Oglala, Minniconjou and Hunkpapa bands of the Lakota people in the ways that they find of value. And may they learn to put aside petty differences with each other and build a better future for all.

Ghost Dance. Photo by Owen Luck.



The Last of Sitting Bull: Newspaper Coverage of the Events Leading up to and Immediately Following the Sioux Chief's Death

By Madeline McCullough

https://www.academia.edu/7814050/The_Last_of_Sitting_Bull_Newspaper_Coverage_of_the_Events_Leading_up_to_and_Immediately_Following_the_Sioux_Chief_s_Death

ABSTRACT

This paper looks at *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* news coverage of Native Americans in the South Dakota Territory leading up to and immediately following the December 15, 1890 killing of Sitting Bull, the Sioux leader. News articles a month prior document the build up of the Ghost Dance religion in the various Sioux tribes as well as the white military and civilian reactions to it. Following newspaper accounts for two weeks after Sitting Bull's death creates a trajectory that ends in the Battle at Wounded Knee, the last battle in the "American Indian Wars." While the newspapers do not meet current journalism standards, as a primary source they provide insight into attitudes at the time as well as creating a thread through the events that reveals how they had an impact on each other.¹

Pine Ridge. Rosebud. Standing Rock. Cheyenne River. Lower Brulés. Through a series of unratified agreements drawn up in 1882 and 1883 between the United States and the Sioux Nations, the Sioux people were given land in South Dakota Territory on which to "live after the manner of white men, and be protected in their rights of property, person and life."²

¹ This paper looks at events primarily occurring in North and South Dakota and yet for expediency draws from the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* which are available through online databases. Datelines reveal many of the stories originated close to the source and were transmitted from regional papers including: *The Dakota Territory*; *The Omaha Daily Bee*; *The State Journal, Lincoln, Nebraska*; *The Kansas City Times*; *The Daily Pioneer Press* in St. Paul, Minnesota; *The News Courier* near Rapid City, South Dakota; *The Journal* in Bismarck, North Dakota; the *Chicago Times*; *The Picayune's* Austin (Texas) special, out of New-Orleans, Louisiana; and from unnamed sources.

² **ARTICLE 1.** Whereas it is the policy of the Government of the United States to provide for said Indians a permanent home where they may live after the manner of white men, and be protected in their rights of property, person and life, therefore to carry out such policy it is agreed that hereafter the permanent of the various bands of said Indians shall be upon the separate reservations hereinafter described and set apart. Said Indians, acknowledging the right of the chiefs and headmen of the various bands at each agency to determine for themselves and for their several bands, with the Government of the United States, the boundaries of their separate reservations, hereby agree to accept and abide by such agreements and conditions as to the location and boundaries of such reservations as may be made and agreed upon by the United States. Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, Agreement with the Sioux of Various Tribes, 1882-83*. Oct. 17, 1882, to Jan. 3, 1883. | *Unratified*. See

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What sounded reasonable on paper did not bear out as workable in reality. In the agreement, the phrase "in the manner of white men" might have foretold how tensions would increase between the Sioux people and the white civilians and military. Under the treaties the Sioux found themselves bound to sections of land "like white men," and unable to follow the bison herds. At the same time buffalo were being overkilled by white hunters, so the herds, and the Sioux's food supply, was dwindling. The Sioux found themselves dependent on the United States government for blankets and food rations.

"By 1890 conditions on the Sioux reservation were deteriorating. [General Nelson A.] Miles blamed the Indian discontent on hunger and government failure to keep the promises made by the Sioux Commission in 1889. The disappearance of buffalo and game, a drought and crop failures in 1889 and 1890, and insufficient rations at the agencies had placed the Sioux in desperate straits." Furthermore, thanks to Lt. Col. George Armstrong Custer, a Black Hills gold rush was underway. As white prospectors came into the Dakota Territory, the Sioux became more dissatisfied with their agreement. They grew restless and resentful.³

In a scenario not unique to this time and place, enter a religious leader. A zealot. A charlatan promising relief, and an answer to prayers. Wovoka, a Paiute spiritual leader shared his vision of the second coming of the white man's Messiah during which white men vanish and the land is restored to the Native Americans replete with buffalo and deer. Desperate times call for desperate measures; out of Wovoka's vision the Ghost Dance religion was born.

In a 19 November 1890 *New York Times* series of articles under the headline, "The Sioux Outbreak," we learn of troop movements as infantries were ordered from Forts Omaha, McKinney, Niobrara and Robinson to the Pine Ridge Agency

H. R. Ex. Doc. 68, 47th Congress, 2d session. <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/vol2/treaties/sio1065.htm#mn1> (March 2013).

³ Peter R. DeMontravel, "General Nelson A. Miles and the Wounded Knee Controversy," *Journal of the Southwest*, vol. 28, No. 1 (Spring, 1986): pg. 26 citing Miles to Adjutant General, 14 September 1891, in *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1891* (5 vols. , Washington, D.C. , 1892), 1, 133 - 34.

in reaction to the Ghost Dances, which were increasingly causing alarm in white settlers.⁴

In a 22 November 1890 article, "The Ghost Dance, How the Indians Work Themselves Up to Fighting Pitch," a *Times* reporter, with the help of a "half breed named Half Eyes," is able to file a firsthand account of a Ghost Dance. He describes his own difficult passage over rough terrain in the dark before he hears "the low moaning chant of the Sioux and the snarling of their dogs." This account does not go into politics, treaties made, or broken. Nor does it work to enlighten readers on the Sioux's perspective. The report calls the dance a "ghastly" spectacle, one of "cruel endurance," and the dancers "fanatics," "frenzied," and "insanely religious," engaged in "shrill yelping" and "cataleptic fits." The dramatically written page-one news story asserts, "... many of the reds were in war paint."⁵

The article reports that three dancers shared their visions that night, the final being a "squaw," with bells on her blanket and paint along the part of her raven-black hair. "In a shrill voice she cried out: 'I have seen the Great Father. He sent an eagle, which picked me up and carried me to a far-away mountain. The Great Father told me that the whites would be driven from the country, that the Indians would rule the land, and the buffalo and deer would return.'" The article ends with the reporter's testimony: "This is an accurate description of one of the famous ghost dances..."⁶

Looking at 1890 newspaper accounts with the benefit of a modern body of knowledge on Native American and United States history, the stories seem sensationalized, the descriptions inflammatory. Whether these reporters understood they could be stirring things up or were simply trying to sell papers is unclear. To their credit, some reporters included information that might have quelled increasing tensions. In the *New York Times* story, "The Sioux Outbreak," A. C. Belt, the acting Indian Commissioner is quoted as saying he "has received no recent information from South Dakota which justifies the evident alarm of the settlers in the neighborhood of the Pine Ridge Agency." He admitted that the "Indians are greatly excited," but he was of the opinion that "so long as the Indians are not interfered with, no harm will be done except to themselves." Belt sees no justification for trying to suppress the dances. "His opinion is to let the Indians dance themselves out. It will not be long, he thinks, before they will begin to lose faith in the coming Messiah and fall away. Then the whole craze will collapse."⁷

⁴ "The Sioux Outbreak," *New York Times*, (with dispatches from Minneapolis, Minnesota; Omaha, Valentine and Crawford, Nebraska; and Cheyenne, Wyoming), 19 November 1890, page 2, col. D

⁵ Interesting that it was presumed war paint, as Native Americans paint their faces for many reason including marks of distinction and honor, camouflage and protection, decoration, and for religious ceremonies including morning. *War Paint* (Native American Encyclopedia), <http://nativeamericanencyclopedia.com/war-paint/> (March 2013).

⁶ "The Ghost Dance. How the Indians Work Themselves Up to Fighting Pitch," *New York Times*, 22 November 1890, page 1, col. G.

⁷ "The Sioux Outbreak," *New York Times*, 19 November 1890, page 2, col. D.

Disarming quotes from Sioux leaders are also included. Red Cloud, an Ogallala Sioux, is quoted as saying, "The enthusiasm of the men in it [Ghost Dance religion] will melt away like a Spring snow." And the Bismarck, North Dakota *Journal* characterizes the reports that Ghost Dances are leading to uprisings as a "wild rumor...The Indians are living peacefully on their reservation and waiting patiently for the next ration day." Whether Belt and Red Cloud are downplaying eminent danger or the more dramatic newspaper reporters are exaggerating the situation one cannot say.⁸

Empathy for the Native American people as they realized their lives and their livelihood were beyond their control was not even hinted at in these newspaper accounts. But rather, here Native Americans are stereotyped as reds, savages, and fanatics. Other than key leaders, they are not called by name but rather are called bucks, squaws and pa-pooes. Beyond "brave warrior," they are never described with individual characteristics, i.e., good father, strong singer, calming to horses, although they refer to each other that way in historic biographies.⁹

Another news story; "Indians Ready to Fight, The Pine Ridge Agency Placed in Imminent Peril," is again concerned with Ghost Dances and the situation reportedly assessed by "all" as very grave, intense, and uncertain. The Sioux are described in the article as wild, boisterous, threatening, and scornful. Here, too it is reported that General Miles, Commanding Officer Brooke and all other officers view the "Messiah craze" as "very critical."¹⁰

*The Indians have become so bold in their frenzy that they declare that if the soldiers attempt to take away their chiefs, as has been proposed, they will cut the soldiers' ears off and kill them. Every officer on the ground views the situation as very critical. They know that from 6,000 to 8,000 Indians are likely to swoop down upon them at any moment. 'If this happens,' one officer said, 'nothing but a miracle could save us from Custer's fate. I hope to God that reinforcements will come before the red devils make their break.'*¹¹

It seems that in this report, once the comparison was made to the fatal predicament Custer found himself in 14 years earlier, it might also be said that nothing but a miracle could save this situation from igniting. Dispatches to the *Times* from Aberdeen, Eureka, and Campbell County, South Dakota tell of "well-defined rumors" that the Sioux are "tak-

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ "He was remembered among the Lakota not only as an inspirational leader and fearless warrior but as a loving father and gifted singer. Sitting Bull was an affable man and friendly toward others. His deep faith gave him prophetic insight and lent special power to his prayers." *Native American Encyclopedia*, <http://nativeamericanencyclopedia.com/category/history/> (March 2013).

¹⁰ "Indians Ready to Fight," *New York Times*, 22 November 1890, page 1 column G.

¹¹ Ibid.

ing to the warpath.”¹²

Without a primary source from the Sioux Nation, it is impossible to say if reporters were reporting honestly and fairly on mounting tensions in South Dakota, or if their articles were exacerbating the situation with what, to the modern reader, seem to be incendiary descriptions, charged words and stereotypes. Either way things came to a head on 15 December 1890 when James McLaughlin, Indian Agent at Standing Rock Reservation attempted to arrest Sitting Bull.

Sitting Bull, the Hunkpapa Sioux Chief, had distinguished himself among Sioux Nations as defending native people’s land rights and rights to live outside the reservations. Newspaper accounts do not describe Sitting Bull as angry, aggressive or violent, but rather as “wily.” During 1885 the Sioux leader was “wily” enough to earn \$50 a week performing with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show. The *Times* reports that McLaughlin was convinced that the Ghost Dance “craze” could be stopped by returning Sitting Bull to Standing Rock and requiring all the Sioux to turn in their firearms. “Knowing the Indians as I do, I am confident that I can, by such a course, settle the Messiah craze at this agency, and also thus break up the power of Sitting Bull.” Early on 15 December 1890, “Indian Police” woke Sitting Bull, asked for his rifle and intended to return him to Standing Rock Agency.¹³

*By this time the police were surrounded by Sitting Bull’s followers, members of the Ghost Dance, and the first shot was fired by Catch the Bear, one of the hostiles, and the Lieutenant of police, Bullhead, was struck...Sitting Bull was killed, shot through the body and head in the early part of the fight by Bullhead and Red Tomahawk, each of whom shot at him.*¹⁴

In the days immediately following Sitting Bull’s death several stories ran in the *New York Times*: “The Last of Sitting Bull, The Old Chief Killed While Resisting Arrest,” and “The Death of Sitting Bull, Story of the Old Medicine Man’s Last Fight,” and “The Killing of Sitting Bull, Five of the Police and Eight of the Hostiles Perish it [sic] the Fight.” In a series of dispatches without a headline the *Times* printed, “The story of the last visit paid by a white man to Sitting Bull’s camp...The narrative throws a flood of light on the old chief’s wily character, and strongly depicts the circumstances existing in the isolated camp.” The articles all corroborate the same story with a guilt-free, blameless tone; Sitting Bull was not killed by the U.S. Military, but rather was shot in the head by Indian police (albeit Indian police working for the military).¹⁵

Before the skirmish, McLaughlin had a long talk with Sit-

¹² Ibid.

¹³ A series of dispatches without headlines, *New York Times*, 16 December 1890, page 1 column E-F.

¹⁴ “Bull’s Band Surrenders. The Soldiers Have the Hostiles Well In Hand. The Official Report of the Arrest and Killing of Sitting Bull—An Investigation of the Old Chief’s Death Proposed in Congress,” *New York Times*, 23 December 1890, page 1 column E.

¹⁵ A series of dispatches without headlines, *New York Times*, 16 December 1890, page 1 column E-F.

ting Bull and his followers: “I spoke very plainly to them, pointing out what had been done by the Government for the Sioux people, and how this faction by their present conduct were abusing the confidence that had been reposed in them by the Government in its magnanimity in granting them full amnesty for all past offenses, when from destitution and imminent starvation they were compelled to surrender.”¹⁶

Again, through a modern lens McLaughlin’s arguments seem ludicrous, but in the 16 December 1890 *New York Times*, the story ran as an honest account meant to justify the actions taken. There was no mention of past offenses on the United States’ part—no broken treaties or empty promises, no mention of the circumstances that lead to the situation the Sioux people faced. Furthermore, by today’s standards, the stories use inappropriate colloquialisms: “...send the old medicine man to the happy hunting grounds,” and “making a good Indian” of Sitting Bull. These accounts were not overburdened with grief or guilt either; the articles state rather matter-of-factly that a necessary deed was now done:¹⁷

*The arch villain is dead, and his followers will soon lose the enthusiasm necessary to follow his teachings. Troops are now hot on their trail and before another sun has set Sitting Bull’s celebrated chorus of dancers will be good Indians or prisoners.*¹⁸

There were reports of Sitting Bull’s ghost appearing. And as hopeful as some had been that the end of Sitting Bull meant the end of trouble, the *Times* news stories reveal that unrest continued as new leaders appeared—Short Bull, Kicking Bear, Two Strike and Big Foot—among the dissatisfied Sioux. The Messiah craze was not over.¹⁹

*The capture of all or most of the followers of Sitting Bull, including Big Foot’s band, materially simplifies the problem of dealing with the Indian troubles. These troubles are not over, as the large number of malcontents still out must show. Indeed, were Spring at hand, instead of the dead of Winter, the outlook would be far more serious.*²⁰

In the following days newspaper stories paint a very black-and-white picture of the Sioux people. There were “friendlies” who remained on the various reservations, and “hostiles” who did not. The 26 December 1890 *Los Angeles*

¹⁶ A series of dispatches without headlines, *New York Times*, 16 December 1890, page 1 column E-F.

¹⁷ “The Death of Sitting Bull. A Story of the Old Medicine Man’s Last Fight,” *New York Times*, 17 December 1890, page 2, col. E-F. And a series of dispatches without headlines, *New York Times*, 16 December 1890, page 1 column E-F.

¹⁸ “The Last of Sitting Bull,” *New York Times*, 16 December 1890, page 1, col. E.

¹⁹ “Sitting Bull’s ‘Ghost’ Appears,” *New York Times*, 21 December 1890, page 3, col. F and in a letter to the editor on 22 December 1890 page 4, col. B.

²⁰ Editorial article, *New York Times*, 23 December 1890, page 4, col B.

Times reports, “Short Bull said that if the Government will agree not to disarm his men nor take their ponies he will come in. The Indians are holding out because they are to be given oxen instead of ponies.” However, in the same paper the next article, “Sneaking from the Agency,” dateline Chicago *Inter Ocean* states, that the hostiles are unmanageable and will not listen to reason. It is now thought that the Seventh Cavalry will take the field against the hostiles.”²¹

By 28 December 1890 the *Los Angeles Times* published a story from Creston, South Dakota, “There are, at the least calculation, 500 to 600 warriors among the hostiles, all well armed, and all declaring that they would fight...they have an immense stock of provisions.” The *New York Times* ran the same exact story on the same day with a Denver dateline. However it ended, “Gen. Miles was heard to say in Rapid City to-day [sic] that he was tired of ‘fooling’ with these Indians, and thought that the best thing to be done was to attack them without any further delay.”²²

Finally, the 29 December 1890 *Los Angeles Times* ran two full columns of stories concerned with what would become known as Wounded Knee, the last battle in the Indian Wars. Dateline Lincoln, Nebraska, a special correspondent to the *State Journal* tells of the fight between the troops and Big Foot’s Indians at Wounded Knee. The troops were to disarm the Sioux People and sent them to get their rifles from their teepees. After handing over only two guns the Native Americans threw off their blankets and opened fire on the troops with their remaining rifles. It did not go well.

A *New York Times* account says there were “150 warriors, all perfectly armed, and 250 squaws, with many children.” Major Whiteside had 2,500 soldiers and two Hotchkiss guns.²³

*It would be an abuse of language to describe as a battle the encounter that took place on Monday between United States troops and hostile Indians. The Indians were captives and were surrounded by four times their number of armed white soldiers. They themselves were armed and it was the order to give up their arms that brought on the conflict.*²⁴

Woven throughout the account of the “battle” are phrases of incredulous disbelief and an air of justification.

The worst that could have happened to these captive Indians against whom no atrocities were charged, was to undergo a short confinement, where

²¹ “Refuse to Come In” and “Sneaking from the Agency,” *Los Angeles Times*, 26 December 1890, page 1, col. F.

²² “The War Is Over,” *Los Angeles Times*, 28 December 1890 page 6, col. A. and “Do the Indians Mean Fight!” *New York Times*, 28 December 1890, page 2, col. C.

²³ “A Bloody Revenge. Troops Taken by Surprise and a Number Shot Down,” *Los Angeles Times*, 30 December 1890, page 1, col. D and E. and “Story of the Surrender, How Big Foot and His Braves Were Captured Sunday,” *New York Times*, 30 December 1890, page 1, col. F.

²⁴ “The Indian Massacre,” *New York Times*, 31 December 1890, page 4, col. C and D.

*they would have been better fed and lodged than they were before they were captured. Afterward they would have been returned to a reservation and cared for at the cost of the Government, probably better than they had been cared for...It is proof of a high degree either of desperation or of fanaticisms that the captives should have preferred to trust the chance of resisting an irresistibly superior force of whites. They must have known when they emptied the rifles they were required to surrender into the ranks of armed soldiers surrounded them, that they were sealing their own doom. They had no refuge, no way of fleeing without being pursued and overtaken, and no hope of mercy when they were overtaken. Their revolt was an act not of calculation, but of impulsive hatred and rage, that is to say, an act of insanity.*²⁵

To the modern reader the news story reads like a suicide mission. There is no acknowledgment of that in these dispatches. The white soldiers and the presumably white journalists seem painfully unaware and steeped in their own forgetfulness that they do not remember or recognize the very human emotion of being backed into a corner of desperation and deciding they’d rather fight and die than submit.

Reading newspaper stories of these three events the impact of one on the next becomes clear and yet lessons aren’t learned and attitudes don’t change. The newspapers make it clear, white America was going to “fix” the Native People. And the news accounts of the day serve as a mirror of the attitude toward Native People just as they reflect other prevailing attitudes without “benefit” of editing. Newspapers as a primary source provide an interesting look into historic events that have long been cleaned up, edited, to suit modern sensibilities.

²⁵ Ibid.

The Ghost Dance War and Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890-91

By Elaine Goodale Eastman

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It was in September of the year 1885 that I first set eyes upon the "Great Sioux Reservation"—a forlorn, straggling concentration camp in the middle of the vast empty spaces of Dakota Territory. The last great war leader of the Dakotas, Sitting Bull, was at the moment touring the country under Buffalo Bill, but was soon to assume the new and distasteful role of an "agency Indian." Two or three years earlier the last "buffalo surround" had marked with equal sharpness the end of their independence as a nation. There remained a confused, depressed and humiliated dark folk, clad in a bizarre mixture of coarse jeans, gay calico and shoddy blankets, subsisting literally from hand to mouth upon a monthly or fortnightly dole of beef, pork, flour and coffee. These rations, for which the women were compelled to appear in person, in all weathers, were of poor quality and little relished by the Sioux palate. However, after they had learned to roast, grind and brew the "black medicine," its stimulant quickly became indispensable. Hangers-on at the agencies, the inevitable tin cup in hand, were popularly known as "coffee-coolers."

With a background of two years' service on the faculty of General Armstrong's pioneer Indian school at Hampton, Virginia, I made the rounds of the eight Sioux agencies, sun-steeped and wind-burned, by rail, stage, Missouri river steamboat and springless covered wagon. Country and people offered an unmistakable challenge. One year later, I was back with a commission from the Office of Indian Affairs to organize a community day school on the banks of the dust-veiled Missouri. With me came another Hampton teacher, Miss Laura Tileston, duly accredited by Bishop Hare as "lady missionary."

It was an all but untouched field. Except by two returned Hampton students, no English was spoken in our log cabin and tepee village of perhaps three hundred persons. The equipment covered only bare necessities. The Indian service had been newly staffed with Southern Democrats, some of whom hardly troubled to differentiate between "Injuns" and "niggers." By far the brightest spot in the picture, sixty years ago, was the work of the several Christian denominations. Already a small group of able Dakotas had been raised to posts of dignity and influence, while thousands of converts groped dimly toward better things. Some had white fathers; some white frontiersmen had identified

themselves, by marriage and chosen way of life, with the less exacting world of the native.

The period of the eighteen-eighties was marked by severe pressure for opening the thirty thousand square miles of Sioux land to settlement—a drive engineered by the railroads and promoted by speculators in town sites, with the assistance of the frontier press. Very little of it was adapted to general farming. A three-man commission, whose chairman, Capt. R. H. Pratt of Carlisle School, was a notable champion of the red man, was sent to negotiate the purchase of a considerable portion of these lands. This was during my third year at White River camp. Notwithstanding endorsement by the Indian Rights Association and influential church groups and the support of most mixed bloods and "returned students," the main body of the tribe, led by its elder chiefs, opposed the "Sioux bill" with bitter determination. Payment was offered at the rate of fifty cents an acre, available only after fees had actually been collected from white homesteaders. Finally, certain concessions were agreed to in Washington, and a similar bill, presented by a third commission in 1889, was reluctantly accepted by the necessary two-thirds majority.

The tardy victory left much soreness behind. It was suddenly discovered, or alleged, that the westernmost bands, those at Pine Ridge and Rosebud, had been receiving more than the treaty called for. The ration was accordingly reduced by some two to three million pounds—and this in a year of widespread drouth and general crop failure. Instead of the promised gains, a sullen and disaffected folk found themselves hungrier than before.

In quest of a fuller understanding of the unreconstructed Indian mind, I planned to accompany a party of my wilder neighbors upon an old-time antelope hunt. We set out on a wet midsummer afternoon for the Nebraska sand-hills, a few of us on pony-back, others packed with their goods into white-topped wagons. Our second night's camp in the wilderness found five families sleeping soundly after a hard day's travel. In my diary this item appears: "July 23, 1889. So tired I fall asleep before supper. Later in the night a cry is raised: 'A traveler comes!' Chasing Crane, on his way home from Rosebud, is welcomed with supper and a smoke. He tells a strange story of the second appearing of Christ! God, he says, has appeared to the Crows! In the midst of a coun-

cil he came from nowhere and announced himself as the Savior who came upon earth once and was killed by white men. He had been grieved by the crying of parents for their dead children, and would Jet the sky down upon the earth and destroy the disobedient. He was beautiful to look upon, and bore paint as a sign of power. Men and women listen to this curious tale with apparent credence. A vapor bath is arranged, and I fall asleep again to the monotonous rise and fall of the accompanying songs. "No intuition warned me of the bitter grief this self-proclaimed Messiah was soon to bring upon the Sioux!

That fall I went East, and got in touch with leaders of the several groups interested in Indian welfare. There had been a change in the national administration, and President Harrison had just selected General Thomas J. Morgan, an experienced educator, as his commissioner of Indian Affairs. I was happy to learn that the new official had definite plans looking toward the radical improvement of a hitherto disorderly and ineffective school system. By the first of April I was back in my chosen field as the first supervisor of education for the Sioux. The two Dakotas were now states and included within their borders some sixty widely scattered Indian schools, so far without ruling purpose or clear direction from Washington. Several were "contract schools" under church control.

The five ambassadors sent across the Rocky Mountains by Red Cloud to investigate strange rumors of a Messiah for the Red Man had returned and reported shortly before I reached Pine Ridge in June, 1890. The story they brought was the same as that we had heard from a lone traveler at our one-night camp eleven months before. Suddenly everyone seemed unable to talk of anything but the "new religion"! Some were merely curious; others vaguely apprehensive of they knew not what. Only the more unsophisticated were ready to accept the notion of a miraculous intervention in their favor, at a moment when all hope failed and heaven itself seemed to have turned against them.

For the Sioux country in that year was a veritable dust bowl, from the Missouri westward to the foot-hills and from the White river north to the Cannonball. I traversed every mile in my comfortable mountain wagon, with a Sioux couple of my choice as driver and chaperon. The pitiful little gardens curled up and died in the persistent hot winds. Even young men displayed gaunt limbs and lack-luster faces. Old folks lost their hold on life, and heart-broken mothers mourned the last of a series of dead babes.

"The Indian crops," wrote Bishop Hare, "were a total failure. The rations lasted, even when carefully used, for only two-thirds the time for which they were issued. The sick died from want. A marked discontent, amounting almost to despair, prevailed in many quarters." General Nelson A. Miles urged that the Congress fulfill its part of the agreement with the Sioux and promptly appropriate the necessary funds. However, the Messiah legend had been from

time to time current among many tribes, and did not in this instance originate with the suffering Dakotas. It was soon traced to one Wovoka, also known as Jack Wilson—a Paiute in Nevada, who had been long subject to fainting spells and religious delusions. There seems to have been nothing in the teachings of this harmless and kindly individual to incite to active resistance. Many groups were unaffected and only a small minority of the 25,000 Sioux gave full credence to the "new religion." Even these ignorant and unhappy souls preached no violence. "The fact is," wrote the Reverend Thomas L. Riggs, a missionary of the second generation whose whole life was spent among these people, "that not one in a hundred of our western Sioux had any thought of making war against the whites. It was in very truth a newspaper war."

Stanley Vestal, biographer of Sitting Bull, points out that he was among the last of the old leaders to take up the craze, and that with no little doubt and hesitation. His attitude might be summed up in the saying attributed to Little Wound: "If this is something good, we ought to have it; if not, it will fall to the ground of itself." His offer to accompany Agent McLaughlin of Standing Rock to Mason Valley, in Nevada, and abide by what they should find there certainly indicates an open mind. I sent my driver, Industrious by name, to invite his "uncle" to dinner in my tent on the golden October day of my visit to the Grand River day school, but the canny old man would say little beyond the conventional protestations of friendship for the "rich" (the white people), and a leaning toward the "White Robes" who were about to hold annual convocation a day's journey from his village. While representatives of Bishop Hare's seventeen hundred communicants were meeting on Oak creek, however, a very different scene was being enacted forty miles distant, where Sitting Bull's people were learning strange rites from Kicking Bear, a high priest of the new Messiah.

Journeying overland from Standing Rock to Pine Ridge, we made overnight camp at Big Foot's place, near the forks of the Cheyenne, and were invited to breakfast at the home of the unfortunate chief, long known as a man of peace. A troop of the Eighth Cavalry had been stationed just above them, as a precautionary measure, and I stopped for a word with Col. Sumner and his subalterns, finding them disposed to scout the notion of danger from the Indians.

At our last meal on the prairie before reaching Pine Ridge agency, I had a long talk with Good Thunder, one of Red Cloud's messengers, who had been in the guardhouse a few days for preaching the "new religion." He was a fine looking elderly Dakota, with a soft voice and ingratiating presence. I still have the pencilled notes of his naive story hurriedly done into English on the spot. He said in part: "We travelled three years (months) to find the Christ. On a broad prairie covered with Indians I saw him at last—a man of surpassing beauty, with long yellow hair, clad in a blue robe. He did not look at us nor speak, but read our thoughts and answered

them without words. I saw the prints of the nails in his hands and feet. He said that the crying of the Indians had sounded loud in his ears. He would come to them tomorrow—(meaning next summer). Then they would be with him in Elysium, living in skin tents and hunting the buffalo. Three birds, an Eagle, a Hawk and a Dove, attended him.”

Here we have the combination of Christian and primitive symbols characteristic of the Ghost Dance. The original ceremonies prescribed by Wovoka now began to be elaborated and zealously taught by Short Bull, Kicking Bear, and other Sioux prophets. Their followers insisted that this was their “church,” which ought to be as safe from molestation as the scattered chapels of the Christian Dakotas. Meanwhile, among near-by settlers and even government employees, there developed a nervousness amounting to panic—real or assumed. When they began to appeal for military protection, and Governor Millett of South Dakota asked the Congress for arms to meet a possible “Indian uprising,” Senator Voorhees of Indiana, the “Tall Pine of the Wabash,” moved instead the issue of a hundred thousand rations to the “starving Sioux.” Congress voted the guns.

D. F. Royer, the newly appointed Republican agent at Pine Ridge, was inexperienced and timid. His futile attempts to forbid the dancing merely fanned the flame. Within a month, he was bombarding Washington with pressing demands for troops. Ignoring the scare-mongers, I set out with my camp outfit on a second tour of inspection among the dozen or so camp day schools. There was no secrecy about the famous dance, and upon a bright moonlight night in November I joined a little group of spectators near the Porcupine Tail butte—the only one of them who was not a Dakota. Perhaps a hundred men, women and children, dressed in white, swung in a great circle from right to left, moving with hand clasped in hand, the fingers interlaced. I was told that they had previously fasted and passed through the sweat-lodge. The monotonous Ghost Dance songs alternated with short invocations by the priest and intervals of wailing by the women.

*“Here we shall hunt the buffalo—
So says the Father!”*

From time to time one broke from the ring, spun wildly about and fell like a log, apparently senseless. One old woman fell so near me that I could have touched her. The circle closed up and left her alone. After some time she roused, got to her feet, and harangued the congregation in a strong voice, telling of what she had seen in the land of spirits.

“They are living in a most beautiful country,” she exclaimed. “It is black with bison, as in the old days. I saw them feasting and playing. How can I bear this life!”

The worshippers responded with cries and groans. In my diary I noted that sometimes “food of the spirits, made of jerked buffalo meat, is passed about in evidence. Shirts painted in a peculiar manner are worn in the dance.” These were fashioned of unbleached cotton, fringed and decorat-

ed in imitation of the vanished skin clothing. Later, after the troops appeared, it was asserted that the sacred garments were bulletproof. No weapon of any kind was carried in the dance—indeed all metal was banned. Converts were urged to discard everything belonging to the white man—but this had long since become impossible.

Next day, we moved on to the Medicine Root, some fifty miles from the agency. Although we civilians knew nothing of it, troops had finally been ordered to the front and had reached Rushville, Nebraska, the railroad town nearest Pine Ridge, on that very evening—November 17, 1890. Neither the teacher of Day School No. 8 nor I had anything to say when a towering six-foot-two chieftain burst abruptly into the busy schoolroom and in the presence of the awed children indignantly demanded: “Why are the soldiers here? We have done nothing wrong. If the Messiah does not come in the spring, as promised, we shall stop dancing.”

The teacher was ordered to report at the agency at once, and I slept peacefully one more night within earshot of the dance, but was, for the first and only time, denied permission to use my camera. In the early morning, the whole population was ordered in by way of a native policeman who had ridden all night. The village was instantly in commotion. Ponies were hurriedly caught and watered, tents razed, goods packed, and soon two long files of wagons moved in opposite directions. While the “church party” and most non-dancers sadly obeyed orders, the dancers, fearing summary punishment, fled in panic to the natural fortress of the Bad Lands. From that day on, the thousands encamped about the agency were known as “friendlies” while their kinsmen in hiding, subsisting as best they could upon such part of the government herd as they had been able to carry with them, were quite unfairly dubbed “hostiles.”

We were now practically under martial law, with General John R. Brooke in personal command. The infantry set up tents on the common, by degrees protecting them with trenches and crude breastworks. The streets were patrolled, and a buffalo-coated sentinel stood guard night and day around the Ogallala boarding-school, whose doors were kept locked upon hundreds of children from all parts of the reservation; partly, no doubt, as hostages for the good behavior of their parents. Families of the Indian trader and of some of the white employees were hastily sent away. Old, sick and little ones were suffering from exposure in thin cotton tents; the grazing was soon gone and the ponies were starving. Worse still, police, mixed-bloods and even church members were threatened with reprisals from the excited ghost-dancers. The Episcopal minister, Rev. Charles Smith Cook, and the newly appointed government physician, Dr. Charles A. Eastman, were college-trained Sioux, suffering from inner conflict between sympathy with their unhappy people and loyalty to government and civilization. This was a clash of cultures and not of races, for the great majority of Dakotas remained throughout loyal and sane.

However, the presence of troops was a scarcely veiled threat. Swarms of “war correspondents” from Omaha, Chicago and New York felt obliged to invent highly colored stories in default of authentic news. Some officers admitted that “the army doesn’t know what it is here for,” while at the same time we heard that the men were bored with long inaction and “spoiling for a fight.”

My driver had close kin among the refugees in the Bad Lands whom he visited secretly by night, bringing me private bulletins. He reported growing bitterness. Father Jutz, the good German priest in charge of the Catholic mission, declined military protection, and not only cared for about a hundred children throughout the disturbance but fed and sheltered many fugitives. He also went freely among the ghost dancers in an effort to mediate and bring about a voluntary surrender.

Through the long Indian summer days of outward quiet, the inward tension grew and grew. Suddenly, into the midst of our wonted Christmas preparations—the weaving of ceda garlands, the singing of carols—crashed the breathtaking news of the seizure and death of Sitting Bull.

Agent James McLaughlin, later an inspector and special agent, had repeatedly urged that the chief and a few other “trouble makers” be shut up where they could do no more harm. He insisted that he could handle the situation without help, if given the necessary authority. His plan to await the monthly “Big Issue,” when the camps were all but deserted, was abandoned when word came that Sitting Bull was about to leave for Pine Ridge. The final move was made on the night of December 14th, by a large force of native police.

Awakened before dawn, the ageing leader at first professed himself ready to go with them. He dressed and sent for his favorite horse. But in the meantime a crowd had collected about the cabin, and some one—said to have been his young son, Crow Foot, who died with him—called upon him to stand fast. He cried out: “I will not go!” A follower then fired, hitting Lieutenant Bullhead who instantly sent a bullet into the body of the chief. There followed a short, bitter hand-to-hand struggle, in which six police fell, with seven of the Grand River men, and several more were wounded. In some instances near kin were said to have exchanged shots.

Regular troops sent from Fort Yates to support the police not only arrived too late to be of any use but mistook the surviving members of the force for followers of Sitting Bull and threw shells among them—fortunately doing no harm. The Grand River people left their own dead on the field (to be buried later by the courageous missionary, Thomas Riggs), and in desperate panic stampeded southward. Some went back later; others took refuge with their friends under Big Foot, whom they quickly infected with their terror.

Taking the refugees with them, Big Foot’s people set out in the direction of their own Cheyenne River Agency. Obviously uncertain, they halted next day to talk matters over

and were surprised by Colonel Sumner’s command, arrested on suspicion and made to turn back. Presumably destined for confinement at Fort Meade, they were nevertheless left without guard at their village for the night. Escape became their only thought, and before the officer learned of their flight they were well over the divide on the way to the Bad Lands.

We heard next of Major Whitside’s capture of the approaching party on the evening of the 28th of December, when he sent to headquarters for reinforcements. Col. James W. Forsyth immediately joined Whitside at Wounded Knee creek with four additional troops of the Seventh Cavalry and four Hotchkiss guns. He then had a total of 470 well-armed professional soldiers, with whom to subdue a wandering village of between three and four hundred ragged, hungry and frightened men, women and children. Three press correspondents, a missionary priest, Father Craft, who was accidentally wounded in the fray, and several other civilians accompanied the soldiers.

Ironically enough, there were at this moment no “hostiles” entrenched in the Bad Lands. The stampeding ghost dancers had gradually yielded to persuasion and moved their camp to within some five miles of the agency.

A large cedar had been set up in the chapel for day to day services and distribution of gifts to the several congregations now encamped at Pine Ridge. We were filling candy-bags on the morning of the 29th of December, when swift couriers on horse-back brought sensational news of the slaughter at Wounded Knee, eighteen miles away. First reports had it that the cavalry had been cut off, leaving us at the mercy of a maddened horde of Indians. When the loyal Sioux learned that unarmed men, women and children had been shot down in flight, their white camps melted away like snow-banks in April. The brown hills were instantly alive with galloping horsemen and a long line of loaded wagons disappeared in the distance. Soon the chapel and mission house were swamped by a crowd of sobbing, terrified women and children—church members, for the most part of mixed descent. The two Presbyterian missionary women left their more exposed cottage on the brow of the hill and joined us in the rectory, one of them carrying her pet canary in his cage. The solid outside shutters were slammed to, the oil lamps lit, and an effort made to calm the excitement with the help of hot coffee and sandwiches.

Long after dark the Seventh Cavalry appeared, bringing its own numerous casualties and thirty-three severely wounded prisoners, all but six of them women and children. Mr. Cook cleared his church, ordered the pews torn out and the floor spread with hay. Quilts were brought from the house and the moaning victims lifted from the wagons and tended throughout the night by Doctor Eastman, the physician of their own blood, with such volunteer help as was available. Later one of the army surgeons came to assist, but no one wondered to see the Sioux women shrink in horror from the

dreaded uniform. We made gallons of coffee, and distributed bread to as many as were able to eat. By the next day fresh beef had been requisitioned and a temporary soup kitchen and bakery set up in the rectory.

Appeals printed in the Boston papers soon brought generous supplies of linen, blankets and clean clothing. Neat cots replaced the matted heaps of hay, and in the course of a few days a trained nurse was installed. Meantime, however, most of the injuries had proved mortal. A few more wounded wandered in on foot or were picked up alive, on the third day, under a fall of fresh snow. But even if not crippled, nearly all of the survivors were heart-broken and apathetic. Several orphaned children found good homes. A baby girl, taken by Dr. Eastman from her dead mother's breast, was adopted by Col. L. W. Colby and his wife who brought up and educated her.

The "battle" of Wounded Knee remained for some time in heated controversy. It was represented by Colonel Forsyth in his official report as a "gallant" action by his command, in which about ninety "bucks" were killed while "crazed by religious fanaticism," and "comparatively few squaws injured." Within a few days, other facts came to light and were widely publicized, putting the army on the defensive. Commissioner Morgan asked for my version and at once gave it to the press where it appeared in full, under the headlines: "Fight on Wounded Knee Creek. Intentional Slaughter of Women and Children."

My information was chiefly obtained from the Sioux prisoners, with whom I talked freely in their own tongue. I wrote "The testimony of the survivors of Big Foot's band is unanimous on one important point—namely, that the Indians did not deliberately plan resistance. The party was not a war party, according to their statements, (which I believe to be true,) but a party intending to visit the agency at the invitation of Red Cloud. The Indians say that many of the men were unarmed. When they met the troops, they anticipated no trouble. There was constant friendly intercourse between the soldiers and the Indians, even women shaking hands with the officers and men.

"The demand for their arms was a surprise to the Indians, but the great majority chose to submit quietly. The tipis had already been searched and a large number of guns, knives and hatchets confiscated when the searching of the persons of the men was begun. The women say that they too were searched and the knives which they always carry for domestic purposes taken from them. A number of the men had surrendered their rifles and cartridge belts when one young man, (described by the Indians as a good-for-nothing,) fired a single shot. This called forth a volley from the troops and the firing and confusion became general.

"I do not credit the statement made by some that the women carried arms and participated actively in the fight. There is no doubt that the great majority of women and children, as well as many unarmed men and youth, had no

thought of anything but flight. They were pursued up the ravines and shot down indiscriminately by the soldiers. The killing of the women and children was in part unavoidable, owing to the confusion, but I think there is no doubt that it was in many cases deliberate and intentional. The Seventh Cavalry, Custer's old command, had an old grudge to repay. "The party of scouts who buried the dead report 84 bodies of men and boys, 44 of women and 16 of young children. Some were carried off by the hostiles. A number of prisoners, chiefly women, have since died of their wounds and more will soon follow. The party who visited the field on January 1 to rescue any wounded who might have been abandoned, and brought in seven, report that nearly all the men were lying close about Big Foot's Sibley tent, while the women and children were scattered along a distance of two miles from the scene of the encounter."

The Sioux have always maintained that most of the casualties suffered by the troops were inflicted by their comrades in arms. This supposition is borne out by maps and diagrams of the field, as well as by testimony of officers present at the first investigation, made January 10, 1891. Said Assistant Surgeon Charles B. Ewing: "Located as the troops were and firing as they did, it was impossible not to wound and kill each other." Taken together with the accepted fact that most of the Sioux were unarmed, the evidence appears conclusive. General Miles stated publicly that 40 guns had been taken from the tipis and that a personal search of twenty or more warriors had revealed no weapons. Rev. Mr. Riggs, who knew Big Foot's men intimately, believed that "not more than every other man had a gun." He doubted if more than sixty, at most, were taken to Wounded Knee by the Sioux. Most of these were in fact shot-guns and old muzzle loaders, kept for hunting small game, and in a measure as the traditional badge of masculinity.

Forsyth stood court-martial and was acquitted, but the evidence was not made public. On March 13, 1917, General Miles wrote the then commissioner of Indian Affairs as follows: "The action of the commanding officer in my judgment at the time—and I so reported—was most reprehensible. The disposition of the troops was such that in firing upon the warriors they fired directly 'toward their own lines, and also into the camp of the women and children, and I have regarded the whole affair as most unjustifiable and worthy of the severest condemnation."

Lieutenant (afterward Brig. Gen.) E. S. Godfrey submitted his personal story to the War College on May 29, 1931. He states "some time after all firing had ceased" he was ordered to pursue a small group who had escaped over the ridge. He chased them down a partly wooded valley, calling out "Squaw—pappoose—cola!" apparently as an invitation to appear and make a second formal surrender! When they remained in hiding, he directed his men to fire a volley into the bushes, killing a woman and three children. A boy of about fourteen, found to be not quite dead, was finished off

on the spot by a young soldier. Godfrey says he reprimanded him, but not too severely! This incident is cited by Fairfax Downey in his *Indian-Fighting Army* (1942), as if it had been a solitary instance of killing a wounded prisoner—an assumption which is flatly contradicted by abundant Indian testimony.

On February 11, 1891, less than two months after the event, Turning Hawk and American Horse told their story in Washington before the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Senator Dawes and other notables. Said American Horse:

"When the firing began, of course the people immediately around the young man who fired the first shot were killed right together. They then turned their guns, Hotchkiss guns, upon the women who were in the lodges, standing there under a flag of truce, and as soon as they were fired upon they fled, the men fleeing in one direction and the women running in two different directions. A woman with an infant in her arms was killed as she almost touched the white flag. Another was shot down with her infant and the child not knowing that his mother was dead was still nursing."

Seventy-five survivors and members of their families were interviewed by Inspector McLaughlin in 1920, principally with regard to their property losses. The horses, tents, camp furniture and clothing destroyed or taken comprised nearly everything they owned in the world.

In 1934, the sworn testimony of 24 survivors was taken and subsequently published by their superintendent, James H. McGregor. Dewey Beard, then a man 77 years of age, still active and influential, was a prominent witness, both at that time and four years later, in Washington. He had been first wounded in the leg, then shot through the body while lying helpless, and lost his father, mother, two brothers, a sister, wife and child at Wounded Knee.

While there is no dispute as to the first shot coming from the side of the Indians, this solitary shot has never been clearly shown to have been other than an accident. It was obviously unauthorized by the chief, a very sick man, or by the party as a whole. Dewey Beard states that a certain young man, by some writers identified as Black Fox of Cheyenne River, started toward the spot where weapons were delivered. "It was his intention to put that gun down. Two soldiers came on and grabbed the gun. Right after they spun him around there was a report. I couldn't say that any one was shot. They fired on us anyhow."

"The soldiers," writes Maj. Charles W. Allen, one of three newspaper correspondents present at Wounded Knee, "seem to have taken instantaneous action, without orders, after the first shot was fired into a pile of old and outmoded guns that had been surrendered and over which stood an armed guard—who, by the way, was not injured."

Here is General Miles' summing up in his letter of March

13, 1917, to the Indian Commissioner:

"A scuffle occurred between one warrior who had a rifle in his hand and two soldiers. The rifle was discharged, and a massacre occurred; not only the warriors but a large number of women and children who tried to escape by running and scattering over the prairie were hunted down and killed. The official reports make the number killed ninety warriors and approximately two hundred women and children."

In 1938 there were still 44 living survivors. They had formed an association and held an annual meeting at the scene of the massacre, where a monument had been erected by relatives and friends above the mass grave of 146 of the victims. James Pipe-on-Head, their president, in that year headed a delegation from Pine Ridge to testify in favor of a bill introduced by Congressman Francis H. Case of South Dakota, providing some financial compensation to survivors and the heirs of deceased Indians. This bill has been before the committee two or three times, with the support of the Indian Commissioner.

It has been widely represented that a certain medicine man undertook at the critical moment to harangue the Sioux, telling them that their "sacred shirts" would protect them, and tossing a handful of dust into the air—interpreted by some as a signal for resistance. No Sioux witness mentions such an incident, and an excited interpreter might easily have misunderstood the speech. There is nothing to indicate that Big Foot's people ever considered putting up a hopeless eleventh-hour fight, after they had given up nearly all their guns. They could not fail to note the four machine guns trained directly upon the lodges filled with helpless women and children. These people were in sore straits and their priest—if he ever performed as stated—was no doubt invoking supernatural aid.

Matters remained in a critical state for several days. Fresh troops were rushed to the scene, and there were one or two minor clashes but the threatened attack in force never materialized. General Miles assumed personal command at Pine Ridge and did all in his power to conciliate and soothe the terrified refugees, who included only a few hundred men of fighting age. Rations were increased about one-third, and nearly everything done or promised that the Sioux had originally asked. By the middle of January they had all surrendered and the campaign of 1890-1891 was at an end. It cost nearly three hundred lives on their side, two-thirds of which were the lives of women and children, and on the side of the Government 49 soldiers and native police fell in a wholly needless "war." Mooney estimates the money cost at a mere one million, two hundred thousand dollars.

OUR WOUNDED KNEE

By Peter Champoux

December 29, 1890, Wounded Knee Creek "the day the west was won."

The expressed purpose of this article is to offer spiritual science methods by which the dead of Wounded Knee, the Oglala and greater Sioux Nation, as well as Native Americans in total can return to the rainbow light of the seven sacred directions: locally, geographically within the Northern Plains, and Turtle Island in total.

Wasta Means Good in Lakota

In July 2021 I was invited to speak at a "Consciousness and Contact" conference in Wasta, South Dakota where two Lakota elders, whose blood relatives were integral to Wounded Knee's trauma triangle were also in attendance. As part of this gathering a pilgrimage was made to Wounded Knee, a sacred site of all Native peoples, where I was first confronted by the Wounded Knee Monument's Masonic like layout and design. With my eye for land relationships I noted that Wasta was due North of Wounded Knee making for a conversation of the seven sacred directions between the two.

Wasta, meaning "good" in Lakota, is on the East-West alignment of the Grand Tetons (Four Grandmothers Standing Tall), Black Hill's Pe Sla (the place of emergence) Wasta and Pipestone. Wasta, at Wounded Knee's North Door, in the conversation of place to the seven sacred directions, affords wisdom and knowledge to Wounded Knee's renewal and youthful return at Wasta's South Door. A telluric current following Earth's electromagnetic field stream, this dynamic relationship of place, in my read of the land, writes an anti-virus software code into the Great Plains hard-drive, activating latent power of the Native voice in the arc of sacred site centered EarthRings across the span of Turtle Island whose finger like imprint holds the Earth as if in the hand of the Creator.

King and Land are One

Like the wound in the thigh of the Grail Legend's Fisher King, Wounded Knee is an open wound that pains the soul of America's kings, its Native People; bringing desolation to their lands as the king and the land are One. Even the name Wounded Knee speaks to the crippling of a beautiful, loved and needed Race of Man.

This wound that never heals was first opened in Massachusetts, my home turf, during the King Philip's War pitting tribes east of the Hudson River against colonial blunderbuss. It was at the Great Falls massacre where a similar cowardly action occurred against peaceable Indians, where the T. Roosevelt war cry of "the only good Indian is a dead Indian" was first acted on as justification for the genocide of a race prosecuted over the next 200 years from sea to shining sea, culminating at emblematic Wounded Knee where

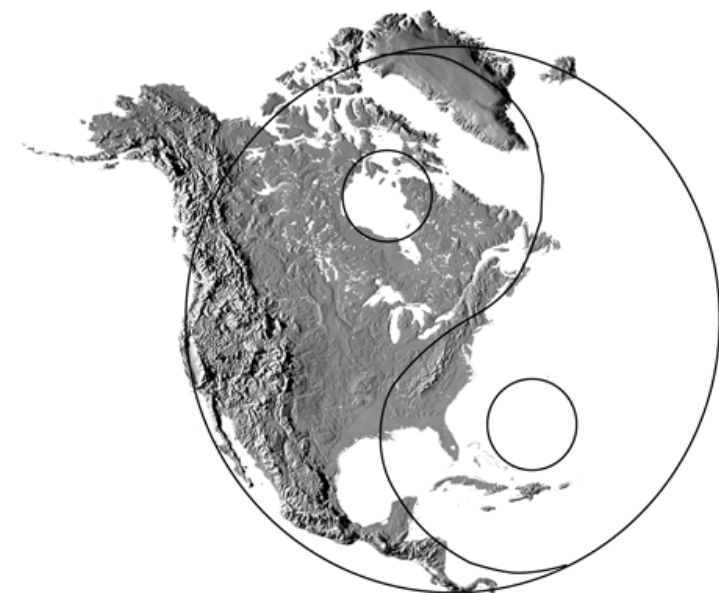
a people's heart-song was attempted to be silenced and their sacred circle of life was buried under the weight of a pyramidal church and state.

Circle Verses Pyramid

A simple clash of world views between that of pyramid and sacred circle where in the first, the god is on high outside oneself cannot abide with the god within the heart of the scared circle, the human heart, where Jesus bids us to look. A Lakota holy man once said to me, "I worship no man." This shook me, seeing how I've placed guru, prophet and savior as filters between me and an authentic sovereign direct relationship with the Great Spirit, with God, with All That Is. This heretical idea was met with witch burnings and inquisitional torture in Europe and then the Americas. Wherever the sacred circle of life was buried by the pyramid of power devastation results, as was the case here in North America where its earth-keepers no longer offer the volume of prayers they once did at sacred sites leaving Mother Earth to wonder what happened and question, where is the love of the People she once knew?



Massachusetts was the start of the Indian Wars and Wounded Knee their end. (wiki common)



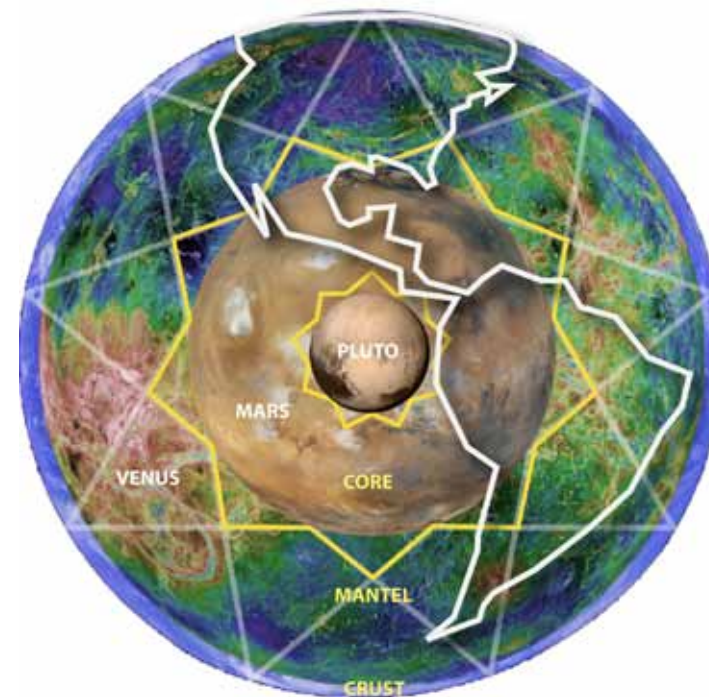
Half land half water the great circle of America's tectonic plate suggests it can bring the world into balance(Champoux)



The prison gates holding Leonard and the dishonored dead in between worlds. (wiki common/champoux)

EarthRings

Like a cell, Earth is signaled and signals 'All That Is' through its bubbling biospheric membrane. The great Turtle Island continent, the diameter of Earth's core and Mars, is one such bubble whose pareidolian shape-form of a turtle has



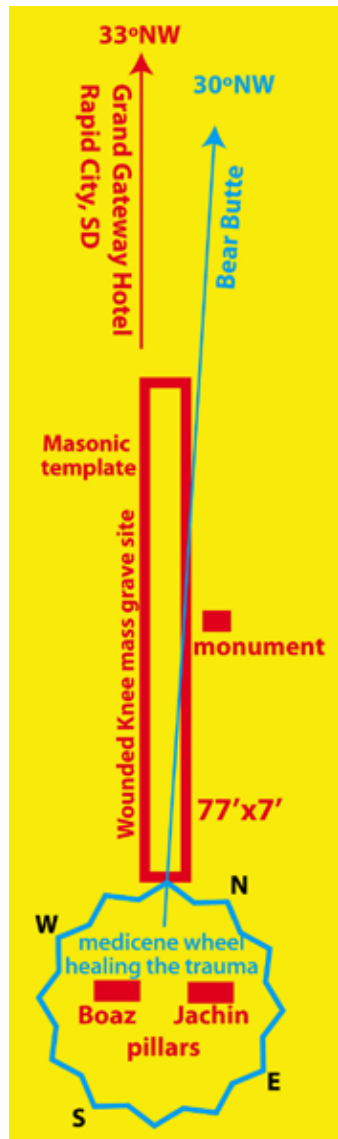
Mississippi lungs, Baja-Florida-Alaska-Maritime limbs, Canadian Shield head and Central America tail was somehow known and spoken of in Native creation legends has a shape that gives form to balance.

Like the 13 moon plates on the tortoise back, the great EarthRings of: New England, the Great Lakes, Northern Plains, Colorado Plateau, and the Sonora Desert are centered on granite sacred sites like Sapa Paha—the Black Hills. This greater turtle shell needs the light of man to keep its shell healthy. With the voice-dance of the Native nearly silenced by pyramidal power the great turtle also suffers a wounded knee from lack of light, love and joie de vivre that is emblematically caught up in the chain link fence surrounding the mass grave at Wounded Knee.

Their sin and offense, warranting murder of man, woman and child, was the practice of the Ghost Dance, whose direct connection with the spirit world was a threat to the pyramidal power of both church and state. A kind of ritualized sacrifice, like that practiced by the Aztec under the same pyramidal miasma, Wounded Knee, as the grand finale of the Great Sioux Wars, is emblematic to the intention of the day; "kill the Indian, save the man".

Masonic Suppression of Human Potential

Serving to suppress human potential Native song has been toned down and silenced for too long. The sacred site,



Reorientation of the mass gravesite towards Bear Butte provides a pathway to the stars for the trapped souls with removal of the Masonic temple replaced by a medicine wheel of honor stones from all 1st Nations peoples. (Champoux)



The Great Bear the hero of the People. (wiki common)

that Wounded Knee would have become was coopted in a syncretistic coup de grace by the conqueror the day, had the mass grave dug at a 33° NW angle sealing it as a pyramidal overlay. Not the first time the Masonic hand has placed their 33rd Degree seal over city and sacred sites as an American civilizing force the Church once fulfilled in my Grandmother's pagan Ireland. Control their sacred site, control its people. Being spiritually and emotionally coopted this sacred site formed a disconnect in the programming of the Native mind. The mass grave's 33°NW points to Rapid City, the antithesis of the ethos of Lakota spirituality. Its more culturally appropriate alignment would have been that of the Big Horn Medicine Wheel 'sky burial' site with its 23.5° ecliptic alignment towards starry home.

Furthering this agenda, the hand of Pte Oyate (Buffalo People) were likely guided

by the whispers of Jesuit or Mason design to enclose the mass grave in a 77-foot concrete and steel berm, whose gate is held open by the iconic Masonic pillared portal of Boaz and Jachin. Done in an effort to appear more 'white' in treatment of their Indian dead, was done to gain favor and respect of white controllers, but in effect suppressing the Native heart-mind under the weight of a pyramidal foreign culture.

Numbered to resonate with Washington Meridian of 77° West whose syncretic overlay of the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) central fire also on the 77th (whose federated democracy the USA copied)—Wound Knee gravesite's dimensions numerically oscillate with the Washington Meridian's time tuned 77° W longitude. The mass grave's six-foot memorial obelisk (the size of man), like the thousands of Egyptian Revival obelisks in graveyard and city center; ground Washington's dominion over people and lands as antennas dialed to Washington Monument's 555-foot obelisk topped with its 55-foot pyramidion point.

Latitude with Attitude

Victims of history and circumstance, the Great Sioux Nations like many other civilizations world wide who flourished between the 40th and 45th degree latitude, are in a goldilocks zone on our goldilocks planet. It is along these latitudes we find the clash of great civilizations from Rome, to Constantinople (Istanbul), Genghis Khan, Beijing, and the Great Sioux Nation occurred.

Wounded Knee's Pine Ridge Indian Reservation is central to a mythic landscape of: star knowledge, a trauma triangle, as well being the closest Indian reservation to Sapa Paha (Black Hills), the 'Heart of All That Is'; and Mato Paha (Bear Butte), 'The Center of All That Is'.

A kind of akashic library, Mato Paha is a pilgrimage and vision quest site for all the Northern Plains peoples—like a Mecca or Jerusalem of the Plains. A great attractor, Bear Butte draws 800,000 motorcycle enthusiast yearly to Stur-

gis, SD in a pilgrimage upon spinning sacred circles dressed as leather fringed memories of Native Americans to this place of spiritual power at nearby Bear Butte.

There is an ancient Hermetic adage: "change the frequency, change the manifestation of the mass". Oriented just 3 degrees northeast of the mass grave's 33°, its 30° realignment to Mato Paha would change its frequency to a 12 (360/30=12), orienting the mass grave site to the seven sacred directions, changing the frequency of masonic pyramid mind to that of circle consciousness, freeing ghosted dancers from the dusty ruins of a long dead pyramidal culture.

Trauma Triangle

Bear Butte (Rescuer) rests in its mythic landscape after being mortally wounded in a great battle with a people (Victim) devouring monster (Persecutor) seen as the Badlands, whose dinosaur bones give testament to these mythic events. A trauma triangle with Victim (Pte Oyate) Persecutor (Badlands monster Unktehila) and Rescuer (Mato Paha) already in place



MARTHA BAD WARRIOR
Last Bloodline Keeper of the Sacred Calf Pipe

(<https://american-tribes.com/Lakota/BIO/ElkHead.htm>)
She Who Watches

since time immemorial, Wounded Knee was played like a cosmo-drama by the 7th Calvary Regiment (there's that 7 again) and the FBI who rode out of the Badlands to devour Spotted Elk's Band and Leonard Peltier. With Rapid City set as rescuer through Wounded Knee's mass grave alignment, the ghosted dancers and lost Native souls are directed there rather than return to 'Center of All that Is' and the rescue of the Great Bear (Bear Butte, Mato Paha).

As if punctuating this misdirected 33° NW angle towards not so 'happy hunting grounds' the Grand Gateway Hotel, on its exact alignment in Rapid City, in 2022 instituted a ban on all Indians—a hotel located on Black Hills treaty lands. Changing the frequency from this 33° NW devouring angle of Unktehila to the grateful sacrifice of Mato Paha at 30° NW would change the manifestation of this mass as expressed through such apartheid policies.

Ghosting the Dancers

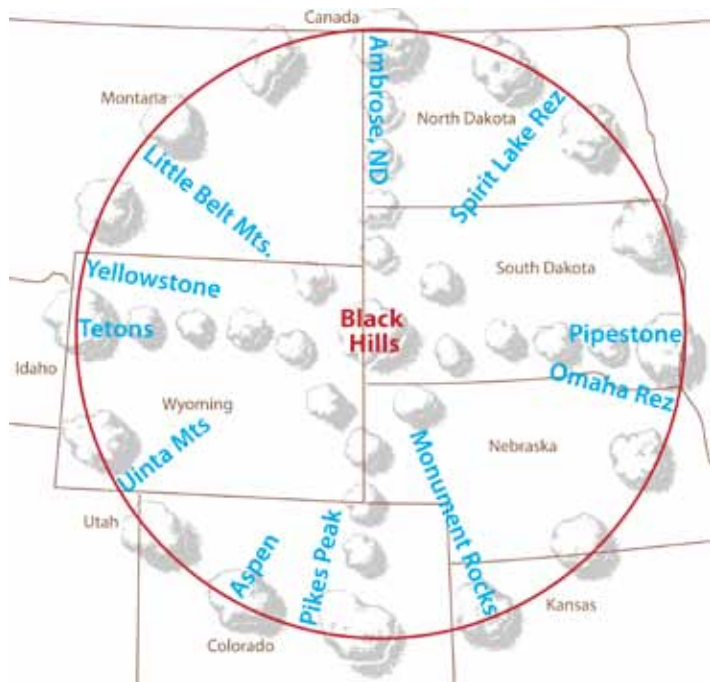
My motivation and hoped for service in writing this article is to redress this ever-present wounded knee in 1st Nation collective consciousness. A consensus exist among those who sense such things that many of the Ghost Dancers were ghosted by a convergence of intention, actions and circumstance of persecutor and victim alike. Encircling Spotted Elk's band, the 7th Calvary formed an anti-life circle whose implosion of lead held intentions to ghost 'ghost dancers' and crippling Indian Peoples with a wounded knee once-and-for-all. Further sealing the fate of these entrapped souls, survivors good intentionally staked victims with flags to earth where they fell, creating an emotion of ghosts in the new year's wind. Those with the 6th sense for such things say spirits remain attached to a highway cross placed as memorial, by setting an emotional lock for both victim and survivor at its place of death.

Sealing this ghosted matrix of history and metaphysics of the mass graves the 7th's circle of death cursed the Circle of Life with Hotchkiss machine guns spitting death upon souls with the a priest's 'sign of the cross'; then dumping dead knee to wounded knee in a masonic container, holds both dead and survivors in limbo, burying an Indian way of life.

Now stuck Spotted Elk's band of ghosted souls live through lost souls wandering the paths of Pine Ridge, Rapid City and the greater Sioux Nation. It is now up to us all to dream the return of our wounded knee's soul-shard from spirit's shadow to the light of the Great Spirit.

Genocide of a People

Emblematic of the struggle of all Native Americans, Wounded Knee is also their sacred site as it was a seal of control over the collective heart-mind of all Indian peoples. And, to this author's mind, it needs to be honored as a sacred site in a 1st Nation way. Not to imply that Wounded Knee has not been honored. Given the responsibility of Wounded Knee the Oglala Lakota have bore its burden given them by a convergence of circumstance. It is here where that massacre's echoing manifestations can be redressed.



A back plate of Turtle Island the Black Hills are center to a great medicine wheel of the high plains whose east and west doors define its EarthRing. (Champoux)

In the land of the Blue Hills Peoples (Massachusetts) honor mounds of stone were placed in memoriam to events and sachem of note. Buried with desecration or not buried at all in the deadly contagion that swept away entire 1st Nation tribes, Wounded Knee could serve as a frequency to transform this mass of humanity as a remembrance place for the Native holocaust with head-sized stones placed as Medicine Wheel by the all the tribes of Turtle Island whose sacrifice of lives and lands gave world peoples space to come together on common ground for common good. Celebrating this gift to the world in forgiveness and gratitude is one potential resolution to the victim cycle holding human potential and scared site in check.

She Who Watches

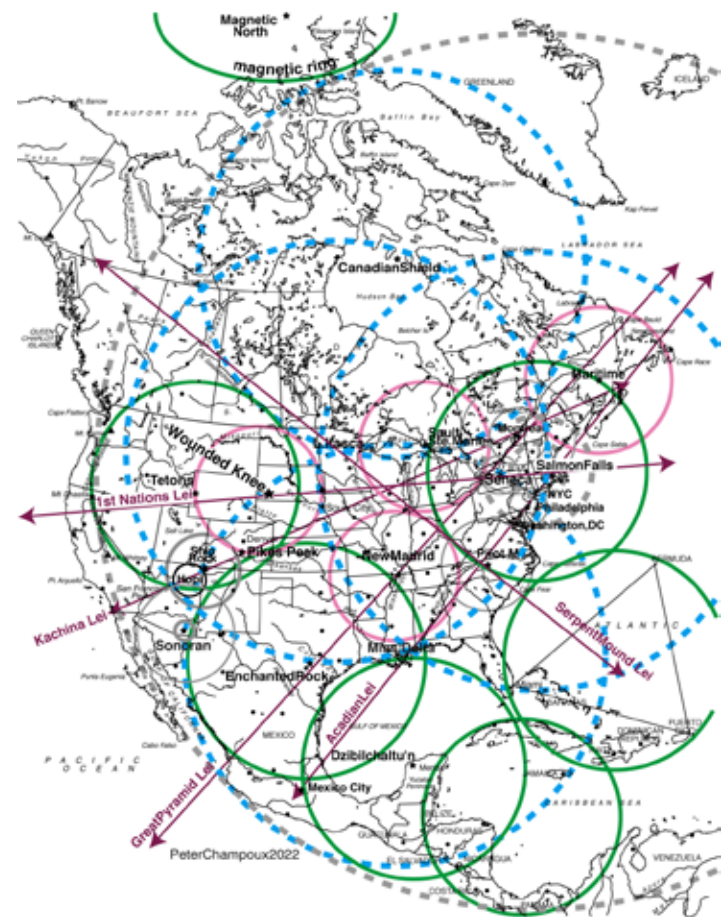
In the 40°-45° North latitudes ‘She Who Watches’ brought teachings to the world in Washington State, at Fatima, Lourdes, Medjugorje, and Mato Tipila (Bear’s Lodge, aka “Devil’s Tower”) where the White Buffalo Calf Women taught the people their seven rites of a moral life, as did the ‘Lady of Light’ in Fatima and Lourdes in their own way. This lady of light, this White Buffalo Calf Women, ‘She Who Watches’, rides a red lightning bolt to renew and enliven that Native spirit whose heart song is so missed by the Great Mother. Crazy Horse stands at ready with hollow/hallowed bone-loaded travois to return them to the crackling summit of Mato Paha. There are mighty forces ready to aid the bold action of spiritual warriorship by those who live the ways of the Chanupa as carriers of the White Buffalo Calf Woman’s Pipe of Peace, sequestered from needful people and light of ‘She Who Watches.’

Healing Collective Trauma

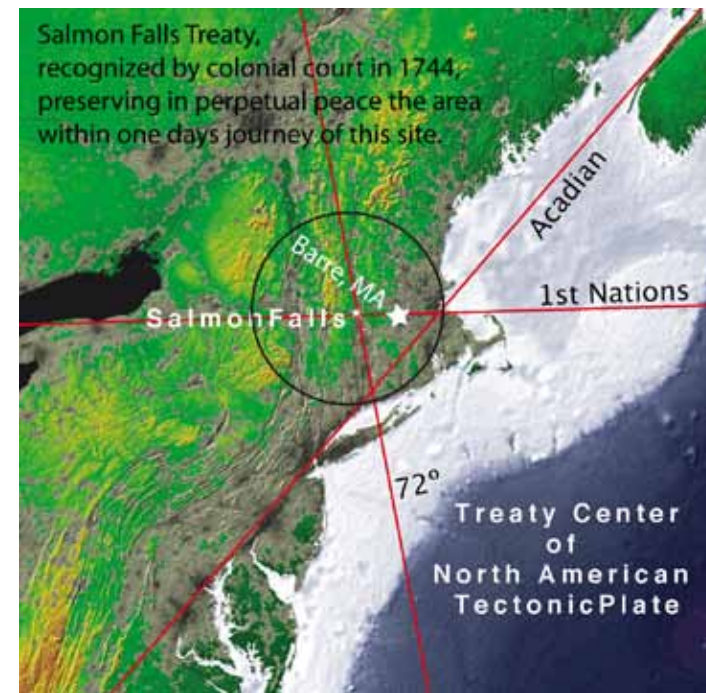
Changing the frequency of entropy so evident at Wounded Knee would usher Pine Ridge Reservation into a coherent reemergence of freedom that saves victim, persecutor and rescuer from their repeated role plays so entwined in Wounded Knee’s chain link fence and Leonard’s cell. So freed the spiritual power that is Sapa Paha, waters the tree of peace at ‘The Heart of All That Is’. Set by a sacred circle whose diameter line between Grand Teton, Black Hill’s center PeSla and Pipestone, Minnesota, and walked by White Buffalo Calf Women to Bear’s Lodge, this turtle plate, this EarthRing of Turtle Island gives form, meaning and spiritual power to Lakota cosmology in context to America’s Moon sized Mississippi arc of sacred site centered turtle plates for Native consciousness to once again maintain the world through spiritual warrior-ship.

Fat Eater with a Dream

The question remains though, who is this Wasi’chu (fat eater, white-man) and who gave him the authority to write about such sensitive Native experiences. While an ‘Indian lover,’ my experience can never fully appreciate the sacrifice that has been the Indian experience of these last 500 years.



Partial facsimile of American EarthRings and Lei Lines showing Wounded Knee as a wrench in the works at the conjunction of 1st Nations Lei and the Mississippi River arc in the center of the Black Hills EarthRing. (Champoux)



A present day’s travel from this treaty site encompasses the world in peace. (Champoux)

I’ve come to this perspective in a number of ways. First, when I was seven years of age I had the same dream seven times of an elder on a mountain with a standing rock ring from which I flew over ever receding blue hills. These dreams set me on a quest for meaning. Chasing this dream through megalithic European culture and the general use of stone as a cultural medium, including 25 years of hard labor as a stone mason, led to the question: does the landscape express itself in geometric form like the rest of nature. The answer was yes and more, resulting in a body of work I call EarthRings. Contemplating this worldview one can only conclude the Earth is a sacred place, a temple like spaceship in the lighted waters of galaxy.

Developing this world view of the Earth as temple space my initial discovery was of a geometry in the New England and New York landscape that brought Native and Colonial culture, mountain and rivers, into a coherent “Gaia Matrix’ whose alignments all pointed to Salmon Falls in Western Massachusetts, held by Native and Colonial treaty as a place of peace for a day of travel for fishery resource access. It was later discovered to be the center point of the North American tectonic plate—itsself the only circular tectonic plate in the Earth membrane. Manhattan Island, the Mohawk River, the Appalachian Mountains, and the eastern coastlines all point to this Salmon Falls center of a continent. The base line of this ‘sacred geometry’ of nature was the ancient pathway to the sea from Gitchi gumi (Great Lakes) along New York’s and Massachusetts’ Mohawk Trail. Following this path westward along contemporary Route 2 from Boston in a straight line through Salmon Falls, along Mohawk River and through central fire of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy leads to Wounded Knee.

1st Nations Lei

Solidifying the alpha-omega Indian Wars dynamic between the Blue Hills and Black Hills, Wounded Knee’s looted ceremonial objects once held in Barre, Massachusetts forms a line of Native genocide from continent center to Wounded Knee. The ‘returning’ of these Ancestors from Barre to Wounded Knee helps heal the memories of trauma held by this line.

An alignment entrained by the clash of civilizations along goldilocks latitudes, this ‘lei line’, giving homage to Hawaii’s Pele, is a great circle connecting indigenous culture through: Turtle Island, Hawaii, Australia, Zulu lands, and Yoruban of west Africa’s slave coast. Memories can get stuck and repeated along such lei lines. One such virus in its software is Wounded Knee. I have found healing the blood memories of place returns such earth meridians to more balanced expressions of life ways. As an earth-keeper I felt it my responsibility, given this knowledge, to write this report in support of Pine Ridge’s work of the ages.

Maintaining the World

Like 1st Nation Australians whose didgeridoo, dance and voices sing both earth core and song-line at sacred sites to maintain the world and connect with ancestors; 1st Nations Americans provide the same service with dance, voice and drum at their sacred sites. Resonating to the sonic geometry of Earth’s gravity field and the rest of creation their sounding stimulate the vitality of nature maintaining the world. A service that needs support as a profession.

Ho’oponopono

So, I hope that through the awareness and release of these stuck emotion we might support our planet’s emergence into prophesied new era in right relationship. Freed of the burdensome weight of the pyramid mind the sovereign 1st Nation heart-mind would be freed to teach the world how to live in right relationship with each other and our common ground, Earth, that is our home. The king and the land are one. Accepting and acting upon this responsibility of spiritual warriorship, ripples as intentional blessing across: Great Plains, Turtle Island, planet, solar system and galaxy; heralding our inclusion into the greater community of Star Nations attending this awakening. Through our harmonized consciousness we make contact, heart-to-heart, as strong-kneed Ghost Dancers across the Milky Way. I’m Sorry—Please Forgive Me—Thank You—I Love You...

“IN MEMORY OF THE CHIEF BIG FOOT MASSACRE”: THE WOUNDED KNEE SURVIVORS AND THE POLITICS OF MEMORY

DAVID W. GRUA

In 1903 the survivors of Wounded Knee erected a monument “In Memory of the Chief Big Foot Massacre” of 1890. The obelisk emerged from the Lakotas’ engagement with the politics of memory, as they protested the official memory—the narrative accepted by the government and dominant society—of the “Battle of Wounded Knee” in compensation claims and in their memorial practices.

ON 28 MAY 1903, five thousand Lakotas assembled near a mass grave on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. They had come to dedicate a monument to honor Minneconjou Lakota Chief Big Foot and more than two hundred of his followers killed by the U.S. Seventh Cavalry at Wounded Knee Creek on 29 December 1890. The victims’ alleged crime was their affiliation with the Ghost Dance, an indigenous religious movement that envisioned the coming of a Native Messiah and a millennium marked by the return of depleted game, the resurrection of deceased Indian relatives, and the supernatural disappearance of Euro-American colonizers. Misconstruing the Ghost Dance as insurrectionary, the U.S. government sent troops to suppress the feared threat to American sovereignty. On 28 December 1890, the Seventh Cavalry held Big Foot and his people in custody at Wounded Knee. As the troops disarmed the Lakotas the next morning, an errant shot led to the violent chaos that followed. In the aftermath of the killings, civilian contractors buried the slain chief and his followers on a nearby hill, where the Lakotas would erect their monument to protest the Big Foot Massacre.¹

DAVID W. GRUA is a historian for the Joseph Smith Papers. He thanks Todd Kerstetter, Ari Kelman, Jeff Ostler, and the anonymous reviewers for their comments.

¹ Robert M. Utley, *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, 2004); Jeffrey Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (Cambridge, UK, 2004); Rani-Henrik Andersson, *The Lakota Ghost Dance of 1890* (Lincoln, 2008); Heather

The Lakotas’ monument was a rare intervention by indigenous peoples in a western memorial landscape largely controlled by Euro-Americans.² As Edward Tabor Linenthal and Michael A. Elliott have shown, Americans erected monuments to honor George Armstrong Custer and other white soldiers killed in the Indian Wars. Even when whites killed large numbers of Indians, Americans found ways to memorialize massacres as necessary acts that brought peace and progress to the nation, as Karl Jacoby and Ari Kelman have demonstrated.³ Although army officials disagreed over what exactly happened at Wounded Knee, the War Department ultimately upheld the Seventh Cavalry’s claim that “treacherous” and “fanatical” Ghost Dancers had attacked unsuspecting troops, thereby disavowing any responsibility for the deaths of women and children. The department awarded twenty Medals of Honor to the Seventh Cavalry and erected a monument in 1893 at Fort Riley, Kansas, in memory of the soldiers killed at Wounded Knee. These memorial acts reinforced the emerging national consensus calling the “Battle of Wounded Knee” “civilization’s” final triumph over “savagery” in North America.⁴

Confined to reservations, few Natives could engage in the politics of memory—meaning they could not challenge these narratives publically.⁵ As Kelman explains, during the “so-called era of assimilation” the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) created “institutionalized pressure to forget,” imposing policies that included “violent reprisals for preserving tribal histories or maintaining traditional practices like the Sun Dance.” Some Natives, however, used the education they acquired in American schools to “talk back to civilization.” Cheyenne George Bent, a notable example, survived the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre and challenged, in writing, the prevalent explanations that the slaughter of more than 150 Cheyennes and Arapahoes was necessary to protect white

Cox Richardson, *Wounded Knee: Party Politics and the Road to an American Massacre* (New York, 2010); and Jerome A. Greene, *American Carnage: Wounded Knee, 1890* (Norman, 2014).

² On collective memory, see Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, eds., *The Collective Memory Reader* (New York, 2011) and David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA, 2001).

³ Edward Tabor Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields* (Urbana, 1991); Michael A. Elliott, *Custerology: The Enduring Legacy of the Indian Wars and George Armstrong Custer* (Chicago, 2007); Karl Jacoby, *Shadows at Dawn: A Borderlands Massacre and the Violence of History* (New York, 2008); and Ari Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre: Struggling Over the Memory of Sand Creek* (Cambridge, MA, 2013).

⁴ *Reports and Correspondence Relating to the Army Investigations of the Battle at Wounded Knee and to the Sioux Campaign of 1890–1891* (Washington, DC, 1974), microfilm, 2:651–768, M983-1; *Ibid.*, 2:1130–2, M983-2; “The Medals of Wounded Knee,” Jerry Green, accessed 19 April 2012, <http://www.dickshovel.com/MedalsG.a.html>; and “Heroes of Wounded Knee,” *Abilene (KS) Weekly Reflector*, 27 July 1893.

⁵ On memory as contestation, see Popular Memory Group, “Popular Memory: Theory, Politics, Method,” in *Making Histories: Studies in History-Writing and Politics*, ed. Richard Johnson, et al. (London, 1982), 205–52 and Michael Kammen, “Commemoration and Contestation in American Culture: Historical Perspectives,” *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 48, no. 2 (2003): 185–205.



Figure 1. Joseph Horn Cloud by the survivors' monument at the Wounded Knee mass grave, date and photographer unknown, Holy Rosary Mission—Red Cloud Indian School Records, MUA_HRM-RCIS_00157. Photo courtesy of Red Cloud Indian School and Special Collections and University Archives, Rayner Memorial Libraries, Marquette University.

settlements from hostile Indians and that the killings ultimately brought peace to the Great Plains. Instead of pacifying the region and bringing civilization, Bent concluded that the massacre actually caused previously peaceful Natives to turn against the United States, birthing the Indian Wars that culminated with the Lakota and Cheyenne victory over Custer's Seventh Cavalry at the Little Bighorn in 1876.⁶

Like Bent, the Lakotas employed writing and other tools to contest official justifications for the deaths at Wounded Knee. This article examines the survivors' interventions in western public memory during the decade and a half after the killings. Joseph Horn Cloud, a teenager when he lost his parents and several siblings at Wounded Knee, led the survivors. Horn Cloud used his knowledge of the English language to spearhead the survivors' campaign for justice, filing compensation claims and erecting the memorial obelisk in 1903. (See figure 1.) The Lakotas' monument protested the dominant memory of Wounded Knee and the assumptions undergirding the broader narrative that the killings represented the final triumph of civilization over savagery.

This protest began immediately after Wounded Knee, as word of the killings spread like a prairie fire through the Lakota reservations, including Cheyenne River, where Big Foot's band had lived prior to their fateful move south to Wounded Knee Creek. "Big Foot's people were massacred by the soldiers after quietly giving up their arms," a Pine Ridge policeman wrote his sister on 4 January 1891, noting that "but few escaped." As a result, "there [was] intense feeling among the people against the soldiers."⁷ Strong emotions had even spread to the Santee Dakotas, cousins to the Lakotas living nearly three hundred miles away in eastern Nebraska. On 14 January, an anonymous missionary wrote Secretary of War Redfield Proctor, describing how "the web of inter-relationship among the various tribes of the Sioux Nation is very intricate and extensive." The missionary explained, "The fact that at the recent engagement at Wounded Knee a number were killed has deeply affected all the tribes, as they consider the killing of women and children an unpardonable offense." The missionary found that the killings appalled even those Santees who had previously advocated accommodation with the United States. His was not an isolated reaction. Charles A. Eastman, a Dakota physician serving on Pine Ridge, was among the first to visit Wounded Knee after the killings. "Fully three miles from the scene of the massacre," he found bodies "as they had been relentlessly hunted down and slaughtered while fleeing for their lives." Eastman later wrote, "All this was a severe ordeal for one who had so lately put all his faith in the Christian love and lofty ideals of the white man."⁸

⁶ Kelman, *Misplaced Massacre*, 34; Frederick E. Hoxie, ed., *Talking Back to Civilization: Indian Voices from the Progressive Era* (Boston, 2001); and Kelman, *Misplaced Massacre*, 34–42.

⁷ Joseph H. Hurst to H. C. Merriam, 8 January 1891, quoted in Merriam to Nelson A. Miles, 11 January 1891, in *Annual Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1891* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1892), 1:219.

⁸ Charles R. Stroh to Redfield Proctor, 14 January 1891, *Reports and Correspondence*, 2:1022–3, M983-2 and Charles A. Eastman, *From the Deep Woods to Civilization: Chapters in the Autobiography of an Indian* (Boston, 1916), 111, 114.

Alarmed that Wounded Knee was causing previously loyal Natives to turn on the United States, government officials arranged for a Lakota delegation to express their grievances in the nation's capital.⁹ No one from Big Foot's band was selected, but the delegates had interviewed the survivors, intending to represent their interests. On 9 February, Secretary of the Interior John W. Noble met with the delegates, including Minneconjou leader Hump, who was related to many of the Wounded Knee victims. Hump asked if there would "be some consideration shown the survivors," perhaps the first call on the government to compensate the remaining members of the band for their losses.¹⁰

Noble did not answer, but two days later Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas J. Morgan met with Chief American Horse, Turning Hawk, and other delegates for further discussions. Reverend Charles S. Cook of the Pine Ridge Episcopal Church acted as translator. American Horse had interviewed the survivors and witnessed "where the bodies were from the track of the blood" on the killing field. What he saw affected him deeply, since the Seventh Cavalry's actions undermined the chief's long-standing accommodationist stance toward the United States. American Horse "harangued his comrades" for their timidity "and advised them to [speak plainly], no matter how harsh the truth may be." Emboldened by his entreaties, the delegates rejected the Seventh Cavalry's official account of Wounded Knee. Turning Hawk argued there was no treacherous preconceived plan to attack the soldiers. The trouble instead started when "a crazy man, a young man of very bad influence, and in fact a nobody among that bunch of Indians, fired his gun." The young warrior simply tried to prove his bravery and manhood by shooting his weapon in the air. Turning Hawk saw the army as using the young warrior's mistake to disavow responsibility for the subsequent killings. Although most of the Lakota men had died from this volley, soldiers pursued and shot down others who escaped into the nearby ravine.¹¹

Morgan then asked about the army's explanations for noncombatant deaths. On whether women had fired on the soldiers—a key component of the Seventh Cavalry's story—Turning Hawk replied that the women were unarmed. When questioned if Lakota clothing made women indistinguishable from men, the delegate stated wryly, "a man would be very blind if he could not tell the difference between a man and a woman." On whether the fleeing warriors had mixed with women and children, thereby requiring the soldiers to fire at noncombatants, the delegates responded that the men had run in a different direction than their families. Regardless of gender or age, fleeing Lakotas shared the same fate: death at the hands of pursuing soldiers and Hotchkiss

⁹ Miles to Adjutant General, 27 January 1891, *Reports and Correspondence*, 2:1019, M983-2. On the delegation, see Richardson, *Wounded Knee*, 297–8.

¹⁰ "Mr. Noble Meets the Sioux," *Omaha Sunday Bee*, 8 February 1891.

¹¹ "The Wounded Knee Fight," *(NY) Sun*, 12 February 1891; "Serious Charges Made," *Washington (DC) Critic*, 11 February 1891; Steve Potts, "American Horse," in *The Encyclopedia of North American Indian Wars, 1607–1890*, ed. Spencer C. Tucker, 1:13–4; and "Wounded Knee Fight," *(NY) Sun*.

guns.¹² The delegates also reported that the cavalymen yelled "Remember Custer!" as they fired.¹³ When the shooting stopped, a soldier announced that hiding Lakotas could safely emerge: "Little boys who were not wounded came out of their places of refuge, and as soon as they came in sight a number of soldiers surrounded them and butchered them there."¹⁴

Morgan told the delegates, "these are very serious charges to make against the United States army" and asked for any dissenting views. "Of course we all feel very sad about this affair," American Horse replied, confirming the delegation's unanimity. The chief's long history of loyalty to the government magnified his sorrow. Had the soldiers only killed Big Foot's men, the delegates would have felt relatively little anger toward the United States. Their angst resulted from "the killing of the women, and more especially the killing of the young boys and girls who are to go to make up the future strength of the Indian people." American Horse had come to the nation's capital with "a very great blame against the Government on [his] heart." Turning Hawk confirmed that Wounded Knee distressed all Lakotas.¹⁵

Morgan promised to do what he could to address their grievances. The next day, however, Secretary Proctor publically exonerated the Seventh Cavalry of any misconduct, which precluded the commissioner from taking any action.¹⁶ Although the delegates left Washington, DC, without any explicit assurances of justice, newspapers, Morgan's annual report, and nineteenth- and twentieth-century activist and scholarly books widely reproduced their statements. Subsequent readers used the delegates' words as their principal source for understanding the "Lakota view" of Wounded Knee.¹⁷

Concerned by reports that Wounded Knee had alienated loyal Lakotas like American Horse, on 3 April, Congress appropriated \$100,000 to compensate "friendly" Lakotas who had lost property at the hands of "roving bands of disaffected Indians

¹² "Wounded Knee Fight," *(NY) Sun*.

¹³ Ibid. John Shangrau, interview, 5 November 1906, in Richard E. Jensen, ed., *Voices of the American West*, vol. 1, *The Indian Interviews of Eli S. Ricker, 1903–1919* (Lincoln, 2005), 262.

¹⁴ "Wounded Knee Fight," *(NY) Sun*.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1891* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1891), 181 and Proctor to Miles, 12 February 1891, *Reports and Correspondence*, 2:1130–2, M983-2.

¹⁷ "Indians Tell Their Story: Pathetic Recital of the Killing of Women and Children," *New York Times*, 12 February 1891; "Was It to Avenge Custer?," *Omaha World-Herald*, 12 February 1891; "Custer's Avengers," *Los Angeles Herald*, 12 February 1891; T. A. Bland, ed., *A Brief History of the Late Military Invasion of the Home of the Sioux* (Washington, DC, 1891), 15–7; *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 179–81; James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*, in J. W. Powell, *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1892–93* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1896), 2:884–6; and Roy L. Brooks, ed., *When Sorry Isn't Enough: The Controversy over Apologies and Reparations for Human Injustice* (New York, 1999), 252–3.

during the recent Sioux trouble.”¹⁸ Specifically, the act fulfilled Article 1 of the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie, which established peace between the Lakota Nation and the United States. The article specified that if a white person wronged a Lakota’s person or property or, conversely, if a Lakota wronged the person or property of “any one, white, black, or Indian, subject to the authority of the United States,” the federal government would compensate the wronged party.¹⁹

The Interior Department charged Special Agent James A. Cooper with evaluating the Lakotas’ petitions. Beginning in April 1891, more than 750 Lakotas filled out claims with their name, residence, lost property and its value, and date of loss. They attached brief narratives describing how disaffected Ghost Dancers had destroyed their property while they were away from home, in obedience to the government’s 1890 order that all Lakotas report to the agency. In addition, claims included the signatures (or X marks) of supporting witnesses and the interpreter.²⁰

Cooper reported to his superiors “that as long as the investigation [of] claims continues that there will be no trouble as all the Indians of this tribe seem more interested in filing claims for losses than they are in stirring up strife.”²¹ Implementing the act seemed to have the desired effect. Successful applicants for compensation had to affirm “that at no time during the late trouble among the Indians, has he [or she] been hostile, either by word or action, to the government of the United States.” Cooper frequently, although inconsistently, defined *hostility* as participation in the Ghost Dance.²² The legislation therefore excluded those who had undoubtedly suffered the most during the “Sioux troubles” of 1890–1891: the survivors of Big Foot’s band, since they were known Ghost Dancers.

Scattered, traumatized, and impoverished after Wounded Knee, these survivors nevertheless were cognizant of the government’s decision to exclude Big Foot’s band from compensation. In the mid-1890s, a literate Lakota named Joseph Horn Cloud and other survivors began articulating their grievances in compensation claims patterned after those submitted to Cooper. The legal framework of the 1891 act, which limited compensation to stolen or damaged property, constrained these documents. The claimants could not, therefore, demand retribution for the deaths of their relatives under that law. In these early written accounts of Wounded Knee, Horn Cloud and the other survivors demonstrated a keen awareness of ideas and rhetoric that framed public

discussions of the engagement at the time. By explicitly interpreting Wounded Knee as killings perpetrated by white soldiers against unarmed Lakota men, women, and children, the claimants reinvented and reapplied the English word *massacre*, which whites commonly used to differentiate their “civilized” mode of warfare from indiscriminate killings of noncombatants that ostensibly defined how “savages” waged war.

In the immediate aftermath of Wounded Knee, the survivors struggled simply to rebuild their lives. The Pine Ridge Reservation’s Holy Rosary Mission School permitted several orphans to live in its boarding school. Other survivors, with the help of Minneconjou leaders Iron Lightning and Hump, returned to their homes on the Cheyenne River Reservation.²³ Some white families adopted infants found on the killing field; most notably, Leonard Colby, a Nebraska National Guard commander, and his wife, Clara Bewick Colby, adopted a young girl named Lost Bird (Zintkala Nuni).²⁴ In June 1891, OIA Agent Peraine P. Palmer conducted a “Census of the Sioux Indians Belonging to the Cheyenne River reservation who were in the battle of Wounded Knee and are yet at Pine Ridge Agency, S.D.” Palmer listed the names, ages, and genders of about 140 survivors. A month after Palmer recorded his census, the Pine Ridge Oglalas adopted the remaining orphans of Big Foot’s band into their tribal structure.²⁵

Number eighty-two on Palmer’s census was a young Minneconjou male, identified simply as “Joseph.” In his late teens in 1890, Joseph lost his parents (listed on the census as “dead”), two brothers, and a niece at Wounded Knee. While living at the mission school on Pine Ridge, Joseph assumed his father’s name—Horn Cloud (the Lakota name for tornado)—as his surname. He learned carpentry and periodically worked in several western states as a day laborer and cowboy. He also converted to Catholicism, eventually becoming a catechist, like his better-known contemporary Black Elk. Horn Cloud’s sporadic education as a child and at the mission school qualified him to work as both a translator and the Oglala Tribal Council secretary.²⁶ He

¹⁸ *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from December, 1889, to March, 1891*. . . . (Washington, DC: GPO, 1891), 1002. On the federal indemnity system, see Larry C. Skogen, *Indian Depredation Claims, 1796–1920* (Norman, 1996).

¹⁹ Charles J. Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1904), 2:998. See also Skogen, *Depredation Claims*, 188.

²⁰ R. Eli Paul, “The Investigation of Special Agent Cooper and Property Damage Claims in the Winter of 1890–1891,” *South Dakota History* 24 (Fall/Winter 1994): 216–7.

²¹ Cooper quoted in *ibid.*, 214.

²² American Horse’s property loss claim form in *ibid.*, 221.

²³ Charles Blindman Sr. to Francis Case, 29 March 1937; Annie Eagle Body, statement, 15 January 1937; Alice Dog Arm (Kills Plenty), statement, 16 April 1937; and Nellie Knife, statement, n.d.; all Wounded Knee Massacre-Indian file, binder 2, Francis H. Case Papers, University Archives, McGovern Library, Dakota Wesleyan University.

²⁴ W. H. Cressey, “Omens of Bloodshed,” *Omaha Daily Bee*, 6 January 1891; “Story of Lost Bird,” *Omaha Daily Bee*, 2 September 1891; Mooney, *Ghost-Dance Religion*, 879–81; and Renée Sansom Flood, *Lost Bird of Wounded Knee: Spirit of the Lakota* (New York, 1995).

²⁵ “Census of the Sioux Indians Belonging to the Cheyenne River reservation who were in the battle of Wounded Knee and are yet at Pine Ridge Agency, S.D. Taken June 30/91,” photocopy in folder 16, box 3564A, Wounded Knee Compensation Papers, South Dakota Historical Society, Pierre (hereafter Sioux Census) and *Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, In Relation To the affairs of the Indians at the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations*. . . . , 52d Cong., 1st sess., Ex. Doc. 58 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1892), 46, 49, 70.

²⁶ Sioux Census; Joseph Horn Cloud, statement, 23 October 1906, in Jensen, *Indian Interviews*, 191; Joseph Kocer, statement, 11 December 1904, in Richard E. Jensen, ed., *Voices of the American West*, vol. 2, *The Settler and Soldier Interviews of Eli S. Ricker, 1903–1919* (Lincoln, 2005), 41; Henry Grotegeers, “Catholic Indians: Joseph Horn Cloud,” *Indian Sentinel* 2 (July 1921): 332–4; and Raymond J. DeMallie, ed., *The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk’s Teachings Given to*

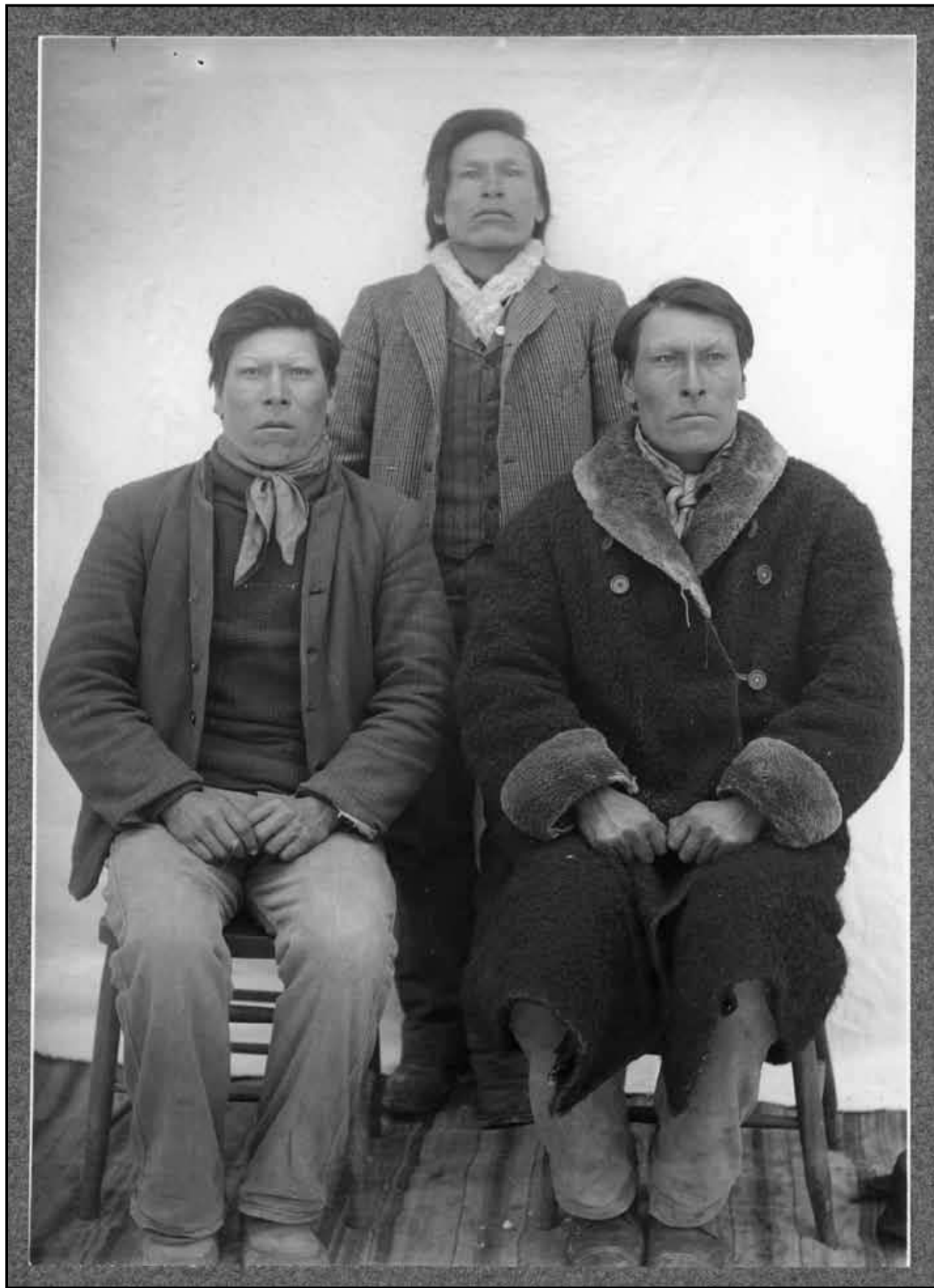


Figure 2. Brothers Dewey Beard (left), Joseph Horn Cloud (standing), and Daniel White Lance, 1907, by Edward Truman, Eli S. Ricker Collection, RG1227-25-4. Photo courtesy of Nebraska State Historical Society.

would use his familiarity with the “enemy’s language” to lead the survivors’ campaign to seek compensation for their losses at Wounded Knee. Horn Cloud represented a new generation of Natives who had received some education in the early reservation period and embraced the new technology of literacy to improve their peoples’ situation under American rule.²⁷

Horn Cloud’s pursuit of compensation was rooted in both the government’s refusal to acknowledge the claims of Big Foot’s band and Lakota expectations of proper responses to murders. He penned a remarkable letter in 1903 to Nebraska newspaper editor and erstwhile judge Eli S. Ricker, describing his frustration that “friendly” Lakotas claimed compensation for items as insignificant as rusty spoons. As for Big Foot’s band, “we lost our Properties and whole families” in the “massacree [sic]” at Wounded Knee. Only a few people—“most of younger ones”—had escaped, yet “nobody help[ed] us and look[ed] into this matter for us.” The “children’s [sic] of Big Foot,” Horn Cloud argued, had “lost [the] most properties but Government do not look at us he must be sham [ashamed?] because he feed old ones and kill them. That ain’t right.”²⁸ Horn Cloud’s views were probably shaped by traditional Lakota approaches to conflict resolution, in which the family of a murdered individual could reasonably expect compensation from the killer who sought in good faith to cover the family’s losses.²⁹

Five years after Cooper’s investigation, Horn Cloud drafted a claim for his father’s lost property. Following the format of the 1891 claims, he wrote the date, 15 April 1896, and his place of residence, the Holy Rosary Mission. He also provided a short narrative explaining the circumstances surrounding his family’s “losses during the trouble of 1890 and 91. My father’s name was Horn Cloud we lived in Cheyenne River at the time and come to Pine Ridge S.D. during the trouble and when we return home the following property belonging to my father who was kill[ed] at Wounded Knee was missing.” He listed its worth at \$2,045.50. The claim concerned lost property, not lives, but Horn Cloud concluded the document by stating, “Mr. Horn Cloud and his wife and 2 boys was kill[ed] in Wounded Knee Massacre in Dec 29, 1890.” Daniel White Lance, Horn Cloud’s older brother, also signed the claim. Another brother, Dewey Beard, drafted a separate claim that listed property, valued at \$2,481, stolen in his absence. Beard concluded the claim by stating that he had “lost his family in massacre, Dec. 29, 1890,” including his parents, brothers, niece, wife, and infant son.³⁰ (See figure 2.)

John G. Neihardt (Lincoln, 1984).

²⁷ Joy Harjo and Gloria Bird, eds., *Reinventing the Enemy’s Language: Contemporary Native Women’s Writings of North America* (New York, 1997) and Scott Richard Lyons, *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent* (Minneapolis, 2010).

²⁸ Joseph Horn Cloud to Eli S. Ricker, 23 December 1903, Eli Seavey Ricker Collection, 1843–1936, RG1227, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln (hereafter Ricker Collection).

²⁹ On Lakota approaches to conflict resolution, see Royal B. Hassrick, *The Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior Society* (Norman, 1964), 48–51 and DeMallie, *Sixth Grandfather*, 391–4.

³⁰ Joseph and Daniel Horn Cloud, claim, 15 April 1896, photocopy, and Dewey Horn Cloud Beard, claim, 15 April 1896, photocopy, both box 3563B, Frank William Niles Letters,

The brothers' use of the English word *massacre* in these claims was not incidental but central to their linguistic engagement in memory politics. When Ricker interviewed Horn Cloud in 1906, the newspaper noted that the Lakotas "always called" Wounded Knee a "massacre," or *Wichakasotapi*, meaning an engagement "where all were wiped out."³¹ By insisting on this word, the Lakotas participated in the ongoing debates over distinctions between battles and massacres within the discourse of civilization's "race war" with savagery. These distinctions undergirded and rationalized Manifest Destiny to displace the Natives of North America. Honor and forbearance defined civilized battles; cruelty and bloodlust characterized savage massacres. Battles were supposedly legitimate engagements between equally matched foes and governed by universally accepted rules. Civilized forces, in this view, honored white flags, respected the bodies of slain foes, and protected prisoners of war and noncombatants. In contrast, savages ostensibly recognized no rules of warfare, deceived their enemies, and indiscriminately massacred defenseless women and children.³²

The Lakotas' insistence on calling Wounded Knee a massacre was therefore grounded in the broader linguistic politics that governed remembrance of the consolidation of American sovereignty in the West after the Civil War. Eastern reformers criticized the government's postwar Indian policies and the army's treatment of Indians in the West. These reformers rejected the notion of Natives as inherently warlike, arguing instead that violence in the West resulted from the government's unwillingness to honor treaties. Reformers labeled the 1864 slaughter of Cheyenne and Arapaho noncombatants at Sand Creek in Colorado Territory a "massacre," a significant rhetorical shift, and bemoaned the United States' alleged descent into barbarism. Reformers later condemned as massacres the high numbers of Indian noncombatant casualties at Washita, Oklahoma Territory, in 1868; by the Marias River, Montana Territory, in 1870; and at Camp Grant, Arizona Territory, in 1871.³³ In addition, reform-minded whites such as Major General Nelson A. Miles argued that the Seventh Cavalry's conduct at Wounded Knee constituted the most "brutal, coldblooded massacre" in American history. Miles condemned his own subordinates' actions because he believed that negotiation was more efficient than violent suppression in campaigns against Indians.³⁴

1863–1865, H76-004, South Dakota State Historical Society, Pierre; Horn Cloud to Ricker, 23 December 1903; Horn Cloud, claim, 15 April 1896; and Beard, claim, 15 April 1896.

³¹ Joseph Horn Cloud, statement, 23 October 1906, in Jensen, *The Indian Interviews*, 191 and "New Lakota Dictionary Online," version 3.0, accessed 19 August 2014, <http://lakotadictionary.org/nldo.php>.

³² Gary L. Roberts, "Sand Creek: Tragedy and Symbol" (PhD diss., University of Oklahoma, 1984), 1–34; Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800–1890* (Norman, 1998), 476; and Jacoby, *Shadows at Dawn*, 223–4.

³³ Roberts, "Sand Creek," 1–34; Paul A. Hutton, "Phil Sheridan's Pyrrhic Victory: The Piegan Massacre, Army Politics, and the Transfer Debate," *Montana The Magazine of Western History* 32 (Spring 1982): 32–43; Richard Slotkin, "Massacre," *Berkshire Review* 14 (1979): 112–32; and Jacoby, *Shadows at Dawn*, 223–4.

³⁴ Miles to G. W. Baird, 20 November 1891, quoted in Jerry Green, ed., *After Wounded Knee: Correspondence of Major and Surgeon John Vance Lauderdale*. . . . (East Lansing, 1996), 33

The Lakotas' growing familiarity with English allowed them to inject themselves into these debates. As Ricker recorded, "the Indians sneer at the whiteman's conventional reference to the Custer massacre and the battle of Wounded Knee." The reason, he noted, was "the lack of impartiality of the whites in speaking of the two events—when the whites got the worst of it it was a massacre; when the Indians got the worst of it it was a *battle*." "The Indians understand that on the Little Big Horn they were defending themselves—their village—their property—their lives—their women and children," wrote Ricker. At Wounded Knee, "they were attacked, wantonly, cruelly, brutally, and that what little fighting they did was in self-defense."³⁵ The Lakotas believed that their conduct at the Little Bighorn was legitimate because Custer and his men had invaded their territory. At Wounded Knee, the army had again invaded Lakota lands and slaughtered innocent people. Both scenarios pointed to the United States—the ostensibly civilized nation—as invading Indian country. The Lakotas' insistence on calling Wounded Knee a massacre rhetorically reversed what it meant to be savage or civilized.

The brothers twice sent their claims—marked by the English word *massacre*—to the Indian Office in the late 1890s. Just as Morgan had initially been shocked by American Horse's "serious charges" against the army—only to brush the allegations aside—the Indian Office ignored the survivors' claims. Horn Cloud concluded that "this trouble comes from whites but [they] did not tell [the] truth," suggesting that, in his mind, those with the power to define the official memory of Wounded Knee were consciously suppressing the knowledge of the killings.³⁶

Survivors pursued compensation even as the Lakotas were endowing Wounded Knee with profound memorial significance. This marked a second development that contributed to the construction of the memorial obelisk. Although the U.S. government controlled Pine Ridge Reservation space, the Lakotas had some power to define how the event would be remembered at the site.³⁷

By the late nineteenth century, the Lakotas had been confined to reservations for almost two decades. Reservations enabled the government to control the Lakotas' movements and initiate the process of turning former enemies into loyal subjects. Both OIA bureaucrats and church missionaries invested a great deal of time and paper to quantify and record the names of individual Indians, where they lived, how much they ate, their marital status, their level of education, and whether they had accepted Christian baptism. Fences marked the boundaries of this space, and travel outside of those limits required special passes. With these bureaucratic and physical restraints in place, the government believed it could remake its Native charges into docile denizens of the American state.³⁸

and Robert Wooster, *Nelson A. Miles and the Twilight of the Frontier Army* (Lincoln, 1993).

³⁵ Ricker, notes, in Jensen, *Indian Interviews*, 425n5 (emphasis in original).

³⁶ Horn Cloud to Ricker, 23 December 1903.

³⁷ Walter Johnson, "On Agency," *Journal of Social History* 37 (Fall 2003): 113–24.

³⁸ Frederick E. Hoxie, "From Prison to Homeland: The Cheyenne River Indian Reservation

These constraints shaped Lakota mourning practices at Wounded Knee. In April 1891, Pine Ridge officials complained of Lakotas from Standing Rock, Cheyenne River, and other reservations visiting Wounded Knee to mourn: “They cry and howl and work themselves and [the Pine Ridge Oglalas] into a sad state of mind,” potentially causing trouble. Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs R. V. Belt conceded that “visiting graves of their dead is perhaps some consolation,” but he urged the agents of surrounding reservations to “counsel Indians under [their] charge to cease such visits and remain on their reservation.”³⁹

Such restrictions did not, however, stop the Lakotas living on Pine Ridge from visiting Wounded Knee and remembering their dead. Joseph Horn Cloud’s grandson, Leonard Little Finger, recalled that his grandfather “felt a very strong connection, a very strong bond” with the site. Horn Cloud “made it a point to camp there, and he actually slept on the grave. . . . He looked at it as much as another home because that’s where the remains of his family [were], and so he held that in very, very high reverence.” In this sense, the fact that Wounded Knee happened on a reservation provided advantages to the Lakotas not afforded the survivors of previous massacres in the West. After U.S. troops slaughtered Shoshones at the Bear River in Idaho Territory in 1863, Cheyennes and Arapahos at Sand Creek in Colorado Territory in 1864, and Piegans at the Marias River in Montana Territory in 1870, survivors had only limited access to killing fields and burial grounds. It would take until the twenty-first century for the Shoshones to gain legal control of the Bear River site and for the Cheyennes and Arapahos to acquire the Sand Creek killing field.⁴⁰ The site of the Marias Massacre remains outside of tribal control, which has constrained the descendants from holding regular commemorations and performing mourning rituals.⁴¹ In marked contrast, the Lakotas could develop and sustain memorial traditions at Wounded Knee in spite of the government’s attempts to restrict them.

before WWI,” *South Dakota History* 10 (Winter 1979): 1–24; Paul C. Rosier, *Serving Their Country: American Indian Politics and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 2009); Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920* (Lincoln, 1984); Richard White, “It’s Your Misfortune and None of My Own”: A New History of the American West (Norman, 1993), 439–41; and Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence, 2004), 26–7.

³⁹ R. V. Belt to John Willock Noble, 9 April 1891, *Reports and Correspondence*, 2:1430, M983-2.

⁴⁰ Leonard Little Finger, interview by Jennifer Chapman, Oglala, South Dakota, 24 July 1990, Wounded Knee National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet, 38, accessed 23 March 2013, <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/NHLS/Text/66000719.pdf>; Leo KILLSBACK, “Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site dedicated,” *Indian Country Today*, 14 May 2007, <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2007/05/14/sand-creek-massacre-national-historic-site-dedicated-90781>; Kelman, *Misplaced Massacre*; and “Tribe remembers nation’s largest massacre,” *Indian Country Today*, 10 March 2008, <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2008/03/10/tribe-remembers-nations-largest-massacre-92350>.

⁴¹ Mark Ratledge, “Observing the 1870 Baker Massacre: ‘It is to be regretted . . . some women and children were accidentally killed,’” *The Buffalo Post*, 23 February 2010, <http://www.buffalopost.net/?p=7108>.

Nearly a year after Wounded Knee, Bureau of American Ethnology scholar James Mooney visited Pine Ridge to research the Ghost Dance. The son of Irish Catholic immigrants, Mooney had developed a reputation as a sympathetic interpreter of the indigenous cultures of North America. Some years earlier, he had commenced a detailed ethnographic study of the Ghost Dance’s Great Basin origins and subsequent spread throughout the Rocky Mountain and Plains tribes, which he later published as *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*. Mooney concluded that, although Big Foot’s band was not blameless at Wounded Knee, “there can be no question that the pursuit was simply a massacre, where fleeing women, with infants in their arms, were shot down after resistance had ceased and when almost every warrior was stretched dead or dying on the ground.”⁴²

The ethnographer noted that the Lakotas had used stakes to mark where each body fell. These temporary markers aided in the grieving process, as survivors and others transformed the otherwise ordinary stakes into mnemonic devices.⁴³ Another visitor, Lieutenant Augustus W. Corliss, likewise described “seeing the entire field covered with short sticks flying flags. The Indians had gone there and located the places where their relatives had been killed and marked them with flags.”⁴⁴ These were likely prayer sticks, which grieving Lakotas would place near burial places, with special markings that aided the dead on their journey to the spirit world.⁴⁵

Mooney also recorded ways that the Lakotas had inscribed meaning at the mass grave on the hill overlooking the killing field. On 3 January 1891, civilian contractors had interred 146 bodies in a sixty-foot long, six-foot wide trench on what was later named “Cemetery Hill,” a name reminiscent of Civil War hilltop mass graves.⁴⁶ Mooney observed that “the Indians had put up a wire fence around the trench and smeared the posts with the sacred red medicine paint” used in the Ghost Dance. Although Wounded Knee demoralized many Ghost Dancers, some continued to practice the religion even after the massacre, as it provided hope that covert performances of the dance and its

⁴² George Ellison, “James Mooney and the Eastern Cherokee,” in James Mooney, *James Mooney’s History, Myths, and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees* (Asheville, NC, 1992), 3–4 and Mooney, *Ghost-Dance Religion*, 869, 868–70.

⁴³ Mooney, *Ghost-Dance Religion*, plate 99 and Alan Radley, “Artefacts, Memory and a Sense of the Past,” in *Collective Remembering*, ed. David Middleton and Derek Edwards (London, 1990), 48.

⁴⁴ Corliss quoted in Jensen, *Settler and Soldier Interviews*, 389n78. For other descriptions of the flags, see E. C. Swigert, statement, 31 March 1905, in Jensen, *Settler and Soldier Interviews*, 44; Mooney, *Ghost-Dance Religion*, 869; and Greene, *American Carnage*, 350.

⁴⁵ Marla N. Powers, *Oglala Women: Myth, Ritual, and Reality* (Chicago, 1988), 94.

⁴⁶ Whitney to Acting Assistant Adjutant General, 3 January 1891, *Reports and Correspondence*, 2:824, M983-1; Miles to Adjutant General, 5 January 1891, *Reports and Correspondence*, 2:814, M983-1; “Omens of Bloodshed,” *Omaha Daily Bee*; Baldwin to Assistant Adjutant General, 5 February 1891, *Reports and Correspondence*, 2:1075–6, M983-1; and John R. Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation* (Lawrence, 2005), 25, 54.

rituals would hasten the coming of the Messiah and the return of deceased Indians. Marking the fence posts with the Ghost Dance paint would ensure that those killed at Wounded would be among those who returned.⁴⁷

By the end of the 1890s, the Lakotas built on these memorial practices by petitioning for permission to raise a monument to their dead at the mass grave. The *Omaha World-Herald* reported that the “fitting monuments” marking the burial places of U.S. troops had inspired the Lakotas’ design. In spite of their confinement to reservations in the late nineteenth century, the Lakotas could obtain passes to visit other agencies or find work, where they doubtless encountered monuments. For example, in 1886 the great chief Sitting Bull visited the Crow Agency, which encompassed the Little Bighorn battlefield and Custer National Cemetery in Montana Territory, where he observed the granite obelisk raised in 1881 to honor Custer and the Seventh Cavalry. A reporter described Sitting Bull reinscribing the meaning of the Last Stand Hill obelisk as a monument to his warriors’ victory rather than to Custer’s sacrifice.⁴⁸ Through this and other experiences, the Lakotas learned the significance of such memorials in American culture and desired one of their own.

The Lakotas’ monument petition indicated to the press that the government’s assimilation programs were working. From the perspective of social evolutionary thought, acquiring writing and creating permanent monuments to the dead were key components in the transition from barbarism to civilization. The (New York) *World* considered the proposal “a novel request. Usually Indians prefer to recite the tribal deeds of valor orally to their children and leave to posterity unwritten stories of their fame.” The *World-Herald* called erecting the memorial “another step from their barbaric life and shows a desire to be more like the white people.” After interviewing Indian Office bureaucrats, the *New York Times* stated, “no similar issue has been raised before so far as the authorities here can recall.” Erecting such a monument was “an idea new in Indian history, and [was] taken to indicate greater civilization among the Indians than was looked for.”⁴⁹

Reporters also believed that the Lakotas were adopting white ways of interpreting Wounded Knee’s place in the history of the Indian Wars. In an intriguing parallel to narratives casting Wounded Knee as the final battle of four centuries of Indian warfare, the text of the Lakotas’ planned monument would ostensibly “proclaim Wounded

Knee to be the last battlefield in which the Indian shall show hostility to his white brother.”⁵⁰ The proposed inscription would therefore serve the paradoxical purpose of heralding Lakota bravery while also discrediting the cause that motivated them: resistance against American expansion. In this scheme, Wounded Knee would become the dividing marker in Indian memory for the moment when Natives abandoned militaristic resistance and laid the foundation for subsequent progress and prosperity.

But newspapers overstated the novelty of such memorials among allegedly barbaric Indians. Indigenous peoples had developed complex ways of memorializing their dead. The *New York Times* conceded that Native peoples had long employed “such marks of commemoration as stones . . . to represent the marches of some of the Indian leaders.” Although these “memory piles” lacked interpretive texts, they nonetheless memorialized heroic deeds in a manner similar to obelisks. Furthermore, before they adopted Euro-American burial practices, Lakotas and other Plains tribes had placed their dead in trees or on scaffolds. Mourners regularly painted black bands on scaffold standards to commemorate a warrior’s heroics.⁵¹ Lakotas such as Joseph Horn Cloud, who ultimately drafted the final text of the Wounded Knee monument, likely saw obelisks as a new technological vehicle to articulate already-established memorial practices.

Additionally, substantial press coverage showed that, far from proving a “desire to be more like the white people,” the Lakotas envisioned the memorial as a protest against the army’s conduct at Wounded Knee. First, the *World-Herald* reported that a portion of the inscription would be in Lakota. In the late nineteenth century, written Lakota was only a few decades old. Missionaries had transliterated Lakota words into Roman script as a proselytizing tool, adding diacritical marks and devising new letters to express Lakota sounds that lacked English equivalents. Yet once invented, the written language became a tool to preserve rather than eliminate Lakota culture. Choosing a Lakota inscription was therefore an odd component for a monument to Indian assimilation. Additionally, the *World* related that “the Indian Agent at Pine Ridge [was] opposed to the idea,” since “the presence of a monument dedicated to Big Foot’s band [would] be a constant menace to the peace of the reservation, for the Sioux of South Dakota [were] still bitter over the terrible calamity that wiped out of existence” Big Foot’s Minneconjous. This article cast significant doubt on the reliability of the report that the monument text would interpret Wounded Knee as the end of resistance against American expansion. Lastly, the (New York) *Sun* explained, “The Indians hold [Wounded Knee] to be a massacre, and the monument they are about to erect is intended as a protest against what they regard as the wanton slaughter of people of their race.”⁵²

⁴⁷ Mooney, *Ghost-Dance Religion*, 879; Richmond L. Clow, “The Lakota Ghost Dance after 1890,” *South Dakota History* 20 (Winter 1990): 323–33; Mooney, *Ghost-Dance Religion*, 779, plate 101, 878–9; and L. G. Moses, *The Indian Man: A Biography of James Mooney* (Lincoln, 2002), 63–5.

⁴⁸ “Graves of Dead Sioux,” *Omaha World-Herald*, 16 June 1897; “Indians Are Now Working,” *Omaha Daily Bee*, 17 August 1903; and Frederick E. Hoxie, *Parading Through History: The making of the Crow Nation in America 1805–1935* (Cambridge, UK, 1995), 148.

⁴⁹ Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Lawrence, 1982), 95–106; Hoxie, *Final Promise*, 17–20; “A New Indian War Threatened,” *New York World*, 6 June 1897; “Graves of Dead Sioux,” *Omaha World-Herald*, 16 June 1897; and “The Sioux Monument Scheme,” *New York Times*, 18 June 1897.

⁵⁰ Jean M. O’Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis, 2010), 58, 88 and “Graves of Dead Sioux,” *Omaha World-Herald*.

⁵¹ “Sioux Monument Scheme,” *New York Times*; Hassrick, *Sioux*, 295–7; and Raymond J. Demallie, e-mail to the author, 31 July 2012.

⁵² “Graves of Dead Sioux,” *Omaha World-Herald*; Todd Kerstetter, “Spin Doctors at Santee:



Figure 3. Dedication of the survivors' monument at the Wounded Knee mass grave, 1903, by Mossman, Eli S. Ricker Collection, RG1227-20-16. Photo courtesy of Nebraska State Historical Society.

The monument's dedication, during a three-day ceremony on 28–30 May 1903, permanently rooted Lakota memories at the mass grave, shaping how future visitors to the site would remember Wounded Knee. At just over six feet tall, the four-sided \$350 monument featured a gabled summit crowned by a protruding acorn-like zenith. Horn Cloud—the principal proponent for government compensation—designed and funded the monument, although others donated as little as a dime to as much as five dollars.⁵³ Five thousand Lakotas from the surrounding reservations assembled for the dedication. A reporter described the attendees as “gaudily-dressed” and “gayly [sic] bedecked.” Most of the men wore wide-brimmed hats, white shirts, vests, and coats while the women

Missionaries and the Dakota-Language Reporting of the Ghost Dance and Wounded Knee,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 28 (Spring 1997): 45–67; “New Indian War Threatened,” *New York World*; and “Indian Protest in Granite,” *New York Sun*, 2 November 1902.

⁵³ Radley, “Artefacts, Memory and a Sense of the Past,” 48; *Rushville (NE) Standard*, 22 May 1903; “Indian Protest in Granite,” *New York Sun*; “Indians Erect a Monument,” *Omaha World-Herald*, 22 May 1903; and Pine Ridge Agency clerk to Kimball brothers, 22 March 1904, 439, Misc. Letters and Telegrams Sent, 23 April 1903–20 April 1904, Copies of Misc. Letters Sent, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pine Ridge Agency, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Kansas City, Missouri (hereafter BIA records).

wore dresses and sat under umbrellas to escape the heat. It was a beautiful day, with sunlight breaking through the clouds. Older men passed around a peace pipe while the young smoked “city-made cigarets [sic],” as they ritually prepared for the solemnity that followed.⁵⁴ (See figure 3.)

The dedicatory services demonstrated ways that Lakotas had selectively appropriated mainstream practices to support their engagement with memory politics. The dedication occurred on what is now Memorial Day (or Decoration Day) weekend, a holiday pregnant with nationalistic symbols and closely associated with remembering the country's war dead.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the speakers emphasized friendship and loyalty to the United States, reflecting over two decades of intense pressure to assimilate from reservation and government school officials. Episcopalian Reverend William J. Cleveland, for example, spoke on the unity of humankind and preached that God made of men one nation (alluding to Acts 17:26).⁵⁶ Horn Cloud followed Cleveland, noting, “Standing by the grave wherein lies my father and my brother, and gazing upon the battlefield where they died as did many of my people, I have only good feelings toward the whites and hope we will always be friendly.” Oglala Chief Fire Lightning, who lived at Wounded Knee and tended the burial grounds, then spoke: “For many, many years I have been friends with the white people; I helped make the treaty with them; I have never broken that treaty and I wish to end my days a friend to them.”⁵⁷ The crowd also sang patriotic songs in Lakota, including “America” and “My Country 'Tis of Thee,” as an American flag waved in the wind.⁵⁸

The Lakotas, however, tempered this pro-American sentiment with traditional practices previously banned by government officials. By the turn of the century, however, many Native groups had become adept at holding large gatherings on major patriotic holidays; these celebrations were often little more than screens for the clandestine continuation of banned practices. As recently as 1900, missionaries on Lakota reservations had complained to the Indian Office that their charges held celebrations on the Fourth of July and other holidays to revive “old time pernicious practices” like the Ghost Dance; the Sun Dance, which in some iterations included self-mutilation; the Giveaway, which allegedly encouraged socialism, as community

⁵⁴ T. R. Porter, “Red Men Erect Monument to Fallen Warriors,” *Omaha World-Herald*, 7 June 1903; “Sioux Monument to Braves Who Fell at Wounded Knee,” *Cedar Rapids (IA) Evening Gazette*, 13 June 1903; Frances Densmore, *Teton Sioux Music* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1918), 81; “Dedication of the Wounded Knee Monument,” photograph, Ricker Collection; Porter, “Red Men Erect Monument”; and William K. Powers, *Oglala Religion* (Lincoln, 1982), 132.

⁵⁵ On the establishment of Memorial Day on 30 May, see Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 71.

⁵⁶ David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence, 1995).

⁵⁷ Horn Cloud and Fire Lightning quoted in “Sioux Monument to Braves,” *Cedar Rapids (IA) Evening Gazette*.

⁵⁸ “Dedication of the Wounded Knee Monument,” Ricker Collection and Ricker, diary, in Jensen, *Settler and Soldier Interviews*, 56.

members gave away their possessions to the poor; and the Ghost-Keeping ritual, which helped families mourn the death of loved ones and guide the deceased on their journey to the spirit world.⁵⁹

Similarly, dedicating the Wounded Knee monument on Memorial Day weekend allowed Lakotas to invoke patriotic symbols while covertly performing rituals and protesting the Seventh Cavalry's actions. The services contained elements of the memorial feast, which government officials disliked, since it played much the same role as the banned Ghost-Keeping ritual. For example, the survivors had leaned a framed photograph, a regular element in modern memorial feasts, against the monument. Additionally, a wreath adorned the apex of the obelisk, and an arrangement of flowers decorated its base. From the nearby ravine, a death trap for many Lakotas on the day of the killings, an aged Lakota woman slowly ascended the hill to the mass grave while singing a death song. Other women joined her in song, covered their heads with blankets, and expressed their grief by tossing brightly colored strips of cloth onto the mass grave. The men, likewise, chanted death songs. It is conceivable that the cloth, which could be converted to clothing, was afterward given away to poor Lakotas in need—in other words, a covert Giveaway.⁶⁰

The monument itself, though, embodied the Lakota protest of Wounded Knee. Under the date of 29 December 1890, a Lakota inscription stated, *Cankpi Opi Eltona Wicakte Picun He Cajepi Kin* (“These are the Names of those Killed at Wounded Knee”).⁶¹ Including Lakota-language text on the monument suggested the creative use of technology to further the Lakota objectives of justice and recognition. Beginning with Big Foot, the south side—which faced the mass grave—listed the names of twenty-two warriors, including Horn Cloud's brothers, William and Sherman.⁶² The

north side contained an additional twenty-one names.⁶³ Only three names appeared on the west side, including Joseph's father; under his name the phrase “The peacemaker died here innocent” had been inscribed.⁶⁴ Family tradition describes the elder Horn Cloud as telling one of his sons to raise the white flag after the Seventh Cavalry intercepted Big Foot's people on 28 December.⁶⁵ Rather than memorializing him as a warrior, the monument text instead portrayed him as the antithesis of a fighter.

Another inscription defined the conflict as “the Big Foot Massacre.” As previously mentioned, Horn Cloud and other survivors had been calling Wounded Knee a massacre years before the dedication of the monument. Unlike the vast majority of obelisks that dotted the postbellum nationalistic memorial landscape, the Lakotas' monument protested rather than celebrated the soldiers' conduct. The text specifically named Colonel James W. Forsyth as commander of the troops who committed the killings. The inscription defined Big Foot not as a great military leader who opposed Forsyth but as a peacemaker who “did many good and brave deeds for the white man and the red man.”⁶⁶ Future visitors to the mass grave would read that “many innocent women and children who knew no wrong died here.” In the monument's text, Wounded Knee became not the final battle between civilization and savagery but a wholesale slaughter of innocent people led by a chief who had long sought peaceful coexistence with whites.

The text therefore posed a direct challenge to the dominant memory of Wounded Knee. In retrospect, the government official quoted in the *World* in 1897 proved prophetic when he claimed, “the presence of a monument dedicated to Big Foot's band [would] be a constant menace to the peace of the reservation.”⁶⁷ In subsequent decades, the memorial served as the most tangible expression of Lakota protest against the Big Foot Massacre and their challenge to the assumptions undergirding the broader narrative representing the final triumph of civilization over savagery.

The Wounded Knee memorial was the most visible monument built prior to the 1960s that protested the violence of American expansion.⁶⁸ The mass grave and the obelisk that interpreted its significance served as the site of subsequent annual survivor reunions. At these commemorations, Lakotas remembered the government's refusal to compensate survivors for their losses at Wounded Knee. At the 1933 reunion held

⁵⁹ Ostler, *Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism*, 169–93; Tom Holm, *The Great Confusion in Indian Affairs: Native Americans and Whites in the Progressive Era* (Austin, 2005), 40; and William J. Cleveland and A. J. Johnson to W. H. Clapp, 22 June 1900, folder 9 January–31 August 1900, box 32, Misc. Correspondence Received; W. A. Jones to the U.S. Indian Agents of the Sioux Agencies in South Dakota, 28 November 1900, folder 3 January–19 December 1900, box 22, Letters Received from the Office of Indian Affairs, Indian Warehouses, and Special Agents 1871–1907; and Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs to John Brennan, 15 May 1905, folder 6 January–28 December 1905, box 23, Letters Received from the Office of Indian Affairs, Indian Warehouses, and Special Agents, 1871–1907; all BIA records.

⁶⁰ Powers, *Oglala Women*, 195; Powers, *Oglala Religion*, 131–4; Powers, *Oglala Women*, 198; “Dedication of the Wounded Knee Monument,” Ricker Collection; “Sioux Monument to Braves,” *Cedar Rapids (IA) Evening Gazette*; Porter, “Red Men Erect Monument”; and Powers, *Oglala Women*, 185–6.

⁶¹ My thanks to Leonard Little Finger, Mike Her Many Horses, and Marie Not Help Him for this translation.

⁶² The names were Chief Big Foot, Mr. High Hawk, Mr. Shading Bear, Long Bull, White American, Black Coyote, Ghost Horse, Living Bear, Afraid of Bear, Young Afraid of Bear, Yellow Robe, Wounded Hand, Red Eagle, Pretty Hawk, William Horn Cloud, Sherman Horn Cloud, Scatters Them, Red Fish, Swift Bear, He Crow, Little Water, and Strong Fox.

⁶³ The names were Spotted Thunder, Shoots the Bear, Picked Up Horses, Bear Cuts Body, Chase in Winter, Tooth Its Hole, Red Horn, He Eagle, No Ears, Wolf Skin Necklace, Lodge Skin Knopkin (?), Charge At Them, Weasel Bear, Bird Shakes, Big Skirt, Brown Turtle, Blue American, Pass Water In Horn, Scabbard Knife, Small She Bear, and Kills Seneca.

⁶⁴ The names were Horn Cloud, Courage Bear, and Crazy Bear.

⁶⁵ Marie Not Help Him, phone interview with author, 15 June 2011.

⁶⁶ On Big Foot as a peacemaker, see Ostler, *Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism*, 327.

⁶⁷ “New Indian War Threatened,” *New York World*.

⁶⁸ Paul Scolari, “Indian Warriors and Pioneer Mothers: American Identity and the Closing of the Frontier in Public Monuments, 1890–1930,” (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2005), 13, 17.

The American “Holocausto” an untold history

By Doctor Alessandro Martire

Honorary Tribal Member of the Lakota Sicangu Nation of Rosebud, South Dakota

International lawyer for the Lakota Sicangu Nation at the High Commission for Human Rights of Geneva.

Italian delegate for the Lakota Sicangu Nation of the international relationships between the Italian Nation and the Lakota Sicangu Nation.

Abstract:

The presentation of this work consist of the review of the history of the colonization of the American Continent since the time of Columbus, analyzing in detail the anthropological, historical, cultural and juridical factors that caused one of the most tragic chapters of human history.

An era of forced Christianization, lethal sickness, wars and forced civilization brought by the Europeans in the “Turtle Continent” wiped out about 80-90 million human beings.

Keywords: Lakota, manifest destiny, Christianization, extinction, allotment act, Dawes act, Aboriginal Nations, Government, land, treaties, spirituality.

Who really discovered America? The answer to that question may seem obvious; however, in light of the importance that Euro-Americans placed centuries ago on the word “discovery,” the reader will find that the question is not trivial. In fact, it lies at the heart of many problems which “Indians” have faced since long before the United States became a nation—and which continue to confront them today.

The 1992 observance of the Columbus Quincentennial might well have helped many Americans understand why Ned Hatahli referred to the discovery issue as he did. Though the voyage of Cristopher Columbus was an outstanding navigational achievement, he never set foot on or even saw the North American continent. Nonetheless, he did trace the Central America coast from Honduras to Panama on his last voyage, and he even landed on the northern coast of South America during his third voyage in 1498, thinking it was an island. Columbus first made landfall on October 12, 1492, on a small island in the Bahamas southeast of Florida. It was already inhabited by the Arawak nation, who called themselves “Taino.” Because he felt he had found an archipelago off the coast of Asia—most likely India—Columbus gave these people the name of “Indios,” the Spanish word for Indians. On several occasions during his travel in what we now call the West Indies, Columbus took his men and Indian scouts on expeditions in search of Chipango, namely what is today Japan, which he felt was in the region. Up to the time of his death in Spain on May 21, 1506, Cristopher Columbus was convinced he had reached the fringe of Asia. Though he wasn’t first, and he was mistaken about his whereabouts,

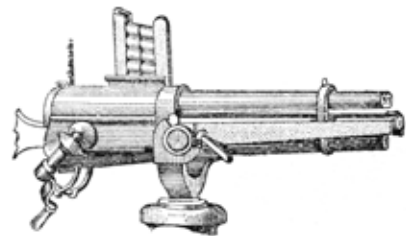
Columbus stands out as the one man who inaugurated Europe’s “age of discovery,” which forever changed Native life-ways in the western hemisphere. Though these 15th century explorations took place in what is now called the discovery era, credit for even earlier European landings rightfully goes to the Scandinavian explorers of the 10th and 11th centuries as well as to the Knights Templars and Henry de Saint Clair. What did Columbus bring to the land he wrongfully thought he had discovered?

- . lethal sickness: smallpox, epidemic pestilence, flu, and other deadly sickness
- . a foreign domination on ancient land and upon living Aboriginal nations, with imposition of alien rules, laws, and costumes
- . forced Christianization
- . slavery
- . denial of human rights.

The justification of this historical “Holocausto” that lasted since Columbus landed until 1890—date of the last massacre towards the Minnecoju Lakota Nation at Wounded Knee—has to be seen mainly in the so called “doctrine of discovery.” National celebration of European arrival in the western hemisphere cause resentments among many Aboriginal nations who are aware of the above-mentioned doctrine of discovery. This juridical doctrine is the European invented legal theory upon which all claim to, and acquisition of, Indian lands in North America was ultimately founded.

The European discovery of the Americas had a tremendous impact on the Old World. The new, vast, and rich continents were sources of national wealth for European powers and provided an outlet for individuals seeking wealth and fleeing religious persecution. The gold taken by Spain from Latin America supported the Spanish national treasury for decades. French fur traders’ profits added considerably to the wealth and prestige of the French Crown. The English colonies provided raw materials and markets for Great Britain’s rapidly expanding manufacturing trade. The introduction of Indian crops, such as white potatoes, corn, and tomatoes, improved European diets and aided a population explosion and an improved standard of living, especially in Great Britain. European medicine welcomed more than 170 new drugs, such as quinine, used to treat malaria, and no-

at the mass grave, the survivors formed the Wounded Knee Survivors Association, the principal institution charged with perpetuating their memories and keeping the compensation issue before the government, resulting in congressional hearings in the 1930s, 1970s, and 1990s.⁶⁹ In 1973, seven decades after Joseph Horn Cloud and other survivors dedicated the monument at the mass grave, the American Indian Movement (AIM) chose Wounded Knee as the place to make its stand against the government.⁷⁰ In doing so, AIM built upon decades of Lakota efforts to memorialize “the Big Foot Massacre” and brought Lakota memory politics into future debates over Native sovereignty.



Placed atop the mass burial hill the Hotchkiss machine gun mowed down all in its sights. (wiki common)

⁶⁹ Memorial Day program, 25 May 1932, folder 53, box 172, Main Decimal Files, 1900–1965, BIA records; A Bill to Liquidate the Liability of the United States for the Massacre of Sioux Indian Men, Women, and Children on December 29, 1890, H. R. 2535, 75th Cong., 3d sess. (1938); A Bill To Liquidate the Liability of the United States for the Massacre of Sioux Indian Men, Women, and Children at Wounded Knee on December 29, 1890, S. 1147 and S. 2900, 94th Cong., 2d sess. (1976); and Mario Gonzalez and Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, *The Politics of Hallowed Ground: Wounded Knee and the Struggle for Indian Sovereignty* (Urbana, 1999).

⁷⁰ Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New York, 1996), 117, 127–68 and Elizabeth Rich, “Remember Wounded Knee: AIM’s Use of Metonymy in 21st Century Protest,” *College Literature* 31 (Summer 2004): 70–91.

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Drawing of Chief Big Foot, dead in the snow. Photo by John Willis.

vocaine, an anaesthetic still used today. Transportation and entertainment changed as Europeans began using snowshoes, canoes, rubber, and hammocks. Tobacco and chocolate added to personal enjoyment. Warfare also changed as Europeans adopted the Indian style of guerrilla military strategy.

Despite their debts to Indian culture, Europeans' treatment of Aboriginal nations was generally hostile and always self-serving. The pattern varied from virtual extermination by the Spanish, to hostile dismissal by the English, to grudging respect by the French. European civilization was based on individualism, hierarchy, and materialism, and Europeans considered their way vastly superior to Aboriginal cultures. Reared in societies that emphasized acquisition through competition and control, Europeans were simply unable to understand and appreciate or even respect cultures that deemphasized those values.

Spain and Portugal, the first nations to establish permanent settlement in the New World, quickly laid claims to the entire western hemisphere on the basis of the "discovery."

Contrary to this "doctrine," we shall say that the western hemisphere had already been "discovered" by its approximately 90 million inhabitants. To support their claims, Spain and Portugal sought the support of Pope Alexander VI, "the appointed servant of God."

The whole earth belonged to God, and the Pope, as God's representative, had the divine authority, the Spanish and Portuguese argued, to dispose of it as he saw fit. In 1493 Pope Alexander VI issued the encyclical "Inter Caetera." This Papal proclamation, which was reaffirmed in the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas, drew a north-south line through the Western Hemisphere. All of the New World to the west of the line was under Spain's control, everything to the east, under Portugal's.

What the line actually meant—whether it granted land ownership or merely divided the hemisphere into areas where Spanish and the Portuguese could convert to Christian religion and dogma the Aboriginal nations—was disputed for decades.

Spain's presence in the New World lasted for almost three hundred years. During that time the Spanish occupied colonies in all areas of Latin America, Florida, the Gulf of Mexico, the entire Southwest, and, for a time, the area that eventually became the Louisiana Purchase. In the early years of its colonial administration, Spain's treatment of the Aboriginal nations was rivalled in cruelty only by that of the Russians, who established colonies in Alaska and northern California between 1741 and 1867.

Spain's overriding interest in the New World was gold. Wealth and power in Europe at this time were determined by the amount of gold bullion a nation held in its treasury. To extract gold and other metals from the New World, Spain conquered and enslaved the Aboriginal populations.

The near extermination of entire Aboriginal nations

through forced labor was so appalling that, in 1537, Pope Paul III issued a proclamation directed at preventing the use of Aboriginal people as beasts of burden. The Pope's proclamation had little effect, however, Spain argued that conquest and enslavement were necessary to convert the Aboriginal people, who were equal to beasts, not being Christianized yet, and to convert them also with the usage of torture and enslavement to the holy and only faith, Christianity.

To legitimize this argument, Spanish court advisers drew up a document called the "Requerimiento." This document was to be read to the Aboriginal population by priests who campaigned each Conquistador. The document urged the Aboriginal people to convert immediately to Catholicism and warned if they did not, the Spanish Army would "legally and morally" wage war against them.

This "divine" authorization that came, under their belief, directly by almighty God, would be, as we will see in the next lines, one of the basic "legal fictions" that legitimate the Greatest Holocaust of the human history.

The Aboriginal people, who did not understand Spanish, were generally nowhere in sight when the Spanish arrived. More often than not, the document was read in a loud voice to the surrounding trees.

Enslavement of Aboriginal people was part of the "encomienda" system, which was established in 1512 to organize the government of the New World. Under the encomienda system, large grants of land were given to conquistadors and settlers. Aboriginal people were allocated as property, along with the land, and like beasts, and required to work for the encomendero (the landowner). In return the colonists were to Christianize and "civilize" the "pagan Indians," by the famous and outrageous motto "kill the Indian to save the man."

By the 1550s more than one third of the Aboriginal population under Spanish control had perished either by lethal sickness imported to the New World by the Europeans, or by "sword." As reports filtered out of the New World, Spain's treatment of the Aboriginal people became a subject of national and international debate. In 1550 the Spanish king convened a council of respected thinkers of that time as well as theologians to decide the issue as presented by two well known Spanish thinkers, Bartolomé de las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepulveda. Las Casas, the defender of the "Indians," argued that the tribes could not be enslaved nor their lands taken by conquest. To support his arguments, he cited the work of the influential Spanish thinker Francisco de Vitoria and Francisco Suarez. The Indians, Vitoria had written in his important work *De Indis*, were the true owners of their ancestral lands. If Spain wished to secure these lands, it should do so by making treaties with the different aboriginal Nations. These views were echoed by Suarez, who argued that the Pope's demarcation line did not grant title, but only divided the world for the purpose of conver-

sion to the Christian Catholic holy faith.

Conversion, Las Casas emphasized, was not a moral and legal argument for conquest. Sepulveda argued that Indians were inferior and that their labor was necessary to Spain's national interest.

The Spanish court never officially decided the debate. Gradually, however, Las Casas' view

Became more accepted. Even the original concept of the Church, namely that the Aboriginal nations were not to be considered as human beings, as they did not have a soul and were not Christians, by early 1610 became an overstep concept. In fact the first English colonies in the so-called "New England" started to get trade and relationships with the Aboriginal nations that were present in those territories. Pretty soon interracial marriages occurred between the English and the women of the different tribes. The ritual of marriage was performed very often by adopting the Aboriginal traditional rituals and afterward by performing a Christian, or Protestant, or Lutheran celebration.

In this way, with the minister officiating the ritual of marriage under the European "credo," should necessary mean that the two persons were human beings, otherwise the marriage could not be performed; namely it would be impossible to perform a Protestant or Catholic ritual by any minister of the cult if one of the two was a "beast" without a soul. In this way, the different European religions declared that even an Aboriginal person was a human being.

Stepping back to the Spanish politics in the New World we must say that when Spain began to colonize the Southwest, the "encomienda" system still held sway. For eighty years the Pueblo Aboriginal people were subject to the harsh directives of the system and were consequently being slaughtered systematically. Those that did not perish under the "sword," submitting under threat and death, were forced to labor in the fields, manufacture goods, tend livestock, perform for their owners and Spanish masters domestic work, and finally submit to religious conversion and the destruction of their spiritual and cultural life.

France, Holland, and England had little use for and were not deterred by Spanish claims to the western hemisphere. By the 1530s, French fur trappers were present along the Saint Lawrence River.

In 1608 Samuel de Champlain established the first permanent settlement at Quebec. That same year Champlain concluded the first known treaty in the New World, with the Huron Nations and the Montagnais. By 1682 René Robert Cavelier de la Salle had navigated down the Mississippi River and claimed the vast Mississippi Valley region for France.

The interest of the French and their relationships to the tribes differed considerably from those of Spain and England. France's preoccupation lay in profits from the lucrative fur trade. The French trappers in general had little interest in "Christianizing or civilizing" the Aboriginal nations they came in touch with.

At the beginning they needed to learn from the different Aboriginal nations the skill to trap and survive in the forests and different environments. Many French trappers married Aboriginal women, learned native languages, and encouraged the tribes to settle near their trading posts. The French even established "exchange programs" in which a young French trapper would live with a tribe for a year or two while a young brave travelled to France so that each might learn the language and skills of the other.

French dependence on the tribes for furs and their regard for Indian cultures produced a respectful and open political relationship between the two groups. France recognized tribal sovereignty and land rights and treated tribal leaders well. Each May, the tribes and French leaders met in a large diplomatic conference treaties to discuss problems and settle disputes. For three months of the year, the governors of Canada and Louisiana visited the various nations, paying their respects.

Despite cordial relations, the ultimate effect of the French fur trade on the different tribes was disastrous. Epidemics and diseases introduced to North America by the trappers killed an estimated one-fourth to one-half of many tribes' members.

Access to trade goods, firearms, steel knives, metal utensils, and cloth made tribal members aware of material acquisitiveness. Aboriginal men increasingly left their families and tribal obligations to go trapping in the forests for long periods. Competitiveness and individualism slowly began to compete with the traditional values of sharing and cooperation.

Most important was the impact of the fur trade on intertribal relations. As hunters depleted animals in one region, tribes moved into lands held by their neighbors. Wars were frequent as Aboriginal nations sought control of the richest lands.

Competition between the Iroquois, who traded their furs to the Dutch along the Atlantic coast, and the Hurons and Wyandots, who were allied with the French, was particularly bloody.

Therefore, no matter what kind of treatment was given to the different tribes, the European arrival in the New World brought devastation, sickness, wars between friendly tribes, and a very problematic disease: alcoholism, that spread out among all the different Nations that have been in touch with any European Nation.

Throughout the centuries, history tells us about the several alliances of Aboriginal tribes with England and France to face a series of wars beginning in the late seventeenth century. France and England, who had been enemies for centuries, fought for supremacy in Europe as well as in the New World.

In 1754 the fourth war between the two powers in sixty years erupted. Despite the English efforts, the French were more successful in gaining allies, with the important exception of the Iroquois Nation.

In a last ditch attempt to contain the British, the great Ottawa leader named Pontiac inspired eighteen tribes from western Pennsylvania and northern Ohio to a powerful alliance.

In well-planned spontaneous attack in 1763, Pontiac and his warriors' attacks lead to the capture of eight of the ten British forts east of Fort Niagara. Two thousand British troops and settlers were killed in the attacks. Sir Jeffrey Amherst, commander in chief of the British forces in North America, in perhaps the first example of biological warfare, retaliated by sending "special gifts to the Indians" of smallpox-infected blankets to all tribes allied with the French; the blankets often were brought into the several villages by Christian Catholic missionaries.

In order to understand either the policy, as well as the intent of the new European settlers in the New World, it is important to consider a legal case that started the so-called "removal" of Aboriginal nations in different locations and afterward to the so called "reservations" that I personally define as "concentration camps in the open air."

The case is of absolute importance: in the Cherokee Nation case, Marshall had written that the relationship between the Aboriginal nations and the new United States was like "that of a ward to his guardian." In the Worcester v. Georgia decision, Marshall explained this relationship more fully.

Although Aboriginal nations, according to the chief justice, were somewhat like wards of the federal government, the United States' protection of the tribes did not reduce Aboriginal sovereignty.

The relationship between the Cherokee and the United States, Marshall stated, was that "of a nation claiming and receiving the protection of one more powerful, not that of individuals abandoning their national character, and submitting as subjects to the laws of the Master."

This description is of a protectorate relationship. Marshall referred to international law to prove that a weaker power does not surrender its independence or right to self-government by associating with a stronger state. And he emphasized that protection meant the "supply of their essential wants and protection from lawless and injurious intrusions into their country." Most importantly, protection did not imply the destruction of the protected.

The Worcester decision was a legal victory at that time for the Cherokees. But unfortunately it did little to prevent the tribe's removal. Government officials had proposed for some years to solve the "Indian problem" by establishing a "permanent Indian frontier" in the Louisiana territory, which had been purchased from France in 1803, and moving all eastern tribes into that region.

In 1830 president Andrew Jackson asked Congress to pass the Indian Removal Bill, a bill to set aside lands west of the Mississippi River for the tribes.

Despite protests that the bill violated previous trea-

ties and laws recognizing Indian sovereignty, it passed by five votes. The bill gave some individual tribal members a choice: they could stay in the south and submit to state law, or they could move west.

The Mississippi Choctaw Nation was the first to leave. They were promised that they would never again be asked to cede any of their new land, and that no state or territory would ever have the right to pass law over the Choctaw Nation. In the early 1830s, tribal members left their ancestral home for the West. More than one-third of the Choctaw remained in Mississippi, believing that they would be given individual land allotments as stipulated by treaty. These Choctaws waited more than one hundred years for the government to fulfil its promise.

Although the Indian Removal Bill guaranteed that tribes would never be asked to surrender their new lands, it soon became clear that no tribe would be secure on lands west of the Mississippi River. The government knew that selling the western lands to white settlers would help immensely toward paying off the national debt and underwriting the future expenses of the national government.

"Manifest Destiny," the famous and outrageous notion that the land from the east coast to the west coast was meant to be one country, had become the catchword of the day.

Expansion, progress, civilization, and forced Christianization were the primary American values, and the tribes and their lands presented a barrier to both. Within twenty-five years after passing the Indian Removal Bill, the government had apparently forgotten all its promises.

In the 1840s and 1850s, America grew faster than ever before, congress annexed Texas in 1845, and a year later it added the Oregon Territory.

In 1848 the entire Southwest became American territory as a result of the Mexican war. Five years later the Gadsden Purchase completed the present boundaries of the continental United States. In ten years the country's non-Indian population increased by almost one-third and its land area by 70 percent.

To open this vast new area white settlement, however, the federal government needed to solve the so-called "Indian problem."

The government decided to accomplish this by setting tribes on the so-called "reservations." This procedure had first been used in Connecticut in 1638. Now two hundred and some years later the government negotiated fifty-three reservation treaties with various tribes. Between 1853 and 1857 the United States thereby acquired more than 174 million acres for settlement. Although they had been promised the entire region between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, tribes in Arkansas, Iowa, and Missouri were moved farther west to Kansas, Nebraska, and Oklahoma. In 1854, Congress admitted Kansas and Nebraska as territories of the Union, thereby diminishing further the

area reserved to tribes. This ended the government's promise that the Indian would be provided a permanent and unorganized territory west of the Mississippi.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century Aboriginal nations, accurately aware that their lands and resources were being seriously threatened by the increasing influx of white settlers, reacted fiercely to protect their own existence.

Between 1866 and 1891 western tribes fought more than one thousand battles with the U.S. Army. The Aboriginal tribes were fighting desperately for their physical, cultural, and spiritual survival against a growing nation that was motivated in part by land hunger and tremendous racial arrogance, and in part by a sincere belief in "Manifest Destiny" and the perceived superiority of their culture and civilization.

One of the earliest spurs to westward migration had been the discovery of gold in California in 1848. The two following years saw the non-Aboriginal population of California explode from 15,000 to 93,000. In 1850 California became a state, and it entered the Union with a virulent anti-Indian policy.

Early California laws permitted indenturing Aboriginal women and children, a practice tantamount to slavery. The State also unofficially permitted the outright extermination of the tribes.

Originally one of the most densely populated Aboriginal areas, with a tribal population in excess of 150,000, by 1890 the state had an Indian population of only 17,000, a decrease of almost 90 percent. Hoping to reduce hostilities, the federal government negotiated a number of treaties with Aboriginal nations in California in the 1850s. The tribes ceded half the state, reserving for themselves eight million acres in perpetuity. Under pressure of Californians, however, the Senate did not ratify the treaties, and the tribes lost all their lands.

Not until the early 1900s were California tribes granted rights to some of their former lands, when Congress purchased 117 small rancherias for Aboriginal use.

During the discovery era's fierce international competition for new lands, a need arose for some commonly acknowledged principle by which rights—as between European nations—could be established. The main purpose for developing such a principle was to avoid war over conflicting claims settlements.

In the earliest years, the competing powers relied on grants from the Pope and the Roman Catholic powers. The prevailing belief, stated by King Duarte of Portugal, was "whatever is possessed by the authority and permission of the Pope, is understood to be held in a special way and with the permission of almighty God" (Williams 1990, p. 70). But the Pope's international authority was lessening with the growing Protestant movement and other world developments. Some new system had to be adopted.

Over time, and through many agreements, grants, and charters, the European nations established the principle

that initial discovery of lands gave title therein to the governments whose subjects, or by whose authority, the discovery was made. This title, ignoring the Aboriginal nations, was good against all other European or civilized (i.e. Christian) governments. It could be secured by possession of land through the continued presence of the government's citizens or representatives somewhere within the bounds of the claimed area.

Historically we have to consider that this juridical "justification" together with the belief that the Aboriginal nations were not human beings due to the fact that they were not "Christians" and were therefore "pagans," caused in 500 years the genocide of about 70 million people, in Northern and Central America—the greatest "holocaust" ever occurring in the history of man.

The United States officially embraced the discovery doctrine in 1823 through the Supreme Court case of "Johnson v. McIntosh." The case began addressing the proclaimed superior right of Euro-American governments to sell Aboriginal ancestral lands—despite the fact that Aboriginal nations might claim and be living on them.

The result was that the United States has unequivocally acceded to that great broad rule by which its "civilized" inhabitants now hold the whole country. They hold, and assert in themselves, the title by which it was acquired. They maintain, as all others have maintained, that discovery gave an exclusive right (and divine right) to extinguish the Aboriginal title of occupancy, either by purchase or by conquest, and gave also a right to such a degree of sovereignty (over Aboriginals and their ancestral lands), as the circumstances of the people (of the U.S.) would allow them to exercise.

As the reader will come to see, many historical issues that concern American Indians today derive ultimately from the international "legal fiction" known as the "doctrine of discovery."

Directly linked to the doctrine of discovery we found the so-called "Manifest Destiny." Although the Indian Removal Bill guaranteed that different tribes or bands would never be asked to surrender their lands, it soon became clear that no tribe would be secure on lands west of the Mississippi River. The government knew that selling the western lands to white settlers would help immensely toward paying off the national debt and underwrite the future expenses of the national government. "Manifest Destiny," the notion that the land from the east coast to the west coast was meant to be one country, had become the catchword of the day. Expansion and so-called "progress" were the primary American values together with "forced civilization through forced Christianization," and the several tribes and their lands presented a barrier to both.

Within 25 years after passing the "Indian Removal Bill," the government had apparently forgotten all its promises.

A problem for this apparent "civilization" arose: the Indians. To open this vast new area to white settlement, the fed-

eral government needed to solve the Indian problem. The government decided to accomplish this by settling tribes on the so-called "reservations:" the American concentration camps. This procedure had first been used in Connecticut in 1638. Now two hundred and some years later, the government negotiated fifty-three "reservation" treaties with various tribes.

Between 1853 and 1857 the United States thereby acquired more than 174 million acres for settlement. Although they had been promised the entire region between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, tribes in Arkansas, Iowa, and Missouri were moved farther west to Kansas, Nebraska, and Oklahoma. In 1854, Congress admitted Kansas and Nebraska as territories to the Union, thereby diminishing further the area reserved to different tribes. This ended the government's promise that the Indian would be provided a permanent and unorganized territory west of the Mississippi.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century the Aboriginal nations, acutely aware that their lands and resources were being seriously threatened by the increasing influx of white settlers, reacted fiercely to protect their own existence.

In the Midwest and North, the Lakota, often and wrongly called the Sioux, as well as their allies, namely the Northern Cheyenne, and Northern Arapahoe, fought the Army more successfully and fiercely to protect their lives and culture. In 1851 the Plains Indian wars came to an end when the government convened the largest treaty council ever held. Perhaps ten thousand plains Aboriginal nations from the Lakota, Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Crow, Arikara, Mandan, and other nations attended. After more than two weeks of negotiations, the tribes signed the Treaty of Fort Laramie. The tribes established tribal boundaries (some accepted reservations), promised peace with one another and with whites, and agreed to allow the construction of forts and roads in their country in return for a fifty-year annuity.

This peace, however, was short-lived. In 1862 the Santee Sioux of Minnesota, angered over a series of fraudulent treaties, revolted and killed some five hundred white settlers before being driven out of Minnesota.

In 1862 the government hanged 38 Dakota leaders of the revolt. President Abraham Lincoln pardoned another 268 Dakotas, stating that they should be held as prisoners of war, instead of being executed for fighting for their cause. Many Santee Dakota fled to Canada, where their descendants live today.

By the mid-1860s tension on the Plains had increased to the breaking point, primarily because of the movement of the settlers across the Bozeman Trail—a road constructed across land promised to the Lakotas in the Fort Laramie treaty of 1851. In 1866 Lakota leaders Red Cloud, Crazy Horse, Sitting Bull, and Gall retaliated in what became known as the Powder River War.

In 1868 the United States agreed to negotiate another

treaty with the Lakotas. The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 has been described as the only peace treaty the United States has negotiated in which it has agreed to all of the other party's demands and received nothing in return. The 1868 treaty promised the Powder River country, including the Black Hills, to the Lakota Nation forever, and ordered that the Bozeman Trail be closed.

In 1873, however, gold was discovered in the Black Hills. The Lakota and the Cheyenne, led by Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull, battled the miners, settlers, and troops swarming into the area. In 1876 the Government sent Lt. Col. George Armstrong Custer and Gen. Alfred Terry to the Powder and Big Horn rivers in Wyoming to round up the Lakotas and return them to reservations, despite the Fort Laramie Treaty.

As the country at large was celebrating its centennial and marvelling over inventions such as the telephone, Crazy Horse and his warriors were annihilating Custer and 267 of his men at the Battle of the little Big Horn. The Lakota wars continued unabated until Crazy Horse was taken prisoner and murdered in 1877 and Sitting Bull surrendered in 1881.

Although sporadic Indian revolts continued until 1915, tribes could offer little active resistance to the federal Government after about 1885. They had been defeated not so much by armies as by the unstoppable westward migration of settlers, the extermination of about 60-80 million bison, and the intrusion of new technology.

The construction of the transcontinental railroad encouraged the growth of settlements, and the bison, a major food source, were driven to the brink of extinction by whites. These developments, along with lethal diseases brought by settlers and missionaries, did more to defeat the tribes than did the military.

In fact, recent studies estimate that more whites than Aboriginal people lost their lives during the Indian wars, and for each Indian killed, the government spent close to \$2 million.

The result of the Indian wars and the white settlement was devastation of the Aboriginal way of life, culture, history, language and spirituality. Before assimilation could take place, the government needed to establish new relationships with the tribes. Under the old relationships the United States had recognized Indian nations as independently sovereign, and signed treaties with them. By doing so, the federal government had acknowledged the tribes' distinct political communities with full authority and rights to manage their own affairs.

Assimilation, as the white intended it, meant dissolving the tribal entity and integrating individual Aboriginal persons into mainstream society.

This was no easy task and certainly not a process likely to occur naturally, since 150 years of contact with Euro-American civilization (if the term could be used) had not convinced Aboriginal people to give up their own tribal identity, culture, heritage and spirituality.

To bring about assimilation, the federal government needed to gain legal control over the different tribes through legislation.

An 1871 act ending treaty making provided the first legal groundwork necessary to begin assimilation lawmaking. The treaty process, by recognizing tribal autonomy, directly contradicted the goals of assimilation. Representatives, intent on initiating assimilation, and also jealous of Senate control of the treaty process, passed a law specifying that "...hereafter, no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty."

The government's goal of assimilation was further assisted by a series of Supreme Court decisions between 1880 and 1910. The first came in the "Crow Dog Ruling of 1883."

Another important decision one year later, in *U.S. v. Kagama*, the Supreme Court looked again at Congress's claim to criminal jurisdiction in Indian affairs. The case: two Indians, Kagama and Mahawaha, had killed another Indian on the Hoopa Valley Indian Reservation in California. The government, arguing that the commerce clause of the Constitution gave Congress the authority to claim jurisdiction over crimes between Indians, arrested and tried the two men. Although the Supreme Court rejected this argument, it did uphold the government's claim to jurisdiction by virtue of its authority as guardian to the tribes.

Writing for the Court, Justice Samuel Miller acknowledged that the United States had always recognized the tribes as a separate people, with power of regulating their internal social relations and thus not brought into the laws of the Union or of the State within whose limits they resided.

Yet, Miller went on to explain, despite this recognition and despite the government's history of relating to the tribes by treaties, Congress was entitled to determine the new approach of governing tribes by legislation.

This change, according to Justice Miller, was permissible because of the tribe's dependent condition.

The so-called "Kagama Decision" was based on an unusual interpretation of the treaty power. The Court argued that the federal government, because of the treaties it had signed with the tribes, was legally obliged to protect them. From the duty to protect the tribes came the power to protect them.

Although the government had indeed promised "protection" in exchange for land, that "protection" meant protecting the tribe's remaining land and their tribal existence from unwanted intrusions by white settlers. The Kagama Decision changed all that. In effect it meant that the government had absolute authority to define how it would "protect" Indian tribes. In the 1880s, "protection" took the form of assimilation rather than protection of tribal autonomy that had originally been promised. All the treaties that had been negotiated by the tribes in good faith ceased to function

as protection against federal intrusion and became instead licenses for federal intervention.

In order to understand how the white people and governments managed all laws and rules in order to create an absolute power and control over the different tribes and people, creating slaves, is vital to understand another important juridical case: The Lone Wolf Decision of 1903, discussed below, gave some indications of the extent of the guardianship authority (as it was called) that had been granted to the federal government in the Kagama case.

A 1903 Supreme Court case, *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*, established that Congress had absolute authority over Indian relations, including the right to pass laws that violated treaties. In 1867 the Kiowa and Comanche tribes had signed the Treaty of Medicine Lodge with the United States. Article XII of this treaty guaranteed that the United States would not take any tribe's lands without the consent of three-fourths of the adult males. In 1892 the government allotted the tribe's land and sold the surplus without obtaining tribal approval.

On behalf of himself and other members of the Kiowa and Comanche tribes, Lone Wolf, a Kiowa, charged the government with disposing of tribal property in violation of both the treaty of Medicine Lodge and the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees that no person shall be deprived of private property without due process of law and that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.

The Supreme Court ruled against Lone Wolf and the tribes. The Court pointed out that, by passing their case on the terms of their treaty, the tribes had overlooked their dependent status and the government's role as their "guardian."

To hold Congress to the treaty would be to limit the government's authority to care for and protect the "Indians." The Court conceded that the tribes' rights to their land had been described as "sacred." But the Court went on to "clarify" that such a "sacred" right extended only to protecting the lands against states or individuals, not against the federal government.

The Court asserted that federal control over Indian lands had to be absolute, because of the federal government's guardianship duty to the "Indians." Government authority over Indian lands was limited only by those "considerations of justice as would control a Christian people in their treatment of an ignorant and dependent race."

Indian life in the 1880s was already dramatically different from what it had been even a few decades earlier. Game depletion, the almost total extinction of about 80 million bison that represented the main source of life for the Plains Aboriginal Nations, and tribal "relocation" to unproductive regions, had forced radical changes in lifestyle, accompanied in many instances by profound poverty, suffering, and even starvation.

Many reservations resembled "prison camps" surrounded by barbed wires. Tribal members needed special passes to leave their reservations and were required to work for rations, even though the rations were actually payments in return for land ceded to the United States.

The economic hardship on reservations compelled the government to provide food and other necessities. The realities of this situation, coupled with the government's assimilation policies, constituted an enormous increase of federal control over tribal affairs. Unfortunately, the expanded government role only accelerated the tribes' worsening situations and deprived them of the freedom to manage their own affairs.

During the assimilation era and also afterward, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) literally took charge of Indian life. The BIA looked upon itself as the parent and regarded Aboriginal people as children, deciding what was best for them and forcing their compliance. Many BIA agents, who were often corrupt and greedy, impeded whatever benefits the BIA policies might have had.

The agents were generally poorly educated, had little relevant experience, and were ignorant of tribal values and culture as well as heritage; few were committed to improve Aboriginal life. Many of them retired wealthy, having taken advantage of the opportunity to sell to the Aboriginal people rations and annuities promised to them in several treaties previously signed by the government.

Another strong alien force on many reservations was the Christian school system that had been imposed by force. The federal government had gradually turned responsibility for running reservation schools over to non-Indian church organizations. Having decided to assimilate the Indians, however, the government took an increased interest in Aboriginal education. Congress had first appropriated money for aboriginal education in 1819. Many treaties signed after that date had promised education in exchange for land. Not until 1879, however, did Congress establish an off-reservation Indian boarding school, and the move was made to assist assimilation. As the school's director told Congress, "we accept the watchword, let us by patient effort kill the Indian in him and save the man!"

The government favored boarding schools over day schools, realizing that assimilation would occur more rapidly if a child were separated physically from his or her family, tribe, and culture as well as spirituality. While boarding schools never outnumbered reservation schools, they did represent the trend of the 1880s. BIA agents often forcibly removed children from their homes and sent them to boarding schools. When the students eventually returned home to their own reservations, they were virtual strangers, unable to speak their own language or understand the ways of their own people. In 1887 more than fourteen thousand Aboriginal students were enrolled in 227 schools. The BIA operated 163 of these schools, while private agencies

and missionary societies operated the rest.

The government also established the first Indian health care and law enforcement services during the late 1800s. Health care was especially needed as Aboriginal people were aptly identified as "vanishing Americans." As the chart indicates, their population suffered a dramatic decline as a result of war, malnutrition, and lethal disease brought by the whites. By 1880 the death rate exceeded the birth rate for American Aboriginal people, and their total population numbered only 125,000. Despite considerable improvements since that time, even as late as 1969 the average life expectancy for an Aboriginal was a shocking forty-four years, compared to sixty-five years for non-aboriginal people.

In 1887, Congress passed its most assimilative law, the Land in Severalty Act, also known as the Dawes Act or the Allotment Act. The act's aim was to assimilate Aboriginal people into white society by teaching them techniques of farming and the values of individualism and private property ownership. Reservation lands were to be allotted, or divided among individuals for farming or livestock raising.

Generally, heads of families received 160 acres and a single person over eighteen years of age received 80 acres. All other tribal members received 40 acres. The government held the allotments in trust for twenty-five years. At that time individuals acquired title to their land and could dispose of it freely. The Dawes Act also provided for federal purchase of land left over after the allotment process. This surplus land was then sold to the white settlers.

The allotment process proved disastrous for tribes culturally, politically, and economically. First, the notion of private ownership seriously conflicted with the deeply held tribal belief that land was a sacred resource to be used communally. Second, while many eastern tribes were traditionally agriculturalists and could indeed take credit for teaching farming techniques and introducing new crops to the first settlers, farming represented a completely alien way of life for most western Aboriginal nations.

Politically, the allotment act process seriously eroded the role and authority of tribal government. In earlier times the federal government had dealt with tribal leaders and tribal governments when providing goods and services to tribes.

After passage of the Dawes Allotment Act, the government furnished supplies, food, and payments directly to individuals, ignoring tribal governments. Tribal governments subsequently declined in importance, the vacuum that was left being filled by the BIA agent on the reservation.

Economically, the allotment process brought further poverty and loss of land to the tribes. In 1934 the government had allotted more than one hundred reservations, and tribes had lost ninety million acres, approximately two-thirds of the land they had held in 1887. Sixty million acres of this lost land had been sold as "surplus" in accordance with the Dawes Act.

Wounded Knee is a Crime Scene

By Laurent Olivier
Chief Curator, National Museum of Archaeology, Saint-Germain-en-Laye (France)

To Leola One Feather and Myron Iron Hawk.
To all those who see and hear

In the time since the publication of Dee Brown's celebratory *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* in 1970, many books have recounted the massacre near Wounded Knee Creek where, on December 29, 1890, some 300 Lakota, most of them women and children, were slain by the US Army. Until the 1960s, this slaughter was presented as a "battle" in which the US 7th Cavalry valiantly fought its way out of an ambush and justly administered punishment to the treacherous Sioux. When in 1981 Donald Danker published the earliest first-hand accounts that Lakota survivors had given Judge Eli S. Ricker in 1906-7 for a book he intended to write but never finished, the truth about the massacre became undeniable. Wounded Knee then morphed into a regrettable incident that neither side had intended, and thereby the final confrontation between Euro-Americans and Native Americans.

What actually happened at Wounded Knee on that 29th day of December 1890? Curiously, there has never been a serious attempt to find out. In January 1891, the Army ordered an internal investigation to understand more clearly how the attempt to disarm the Lakota, which it appeared would be a simple matter, had resulted in heavy American casualties: 27 dead, 35 wounded. They also sought to explain why so many Indian non-combatants had died during this preliminary stage of an operation whose ultimate goal was to move the group to a penitentiary in Omaha. Fearing public scandal, the Army chose to protect its reputation. The military investigators questioned only high-ranking officers, who assured them that they had done everything they could to protect the Lakota women and children. The investigators did not question the lower-ranking officers who delivered the orders, nor the soldiers who carried them out, nor, above all, the civilians who witnessed what transpired and might have offered a far different version of the events.

To explain the high number of dead and wounded in the American ranks, the high-ranking officers of the 7th Cavalry Regiment made it sound as if a large number of Indians had fired upon their troops with weapons they had concealed under the blankets in which they had wrapped themselves. Letters that the soldiers sent home, however, stated that the troops had been so poorly deployed that companies B

and K fired on each other. Similarly, to justify the disproportionate number of Lakota women and children who were killed, these same officers characterized their deaths as collateral damage: either accidental victims of American gunfire or thoughtless victims of the Indian tactic of using them as human shields. The accounts of the survivors told a different story. The Indian encampment had been bombarded with grapeshot and those who escaped the shelling found themselves trapped in the ravine where they had sought refuge, either to be systematically shot there or run down and killed by companies C and D as they attempted to flee.

Several grave military command mistakes, which were not mentioned by the investigators, are apparent in the manner in which the operation was carried out. The firepower used against the group of Lakota warriors who had been separated from the women and children was clearly disproportionate. The soldiers opened fire on men who were seated and, for the most part, unarmed, and with their backs turned to rifle barrels a mere yard away. After this group had been neutralized, rather than ordering a cease-fire, the commanding officers launched an attack on the non-combatant Indians at the encampment, who panicked and fled, most of them to the ravine. It was at that point that foot soldiers were ordered to close in from the ridges on either side and attack the people taking refuge there in a crossfire, while a Hotchkiss cannon was brought up to wipe out a large group of Lakota who had gathered in a pocket of the ravine. When the shooting stopped, the commanding officers ordered his Indian scouts to tell the survivors to stand up. Most of those who did, including women and children, were gunned down. From one end of the operation to the other, the intention was clear: annihilate the Lakota.

These actions should have led to court-martials, both for the men who performed them and the officers who ordered them. Article 71 of the Lieber Code of 1863, which governs the conduct of soldiers during military engagement, prescribes the death penalty for all who intentionally wound or kill a defenseless enemy combatant as well as for those who issue the orders. But the captured Lakota, although they were prisoners of war, did not have the status of normal enemy combatants, and they did not have the same rights

The Great Lakota Nation, known wrongly as the Sioux, was a focus of much of the assimilation activity of the U.S. Government, and Black Hills gold provided much impetus for reducing the size of the Sioux reservation as non-Indians flocked by the thousands into South Dakota.

The defeat of Custer and his troops at Little Big Horn in 1876 was a direct outgrowth of the discovery of gold in the Black Hills and tribal resistance to the miners who came seeking it. The Lakota were ultimately forced to cede the Black Hills in 1876. Pressure on the Lakota to give up more land continued up to the time of the above-mentioned allotment legislation, and even then it did not end.

In 1889 the Great Lakota Nation was divided by the white government into six smaller, generally non-contiguous reservations. Concurrently, the Bureau of Indian Affairs banned Ghost Dancing, a spiritual practice led by a Paiute leader called Wovoka.

The new ghost dance spirituality had gained prominence by promising an Indian messiah. The 1890 *Canke opi wak-pala* in Lakota language, i.e. Wounded Knee Massacre, is now clearly understood as a tragic overreaction on the part of the United States in its efforts to suppress Indian spiritual practice. Those white soldiers participating in the massacre, however, were awarded with 29 gold medals for the honor of committing the slaughter of unarmed elders, children and women.

One of the enduring issues facing the government and the people of the United States through centuries of existence is the place of American Aboriginal nations in today's American society. Ignorance is one of the greatest barriers to understanding between two people and nations. We don't understand each other, if we do not know the culture, the language, the spirituality, or the true version of the history of each other as human beings with value and dignity. This is especially true in relations between Aboriginal people and non-aboriginal people. To understand the "untold American Holocausto" is vital to have a new and clear version of history and the overwhelming domination and violent intrusion by Europeans upon Aboriginal nations and societies, that with no doubt wrote the most tragic and devastating pages of human history.

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Government officials often intentionally allotted poorer land to Aboriginal peoples and labelled more desirable parcels "surplus" for sale to settlers. In fact, in terms of real land value, not just total acreage, tribes lost more than 80 percent of their land wealth. Since their land was often unsuitable for agriculture and since the government's promises of money, supplies, and technical advice rarely materialized, Aboriginal peoples could not compete with their white neighbors, who were beginning to use machines to farm large areas. Unable to farm, many Aboriginal peoples leased or sold their lands to whites, some of who were not above taking advantage of individuals in desperate need of money. Between 1903 and 1933, two million acres of Aboriginal land passed into white hands each year. Of the ninety million acres lost after 1890, only three million have been restored to Aboriginal ownership.

Other important juridical and historical aspects that need to be known for a better understanding of the "American Holocausto," are represented by the so-called "Termination Era." Less than fifteen years after passing the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, called IRA, Congress reserved its decision to strengthen Aboriginal sovereignty and tribal governments. Once again it decided to implement new strategies of forced assimilation policies.

The assimilation policies initiated in the late 1940s and early 1950s had two related aims: to terminate government responsibilities to the tribes and to integrate Aboriginal people into the white communities of their resident states. To bring about these goals, Congress implemented several measures, one of which was the Indian Claim Commission.

Practically, the federal government could not deprive tribes of their inherent sovereignty, but the "termination" process made it extremely difficult for tribes to exercise their sovereignty. The termination process was actively pursued until the early 1960s. The legislation remained on the books until its repeal by the House of Representatives in 1988.

Another piece of legislation, Public Law 280 (P.L. 280), gave five states juridical control over resident Aboriginal people, thereby seriously eroding Aboriginal autonomy. Passed in 1952, P.L. 280 empowered California, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, and Wisconsin to assume complete civil and criminal jurisdiction over most tribes within their borders. The tribes in these states were not given the opportunity to decide whether they wished to fall under state control. The implication of P.L. 280 was devastating for all tribes involved.

Only in 1978 on August 11th did Congress pass the "American Indian Religious Freedom Act" in which Congress recognizes its obligation to "protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express and exercise (their) traditional religions." Still the Government after 500 years did not understand that the Aboriginal nations did not have a "religion" rather than a "spirituality."



Leola One Feather - Photo by John Willis

that American citizens enjoyed, either. It was this grey area in the law that allowed the Lakota to be treated in ways that would have been unacceptable for any other subject of the United States government. Several hundred of them, including babies, were deported en masse, transported in freight cars with neither food nor water after being stripped of their belongings, and taken to a prison some 500 miles away from their homes on the sole grounds that they were undesirables. The US Army had hidden these plans from the Lakota, who were led to believe that the 7th Cavalry would be escorting them to Pine Ridge, where they were headed. Although legally permissible, the way in which Native Americans were dehumanized offers clear evidence of the genocidal intent behind the massacre at Wounded Knee.

On that late December day, a great number of people gathered at Wounded Knee to witness what was to be the surrender of the last-standing rebel Sioux: more than 300 Lakota, approximately 500 American soldiers, newspapermen, people who lived nearby, among them Louis Mousseau, who ran the little grocery at the Wounded Knee Trading Post, and curious onlookers who had come from surrounding areas to witness the happenings. By comparing their accounts, one can reconstruct fairly precisely, within half an hour, a timetable for the events at Wounded Knee, beginning at 5:30am and ending at 4:30pm, when the American troops headed back to their garrison in Pine Ridge.

The timetable demonstrates that far from constituting a "regrettable incident," the killing at Wounded Knee unfolded methodically, in four phases. During a preparatory sequence, the soldiers were awakened, fed, equipped, and deployed in the field (phase 1). Then, in anticipation of disarming the Lakota, the men were separated from the women and children (phase 2). At the first sign of resistance, first the group of men, then the non-combatants at the encampment, and finally all those who attempted to flee were shot (phase 3). Finally, the wounded were finished off and their bodies were despoiled, after which, before the troops left, the site was "cleaned" (phase 4). Overall, the operation was carried out in accordance with orders given by military commanders under the leadership of General Nelson A. Miles, who had said, referring to Chief Spotted Elk, known as Big Foot, and thus his people: "If he resists, destroy him."

The final phase of the operation at Wounded Knee is the least well documented. The soldiers and civilians accompanying them spent an hour and a half pillaging corpses in search of "Indian relics." They collected weapons that had fallen to the ground as well as finery and pieces of clothing they removed from the dead bodies, among them the famous "ghost shirts" the Indians wore for their Ghost Dance. Big Foot's body drew especial attention. Not only did they take his clothing, moccasins, and necklace, but they took as well some of his hair. Here, too, pursuant to the military code, these barbarous acts should have been punished with the death penalty, but the Lakota were not considered hu-

man beings equal to Americans.

On seven separate occasions, between 1891 and 1934, Lakota survivors attempted to obtain reparations for the criminal acts of the US Army, first from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, then from Congress. They argued that in sending troops onto the Pine Ridge Reservation the government had broken its promise to cease all confrontation with the Lakota Nation, as had been stipulated in the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie that regulated relations between the American people and the Lakota. They pointed in particular to the second paragraph of Article 1 wherein it states that should an American "commit any wrong upon the person or property of the Indians, the United States [would]... reimburse the injured person for the loss sustained." The Lakota thus believed that they were entitled to reparations for the harm done to them in violation of pledges the US government had made in a Nation-to-Nation treaty.

Their request placed the US government, especially the Army, in a difficult situation. Granting justice to the Lakota survivors meant paying reparations to former prisoners of war for acts committed during military engagements. Had they done so, it would have opened the door to similar demands from former enemies of the United States, both near and afar. And there was the further risk that the matter would be brought before foreign tribunals that would pass judgment on the actions of the United States.

In all of American military history, no conflict has seen as many medals awarded as the Indian Wars. The Lakota tried to have revoked the twenty Medals of Honor received by American soldiers who participated in the massacre at Wounded Knee. Their attempts repeatedly met with failure, the American government claiming that the matter had been put to rest by the Army's internal investigation in 1891. The stiffest opposition came from the Army, which refused to countenance any authority other than its own passing judgment on the merits of its decorated soldiers.

The case of Wounded Knee might well seem definitively closed now that all witnesses to the event have passed on, the last of them having died in the 1970s. One might also assume that 130 years later a counter-investigation focusing on physical evidence would be impossible. But that would be to ignore the fact that, strictly speaking, the site near Wounded Knee Creek constitutes an archaeological crime scene. Tens of thousands of bullets and pieces of shrapnel lay buried in the earth at the points at which they entered the ground. Once recovered, ballistic analysis would allow us to determine the weapons that were used, the position from which they were fired, and their targets. That would in turn allow us to determine which version of the events the evidence supports. The high-ranking officers of the 7th Cavalry claimed that the Lakota trained massive fire on the Americans. If they did, we should be able to find large numbers of bullets that were not Army issue. These officers further stated that their artillery was used sparingly and lim-

ited to eliminating snipers whom their infantrymen were unable to neutralize. If that is the case, artillery projectiles should be clustered in relatively confined areas rather than spread out over large swaths of land, in particular that of the encampment.

On the basis of accounts given by Lakota survivors, we also know that before they left, the soldiers cleansed the site, dismantling or burning whatever they could lay their hands on, but a large number of pieces, mostly pieces of metal, nonetheless remain, presumably where they were initially abandoned. It is also possible that the soldiers dug pits in which to bury them. If they did so, they would have disturbed the magnetic properties of the soil, which can be detected through geophysical analysis. It would thus be possible to map anomalies in the subsoil at Wounded Knee and search for other as yet unknown physical evidence of the massacre.

Forensic scientists divide criminal evidence into two kinds: evidence that is found in situ, such as the projectiles and other abandoned material we have just mentioned, and items that perpetrators carry off with them, either intentionally or inadvertently. In the case of Wounded Knee, the latter would include objects and body parts removed from corpses. Those that have come down to us are scattered over a dozen museums and private collections, most of them in the United States. They house more than 150 such pieces, but there are surely more of them out there.

Understandably, the Lakota would like to recover everything that was taken from their ancestors' bodies, but we should not forget that these items are effectively pieces of evidence that can be examined. There may still be traces of DNA on the shoes, adornments, and clothing that would allow us to identify the families of the victims. Body parts, such as scalps, could be subjected to genetic examination, for example the scalp purportedly belonging to Big Foot and now located in the Henry G. Woods Memorial Library in Barre Massachusetts, or the ones in the State Historical Society Research Center in Iowa City, Iowa, and in the California Statewide Museum Collection Center in Sacramento.

Other items are especially important in that they attest to the murder of Lakota babies and children, which American authorities have never explicitly acknowledged. For example, the child's hat in the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum in Glasgow, Scotland, or the red cradle blanket and the child's ball in the Nebraska History Museum in Lincoln. Some items were manifestly stripped from corpses, such as the moccasins and the leggings in the museums in Lincoln and Iowa City.

Through sharply focused investigation carried out both in the field and in museum collections, archaeological researchers adopting the methods of forensic scientists could shed new light on the massacre by bringing forward heretofore unstudied physical evidence. These methods involve the non-invasive techniques of geophysics and laboratory

analysis and would be respectful of the memory site at Wounded Knee as well as of the victims buried in the common grave into which their frozen bodies were tossed in January 1891. It would be an attempt to arrive at truth and justice, without which amends will never be made.

The memory of the massacre at Wounded Knee has left Americans to face their responsibility: do they, or do they not, want to atone for the crime carried out against the Lakota Nation? Obviously, present generations cannot be held directly responsible for atrocities committed in the past. It would be unfair to expect them to bear guilt for collective crimes perpetrated long ago in the name of the American people, even barbarous ones such as the killing at Wounded Knee. But whether to allow the despair and distress that these criminal acts have engendered to persist is a responsibility we all bear.

With justice never having been rendered, the collective suffering of the Lakota nation continues, but we have it in our power to right matters. We cannot allow ourselves to ignore that the trauma of Wounded Knee has left a wound in the souls of these people that remains open even today, more than a century after the event. Descendants of the victims or the survivors are still haunted by visions in which their ancestors, murdered or wounded by the US Army, appear to them at the sites on which they were struck down. They hear their cries and the clatter of gunfire. The errant souls of their ancestors, who have never been able to find peace, come back to visit them when that fateful late-December date nears.

I am not American. None of my ancestors was involved in the horrors of Wounded Knee. But I am an archaeologist. I dig into the earth and bring up the material traces of what people did and what was done to them. My work is thus, in a profound sense, a matter of rendering justice to those who have died or disappeared; were it not, it would have no meaning. That is why I went to Wounded Knee, to offer my help. I know the work that can be done there, for that is what I do.

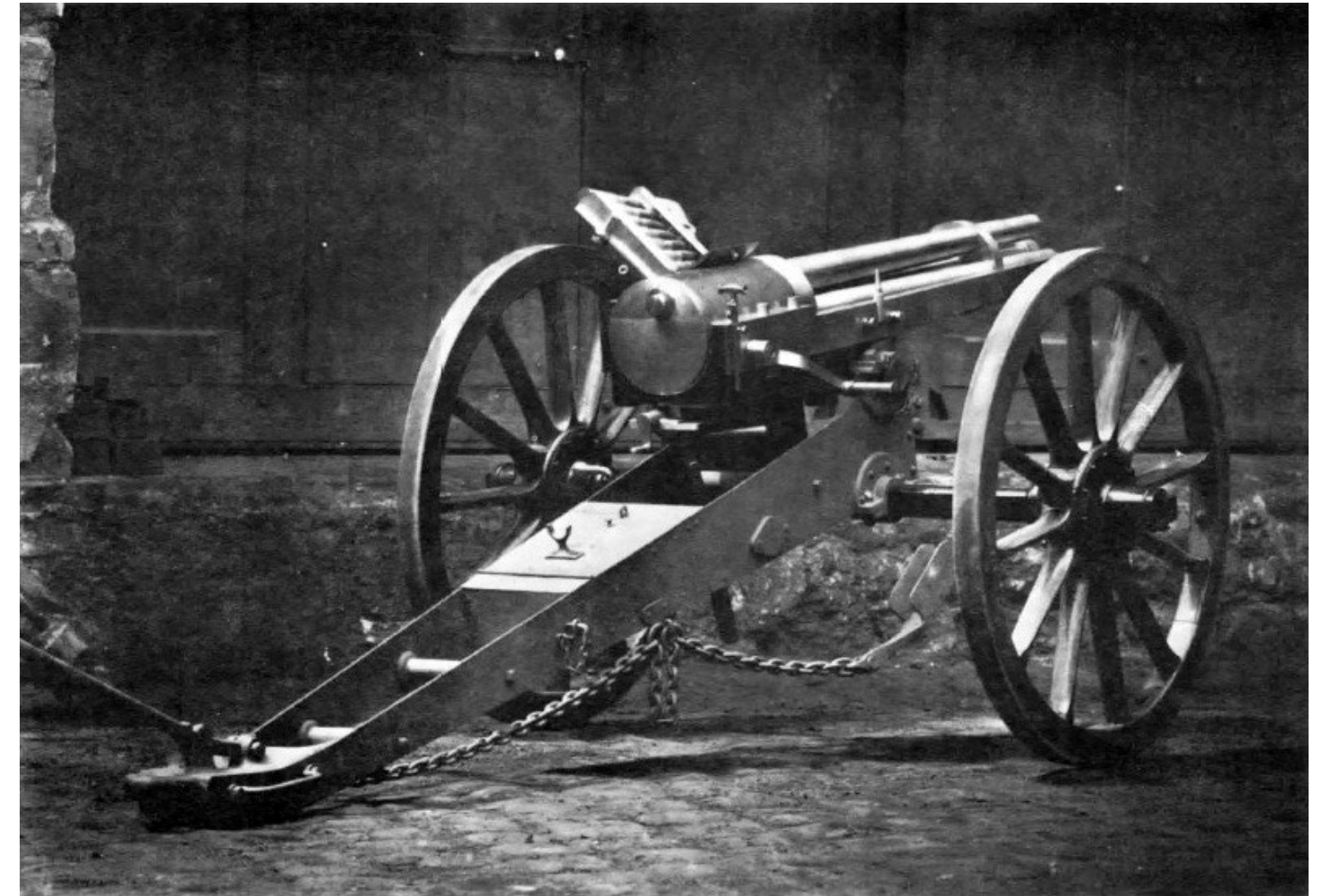
Were I American, were I a descendant of Captain Capron, who was in command of the Hotchkiss guns that cut down dozens of Lakota as they tried to flee, I would give everything I own to make amends for the atrocity my ancestor was responsible for. I would do so if I were a member, however distant, of the families of the men who were in charge of this operation: the Brewers, Donaldsons, Edgerlys, Forsyths, Garlingtons, Glennams, Godfreys, Greshams, Hawthornes, Isleys, Jacksons, Lloyd McCormicks, Manns, Moylans, Nicholsons, Nowlans, Prestons, Rices, Robinsons, Sickels, Taylors, Tomkins, Van Hoff, Varnums, Wallaces, Watermans or Whitsides. I would do so even if one of my ancestors had given proof of his humanity that day, such as the Swedish-born Sergeant Ragnar Ling-Vannarus who sadly smiled at the prostrate young Indian girl with whom he had shared a cigarette the evening before, when he found

her in the ravine, awash in her own blood, her legs cut off by artillery fire. I would do it even if personally I had no connection whatsoever to the events, simply as an American.

I am also a museum curator. Were I the curator of an American museum I would give back to the Lakota everything in my collection that had been taken from the bodies of their ancestors. I would return these items that have no place in my museum, and the simple sight of which would be enough to break my heart. I would return them without discussion, without negotiation, without even having been asked to do so. I would do it because not to do so would make me an accomplice to a crime whose responsibility I do not want to bear. And were I the person who in 2019 paid more than \$21,000.00 for the ritual drum commemorating the massacre at Wounded Knee, and on which is inscribed "Ten Years of Sorrow. Love, Peace and Forgiveness for all People of the World," I would return it, too, without asking

for anything in exchange. These objects along with archives should be housed in a National Museum of the Lakota Nation, which should belong to them alone, and which the American people should help them build.

My dear American friends, I urge you to return to the Lakota everything that was taken from them, for to remain in possession of these items is to perpetuate an injustice for which you are responsible. Do it for them, but above all do it for yourselves. It is time to see your past for what it was, not for what you would like it to have been. In preferring not to face the truth you choose to numb your conscience, which is understandable, given how painful facing the truth would be. Lakota tradition holds that justice is as salutary for the families and descendants of the perpetrators as it is for those of the victims. You need to heal from the infamy of the Indian Wars as much as they do. You can rest assured that the Lakota will help you.



Placed atop the mass burial hill the Hotchkiss machine gun mowed down all in its sights. (wiki common)

Medic in the Green Time

Owen Luck: A Witness to Wounded Knee, 1973

All photos by Owen Luck

We are publishing Owen Luck's original article with the permission of his Estate. We have not altered the original version of the article in any way. <http://medicinthegreentime.com/owen-luck-a-witness-to-wounded-knee-1973/>

In early 2021 Medic exchanged emails with Owen Luck, who did two tours in Vietnam ('68-'69) as an OR Tech at the 90th Evac Hospital/22nd Surgical/Aid Station at LZ Baldy and Dust Off medic at Hue/ Phu Bai. An American photographer known for his photography of Native American and First Nation Canadian life and history, in 1973, Luck traveled to Pine Ridge, South Dakota to provide medical support during the occupation of Wounded Knee by the American Indian Movement (AIM). He also carried a camera and created an extensive record of the confrontation between AIM and the United States Marshals Service, Federal Bureau of Investigation agents, and other law enforcement agencies. His account of that experience, "A Witness at Wounded Knee 1973," was published in *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* in 2006. Owen has kindly granted Medic permission to post his extraordinary article and photographs. The story begins with an introduction by Alfred L. Bush, former curator of the Princeton Collections of Western Americana.

In late December 1890 the Sioux chief Big Foot and about 350 of his Minconjou Lakota followers, including women and children, surrendered to a force of the Seventh U.S. Cavalry. They were intercepted just 20 miles short of their intended destination, Pine Ridge, South Dakota. There Big Foot had hoped to join Sores with Red Cloud, another renowned Sioux leader who was also seeking some means of making peace with the U.S. government. Confronted by a force twice the size of their own, Big Foot and his followers, meagerly armed and exhausted from the 150-mile winter march from the Cheyenne River Reservation, quickly placed themselves in the hands of the army. They were marched to a cavalry encampment in southwestern South Dakota and confined to an area beside Wounded Knee Creek. Big Foot, perilously ill with pneumonia, requested that a white flag of peace be raised. The Indian group was guarded by armed troops, who were backed up by Hotchkiss guns mounted on the ridge above.

Reinforcements arrived during the night, and by morning, with each side uncertain of the intentions of the other, tensions mounted. When the army set about disarming the Sioux, so few guns and knives were surrendered that the officers refused to believe the band had been so ill equipped. Commanding the men to disrobe, they found a rifle under

the blanket of a young man who could not understand the order (he was a deaf-mute). In the resulting struggle the gun was fired into the air. Disaster quickly followed: some 150 unarmed Lakota were killed and many more wounded. The army, perhaps as dismayed by the action as later historians would be, protectively labeled the event the Battle of Wounded Knee. To the Indians it has always been the Massacre at Wounded Knee.

So vividly remembered an injustice in the history of American Indian-U.S. government relations, Wounded Knee was a touchstone for the racial theater that sought center stage during the civil rights struggles of the early 1970s. In February 1973 local tribal leaders and members of the American Indian Movement (AIM)—in numbers close to the 350 followers of Big Foot some eighty years earlier, marched into the village of Wounded Knee and wrested control from the local Indian authorities to protest the continuing injustices against Indian peoples in this country and particularly the desperate living conditions of the Sioux on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

This time the confrontation was more complex, involving Indian against Indian as well as against the federal government. Further, both the Native American members of AIM and the Pine Ridge Indian police force and their supporters were armed. To the Pine Ridge establishment and some traditionalists on the reservation, AIM was an invading force. To AIM and its followers among the traditional local Sioux, the enemy was not only the reservation's corrupt political establishment and its tribal police but also the FBI. The confrontation lasted until May and continues to resonate among Indian people, who still cannot agree on which side best represented the interests of the local Indians.

On February 28, 1973, at the request of the traditional Lakota leaders of the Pine Ridge Reservation, 250 Native Americans led by activists of the American Indian Movement (AIM) arrived in a caravan of fifty-four cars at the hamlet of Wounded Knee. There they seized control of the church, a trading post, and a museum. Immediately surrounded by government forces, they remained under siege for seventy-one days. Two native men would die, many would be wounded, Mary Brave Bird would give birth to a son, and the cries for recognition of treaty rights and freedom from



Holding an eagle wing fan, Leonard Crow Dog (far left) looks on as Chief Frank Fools Crow offers the pipe to the four directions. To Fools Crow's right stand (from left to right) Clyde Bellecourt, Dennis Banks, and Russell Means.



Attorney William Kunstler and AIM Members

oppression would go ignored by the American people.

The story you are about to read is my account of the liberation and siege of Wounded Knee. A coalition of local residents and sympathizers from many tribes and walks of life stood their ground against Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) police, FBI agents, U.S. Marshals, and elements of the U.S. Army armed with automatic weapons, armored personnel carriers, and information from the Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO). During the 1960s, COINTELPRO illegally and unconstitutionally monitored and subverted the antiwar protest movement as well as other grassroots organizations that were pursuing civil rights. The government now turned its full attention to AIM, founded in 1968 to struggle against political, economic, and cultural oppression, to lead the return to spiritual ways left behind, and to demand full implementation of treaty rights. The new Indian wars were about to begin.

I went to Wounded Knee in February 1973 as a photojournalist, hoping to find a story that would move my career forward. With the experience of two tours of duty in Vietnam as a medic for my credentials, I was able to gain the support of the New York chapter of the Medical Committee for Human Rights by volunteering to carry in medical supplies and serve as a medic. Ron Rosen, another medical volunteer, and I arrived just a few days after AIM had taken over the hamlet on February 28, and we were the first medical support allowed inside the liberated area. From the start, I had intended to capitalize on this situation for my own personal gain, but what these people needed was a medic. And as they say, once a medic, always a medic.

My initial contact with Lakota people on the reservation occurred in front of the BIA building in the town of Pine Ridge, about sixteen miles southwest of Wounded Knee, where Oglala women were staging a peaceful demonstration against the political corruption and tyranny that was tearing their reservation apart. These were grandmothers, sisters, mothers, and daughters. They were eager to explain that the takeover was not an aberration, nor was it a spontaneous political protest; rather, it was the culmination of a series of tragedies and ongoing injustices. The people of the Pine Ridge Reservation demanded to control their own future and no longer endure the repression of Manifest Destiny.

Edgar Bear Runner, a Lakota activist whose father and mother were in the occupied area, explained that the trail to Wounded Knee was a long and terrible journey. A year earlier, fifty-one-year-old Raymond Yellow Thunder had been beaten to death by two white men, the Hare brothers. AIM had been called in because the BIA refused to help bring them to justice. AIM led a caravan of two hundred cars across the border to Gordon, Nebraska, and serious charges were finally brought against the Hare brothers. The AIM leaders, regarded as "city Indians," won some respect, and the traditional people had a new voice.

The Lakota demonstrators also told of abuses at the hands of the tribal council president, Richard "Dick" Wilson. A squat, stocky mixedblood with a military haircut, Wilson violently opposed AIM, bragging that "if Russell Means sets foot on this reservation, I, Dick Wilson, will personally cut his braids off." Wilson exploited the traditional full-bloods and secured his position by appointing family members and supporters to lucrative BIA jobs. On a reservation where the mean annual income was \$800, the majority of the traditional Oglala still lived in tarpaper shacks without running water or electricity. Wilson further protected himself by organizing a private police force whose drunken, violent repression of any opposition quickly earned them the title of "goon squad." During the seventy-one days, armed with intelligence, weapons, and ammunition from the FBI and U.S. Marshals, Wilson conducted a parallel war that would continue long past the end of the siege.

Edgar Bear Runner and Nellie Red Owl, a respected tribal elder, went on to explain that in January 1973 Wesley Bad Heart Bull was stabbed to death by Darold "Mad Dog" Schmidt, a white man who was charged with involuntary manslaughter and released. Sarah Bad Heart Bull, the victim's mother, called AIM for help. On February 6, nearly three hundred Indian people arrived at the county courthouse in Custer, South Dakota, led by Dennis Banks, Russell Means, Leonard Crow Dog, and Dave Hill, to negotiate appropriate charges. When Sarah Bad Heart Bull attempted to join the negotiations, she was seized and beaten on the courthouse steps by two police officers, and the protesters who came to her aid were tear gassed and beaten.

Not since the 1890 massacre at Wounded Knee had there been any resistance from the Lakota people. But history was made when the abandoned Chamber of Commerce building next to the courthouse was burned to the ground and two police cars were overturned in a riot that lasted nearly an hour. Thirty people were arrested, including Sarah Bad Heart Bull. Edgar Bear Runner also told me that on February 27 AIM leaders and traditionalist members of the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization had discussed the possibility of seizing the town of Pine Ridge, the seat of the BIA's and Wilson's power. Pine Ridge, however, was strongly garrisoned by U.S. Marshals dispatched to the reservation after the Custer riot. At the urging of Lakota women, the elders determined to take a stand at Wounded Knee, never anticipating a siege by federal forces.

After my conversation with Edgar and Nellie, I roamed around town, making some pictures, until the FBI picked me up. From the outset, it was apparent that the government position was not to keep a tense situation under control so that all sides would be heard and an equitable resolution might be reached, but to support the BIA authorities without question with full paramilitary support. Despite our credentials and several bags of medical supplies, Ron Rosen and I were treated as if we were criminals. Legal volunteers

already on the scene and awaiting access to the liberated area were also being casually detained; they warned us not to press our concerns too strongly because we would be arrested without cause.

On March 5, we were finally granted permission to proceed to the liberated area. We were escorted to the first of two heavily armed roadblocks. The gravity of the situation became evident as we approached U.S. Marshals with M-16 assault rifles, supported by FBI special agents with sniper rifles in armored personnel carriers and by Wilson's goon squad.

The hamlet of Wounded Knee consisted of the Sacred Heart Catholic Church up on the hill, shadowing the mass grave of the original massacre of 1890 and overlooking a knot of buildings representing a cynical empire of exploitation. At Gildersleeve's Trading Post, tourists could buy western curios and a variety of postcards with images the dead and frozen victims of the massacre. A little farther down the road stood the circular museum, looking like a faux tipi. Random dwellings were scattered through the neighboring hills.

It was nearly sundown when we finally arrived in the occupied area. We were taken directly to the hospital, such as it was, located in a small cement-chinked log cabin, the only building with both running water and electricity. Fortifications across the road, around the church, were already substantial. During the next few weeks more positions would be created, and the existing emplacements further fortified. No one had planned this protest to last more than a day or two, and no one ever predicted the aggressive response of the FBI and U.S. Marshals. But the AIM activists and the Lakota people they represented were not giving in without a fight.

Initially greeted with a mix of gratitude and suspicion, Ron and I turned over the medical supplies we had brought from the Medical Committee for Human Rights. Lorelie Decora, a leader of AIM's Iowa chapter, and Madonna Gilbert, the founder of WARN (Women of All Red Nations), were the two Indian health care workers running medical operations at the time. They gladly accepted our offer to remain and help as best we could.

Ellen Moves Camp was the next person to greet us. It was obvious from the start that Ellen was the woman in charge. Her gregarious smile and enthusiastic demeanor enlisted respect and admiration from everyone who met her. She accepted us at face value and put us directly to work, playfully calling us the "Vista Workers." Ron and I were made to feel welcome with the good humor. There were those whose suspicions lingered a while, and others who would never come to trust us. Helen counseled us not to worry: "They're just paranoid because they got nothing else to do. If they think someone's after them, it makes them feel important." This was Ellen's way of not hurting our feelings and reminding us that years of mistreatment and abuse at

the hands of white society had left an undying distrust of non-Indian people.

That night, there were ceremonies in what had been a cafeteria. Even though there had been ongoing small arms fire from the government positions, all weapons were collected and put aside before the *Chanupa* (pipe) was revealed for prayer. Leonard Crow Dog and Wallace Black Elk purified the air with burning sweet grass. The pipe was offered to the four directions. Crow Dog spoke first in Lakota then in English of the original Wounded Knee in 1890, and how it was important to remember that we were part of a just cause, that we were not to sink to the level of the BIA and the FBI. He reminded us that it was our responsibility to behave with honor and dignity.

Elder Tom Bad Cob stood and spoke for a while, thanking the Great Spirit for sending so many people to help. He praised the young men and woman of AIM, reminding us all that we had been invited by the traditional leaders. Finally, Russell Means and Pedro Bissonette came forward and took the pipe. They pledged their lives to the cause and prayed for wisdom. The drum sounded, followed by the voices of many Indian nations heard in harmony.

They sang, and when they were done, the room was silent. Crow Dog passed the pipe, and the people were blessed by the smoke. The room was silent, yet the music rang in my ears. Following the ceremony, there was singing and traditional dancing well into the night.

The next morning I was approached by a Lakota man, Marvin "G-Bear" Ghost Bear, who offered to lead me around the hamlet and introduce me to the remaining inhabitants of Wounded Knee. I grabbed my aid bag and conducted casual house calls. G-Bear was born, raised, and still lived in Wounded Knee. He would go on to serve in the U.S. Army, earn a college degree in mathematics, and return to the reservation to teach. Marvin dedicated his life to his people as a husband, as a father of two beautiful daughters, as a teacher, and as a respected leader in his community until he died of kidney failure in the winter of 2001 following years of dialysis. Marvin was my friend.

That day in 1973, as G-Bear introduced me to the people of Wounded Knee, was not the first time I had been confronted with austere poverty. Having grown up in the suburbs of New Jersey, I had seen poverty at a distance—as my family drove by on our way somewhere else, as a young soldier in the rural South, and of course in Vietnam. I had also spent some time during the summer of 1972 in migrant camps across the United States. Wounded Knee was different. I am not certain why, just that it was. Poverty took on a face of its own, and I gazed into the eyes of a suffering people.

When we were finished, G-Bear invited me to his home to meet his wife. There, Marvin presented me with a ribbon shirt. *{Ribbons shirts are worn when attending ceremonies and are also part of a dancer's regalia at powwows. Each*





is different in its cloth pattern and design. The ribbons are generally sewn across the chest and back, shoulder to shoulder, with the ends hanging as fringe, and up and down the sleeves. Strips are also sewn around the wrists. The ribbon shirt Ghost Bear gave me is made of a red calico print cloth with thin, red, white, yellow, and pink ribbons. With sympathetic, knowing eyes, he looked deeply into me as we shook hands and thanked me for coming to help, reminding me in a kind voice that although he was glad for my presence, he would remain in Wounded Knee long after I returned home. I have never forgotten that lesson or Marvin Ghost Bear.

On March 9, Milo Goings, shot in the knee, became the first casualty of the liberation of Wounded Knee. The next morning, Crow Dog asked me to come with him to see Milo. As Crow Dog burned sweet grass, I found myself changing Milo's dressing and following Crow Dog's instructions that I must be mindful of the Great Spirit, Wakan Tanka, that there was an order to healing, and that it must be followed. First, prayer to the four directions and respect for the Mother Earth. Milo's wound was free of infection and healing well. As a medic in Vietnam, I had seen many gunshot wounds; this one was much farther along in the healing process than I had anticipated.

Public sentiment in support of the defenders of Wounded Knee forced the government to call a ceasefire on March 11. Lawyers, food, medical assistance and supplies, and the

press were allowed into the hamlet. There was to be a ceremony honoring Milo Goings for his bravery and the symbolic nature of his wound. Although the day started out like any other—fried bread with commodity peanut butter and grape jelly or oatmeal and black coffee for breakfast—there were a lot of people no one recognized, and tension was running high.

A suspicious fire broke out in the basement of one of the buildings. It was taken care of quickly, but the atmosphere was tense. Later that morning prairie fires could be seen in several places, ignited by flares launched from armored personnel carrier positions. It was early in the day, so flares meant we were being harassed. To further complicate the situation, an armed federal postal inspector, who had come into the area disguised as a Red Cross volunteer, was found sneaking around. Belligerent and uncooperative, he refused to identify himself, but his badge and weapon were discovered when he was frisked. At no time was he threatened or mistreated, as he later testified at the trial that resulted in Leonard Crow Dog's incarceration. It is clear that many of the charges that led to trials of all the AIM leadership, and Crow Dog in particular, served no other purpose but to disrupt the movement by subjecting the leaders to constant judicial harassment. Ironically, only Crow Dog, AIM's spiritual leader, served time.

It was time to gather. The elders had been meeting for



hours and were ready to honor Milo Goings and the people of all races who had gathered in Wounded Knee to “vote with their bodies for justice.” Crow Dog lit the pipe, and the ceremony began, led by Chief Frank Fools Crow. Many Native American men brought pipes to pray with, offering their solidarity.

There along the Big Foot Trail, where the Ghost Dancers were finally caught and massacred, we were led in prayer. Fools Crow, who had been born the year following the original massacre, passed on the saga he was told by his mother of the screams and gunshots that echoed through the cold winter morning, reporting the carnage of that awful day. Then he raised the pipe to the four directions. Milo Goings was praised for his bravery. Wisdom was sought, and blessings for safety were offered. Crow Dog, with an eagle wing fan, waved the smoke of burning sweet grass to bless each of the AIM leaders: Carter Camp, Russell Means, Dennis Banks, and Clyde Bellecourt.

It was in the eyes of Fools Crow that I saw the lostness of it all, the lostness that is reflected only in those who were born in a time when there was still a chance for the traditional ways. The plight of Fools Crow’s people was etched deeply into his face; each age-worn line told of a broken treaty, a betrayed trust, a massacred village, a vanished herd of buffalo. What I saw in Fools Crow’s face was the erosion of a people. As surely as the rains are washing away the delicate soils of the Bad Lands, so is the oppression of the United States wearing away the indigenous people of the Americas.

Beneath the brilliant winter sun all the races from the four directions were represented that day in South Dakota. United, we followed the drum and the singers to the sight of the 1890 massacre, to the solitary monument at the head of the mass grave in the shadow of the Catholic church. Wallace Black Elk led the prayers as the procession of liberators, each silently praying, was fanned with the eagle wing and blessed with sweet-grass smoke.

Elders and chiefs met for the rest of the day. Finally, they proclaimed they would negotiate with the U.S. government only as equals, as the Independent Oglala Nation, a revival of the Great Sioux Nation established by the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, which granted the Black Hills to them in perpetuity. Knowing full well that government reprisals would be swift and violent, they nonetheless made their stand.

Later that day, the FBI intercepted a van with several Native Americans returning to Wounded Knee. No one had been informed that the roads were closed again, but I guess that was the plan. A firefight ensued and an FBI agent was wounded in the hand. That was excuse enough to reestablish the roadblocks. Now more than three hundred strong, the federal forces began construction of permanent roadblock positions.

The next morning, as Ron and I finished a breakfast of coffee and pancakes with sorghum syrup, Leonard Crow

Dog and Wallace Black Elk came to speak to us at the clinic. Though the conversation was casual and friendly, there was no doubt that Ron and I were being measured and assessed, and that from these men approval or disapproval would be forthcoming. I asked for instruction as to how we should proceed without offending the traditional ways and was told that we would learn in due time.

After a while Crow Dog finally asked, “Do you dream?” I replied that I did. Crow Dog looked at me; then, suddenly, as abruptly as the interview began, it ended with the two of them just getting up and leaving. I watched as they left, stopped to talk with Ellen Moves Camp, and were finally gone. Ellen came over and informed us that we were to attend a sweat lodge; we would be told when. Later, Crow Dog came back to talk further about dreams. I would learn from him that dreams are sacred for the dreamer and for those who assist in their interpretation. We talked for a while, and again he abruptly ended our dialogue and walked off.

That night, I was summoned to the sweat lodge for the first of many *Inipi* (purification) ceremonies I would attend. It was cold as we stripped away our clothes and wrapped towels around our waists. The old men spoke in Lakota as we all gathered around the fire and watched the fire tender as he inspected the glowing stones that were being made ready for the ceremony. Crow Dog directed me to be first to enter and to sit just to the left of the door. As I crawled in, I heard the elders speak in Lakota and laugh heartily. Crow Dog looked over and said, “First-timers sit next to the door in case it gets too hot and they gotta get out fast.” More laughter as the sweat lodge filled, with Crow Dog the last to enter. Once he sat, there was silence. Outside, the fire tender lit the pipe, prayed to the four directions, then passed the pipe in to Crow Dog.

Throughout the ceremony, Crow Dog prayed and instructed in Lakota, then English. The pipe came to me, and for the first time I drew in the sweet smoke of the *Kin-nik-a-nik* (a blend of herbs and tobacco). I passed it to the man beside me, and it went around until Crow Dog received it, offered a final prayer, and handed it out to the fire tender. Next, the glowing stones were passed in and placed in the fire pit with care and prayer. Crow Dog sprinkled the stones with cedar, the scent spreading with the smoke. The passageway was then closed. We were in the womb of the Mother Earth, Crow Dog instructed. I heard the hiss of water spattering on the glowing rocks, becoming steam. The heat grew as we sang and prayed. This ritual would be repeated three more times, with each round getting hotter.

It was in the intense heat of the final round that Crow Dog asked why I had come to Wounded Knee. There had been nothing in my life to prepare me for the sensations I was experiencing. The heat seeped into me, replacing the sweat that flowed from my every pore. The scent of cedar and sage permeated the air, creeping deeply into me with every breath—more so than during the previous rounds.



At the Church

Within me were inexplicable perceptions. Not hallucinations, but at once more ephemeral and elucidating, not an epiphany, though I felt an awakening, a moment of synesthesia equivalent to nothing I had ever known. A sense of well-being lifted the veil of pretense. To the Lakota, the *Inipi* is a purification; it allowed no place for me to hide from myself. I admitted that I had come to make my reputation as a photojournalist, using my experience in Vietnam to gain access. There was freedom in the admission. I knew from then on that I would help in any way I could as a medic.

As we emerged from the sweat lodge that last time, a cloud of steam bellowed into the cold night air, lost to the winter with my pretense. There was no mention of what we had spoken of. We stood there steaming, all glad to be alive—Black Elk, Crow Dog, Heavy Runner, Stan Holder, Milo Goings, Carter Camp, Oscar Bear Runner, and me. Purification comes in ways we do not understand, but purification comes. Someone handed me a towel.

Later that night, Stan Holder, the head of security and a Vietnam veteran, told me that Crow Dog had said I could stay, but that I should not photograph anyone without his

or her permission. From that time, my photography became secondary to my role as medic and dedicated participant in this historic struggle. Early the next morning, Ellen Moves Camp woke me and said Crow Dog wanted to speak with me. She gave me some coffee and fried bread, and I went to wait outside. Crow Dog arrived and motioned me to follow, silently leading me through the hamlet. Following Wounded Knee Creek, we approached a small shack and were greeted by three older men. We drank black coffee and talked, each man taking his turn to share something important about how to behave properly. There was instruction about prayers to the four directions and the benediction *Mitakuye Oyasin* (All My Relations). They explained that I should go forward with a good heart and help the people in a natural way. They then spoke at length in Lakota. Finally, Crow Dog motioned that it was time to go. We returned in silence to the occupied area.

Pointing at the sweat lodge, Crow Dog told me to clean it up and get it ready for a warrior sweat that night. I guess I was standing there looking lost, because he then said, “Remember your first sweat, remember what we spoke of today. Everything is sacred.” He turned and walked away. I did as instructed, then returned to the clinic. Ellen, who



Old Lakota Woman



Prayers

had saved me a bowl of beef soup and some fried bread, apologetically informed me that there would be no meat for a while and that in general food was running low.

Ron Rosen and I worked out a training protocol. Starting that afternoon, we would begin teaching CPR and basic first aid to as many people as possible in Wounded Knee. Later that day Wallace Black Elk explained that we were to conduct an inspection of living and sanitary conditions throughout the village, a procedure that would allow us to assess the overall status of anticipated medical issues before they became problematic. Bob Free, head of everything that worked and master of repairing anything that didn't, took us around the camp, building by building, introducing us. Living conditions were rough, but I did not witness any self-pity. At this point, we had no idea whether or when additional medical assistance would be forthcoming. My experience in medical operations in Vietnam proved invaluable as we implemented training and provided basic medical support until doctors and other health care professionals were allowed through the federal blockades. For the time being, we were helping, our training program was in place, and it would ultimately prove a success when we all endured outbreaks of minor illnesses and influenza. Most important,

first aid was crucial as the fighting intensified and produced casualties.

The next morning Crow Dog came to the clinic. He took Ron and me aside and asked us to smoke with him. As he passed the pipe, Crow Dog spoke of the pan-American revolution that was taking place among indigenous peoples. He explained that spiritual and political autonomy was essential to Native peoples, and that until whites understood this basic fact, the violence AIM did not seek or initiate would continue to follow its leaders wherever they went. Native people asked only that existing treaties be recognized as internationally binding agreements between nations, as originally intended. AIM hoped to be recognized by the United Nations, he told us. Finally, as he fanned us with sweet-grass smoke, Crow Dog thanked us again for coming to Wounded Knee and presented us with medicine bundles, small doe-hide pouches filled with organic herbs that are sacred to the people of the High Plains. (I wore mine as a reminder of that winter, until 1979, when the neck strap had broken too many times to be repaired. I now keep it with other spiritual artifacts, including the ribbon shirt from G-Bear, that sustain me in times of spiritual need.) As Crow Dog departed, he suddenly turned to me and paused. "Follow the winged ones," he offered. "Listen to them and hear what they have



Crow Dog



Chief Frank Fool's Crow with pipe

to say. You will know what to do." Just as abruptly, he turned and left.

On March 16, at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, the Independent Oglala Nation swore in 356 people as citizens: 189 Oglalas, 160 Native Americans from other tribes, and 7 whites, blacks, and Chicanos.

The following day, Rocky Madrid, a Chicano, was wounded. It was late when a firefight broke out. Rocky and I grabbed our aid bags and, escorted by Stan Holder and three others, raced down the dirt road toward one of our fortifications. Suddenly, M-60 machine-gun fire blasted up the road at us—tracers ricocheting off the hard surface. Similar experiences in Vietnam told me we had been set up for an ambush. The FBI started a firefight and, knowing that support would come down the Denby road, strafed the night, hoping for "joy." I was diving for cover when Madrid was hit in the stomach. I grabbed him, and we went down into the roadside ditch. Stan Holder covered us. A quick inspection of the wound in the dark revealed little. I applied a dressing, then Stan and his men helped me get Rocky back to the hospital. Inside, with a good light, I discovered that the 7.62 NATO round had lodged itself between the flesh and abdominal muscle, just below and to the side of Rocky's navel. Crow Dog was there in no time, and assisted him with the removal of the bullet.

Ken Tilsen, a Minnesota attorney, and members of the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee

(WKLDOC), a group of unpaid volunteer lawyers dedicated to defending the Native American cause, arrived on March 22 with a court order that directed officials to allow six lawyers in six cars filled with food access to Wounded Knee each day from March 26 through March 31. Learning of this mission, Dick Wilson set up his own roadblocks between Pine Ridge and the U.S. Marshals. His men ransacked the cars, often confiscating or destroying the supplies intended for distribution inside Wounded Knee. Neither the FBI agents nor the U.S. Marshals did anything to enforce the court order.

A few days later Crow Dog requested that I leave Wounded Knee, find a plane, and return to get him out. Two attempts on his life had failed, and the idea of walking out seemed too dangerous. Without giving the matter more than a listen, I agreed to help and recruited Rocky Madrid.

The afternoon before we left, Crow Dog organized a ceremony for us. First, Black Elk passed the pipe, and we were blessed by the smoke. Finally, Crow Dog cut small pieces of flesh from our shoulders and upper arms. That evening Rocky and I attended a warrior sweat lodge. Hotter than usual, the steam rising from the glowing rocks saturated me, drawing out my apprehensions. It was an honor to pray with such brave men as those who came forward for the ceremony that night. It is more than just steam and heat that engulfs in the sweat lodge. The energy and goodwill of those who enter with you provide a confidence that only those men who have been under arms together appreciate.



Tom Bad Cob outside city jail protests

The following morning, we left Wounded Knee without fanfare. Once in Denver, working from separate safe houses, we looked into acquiring a plane, gathered food and medical supplies, and prepared to fly into "The Knee." Rocky recruited a Chicano buddy who was a pilot.

Good to our word, with some adhesive tape modifying the plane's identification numbers, we landed, just missing before the eyes of an astonished squad of FBI special agents at their roadblock just outside the liberated area. We quickly unloaded the medical supplies. Crow Dog thanked us, but he had decided to stay. The FBI agents were not so surprised by our departure, and congratulated our successful mission with some automatic weapons fire. We returned the borrowed aircraft and went about our business." *{The first airlift dropped four hundred pounds of food into the perimeter... The single plane ... almost got caught on a telephone wire, but managed to duck under it and come in for a hard landing on the road close to the trading post. As soon as it touched down, everybody ran up and unloaded it.... It all happened so fast that the plane took off before the feds had a chance to react.... The copilot had been one of our medics for almost a month and he could show the pilot the way by picking out landmarks. He was white with a tiny bit of Mohawk in him. He made a Sioux-style flesh offering before going on this mission" (Mary Crow Dog, with Richard Erdoes, Lakota Woman [New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1990], 141}.*

During the next several weeks, I walked in and out of Wounded Knee under the cover of bad weather, carrying messages and returning with food and other needed supplies. Avoiding the feds was actually quite simple so long as I traveled alone.

While in Rapid City, at a safe house, I was approached by members of the AIM leadership to evaluate and advise about a scheme for an airlift involving multiple planes. A group of non-Indians from the Southwest had planes and a plan. They behaved as if they were in a bad spy movie, and obviously felt self-important in making the offer. But they did have the planes, food, medical supplies, and parachutes. I had the experience of one successful mission. Who was I to go against the wind?

At first light on April 17, with Wounded Knee on the horizon, we adjusted our heading, checked altitude and wind direction, and proceeded. From three aircraft, all but one canopy opened as we parachuted nearly two tons of food and medical supplies into the besieged hamlet. I left the crew during a refueling stop in Nebraska and made my way back to Rapid City. There I learned that the FBI had opened fire on the defenders as the supplies landed. Enfilades of armor-piercing machine-gun fire from government positions strafed the foundation of the church on the hill, mortally wounding Frank Clearwater with a bullet to the head as he was awakened to help with the food retrieval. Frank, who had arrived only the day before with his pregnant wife, later

died from his wound.

When I returned to the Pine Ridge Reservation years later, Lorelie Decora, the first aid responder when Clearwater was wounded, told me about that morning and the betrayal of a cease-fire by the government forces. "He just kept saying to me, 'I just walked in ... I just got here.' They kept us pinned down ... we couldn't get him back to the hospital."

When I learned that there was to be a funeral for Clearwater at Frank Fools Crow's camp in Kyle, I decided that was where I needed to be. Bob Pledge, New York bureau chief for Gamma Presse Images, volunteered to drive me as close to Kyle as possible. After hydroplaning off the road in a sudden downpour, we were assisted by some passing ranchers. They pointed: Kyle was about twenty miles that way. I thanked my colleague and headed out toward a place I had never been before, under overcast skies, with no sun or shadows to confirm my position. As a sparrow hawk fluttered overhead, screeching a warning, I recalled Crow Dog's advice: "Listen to the winged ones."

I had to hide from roving vigilante patrols as they cruised in their pickup trucks, looking for trouble. On two occasions I was in the awkward position of having to pass within yards of them. Sliding up and down muddy switchbacks was wearing me out. Eventually the clay separated the sole from one of my boots, and I had to tie it on with my boot laces. It was late when I glimpsed a distant light blinking through the darkness. With nothing more than blind faith to go on, I headed toward an uncertain beacon. Eventually I was able to see that it was in fact a tipi.

I arrived at Fools Crow's just after one in the morning. The tipi sheltered a coffin, shrouded with a star blanket, holding the remains of Frank Clearwater. I remember standing there for a long time, just staring into the dim, warm light. At first I didn't hear the soft, comforting woman's voice asking if I was okay. Later I was told that I had been standing there, just staring into the tipi, for more than an hour, and that when I was led inside I hadn't spoken to anyone for quite a long time. Finally, I accepted some soup and found a dry place in an old log cabin to spread out my sleeping bag.

Frank Fools Crow was a taciturn man. Although he welcomed me into his home, it would be some time before he and I would begin a relationship that lasted until his death. The old man told me how it was after the massacre in 1890, how he was brought up by hunter-warriors who were the last to have hunted the buffalo herds and warred on the Great Plains as a free people. He told me of the religious oppression of his people, how their ceremonies were banned and they were harassed. He told me how the men were forced to cut their hair short, and how the children were taken away, sent to mission schools to become Christian Indians. "It was pitiful how they broke up families, sending people to faraway reservations." Frank and I talked of his life many times over the weeks that I was in and out of his camp during the days of Wounded Knee. In his lifetime he

had ridden the plains hunting the last of the buffalo herds, survived unprecedented persecution. He once said to me, "There have been two world wars in my life, [and] Korea and Vietnam. Man learned to fly. I have watched a man land on the moon on television. And now I am watching a new generation of my people struggle for cultural survival. What am I supposed to think?"

While the ceremonies honoring Clearwater were readied and performed, the camp was under constant harassment by BIA police, white vigilantes, and federal agents. The stress built as Fools Crow and the other elders gathered. Nightly attempts to raid the encampment were thwarted by the ever-vigilant AIM security (in which I proudly claim membership). A government roadblock was set up just the other side of where Frank's driveway met the road.

We finally set out to take Clearwater's body to Crow Dog's Paradise, Leonard's family home on the Rosebud Reservation. As we left Fools Crow's, the procession was stopped and the body was removed from the casket while the authorities searched for weapons. We were detained like this, for an hour or more, at least six times. At one check-point, because I refused to stop photographing the event, FBI agents took me into custody without arresting me. They handcuffed me, confiscated my cameras, exposed all the film I had in my possession, and finally set me free.

We buried Clearwater on a bluff overlooking Crow Dog's Paradise. I helped dig his grave and lower him to his final rest. My actions on the morning of the airlift had created the situation that allowed the FBI to take another indigenous life and not be held accountable.

After Clearwater's funeral, my activities were based out of Rapid City, about a hundred miles from Wounded Knee. I continued to go in and out of the liberated area, bringing in food and supplies under increasingly difficult conditions. The FBI and U.S. Marshals had strengthened their presence and were harassing everybody in the area. Their shoot-to-kill approach was thwarting resupply efforts.

Buddy Lamont was killed by a sniper on April 26 as he walked up the main road in the hamlet of Wounded Knee. Buddy had volunteered to serve in Vietnam even though his great-uncle had been murdered by the Seventh Cavalry and lay frozen in the snow of the first Wounded Knee of 1890. Now Buddy, a full-blood Lakota, was claimed by the same racism, along the same creek, by the same government, with the same disregard. Defying resistance from the U.S. government, Buddy's mother, Agnes Lamont, finally laid her son to rest next to the mass grave of Big Foot and the other victims of the 1890 massacre.

It is my belief that the sadness that permeated the defenders after Buddy Lamont's murder finally brought about their surrender on May 5. This was not a group of rabble fearful of death or incarceration, but Buddy was liked, respected, and now he was dead. By then, too, the trading post had been burned to the ground, the surrounding hills

were seared black by fires, and there was no drinking water.

The American press and people were no longer paying any attention to the dreadful conditions on the Pine Ridge Reservation, having become transfixed by the Watergate soap opera. The promise of frank discussions with White House representatives about the 1868 treaty and the criminal actions of Wilson's tribal government seemed too good to turn down.

Among the last defenders to leave on May 6 were Carter Camp, Leonard Crow Dog, Wallace Black Elk, Gladys Bissonette, Ellen Moves Camp, Rachel Hollow Horn, and Lou Bean. What I remember most clearly about the day the AIM people were brought to Rapid City was old Tom Bad Cob across the street from the jail, with his cane raised over his head, dancing and singing the saddest Lakota lament I have ever heard. All afternoon that old man was there, until the door slammed shut after the last warrior was imprisoned. Then he got into his old pick-up truck and drove off.

On May 17 a delegation with no authority came to Pine Ridge and met with the hundreds of hopeful American Indian people who had gathered at Chief Fools Crow's camp in Kyle. The promised meeting was an empty, cynical gesture of contempt. The government men went back to Washington, promising to return by the end of the month with answers. Again, hundreds of hopeful Indian people gathered at Fools Crow's camp on May 31. This time no delegation showed at all.

On that day in 1973 when Marvin Ghost Bear introduced me to the people of Wounded Knee and invited me into his home, he presented me with two gifts: a beautiful ribbon shirt and the lesson that, though glad for my presence, he would remain in Wounded Knee long after I returned home. I have never forgotten that lesson or Marvin Ghost Bear, because that encounter would largely come to define my approach to photographing Native Americans and First Nation Indigenous people of Canada.

I learned, as I became aware of cultural and social edicts, not to try to occupy the same emotional landscape as my host. As a photographer concerned with social documentation, I believe my primary concern is to create enduring images that will challenge a viewer's assumptions while at the same time, if only for one evanescent moment, remind the viewer of the mutual love of life that is shared by all peoples and provide the energy for an open discourse. I learned to avoid the stereotypical perceptions commonly based on opposing, often objectionable, cultural and ideological prejudices, which deny a people their own history. Living in a village for months at a time allows me to see the everyday struggle for survival of individuals, as a nation and as a race. By acquainting myself with my hosts' semantics, without overstepping the moment of another's life with the interjection of self, I try to tell their story in their own words—as much as that is possible for a photographer. On a recent trip to the Makah Reservation in Neah Bay, Washington, I was

in the shop of artist Greg Colfax while he added the final touches to a welcoming pole he was carving for the tribe. Greg shared the following idea with me: "The final insult to Native Americans is when a white man comes along and tells us that we are not Indian enough."

Each of us has his or her calling. The Lakota and other Plains Indians have the Hamblecha, what we call the Vision Quest. People of the coastal Northwest have the Tribal Journey. For me, initially, following in the footsteps of Timothy O'Sullivan, the journey west to explore the vast expanses of the High Plains was a means to escape the claustrophobia of war. Standing at times where there was nothing taller than myself as far as I could see, I wished I could have made the journey when Edward Curtis struck out.

In my time, however, there are rare moments when reality dematerializes into dream: attending an honor ceremony at Wounded Knee, participating in an *Inipi* (purification) at Crow Dog's Paradise on the Rosebud Reservation, or making portraits of Makah men and woman in a traditional long house at Neah Bay.

Romanticism aside, the history of Native people today is a dichotomy: pervasive reservation poverty versus gambling casinos creating Native American millionaires; the labor of gill-net fisherman at Neah Bay versus a Makah entrepreneur who takes a one-hundred-foot commercial fishing vessel to the Bering Sea each winter; a funeral presided over by a Lakota holy man with his *Chanupa* (pipe) and a minister with her Bible. This is the history I am documenting. This is where I work.

In 1975 Luck documented the Menominee Warrior Society's occupation of the abandoned Alexian Brothers Novitiate in Gresham, Wisconsin, near the Menominee Indian Reservation. Since 2004 he has worked among indigenous communities of the Pacific Northwest. Luck has donated photographs to Ogallala Lakota College in Pine Ridge, to the Haida Gwaii Museum in Skidegate, and to the Makah Museum in Neah Bay. Significant collections of his work are held by Princeton University Library and the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library.





Arvol Looking Horse holds the staff he carried for the Big Foot ride.

The 1990 Annual Big Foot Memorial Ride

Photos by Keri Pickett

The Big Foot Ride emerged out of a shared dream between Birgil Kills Straight and Alex White Plume who both dreamed of riding on horseback the 250 mile route from the location of the shooting death of the Hunkpapa Lakota leader Sitting Bull to the Wounded Knee massacre site. The dream prompted action and a formal ride commenced in 1986, to help people remember the injustice and to help mend the sacred hoop. The ride, as many spiritual endeavors, was offered with a four year commitment and the 1990 ride was the “wopila” (thank you) ride as part of the “wiping the tears” ceremony. On the 100th anniversary the bitter temps of 1990 reached 60 and 70 below zero, a temp which was mirrored the temps back in 1890 when the Lakota people fled from Sitting Bull’s cabin to Wounded Knee.

The 100th anniversary on December 29th, 1990 of the killing of the Lakota people by the US 7th Cavalry. The historic occasion was marked by hundred of horse riders coming into Wounded Knee together in a spiritual way for a spiritual purpose. Later that night the riders, community and supporters went to the Wounded Knee school where the riders were honored and the community was told information about the breadth of what was stolen from the Lakota as they lay dead or dying.

To mark the century of injustice a congressional order was put forth by Democratic Sens. Thomas A. Daschle (S.D.) and Daniel K. Inouye (Hawaii) of the Select Committee on Indian Affairs which “Expresses the commitment of the Congress to acknowledge and learn from our history, including the Wounded Knee Massacre, in order to provide a proper foundation for building an ever more humane, enlightened, and just society for the future.” These commitments have yet to happen in a meaningful way.

The ride finished the first five year commitment in 1990 but Alex White Plume says that the youth are supposed to continue the ride until their original language has returned. The horse nation continues to help heal from the atrocity of the US Government against the Native People.

I am so fortunate to have heart ties to the Lakota community. Traditional and spiritual leader Flyod Hand introduced me to the woman who helped raise him, Zona Fills the Pipe and I fell in love with Zona and considered her as a Grandmother. Unchi Zona hosted me in her home during the cold days and nights of the 100th anniversary and in the summer she opened her “tipi Motel” in her yard in Pine Ridge. Humor and wisdom flowed from her stories and I am grateful to have her in my heart. My brief experience photographing in 60-70 degrees below zero, those days around the 100th anniversary of the massacre, helps inform my respect for the strength and purpose of the riders and for the visions of the wisdom keepers and leadership that started the ride. Respect and gratitude for Birgil Kills Straight and his wife Ethyl and to my friend Alex White Plume and his wife Debra White Plume. You have changed countless lives and I know that because of my own experience. This is the first time these pictures I made 33 years ago have been published.

Keri Pickett



Supporters with American Indian Movement flags walk up the hill to the cemetery at Wounded Knee.



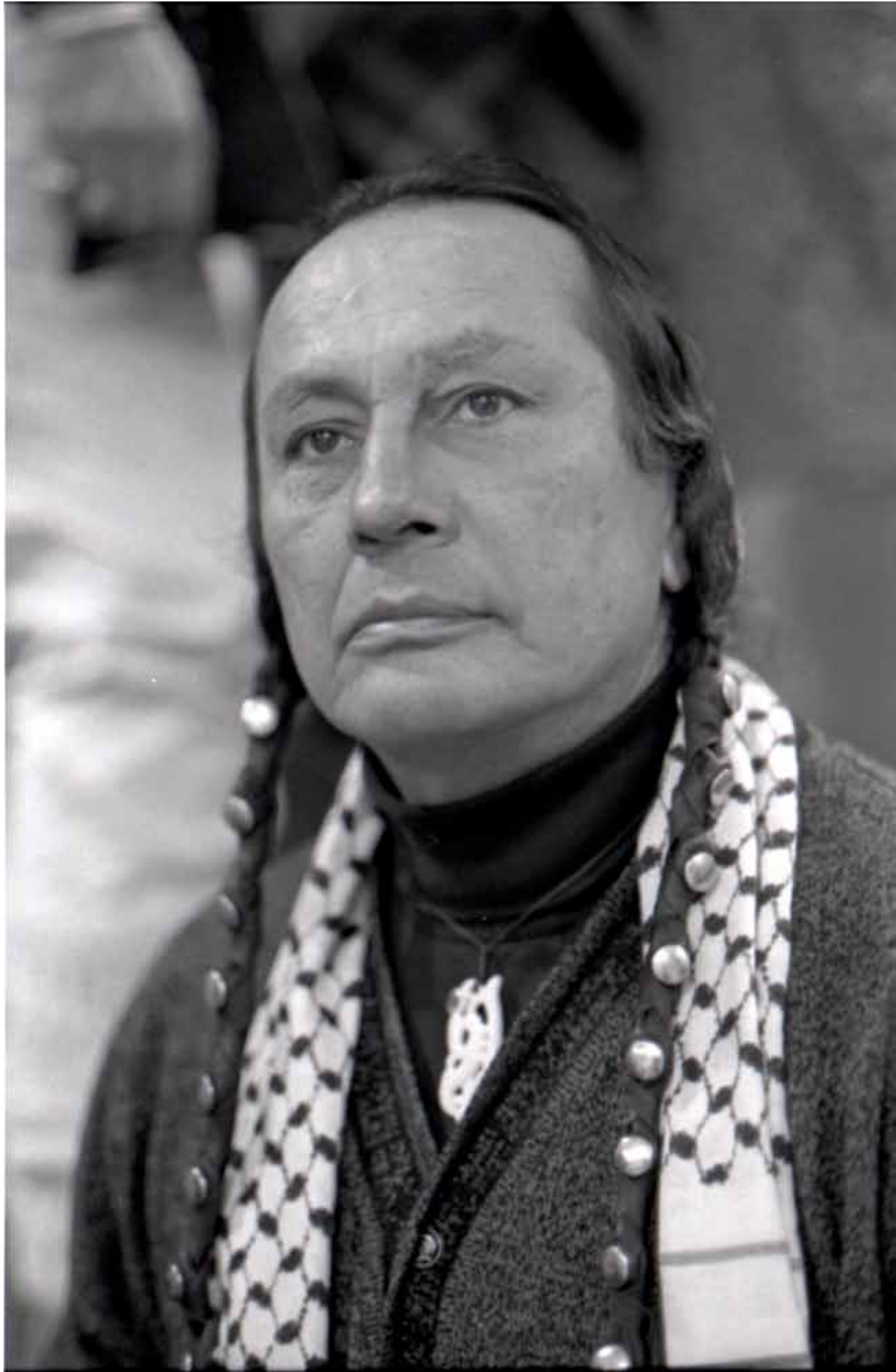


Riders come into Wounded Knee on December 29, 1990

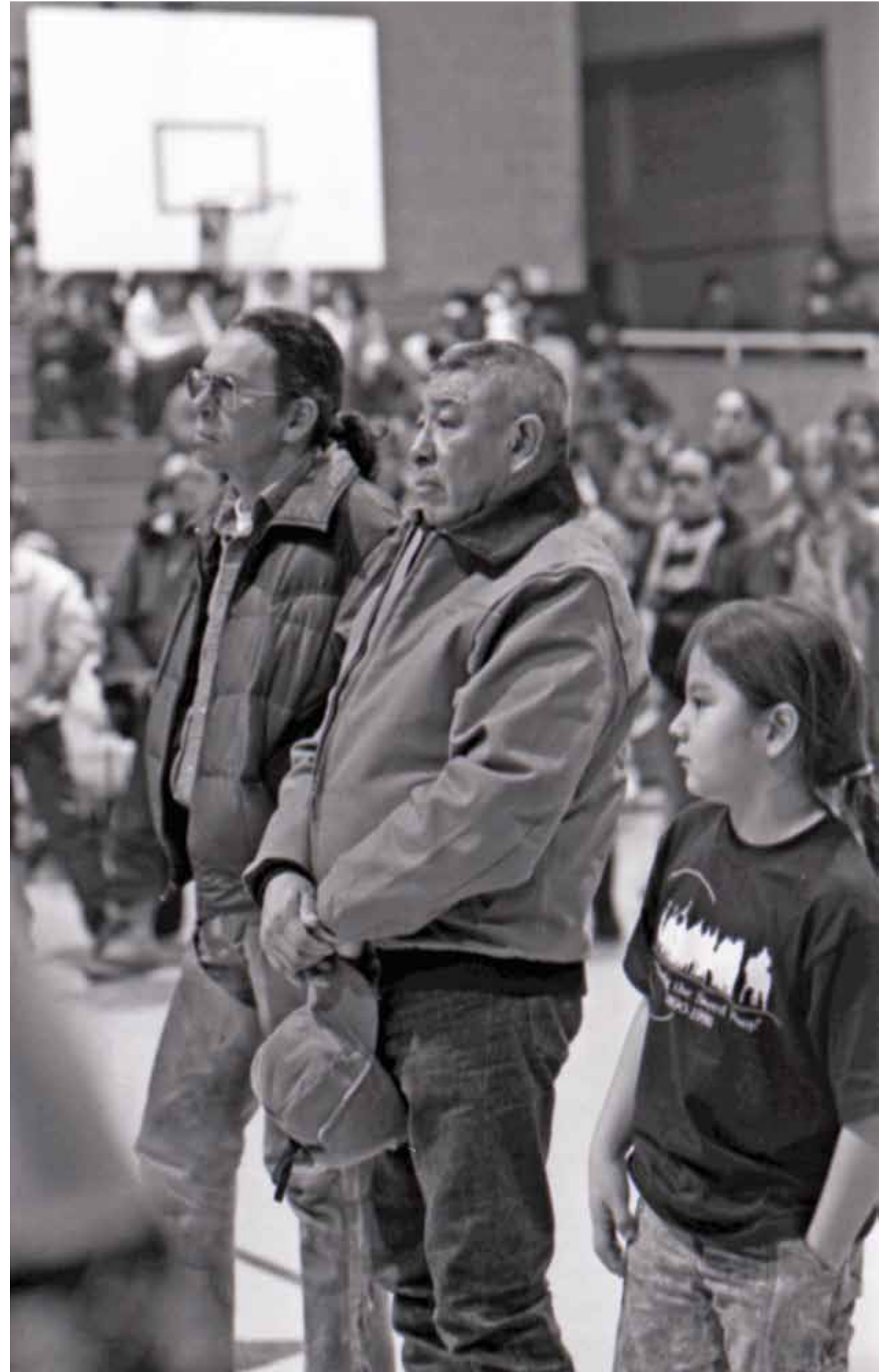


Arvol Looking Horse holds the staff during the honoring of the riders at Wounded Knee School.





Russell Means at the honoring ceremony for the riders at the Wounded Knee School.





THE ANNUAL CHIEF BIG FOOT MEMORIAL RIDERS AND THE ARTIFACTS FROM WOUNDED KNEE RETURN HOME IN DECEMBER 2022

“The Lakota children are children of the Earth. They do not want to be American but want to be Lakota. They own this history. This is their history. It is time for them to stop standing on the sidelines. Every day the Lakota live in a state of treaty violation. It continues and we want our treaty territory back so we can save the Earth.”

- Alex White Plume

Interview with Alex White Plume by Mia Feroletto

Alex White Plume has been a leader on the Pine Ridge Reservation for his entire adult life. He served as both Vice President and President of the Oglala Sioux Tribe and is recognized all over the world as a hero in the industrial hemp movement and a human rights activist. He fought the Federal government for 16 years for the right to grow hemp on sovereign land and with that victory, played a major role in the legalization of industrial hemp in America. He and his deceased wife Deborah White Plume dedicated their lives to activism on Pine Ridge and in support of Indigenous rights everywhere promoting “moccasins on the ground” for grassroots efforts to support the Earth and each other.

As best Alex can recall, it was 1983 or 1984 when Deb’s grandfather Mark Big Road encouraged them to bring back the traditional grieving ceremonies needed in order to begin to rebuild the Lakota community from a state of poverty and trauma which had been caused by the Wounded Knee Massacre in 1890. Deb’s idea was that riders would make the journey on horseback to Wounded Knee beginning their ride up North from the site of present day North Dakota where Chief Sitting Bull had been assassinated.

In 1985, Curtis Kills Ree had a vision quest that confirmed the importance of the ride and that it should begin where Chief Spotted Elk’s people had been camped in Eagle Butte. Alex and his brother Percy chose to not share what they were planning with anyone. Alex said to Percy, “Little Brother, we need to prepare mentally. We need to go to Eagle Butte and we need to ride back.” This was their initial offering and prayer to the Spirits and laid the trail for the years to follow. Alex and Percy rode alone that first year.

The White Plumes received the message from Spirit that the right people would be called to participate on the ride moving forward. One eagle feather was given to each of the riders and one eagle feather was provided for each of the

horses. The Spirits were happy to see that the people were tending to their needs and accompanied Alex and Percy on their journey that first year and every year since.

The name of the ride in Lakota is *Si Tanka Wokiksuye*. Fifteen Oglala from Pine Ridge participated in 1986. It was difficult for the White Plume Brothers to find someone to trailer their horses to Eagle Butte that first official year of the ride. Alex was told of a man in Kyle who had a horse trailer so he went in search of Birgil Kills Straight who agreed to help. Gas was 48 cents a gallon in those days. Birgil agreed to truck ten horses to Eagle Butte and Virgil White Thunder agreed to haul the other five horses needed for the ride. Unfortunately, the front drive shaft fell off of Virgil’s truck so it took several hours before he could get on the road and drive to the original camp of Chief Spotted Elk located west of Bridger, South Dakota.

Birgil Kills Straight dropped off the ten horses and returned to Kyle to pick up his own horse so that he, too, could participate in the ride. There were 19 riders that first year.

Thirty-five riders participated the second year of the Annual Chief Big Foot Memorial Ride. Arvol Looking Horse, the spiritual leader of the Lakota, Nakota and Dakota people and the keeper of the White Buffalo Calf Woman Pipe, rode the second year. The participants were all called to join in the effort. Keep in mind the temperature in South Dakota during the second half of December is often well below zero, placing extreme hardships on both riders and horses.

The horses were often afraid. Out in front that first year, Alex blindfolded his horse so that he would not see the Spirits who were accompanying them on the ride. The other horses followed its lead. Alex and the other riders witnessed blue sparks on the ears of the horses. Perhaps the spirits of the horses who were with the victims of the Wounded Knee Massacre were also active.

The Lakota Elders gave instructions for the riders to follow. An Inipi lodge was held while there was three feet of snow on the ground. Alex hopped barefoot into the lodge through the snow and was told that he could not take a chunpa on the ride. The Ghost Dance was not one of the seven Sacred Rites brought by the White Buffalo Calf Woman. Carrying a pipe would create confusion for the riders. Rocky Afraid of Hawk and Alex continually kept count of the riders to be sure no one was lost in the night. The group made it to a nearby church in the freezing cold. It was so icy that the

horses had trouble walking. A spiritual feeling enveloped all of them. Alex considers it to be one of the happiest times of his life.

Alex White Plume was one of the Lakota leaders who made the trip to Barre, Massachusetts to ask for the return of the artifacts from the Barre Museum Association. He made the trip in 1990. He states that it was scary to see little baby clothes with holes in their backs. His request was rebuffed by the Barre Museum Association but he did not return home alone. When he arrived back in Manderson on the Pine Ridge Reservation he realized that he had brought back three spirits with him, which caused him to display the characteristics of a physical stroke. An Inipi ceremony was organized on his behalf during which he was told that the Spirits are happy you brought them back and they are happy you have made the ceremony of the Annual Chief Big Foot Ride. This ride cleared the energetic as well as physical path for movement in the effort to repatriate these items stolen from the dead at Wounded Knee.

Alex White Plume lives one mile up creek from Wounded Knee. People are buried along the creek. He says the real Lakota leaders are people like Red Horn Buffalo, Surrounded Bear, and Red War Bonnet. To this day, people find human remains along the creek and the surrounding area. Leola One Feather, the ex-wife of Percy White Plume, is an expert in historic preservation and came out to Barre, Massachusetts in July of this year along with Jeffrey Not Helps Him, a direct descendant of Wounded Knee Massacre survivor Dewey Beard. They assisted with John Willis in photographing the artifacts and identifying and authenticating Lakota Sioux objects.

Since 1986, thousands of riders have cleared the pathway for the return of these sacred items. Alex feels that the Bureau of Indian Affairs failed the people miserably. He says, “The Lakota children are children of the Earth. They do not want to be American but want to be Lakota. They own this history. This is their history. The brain drain has to stop. Every day the Lakota live in a state of Treaty violation. It continues and we want our treaty territory back so we can save the Earth.”

At the time the ride began, there were only 3 Sun Dance ceremonies and 5 Pow Wows on the Pine Ridge Reservation while there were 86 churches of different denominations that were fully functional. Alex’s aunts accused him of devil worship when he and Percy created the ride. “Who the hell do you think you are?” they asked him. Deb’s grandfather Mark Big Road supported Alex, telling him to “Do it. You are right.” Colonization was nearly 100% at that time in 1987. But, in just a few short years, there were 44 Sun Dance ceremonies on Pine Ridge along with the Sun Dance Arvol Looking Horse began at Green Grass in 1973 and Leonard Crow Dog founded his Sun Dance at Crow Dog’s Paradise on the Rosebud Reservation. The Lakota people finally began to feel safe to practice their own religion.

The Annual Chief Big Foot Memorial Ride was meant to last for four years, the same amount of time required to prepare to participate as a Sun Dancer. The ride was meant to facilitate the release of the Spirits. Normally, a hair is taken from the left side of the head of the deceased member of the tribe and wrapped in red cloth with sweet grass, sage and cedar. This relic will maintain the physical presence of the deceased on earth for one year after death at which time the hair will be burned and the tears of those in mourning will be wiped away. The Annual Ride was meant to wipe the tears of the Lakota Nation as well as wiping the tears and poverty of the descendants of survivors.

Auntie Claudia Iron Hawk hung a white cloth at the Wounded Knee grave site. Claudia was from Wounded Knee and she wanted to show that the U.S. Calvary came to Chief Spotted Elk’s camp under a white flag and killed the people anyway. After the Wounded Knee Massacre, many survivors stayed with the Oglala Tribe because of their success at Little Big Horn where they defeated General Custer. It helped them feel a small bit of safety after their world had been destroyed.

For the Annual Ride, each rider carried two blankets to give away to the descendants of survivors of the Wounded Knee Massacre. Survivors broke into five groups. Tensions have been raised since the massacre and groups continue to compete for supremacy to this day. The Big Foot riders consider themselves to be servants to bring back the traditional rites to the people. As Alex says, everyone needs to stand in solidarity.

The opportunity to address all of the outstanding issues between the Lakota people and the United States Government needs to happen and the return of the artifacts from the Barre Museum Association and elsewhere is the perfect time to do so.

While on the ride, the participants focus on the following through prayer and sacrifice:

1. The health and prosperity of the children.
2. The Elderly.
3. The physically sick and those people sick in their mind.
4. The prisoners. Those who went to jail for the color of their skin.
5. The women.
6. The livestock, the buffalo, the trees, all of the animals.
7. The return of the Old Ways in the proper way.

The Pine Ridge Reservation represents the poorest county in America. Oglala Lakota County. The people on Pine Ridge are slowly moving in the direction of rebuilding. The mentality of soldiers coming to shoot you is still in the hearts and minds of the people.

The 1970s at Wounded Knee are characterized by the mistreatment of Elders and the people under the orders of Dick Wilson. 1973 through 1985 were still violent years on Pine Ridge. The Annual Ride began in 1986 which marked the

beginning of an end to violence. Then, in 2019, Meth moved in. Tensions are high surrounding drugs and outside social issues. This demon drug of Meth is killing the young on the reservation.

The return of the artifacts will take away some of the historic grief. Alex believes in the power of the matriarchy, the power of the Lakota women. He told me that men came from a star to support the women. Women clean their blood with every moon cycle. Women have powers that men do not possess.

I asked Alex how we can help the Lakota people. His response was, "The word genocide should be on everyone's lips. The killing of Indigenous people in the Americas needs to be recognized and owned by this country. People need to understand that being a true human being requires them to feel sorry for what they (their ancestors) have done in terms of this genocide."



1990 Riders, photo by Keri Pickett

In 2012, Alex White Plume attended the 3rd United Nations Seminar on Treaties and spoke eloquently on the then current treaty violations faced by the Lakota Oyate.

Here are his words:

"And let's sit down in a circle and hash this out and find a solution because I don't want to wait another 25 years. This just can't be going on and on and on. Nacha, Chief Red Cloud, is 94 years old. I made a vow to him seven years ago that before he passes on we're going to have some type of situation, some solution for the treaty of Fort Laramie of 1868. And Chief Red Cloud lived a treaty every day of his life. There was a time when nobody wanted to fight for the treaty. Actually, a lot of our people were ashamed of the treaty. Not Chief Red Cloud. He would get on your case if you violated a treaty.

So, I come here hoping to gain momentum and yet there's no solution in this room. We're talking, talking, talking. When is the talking going to end? Are you all American so you just talk? Americans are known for lying, thieving, stealing (people). Are there Americans in this room? I don't think so. I think a lot of us are honorable people. So let's find a solution, Mr. Chairman."



Alex White Plume

MEMBER RESERVATIONS

Cheyenne River
Crow Creek
Fort Peck
Lower Brule
Pine Ridge
Rosebud
Standing Rock
Sisseton

BLACK HILLS SIOUX NATION
TREATY COUNCIL
PINE RIDGE AGENCY, SD

Chief Oliver Red Cloud - Itqnoqn,

P. O. Box 6051, Pine Ridge Agency, SD 57770

Ph. (605) 867-6265

Resolution No. # 052510 of the

Black Hills Sioux Nation Treaty Council

"...HUMANITY HAS CONTRACTED A DEBT WITH INDIGENOUS PEOPLES BECAUSE OF THE HISTORICAL MISDEED AGAINST THEM. CONSEQUENTLY, THESE MUST BE REDRESSED ON THE BASIS OF EQUITY AND HISTORICAL JUSTICE." *PROFESSOR MIGUEL ALFONSO MARTINEZ, THE UNITED NATIONS TREATY STUDY*

Whereas, the leaders, elders, chiefs, headsmen, na cha, people of the Lakota nation and descendants of the treaty signatories of the Fort Laramie Treaty(ies) of 1851 and 1868 ("the Treaties") gathered at this Black Hills Sioux Nation Treaty Council Gathering;

Whereas, the Treaty Gathering was duly called to order by Chief Oliver Red Cloud, Oglala Band of the Lakota Nation, of the Black Hills Sioux Nation Treaty Council;

Whereas, the Lakota Nation entered into and has always abided by the provisions of the Ft Laramie Treaty(ies) of 1851 and 1868 ("the Treaties");

Whereas, the government of the United States of America, representing the people of the United States of America, under their own duly authorized processes, signed and ratified the Ft Laramie Treaty (ies) of 1851 and 1868;

Whereas, the United States of America, on behalf of its government and people, has repeatedly violated and unilaterally attempted to abrogate the Treaties in violation of accepted international standards and codified international treaty law;

Whereas, the Lakota Nation and its people have suffered the devastation, cultural genocide, ethnic cleansing and abuses caused solely by the United States of America, its government and people as a result of the violations to international human rights standards and treaty law;

Whereas, the Treaties are a sacred obligation of the parties, sealed under Lakota law with the Sacred Canupa (Sacred Pipe),

Whereas, it is the responsibility of the Black Hills Sioux Nation Treaty Council, and the chiefs, na cha, headsmen and people of all the bands and territories of the Lakota Nation to uphold the obligations of the Treaties and to protect and preserve the ancient land and culture of the Lakota Oyate;

Whereas, the Treaty Councils of the Lakota Nation have faithfully carried on the work of our ancestors in preserving the Lakota way of life;

Whereas, we have continued in our turn as caretakers of the lands of the Lakota people; and

Whereas, we have conferred together under the ancient laws and traditions of our Nation.

Whereas, we acknowledge:

That the United States government has repeatedly violated the Treaties as thoroughly documented by history and preserved by the Lakota Nation,

That the United States Supreme Court in the case entitled U.S. vs. Sioux Nation of Indians (448 U.S. 371 (1980)) determined that the United States of America "violated the 1868 Treaty. . . and "... committed two wrongs: first, it deprived the Sioux of their livelihood; secondly, it deprived the Sioux of their land."

That the United Nations Study on Treaties, Agreement and Other Constructive Arrangements between states and Indigenous populations, ordered by the Commission on Human Rights, in part at the request of the Lakota Nation, similarly concluded that the Treaties are legitimate, legal and binding documents under the tenets of international law, and

That the Lakota Nation, having participated as a sovereign nation in the United Nations since 1977, adheres to the principles set forth in the United Nations Charter, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (as a minimum set of standards):

To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained,

To employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, and that

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, ...

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED THAT THE BLACK HILLS SIOUX NATION TREATY COUNCIL COMMITS TO THE FOLLOWING:

THE BLACK HILLS SIOUX NATION TREATY COUNCIL OF THE LAKOTA NATION, AS A SOVEREIGN, INDEPENDENT AND SELF-DETERMINED NATION, WILL CONTINUE ITS EFFORTS UNDER THE FORUMS AND BODIES OF UNITED NATIONS' INTERNATIONAL MECHANISMS INCLUDING THE PERMANENT FORUM ON INDIGENOUS ISSUES, THE OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, THE EXPERT MECHANISM ON THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, AND/OR ANY OTHER INTERNATIONAL BODIES RELEVANT AND BENEFICIAL TO THE PRESERVATION OF THE LAKOTA OYATE.

THE BLACK HILLS SIOUX NATION TREATY COUNCIL OF THE LAKOTA NATION, AS A SOVEREIGN, INDEPENDENT AND SELF-DETERMINED NATION, WILL REINVIGORATE ITS EFFORTS TO BRING BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE A CASE OF INTERNATIONAL RELEVANCE IN PRESERVING THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF ALL NATIONS AND PEOPLES. THE CASE WILL UTILIZE THE LAKOTA TREATIES AS EVIDENCE OF THE VALUE OF AN ADVISORY OPINION FROM THE COURT.

This Resolution is made at _____
on this the 27 day of May, 2010 by the Black Hills Sioux Nation Treaty Council,
presided over by Chief Oliver Red Cloud.

C-E-R-T-I-F-I-C-A-T-I-O-N

I, the undersigned Secretary of the Black Hills Sioux Nation Treaty Council, do hereby certify that the above resolution has been approved by consensus of the Oglala Delegation of the Black Hills Sioux Nation Treaty Council, effective May 25, 2010.

ATTEST:


Oliver Red Cloud, Itancan


Fredrick Cedar Face, Secretary



OWE AKU INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE PROJECT

720 West 173rd Street, #59 PO Box 535
New York City 10032 Manderson, SD 57756 oweakuinternational@me.com
alexanderwhiteplume@yahoo.com
646-233-4406 605-455-2155

June 12, 2011

Comments on Behalf of the Black Hills Sioux Nation Treaty Council to the
United States Senate Committee on Indian Affairs
Washington, D.C. 20520.

Via Email: comments@indian.senate.gov; jade_danner@indian.senate.gov

*RE: Written Testimony to the United States Senate Committee on Indian Affairs;
Oversight Hearings on Setting the Standard: Domestic Policy Implications of the UN
Declaration on the rights of Indigenous Peoples*

Greetings from the traditional legal government of the Lakota Oyate that has governed the Lakota people since before the time of Europeans in our territory and the period of colonization. We govern with the support of our people. Our authority comes from the Creator who provided us with Original Instructions for living on the lands set aside for the Lakota Oyate.

Through our work on the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigneous Peoples* ("the Declaration"), this same authority is acknowledged under 21st century international law based our right to self-determination and with free, prior and informed consent as set forth in Articles 1, 2 ,3 and 19 of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples.

Further, as set forth in our submittal "*Resolution of the Black Hills Sioux Nation Treaty Council Rejection of the United States' Statement of U.S. Support for the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*" ("Rejection of US Statement"), of January 19, 2011, we reject and refuse to acknowledge any limits on our rights which utilize Federal Indian Law, including these Congressional Hearing by the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. Federal Indian Law, its exercise, and its institutionalization are wholly discriminatory, racist and exercised with the intention to do harm to the Lakota people and our territory in violation of the Declaration and other international standards, laws, and treaties, including the Fort Laramie treaties of 1851 and 1868.

Indian Reorganization Act governments ("the IRA") were illegally installed on our territories utilizing force and deception and maintain their "authority" only at the will of the United States government, its money, weapons and citizenry that continue to permit human rights violations. On the Pine Ridge Territory of the Lakota Oyate no less than three "elections" were held and all of them defeated the IRA. Nonetheless, the IRA was forcibly installed. This is a violation of Articles 18 and 19 and makes any collaboration with or presentation by IRA government to the United States government a violation of our "*right to participate in decision-making in matters which would affect [our] rights, through representatives chosen by [us] in accordance with [our] own procedures, as well as to maintain and develop [our] own indigenous decision making institutions.*" (Declaration Article 18)

IRA governemnts are, in fact, no different than any of the colonial governments imposed upon peoples around the world during Euro-American conquests of the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. This governments do not comply with the right of self-determination or the right to free, prior and informed consent. Therefore, consultations, hearings, discussions or any other form of meaningless input, on a government-to-government basis, between the IRA governments of the United States and the Congress of the United States, are by definition violations of the contents of the Declaration. Further, the Lakota Nation has internationally recognized treaties with the Untied States. Congressional, government-to-government hearings, violate the nation-to-nation status of our relationship with the United States under the Fort Laramie Treaties of 1851 and 1868.

The Declaration is the minimum standard acceptable to the Lakota people who have worked at the United Nations on this issue since 1975. The current attempts of the United States to appear to "support" the Declaration are nothing more than the same pattern of "ripe and rank ... dishonorable dealings" (US Court of Claims) employed by the invented nation of the United States since its incorporation in the 18th century. The United States, frequently defeated in battle (at least by the Lakota, Cheyenne and Arapahoe alliance of nations), had to invent such fictions as "plenary power", "dependent domestic nations", the Dawes Act, the Citizenship Act, the Removal Act, the Indian Reorganization Act, and the Relocation Act, all to deny Indian people our rights under any standard of fair play, justice and international law. This latest deception, involving the Declaration, is nothing more than an attempt to domesticate the provisions of the Declaration within the meaning of U.S. domination, racism, colonialism and environmental degradation in order to steal resources.

Additional evidence is seen in the fact that at the same time that the United States engages in fraudulent Congressional Hearings, corporations are on our territory preparing to further contaminate our water and destroy our land with the poisons of uranium mining. If the United States were truly interested in any provisions of the Declaration this would not be occurring. Yet, it is not only happening on this very day, it is the policy of the same Administration that has stated its "support" for the Declaration. This is a violation of Articles 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 and 30 of the Declaration. Is the United States of American and its people capable of ever ending the lies and deceit? What possible motive can we, as Lakota people, see but human, environmental and cultural genocide?

Finally, we address our brothers and sisters who participate in this process with the United States. We urge us all to remember our history, to hear the voices of our ancestors who died during the American Holocaust, and to take a stand on behalf of the generations to come. Reject the lies and stand with your people.

Hecetu. Submitted with all due respect.

Alexander White Plume, Eyapaha (Spokesman), Black Hills Sioux Nation Treaty Council
Kent Lebsock, Coordinator, Owe Aku International Justice Project



*The cemetery at Wounded Knee for the mass grave holding the 300 plus people killed by the US 7th Cavalry.
Photo by Keri Pickett.*



Wounded Knee Cemetery rests at Wounded Knee Creek in the State of South Dakota at the site where soldiers of the United States Army 7th Cavalry killed and wounded 350-375 Indian men, women and children of Chief Big Foot's band of the Minneconjou Sioux on December 29, 1890. Photo by Keri Pickett.

MEMBER RESERVATIONS

Cheyenne River
Crow Creek
Fort Peck
Lower Brule
Pine Ridge
Rosebud
Standing Rock
Santee
Yankton

BLACK HILLS SIOUX NATION TREATY COUNCIL PINE RIDGE AGENCY, SD

Chief Oliver Red Cloud - Itancan
Alexander White Plume - Eyapaha
P.O. Box 535, Manderson, SD 57756 - 605-455-2155

Summary and Information

on the

Black Hills Sioux Nation Treaty Council Meeting of the Great Sioux Nation held on January 28, 29, 30, 2011, Pine Ridge Territory of the Lakota Oyate

The Black Hills Sioux Nation Treaty Council (“BHSNTC”) is the traditional governing body of the Lakota Oyate (Lakota Nation) and has always been responsible for preserving the ancient ways of Lakota governance, culture and spirituality. The protocols surrounding governance of the Lakota Oyate have never been surrendered or sacrificed since our peoples first had contact despite the ongoing attempts to do so by the colonizers and invaders from the United States of America. Unlike other Indigenous nations of North America, our only foreign conflict in modern history has been the government, military, people and corporations of the U.S.A.

Sovereignty is an inherent right of the land and territories of the Lakota Oyate and we are responsible to future generations for the Nation of our ancestors. In acknowledging this truth, internationally recognized treaties were signed by our grandfathers in 1851 and 1868 with the invented nation of “Americans” whose ancestry heralds from other places. Despite the often bloody and always deceitful attempts by the invented nation to hide the truth of its past and to twist and distort both international and domestic laws to serve its needs for ever-more lands and resources, the Black Hills Sioux Nation Treaty Council has never surrendered its responsibility to our land and its many inhabitants.

The responsibilities have not changed and continue uninterrupted. Chief Oliver Red Cloud called for a Black Hills Sioux Nation Treaty Council meeting for January 29 and 30, 2011. A meeting of the Oglala Delegation was held on January 28th. For the Wolakota Omniciye (Treaty Gathering), invitations were sent to all the bands and people of the Lakota, Dakota and Nakota people. Additionally invitations were sent to the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Haudenosaunee (Iroquois Six Nations), Treaty 6 and 4 in Canada and the International Indian Treaty Council. Since time immemorial, these gatherings have provided the spiritual and governing core of our nation and, as “Lakota” means, a primary means through which to make allies in keeping the peace and security for our land and people. The gathering in January 2011 did not waiver from these ancient protocols. Several governing resolutions were discussed and passed by consensus during the three-day meeting.

On January 28, 2011, at the Oglala Meeting of the Black Hills Sioux Nation Treaty Council, a resolution was passed condemning the United States for its unreasonable and inequitable limitations and qualifications placed on the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

In its official statement reputedly “supporting” the Declaration, the Americans make it clear in the first paragraph that the Declaration is in no way a legal document, nor are they bound by it. Denouncing the American statement as nothing more than false rhetoric designed to deceive the world on the U.S. violations, historic and contemporary, against the human rights of Native peoples, the resolution of the Black Hills Sioux Nation Treaty Council is a step towards their May 2010 resolution directing international adjudication of all treaty issues.

In addition, seven resolutions, pertaining to the governance of the Lakota Oyate, were passed on matters of environment, education and spirituality. They are:

1. a resolution supporting and recognizing Owe Aku (Bring Back the Way) to defend against uranium mining, the Key Stone XL Oil Pipeline, along with the protection of safe surface and subsurface drinking water and support to make relationships with other Nations regarding health and environmental degradation;
2. a resolution directing the thirteen Lakota, Dakota and Nakota Tribal IRA governments to provide instruction in the Lakota, Dakota and Nakota language by traditional speakers at all reservation schools;
3. a resolution supporting and recognizing Percy White Plume, a treaty delegate, to encourage all Lakota and Dakota youth to participate in the Sacred Black Hills Ride from June 15 through 20, 2011 and to continue to provide instruction in all aspects of oral history, culture, language, tradition and spirituality;
4. a resolution condemning the illegal imprisonment of Leonard Peltier and demanding his immediate release;
5. a resolution that asserts that the exclusive right of the protection of sacred objects and ceremonies belongs to the traditional government of the Lakota, Dakota and Nakota people as represented by the Black Hills Sioux Nation Treaty Council and that tribal council governments have no authority over these issues;
6. a resolution acknowledging and recognizing Arvol Looking Horse as Keeper of the Buffalo Calf Pipe Bundle and Chief of the Big Foot Ride with the support of the Black Hills Sioux Nation Treaty Council; and
7. a resolution protecting the sacredness of the Bald Eagle, Golden Eagle, Spotted Eagle and Black Eagle. In addition, the resolution demands that the United States of America cease its interference in Lakota, Dakota and Nakota people’s rights to sacred objects including Bald Eagle, Golden Eagle, Spotted Eagle and Black Eagle feathers and remains and further instructs all Lakota, Dakota and Nakota people to cease the presentation of these sacred objects to people not in kinship with the Lakota, Dakota and Nakota Oyate.

These resolutions are attached hereto for reference and indicate the most recent laws of the Lakota Oyate. These laws were all passed by consensus of the delegates and witnessed by the people in the presence of the sacred Canupa and are therefore the sacred obligation and responsibility of the Lakota, Dakota, Nakota Oyate in preserving the peace and well-being of the nation.

A Memorandum to the Treaty Leadership of the Lakota Nation
on the World Court Process

prepared by Kent Lebsock, Owe Aku, International Justice Project

Quick Overview

- The World Court is the primary judicial organ of the United Nations.
- The World Court is empowered to give “advisory” opinions on international legal questions.
- Advisory opinions are to be submitted to the Court by “organs” of the United Nations. For example, the General Assembly or the Economic and Social Council (called “ECOSOC”) can ask the Court for an advisory opinion.
- The United Nations Treaty Study stated the international nature of Indigenous peoples’ treaties. Resolution of the differing views of Indigenous nations and member states of the United Nations is therefore a question of stability, security and peace.
- The case of the Lakota Nation treaties would be used as a specific example to apply the general principle of the legitimacy of Indigenous treaties and their contribution to world peace.
- Getting to the World Court would require:
 1. Lobbying at the United Nations
 - a. Preparation of written materials.
 - b. Employing a person responsible for the advocacy efforts.
 - c. Visibly demonstrate an international presence by the Lakota Nation at international forums.
 2. Fundraising

Purpose of this Document

This is an attempt to briefly summarize the major issues and processes involved in a request to the United Nations by the Lakota treaty leadership to have the World Court adjudicate:

1. the validity of Lakota treaties,
2. violations by the United States of the Fort Laramie Treaties, and
3. suggested steps to resolution.

This will not be an easy process. It will require a dedicated effort and the ability to raise and administer substantial funds in order to keep the needed pressure on the authorities with whom we will have to interact. Many times, non-Indian lawyers and diplomats have told those of us working on this idea that it is impossible. They will say so again.

However, many of our Indian leaders from around the world, as well as chiefs and elders from North America, and even United Nations officials, have encouraged the idea. It is a revolutionary process, and one that would receive substantial opposition from powerful nations and organizations. For these reasons, it seems only appropriate that this movement be led by the Lakota Nation.

What the World Court Does

The World Court is the primary judicial organ of the United Nations. (Also known as the International Court of Justice, the Court is located in the Hague, Netherlands.) Its main functions are to:

1. settle legal disputes submitted to it by member states of the United Nations, and
2. to give advisory opinions on legal questions submitted to it by duly authorized United Nations organs.

We are concerned with the second purpose. An “**advisory**” opinion is one in which the Court looks at a specific situation that has wide applicability and the potential to contribute to world peace and stability.

Jurisdiction

Jurisdiction of cases by the World Court is granted in the United Nations Charter and the Statutes creating the Court¹. Advisory opinions are to be submitted to the Court by “organs” of the United Nations. For example, the General Assembly or the Economic and Social Council (called “ECOSOC”) can ask the Court for an advisory opinion.

In 1991, the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues was established and may also be a possible route to the Court. This would obviously make our work easier and needs to be investigated.

The Lakota Nation at the World Court

The issue presented to the Court must be of general concern to questions of international law, not just a specific instance.

The Treaty Study by the United Nations declared that Indigenous treaties were valid, binding and international. It also found that in most cases they were being abrogated and violated. The question of finding peaceful and practical remedies to Indigenous treaty disputes has already been proposed in the Treaty Study. Potential conflicts resulting from treaty violations should be of general concern to the family of nations.

The case of the Lakota Nation treaties would be used as a specific example in applying the general principle that honoring treaties is in the interest of world peace and contributes to international security. The facts surrounding the Lakota treaties fortifying our argument include the U.S. Supreme Court decision, which is cited in the Treaty Study. However, since the issue was not “resolved” (and the “compensation” has not been claimed), **international adjudication is supported under international standards.** The author of the Treaty Study, in a private meeting about this proposed plan, told Lakota, Cree and Iroquois delegates at one United Nations session that the Lakota treaties would be the perfect case to submit to the Court.

¹ Article 96, paragraph 2 of the Charter of the United Nations states that:
“[o]ther organs of the United Nations and specialized agencies, which may at any time be so authorized by the General Assembly, may also request advisory opinions of the Court on legal questions arising within the scope of their activities.”
Article 65, paragraph 1 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice states that:
“[t]he Court may give an advisory opinion on any legal question at the request of whatever body may be authorized by or in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations to make such a request.”

The Steps

Unfortunately, getting heard before the World Court is not as simple as paying a fee and filing the “complaint.” As stated, the request for an advisory opinion must come from a United Nations body, not the Lakota Nation.

Lobbying

The effort would primarily include lobbying the selected United Nations body, along with supportive nations, and non-governmental organizations (“NGOs”), to get ECOSOC or the Permanent Forum, to submit the request to the Court

1. **Written materials must be prepared** that persuasively and briefly present the case to busy diplomats. More detailed arguments will be written for more legal audiences. (Some international authorities have reviewed our documentation and found it persuasive.) Other presentations may be necessary for United Nations agencies that explain more fully why this case would be in the best interests of the United Nations.

2. With sufficient resources, it would also be advisable to have a **full-time lobbyist/ secretary at the United Nations** to keep up the lobbying pressure, to follow-up with the assorted diplomats and agencies, and to report back constantly to the Nation.

3. There are several different United Nations’ meetings and conferences each year. In advocating for a World Court case, it would be critical to send delegates to these meetings, to both **demonstrate an international presence by the Lakota Nation and advocate for the World Court case**. As with any Nation, the higher the authority sent by the Lakota people to the United Nations the more persuasive they are in getting support. **Chiefs and elders make a great impression on world leaders** (outside the United States).

Fundraising

If the leadership decides on pursuing this matter, a **budget and fundraising plan** should be developed.

1. Although **foundations** can be a source of funding for many issues, It should be assumed that there would be substantial opposition from the United States, as well as countries like Canada and New Zealand who also have treaties with Indigenous nations. This might discourage many foundations.

2. Another source of support might be from well-known **human rights advocates** and environmentalists like U2, Robert Redford, or Jane Fonda.

3. **European allies and foundations** are also often very supportive of Indigenous issues.

4. **Allies and volunteers** can also be a valuable source of in-kind support.

At the Court

If an organ of the United Nations agrees to submit the case to the World Court, it will then be necessary to assemble an international legal team to actually prepare and argue the case. This will probably be the easy part. If the Nation gets the case to this point, it can be assumed that international lawyers will be lining-up to volunteer to work on this matter.

Concluding Remarks

The abrogation of existing treaties has negatively impacted all aspects of Indigenous life and “respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms.” In founding the United Nations great injustices occurred in the lack of recognition of Indigenous peoples and their rights. Some progress has been made to change this but, of course, more remains to be done. With the Treaty Study, the Permanent Forum and a variety of other supportive conclusions coming from international bodies over the past two decades, it is now time for the United Nations to completely fulfill the spirit of its mandate. The Lakota Nation leads. Despite the obstacles, the Lakota people are known around the world. Now, the Lakota Nation can lead the world in giving the United Nations the opportunity to reverse the inconsistencies of international law and justly address Indigenous peoples and our treaties.

Respectfully Submitted,

Kent Lebsack
Owe Aku International Justice Project
iamkent@me.com



Photo by John Willis



INDIA
MOVE

Pledged to fight
to Indians, his op
discrimination an
handling of India
North America is
when trouble im
A.I.M. shall
people r

Give us this
Day Our
Casts
Give us our
Trespass on
Red Man's land
AMERICANS

Photo by John Willis

Interview with Wendell Yellow Bull

By Mia Feroletto

Shortly after the meeting between the board of directors of the Barre Museum Association and Henry Red Cloud and myself and others on April 6th, 2022, I was introduced to Wendell Yellow Bull, a direct descent of Joseph Horn Cloud who survived the Wounded Knee Massacre as a seventeen year old and later went on to build the Wounded Knee Memorial on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Little did Joseph know that he would be creating an iconic image that would go around the world as a constant reminder of the brutality of greed and the coveting of land belonging to the "other."

On the other side of Wendell's family tree, he is a great great grandson of Chief Red Cloud and is the keeper of Chief Red Cloud's pipe or *chanupa*, which was used in the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. This position comes with a great deal of responsibility and includes a position of leadership for his family and community. As the carrier of the pipe, Wendell is required to be the most neutral representative of



Photograph of Grandfather William Horn Cloud and a young Marine, Wendell Yellow Bull

the tiospayes and can give suggestions but must not make decisions on behalf of others.

Wendell has spent the majority of his life on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. He joined the Marines in his teens and following his service in the military he began a decades long career in law enforcement on the reservation. Highly educated, he has been in a leadership position for the majority of his adult life and, for the Oglala Tribe, he has served as master of ceremonies at the meetings of descendants of survivors of the Wounded Knee Massacre at a series of meetings starting in late April of this year. The role requires a calm demeanor and a cool head as tribal members from other reservations vie for the position of control, especially now with the return of the Wounded Knee artifacts finally coming home from Barre, Massachusetts.

Back in October of 2021, I experienced for the first time the type of gossip and innuendo that surrounds Chief Red Cloud to this day. At that time, I was told by a leader in the community that on the night before the Wounded Knee massacre, someone had come to wake Chief Red Cloud to tell him that drunken soldiers had been overhead saying that there were plans to attack Chief Spotted Elk's encampment on the Wounded Knee Creek the following morning and that rather than get up out of bed to do something



Grandparents of Wendell Yellow Bull, William and Nancy Horn Cloud



President Clinton holds aloft the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty pipe after Chief Red Cloud handed it to him in a ceremony at Pine Ridge High School on Wednesday. Looking on are Sen. Tom Daschle, D-S.D., Sen. Tim Johnson, D-S.D., right, and Rep. John Thune, R-S.D.

Millie Horn Cloud, then Keeper of the Pipe of Chief Red Cloud, and President Bill Clinton holding up Red Cloud's pipe. Clipping from the New York Times.

to stop the carnage, Red Cloud had rolled over in bed and gone back to sleep. Other details had been shared by this prominent person but it took six months or more for me to research the information I was told and learn that it was all untrue.

The military did not like Chief Red Cloud. One of his greatest attributes was his ability to bring people together to make decisions collectively. The US Government has contributed greatly to the false narrative surrounding the Lakota leader to this day.

This is the type of story that Wendell and the other descendants of Chief Red Cloud deal with on a regular basis. The Lakota are a nation made up of seven branches of the tribe and need to work together to harness the strength and capabilities that exist within their extended family.

After the battle of Little Big Horn and the death of General George Armstrong Custer, America could not weather another defeat of that magnitude. Yellow journalism and false claims against Indigenous People were rampant in the press

all across the country. False news began approximately 200 years ago when fear and hatred were instilled into the minds of settlers as an entire continent was stolen from its original inhabitants.

In the aftermath of the Wounded Knee Massacre, the descendants of survivors were very secretive and kept their stories to themselves, only sharing them orally within family groups. Some of the original stories have faded away with the passing of individual members with no one to pass them down to.

Most of the survivors of the massacre were young children. Joseph Horn Cloud was a seventeen-year-old young man who could accurately record events on that day. He and his brother Dewey Beard are two of the best sources of information available to us today. Joseph could read and write both Lakota and English. He was employed at the Red Cloud Jesuit School in Pine Ridge for most of his life. His own account of the massacre was not handwritten but typed on a typewriter.

As Wendell Yellow Bull says, “It’s okay for an Oglala to drive a car. It’s okay for an Oglala to use a computer. It’s okay for an Oglala to write in English. As long as you remember who you are.”

Substance abuse is a major concern of Wendell’s who brought the DARE Program to the young on Pine Ridge in an effort to lead young people away from the problems of addiction. He wanted Lakota youth to hear directly from junior high school students just coming in line with who they are as individuals. “I saw some of them fulfill their goals and some of them didn’t make it. I was saddened by that. Every now and then I meet one that I taught and it makes me happy.”

The Meth problem could have been dealt with in the early years of its appearance on Pine Ridge. Wendell attended drug school and was one of ten people enforcing substance abuse controls on the reservation. The team was forced out by powerful individuals in positions of authority within the tribe addicted to heroin, crack, crystal meth and other illegal drugs. These people are identifiable and have European lineage mixed in with their Lakota blood.

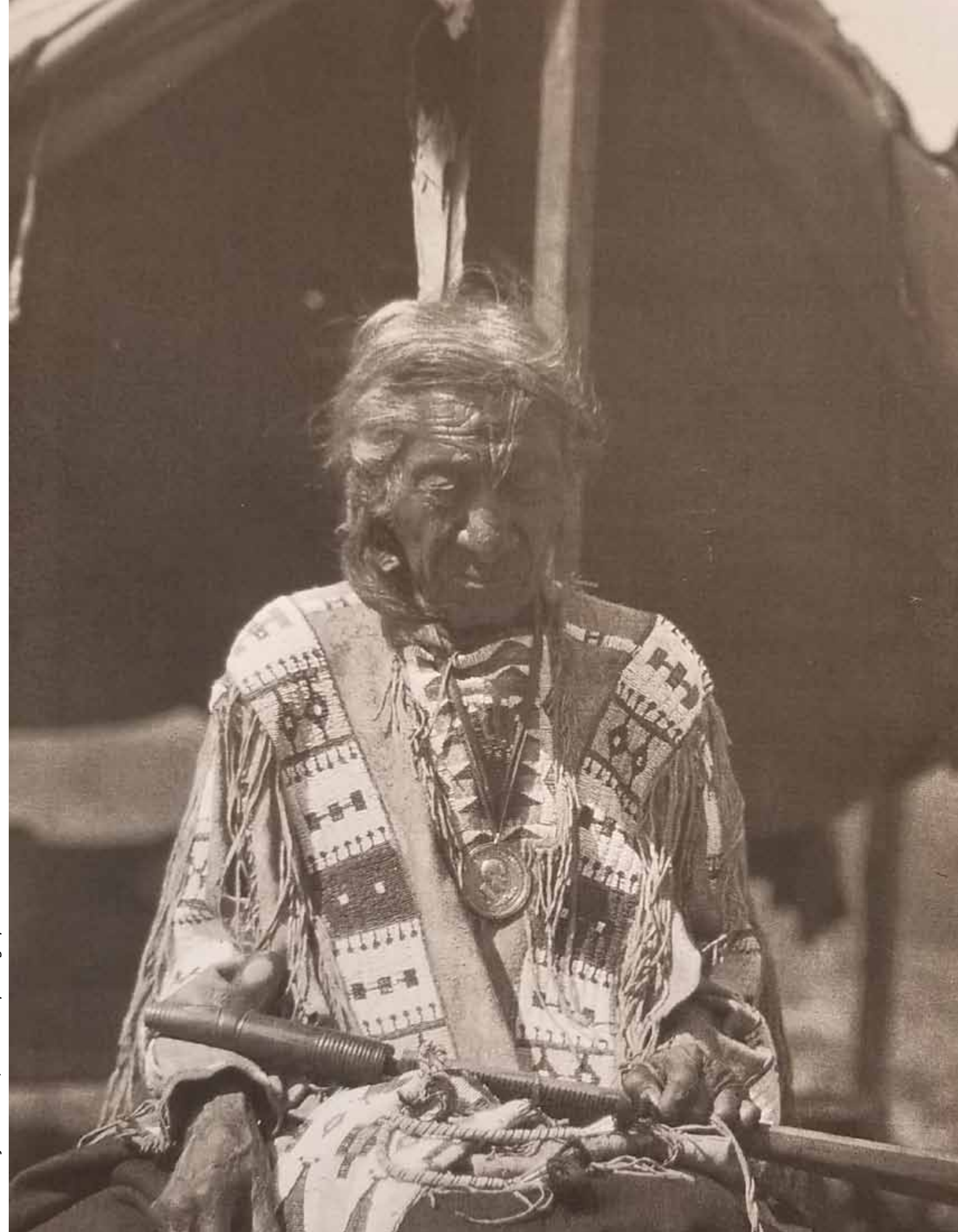
Wendell served as Executive Director of the Oglala Sioux Tribe where he supervised 800 employees in 56 programs under his leadership. He helped found the Sobriety Rides, which began as an offshoot of the Chief Big Foot Memorial Ride but focuses attention on the important of remaining substance free in life on the reservation. Drugs and alcohol may provide momentary relief from the trauma and poverty that are characteristic of daily life on Pine Ridge but they compound existing problems exponentially as people work to build a better life for themselves and their children.

The people living in the town of Wounded Knee have a monetary advantage for being there due to the number of tourists who visit the memorial site each year which in some small way balances out the trauma for residents there and in the neighboring town of Manderson for living so close to the site of the massacre. 1973 left a bad taste for the residents, however, from those who came with the American Indian Movement and AIM. Most of those were assimilated and not from Pine Ridge. They were from large cities and not considered to be the “dusty” Indians. AIM divided the community with their ten-point platform and ultimately, the change they thought they could make for Pine Ridge evaporated when the reservation simply went back to the way it was. This was the reign of Dick Wilson as tribal leader with violence and nepotism running rampant on the reservation. Those working in tandem with Wilson lived in nice homes while others barely squeaked by. The funds that came in from HUD and other programs were channeled to Wilson’s supporters while everyone else suffered in fear. People knew there was an unequal distribution process on Pine Ridge but people were afraid to take action. Individuals who have the most material wealth today are the people who live within the distribution process.

Wendell Yellow Bull says, “(If you) only stay on the road, you will see one view of the reservation but if you take the nickel tour, you will see how people are struggling.”

Wendell is one of the leaders of the Oglala Sioux Tribe committed to the restoration of the autonomy and greatness of the Lakota people. He is always open to a constructive idea and moving forward in a positive direction. People come and go on Pine Ridge like clockwork, but for those who endure, the sense of oneness and community beckons like the pounding of a drum. There is no escape for those who hear the beat.

Chief Red Cloud, unknown photographer.



Welcome to Barre, Massachusetts

By Mia Feroletto

Looking back over the past year of my life, I cannot help but wonder how I was able to stay the course when being challenged from so many different directions all at the same time. There is an obvious answer to that question and it is this: SPIRIT

It was in 2018 that I was first told about the artifacts stolen from the massacred bodies of Lakota men, women, and children at the Wounded Knee gravesite, by a woman from Vermont who had spent a fair amount of time on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. At that time, she asked me to look into the Barre Museum Association and their unusual practices regarding their collection. Their schedule was bizarre. They were only open to the public three days per year for a few hours each day. This collection was housed in a long, dark room without temperature controls or adequate lighting making it necessary to use a flashlight to view the objects. In some cases, artifacts were piled on top of one another. The temperature in the room would regularly reach 100 degrees Fahrenheit in summer, which could have destroyed the sacred objects over time. It is a tribute to the Lakota spirit that these magnificent items maintain their deep colors and pristine condition.

I began telephoning the Woods Memorial Library in September/October 2021, requesting a time to drive over to see the collection and meet with members of the board of directors of the Barre Museum Association. I was planning to publish an issue of New Observations Magazine on the Wounded Knee Massacre and the artifacts. After being put off several times, by January of 2022 it seemed clear to me that I was being given the “run around.” One person would direct me to another person and on and on. After a few of these “referrals” I emailed the board member I had been dealing with that unless I was granted an appointment I would begin my letter writing campaign. The next day I was given permission to drive over to see the collection.

Needless to say, my first visit was a contentious one. Clearly I was viewed as a hostile invader threatening to disrupt the peace and quiet of the small New England town of Barre, Massachusetts. I was given many reasons why this process would be long and drawn out and assured that this was something that they wanted to do at some point but that there were still holdouts on their board who did not want to see these artifacts and remains returned to the Lakota people.

For decades, representatives of the Oglala Sioux Tribe had made the pilgrimage to Barre to request the return of the collection but were turned away each time. In 1993, The New York Times published a piece which accurately depicted the lack of awareness of the people of the Woods Memorial Library regarding the treasures that they held in their

possession and the sheer whimsy of their position, while on the other hand, to the Lakota people these items were sacred. Read the NY Times article here: <https://www.nytimes.com/1993/02/19/us/museum-set-to-lose-indian-treasure.html>.

My first viewing of the collection and meeting with three members of the board of directors of the Barre Museum Association took place on February 24th, 2022. It was the same day that war broke out in the Ukraine. Shortly thereafter, the world saw images of mass graves in the Ukraine that echoed those at Wounded Knee more than 130 years earlier.

My message to the board of the Barre Museum Association was direct and clear: they had the choice to inspire other individuals and institutions to do the right thing and return what did not belong to them or they could become the next generation of perpetrators. I made the promise then and there that I would not stop until these sacred artifacts and remains were returned.

Back in Vermont I began drafting an outline for the return of the collection. “A Call To Action Loud and Clear” which follows this introduction and was emailed out to anyone I thought might be interested, and I began to organize the press and put together a Town Hall Meeting in Barre following a proposed meeting for Chief Henry Red Cloud and the board of the Barre Museum Association on April 6th, 2022.

The board members of the Barre Museum Association were non-committal as to whether or not they were willing to meet with Henry Red Cloud and myself in early April but they changed their minds when articles began to appear in the press at a steady pace.

The morning of April 6th, 2022 was cold and damp. As I drove into the parking lot of the Woods Memorial Library I was met by library president and Barre Museum Association board member Maureen Marshall who told me that the board had met the night before and had voted unanimously to return the collection to the Lakota tribes. It seemed clear to me at the time that there was concern over who might come to Barre, Massachusetts that day and how the press would portray them in their coverage. In fact, the Town Hall in Barre was packed that afternoon for our press conference and many journalists committed to covering the story.

Perhaps the most damaging was produced by Abby Martin, formerly of RT’s show Breaking the Set and now of The Empire Files. Several years back, Abby had spent time on Pine Ridge and produced two programs on life on the reservation. Her RT program was censored by YouTube but her report on the repatriation of the Wounded Knee artifacts can be found here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5KODQMVjL2I>.

Several members of the board of the Barre Museum Association took it upon themselves to try to exclude and eliminate my participation in the repatriation process. Fortunately, the Oglala Sioux Tribe President Kevin Killer and Henry Red Cloud supported my involvement and I was named as authorized representative of the Oglala Sioux Tribe from February of 2022 through the repatriation process. Tensions remained high, however, until late summer/early fall when it became clear that I was not going anywhere. Today I consider Maureen Marshall to be a good friend. Together, we were able to move this effort forward, especially with the help of NAGPRA consultant and museum director Aaron Fitzgerald Miller.

The Barre Museum Association should be commended for their actions and ultimately for the return of the artifacts. However, they refused to take action for decades and continued to hold the Wounded Knee artifacts in their possession hostage. Their sense of entitlement needs to be examined because it represents a sickness far worse than the COVID virus yet runs rampant around the globe in a similar manner to COVID. That is elitism and entitlement and the hidden yet intrinsic belief that their rights are more “right” than the rights of others. And when I write “other,” I am referring to people of color. Early on, a respected Lakota Elder referred to the artifacts as “trophies” and stated that the Barre board members did not want to release what they considered to be their property. We have not taken a look at the monetary value of such a collection but the fact that having it in the town of Barre, Massachusetts bestowed on the town a certain standard of notoriety is indisputable. At what cost to others does a person or group of people have the right to squeeze the life out of the memories of those whose lives have already been taken?

SPIRIT chose me to participate in this effort. My involvement in the industrial hemp movement introduced me to hemp hero Alex White Plume back in 2016. Alex and Henry Red Cloud are the people who brought me to Pine Ridge in July of 2018. Their friendship and activism inspired me to step up to the call I heard to bring the artifacts home. I devoted 2022 to making that happen. There were days when my room was so packed with those who had passed on, it felt as though I could barely walk around. If you are not wired in that manner, I may sound crazy but suffice it to say that I was guided every step of this journey by those who have gone ahead.

I would like to acknowledge a few family members here who played a significant role in my interest and involvement in Native American life and culture. My mother’s parents were divorced when she was very small. Her father was a member of a Boston blue blood family while her mother was educated Irish Catholic. My grandmother was a public school teacher. Her name was Alice and I owe my middle name to her – Allison. Her first husband was given the choice of keeping his family wealth or keeping my mother and grandmother. He chose the money. Alice’s second

husband was Native American from an Eastern Tribe from Maine and Canada, most likely Abenaki. His name was Albert Portwine. His face was extraordinary and I can still see it in my mind’s eye today, even though I have no photos of him in my possession. Each summer, they would spend my grandmother’s time off from teaching at his cabin in Maine, which was on a lake and had no running water. The idea that in the 1950s my grandmother, a decidedly urban woman who loved fashion, went back to nature for three months at a time is extraordinary—at least to me. I can see my early influences and owe them both a debt of gratitude.

I leave for South Dakota in the Spring and am considering making it my permanent residence. Several months ago when I told Justin Pourier, the 5th Member of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, my plan he said, “Barre will be finished. It’s time for you to come home.”

I do not blame the board members of the Barre Museum Association for their desire to hold onto the collection and their ambivalence in returning it. Ultimately, they chose to do the right thing. Their earlier actions are reflected back at us from all over the world as institutions prosper from charging what are now outrageous entrance fees to visit museums and view objects that were stolen in one form or another from others who were fought out at the time of their conquest. Gross materialism needs to be examined closely. As do the natural resources from around the globe that have been stolen by the elite rather than allowing them to be developed for the benefit of the people who populated the land before it, too, was stolen.

The Lakota understood what is important. They utilized every part of the buffalo in their daily lives. Nothing went to waste. Climate change and our gross consumerism is showing us we cannot keep up with the trash that is being generated worldwide and be able to keep the planet healthy. We need to live with less. Indigenous People know this. What has been taken needs to be returned.

As what happened in Barre inspires others to take action, please understand that the invisible realm is being influenced as well. The release of the belonging of these souls that have been trapped in cases made of glass and wood is helping to balance the spirit of the Lakota Nation. Everyone on the planet will benefit from that gift to the world. The reverberations through time and space of these souls finding peace and completing their final journey cannot be measured.

The Annual Chief Big Foot Memorial Ride will end this year. Started by Alex and Percy White Plume more than 35 years ago as a prayer for the people who died at Wounded Knee, its purpose has been accomplished. This year, the riders will return to Pine Ridge and meet up with a horse drawn wagon to accompany the Wounded Knee artifacts and remains to the mass gravesite for two days of ceremony.

Thank you SPIRIT!

Wopila!

***Moccasins on the Ground* from the collection of the Wounded Knee
Artifacts returned by the Barre Museum Association.**

Photos by John Willis

Number: FM 13
Title: Moccasins
Maker culture: Lakota
Date: ca. 1890
Materials: Leather and glass beads
Credit Line: Frank Root Collection
Description: Child's moccasins
Dimensions: 6.5 in.



Number: FM 23
Title: Moccasins
Maker culture: Eastern Sioux
Date: ca. 1890
Materials: Leather and porcupine quills
Credit Line: Frank Root Collection
Description:
Dimensions: 10 in.



Number: FM 36
Title: Moccasins
Maker culture: Lakota
Date: ca. 1890
Materials: Leather and glass beads
Credit Line: Frank Root Collection
Description:
Dimensions: 9.5 in.



Number: FM 38
Title: Moccasins
Maker culture: Lakota
Date: ca. 1890
Materials: Leather and glass beads
Credit Line: Frank Root Collection
Description:
Dimensions: 10 in.



Number: FM 39

Title: Moccasins

Maker culture: Lakota

Date: 1875-1900

Materials: Leather and glass beads

Credit Line: Frank Root Collection

Description:

Dimensions: 10.25 in.



This is a call to action loud and clear.

On February 24th, 2022, I had the opportunity to view the collection of artifacts and remains taken from the dead at the Wounded Knee Massacre in 1890 and held at the Barre Museum Association for well over 100 years. Apparently the diggers of the mass grave at Wounded Knee dug a separate hole to hide their loot and retrieved it once the area had calmed down post-massacre.

As the publisher and editor of *New Observations Magazine*, I have covered the Pine Ridge Reservation in depth and divide my time between Vermont and South Dakota for the past four years. We have written extensively on Lakota history and current challenges in the pages of our magazine. Our next issue is planned for May 2022 and will focus entirely on the Wounded Knee Massacre. It will include the Barre Museum Association and its history with the people of Pine Ridge as a primary topic of interest.

My activities on Pine Ridge include such things as assisting Henry Red Cloud to raise the last of the funds needed to convert Kili Radio Station to solar power and for former President and Vice President of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, Alex White Plume, to be paid \$90,000 by Evo Hemp. The company had taken advantage of Alex and avoided paying him for his hemp crop for more than two years. This represented an extreme hardship on Pine Ridge. I have served on the Board of Directors of the non-profit foundation set up by Chief Arvol and Paula Looking Horse to build an Indigenous school in South Dakota. Chief Arvol is the 19th Generation Holder of the Sacred White Buffalo Calf Woman Pipe.

The *New York Times* covered the story of the Barre Museum Association collection as early as 1993, six years before the return of Chief Big Foot's hair to the tribe in 1999. We have entered into a new time and place in terms of Indigenous Rights. It is no longer legal, moral or ethical for the Barre Museum Association to hold on to this collection. It must be returned to the Lakota, Nakota, and Dakota people. Virtually nothing has changed since the *Times* article came out almost thirty years ago and it is time for that to change. In addition, the Museum Association in no way functions as a museum. They open their doors three days a year for a few hours each day. Their collection consists of these Native American treasures, one case of minerals and one case of taxidermy. The room in which the collection is housed is long, narrow and dark. It mirrors the dimensions of the mass grave at Wounded Knee. Having spent my adult life in the art world, it is evident that the Museum Association holds these objects as if they were private holdings. They make no effort to inform and educate the public.

Chief Henry Red Cloud will travel east to visit Barre and this collection on April 6th, 2022. To date, Barre Museum Association Board Chair Ann Meilus has declined to meet with Henry at that time. As I had been given the run around for months in an attempt to see the collection, in my opinion it is clear that obfuscation and avoidant behavior are

happening in regards to Henry's visit. Henry is the great-great-grandson of Chief Red Cloud, perhaps the greatest statesman of the Lakota Nation. Henry has been honored by MIT and received an Honorary Doctorate from Washington University. He is recognized as a leader of his tribe and a force in the fight to preserve our planet in a sustainable way. We are contacting the local tribes in the Barre area to welcome Henry to the territory, a traditional practice. We plan a press conference immediately following Henry's visit to the collection and have already received confirmations from news outlets to cover this story. Henry was instrumental in the return of Chief Red Cloud's feather bonnet to the tribe approximately a year and a half ago and he has been asked to serve as a spokesman for return of tribal sacred objects and antiquities to their rightful owners. We will be informing Secretary of the Interior Deb Haaland of Henry's visit to Barre as well as Governor Charlie Baker.

We are reaching out to the over 300 tribes who came to Standing Rock to protest the DAPL Pipeline in 2016. We are asking them to support our efforts and to reclaim any and all sacred objects that are in public and private collections where they are held in non-Native American hands and do not belong. Make no mistake: this is a call to action loud and clear. We will be sharing the story of the Wounded Knee collection throughout social media and the mainstream press.

We propose the creation of a photographic history of the collection and assembling a permanent photographic installation with didactic materials to support the individual pieces to be displayed at the Barre Museum Association. In addition a series of lectures given by Lakota people from Pine Ridge on various topics of interest including bead work and current day life on the reservation could be organized for the benefit of the community. A celebration honoring the return of this collection to South Dakota would be organized, focusing on the positive value of this act of reparations and forgiveness which could set the example for our country as a means of returning treasures to their rightful owners. A traditional Lakota feast would be hosted for the town of Barre as a means of expressing gratitude for the return of this collection.

In addition, ley line expert Peter Champoux has suggested following the ley line from Barre, Massachusetts back to the site of the Wounded Knee Massacre, holding celebrations at all reservations and sacred sites along the way. The return of this powerful collection represents a gift to all Indigenous People around the world.

We are asking the Barre Museum Association to shine and be the heroes in this particular story, which has gone on for far too long. Institutions such as the Smithsonian Museum and Harvard have done the right thing. Now is the time for others to follow their lead.

For further information, please contact Mia Feroletto at mia.feroletto@gmail.com.

March 2, 2022

Lucy Allen
Historian/Board of Directors
Barre Museum Association
19 Pleasant Street
Barre, MA 01005

Dear Lucy,

It was a pleasure meeting with you, Liz and Doug and having the opportunity to view the collection of artifacts and remains from Wounded Knee.

As we discussed, I am the publisher and editor of New Observations Magazine, which has been in print for almost 40 years. Because of my involvement with the Lakota tribe and the Pine Ridge Reservation, we have covered extensively their history and current challenges in the pages of our magazine. Our next issue is planned for the end of May 2022. It will focus entirely on the Wounded Knee Massacre and include the Barre Museum Association and its history with the people of Pine Ridge within our pages. Our newest issue on Dr. Rudolf Steiner has been shared with over 300,000 people worldwide and my own most recent article "The Old Ones Lead the Way" has been shared by two publications with their combined list of subscribers to total approximately 15 million readers.

My activities on Pine Ridge include such things as assisting Henry Red Cloud to raise the last of the funds needed to convert Kili Radio Station to solar power and for former President and Vice President of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, Alex White Plume, to be paid \$90,000 by Evo Hemp who had taken advantage of Alex and avoided paying him for his hemp crop for more than two years which represented an extreme hardship on Pine Ridge. I have served on the Board of Directors of the non-profit foundation set up by Chief Arvol and Paula Looking Horse to build an Indigenous school in South Dakota. Chief Arvol is the 19th Generation Holder of the Sacred White Buffalo Calf Woman Pipe.

The New York Times covered this story as early as 1993, six years before the return of Chief Big Foot's hair to the tribe in 1999. We have entered into a new time and place in terms of Indigenous Rights. It is no longer legal, moral or ethical for the Barre Museum Association to hold on to this collection. It must be returned to the Lakota, Nakota and Dakota people. Virtually nothing has changed since the Times article came out almost thirty years ago and it is time for that to change.

As written yesterday, I have arranged for Chief Henry Red Cloud to travel East to meet with your Board of Directors, hopefully on April 6th, 2022. We are waiting to hear back from you to confirm travel plans for Henry. He is the great-great-grandson of Chief Red Cloud, perhaps the greatest statesman of the Lakota Nation. Henry has been honored by MIT and received an Honorary Doctorate from Washington University. He is recognized as a leader of his tribe and towering force in the fight to preserve our planet in a sustainable way. We are contacting the local tribes in the Barre area to welcome Henry to the territory, a traditional practice. We are also planning to send out a press release to the extensive media contacts who have covered Henry's life and work. Henry was instrumental in the return of Chief Red Cloud's feather bonnet to the tribe approximately a year and a half ago and he has been asked to serve as a spokesman for return of tribal sacred objects and antiquities to their rightful owners. We will be informing Secretary of the Interior Deb Haaland of Henry's visit to Barre as well as Governor Charlie Baker.

As we discussed, my background is in large-scale special events. I am the originator of ARTWALK NY and other ground-breaking events in New York City. I was the office manager of the Treasury Department at Sotheby's and have organized many benefit auctions at the auction houses Sotheby's and Christie's over the years. My entire adult life has been spent in the mainstream art world and I now divide my time between Vermont and South Dakota.

My proposal is to create a photographic history of the collection and assemble a permanent photographic installation with didactic materials to support the individual pieces to be displayed at the Museum Association. In addition, I would like to work with your board to organize a series of lectures given by Lakota people from Pine Ridge on

various topics of interest including bead work and current day life on the reservation. A celebration honoring the return of this collection to South Dakota would be organized, focusing on the positive value of this act of reparations and forgiveness which could set the example for our country as a means of returning treasures to their rightful owners. A traditional Lakota feast would be hosted for the town as a means of expressing gratitude for the return of this collection.

Photographer John Willis has been working to arrange to photograph this collection for quite some time. We would like permission to do this at the end of March so that the Tribal Historic Preservation Office and the Barre Museum Association have a complete set of images of what exists within the collection. New Observations Magazine would like to include 10 to 15 of these images in our issue on Wounded Knee. Local colleges, universities and conservation programs will be invited to help photograph, catalogue and, ultimately, prepare the collection for return to South Dakota.

We are asking the Barre Museum Association to shine and be the heroes in this particular story, which has gone on for far too long. I hope my words will be welcomed in the spirit in which they are intended. They are direct and they come from my heart. We face conflict all over the world today. This is an opportunity for us to resolve one particular conflict at home. I will give any and all of my creativity to facilitate this happening for the benefit of all.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards, Mia Feroletto
Publisher
New Observations Magazine
PO Box 335
Chester, VT 05143



Red Cloud Renewable

P.O. Box 1609

Pine Ridge, SD 57770

605-441-1140



Oglala Sioux Tribe

P.O. Box 2070, Pine Ridge, S.D. 57770
Direct: 605-867-8487 - Cell Phone: 605-407-1231
Fax: 605-867-6076
E-mail: kevink@oglala.org



Office of the President
Kevin Killer

Date: July 15, 2022
To: Ms. Maureen Marshall, and
Board of Directors - Barre Museum Association
19 Pleasant St
Barre, MA 01005
From: Henry Red Cloud – Executive Director
Red Cloud Renewable
1001 Solar Warrior Rd.
Pine Ridge, SD 57770
Re: repatriation

Ms. Marshall and Board of Directors of Barre Museum Association:

Greetings from the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. I reach out to you today not only as a Chief of the Oglala Lakota but as a direct lineal descendant of the great Oglala war leader, Red Cloud. Thanks in large part to Mia Feroletto's diligence and passion in moving this repatriation forward, I have been in the presence of these sacred artifacts of my ancestors that are regrettably stuffed in a small room in your library. My heart is heavy that your words have not matched your actions. The words shared at that time were carried with me as a messenger for the Oglala Sioux Tribe. Finally, I was led to believe, that the restless spirits in that room were coming home.

It appears the mistrust and deceit between the Oglala Lakota and the pale skins still exists. I know of no other way of interpreting this about-face. I took your word that day as a promise to demonstrate the clash of cultures and ethnocentrism of our country's ill-conceived Indian policy has been replaced with respect for cultural differences and a willingness to find common ground and embrace a healing path forward. Instead, promises were broken just like they have been. What purpose does it serve your board to have the spirits of my ancestors in a box, causing their restless wandering far away from their relatives? There are no answers that can ever make sense.

The Administration of Kevin Killer – Oglala Sioux Tribe President, and the Red Cloud family have unwavering confidence in Mia Feroletto to continue to represent our interests in this repatriation process. Logistically, she is much closer than any dignitary from the Tribe, and is imbued with a similar passion to see these artifacts returned to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation where appropriate ceremonies can be conducted to honor the lives of our relatives and allow us to take a step towards some form of closure. We could not have come to this crucial crossroads without Mia's efforts. As such, we resolutely ask that your Board of Directors bestow Oglala Lakota Tribal representative status to Mia in current and future communications about this incomplete repatriation process.

Feel free to reach out to me or to the Office of the President of the Oglala Sioux Tribe with any questions or concerns. I believe you are capable of changing this narrative honorably.
Mitakuye Oyasin ("We Are All Related"),

Chief Henry Red Cloud
Direct Lineal Descendant of Oglala War Leader Red Cloud

Dear Maureen Marshall and the Board of Directors of the Barre Museum Association:

This letter is to inform you that Mia Feroletto is now and has been serving since February, 2022, as an authorized representative of the Oglala Sioux Tribe in dealing with the Barre Museum Association. Mia represents the best interests of the Tribe in the repatriation process and the return of the artifacts and remains that you continue to hold in your possession. Her knowledge and commitment to the Lakota people as well as her decades of experience in the New York City art world, provide her with the strongest possible foundation needed in this matter. No individual has done more than Mia to facilitate their return.

The Oglala Sioux Tribe has complete faith and trust in Mia Feroletto and her abilities and know she will bring her talents to bear on any challenges that may arise in a professional manner.

Please let me know if you have any questions or concerns. I can be reached at 605-867-8420.

Thank you for your assistance in this matter,

Kevin Killer

Return: Museums and Native Belongings

By Aaron F. Miller, PhD

Repatriation Consultant for the Barre Founders Museum

Associate Curator of Visual and Material Culture & Head of Cultural Repatriation, Mount Holyoke College Art Museum

Something really significant just happened in Barre, Massachusetts. On the 5th of October a repatriation of objects took place that is indicative of a shift in how museums and their staff are rethinking Native American collections. On that day, approximately 150 cultural objects were finally returned to the Lakota and Sioux People after a decades-long campaign by community members and advocates. Included in this group of returned items were sacred objects and belongings known to have been taken from the dead following the 1890 massacre at Wounded Knee in Pine Ridge, South Dakota. This voluntary return by a private museum has important implications for the future of sacred objects going

home to Native communities.

Barre, Massachusetts is a picturesque little town in central Massachusetts. The downtown looks like a postcard advertising New England charm with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century homes surrounding a verdant common. At the center of the community is the brick edifice of the 1887 Woods Memorial Library, which from the start housed a small ethnographic and natural history museum intended to educate and amaze the local public. The Museum was created by the original library charter and was later given the name of Founders Museum in the twenty first century. The wood and glass cases were originally filled with mineral



specimens, items associated with the history of Barre, and objects from Native communities, including dozens of intricately beaded and decorated clothing items. While there were numerous local donors to the Museum, the majority of the Native objects came from one individual—Frank P. Root (ca. 1850–1934). Not much is known about Root. He spent his childhood in Barre, was an itinerant salesman, and later curated a traveling exhibition that featured objects and photographs related to Native American communities and the American West. In 1892 he lent, and later donated, his collection to the Founders Museum. Much of Root's collection was purportedly purchased from "Nealy" Williams, a person contracted with the United States government in 1890 to move soldiers and the deceased to and from the battlefield at Wounded Knee.

It may seem surprising that objects like this would find their way to a quiet little museum in New England, but this story is far from uncommon. The problematic history of collecting and exhibiting culturally sensitive Native American belongings is as old as the foundations of this country. The United States is dotted with museums, historical societies, and roadside attractions containing the material history of Indigenous Americans. This disturbingly widespread truth speaks to the challenge facing Native communities when attempting to relocate and reclaim their lost and stolen material culture. With little more than a century separating today from the events at Wounded

Knee, this history is still very present for the impacted communities. The goal to bring the appropriated objects home has been decades in the making. The challenge facing both the Museum's volunteer staff and the Sioux People was how to create a path of return.

When the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was passed in 1990, all institutions that benefited from federal funding and included collections representing federally recognized Native American, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian communities were given a mandate. This directive required consultation with those represented groups and created a pathway for the repatriation of ancestral remains, grave goods, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony. Museums like Barre, however, who have never taken federal funding, are not bound by the Act or eligible to officially take part in the process. While there is clarity regarding how an applicable museum must comply with NAGPRA, that is not the case for private museums or collections. The answer for the Founders Museum was to map out a plan for consultation and repatriation carried out in the spirit of the Act and its protocols. This path resulted in the repatriation in October of 2022 and will continue as other affiliated communities learn more about the collection and its contents. As more private institutions





voluntarily return objects outside the structure of NAGPRA, the path home for cultural heritage should become clearer and easier to implement.

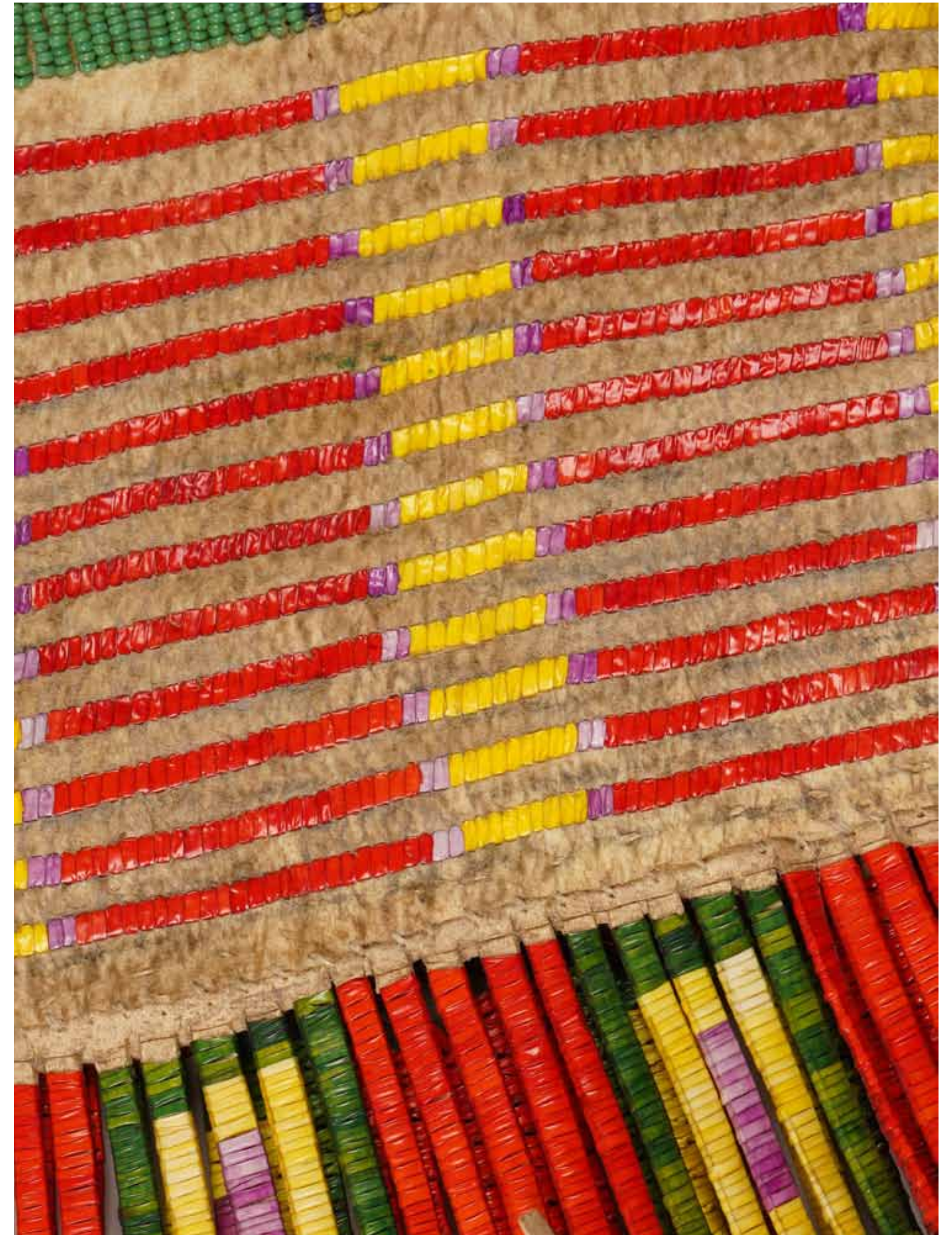
Museums have had the tendency to take on a paternal tone with Indigenous communities, thinking of the institution as a cultural storehouse for the good of all humanity. This viewpoint is intertwined with the problematic structural racism of which museums are a part. A museum might often consider certain objects to be outside the bounds of NAGPRA sensitivity or to have been acquired 'legitimately' at some point in the distant past. Though this may sometimes be the case, there are few ways in which objects cleanly left their source community. Belongings were stolen, sold under duress, or excavated without consideration or consultation with present-day descendants. Again and again the message today is that Native communities are ready for their cultural materials to come home. There is a stark imbalance between the holdings of tribal museums and public and private institutions. In most cases, historical objects from Indigenous communities have been locked away in external collections while forcing tribal museums and cultural institutions to focus primarily on contemporary artworks and objects made by community members. This imbalance needs to be rectified. Tribes are actively creating spaces to display their own histories, they are returning sacred objects to their appropriate places and practice, and they are placing their ancestors and their belongings to rest. With this shift in the tide, museums should treat Native objects housed in their collections as loans.

The future of museums representing Native communities is both contemporary and collaborative. Across the country, non-tribal museums have embarked on initiatives to work

with Native American artists and scholars. It is of course crucial for museums to be representing Native communities through artworks and objects and it's necessary to be representative of voices and histories that have for too long been excluded. This work can be done through contemporary artworks and objects that are not culturally sensitive. And the designation of what is culturally sensitive or not must come from the communities themselves.

Many of us are confronting what we think we know about Indigenous America. Countless American children grew up playfully reenacting warfare between Natives and the US cavalry or settlers. Like the massacre at Wounded Knee, many of these real events occurred merely a few generations before. Most of us were never exposed to the historical context of attempted genocide, seizure of land, and policies of removal that were directly linked to these horrific historical events. Bombarded with problematic pop culture, sports mascots, advertising campaigns, and foreign-made mass-produced dream catchers and rubber tomahawks, our perceptions of Native America are distorted. While recently there has been some meaningful progress, too much remains the same. As individuals, we owe it to ourselves and others to be committed to a process of learning and unlearning. Museums and other public institutions are in a position to positively influence change, but they must confront their own problematic histories of collecting and interpretation.

What happened in Barre is part of something much bigger. There is a culture shift occurring among museums and how they engage with their collections. As museums comply with NAGPRA, enact policies in the spirit of the Act, or just move forward with a vision to do what is right—progress is being made. Almost daily, there is news regarding actions institutions and individuals are taking to send sacred belongings home. There is a long way to go, but we are beginning to see change.



How I found Myself in Barre

By John Willis

For over thirty years I have visited and worked on the Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota, home of the Oglala Lakota. The more I learn, the more I am troubled by injustices imposed on indigenous tribes throughout traditional homelands, a result of colonization which continues to this day around the world.

In Barre, MA, a small New England town, sits the Woods Memorial Library, (established 1885) built on land donated by Mr. Woods in 1887. Tucked away on the 3rd floor sits the Barre Museum Association holdings of local collections. I am grateful to see small-town museums, however; this was more ethically questionable than almost any I have ever witnessed. Their collection of Native American artifacts, stolen from the site of the 1890 Wounded Knee Massacre on Pine Ridge Reservation, was kept from repatriation despite decades of efforts to have them returned.

Over the years, I have taught youth programming at Pine Ridge. This included working with respected Lakota teachers Leonard Little Finger and Glorianna Under Baggage. We collaborated on a project funded by the Open Society Institute, providing equipment and lessons for youth in three schools to help them tell their own stories. Later, I co-led an Exposures Cross-Cultural Youth Arts group, and visited Leonard in his home. Leonard's eyes welled up when he heard that one of the facilitators grew up near Barre, MA. He spoke about the Barre Museum Association's collection and the need for return of artifacts.

After the 1890 massacre a traveling show of the artifacts was created, and fees charged, for spectators to see items from the victims of Wounded Knee. This collection sat in the Barre Museum Association for almost 130 years. Leonard told the story of his direct ancestor being at Wounded Knee as a child. His ancestor's horrific stories haunted Leonard even more deeply when he learned of the stolen and sacred items in Barre, MA. Leonard pleaded with the Association for their return, or, at least, for photographs of them. In 1993 he traveled with Richard Broken Nose and others to see the exhibition and again tried to negotiate repatriation. He did so with conviction that they had to be returned to help release the massacred victims' spirits which were tortured by the horrible massacre.

The Lakota and others have tried to get the artifacts repatriated for decades. The museum, which is seldom open, said its policy prohibited photography, yet they needed an accurate collection catalog. I'd been repeatedly told by board members that they wanted to see the policy changed but felt helpless as the by-laws stated that the policy could only be modified by a unanimous vote of all board members and some board members were unsupportive of returning the items or even cataloging what was in the collection to

share with the tribes.

The ancestral items were locked in a large room (with no proper climate controls or lighting) where they sat in rows of glass cases. Close to 200 sacred items like medicine bags, chanunpas (traditional sacred prayer pipes), a ghost shirt, and more, including human remains, were stored in the cases. The museum was reluctant to return the items, proclaiming they feared the tribes would burn or bury them. The tribes might choose to free the spirits from the massacre through a ceremony, especially any with human remains. Who should decide the correct outcome? The descendants of the survivors and massacre victims should make that determination.

Around the summer of 2017, I arranged to take participants to Barre, MA for an Exposures Cross-Cultural Youth Arts Program (www.exposures-program.org). The group represented 8 states and three tribal nations from diverse backgrounds. The program aimed to inspire genuine appreciation for cultural diversity while studying photography and storytelling. We were able to schedule a special viewing of the collection at the Barre Museum. The Museum Association Board members watched over us as the youth entered the cloistered room to see the exhibition.

As the group looked at the artifacts and sacred ceremonial items, everyone could feel the sadness and tension in the room rise. Darien and Lane Young Man Afraid of His Horses, a Lakota brother and sister from the Pine Ridge Reservation, could not hide their emotions. They found a labeled photograph hanging in the collection of their great-great-grandfather Chief Young Man Afraid of His Horses. After everyone had seen the items, we all went to the next room to hold a circle conversation about the collection's existence, implications, and significance.

The discussion began with a board member proudly attempting to justify their work to preserve history for their small New England town and elsewhere. The room included collections of various items collected locally over the 120 years prior. There were collections of rocks, birds' eggs, taxidermy, and more, in addition to the Lakota and other tribes' items believed to have come from Wounded Knee. After the board member addressed the group with pride, speaking of their dedication to being keepers of history, I suggested letting Lakota youth speak next.

Darien and Lane looked at each other and agreed that Darien would begin. She rose and quietly walked over to the Board member who had started the presentation. Darien offered a gesture to shake hands and proceeded to speak calmly and respectfully. She said she heard a small voice in her ear, that of her mother, reminding her to thank the woman and other board members for taking care of these



Joseph Horn Cloud framed article, photo by John Willis

items for her tribe and relations. When Darien thanked her in a heartfelt way, the air in the room lightened as everyone felt emotional tension dissipate.

Then, a few quiet moments later, with Darien standing straight and tall in front of the sitting board member, she began to speak again, acknowledging she heard a voice in her other ear. This, too, she said, was her mother speaking and wanting to know how the board members would feel if Darien's people went to the graves of their family members, especially if they had been murdered, unarmed, in a massacre, only to dig up and steal items from the deceased. How would their families feel if Lakota people took these stolen items back to their homelands, put them in glass cases in a building they said was a historical museum, and kept them, only opening them up a few hours a year, supposedly to respect history? She asked whether they would feel Lakota people could justify such action and rationalization.

Everyone could feel the pain as she spoke, especially as Darien acknowledged her great-great grandfather's image in the collection and all the other ancestors. Darien asked again, how would you feel? At that moment, Lane tapped on the shoulder of his younger sister and quietly let her know she had made her point and reminded her to let others speak too. The conversation went on. There was no doubt from any Exposures Program participant that Darien had expressed what everyone felt. The items did not belong where they were and were not helping tell any worthwhile historical story by their presence in this locked space.

The tribe had offered in 1993 that traditional artisans could make replicas the museum could exhibit or at least start by photographing the collection. The Museum Association rarely opened the collection to the public or used the items for educational purposes. They had not taken care of them with a proper environment, nor created a catalog with

photographs to help preserve them in the way a historical institution traditionally would function. The Museum Association had flatly rejected all propositions. They stalled on acting upon any of them, repeatedly saying this could only happen if board members voted unanimously, a rationalization continuing over three decades.

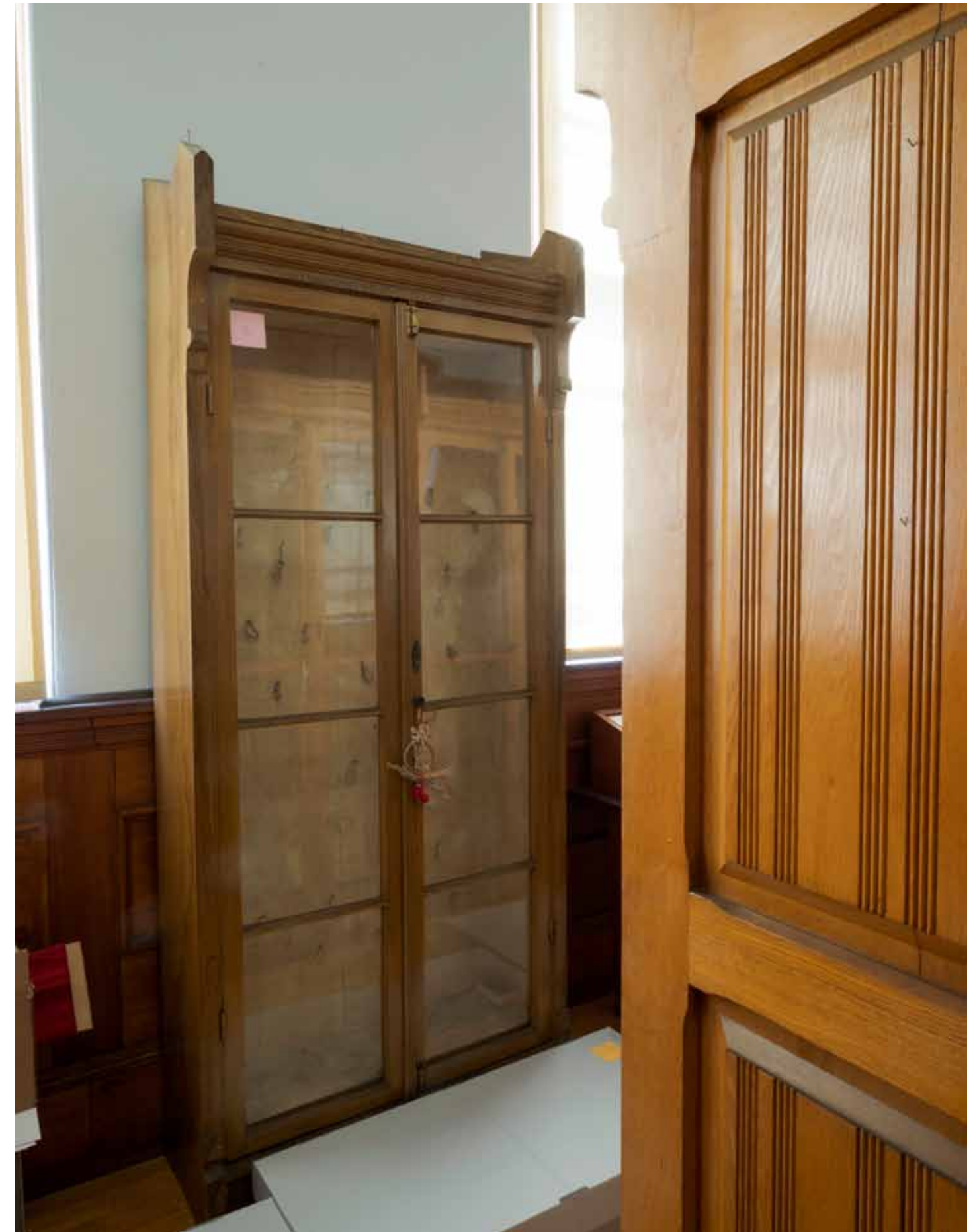
Thankfully, things have shifted in a favorable direction with the Barre Museum Association Board members. With the leadership of Mia Feroletto, and Board member Maureen Marshall, they decided it was time to move forward and do their best to contribute to making historical wrongs be acknowledged and corrected. This past summer, we had the opportunity to honor Leonard Little Finger's request and photograph the collection creating a visual catalog. The work was overseen by Jeffrey Not Help Him and Leola One Feather, Barre Museum Association Board members, and activist Mia Feroletto, acting as official representative of the tribe regarding the repatriation. I also had photographic assistance from Josiah Gill, a recent Rhode Island School of Design graduate. The resulting images were shared with the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe, Oglala Lakota Tribe, and the Survivors of Descendants Associations from both reservations.

Soon after the photography event, the Barre Museum Association Board signed an agreement to return the items. Lakota representatives from the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe, the Oglala Lakota Sioux Tribe, and the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe came to Barre, MA, on November 5, 2022 to accept the return of their relatives' items. There were approximately 400 people present for the return, and they ceremonially acknowledged the event. Barre residents, national and international activists and journalists, and representatives of regional tribes, including the Nipmuc, Wampanoag, and more, were there in support. The mood was one where people acknowledged that past wrongs could not be changed, but it is imperative to do whatever possible to take right action in the present and set things on a better path forward.

The Lakota and others arrived that day, graciously thanking the community and bearing gifts that they gave to the Barre Museum Association Board members and all members of the audience. They ended the saga of their ancestors' item repatriation with a moving Wopila ceremony, giving thanks. That evening the boxes were loaded into a vehicle for the return home to the Dakotas, accompanied by a caravan of Lakota youth as protectors.

Bearing witness to this experience affirms the belief that we can progress to a place where fairness and justice for all are the true definition of the freedom proclaimed by this democracy. What is really of value? There is no excuse for unjust behavior. As Martin Luther King, Jr. said, "It is never too late to do the right thing."

In honor of the Lakota people,
John Willis



Empty cases where artifacts were stored, photo by John Willis



Lane Young Man

While visiting Mount Rushmore, Darien and I went to the gift shop where they had a really small postcard section dedicated to Native Americans. She pointed out two of them and said those were her grandfathers. Someone in the group asked how she felt about seeing pictures of her family being sold, which gave me the idea for this project. I interviewed Lane and Darien, and after choosing what felt more fitting with the themes (family, profit, and appropriation) they wrote their thoughts in a postcard-style design. I overlaid their pictures on the original ones (Sitting Bull and Big Foot) to reinforce the idea of family and reclaiming, not expecting them to look so similar. I'm really thankful they let me work with them on those subjects that mean so much to their community and their family, and for letting me take back home everything special I've learned.

Melissa Castañeda
August, 2017



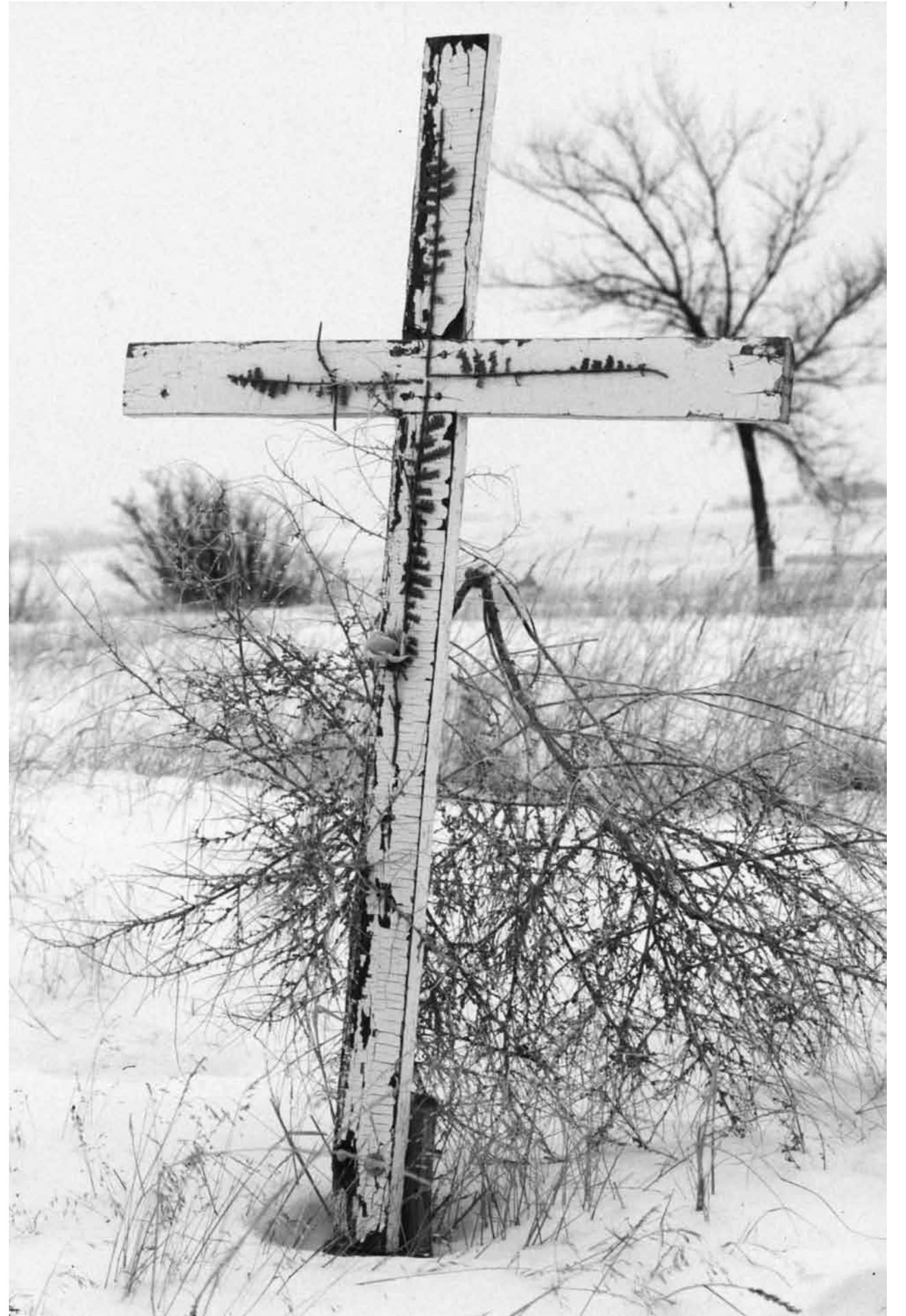
DARIEN YOUNG MAN AFRAID OF HIS HORSES, *Wokicuhnze Gluha Muni*, Oglala Lakota (1996-) Cultural youth ambassador, healer, descendant of Sitting Bull and Big Foot. A protector of the culture and history to regain the lost culture and ways for the people to prosper for the future. Original photograph by Alexander Gardner, c. 1872



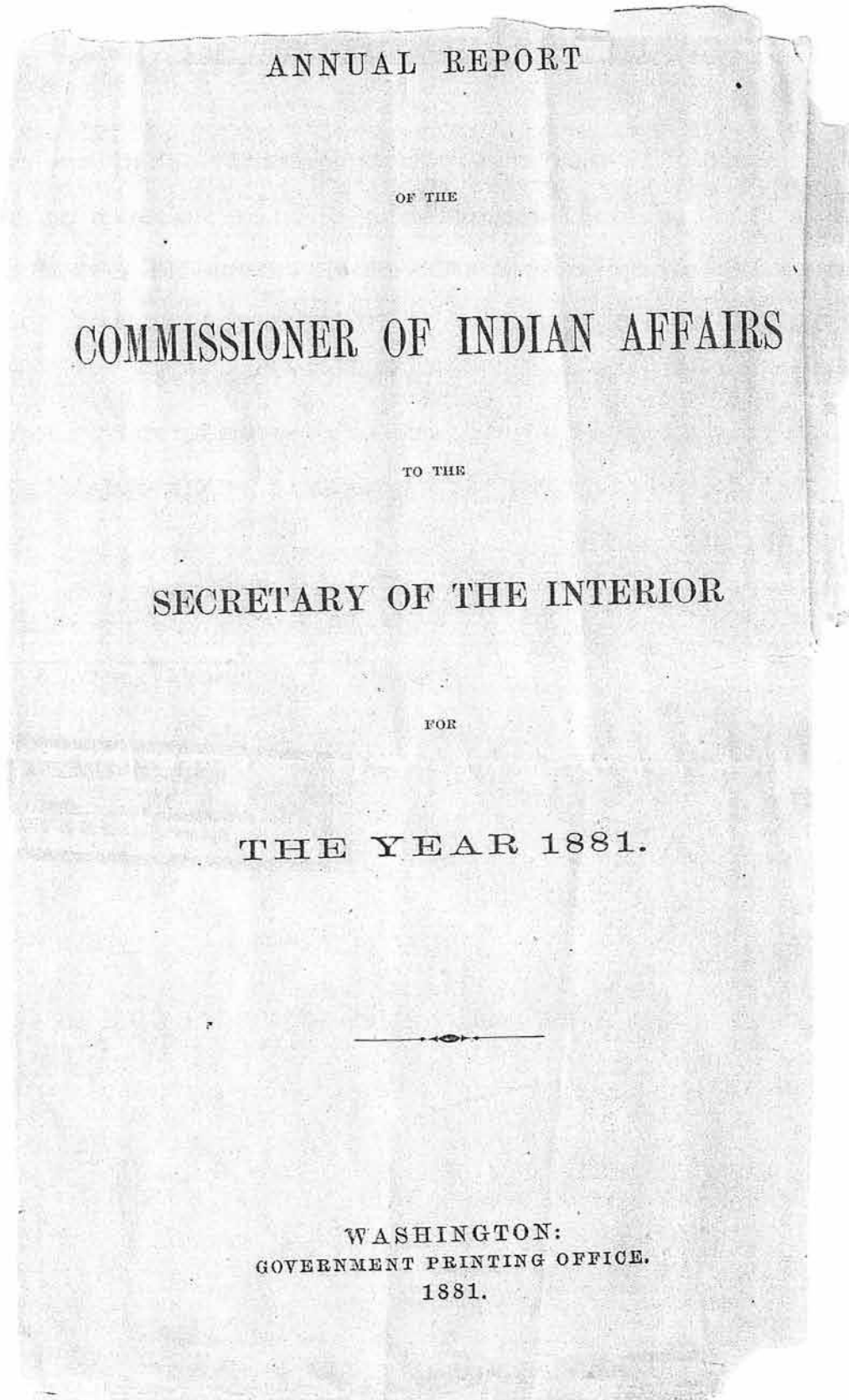
Chief Big Foot was my grandfather and he was murdered at the Wounded Knee Massacre. To this day they still post pictures of him everywhere, they talk about how he was captured when in reality they had a white flag and white people harassed them anyways. When people look at the pictures they don't realize that they still have descendants. They have families that aren't happy their pictures are being sold. Imagine me going into someone's house taking their grandfather's picture and saying I'm going to sell this and not give any of the profit to the family it's mine now. None of the money made from postcards, pictures or native stuff goes to Native Americans it goes to white people. It would be cool if it went to reservations that lost its culture and is the poorest place in the U.S.



Wounded Knee in Winter, photograph by Keri Pickett.



Cross, photograph by Keri Pickett.



Historically, each of the agents in charge of the various reservations located around America were responsible for writing an annual report and submitting it to the Department of the Interior each year. The following portion of the report submitted for the year 1881 covers the various Sioux Tribes and gives a rather detailed life of the tribes and life on the reservation. This particular material has been provided by a woman we will refer to as "Sandy from Boston," who, for a number of years now, has bought, researched and returned 50 Native American artifacts to their rightful tribes and is currently working on the return of additional pieces. She has done this work under the radar of public view, following NAGPRA protocols and with the profound thanks of the tribes of origin lucky enough to have a family object returned to them. Sandy seeks no recognition for her efforts and prefers to conduct her work behind the scenes. We at New Observations Magazine hope there are many other people like "Sandy from Boston" working a little each day on behalf of justice."

Please take the time to read these pages. They prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that the United States Government knew full well that it was virtually impossible for the Indigenous People to survive with what they have been allotted. They state multiple times that white people in the same situation would starve.

brate the return of the Wounded Knee artifacts from the Barre Museum Association, a Giveaway was organized. The Oglala Sioux Tribe brought handmade gifts to give to everyone in attendance who brought a gift with them. Some of the items brought to gift to the Lakota had clearly seen better days. Some items needed to be thrown out altogether.

The week of Christmas, 2022 brought harsh storms and brutal temperatures across the country. The Dakotas were some of the worst hit by these storms and some residents on the Pine Ridge Reservation were unable to get out for supplies and were forced to burn their own clothing in order to heat their homes. A 53-foot trailer truck which began their pickups in Barre with the items from the November 5th stopped in Ohio and other places to fill up on clothes, toys, and 500 blankets to bring back to Pine Ridge for the ceremony planned for December 29th, 2022, the anniversary of the Wounded Knee Massacre.

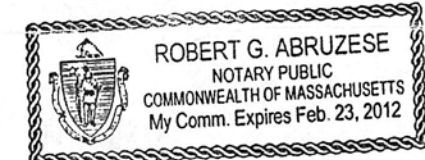
Conditions on the Pine Ridge Reservation are almost identical in some ways to those faced by the Oglalas back in 1881. It is up to us to know in our hearts and minds that they deserve better. It is up to us to ensure that it happens.

Mia Feroletto

Certification of Authenticity

I, Robert G. Abruzese, hereby certify that the attached photocopy is a true and complete copy of the indicated page of that certain publication entitled "ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS TO THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR FOR THE YEAR 1881", published by the Government Printing Office, 1881, and that this certification is based upon my personal examination of the original pages of said publication made at Medford, Massachusetts on this 24th day of July, 2009.

Robert G. Abruzese
Robert G. Abruzese, Notary Public



more or less trespassers on every side, the constant talk of removal, as well as the removal of the other two bands, the Uncompahgres and White Rivers, has kept these Indians in a constant state of uncertainty and excitement, which still continues to require constant care and watchfulness.

Arboles, a new station of the Denver and Rio Grande Railway Company, having been located on the Rio San Juan, on the reservation, at once became a frontier railroad town of the worst description, made up principally of saloons and dance-houses, and filled with outlaws of both sexes. This town lasted but a few days. All trespassers were at once successfully removed without serious difficulty.

Nearly my whole time since May last has been consumed in keeping the Indians from going beyond the reservation lines, and others from trespassing within, and in investigating complaints, from whatever source they might come. At this time my people are all on the reservation, the most of them in the immediate vicinity of the agency, on the Rio Los Pinos, seemingly contented and well disposed.

The Indian police force, 20 in number, are not as efficient as desired, but are gradually improving. I have not deemed it practicable to attempt their use where it was probable they would be brought in contact with whites. On several occasions the police have come in and reported that which, if unknown and left alone, must have caused serious trouble. The wearing of uniforms has a beneficial influence towards civilization, and aids in inducing others to wear citizens' clothing, as well as aiding in the control of the Indians. Several horses have been recovered, which had been lost or stolen, through aid of Indian police.

Confidence in the agency physician has greatly increased. Applications for medical treatment are more frequent, although few, if any, have entirely abandoned their native medicine men, with their Hoodo practices. Chief Ouray, who died near this agency September last, seems to have been acknowledged to have been the most enlightened and liberal-minded of all the Utes, was constantly surrounded by his native medicine men from the time of his arrival here until his death, which occurred a few days later.

All supplies received during the year have been of good quality and promptly delivered.

The relations between this agency and the United States military forces, as well as the civil authorities and citizens of Colorado, continue to be of the most cordial nature.

The agency buildings are unfit and insufficient for the protection of supplies and to furnish suitable quarters for agent and employes.

Statistical report accompanying.

Very respectfully,

HENRY PAGE,
United States Indian Agent.

The COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

CHEYENNE RIVER AGENCY, DAKOTA,
August 20, 1881.

SIR: In compliance with department instructions I respectfully submit the following as my second annual report of the condition of affairs under my charge at this agency, being for the year ending August 20, 1881:

During the summer and fall of 1880 the Indians were wrought up to no little excitement by the appearance of the railroad officials, who were endeavoring to secure the right of way through the Sioux reservation. This state of feeling continued until about the 1st of January, 1881, when a treaty was completed for a right of way for two railroads through the Sioux reservation.

When spring opened the Indians evinced a strong desire to commence farming, and had their ox-teams been of any use to them would have done a great deal more plowing, but they were useless, being wild and unbroken; which fact being made known to the honorable Secretary of the Interior, authority was granted to break 500 acres of prairie sod, the breaking to be done on those sites where the Indians have laid out their claims and indicated as their future homes.

The Indians have in all cases planted their old land and in a few instances have broken new. The season has been favorable and the crops look well, and I have no doubt they will reap a good harvest. The Indians at present are putting up large quantities of hay for winter use, the experience of last winter having taught them that it is necessary to be well prepared for the long cold winters of this country. Farming operations of all kinds have been very successful this season, the rainfall having been sufficient to mature all kinds of crops.

Since my assuming charge of this agency 78 yoke of work oxen have been issued to the Indians, all being branded C. R. A., to denote the agency to which they belong.

MORALS.

The morals of the Indians at this agency are good. The worst element that we have to contend against is the bad influence of the squaw-men and some half-breeds, who are constantly irritating the Indians, which causes acts of reprisal on their part. No crimes of any magnitude among the Indians have come to my knowledge, and but few petty offenses have been committed. The Indians that belong to this agency were accused of stealing 20 horses and killing a Ree Indian about the 20th of November, 1880, but when the facts of the case were ascertained it was proven beyond a doubt that the crime was committed by an Indian now residing at Rosebud Agency.

CENSUS.

On assuming charge of this agency, July 23, 1880, there were then drawing rations 1,764 persons. Later on in September a census was taken when there were found to be 1,809 people on the reservation; and at the present time there are 1,901 persons drawing rations, being an increase for the year of 137 people.

The following is a complete record of the number of Indians at this agency:

Band or tribe.	Men.	Women	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Blackfeet band, No. 1	61	82	53	63	259
Sans Arc band, No. 2	80	120	72	74	346
Monneccajou band, No. 3	148	178	103	110	539
Two Kettle band, No. 4	173	243	177	166	759
	460	623	405	415	1,901

POLICE.

The police force is growing in popularity and influence, and is of great benefit to the agency. They are prompt in making arrests, obedient in the execution of orders, industrious in their habits, and seem to realize the responsibility of their office. They are appointed from the various camps and are required to remain there between issue days, when they come in and report anything of interest, births, deaths, &c., but should anything unusual occur they are required to report immediately.

AGENCY FARM.

The agency farm consists of about 150 acres, of which this year 100 acres was seeded with oats, 8 acres with wheat, 10 acres with potatoes, and a large agency garden. The Indian boys, that were attending school, cultivated 5 acres of potatoes, which bids fair to become a good crop.

I think the best way to dispose of a large portion of this farm would be to allot it to the Indians, the most deserving farmers in 10-acre lots, as it consists of two fields, one three miles north of the agency (this field I would recommend to be divided as above), and the other in close proximity to the agency, the two together being too large to be properly cultivated with the labor force at my disposal.

SANITARY.

The sanitary condition of the Indians at this agency has been good. The resident physician has the confidence of all the Indians, as he won their respect. The total number of Indians who have received medical treatment number 1,124; births, 87; deaths, 44. This record is believed to be correct. There has been no epidemic disease among the Indians during the year. Diseases most prevalent have been consumption, scrofula, &c., and of late cases of skin disease, doubtless contracted from the ponies, following, in the majority of cases, a chronic cause. The number of deaths (44) includes those from all causes, accidents as well as diseases, and is not regarded as large considering that the number of Indians on the reservation has been over eighteen hundred and that their manner of living does not include a respect for hygienic laws.

LIVE STOCK.

A careful count of live stock has been taken during last month with the following approximate result: horses, 1,075; cattle, 3,450; hogs, 150. This record includes stock owned by half-breeds as well as Indians.

MISSIONARY WORK.

The religious care of this agency is assigned to the Protestant Episcopal Church, under the direction of the Rev. Henry Swift, whose work, although surrounded with difficulties is progressing favorably. The Congregationalists also maintain a mission on the reservation, which is under the care of the Rev. T. L. Riggs, and seems to be in a flourishing condition. I wish to add that the missionary work done by Mr. Riggs

cannot be too fully appreciated, nor the amount of good done by him in and around the Indian camps.

SCHOOLS.

Of the boys' boarding school at this agency we can be justly proud. This school has been under the immediate supervision of Mrs. Julia A. Love as principal and Miss Mary Eccles as assistant teacher. In this school there is a regular attendance of twenty boys whose progress is remarkable. They are instructed in the English language. The greater portion of them, in fact all with one exception, have been attending school less than one year; most of them can now read and write with the greatest facility. When this school was first opened I had some little trouble to get boys to attend, but when they found they were not going to be hurt I had no more trouble with them.

Saint John's Mission School, located about three miles north of the agency, is conducted under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Mr. J. F. Kinney, jr., who has charge of this school, seems to give entire satisfaction to all with the exception of a few discontented parents, who think they ought to draw all the annuity goods provided for these children by government themselves, and that the church should provide other clothing for their children. This school has a regular attendance of thirty girls. I am satisfied that an Indian school should be kept in session the whole year through in order to keep the children away from the savage influences they encounter on their return to their homes.

CONCLUSION.

I would most respectfully recommend that more commodious school buildings on this agency be erected, sufficient for at least fifty boys, as the Indians have a strong desire to send their children to school and nothing in my opinion is more conducive to establishing civilization among them than a good education for their children.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

LEONARD LOVE,
United States Indian Agent.

The COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

CROW CREEK AGENCY, DAKOTA,
August 21, 1881.

SIR: I have the honor to submit the following report of the state of the Indians and the condition of the service at this agency during the year 1880-'81. On the 21st of August last, the date of my last annual report, there were present on the reservation—

Indians of pure and mixed blood.....	969
Died during the year.....	38
Transferred to other agencies.....	56
Absent without leave.....	9
Total	103
Remaining.....	866
Increase:	
Births during the year.....	45
Admitted from Standing Rock.....	131
Admitted from other agencies.....	19
Total	195
Present on reservation this date.....	1,061

This includes Indians of mixed blood.

IMPROVEMENT.

During the past year a much greater improvement has taken place among these people than has hitherto been observed. The dissolution of the tribal government and existence and the establishment of the household or family, as the unit of society, are now accomplished facts. It has taken three years of incessant labor to do this, in the face of much opposition from the chiefs, who finally adopted it themselves and, at last, aided in its accomplishment. In this matter the variance between the laws governing Indian affairs and the policy of the Indian Office presents a singular anomaly, the former expressly recognizing and sustaining the institutions that the latter is designed to destroy.

During the year every family on the reservation has contributed more or less to the advancement of its condition and welfare, while some, with the assistance obtained

from the agency, have made themselves very comfortable and are the possessors of considerable personal property. Forty-five houses have been erected and about twenty-five moved from the common land and re-erected on land taken in severalty by the owners, unaided. The majority of these are built of hewn logs and are excellent habitations, well lighted and ventilated, and are mostly floored with lumber. Twenty of these are covered with good shingle roofs, with habitable rooms on the second floor. Three frame houses were erected for three of the best families. In most instances the occupation of comfortable houses has produced an important change in the habits of the occupants. Many of these houses are furnished after the manner of the white people, as far as possible, and some of them kept scrupulously clean. The most respectable families appear to be those most anxious to improve their condition. The total number of houses on the reservation occupied by Indians is—

Frame houses.....	6
Hewn-log houses.....	73
Round-log houses.....	121
Total	200

Ten new frame houses are to be built immediately and 35 hewn-log houses are ready to be roofed and finished. Lumber is now being sawed for this purpose.

AGRICULTURE.

Prior to this year these people have cultivated small tracts jointly and on the common land. The product, though usually plentiful, could never be harvested with profit to the individuals who performed the labor. I accordingly, last fall, decided to allot land in severalty to such families as were anxious to take it and make improvements independently. Those who obtained land on which improvements already existed expelled all others, obliging them to take new lands upon which it was found impossible to make improvements until late in the season. For this reason, and also in consequence of the severe winter and late spring, the number of families engaged in the cultivation of the soil this year is but 95, against 166 last year; notwithstanding this, however, the area under cultivation this year is greater than that of last year by about 30 acres. One hundred and eighty-two acres of new land were broken for the Indians during the summer, though too late to be planted this year. The spring was so late that it was not deemed advisable to take the risk of the failure of small grain, and accordingly the crop of this year will be mostly corn and vegetables.

The subjoined table exhibits the number and names of the families engaged in cultivation this year:

Number.	Names.	Acres cultivated in—			Location.	Tons of hay made up to August 12.	Acres broken too late to plant.	Remarks.
		Corn.	Potatoes.	Garden.				
1	John Fleury.....	6			Crow Creek.....	12		Two acres oats.
2	Paul Carpenter.....	5½			do.....	13		
3	Lone Bull.....	5			do.....	12		
4	Dog Back.....	4½			do.....	15		
5	Bowed Head.....	5			do.....	18		
6	Killed Many.....	5			do.....	8		
7	White Cloud.....	2½			do.....	9		
8	White Elk.....	2			do.....	7		
9	White Ghost (chief).....	2			do.....	18		
10	Grease and son.....	2			do.....	26		
11	Face.....	2½	Patch	Patch	do.....	7		
12	Whipper.....	2			Elm Creek.....	10		
13	I. Thrown Away.....	6			do.....	14		
14	Running Bear.....	2½			do.....	7		
15	Killed Dead.....	3			do.....	10		
16	Scattering Bear.....	2½			do.....	8		
17	Bobtailed Goose.....	14	Small	patch	do.....	15		
18	Round Head.....	2			do.....	15		
19	William Saul.....	2½			do.....	12		
20	High Crane.....	1			do.....	8		
21	Brace.....	Patch	Patch	Patch	do.....	8		
22	Low Buck.....	2½	Patch	Patch	Bench below Campbell Creek.	11	2½	
23	Thomas Yellowman.....	4½			do.....	28	5½	

Number.	Names.	Acres cultivated in—			Location.	Tons of hay made up to August 12. Acres broken too late to plant.	Remarks.
		Corn.	Potatoes.	Garden.			
24	Lucy Carpenter and sister.	Patch	Patch	Patch	Bench below Campbell Creek.		Widows, moving to Crow Creek.
25	William Carpenter.	4	2	2	do	20	
26	With Tail	3	Patch	Patch	On prairie west of Campbell Creek.	9	
27	One in the Center.	3	2		Campbell Creek	9	Moving to Crow Creek. Do.
28	Heart Fisher	2 1/2	Patch	Patch	do	8	
29	White Light	Patch	Patch	Patch	do	6	1 1/2
30	Red Hair	1 1/2			do	7	
31	Wounded Foot	2			do	5	
32	Pretty Lightning	2			do	18	
33	Crow				do		
34	Talking Crow	1 1/2	2	2	do	10	
35	Fool Bear	3			Mouth of Campbell Creek.	12	
36	Shaved Dog	4 1/2	Patch	Patch	Bench below agency	15	
37	Crow Man	3 1/2	Patch		do	12	
38	Pretty Bear and son	2	2		do	8	
39	Good Little White Man	2 1/2			do	7	
40	Bad Moccasin	1 1/2			do	4 1/2	3 1/2
41	Big Hawk	2 1/2	2	Patch	Mouth of Campbell Creek.	9	Moving to prairie east of agency.
42	Hair in Lodge	1	2	Patch	Bench below agency	4	3 1/2
43	Eagle Dog	5 1/2	Patch		On prairie east of agency.	7	Moving to prairie.
44	Brother of All	1	2		In agency field	8	
45	Red Bull	3 1/2	Patch	Patch	Below agency on bottom.	8	3 1/2
46	Fast Walker	1		Patch	Bench above agency	6	4 1/2
47	Burnt Prairie	1 1/2			do		
48	Red Day	3 1/2		2	Prairie above agency	7	
49	Frog	3 1/2	Patch		do	10	
50	Black Inside	Patch	Patch	Patch	do		Removing.
51	Comes After Bear	1 1/2			do	11	
52	Echo	1 1/2			do	8	
53	Two Teeth	2 1/2	2		Bottom near Great Bend.		
54	Splits	2 1/2	2		do	6	
55	Long Coyote	1 1/2			do	2 1/2	
56	Red Hawk	1 1/2	Patch		do	2 1/2	
57	Red Water	3			do		
58	Afraid of Hawk	2 1/2			do		Remov'g to prairie.
59	Bare Foot	4 1/2	2		Great Bend	3	
60	Medicine Crow	4 1/2	2	Tur-nips.	Great Bend and prairie.	8	
61	Eagle Shield	2 1/2			On island in bend	6	
62	Big Hand	1 1/2	Patch	Patch	In Great Bend	4	
63	Standing Soldier	1 1/2	Patch	Patch	do	6	
64	Backwards	1 1/2	Patch	Patch	do	4	
65	White Buffalo Walker	1 1/2	Patch	Patch	do	5 1/2	
66	Quick Iron	1	Patch	Patch	do	5	
67	Afraid of Kettles and	1 1/2	Patch	Patch	do	10	
68	Afraid of Shooting.	1 1/2	Patch	Patch	do	10	
69	Fat	2	Patch	Patch	do	6	
70	Changing Hawk	1 1/2	Patch	Patch	do	5	
71	Fire Tail	1 1/2	Patch	Patch	Prairie at Great Bend.	7	
72	Butcher	2 1/2			do	6	
73	Slapping	1 1/2	Patch	Patch	do	6 1/2	
74	Fire Cloud and Wizi	10	2	3	Soldier Creek	12	
75	Piece of Robe	4 1/2			Prairie north of agency.	7	
77	Bull Ghost	1 1/2			Soldier Creek	13	2
78	White Crane Walker	2 1/2	Patch	Patch	Soldier Creek, head.	5	
79	Wooden Horn	1 1/2	2	2	Soldier Creek, near head.	4	
80	Red Bear	2 1/2	2	Patch	do	8	
81	Left Hand	2	Patch	Patch	do	5	
82	Willow Back	4			do	8	
83	Listening to the Wind	1 1/2	2		In agency field.		Agency employe.
84	Hundred	2 1/2	Patch	Patch	Bottom in Great Bend.	4	
85	Little Wounded	1 1/2	Patch	Patch	do	5	

Number.	Names.	Acres cultivated in—			Location.	Tons of hay made, up to August 12. Acres broken too late to plant.	Remarks.
		Corn.	Potatoes.	Garden.			
86	Skunk	1 1/2	Patch	Patch	Bottom in G't Bend.	3 1/2	
87	Four Eagles	2	Patch	Patch	do	2 1/2	
88	Drifting Goose	2	Patch	Patch	In agency field; has 5 acres on Campbell Creek.	12	4 1/2
89	Surrounded	1 1/2	Patch	Patch	Above agency	6	2 1/2
90	Cekpa				In agency field		In agency field. Employe.
91	Badger	1 1/2	Patch	Patch	do	8	
92	Belond Le Clair	1	Patch	Patch	Bottom Great Bend	4	
93	Antoine Le Clair	1	Patch	Patch	On agency reserve	30	
94	Mark Wells	(*)	2	2	In agency field	6	Agency interpreter.
95	Saul Demans	2	2		At agency	12	
96	Bear Ghost	4			Great Bend	10	
97	Don't Know How	4			Elm Creek	20	
Total		222 1/2	12 1/2	13 1/2		774 1/2	33 1/2

*6 1/2 acres oats.

STOCK RAISING.

Last year 300 head of domestic cattle were purchased by the department and issued to these Indians as an experiment. Nearly one hundred of them died last winter and spring from the effect of the severity and length of the winter; more than a hundred horses also died. The total number of head of stock now owned by these Indians is as follows:

Horses	284
Cattle	409
Swine	38
Poultry	496

CIVILIZATION.

Probably the most gratifying evidence of improvement in the manners and customs of Indians is that afforded by the voluntary abandonment of the practice of carrying arms. Among these people fire-arms and other weapons seem to have lost their former value, and are no longer borne by any except the police, either openly or concealed. No act of violence or assault with a weapon, formerly so common, has been known here for three years. All disputes are now adjusted at the agency office, and the decisions enforced by the police when necessary. Even this is of less frequent occurrence than when this mode of settlement was first instituted.

About three-fourths of the people wear civilian apparel, and I think that if the traders did not supply red flannel and list cloth the Indian garb would entirely disappear at once.

The social condition of women among the Indians has been one of utter degradation for so many generations, and the improvement of their status so much in conflict with inherited prejudices and so incompatible with the mode of life that prevailed up to very recent times, that amelioration in this respect is necessarily very slow. I cannot say that it is perceptible to me except so far as it is enforced by the power of the agent. The abandonment of the wife and polygamous marriages are still frequent occurrences, for which there seems to be no remedy. These evils have, however, greatly diminished since the village life has been abandoned and the families dispersed over the reservation. A sentiment favorable to the unity of the family under one father and one mother is becoming very pronounced among the Indians themselves, and, naturally enough, those who maintain the polygamous relation are the most ready to denounce and condemn it. The practice could be peremptorily suppressed by a prohibitory measure having the force of law and applied equally at every agency.

The "Grass Lodge" dance is still practiced among these Indians, though it has undergone some modifications and is the only form of dancing permitted. The Indians claim the right to practice it as a rational recreation. An attempt was recently made to revive an immoral dance, which was given up by common consent over two years ago, but it was promptly suppressed by the police, attended by a characteristic "knock down and drag out" of the principal offenders. Like polygamy, this barbarous festi-

val could be entirely suppressed by the enforcement of a general prohibition. The same may be said of the superstitious practices of the "medicine man," though the latter is destined to be soon overcome and extinguished by the allopathist.

The Indian merchant referred to in my previous annual reports is still in business, maintaining a salutary competition with the licensed trader, and thus, while adding largely to his capital and personality, diffuses genuine happiness over a large area. Two other Indians of the tribe are preparing to open trade stores and enter the lists with the white trader.

EDUCATION.

The industrial school was open, and school kept from September until the end of March. * * * * It was again opened on June 20 under the management of Mr. E. D. Canfield, a thoroughly practical teacher, but in consequence of the death of his wife it was again closed on the 10th of July. It will be opened as soon as possible after the 1st of September. No camp or day schools have been kept during the past year. These have always been a total failure. * * * * The only practical educational measure thus far adopted for Indian children is the establishment of the schools at Carlisle and Hampton.

LAND IN SEVERALTY.

Last summer one band of this tribe was located in severalty, each family taking 320 acres, upon which it began some kind of improvement. Last spring the demand of the Indians for the subdivision of the land and the allotment of it in severalty became general. A surveyor was accordingly employed for the purpose, and up to the present the following named persons have been allotted land and are living on their allotments or preparing to move upon them:

No.	Names.	Acres.	No.	Names.	Acres.
1	Thunder	320.00	52	Heart Fisher	320.00
2	Walking with Iron	318.98	53	One in the Center	320.00
3	Bear Thunder	320.00	54	Big Eagle	320.00
4	Horn Dog	320.00	55	High Bear	320.00
5	Seeking Land	320.00	56	Hawk	320.00
6	Red Crow	320.00	57	Bear Ghost	285.60
7	Murmuring Water	80.00	58	Fire Tail	332.62
8	Side	80.00	59	Butcher	324.32
9	Eagle Bear	80.00	60	Slapping	301.10
10	Yellow Back	80.13	61	Antoine Rondell	307.45
11	Clear the Way	319.41	62	His Brother	306.00
12	With Tail	320.00	63	Belond Le Clair	320.00
13	Little Dog	320.00	64	Walking Crane	320.00
14	Drifting Goose	320.00	65	Smoke	320.00
15	Left Hand	318.34	66	Hail Thunder	320.00
16	Crooked Horn	320.00	67	Afraid of Hawk	319.84
17	Yellow Hair	79.63	68	Long Coyote	320.00
18	White Shield	320.00	69	Standing Cloud	319.51
19	Hurt Another	320.00	70	Lodge Smoke	320.00
20	Little Voice	320.00	71	Side Hill	320.00
21	Hard to Wound	80.00	72	Red Bull	320.00
22	Turning Medicine	320.00	73	Splite	310.11
23	Boy	320.00	74	Charging Hawk	344.40
24	Eagle Dog	320.00	75	Fat	337.06
25	Wooden Horn	320.00	76	Not afraid of Shooting	284.25
26	Pretty Owl	320.00	77	Bare Foot	315.55
27	Red Bear	320.00	78	White Buffalo Walker	330.40
28	Hair in Lodge	252.15	79	Backwards	280.50
29	Bad Moccasin	275.00	80	Truth Teller	244.80
30	Pretty Bear	297.00	81	Two Teeth	341.40
31	Crow Man	317.80	82	Comes after Bear	272.70
32	Talking Crow	313.35	83	Frog	285.65
33	White Light	320.00	84	Red Day	299.50
34	Fast Walker	253.80	85	Little Elk	305.70
35	Burnt Prairie	268.10	86	Medicine Cedar	320.00
36	Badger	302.20	87	Trust	80.00
37	Surrounded	242.45	88	Old Man	320.00
38	George Banks	232.60	89	Daniel Phillips (Fire Cloud)	319.47
39	Willow Bark	320.00	90	Bear	316.63
40	Hears the Wind	284.30	91	Trembling Man	320.00
41	Medicine Crow	320.00	92	Seeing Elk	320.00
42	Pretty Boy	320.00	93	Mark Wells	330.25
43	Piece of Robe	320.00	94	Black Inside	320.00
44	John Fleury	320.00	95	Standing Soldier	320.00
45	Leon Fleury	320.00	96	Echo	320.00
46	Dog Back	320.00	97	Brave	320.00
47	Bowed Head	320.00	98	Bull Ghost	320.00
48	Black Eagle	319.68	99	First born Woman	80.00
49	James Williams	320.00	100	Little Day	80.00
50	William Carpenter	320.00	101	Bear Face	80.00
51	Lone Bull	320.00	102	Red Hawk	320.00

No.	Names.	Acres.	No.	Names.	Acres.
103	Back	320.00	139	Bob tailed Goose	319.47
104	Charles Potka	76.85	140	Scattering Bear	319.62
105	Oldest Child	234.20	141	Among the Hail	319.92
106	Big Hawk	336.05	142	Killed by Thunder	79.38
107	Twin	284.00	143	Eagle Boy	81.61
108	Three Lodge	319.10	144	Red Thunder	320.00
109	Ow Medicine	315.95	145	Brave Bull	320.00
110	Little Wounded	303.20	146	Big Hand	320.00
111	Eagle Shield	323.45	147	Standing Cloud	320.00
112	Wounded Knee	320.00	148	Plays with Iron	320.00
113	Red Water	320.00	149	Weazel	320.00
114	Coming with Noise	76.64	150	White Mouse	80.00
115	Red Water Woman	320.00	151	Two Crows	320.00
116	Tongue	320.00	152	Many Arrows	320.00
117	Thick Hair	319.17	153	White Fox	320.00
118	Eagle Feather	317.60	154	Pretty Whirlwind	320.00
119	Her Law	320.00	155	Hundred	312.06
120	Bad Fool	347.00	156	Skunk	329.14
121	Four Eagles	355.92	157	Mary Eggar	320.00
122	Sitting Elk	355.89	158	Left Hand Bull	320.00
123	Yellow Man	300.25	159	Black Bear	320.00
124	Low Buck	341.15	160	Grabbing Bear	320.00
125	Shaved Dog	320.00	161	Appearing Elk	80.00
126	Walking Warrior	320.00	162	Oldest Child	80.00
127	Owl Head	319.97	163	Cut Hair	257.40
128	Round Head	320.00	164	Leaf	320.00
129	Whippoorwill	319.32	165	Her Pack	80.00
130	Wood Piler	319.87	166	Seeing Stone	320.00
131	White Ghost	319.92	167	Crooked Horn Woman	320.00
132	Don't Know How	319.75	168	Touched	80.00
133	Running Bear	319.65	169	Quick Iron	320.00
134	White Cloud	319.55	170	Upon the Hill	320.00
135	Thrown Away	319.77	171	Iron Elk	320.00
136	Whipper	320.00	172	Antoine de Gray	320.00
137	Muskrat	349.70	173	Charles Le Clair	80.00
138	Killed Dead	319.45			

All the improvements made during the present year have been made on these allotments, and consist of the erection of houses, stables, fences, corrals, &c., and the breaking of new land. The latter was done by the government, the other by the Indians. During the summer, land was broken for the following named Indians on their claims:

No.	Names.	Acres broken.	No.	Names.	Acres broken.
1	With Tail	3.15	25	Surrounded	2.16
2	Clear the Way	4.72	26	Fast Walker	4.39
3	Drifting Goose	4.24	27	Slapping	4.93
4	Bad Moccasin	3.72	28	Fire Tail	4.75
5	Hair in Lodge	3.06	29	Butcher	5.15
6	Eagle Dog	4.52	30	Hail Thunder	5.00
7	Fire Cloud	5.24	31	Little Voice	5.00
8	Wizi	4.20	32	Turning Medicine	5.00
9	Red Bull	3.68	33	Low Buck	2.42
61	Yellow Man	5.25	34	Bowed Head	4.82
11	Mark Wells	4.00	35	William Carpenter	1.37
12	Little Dog	5.00	36	Antoine Rondell	5.07
13	Red Crow	5.00	37	Afraid of Hawk	5.00
14	Seeking Land	4.96	38	White Light	1.70
15	Horn Dog	5.00	39	Left Hand	4.00
16	Bear Ghost	5.00	40	Red Bear	4.00
17	Listening to the Wind	2.74	41	Wooden Horn	4.00
18	Piece of Robe	4.88	42	Bull Ghost	3.00
19	Black Eagle	5.15	43	Medicine Crow	3.00
20	James Williams	5.00	44	Crooked Horn	4.00
21	Lone Bull	5.21	45	Don't Know How	4.00
22	Boy	5.26			
23	Willow Bark	3.00			
24	Burnt Prairie	3.00			
				Total area broken	188.14

Authority has been granted to break one hundred acres additional by contract this year. The reservation from settlement of immense tracts of the Sioux lands, while the Indians are liberally provided for by treaty stipulations, cannot long continue. Convinced of this, I have induced these people to anticipate the time when they will be compelled to relinquish possession of the unoccupied portion of their domain and prepare for the test of their ability to maintain themselves that will inevitably be put upon them. The movement thus far has been eminently satisfactory.

INDIAN POLICE.

The force of Indian police authorized at this agency consists of 1 captain, 1 sergeant, and 8 privates. The force is reliable and efficient in all ordinary emergencies, and performs much valuable detail service.

MISSIONARY WORK.

Until July these people were without the encouragement and assistance of a missionary laborer. At present the Rev. H. Burt is located with the tribe, having been transferred here from Pine Ridge. This gentleman formerly served with this tribe as teacher and missionary with such satisfactory results that his return is most gratifying to the Indians. Services in Dakota are held in three chapels on the reservation alternately, and in the chapel at the agency in English on Sunday evening. Mr. Burt makes it a part of his duty to support the policy of the government earnestly and actively, and directs his work exclusively for the benefit of the Indians.

CRIMES AND OFFENSES.

No crime punishable at law has been committed on the reservation during the year either by Indians or against their persons or property.

GRIEVANCES.

It has for some years been a standing source of complaint with these people that they have never been able to acquire a title to their reservation. They declare that this was explicitly promised to them in the treaty made with them on the 20th of October, 1865, at old Fort Sully. This grievance has been referred to the department repeatedly during the last three years, but has never received any attention whatever.

SUPPLIES.

Supplies are issued weekly, and consist of flour, hard bread, coffee, sugar, beef, bacon, baking powder, soap, salt, and tobacco. The ration is abundant and is largely supplemented by the product of cultivation.

EMPLOYÉS.

The labor at this agency has become so varied and extensive that a large force of Indians is constantly employed with the white employés. At present 29 are engaged. These are constantly changing, others taking the places vacated by those who feel competent to undertake work wholly for themselves. The skilled labor and the most difficult and arduous duties are performed by the white employés, each of whom has the direction of a party of Indian laborers.

THE AGENCY.

The reconstruction of the agency is almost finished. During the year a warehouse 100 by 38 feet, a stable 34 by 66 feet, an office 24 by 38 feet, and an employés' dwelling 22 by 38 feet, have been erected, and several other buildings extensively repaired; these improvements all being necessary.

Three of the old "garrison" buildings still standing are to be removed immediately, being worthless, and three others in a similar condition were removed during the year. About 50,000 feet of cottonwood lumber is now being sawed at the agency mill.

The agency farm consists of 106 acres; the crop consists of—

	Acres.
Wheat	19
Oats	51
Corn	39
Employés' garden	5
Industrial school farm (corn, potatoes, and garden).....	5

One hundred and twenty-two fruit trees were set out in the spring, and about six hundred forest trees.

OBSERVATIONS.

While undoubtedly a large number of this tribe will require assistance from the government during their lives, I believe that under proper management a majority of the people would be wholly able to subsist themselves within five years, and that the youth of the present generation would at maturity be entirely self-sustaining in every respect. It is a common belief that Indians cannot be brought to this state, but this belief is founded on the assumption that the Indian nature is not susceptible of modification or improvement. This is an unfortunate as well as a common error, and is purely a prejudice inherited from the times when the only efforts made to improve the Indians were to remove them further westward, and thus defer the time of the actual and practical test of the flexibility of the Indian nature. My own experience, having lived with these Indians over seven years, is that the various aspects of Indian life when closely studied are found to correspond with those of the white race, the only

difference being that the Indian exists in an infinitely lower plane, from which he must be raised by a commercial contact and an exemplary competition with the white man.

Every movement that tends to make the individual Indian a producer on his own account and for his own benefit exclusively, by establishing his own individuality and by encouraging his ambition creates artificial necessities upon which he soon learns to become dependent, and which, in turn, create other wants that carry him upward in intelligence as well as in industry. Until the Indian can, however, establish a hereditary foundation—a home—secured to him and his heirs by law, with all the rights and responsibility of a person, no effort of the government or its agent, nor departmental policy, however faithfully and persistently applied, can give permanence to his industry or make of his individuality or personal independence other than a sham and a criminal pretence.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. G. DOUGHERTY,

Captain, First Infantry, Acting Indian Agent.

To the COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

DEVIL'S LAKE AGENCY, DAKOTA,

August 15, 1881.

SIR: In compliance with instructions contained in circular letter of July 1 ultimo, I have the honor to submit the following report of affairs at this agency for the year ending July 31, 1881:

RESERVATION, PRODUCTIONS, &C.

Devil's Lake Indian Reservation (which includes the temporary military reservation of Fort Totten) contains about 275,000 acres, and lies along the southern shore of Devil's Lake, in Northeastern Dakota, in latitude 48°. It is excellent agricultural land, producing cereals and vegetables of the very best quality in large and paying quantities, and it also possesses many advantages over that of the surrounding country, having sufficient timber for fuel, some of the oak being suitable for dimension lumber for building purposes. Plenty of good water is easily obtained; the prairies are unsurpassed for summer grazing, and the bottom lands furnish an abundant supply of nutritious wild hay, which, with the fertility of the soil, healthfulness of the climate, and beauty of scenery, makes this reservation very valuable and a desirable home for these people.

INDIANS, ADVANCEMENT, &C.

The Indians of this reservation, numbering 1,066, are portions of the Sisseton, Wahpeton, and Cut-Head bands of Sioux. Nearly all of them are located on individual claims, living in log cabins, some having shingled roofs and pine floors, cultivating farms in severalty, and none are now ashamed to labor in civilized pursuits. A majority of the heads of families have ox-teams, wagons, plows, harrows, &c., and a desire to accumulate property and excel each other is becoming more general.

The early part of this season was favorable for crops, but several days of very warm weather, in the beginning of July, followed by some weeks without sufficient rain, has shortened the yield somewhat; but the area of cultivated land being largely increased this season the harvest will, therefore, still be in excess of any previous year. The seeded fields, aggregating "approximately" 1,000 acres, have been well and profitably cultivated, while the following is about the proportionate acreage of the grain, viz: wheat, 360 acres; corn, 270 acres; oats, 80 acres; pease, 10 acres; potatoes, 140 acres; turnips and ruta-bagas, 75 acres; onions, carrots, and beets, 20 acres; beans, 20 acres; and squash, pumpkins, and cabbage, 25 acres. The oats being cut, but not thrashed, and just having commenced harvesting the wheat, I can, therefore, give but approximate figures; but after examining the crops carefully we estimate as follows: wheat, 7,500 bushels; corn, 8,000 bushels; oats, 3,500 bushels; pease, 400 bushels; potatoes, 16,000 bushels; turnips and ruta-bagas, 8,500 bushels; onions, carrots, and beets, 5,000 bushels; beans, 525 bushels; besides a large quantity of pumpkins, squash, cabbage, &c. The hay cut for agency, school, and Indians will approximate 2,000 tons. There has also been 405 acres of new land broken this year preparatory to sowing wheat next spring. This breaking was done entirely by Indians on 110 different claims, adjoining their old fields; the work is uniformly and well done, and in every respect equal to that done by the neighboring white farmers.

EVIDENCES OF INDUSTRY.

Since the date of my last annual report, September 2, 1880, the Indians of this reservation have hauled 349,326 pounds of quartermaster and commissary stores for the Fort Totten military post from Jamestown, a distance of 82 miles, and received 65 cents per 100 pounds for the distance, making \$2,270.60 thus earned. They hauled

530 tons of hay and 150 cords of wood for the military hay and wood contractors, and received \$2 per ton for hauling the hay and \$2 per cord for hauling the wood, the distance hauled averaging about 7 miles, earning by wood and hay \$1,360. They hauled 260,000 pounds of oats from the Cheyenne River to Fort Totten for the grain contractor, and received 20 cents per 100 pounds for the distance, which was 20 miles, earning thus \$520. They chopped 1,236 cords of wood for the wood contractor, and received \$1 per cord, or \$1,236, for cutting same, making a total of \$5,386.60 earned by them in this way. They also hauled 445,570 pounds of agency freight (which includes 53,221 feet of pine lumber) from Ojate, the railroad point of delivery, a distance of 85 miles, making a total, apart from the hay and wood mentioned, of over 1,000,000 pounds of freight hauled by them during the past 11 months, and reckoning the agency freight at the lowest obtainable rates, "65 cents per 100 pounds for the distance, 85 miles," they saved the government an expenditure of \$2,896. They also cut 769 cords of wood for agency, grist-mill, saw-mill, and boarding schools, and hauled 476 cords of same to these respective points. They cut, hauled, and built into fence 12,955 rails; cut 1,680 oak saw-logs, averaging about 50 feet of lumber each, and hauled 1,362 of these logs to the saw-mill, 600 of which have been sawed, the lumber being intended for roofing and flooring houses for the individual owners of the logs. They also provided their fuel, which is no inconsiderable work during the winter months, cared for their stock, and attended to their farms in a very satisfactory manner.

INDIAN APPRENTICES.

There are six apprentices learning trades at this agency, three in the blacksmith shop, and three in the carpenter and wagon shop. They show a commendable aptitude in their work, and are now quite useful in attending to repairs of wagons, sleds, plows, &c., which work is constantly increasing. The assistant blacksmith, George Albert, a full-blood Indian, lives at the mill, which is about seven miles from the agency. He is charged with the care of grist-mill and saw-mill, keeps an account of all saw-logs and wood received, runs the engine when sawing or grinding, and takes care of the buildings and machinery when they are not in operation. He is a married man, and we have commenced building a blacksmith shop alongside his house for his use, which shop, near the mill and the boarding schools, will be a central point for work, being contiguous to the best settlements on the reservation.

INDIAN POLICE.

The Indian police force is one of the principal supports of an Indian agent, and exerts an influence for good among the Indians that no other organization can. I have found the force of this agency trustworthy and reliable, always ready to execute orders and cheerfully undertake any journey or hardship when in the line of duty; but to make the force still more efficient, a more reasonable compensation is essential. A salary of \$60 per year is insufficient to keep the best men in the service. Policemen should be paid \$15 per month, at least, for self and horse, and when the retention of proper men for such an important civilizing power depends upon an additional \$10 per month, it is certainly unwise economy for Congress to withhold it.

MISSIONARY, EDUCATIONAL, AND MORALS.

This agency is assigned to the Roman Catholic Church, the mission being under the charge of Rev. Claude Ebner, O. S. B., who, with Rev. E. Wendl, assistant priest for eight months of the past year, and one Benedictine brother, has labored patiently with these people. The christianization of a heathen people, with their absurd superstitions and pagan practices, is very slow; still, the Rev. Father is very hopeful, and greatly encouraged with his success, as the old people who formerly opposed the instruction of their children are now indifferent, and he reports 175 baptisms since the 1st of September last, 13 of whom were adults.

The industrial boarding school is under contract with Very Rev. J. B. A. Brouillet, director of Catholic Indian missions, and is under the immediate charge of Rev. Sister Chapin, with six assistant sisters, of the order of Grey Nuns, of Montreal, Canada. This school, a model of order and neatness, is a powerful civilizer, the deportment, manners, and discipline of the pupils being the admiration of all who visit it; and one of the most pleasing features of the results of the school is to see the change that is being wrought among the parents and families of the children of the school. The religious training and example shown exert a wholesome influence over all, and the principles of justice and morality inculcated are no longer despised, but respected by the whole community.

This school has been successfully conducted throughout the past year. There have been 93 children who attended school during the year; the largest average attendance during any one month was 81; and the average attendance for 11 months (from September 1, 1880, to July 31, 1881) was 75 regular boarding scholars. The children have made commendable progress, and their advancement all that could be desired. A vacation was given on July 26, ultimo, but after visiting their homes for a few days

a majority of the children have returned to the school to remain throughout the vacation; this course being more beneficial to the children than if they remained at home, it is therefore encouraged by us.

The morals of these Indians are steadily improving. Neither the Sun nor Medicine dance is now practiced upon the reservation. The Medicine feast is still continued, but that also is no longer popular. The Grass dance is yet practiced, but it is only allowed at stated times, and regulated so as not to interfere with farm labor.

Polygamy is rapidly dying out, and there has not been a case of drunkenness or intoxication among these Indians during the past year. Their obedience and good behavior is such as to be gratifying to an agent. It commands the respect of persons knowing them, and is extolled by strangers who visit the reservation.

AGENCY BUILDINGS.

The following buildings belonging to this agency are in a good state of repair, viz, agent's house; industrial boarding-school; grist and saw mills; granary and stable. The store-rooms and shops are log buildings with shingled roofs, and are also in a fair state of repair, but the employes' quarters need renovating. They are old log buildings with shingled roofs, and the buildings, having settled considerably, need new floors throughout. The stable, 30 by 60 feet, two and a-half stories, and the grist-mill, 32 by 32 feet, were built last fall and painted this spring. The stable is very substantially built, and is one of the most convenient barns in this section of the country. The grist-mill is well constructed, and does excellent work, 4,000 bushels of wheat having been ground for the Indians of the reservation since its completion in December last.

Arrangements are also now made for the erection of another school-building, 30 by 50 feet, two stories, which is intended for the larger boys, and the log building now occupied by them will be converted into shops and store-rooms for their use.

SURVEY OF RESERVATION.

As in my last annual report, I would again call attention to the importance of the survey of this reservation and urge its early completion. This survey is very necessary for the permanent and proper location of the Indians, and will remove one of the principal sources of annoyance to an agent here, by establishing lines that would be accepted and respected.

SALARIES OF INDIAN AGENTS.

It is now pretty generally admitted that it requires a man of some ability to successfully conduct the affairs of an Indian agency, his duties being judicial and executive, and both of an exacting nature. The office is, therefore, no longer considered a sinecure. An Indian agent must also be a man who has the confidence of his neighbors when he can give the bonds required by law; still the salary remains in most cases less than is paid to a second-class clerk. This inadequacy of salary is an unjust discrimination from other public officers, and is a matter for the consideration of Congress which I hope the department will call attention to, and succeed in having a more just compensation allowed.

CONCLUSION.

In concluding this my sixth annual report as Indian agent at Devil's Lake, having recently been assigned to the Standing Rock Agency, for which new station I expect to leave in a few days, and in severing my connection with this agency and the Indians among whom I have labored for the past ten years (four years as an employe and six years as agent), I must say that I do so with some reluctance; but in looking back at what these people were when I first saw them ten years ago, and comparing their condition at that time with their present prosperity, I can see enough for congratulation, and also feel that my labors have not been entirely lost; and with full confidence in the future prosperity, steady advancement, and ultimate civilization of the Indians of this agency, I take my leave of them, bespeaking for their new agent (who will yet find much to do) that support and encouragement from the department, so essential to his success, which I have so largely enjoyed while in the service at this agency.

I inclose herewith statistical report, together with report of the special physician.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JAMES McLAUGHLIN,
United States Indian Agent.

THE COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

FORT BERTHOLD AGENCY, DAKOTA,
September 5, 1881.

SIR: In compliance with instructions contained in office circular of July 1, 1881, I have the honor to submit this my second annual report of affairs at this agency since my taking charge of it on the 19th of May, 1880.

This reservation is located in the northwestern part of Dakota, and the agency in the southeastern corner of the reservation, 95 miles overland from Bismarck in a northwestern direction. There are united at this agency three tribes: Arickarees, Gros Ventres, and Mandans, numbering, Arickarees, 678; Gros Ventres, 445; Mandans, 223; total, 1,346.

The average of farm land has been increased from 650 acres cultivated last year to 850 acres this year, of which the Indians cultivated 580 acres, divided in 255 allotments; there was also cultivated by the government 270 acres. I have thus far been unable to thresh grain, as the threshing-machine purchased for this purpose has not reached my agency; therefore estimated yield only can be given. Wheat and oats were injured by hot winds during the first half of July—on the 3d of July the thermometer registered 106° in the shade; on the 7th, 103°. While the earlier sown wheat was in bloom these hot winds produced a blighting effect upon the growing crops, the quality of the grain was greatly injured and the yield largely reduced. Yield of crops raised by Indians from 580 acres, which they cultivated in a very creditable manner, estimated: Ree corn (a small early variety), 345 acres, 3,500 bushels; potatoes, 125 acres, 4,000 bushels; squash, 12 acres, 225 bushels; beans, 8 acres, 56 bushels. Also, cultivated by the government: Wheat, 160 acres, estimated yield 1,500 bushels; oats, 65 acres, 1,600 bushels; corn, 25 acres, 250 bushels; potatoes, 4 acres, 250 bushels; Hungarian and millet, 16 acres, 20 tons hay. The entire tract of land cultivated is well fenced with posts and wire; 1,190 rods were built this summer. The soil is thin, with subsoil sand and gravel; the older fields show evidence of being worn out. I would request that the breaking of 200 to 300 acres of land be secured during the next year.

I am gratified in being able to state that the number of Indian men who labor is constantly increasing; and, as compared with the number willing to labor one year ago, great improvement has been made in this direction. Men who now perform much of the work formerly done only by women are no longer ridiculed by those who have thought it undignified for Indian men to labor; chiefs and head men of their tribes, who never labored before, now engage heartily in farm work, and their example has a good effect upon the younger men of the tribes. The Indians have cut, to date, 530 tons of hay for themselves and the government. I am now dividing in allotments among them a much larger acreage of land than they ever farmed before, which I will have them plow this fall that it may be ready for seeding and planting in early spring, to avoid delay in preparing ground in spring-time.

I regret that all the Indians of this reservation are huddled together in one compact village, subjecting them continually, more especially the young, to vicious influences with which they are continually surrounded. If they could be located on lands in severalty, and could feel assured that the lands which they would occupy and cultivate were really their own, and know that they held them by a tenure which could not be taken away from them, I am persuaded that they would be greatly stimulated to make and improve and beautify homes and occupy them. This great incentive to civilization should no longer be withheld from them; they would thus be induced to leave the village, with all its accumulations of filth and garbage of more than thirty years. But as these lands are not surveyed, they are unwilling to occupy them with an uncertain tenure.

I also find another objection made by them to leaving their village and separating on lands some distance apart from each other, which is the fear of being attacked by their old enemies, the Sioux; to such an extent is this fear entertained by them that they never leave the village even for a few miles without being well armed. I deem it important that the honorable Commissioner draw an agreement with treaty stipulations providing that all Indians of each tribe should mutually agree to treat and regard Indians of other tribes as friends and abandon the hostile feelings which they now entertain toward each other, to the end that horse-stealing and murdering may cease among the Indians of the different tribes, and instruct Indian agents to use their influence with "chiefs" and "head men" to sign said stipulations.

SCHOOLS.

Greater interest is being manifested by the heads of families on the subject of education than ever before by the Indians of this agency; they seem awake to the importance of the education of their children, and the head men are exerting a good influence among the children and young people of their tribes. It is, however, difficult with school-houses located adjacent to the village to secure a regular attendance on the part of the pupils, but we feel encouraged with the evidences of improvement. The teachers are diligent in their efforts to make the school successful. I find from school record that the average daily attendance for the school year of ten months continuous session was 31.1; the whole number of pupils who attended school was 114; the largest average daily attendance for one month was 50.

MISSIONARY.

Missionary work at this agency under the auspices of the Congregational Church, and under the personal care and supervision of Rev. C. L. Hall, is doubtless preparatory to beneficial results, and much good will be accomplished in the work of civilizing and christianizing the Indians of this reservation. Rev. Mr. Hall has completed within the past year a neat chapel, which is used regularly every Sabbath for service; instruction is given to Indians in their own language, in which Mr. Hall has made considerable progress. The mission work at this agency sustained a great loss, and Rev. Hall a sad bereavement, in the death of his wife, which occurred on the 17th of April last. Her earnest work and deeply pious life gave her great influence with the Indians. Rev. Hall is ably assisted by two lady teachers, Miss Ward, and Miss Pike.

POLICE.

The police force at this agency consists of 20 men—1 captain, 1 lieutenant, and 18 privates. They have been selected from the most intelligent, orderly, and influential men of the tribes at my agency, and are willing at all times to perform duty when called upon, and are obedient to orders, and also feel the responsibility which they have assumed, and proven their efficiency in the preservation of good order throughout the past year. No opposition to the organization is now manifested; the chiefs and headmen of all the tribes are in full accord with the importance and benefits of the organization, and no disorder of note has occurred during the past year. I believe the benefits resulting from the system more than compensate for the small expense incurred.

In conclusion, I will say I am greatly encouraged in the prospect of the future civilization of these Indians; I firmly believe that with kind and reasonable treatment, patient example, and honest dealing with them, together with persistent and patient teaching in the practical lessons of agriculture, and with reasonable assistance afforded them in their laudable efforts to help themselves, they may be elevated to a plane of civilization which will make them good citizens. In morals they compare favorably with an equal number of white people. Profanity and cursing seem to be almost unknown to them. The degrading vice of profane swearing is taught them by the worst class of white men.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JACOB KAUFFMAN,
United States Indian Agent.

The COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

LOWER BRULÉ AGENCY, DAKOTA,
August 29, 1881.

SIR: In accordance with instructions contained in circular from Indian Office bearing date July 1, 1881, I have the honor to report condition of affairs at this agency since I assumed charge December 3, 1880.

LOCATION OF AGENCY.

"Lower Brulé Agency" is located upon the west bank of the Missouri River, latitude 44° north, longitude about 23° west from Washington; its southern boundary near the White River, and extending 20 miles north to a point near Fort Hale, and extending west from the Missouri River a uniform width of 10 miles (as described by treaty made at Fort Sully, A. D. 1866). Much more land than this, however, is claimed by this tribe. The surface of the country is very broken; and there is but little land in the whole range of what may be called "first class" for cultivation; the most is only adapted for grazing purposes.

The agency headquarters are located upon the west bank of the Missouri, about one mile from the river, which, opposite, is about 1,000 yards wide.

The bottom lands here are about one and one-fourth of a mile wide, the land rising with a gentle slope from the river to the bluffs in the rear to an elevation from 300 to 400 feet above the level of the river. Upon the east is American Crow Creek, a tributary of the Missouri, at times a turbulent torrent, at others (as at the present) nearly or quite dry. This creek and its tributaries drain a large surface, and in the event of a storm or melting snows, rises rapidly; being at times impassable for days. It has been often bridged, and the bridges have been repeatedly swept away. At the present time a bridge is in process of construction which, it is to be hoped, may withstand the floods, and give us at all times egress by way of Fort Hale, the only outlet from the agency except by the Missouri River. White River is the other stream watering a part of this reservation, subject at times to sudden rises, filled with sand bars, extremely crooked, navigable for nothing but the lightest skiffs or canoes, and the greater part of the year is but a shallow, dirty stream.

THE SOIL AND PRODUCTS.

Upon the larger part of the reservation the soil is totally unfit for cultivation; alkali earths in many places largely predominate. The washings from the bluffs and hills make a soil, when wet very tenacious, and when dry it "bakes" to such a degree that the plow cannot be used even upon land that has been cultivated in previous years. From the conformation of the land, much of it can never be successfully worked. Broken as it is by deep ravines and steep hills, the plow can never be used to advantage; and crops can neither be planted, tended, nor gathered.

Upon the White River, and at its mouth, there are some excellent pieces of land, producing corn, oats, wheat, hay, potatoes, and vegetables, repaying, in ordinary seasons, the labor expended. The same may also be said of some portions that border upon the Missouri, but the larger part is apparently unfit for anything but grazing. No "prairie" land thus far has been broken, and the problem of its cultivation as yet remains unsolved. It is proposed to break from 50 to 75 acres of prairie the coming season, sowing oats, wheat, and planting a portion with corn, that we may know from actual trial what crops (if any) can be profitably raised. From examination I am led to think that oats, wheat, and barley may be grown upon the upland in quantities that will more than repay the cost of labor.

Statement of land broken.

No.	Names.	1880.	1881.	Total.	No.	Names.	1880.	1881.	Total.
		Acres	Acres	Acres			Acres	Acres	Acres
1	Iron Nation	6	1	7	52	Crazy Ball	2	2	4
2	Cloud Hoop	2	0	2	53	Hawk Track	1 1/2	1 1/2	3
3	Chasing Horse	2	0	2	54	Small Forked Tail	5	1	6
4	Omaha	5	0	5	55	White Whirlwind	3	1	4
5	Forked Butte	3	0	3	56	Wind Cloud	5	1	6
6	Bull Head	6	0	6	57	Knee	4	1	5
7	Pretty Sounding Flute	2	0	2	58	Black Jumper	1	2	3
8	Good Road	1 1/2	0	1 1/2	59	Iron Sided Bear	4	1	5
9	John Wikuwa	2	0	2	60	Fool Hawk	1	1	2
10	Mary Rencontre	3	0	3	61	Thin Belly	1	1	2
11	Man like a Bear	0	1	1	62	Bob-tailed Crow	1	1	2
12	John Duhomette	2 1/2	0	2 1/2	63	Bear Elk	1 1/2	1/2	2
13	Useful Heart	7	3	10	64	Jumping Up	8	0	8
14	Bear Bird	7	2	9	65	Slow Dog	1	1	2
15	Carries the Eagle	4	4	8	66	Rattling Runner	1	1	2
16	Rattler	2	0	2	67	Black Stone	1 1/2	0	1 1/2
17	Stabber	3	0	3	68	Little Pheasant, by band	1	1	2
18	Red Quilt	5	0	5	69	Do do	1	1	2
19	White Buffalo Man	6	4	10	70	Grass Lodge	7 1/2	1 1/2	9
20	Pretty Dog	4	0	4	71	Little Bull	3	2	5
21	Small Sided Bear	1	0	1	72	High Dog	3 1/2	1	4 1/2
22	Flying Eagle	2	1	3	73	Sharp Nail	3	0	3
23	Left-Handed Thunder	4	1	5	74	Ghost Lodge	2	3	5
24	Alex. Rencontre	6	0	6	75	Big Eagle Feather	3 1/2	2	5 1/2
25	Finette Rencontre	0	3	3	76	Black White Man	3 1/2	2	5 1/2
26	Jack near the House	2	2	4	77	Lone Pine	1 1/2	1 1/2	3
27	Pretty Head	2	0	2	78	Surrounded	2 1/2	3	5 1/2
28	Big Bodied Eagle	2	1	3	79	Twist Nose	6	2	8
29	Blackfoot	3	1	4	80	Red Leaf	8 1/2	2	10 1/2
30	Big Mans	6	2	8	81	Medicine Bull	1 1/2	0	1 1/2
31	Spirit Walker	5	0	5	82	Mark Patterson	5	2	7
32	Sawalla	5	0	5	83	High Dog	3	0	3
33	Bear with Long Claws	3	0	3	84	Medicine Bear	2	0	2
34	Red Water	4	0	4	85	Elk	2	0	2
35	Chasing Crow	2	0	2	86	Driving Hawk	5 1/2	5	10 1/2
36	Big Bellied Teacher	2	0	2	87	Soldier Partisan	2	0	2
37	Dead Hand	4	2	6	88	Rev. Luke C. Walker	7	0	7
38	Good Soldier	2	1	3	89	Charles Collins	3	0	3
39	Tobacco Mouth	34	0	34	90	Handsome Elk	1	3	4
40	Little Dog	5	2	7	91	Wears the Eagle	4	4	8
41	Stone Man	4	2	6	92	John Whitemouse	0	1	1
42	Many Eagles	2	0	2	93	Foot	0	1	1
43	Red Breast	2 1/2	2	4 1/2	94	Big Heart	0	2	2
44	Poor Clown	0	2	2	95	Medicine Horse	0	1	1
45	Yellow Hawk	2	2	4	96	Long Star	0	2	2
46	Black Dog	5	2	7	97	Beef Carrier	0	2	2
47	Standing Cloud	5	2	7	98	Good Soldier	0	2	2
48	Dog from War	5 1/2	2	7 1/2					
49	Black Wolf	6	4	10					
50	Solos Walker	2	0	2					
51	Black Bonnet	2	4	6					
					Total		321 1/2	114	435 1/2

The first column in the foregoing is taken from the report of the acting agent of this agency for the year 1880. Some of the land broken has never been cultivated, some cultivated in part, the most planted with corn and potatoes.

No wheat has been sown for the year 1881 by the Indians, there being no means of grinding at or near the agency. Much of the wheat raised in 1880 was either not harvested at all, or else gathered in a very loose manner. There being but one thrasher at the agency, and the tribe scattered so far over steep hills almost impassable for a loaded team, renders it very discouraging work for them to haul it to thrash. With another machine located nearer the larger bands and with machinery for grinding, I am of opinion that wheat would be raised more generally.

The crop of corn this year, I fear, will be nearly a failure. Up to within three weeks I never saw finer. Since then we have had extraordinary hot weather, with very strong hot winds, that in some cases have almost entirely destroyed the crop.

WATER AND TIMBER.

The great drawback, apparently, to the location of the Indians away from the margin of the rivers (Missouri and White), arises from the scarcity of water and timber. Very few springs can be found at any time, and during the hot season their number is decreased. Upon the river bottoms and lowlands there is little or no good water, as in most cases the alkali impregnation is such that it is absolutely poisonous; hence, the water supply at present is confined to the Missouri and White Rivers.

In the vicinity of the agency headquarters, and apparently all through the bottom lands, at various depths, "chalk rock," so called, appears to underlie nearly the whole country, "cropping out" and forming the river banks, bluffs, hills, &c. This rock is very soft, almost like compressed clay, and could be bored with almost as much ease as the soil which it underlies, and I am convinced that below this stratum of rock water can be found in quantity sufficient to warrant the trial. Water being found, the means of raising it to the surface would be of small expense. Thus water could be obtained for all necessary purposes—stock, culinary, irrigation (when needed), and last as a protection from fires.

All the water used at the agency must be hauled from the Missouri, a mile distant, at a cost of from \$2,000 to \$2,500 per year; with this sum, "water-works," capable of supplying all the water needed at all times for the stables, barn, houses, shops, &c., could be built, besides giving a complete protection against fire, of which, at present, we have nothing but a few buckets. With the prevailing high winds a fire once started would be almost certain to destroy the entire agency buildings, with all the valuable stores, tools, &c., contained therein. At the saw-mill, some 7 miles distant, is a 20 horse-power steam engine practically useless. Could this be removed to the agency it could be used, not only for sawing, but also for pumping and grinding. The additional cost for mills and pumps, with the necessary pipe, would be but comparatively small, and then the steam-engine would be a large and important factor in agency labor.

From a careful examination of the timber and wood resources of the agency a very scant supply must be reported; upon the agency proper there is almost none. The "Missouri bottoms," that a few years since were so thickly studded with oak, ash, elm, and cottonwood timber, have been ruthlessly stripped, and the axes of the Indian, the wood-chopper, and military wood-contractor have cleared nearly all, leaving but a scant supply, and it will be but a short time hence when timber in this part of Dakota will be among "the things that have been." Upon my arrival here there were but 12 cords of wood for agency use during the long and cold winter of 1880-'81. All the wood chopped was obtained from trees that had been felled in previous years. No standing wood was cut, except a few trees upon the line of the proposed railroad.

In this connection permit me respectfully to call the attention of the department to the wanton and reckless manner in which the timber lands set apart for Indian use have been and are now mercilessly plundered of valuable standing timber and wood, valuable cedar, oak, and elm, cut and converted into cord-wood by steamboat wood-cutters, squatters, and others, without any benefit being derived from the same. All cases that have come to my knowledge of wood chopping upon this or the "general reservation" have been acted upon promptly, and the offenders warned from Indian soil. As the whole of this part of the Territory is practically without timber, except small quantities upon the margin of the streams, it would seem but an act of prudence to enforce the laws in respect to timber and wood cutting already upon the statute book, and if these are insufficient, to apply for additional legislation to preserve the remnant of timber from such wholesale destruction.

CLIMATE.

Perhaps no part of the United States or its Territories can show a greater range of temperature than Dakota. The winter of 1880-'81 was in all respects a remarkable winter. Commencing early with snow and the closing of the Missouri in October, at the time of my arrival here, December 3, winter had fairly commenced; snows falling, accumulating, drifting, closing all means of access or egress, shutting the agency completely from the outer world, almost as effectually as though we had been transported to another planet; the mercury dropping lower and lower daily, the lowest

mark of 41° below zero was reached; with no mail for weeks (at one time an interval of thirty-nine days and one of twenty-nine days). It seemed at times almost as though we had been transported to those regions of snow and ice eternal so graphically described by Dr. Kane. Still the daily routine went on, and all at the agency retained their usual health. For fourteen consecutive days in January, 1881, the mercury at no time during the twenty-four hours rose above zero—the lowest marking was 41° below. (During the present month of August, 1881, for a number of days the mercury in the agent's office has stood at 100°, 101°, and 102°.) During the "frozen time" the sun rose, shone, and set upon a world of white; varied at times by furious winds, violent storms, blinding snows, filling the air, and making travel dangerous to human life.

Wood chopping, ice cutting, hauling logs to saw-mills, preparing food for domestic animals, when the weather would admit, were all carried on with as much system as practicable. The usual winter pasturage finally became so deeply buried that subsistence from that source for the cattle was no longer to be had. Stores of forage ran low, and then began the fight of the domestic cattle and ponies with cold and starvation, and hunger became the normal condition of nearly all the domestic animals upon the agency. Many died of hunger, some were buried deep in snow drifts, and for a time it was feared that almost all animal life would become extinct.

The breaking up of the Missouri, fortunately for us, had but few inconveniences, and no positive dangers. As the most of the houses are located far beyond the reach of the river in its highest stages, but small damage was sustained. With the advent of spring and the disappearance of the snow and ice, new duties came, and all were invigorated and inspired with new hopes and new aspirations; the winter had gone, the land was to be prepared for crops, and nearly all had something to look forward to, to redeem the losses of the past.

Hitherto nothing has been said descriptive of the inhabitants of this agency; a paragraph may be devoted profitably to

THE INDIANS OF LOWER BRULÉ AGENCY.

The Lower Brulé tribe are one of the many branches of the great Sioux Nation, speaking essentially the same tongue, practicing the same customs, having similar traditions, similar unwritten laws, and being in fact *Indians*. Physically, mentally, and morally, they appear well, better than any tribe whose representatives I have met. Among them are many who, dressed in full citizen's clothing, would command instant attention in any community, and a closer acquaintance would disclose the fact that they possess no small amount of mental ability. Still, with all these advantages, they are but *Indians*; not *angels*, but human beings, with all the human hopes, fears, wishes, and aspirations pertaining to humanity; men whose ancestors for successive generations have been called "savages," "barbarians," and "hateful," "treacherous," and every way "ugly"; who knew but little good and much evil; whose education developed them into splendid animals, having but few human hopes, and much more of the animal than intellectual in their composition; such were the ancestors of this people.

Slowly, very slowly, have they been lifted above the level of their ancestors, but a change has been made, and one for the better. Where their ancestors roamed from hill to hill, and valley to valley, stopping a day here or there, as fancy dictated, their descendants live, not in bark huts, or skin "tipi," but in comfortable log houses, with many of the comforts and some of the luxuries of civilized life.

The value of these changes they are not slow to appreciate, and the desire is daily growing for better houses, better furniture, and more of the comforts and conveniences of a home. From frequent conversations with the oldest men in the tribe, they claim to be the oldest tribe settled upon the Missouri River, having frequented this locality and planted corn, melons, &c., upon this spot for a long series of years.

The tribe is scattered over an area of some 12 or 15 miles in extent, a part of them, thirteen bands in all, being located near agency headquarters, a part at the mouth of the White River, and still a third part upon the White River, extending as far as fifteen or more miles from its mouth. They are located upon the best lands in the reservation, the most convenient for wood and water, and those best adapted for farming purposes, as at present managed. Nearly or quite all the bottom lands in this reservation are thus occupied. Should the experiment of breaking the prairie prove a success, there will be room for a further outgrowth of Indian farms.

The mile square, sold by agreement January, 1881, to the Chicago, Milwaukee and Saint Paul Railroad Company, will take a large part of the best land near the agency headquarters.

A visit to the various camps discloses the pleasing fact that the most of them live in a fairly comfortable manner, in log houses mostly. A few still cling to the "tipis." Some of the houses have shingled roofs; the most, however, still are covered with mud and brush, as of old. They are justly proud of their farms, and point with pride to the fences, fields, &c., that they claim as theirs; and a few words of kindness and commendation or suggestions for making a better showing are kindly taken and prac-

ticed. In the care and management of their dwellings many of them show neatness and method, and the desire for furniture evinces an appreciation of home comforts.

Previous to my arrival here there had been no resident agent for several years; the agency having been in charge of Capt. W. E. Dougherty, First United States Infantry, who also had charge of the agency at Crow Creek, residing for some time at the latter place. As these agencies are on opposite sides of the Missouri River, and nearly thirty miles apart, and as at certain seasons the Missouri cannot be crossed for days at a time, the difficulty of management can readily be seen, and, as a matter of fact, the "Brulés" were somewhat discouraged. They need emphatically "line upon line and precept upon precept" daily, and almost hourly words of encouragement, counsel, and at times it may be sharp reproof, and no one not present or accessible at all times can know their needs and often discouragements; and from what little experience I have had with them, I doubt if any one, however capable, can successfully manage two agencies at the same time.

A firm, kind treatment, never promising anything, however small, that is not performed to the "letter of the bond," will insure their good will and respect, and they can be directed easily in the paths of improvement and civilization. Coming among them a stranger, knowing but little of their antecedents, it has been my aim, with all the means at my disposal, to encourage the worthy, rebuke the lazy and indolent, and hold out inducements to them to array themselves in the uniform of good order. Mixing among them freely, hearing them in their complaints, their hopes, and wishes, giving them good advice, counseling them to labor themselves, to teach their children to labor, and to give them all the advantages of education that may be provided for them, and generally to be kind, obliging, considerate of their neighbors' interests as well as their own, I think I can state that, while this tribe are not quite in the "millennial" state, they will compare favorably with any community of the same number, be the "color or condition" what it may.

During my residence among them there have been no lives lost through violence, and two cases only have come to my knowledge where damage has been done to property. One of these has been amicably settled by the offender and his friends; the other is in process of adjustment. The good order among themselves is marked, and a gratifying degree of decorum is manifest, especially in the issue house. Formerly it was little better than a "bear garden"; now each waits his turn quietly and without disturbance. The same may be said with reference to the drawing of other supplies, tools, material, &c., furnished for them by the department. The old-time manners have disappeared, and in their places may be seen something of the amenities of civilization.

Labor, formerly a disgrace to the male Indian, has become fashionable, and the man who but recently was content to loiter away his time in indolence may be in most instances found at work. While they do not work with the same vigor and persistence as the whites, they still do work, when not long since the idea was scorned. At no time in the history of the tribe have there been as many workers as at present. Formerly, the agency office, shops, stables, &c., would be filled, often crowded, with loungers. The same was true with the trader's store. Now there are but few seen, except upon Thursdays and Saturdays. Thursday is the day when all can come, young and old, male and female, and ask for such articles (other than food) as may be on hand for them. Saturday being issue day, there is always a "gathering" about headquarters. On other days it is seldom that any are seen, unless it may be some in quest of the physician, or one who wishes to borrow, or have some broken tool repaired, which, when done, the Indian usually departs for his home and work.

No startling incidents can be noted, with the exception of the accidental wounding of chief "Medicine Bull" (which was reported in detail at the time), which occurred a few days after my arrival, and which, coupled with the projected visit of a delegation to Washington (in view of which there was quite a degree of excitement), also the non-distribution of the "annuity goods," the arrival of a new agent, all combined, for a few days made matters assume a rather dubious appearance, and a spark would have caused an explosion only to be quenched in blood. Fortunately the man wounded possessed not only great influence, but an uncommon share of good sense, and kindness and firmness prevailed, and peace and harmony were soon restored, which have remained unbroken till the present time.

EDUCATION.

Three schools have been maintained for about seven months during the past year. The teachers being all Indian, the Indian tongue is the medium through which instruction is conveyed. The extreme cold of the past winter and the deep snows prevented many from attending, and the closing of the schools in May did not allow me an opportunity of visiting them and see just what they were doing. The whole number of scholars reported in the 3 schools was about one hundred and seventy-five—all attending for a longer or shorter term. From all I can learn "schools in the camp" have an emphatically "up-hill work" to perform, and if anything is learned the

teacher may well "thank God and take courage." Perhaps as much knowledge was imparted and stored up as is the case in many schools located in (so-called) more favored communities. Any one who has visited a school of this description may well wonder sometimes that anything profitable has been imparted or treasured up. A most valuable part of the instruction, perhaps, may consist in the habit of going to the school.

A new "boarding, industrial, and day school" will be ready this autumn, that can accommodate fifty boarding and nearly as many mere day scholars. The Indians express the strongest wish that this school shall be under the charge of a white man who will teach the English tongue. I am of opinion that the teaching by a competent person in English would be by all means the most preferable. Hearty co-operation on the part of the most influential men in the tribe is promised, and it is to be hoped that they may be induced to take this important step in the proper direction. Five Indian youth from this agency are expected to return from Hampton, where they have been the past three years. It is hoped that their influence may be thrown in favor of sound education.

RELIGION.

The only church upon this reservation is near agency head-quarters. Episcopal in form it is "Catholic" enough to embrace, all within its fold. The rector, Rev. Luke C. Walker is a full-blood Santee Sioux Indian. As a factor in the improvement of this tribe, I consider his influence of the first importance. Not only a clergyman, but also a practical farmer, by precept and example he daily shows that it is not in his mind that labor is a disgrace. Services are held each Sunday morning in the Dakota tongue, attended usually by a full, devout, and attentive congregation. On Sunday evening service is usually held in English. Besides the Sunday morning service, there are usually one or more services held during the week-day evenings, at one of the camps. Partial services are held from time to time by one of the school teachers, at the camps on White River. Besides these, meetings are held from time to time at the study of the rector, at which religious matters are discussed, and the seeds scattered in a not unpromising soil, with the hope that in due time they may spring up and bear abundant fruit. The case of Mr. Walker himself practically settles the query, "Can the Indian be civilized?" While perhaps we cannot expect that the old will ever be much changed, the younger part of the Indians it is hoped can and will change their ways, and gladly follow the "new faith," promising, as it does, a radical change in this as well as the life to come.

SANITARY.

As a rule this tribe are remarkably healthy; that class of diseases frequently met with in semi-civilized communities is scarcely known. Consumption has its victims, as in civilized communities. Scrofula and skin diseases are met with; rheumatism is to be found; also ophthalmia, to a certain extent.

The death rate is diminishing, before a better and more comfortable home, and a more regular and healthy diet. The number of births is in excess of the deaths, and with improved modes of living I see no reason to doubt that the Indian race may long have its representation among the family of the great American Republic. Very few of mixed blood are found on the roll of the tribe, and there are at the present time no "squaw men" upon the reservation.

In the treatment of disease a very large proportion of the whole number avail themselves of the services of the regular physician of the agency. Practically the occupation of the native "medicine man" has gone, and it is but seldom that he is called to perform his mummeries. One case recurs to my mind of quite a prominent man who came to consult me personally, stating "He was a heap sick," asking my permission to send to another agency for a "grand medicine man," who he was assured could cure him. He was told that the "medicine man" could not be allowed here, and was also informed there was a "medicine man" here who could cure him with no "humbug"; after demurring for a time he finally called for the agency physician, who quickly gave him the desired relief. His faith in the new system is now strong, and the native "medicine man" for him has ceased to have any influence. One such case has a much greater weight than any given amount of humbugger.

With the erection of the hospital building, lately authorized, a new factor will be added in favor of the new way. The material, furniture, &c., have been purchased, and as soon as received the work will be commenced, and it is hoped that the New Year will open a place where the sick and disabled may be treated in a more comfortable manner than heretofore.

POLICE.

The Indian police force consists of 1 captain, 1 sergeant, and 8 privates, a number quite too small for the duties to be performed. The rapid influx of settlers in this vicinity (on the opposite shore of the river) has assumed large proportions. The temptation to cross the river, for wood-cutting, trading, whisky-selling, &c., is great,

and the class that invariably flock to the extreme frontier, embracing many with little or no moral sense, is increasing. These men are far more difficult to control than the Indians. Bringing as they do few of the virtues and all of the vices of civilized life, their presence is in no way desirable, but quite the reverse. Orders have been issued and posted in prominent places upon the opposite shore, that all who land upon the agency must at once report at the office; those not reporting to be sent at once without the limits of the reservation. This has had a wholesome effect, and the number straggling has been diminished. The better class of settlers approve the regulation; those whom it was intended to hit do not approve.

I am happy to be able to state that the police force among the Indians themselves is growing in favor. They see that it is a protection to them, and they are desirous that the force be increased. Quite recently a request was made by the headmen and chiefs that the police force be increased to fifty. When it is borne in mind that not more than two years since they were wholly and totally opposed to any police force at all, and that it was with great difficulty any men could be enlisted, the change in opinion in this matter seems quite remarkable.

The pay of the Indian police seems entirely too small. Five dollars per month, the man to find his own pony, seems a very small compensation; with an increase of pay, providing police quarters and a fatigue suit in addition to the full dress suit now provided, a force can be organized that would be a much greater aid to the agent than at present in his many duties. As far as they go they do well; with increased pay and advantages the best young "braves" would naturally seek the police force as a means of making their influence felt in the tribe. Another method is to make the pay more per man, and insist that his whole time should be devoted to the service.

HOMESTEADS.

The Indian, as he progresses, naturally feels that he would like some "vested right" in the soil he occupies. It is little benefit to him, he feels, for him to work if he knows he may at any time be dispossessed. Give him to know and feel that the land and the house he cultivates and occupies are his land and his house, that he cannot be removed at will, that he and his children and children's children will inherit the land, and you give him the highest possible inducement to move onward and upward. In the history of their race they see that step by step they have been driven back before the advancing host of the white man, and they naturally inquire "How long will it be before we too will be obliged to fall back?" And they naturally ask, "What profit will it be for us to build houses and plant fields if we too are to be compelled to fall back before the white stranger?" By giving them the land they now occupy, by extending over them the broad shield of the law, they are made legally equal with the whites. This done, they will enter upon such a career of improvement as this generation or any that have preceded it have never witnessed. As a measure of humanity and justice this great Nation cannot afford to refuse. Give them the same rights, and at once they are placed side by side with the white settler who seeks to make a home for himself and his posterity. Refuse them, and you doom the Indian to uncertainty as to his position, and take from him the strongest inducements to education and labor, and the twin blessings, Religion and Civilization.

EMPLOYÉS.

This report would be incomplete without a grateful recognition on my part of the value of the assistance rendered by the employés at this agency. They are the "staff" without which the various duties could not be performed, and if any improvement has been achieved, to them, in their hearty co-operation and active carrying out of orders, must be awarded a large part of the credit. But two employés have been changed since my assumption of charge, both of whom were relieved at their own request. To them all, individually, I wish to tender my sincere thanks. Some of them have been a long time at the agency, possessing the fullest confidence of the Indians, speaking their tongue, conversant with their habits; like skilled soldiers, they need but few commands.

CONCLUSION.

There are other matters of more or less importance that naturally come under the eye of an agent who performs his duty; the habits, dispositions, modes of treatment of individual cases, can be extended almost indefinitely.

There are other customs also which, to a greater or less degree, prevail which might be made the subject of a longer or shorter essay; among them ranks

DANCING.

This has been carried on, though not to so great an extent (I am informed) as in some previous years. The "sun dance" in a modified form was held this year, and resulted in a miserable failure. The expected supplies from the agency were not forthcoming; the result was a curtailment of the whole performance, with the promise that this was the last "sun dance" that would be attempted here.

A word might also be said relative to polygamy, which still prevails to some extent the more enlightened among them discountenance the practice, and the introduction of Christianity and their own sense of wrong will gradually work its downfall. With the example of a so-called Christian community favoring its practice (unsuppressed by the power of the general government) it ill becomes any to sit in judgment upon a semi-civilized class just emerging from the chaos of barbarism. Looking at the "Indian question" from a standpoint quite near, living among them, and seeing them in their daily walk, I am constrained to say that while there are many things to condemn, still there are many things to commend. Their patience, courage, honesty, good-nature, and ease with which they can be guided, commend them especially to the fostering care of the government; and as they can be fed, educated, and civilized cheaper than they can be exterminated, there are two powerful factors engaged in their improvement, viz, humanity and economy.

One further subject I would respectfully call to the attention of the department, and close this long, and perhaps prolix, report. The duties, responsibilities, and cares of Indian agents are slightly understood outside of the circle in which they revolve. When it is borne in mind that they are isolated from home, and all its pleasures and comforts, from all they hold most dear; that they are charged frequently with the most delicate and onerous responsibilities; that upon their action peace or war may result, and that upon them, more than upon any other class, depends the success or failure of the question of the advancement of the Indian race, it would seem to be a measure of true economy that their services should meet with a corresponding reward. Like all men holding responsible positions, they are human; they may and will at times err, and the rules that in many cases would be applied to others will fail with them, and they cannot always perhaps be justly judged as other men may be. Compelled to act at once, and often judge, court, and jury combined, deciding often against the white settler, squatter, or wood-chopper, they are censured, in no small degree, because they thus decide. I think I may state without any contradiction, by any one qualified to judge, that an Indian agent who seeks to know and perform his duty will find but few waking hours when he will not be called upon to consider in what manner he can best perform the duties with which he is charged. His work is never done; be it midday or midnight, like the faithful soldier camped in the presence of the enemy, he must always be ready for action; ready to take advantage of any favorable movement; equally ready to repress any attempt at violence or insubordination.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. H. PARKHURST,
United States Indian Agent.

The COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

PINE RIDGE AGENCY, DAKOTA,
September 1, 1881.

SIR: I have the honor to submit the following as my annual report for past twelve months, in accordance with requirements of circular letter, Office of Indian Affairs, July 1, 1881.

THE INDIANS.

There have been carried on the rolls of this agency for the past year an average of 7,200 Indians of the Ogalalla Sioux band, with them being a few of the Wazaxa Sioux. Our number was slightly increased in the spring by the arrival of about 60 of the Northern Sioux, from Sitting Bull's hostiles, but these were at once absorbed by the agency Indians, one or two of them becoming policemen and others freighters, so that their advent, in a decidedly ragged and starved condition, produced no other effect on our people except to impress on the agency Indian the fact that the north, to them in past years attractive as the home of the buffalo, had ceased to be a desirable region for a prolonged sojourn of the red man.

These are now in the northern camp of the surrendered hostiles at Standing Rock agency, several hundred of the Ogalallas who in the past have strayed away (hardly like lost sheep) who are anxious to return to their people here, having come to the conclusion, from force of circumstances, that the Great Father's long-horned Texas beef is somewhat more desirable than the fast-disappearing buffalo of the north, especially where the latter has to be sought after on this side of the boundary line, with the chances of finding a few United States cavalry thrown in. These renegades I would recommend the transfer of, as their presence here will in no way interfere with the peace and tranquility of the agency.

THE NORTHERN CHEYENNES.

The proposed retransfer of these people from their present abiding place at the Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, I do not look upon with the anticipation that it will

in any way add to the peace and prosperity which this agency has enjoyed for the past three years. My past experience with the above-named Indians has been that they are vicious, turbulent, and insubordinate, as compared with the Sioux. In former years when there was often threatened trouble at the Red Cloud Agency, it arose generally with these Cheyennes, who were attached to the agency. They do not submit to agency discipline and restraint, and from their record in the Indian Territory since their removal there in 1877 I should judge that they have not changed much in this respect. Still, with the efficient police system now in operation here, and the good example set by the Ogalallas, they will without doubt realize the fact that they must alter their old habits and adapt themselves to the new order of things.

The Ogalallas themselves have during the past year progressed in the same ratio as for the two previous years of their residence at this agency. They are rapidly adopting the white man's way of living, in the way of clothing, manner of preparing food, &c., and the expending of their earnings in more useful articles, such as spring wagons, furniture, &c., instead of beads and trinkets.

They have become reconciled, as a people, to the discipline of the Indian police, which was to them at first very obnoxious. They appear to realize that advance in civilization must be associated with a legal protection of life and property by individuals especially appointed for that purpose. The fact that the power to so protect them has been intrusted to members of their own tribe has had more to do with the peace and tranquillity of this agency for the past as well as the two preceding years than anything else. Admit that the Indian is brutal in many ways and low in the evolutionary scale as a human being, but he is endowed with reasoning powers, and a conscience to a certain degree, and it would be strange indeed if he did not appreciate the trust and confidence that has been placed in him here, in placing the controlling and restraining power in the hands of the Indian police as Indians, and the entire removal from the vicinity of the agency of the white man's soldiers, whose presence appears to be a constant reminder that the Great Father, and the agent who represents him, are afraid to trust him.

The abandonment of Camp Sheridan, Nebraska, located nineteen miles from here, last spring, thus leaving us with no troops nearer than sixty-three miles away at Fort Robinson, has thus far resulted in no injury to the interests of the agency, or the neighboring country, rather to the surprise of the stockmen and others, who as usual prognosticated Indian raids, outbreaks, &c. For the past year, no crime has been committed on the reserve, or disturbance created. No stockman or settler in the neighboring State of Nebraska or the Black Hills can claim to have lost a head of stock, but rather the contrary, for many stray animals belonging to the stockmen have been picked up on the Indians' land and returned to the rightful owners by the Indian police and individual Indians.

During the past winter, more or less trouble was created by the introduction of intoxicating liquor from the whisky ranches established just over the Nebraska line, two miles from the agency, but the temporary establishing of two sub-stations for the police on the line, and a regular patrol of the same, resulted in the locking up of the offenders in the agency guard-house for several days at a time; and a prompt removal from the reserve of all white men found frequenting these ranches, very soon put a stop to one of the principal curses arising from the association of the Indian with the unprincipled class of whites too frequently to be found in the vicinity of Indian reservations. To thoroughly prevent the introduction of liquor into the Sioux country is a difficult matter. It is true the severe laws enacted by the United States to prevent this traffic should apparently put a stop to it, but when we consider that the noble red men as a people evince a remarkably natural taste for the article, it is not to be wondered at that they should shield the person who may attempt to supply them. This taste and desire for liquor appears not alone among the common Indians; it is not unwelcome to even Red Cloud (whom an editor of one of the philanthropical journals East recently very gushingly termed "the grand old chieftain"), for excessive use of the fluid which exhilarates and at the same time intoxicates has had much to do with eliminating what grandeur formerly existed in this Indian, and has resulted in his downfall among his people.

There has been the usual attempt made during the spring to cause discontent among the Indians and distrust in the department by the use of trumped-up charges of stealing, &c., by the agent and his employes, emanating from a few ex-traders and squaw men; but owing to what I should judge to be a recent and wise policy adopted by your office, in referring the same to the agent for investigation, and thus affording him an opportunity as an official of the government to defend himself, (in place of the system in vogue formerly, of subjecting him to a star-chamber investigation, with the attendant newspaper notoriety, presumably on the theory that Indian agents are guilty until proven innocent), the disturbance was short-lived.

HOUSE-BUILDING.

The construction of permanent abodes by the Indians has progressed rapidly and satisfactorily, as many inducements have been offered them to engage in this most

promising advancement toward dual civilization, interfering as it does with their migrating tendencies and investing their earnings in a kind of property that they cannot easily move off, and once having enjoyed the comfort of will be loath to forsake. The houses have been supplied with a good cooking stove each, crockery, and various housekeeping articles. The three hundred cooking stoves supplied by the department during the year were excellent in both manufacture and material, but are now all in use, and there are at present several houses unsupplied. The exceedingly severe weather of last winter, with the suffering endured among those living in the canvas lodges, has very much stimulated the erection of houses.

The Indians naturally at first located their houses in small villages, after their custom of erecting their lodges, but by degrees the enterprising ones, who are of course the house-builders, discover that by living in villages they have to care for the worthless and indolent who pass their time in dancing and feasting, so that now the owners are scattering out, and the creek bottoms for a distance of forty miles from the agency are dotted with substantial log houses where two years ago none were to be seen. Where a modest little house of one room formerly satisfied the owner, the majority now aspire to structures of two or three rooms, so that there is an increasing demand for heating as well as cooking stoves.

Another and not insignificant benefit resulting from the use of stoves is the protection of the trees in the valleys, consisting of ash, cottonwood, box elder, and hackberry, as an open fire in a lodge precludes to a great extent the use of pine on account of smoke, and the Indians were forced to resort to the other woods; but now the pine, which should be the proper fuel of the country, is burned in the stoves.

STOCK-RAISING.

The cows and bulls furnished these Indians during the two preceding years, numbering 1,500, for breeding purposes, have been well cared for and have increased numerically to a very promising extent. The loss on the original stock was small, notwithstanding the severe weather of the past winter, where the loss on some of the private ranges in the vicinity equaled fully from 25 to 75 per cent. The experiment of making these people civilized and probably eventually self-supporting as stock-raisers does not disappoint my anticipations of two years ago and promises more practically than any other means for various reasons. For considering the Indians as a people, and their past life for generations, it is hardly to be expected that they will take kindly to a life of toil requiring manual labor as is required in an agriculturist; having had more or less experience as stock-raisers in herding and breeding their vast herds of ponies, it would seem but common sense to continue them in this path with domestic cattle.

AGRICULTURE.

After practical experience and observation in this region for several years, I cannot but consider that any attempt to make these people self-supporting, even to a limited degree, as farmers, must necessarily be but a waste of time, labor, and money, for the simple reason that this is not an agricultural country, principally on account of lack of rainfall at the proper season, and the hot scorching winds that prevail during the summer months. The lack of rainfall is due to the peculiar meteorological condition of things that have probably existed in this region for ages, and may for ages to come. The moist currents of air passing in the upper regions from the valley of the Missouri and its tributaries of this district have their temperature increased by constant radiation of heat from the earth, and their capacity for moisture being thus augmented, so that the rain which should descend here, does not until the high peaks and ridges of the Black Hills, Big Horn, and the foot-hills of the Rockies are reached, where the air becomes chilled and the rain drops. From thence the moisture travels back to the Missouri through the creeks and tributaries heading in the above-mentioned regions. There being very little moisture in the ground, the heat absorbed from the sun's rays in summer, instead of passing off as latent heat of evaporation, goes off as active radiated heat; thus one thing leads to another, and *vice versa*.

Irrigation, except to a comparatively limited extent, I do not consider feasible. The creek bottoms are narrow and the upper benches, which take in the bulk of the land, are, as a rule, too much elevated above the water to render extensive irrigation practicable; and even if this was not an objection, the creeks, which are on an average twelve miles apart, supply too small and uncertain an amount of water to supply extensive ditches. Land which requires irrigation to make it cultivatable is hardly the land which we should select to try the experiment of making men self-supporting as agriculturists, to whom manual labor is both distasteful and a thing to them personally unknown.

The fact is, that by degrees the white man has taken from the Sioux pretty much all the land that can be considered arable. When these people gave up the Black Hills and the Big Horn, they lost the garden spots of the reserve, and it is now rather late in the day for the white man, after depriving them of all the valuable portion of

their country, to become clamorous that the lazy heathen should work and become producers and support themselves. White men well trained in farming, have tried to till the soil in this vicinity in Northern Nebraska and have lost all the money invested, and have not produced enough to pay for the seed. I can confidently venture to state that, if the experiment were tried of placing 7,000 white people on this land, with seed, agricultural implements, and one year's subsistence, at the end of that time they would die of starvation, if they had to depend on their crops for their sustenance.

In support of the above, I take the liberty of quoting from the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1876. On page 333 of said report will be found the following extract contained in letter of instructions to the Sioux Commission from Hon. J. Q. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

The President is strongly impressed with the belief that the agreement which shall be best calculated to enable the Indians to become self-supporting is one which shall provide for their removal at as early a day as possible to the Indian Territory, and that the solution of the difficulties which now surround the "Sioux problem" can be best reached by such removal. Their main dependence for support must ultimately be the cultivation of the soil, and for this purpose their own country is utterly unsuited.

On page 337 will be found the following, embodied in the report of the Sioux Commission after having visited this region:

From the information received, the commission believe that if the Indians are to be made self-supporting as speedily as possible they ought to be removed to the Indian Territory at as early a day as practicable. We are unanimous in the opinion that these Indians can, for the present, find homes on the Missouri River, but we do not believe that they will ever become a self-sustaining people there. We do not think that it would be advisable at this time to move the large proportion of the Sioux to the Indian Territory, but in view of the fact that it is the only valuable country upon which the Indians can be located and that this country has been set apart by the most solemn guarantees as the future home of the Indians, that to open any portion of this territory to white settlers would be a violation of the nation's pledged faith, and that here the Indians can become a self-supporting people, we believe that it is just and humane to remove to this Territory from time to time bodies of the Sioux who are ready and prepared to live by labor.

From page 349 I quote still further from the report of the commission:

Inasmuch as the country now occupied by the Sioux Indians does not possess lands on which they can ever expect to become self-supporting, we would respectfully recommend, providing these people decide after they get home to move down, that steps be taken, at as early a date as possible, looking toward the removal of those Indians represented by this delegation to the Indian Territory, believing that the best interests of the government and the Indians require their being placed where they may be able to support themselves.

Admitting that the above is susceptible of proof, the date at which these Indians may be hoped to cease to be a burden to the United States does not reside in the immediate future, and for this "poor Lo" is certainly not to blame, for in the Indian, unlike his favored white brother, who can adapt himself to any country or clime, love of locality and the home of his fathers is strongly marked. The Indian has not the same reasoning powers as the white man, for sound reasoning, although a human attribute, is still a matter of development, and what has there been in the past life of the aborigine to develop this power? Comparatively nothing. His tastes and wants were simple, and easily supplied from the game that was found around him in abundance, and when the scarcity of this means of living forced him to resort to the agency life, his wants were supplied with even less strain on his mental faculties than formerly, and he is still being fed and cared for, so that such reasoning as he possesses does not tell him that the time may come that he may have to help provide for himself.

There is, however, I think, among our promising young men a dim awakening to the fact that the land that supplied them amply with game cannot supply them with sustenance in the agricultural way, and the time will come when, fully realizing this fact, and also that the time is fast approaching in which they must do for themselves, they will be willing to seek their fortunes elsewhere, in a region that may not be quite as acceptable to them from the standpoint of their old life. When the time comes that necessity will require these Indians to work, they will do so, there is no doubt, judging from the working force that has been developed among the younger portion of this agency during the past two years; for they do their work well. In grading roads, ditch digging, wood sawing, and manual labor generally they have done exceedingly well, and this season have kept forty mowing machines in good use, and put up a large amount of hay for their freighting animals during the winter.

INDIAN FREIGHTING.

The introduction of this enterprise with that of the Indian police system by the last administration has marked an epoch in the history of the Indian, and has done much to facilitate the solving of the Sioux question. There have been engaged in this business during the year three hundred wagons furnished the Indians by the department, and one hundred private wagons, making four hundred in all, with four ponies to each wagon, driven by Indians. The amount of supplies hauled was 2,069,100 pounds; distance transported, 200 miles, and amount earned for same and paid in standard silver, \$41,322. The supplies have been handled with care, and have neither been

ost or tampered with. As the drivers change frequently, there has been given employment to seven or eight hundred young Indians, many who can boast of having been warriors in the Custer campaign of 1876, and probably would have been troublesome since then had they been given nothing to do, in keeping with the old adage that "idleness is the mother of mischief." To supply these wagons during the season, over 3,000 animals are necessary, so that war ponies are scarce, they having, like their owners, settled down into domestic life.

In this connection I would particularly recommend the Jackson freight wagon, manufactured at Jackson, Mich., and which has lately been supplied by your department, on account of the superior strength of the axle, which is provided with a patent iron truss rod. Fifty of these wagons have been in constant use for over a year, over rough roads, and so far not an axle has been broken.

The money earned by these Indians, which otherwise would have gone into the hands of white contractors, and out of the country, has kept the Indians employed and contented, and enabled them to purchase many articles for their houses and domestic comfort.

The apparently extra cost of feeding these Indians on account of the cost of transportation has been fully compensated by the quiet and freedom from disturbance that this reserve has enjoyed (we should never forget that it is cheaper to feed than to fight the noble red man), and the saving in supplies, which during the year has amounted to more money value than the cost of the transportation, by reason that it has accustomed the Indian to the domestic habits of the white man, with which comes general saving, and caution in the care of property.

SAVING OF SUPPLIES.

From the accompanying tabular statement it appears that this agency, on a basis of 7,202 Indians, was entitled under the treaty to \$374,116.05 worth of subsistence (at the prices paid for supplies for the year, transportation added). There was furnished by your department \$350,946.66 worth, and there was actually issued to the Indians \$300,624.38 worth, thus showing a saving in what they were entitled to of \$73,491.67 and an actual saving by the agency in the issuing of the supplies of \$50,322.28.

	Bacon.	Baking powder.	Beef, gross.	Coffee.	Corn.	Flour.	Hard bread.
Issued as per weekly supply reports	193,885	10,034	7,750,667	83,520	69,387	668,650	73,779
Gained on issues and found taken up	25,000		90,507	3,500		110,000	
Actually issued	168,885	10,034	7,660,070	80,020	69,387	658,650	73,779
Amount entitled to under treaty	262,870	13,143 1/2	7,888,100	105,148	657,275	1,154,850	80,000
Amount furnished	188,822	12,000	7,847,547	99,982	787,938	900,800	80,000

	Hominy.	Rice.	Salt.	Soap.	Sugar.	Tobacco.	Total cost delivered at agency.
Issued as per weekly supply report	85,259	60,241	20,188	21,689	167,016	10,984	\$314,516 41
Gained on issues and found taken up	10,000	13,000	5,000	7,000	10,000	2,300	13,985 98
Actually issued	25,259	56,241	21,188	14,689	157,016	8,684	300,624 38
Amount entitled to under treaty	38,430	65,715	52,574	52,574	210,296	13,143 1/2	\$74,116 05
Amount furnished	29,972	78,050	27,950	20,000	199,458	13,700	350,946 66

350,946.66

Notwithstanding this great saving, these Indians do not complain of short rations. For the past two years there has been no time that there was a lack of any article for issue, and considering this fact, it is no wonder that they are happy and contented where in former years they were the contrary, when, it must be remembered, that for weeks at a time their store-houses were empty, with the exception of corn, baking-soda, and soap. The matter of food has a peculiar physio-psychological bearing on the Indian as well as the white man. There is a strong bond of sympathy between the heart and stomach, and a feeling of vacancy in the latter is very apt to result in a bad feeling in the former. There is no doubt but that the scarcity of rations has had much to do with causing a bad-hearted condition in "poor Lo," and subsequent trouble. A well-filled commissary, with a regular issue of rations, has a wonderfully quieting affect on the nerves of aborigines.

THE SUPPLIES.

The supplies, both annuity and subsistence, have been excellent in quality and ample in quantity, and purchased at a price that will compare favorably with the Army. The cooking-stoves were a great improvement on those of the preceding year, which were too light in construction to stand the pitch pine as a fuel, which is very destructive to the metal. The extensive use of stoves is to be encouraged among the Indians as civilizing in effect and saving in the preparation of food.

EDUCATION.

During the winter four day schools were erected in the villages, which are good, substantial buildings, affording a school room 20 by 30 feet, and three rooms for residence for teacher. Owing to the difficulty of procuring teachers adapted for the work but three of the schools have been occupied up to date, but the result thus far has been gratifying, so much so that, authority having been granted me, I shall cause to be erected two more schools after the same plan. The attendance has been large and is constantly on the increase, many of the older boys and girls even evincing strong desire to obtain a knowledge of the white man's language and his ways.

It will be principally through schools, industrial and common, that we may hope to practically open the way for civilization. It is with the young generation that we must labor. To endeavor to civilize the Indian who has passed his prime and whose nature has been moulded in the old-time ways of his people, on the war-path and chase, is both against reason and experience. The rule holds thus with the Caucasian, then why expect the Indian to be an exception? Eventually there will be erected here a boarding-school by the department, and from this institution here, as well as elsewhere, much good may be expected in the way of permanent education.

CHURCH AND MISSIONARY WORK.

During the past year the Episcopal Church, under whose jurisdiction, spiritually and morally, this agency is placed, completed a good church and mission building, and missionary work succeeded to a surprising degree considering the small amount of attention the Ogalallas have received in the past in this direction; but I regret to say that for some reason the work has been suspended, there being no resident missionary here at present. It is sincerely to be hoped that the missionary care of these Indians will soon be resumed.

TELEGRAPH LINE.

There has been constructed by Indian labor during the year 108 miles of telegraph line, which, added to the 20 miles constructed the previous year, gives this agency 128 miles of line, owned and operated by the Indian service, reaching from a point 35 miles this side of Rosebud Agency, Dakota, to Fort Robinson, Nebr., 63 miles west, where it connects with the through line from the Union Pacific. On this latter section of the line valuable aid was given by the military in supplying the poles. I need not dwell upon the importance of the telegraphic connection.

MEDICINE.

The Indians are rapidly abandoning their native medicine men and adopting the white man's treatment. The present physician, who has had former extensive experience with Indians and their ailments, has during the short time he has been here built up an extensive practice, and is evidently gaining their confidence.

THE CHIEFS.

The old chiefs, relics of a system that has ceased to be necessary in our dealings with the Ogalallas, are as antagonistic as ever to all innovations and improvement, their promises and protestations as usually made in Washington to the contrary notwithstanding. But, with the death of the neighboring chief Spotted Tail, and the deposing of Red Cloud at this agency, their influence for good or evil is rapidly dying out.

THE POLICE.

Of the police and the work performed by them I would refer you to my recent special report, merely remarking here that a thorough support of themselves and the good labor they are engaged in is essential to the peace and welfare of the agency. I could not expect or ask more from them than they have done.

AGENCY IMPROVEMENT.

There has been constructed at the agency one building for the use of the police, containing mess-room, kitchen, and dormitory. Here the police and Indian laborers are furnished their meals three times a day at regular hours; this arrangement is civilizing in its effect, teaching them how to conduct themselves at table and the benefit of properly prepared food. The storage capacity of the warehouse has been increased 500,000 pounds by the construction of shed additions. This improvement was very necessary when it is remembered that there is annually stored and handled at this agency over 2,000,000 pounds of supplies. One of the old agency buildings, which has heretofore been incomplete, has been converted into a storehouse for tools, building and shop materials, &c., and placed under charge of the master of transportation, thus entirely separating the commissary from other supplies, which is essential for the proper care and accountability of property.

A water-works has been constructed, consisting of a 17,000-gallon tank, supported thirty feet above the ground on trestle-work, and surmounted by a windmill. From this, water is distributed to the different buildings through 1,600 feet of water-main, thus affording an ample supply of water as a protection against fire and for domestic purposes.

Last of all, there has been erected on the agency grounds the post flagstaff from the abandoned Camp Sheridan, Nebr., and from this daily floats the flag of the Great Father, which it is hoped guarantees by its mingled colors protection to the red and white alike.

In closing my third annual report, I have to acknowledge the universal courtesy and assistance extended to us by the military and neighboring stockmen, with whom we have had the most amicable relations. Recognizing the fact that very much is due to the majority of the employes for the faithful manner in which they have performed their arduous duties, I can but return to them my thanks, hoping that with their assistance affairs may progress as well during the present as they have during the past year.

Sincerely thanking you for your kind support to myself, and assistance afforded the Indians in their efforts to better their condition,

I am, very respectfully,

V. T. MCGILLYCUDDY,
United States Indian Agent.

The COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

ROSEBUD AGENCY, DAKOTA,
September 1, 1881.

SIR: In compliance with instructions embraced in circular, dated Office of Indian Affairs, July 1, 1881, I have the honor to transmit annual report of this agency. The year past has been one of general quietude. The bands embraced in this reservation have generally observed their treaty stipulations and have entertained feelings of greatest respect and sincerest friendship, both toward the government and the whites generally.

I regret to say that this people have made less progress in the way of civilization and self-support than was expected of them. The absence of institutions of learning, and the great ignorance of the means necessary to be applied from their own mental and physical resources (being slow to learn), is greatly to be regretted. The almost universal barrenness of the soil affords but little hope of their becoming self-supporting at an early date. They have sowed and planted, it is true (in a small way), but the result is ever discouraging to them. The past winter, which is distinguished from all preceding ones as the longest and most severe ever known to them, was most disastrous. Their cattle and ponies perished by hundreds, and the constant and deep snows prevented those living remote from the timber cañons from obtaining at times fuel sufficient to cook their provisions and keep themselves warm. Their sufferings were very great, and while they complained of the cold, they fully appreciated the goodness of the government in providing for them.

CONDITION OF THE INDIANS.

The lesson of frugality is learned most slowly, and "to lay up for a wet day" is an unknown adage to their vocabulary. Their habits and customs do not undergo changes (as in the case of more enlightened people) for the better. To-day they may be pos-

sessed of abundance, to-morrow wanting in everything. They never give grudgingly; on the contrary, they are profligate with their possessions, trusting rather to the government than to Providence and their own exertions for reimbursement. They do not realize or appreciate the munificence and generosity of the government as they should, and their education in these things can only be effected by throwing them more upon their own resources.

The condition of the Indians upon this reservation might be greatly improved by some wholesome changes in their general treatment. The government has supplied all necessary wants looking toward their final acquisition of wealth and independence. The wagons and harness supplied and estimated for the coming year are ample not only for their private uses, but for the transportation of all the supplies sent to them as annuities. After having so supplied them, they should be made to understand that the care of such property not only devolves upon them, but that all repairs necessary to preserve the implements given to them should be made at their own cost and expense. The policy heretofore adopted by my predecessors, and which seems to have become unalterable custom and law, of doing everything for them without consideration, in my judgment is not an onward movement toward civilization and self-dependence. Reward of industry and value of money can only be taught them by convincing them "that something is never obtained for nothing." When they are made to understand that they are to meet the expense of repairs from the proceeds of their own industry and earnings, when this first lesson in care and attention is taught them, you may look for (slow though it be, but steady) improvement in their condition, and, in my opinion, not until then.

In many respects the heathenish and barbarous customs which have so long prevailed among them are gradually dying out. Perhaps the most striking of these changes is that of their manner of mourning for their dead. When I assumed charge, the appearance of a nude Indian (their mourning weeds) seemed an admonition to all white persons to betake themselves to cover, and get as far beyond the reach of the grief-stricken as possible. When the hand of death has been laid upon any of their households they feel that the departed spirit cannot go through the "dark valley" to the "happy hunting grounds" without an accompanying spirit, and none seems so desirable as that of some white person, and the truest and best friend is the most desirable of all. This custom within a year past has been greatly modified, so much so that the nude mourner is no longer regarded with terror. Of course they do not mourn as the whites, but are by association, in a very slow way, gradually assimilating themselves to the customs of their white brethren.

THEIR HABITS.

In this particular, as in the remarks upon their condition, no great deal can be said of any rapid civilizing change. Nevertheless, their association with the whites, and the struggle to imitate, give promise of improvement in their habits. Their restless natures and their roving and migratory instincts and inclinations are not easily curbed, and I find it a most difficult task to confine them to their homes. The interchange of visits to their relatives, far and near, is a custom so long established, that, in a country like ours where agricultural pursuits cannot be engaged in prosperously (affording but a poor chance of their becoming self-supporting), it is not easily broken up. Still in this respect I think I can see an improvement over years past. Their visits are generally begging expeditions. They usually return loaded down with gratuities, and their friends and kindred come to them and return with fully as much as they had given away. To be explicit, it is generally a "swap," and one or the other is sure to be cheated.

DISPOSITION OF THE INDIANS.

Within the past year the disposition of these Indians, I am glad to inform you, has changed for the better. When I assumed charge, the discipline was so lax that for a long while it was difficult to determine whether they could be educated to the belief that the government was master of the situation, and held them responsible for their general deportment. Spotted Tail's influence over them, and his assumed power to do and act as he pleased, without regard to the orders and instructions of the agent, had a most demoralizing effect. Gradually he reached the conclusion that the power of the government was superior to his own, and gracefully, though somewhat reluctantly, yielded to the moral suasion of the agent. I am now very glad to report a healthy and reasonable state of "disposition" among them. None but thoroughly reasonable orders are issued for their government, and their prompt and satisfactory response is most gratifying.

PROGRESS.

In regard to the character and extent of the progress made during the past year, but little can be said either to their credit or the encouragement of the government. With all the facts in the case this should produce little or no disappointment. The

present location of their agency can cause none other than keenest regret. Situated in the midst of barren sand hills, distant from timber, with a soil almost universally sterile and unfertile, with not the least hope of their ever becoming self-supporting by their engaging in agricultural pursuits, and their general helplessness in almost everything connected with their advancement in civilization, it gives but little hope of chronicling any rapid advancement in the near future.

While they appreciate the value of money (their money) they do not appreciate the cost and sacrifice of labor that produces it, and this they will never learn until the government shall throw them more upon their own resources, compelling them, after supplying them with everything useful, to care for what is given, and preserve these munificent gifts from loss and destruction at their own cost and charges. This can be done and should be done.

PROPERTY.

The buildings pertaining to the agency have been thoroughly repaired and are now in good condition. Since my last report a barn 40x120 feet, 12 feet high, has been erected from native lumber, and the public animals were well sheltered and cared for during the past winter. The building, however, is inadequate to the requirements of the service, as the two horses and twenty mules which I was authorized to purchase will require additional stable room. This will be given them so soon as lumber can be procured. The want of another large warehouse is daily becoming more pressing. It is essential to shelter goods and supplies from the weather; and as we are at present situated this cannot be done. I am now building temporary sheds to protect supplies, and when able will proceed with the erection of a storeroom of suitable dimensions, sufficient for the future wants of the agency.

The old worthless tools and implements which were here when I took possession are gradually being replaced by new ones, and the condition of this class of property is now far superior to what I found it. Two threshing-machines, one fanning-mill, and one reaper, all of which were unadapted to the wants of this agency, were transferred by me to the superintendent of warehouses at Rosebud Landing, subject to the order of the Office of Indian Affairs. These articles are new, but of no practical use here. Having no storage room for them, the exposure to which they would be subjected would soon render them worthless.

The severe winter through which we passed made serious inroads upon our herds of work cattle, the loss being 50 out of 163 head. Being fully authorized, I entered into an agreement with the Indians whereby they should receive the remaining 113 head, with yokes, chains, and sixteen wagons in lieu of 277,128 pounds beef gross. This agreement I consider advantageous to the government in many respects, chief among which are, it rid the agency of what I have always believed a doubtful acquisition to the property, and it also gratified the longing this people have had to possess the cattle, and which they were led to believe would eventually be issued to them. On the whole I consider the property at this agency in a satisfactory condition.

AGRICULTURE.

Very little can be said of an encouraging character on this subject. The well-nigh total failure of what little crops were attempted to be raised last year has had a most discouraging influence upon our Indians, so much so, that but little effort has been made the present season to cultivate the soil. The agency farm which was broken up the year previous was given to them to divide up among themselves, to be tilled, but although they promised to put in crops the soil and season gave so slim a prospect of reward, they abandoned the idea altogether. From the experience of last year, I concluded it far better to attempt nothing on the land, rather than take the risk of squandering the money of the government. Excuse me for so often referring to the matter, but this country will not in our day become an agricultural country. Our Indians, if thrown upon their own resources and confined to this reservation, would soon starve to death.

STOCK RAISING.

On June 30, 1879, there was issued to this people 500 native cows and bulls, and one year thereafter they received 1,000 American cows and bulls, thus giving them a fair start in raising stock, a business to which this country is better adapted than anything else. To-day it is safe to assert that not more than one-third of these cattle are alive. There are several reasons for the decrease. The exceptional cold winter killed hundreds, and I may add they ate the remainder.

Indians are proverbially improvident, and although they put up a sufficient quantity of hay to carry their cattle safely through the winter, yet with their accustomed disregard of the future, they fed it all long ere the cold weather set in. While many are excellent stock raisers, the majority of the people require to be more advanced in civilization before they will make a success of the business.

PERMANENT ABODES.

The number of Indian houses, has materially increased, but a better showing would have been made if lumber for doors and roofing could have been furnished. The large mill ordered in October last from Chicago reached the agency on July 4, being delayed a period of ten months. This delay has been the cause of serious embarrassment to me, as well as disheartening to the Indians, who strongly desire to erect for themselves permanent abodes. While it was my earnest wish to aid them in their laudable purposes, I was prevented from so doing by reason of the vexatious delay. The mill is now in position, and so soon as the material for the boarding school is completed, will commence and furnish Indians with lumber for their houses. This being the case, another year will show a better record for this people, who are not to blame for their seeming negligence in this respect during the past year.

TRANSPORTATION OF SUPPLIES.

The Indians continue to manifest great interest in the hauling of supplies from Rosebud Landing to the agency, a distance of ninety-two miles. They prefer this business to any other in which they might engage, for various reasons. While it is more remunerative, there is in fact fully as much labor connected with it as in other pursuits. The difficulties which present themselves to those engaged in this occupation are manifold. The road to the landing is devoid of timber; the western portion through sand hills; the eastern, though comparatively level, yet the soil over which they pass is of such a nature as to render it impassable for some time after a rain. True, the compensation paid for their services is liberal, but when we take into consideration the difficulties to be surmounted, the natural conclusion arrived at is, they fairly earned it. I have yet to record a single instance where this agency has sustained loss through the carelessness or neglect of an Indian freighter; I repeat my assertion of last year, "that the government has not erred in its judgment of their fitness and qualifications for such a trust."

The competition of the railroad to the Missouri River at or opposite American Crow Creek will, as I made known in the conference of March last, soon demand as a matter of economy and convenience a change of base for the receipt of supplies. I would again recommend to your most favorable consideration a removal of the warehouses designed for the convenience of Rosebud and Pine Ridge Agencies to the point indicated as a railroad terminus, which will obviate delays and insure a prompt receipt of all our supplies without any of the hazards of navigation.

TETEGRAPH LINE.

The line between Rosebud and Pine Ridge Agencies was opened in May last and will be extended to Rosebud Landing so soon as all the material arrives, which will make the length erected by this agency over 132 miles. The poles to the latter place are in position, and but little labor will be required to string the wire. The line will be of great benefit by reason of speedy communication on matters relative to the transportation of supplies.

EDUCATION.

The contract between the government and the Rev. Bishop Hare for the maintenance of a day school at this agency expired on the 30th day of June, 1880, since which time we have been without a school of any description. While too much cannot be said of the value of education as an aid to civilization, yet the system of promoting the former on this reservation is still an experiment. Experience has fully shown that day schools situated at the agency or in the camps are a failure, and the only feasible plan seems to be the establishment of boarding schools at some distant point, or the removal of the pupils from the reservation entirely; the object being to take them away from the influence of their parents and relatives, which is the bane of a day school.

Owing to the large percentage of deaths among the scholars furnished by this people to the Carlisle school, it is extremely doubtful if any parents can hereafter be found who will permit their children to be sent to any distant point for the purpose of being educated; hence the establishment of a boarding school within the limits of the reservation, yet located far enough away from the agency as to be removed from family influences, seems to be the only true solution of the problem. This appears to be the view of the department, and, in compliance with instructions, I have purchased material for a building 40 by 120 feet, two stories in height, and expect to have the same ready for occupancy before cold weather sets in.

MISSIONARY WORK.

The missionary work at the agency is still under the efficient charge of the Rev. W. J. Cleveland, and is making some progress, which, however, is greatly retarded, owing to the absence of educational facilities. The work of Christianizing Indians without

other civilizing influences brought to bear is a difficult task; but those who have the matter intrusted to them are earnest in their labors, and it is to be hoped that in time their efforts will be abundantly crowned with success.

POLICE.

The United States Indian police have rendered effective service in enforcing laws and maintaining order on the reservation. They have cheerfully responded to the calls made upon them, and I regret no increase of pay was authorized for the present year. The small compensation allowed for their services has been so often alluded to by myself and other agents that I deem it unnecessary to again make any recommendation on the subject.

EVENTS.

Nothing of unusual interest transpired until the 9th of May last, when John Bordean (half-breed), chief herder, was killed by a party of desperadoes at a place some forty miles distant in the State of Nebraska. The circumstances connected with the case are as follows: In accordance with the usual custom the chief herder with two Indian police were sent to attend the annual round-up of cattle on the Niobrara River for the purpose of recovering stray government and Indian cattle. They left the agency early on the morning of May 9th, and at night found themselves at a ranch (a disreputable place situated about four miles from Fort Niobrara). Rain was beginning to fall and they concluded to seek shelter and remain until the weather cleared. About midnight the place was raided by three road-agents for the purpose of robbing the proprietor, who was known to have a considerable sum of money in his possession. The inmates of the ranch were ordered to hold up their hands, and not obeying, the desperadoes opened fire, and in the *mélée* Bordean was killed. The policemen at once returned to the agency and reported the affair. Details of police were sent in various directions with instructions to hunt down the murderers. In the mean time, Maj. J. J. Upham, commanding Fort Niobrara, had sent Lieut. Samuel Cherry with a detachment of the Fifth United States Cavalry in pursuit. The lieutenant soon struck the trail and followed it the entire day. The next morning he started east to reach rations sent out to meet him from the post. About 11 o'clock a. m., Lieutenant Cherry, who had divided his party, retaining three men with him, saw men at a distance on the bluff. While riding toward them, with Sergeant Harrington on his right, and Thomas Locke and James Conroy in the rear, a shot was fired from behind, when the lieutenant turned, asking what it meant. Locke, with his pistol in hand, immediately shot Lieutenant Cherry through the heart, death being instantaneous. Locke then turned and fired on Conroy, severely wounding him, and putting spurs to his horse, fled. The pursuit now turned upon Locke, who was captured and brought before the United States commissioner at this agency, who committed him to Deadwood for trial. The three desperadoes were captured at Fort Pierre and sent to the same place to answer the charges against them.

THE DEATH OF SPOTTED TAIL.

On the 5th day of August, Spotted Tail held a council with his people, prior to his contemplated visit to Washington to take part in a conference with the honorable Secretary of the Interior. The council broke up about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. What followed can best be described from the words of an eye-witness.

"We had a council and a feast, after which Spotted Tail mounted his horse and started home; the council had broken up and the people were scattering out; Spotted Tail was in advance. I saw Crow Dog coming toward us in his wagon. He had his wife with him. He got out of his wagon and was stooping down when the chief rode up to him; he suddenly raised up and shot Spotted Tail through the left breast. The chief fell from his horse, but at once rose up making a few steps towards Crow Dog, endeavoring to draw his pistol; he then reeled and fell backward, dead. Crow Dog jumped in his wagon and drove off at full speed toward his camp, some nine miles distant."

The excitement among the Indians was intense, although none of them manifested the least disposition to molest the whites at the agency. The commission of this crime, while partially the result of an old feud, was mainly brought about through the influence of Black Crow, a headman of the Brulé Sioux, whose ambition was to hold Spotted Tail's position, and who did not scruple to use the most foul and cowardly measures to accomplish his object. Black Crow had a small following, but they were desperate characters. They determined to kill the chief, and succeeded as stated. Upon ascertaining these facts, Eagle Hawk, captain of police, was instructed to arrest both Crow Dog and Black Crow. Their capture was effected the next day, and they were sent to Fort Niobrara, there to await the arrival of the United States marshal, by whom they will be taken to Deadwood for trial.

The loss of this chief is irreparable. There is not one on the reservation who can fill his place. The value of his services to the government in the past cannot be too highly estimated, and he was regarded by all as a true friend to the whites. His influence

was ever on the side of law and order, and to him is greatly due the credit of its maintenance on this reservation. While perhaps the chief was not so progressive as some younger Indians, still he never opposed innovations when he saw they were for the good of the people, whose interest he had at heart, and for whom he labored so long and so well.

This startling event occurred during my necessary and authorized absence from the agency, having left Henry Lelar, clerk, in charge. The calmness and coolness of Mr. Lelar, together with the courage and firmness necessary for the occasion, alone prevented an outbreak among the different bands, the result of which would have been in the end, disastrous to the whites. His success in quelling the disturbance caused by this diabolical murder, and restoring harmony among the Indians, and confidence among the whites, entitles him to the highest praise. The promptness and efficiency of his action in the matter receives the congratulations of the agent, and deserves the highest commendation of the government.

CONCLUSION.

The health of Indians and employes during the past year has been all that could be desired, and it is well that such was the case, as we were without the services of a physician for a period of five months.

The employes generally have conducted themselves satisfactorily. They have rendered prompt obedience to orders, and heartily co-operated in all measures instituted for the benefit of this people. In conclusion, I have to assure the Office of Indian Affairs that in the future, as in the past, my best efforts will be used to promote the material interests and civilization of the Indians committed to my charge. To this end they will be assisted and encouraged in those things which are for their good, and vigorously opposed in practices which tend to keep alive their barbarous customs, which are antagonistic to the plans devised for their future welfare.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN COOK,
United States Indian Agent.

The COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

SISSETON AGENCY, DAKOTA,
September 1, 1881.

SIR: In compliance with department circular dated July 1, 1881, I have the honor to make to you this my third annual report of affairs at this agency for the year ending August 31, 1881.

EDUCATION.

I place this first upon my report, for I most certainly think that it should receive the first consideration in the attempt to civilize Indians. I say this, believing that a thoroughly practical education for the Indian youth of the present will do more to place the future generations upon a firm civilized foundation than aught else which can be devised for their benefit.

The boarding schools have been full to overflowing through the whole year, unless during vacation time, when but few remained. Day schools, owing to the scattered abodes of the Indians, are a failure here; for in order to obtain a full attendance at any one point, it would be necessary for some to come a distance of 5 or 6 miles, which is utterly impossible during a greater part of the year.

A thorough and efficient board of teachers have done much towards elevating the tone of the schools, causing them to be looked upon with much more favor by the Indians than formerly; so much so, in fact, that it is becoming quite "*comme il faut*" for them to wish to send their children and have them educated. Judging from the number who have already come in for the fall opening of the schools, I much fear that our accommodations will be greatly insufficient to receive them all. There are really 250 children of scholar age on the reservation, while there are accommodations for only 75.

AGRICULTURE.

Which is the next in importance to be considered, has made quite an advance during the year, as is shown from the fact that the acreage of land really under cultivation is considerably in excess over any past year, though probably the amount of grain harvested will not be materially more, owing to the wetness of the early season. A large amount of hay has been cut by all, in order to be prepared for such a severe winter as the last one was, which is a strong evidence that they are beginning to take thought for the morrow, which formerly certainly was not an Indian characteristic. There is an earnestness springing up among the Indians in this work of cultivating the soil, and they are fast learning that they can easily make themselves independent and self-supporting in this manner.

SANITARY.

The health of this people is in rather a broken condition, owing to the exposures which they have undergone during the past year, though I think there is an improvement in this respect.

A hospital for a few of the worst cases, which are so far from the agency that they cannot be properly attended to by the agency physician, would be very beneficial.

STOCK.

The increase during the year has been quite large, though no part has been by purchase, and the Indians are much pleased at the prospect of the addition to their stock of the 425 cows with calves by their sides to be received under contract during the present month.

MACHINERY.

About 30 Indians have purchased mowing and reaping machines during the year, and a few have purchased thrashing machines, with all of which they do efficient work.

BUILDING.

The mill has been completed during the year, and is now in condition to do thorough and efficient work, or will be so soon as some machinery, for the purchase of which authority has been asked, can be obtained and put in running condition.

All the frame houses at the agency have been painted, and now appear quite presentable, so that our little settlement here looks quite like a modern village.

Eight frame and ten log houses have been built or finished during the year by the agency for the Indians, and several more are under way. This has had the effect of producing among many more a desire to pull down their log huts and, as they express it, "to build better houses and live more like white men;" and, to accomplish this, they save very carefully all the money possible, with which to buy the frames and, in some cases, the sheathing for the same, after which they are completed by the agency. I have adopted the policy of obliging them to furnish a part of their own buildings, as it gives them a greater incentive to take good care of them, and a feeling of absolute proprietorship, which does more to make them contented than aught else. The pleasure of seeing some old Indian patriarch, who has passed his seventy years or more in a mud hut or log cabin, with dirt roof and floor, and in the open air, upon taking possession of his newly-built frame house or log house well finished, is well worth the labor of obtaining it for him.

POLICE.

Of whom there are 15, are very efficient in the duties of their office, though there is not sufficient for them to do all the time; and, in fact, if there was, the pay received would be wholly inadequate compensation. Consequently, I think that it would be better to reduce the number and pay those retained better salaries.

RELIGIOUS WORK.

The Congregational Mission has five churches on the reservation, with a membership of 407, presided over by native pastors, all under the zealous care and supervision of Mr. and Mrs. W. K. Morris, who, by their earnest and well-directed efforts, keep the missionary work of their society at this point in a very flourishing condition. They also have charge of the Goodwill Mission boarding school, which they succeed in making very popular by their efficient efforts to give the children under their charge a good Christian education.

An Episcopal Mission has been recently established at this agency by Bishop Hare, of the diocese of Niobrara, to be under the charge of the Rev. Edw. Ashley. They start with a membership of 13, and will build during the coming autumn a parsonage and church, at a cost of about \$2,000; which mission, under the active efforts of the rector, as thus far evidenced during his short sojourn among us, will be the source of doing much good.

CONCLUSION.

The morals of the people are fast improving, and there is coming with it a certain elevation of character which I could not observe upon my advent among them. Those who, during the past years, have clung to their barbaric dress have now laid it aside and adopted citizen's dress, in which they take much pride.

Owing to the nearness of white settlements, I have been annoyed by some drunkenness among the Indians, and, in consequence, have adopted a plan of obliging the police force and any other Indian who is ever known to drink liquor to sign a temperance pledge, and if they break it to suspend their rations; and I have yet to report the first instance of the said pledge being broken; consequently, I think the plan a good one and will succeed.

These people are becoming more tenacious of their given word; and, observing the improvement and advancement of this people, even during the few years I have

been among them, I can already in the near future see the brightening sky which heralds the dawn of the time when these poor outcasts can shake off the shackles of barbaric prejudice which now enthrall them, and, making a complete exodus from their paganism, step forth into the bright light of progressive civilization, and assume the duties and privileges of American citizens.

Very respectfully, yours,

CHARLES CRISSEY,
United States Indian Agent.

The COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

STANDING ROCK, DAKOTA,
September 7, 1881.

SIR: I have the honor to submit the following as my third and last annual report for the year ending August 31, 1881, relative to the management and condition of the Indian agency now under my charge.

Respectively enumerated, the different tribes embraced in this agency are classified as follows:

Names of tribes of old agency.	Number of men.	Number of women.	Number of children.	Number of families.	Total.
Lower Yanktonnais.....	213	305	377	205	895
Upper Yanktonnais.....	116	165	211	113	493
Uncapapas.....	118	179	224	119	521
Blackfeet.....	163	248	317	152	728
Total.....	610	898	1,129	589	2,637

There are 284 Indian families who have taken up claims in severalty; 243 of them have houses built paid by the government, and the balance are waiting for an appropriation to construct and finish their houses. Most of the rest of the families have planted in common two large fields.

The agency employes planted, with the help of hired Indians, 140 acres in oats for the use of feeding agency stock.

The following Indians, late prisoners of war from Sitting Bull's camp, were turned over to this agency by the military commander of Fort Yates, Dak., on the 21st of July last:

Name of band.	Name of chief.	Number of males 16 years of age and over.	Number of females 16 years of age and over.	Number of males under 16 years.	Number of females under 16 years.	Total.
Minneconjoux.....	Hump.....	157	215	110	104	586
Minneconjoux.....	Fool Heart.....	43	68	29	27	167
Brulé.....	Bulldog.....	53	57	32	28	170
Sans Arc.....	Spotted Eagle.....	110	129	61	44	344
Sans Arc.....	Circle Bear.....	49	70	36	25	180
Uncapapas.....	Rain-in-the-Face.....	57	60	30	26	173
Uncapapas.....	Crow King.....	84	117	54	46	301
Uncapapas.....	Gall.....	62	84	45	38	229
Ogalalla.....	Big Road.....	125	150	79	70	424
Ogalalla.....	Low Dog.....	34	43	31	24	132
Blackfeet.....	Crawler.....	34	36	19	18	107
Total.....		808	1,023	526	450	2,813

After I had counted all the prisoners of war in company with Capt. H. S. Howe, of the Seventeenth United States Infantry—in charge of the camp—16 Indians who were missing came in, which increased the number turned over to me to 2,829 persons. Few days after 29 more hostile Indians arrived, which makes the total 2,858.

By order of the honorable Commissioner 200 of these "hostiles" were allowed to

move to the Cheyenne River Agency to be embodied there, but only 139 out of the whole camp could be induced to go, and thus 2,719 remained here.

RECAPITULATION.

Number of Indians of old agency.....	2,637
Number of Indians late prisoners of war.....	2,719
Total.....	5,356

AGENCY EMPLOYÉS

have been prompt and faithful in the discharge of their duties. They have been appointed regardless of all religious creed and solely for fitness for their respective positions. Owing to the bad condition of work cattle, caused by unusually severe winter and scarcity of feed, agency employés, in addition to preparing and seeding agency farm, helped and instructed the Indians throughout the entire seed time, assisting them with every available agency team.

FARMING.

I regret to say the season this year has not been favorable for abundant crops throughout this section. It has been a season of succession of storms and intensely hot weather. Prior to July 1 crops promised favorably, but on the 1st, 2d, and 3d of July we had a period of unparalleled heat, accompanied by an intensely hot wind, which blighted everything in its course. This was followed on the 19th of July by a terrific tornado of wind and hail, which swept everything clear in its course, demolishing buildings, killing stock, and sweeping the whole face of the country perfectly bare. Hail in many places near the agency lay six and eight inches deep on the level. The acreage planted this year was largely in excess of last year's planting, but owing to the storms and heat which prevailed during the month of July, the crop is much less abundant, in fact not half a crop, a large portion of the Indians losing their entire crop, eaten up by grasshoppers. It is impossible to form a correct estimate of the amount of crops that have been ruined. The greater portion of the crop that survived the storms and heat was gathered before it was matured, partly for fear of a reoccurrence of storms, and partly by the Indians to feed and present to the hostile Indians, Sitting Bull's followers, from the north, who came here in a very destitute condition. But little of this year's crop is left for winter's consumption.

Hay is abundant; a large quantity has been gathered, Indians working remarkably well in this connection.

AGENCY FARM.

One hundred and forty acres of oats were sown for the use of agency this spring; but owing to the causes already described, but a partial crop was harvested. In all only 865 bushels were thrashed, and about half of the crop was not worth being thrashed, and will be fed to agency and Indian stock during the winter.

LIVE STOCK.

Owing to the terrible severity of last winter, fully one-third of the Indian stock, both cattle and ponies, perished. This loss was about the average loss throughout this whole section. The experience of last winter has had the one good effect of teaching the Indians the absolute necessity of putting up stables, and a sufficient quantity of hay to feed their stock throughout the whole winter; and they have shown a commendable zeal in profiting by their bitter experience, and this summer have put up a large quantity of hay.

The work cattle were saved by the feeding of wheat and oats raised on the agency, under authority of the department.

PROGRESS.

While the partial failure of crops has been a serious drawback, the spirit manifested by the Indians to cultivate and work the soil has been very commendable and exceeded all anticipation. They have been tractable, obedient, and trusty; the conduct of the late hostiles, since being turned over to the Interior Department, might be called exemplary. They manifested no hostility, appear to have had enough of war, and to be willing now to settle down. None have left the agency, nor attempted to, newspaper reports notwithstanding. No trouble need be anticipated at this agency, unless maliciously created.

APPRENTICES.

Ten apprentices are at the agency learning carpenter's, blacksmith's and saddler's trades. These boys, or rather young men, have become mechanics and are fast approaching to be good mechanics. Their progress has been remarkable, and I take pleasure in commending them both for the zeal they have displayed not only in learning respective

trades, but also for their valuable services in the plowing, hay, and harvest fields, and at any and all work they have been called upon to do.

PASSES.

During the working season hardly any passes were given. Farmers did not apply, as they were busy, and roaming lazy Indians were refused on the ground of unworthiness. If passes are given to undeserving Indians, then the bad element would be favored and loafing encouraged. My agency was overrun with visiting Indians, especially when the first lot of Sitting Bull's prisoners of war had arrived. During one week 223 Indian visitors from neighbor agencies were here. Of course this kept my Indians from work, and also they had to board and entertain their visitors and feed their horses, thus pulling unripe corn, destroying crops, and a great deal of vegetables wasted.

MORALS

at the agency for the past year have been singularly good. Not a white man residing at the agency on the west side of the Missouri River is living with an Indian woman without being legally married to her. Morals have been promoted wonderfully by the vigilance of the Indian police, who arrest every white person found in Indian camps.

STORMS.

As before mentioned, a fearful storm of wind and hail visited this agency on the 19th day of July last. Its effect was terrific and could be marked for miles. Fortunately only one edge struck the agency buildings, but this was sufficient to completely demolish the saw-mill, ice-house, one granary, and unroof and shatter the walls of one end of the brick building used as an issue room.

INDUSTRIAL FARM SCHOOL.

The farm school, under the charge of Rev. Father Chrysostom Foffa, assisted by four lay brothers and four Benedictine sisters, has had a regular attendance of 22 Indian boys. They have exhibited remarkable industry and perseverance both in their studies and manual work. They have broken and cultivated about 120 acres of land; but the merit can only be judged by the attempt not by the result, for the same disastrous circumstance led to a failure of crops at the farm school as well as the agency and among the Indians. A very large amount of labor has been done by the boys and their instructors with little results except in building, and putting up 130 tons of hay. They planted and cultivated; but heat, wind, and grasshoppers harvested.

THE AGENCY SCHOOLS

under the immediate charge of Rev. Father Jerome Hunt, principal teacher, assisted by two Benedictine Sisters, have had a regular attendance of boarders of 34 boys and 36 girls. Their progress is all that could be wished for.

INDIAN POLICE

have fully realized all expectations, and I venture to state are as a efficient body of civil soldiers as exist. Prompt and faithful in the discharge of their duty, comprehending their duties fully, they are a terror to the evil doers, both white and Indian. In this connection I would suggest that, owing to the large increase of Indians at this agency, some of them perhaps of a turbulent character, the police force be increased 50 men. We have 30 now, and 50 more would swell the number to 80. This would do away with the necessity of a large garrison at Fort Yates and meet all requirements.

SUPPRESSION OF CHIEFDOM.

From experience I find that the so-called Indian chiefs are a great obstacle in civilizing Indians. Many of them are very ambitious for power, and in order to make their followers believe in this power or influence, they are constantly using their assumed rights as chiefs both to harangue their people and to make demands on an agent, which is entirely out of his power to grant. These chiefs make promises to their people, and in order to make them believe he is keeping faith with them, he will bring them in a body to the agent, there repeat his demands, which of course will meet the assent "how" of his followers. The main object of the chiefs seem to be to make the Indians believe that they are Indians in the fullest sense of the word, and (the white man being the slave and workman he is keeping faith with them, he will bring the chiefs), have rights to their own form of government as he expounds it to them. These chiefs are a body-politic, and are dangerous in proportion to their ability. Indians are easily influenced, and if they have a chief who will think, talk, and beg for them, they will do but little themselves. The sooner the chiefs are deposed and the farming Indian treated as his own chief, the nearer the end will be of all Indian troubles; and when Indians are treated as private and sovereign individuals and not clans, owing no allegiance except to the United States, knowing no laws except that

on our own statute books and made amenable to the laws, both for crimes committed against one another as well as against whites, the work of civilization will progress.

I find that the visits of Indian chiefs to Washington has this bad effect: When the chiefs come home, in order to cement their power as authority among their people, they state the number of heroic demands they have made on the "Great Father," and that he promised to fulfill them all. The Indians after a while make demands for the fulfillment of the promises the chiefs told them they had obtained—inquiry at the Department develops the fact that no such promises had been made—the matter solves itself into a question of veracity, which is not always pleasant for an agent to bear the brunt of, and is very injurious to the service. I have had to shoulder that trouble, and speak only from bitter experience.

HEALTH.

But little can be said of the general health of the Indians. While no contagious or virulent disease has existed, many have died from pulmonary complaints. Consumption with them is hereditary, and four-fifths of the deaths are attributable to this cause. The agency physician reports 1,897 cases of all complaints treated by him, and 105 births and 111 deaths; vaccinated 290. The Indians are rapidly realizing that their own medicine men possess no merit, and the large number treated by the agency physician is evidence of this faith in white men's treatment.

Medical supplies have been inadequate and usually late in arriving in fall. Purchases in open market, under authority from the Department, were made to the amount of \$200 to supply this deficiency.

CONCLUSION.

In concluding this, my last annual report, I can conscientiously say that during a life of fifty-eight years, laboring in many vineyards, I have never met with a more generous treatment, hearty support, and been as ably seconded in the advancement of civilization among the Indian race as has been afforded by the Indian Bureau of the Department of the Interior. The supplies, both edibles, annuity goods, and agricultural implements, which have been furnished this agency during the past three years, have simply been enormous. This, together with 125 yoke of work oxen, an equal number of wagons, harnesses, together with mules, horses, stock cattle, and the most approved articles of farming machinery of every description, have shown both a desire and earnest attempt on the part of the Indian Bureau to carry forth all and everything it was created for. I have to thank both the honorable the Secretary of the Interior and the honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs for courteous treatment, and feel assured the Standing Rock Agency has had its full share of the benefits they have the authority to bestow.

The full civilization and enlightenment of wild and savage Indian tribes will be the work of time and patience, but every good seed cast in the right direction, will bear its desirable fruit. Of my labors, posterity can best judge. I leave with peace and good feeling towards my charge, whose interest I will always have at heart, and trust my successor will be as generously co-operated with as I have been, and meet with fewer obstacles in the way of a jealous military commander, who is, thanks to the Department, removed from doing any further harm to the Indian civilization.

I will respectfully recommend that all the newly arrived Indians be left at this agency, as all their domestic ties are here, and they wish it too, and where they can profit by the experience of their near kinsmen. I would also recommend that houses be built for each and every Indian family, these houses to be located no nearer than the distance of a square-quarter section of land apart. Also that the issue of ducking or tepee cloth be discontinued; that the Indian be compelled to abide in permanent houses, and that they be given fewer rations, except in the case of failure of crops, and the balance in stock and farming implements, that they may farm for the necessaries of life as well as the luxuries.

My relations with my charge have always been kindly and friendly on both sides, but firm and determined, and I leave them with many regrets, but feel assured they will be left in good hands.

Very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

J. A. STEPHAN,
United States Indian Agent.

The COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

YANKTON AGENCY, DAKOTA, August 3, 1881.

Stk: Since my last year's report the Yankton Sioux pursued their usual peaceful avocations, making slow but sure progress towards civilization, at times seemingly imperceptible, and rather discouraging. Yet we are inclined to bridge the centuries

between barbarism and civilization, not giving proper credit for the efforts required to throw off the customs, habits, and teachings handed down by tradition and story from generation to generation, and take up those of another race only acquired after long persistent effort and self denial.

This people claim that, unlike other Indian tribes, the blood of no white person stains their hands. Always at peace and friendly even to taking up arms against their own relations, they should receive greater consideration and benefit from our people and government; that on the contrary they receive less, while those who fought the government imbrued their hands in white man's blood, and obtain all they ask.

There are now borne on our rolls—

Total Indians and mixed bloods:		Mixed bloods:	
Men	520	Men	57
Boys	435	Boys	72
Women	632	Women	78
Girls	411	Girls	81
Total	1,998	Total	288

EDUCATION

is necessarily slow, hedged with difficulties and obstacles, under existing circumstances and influences, almost impossible to overcome. Efficient progress cannot be looked for until well systematized industrial schools are established, where the youths of both sexes can be removed from home influences and customs, while habits of industry and self-reliance are inculcated by daily practice and example. No schools should be deemed complete without facilities to teach boys the various mechanical trades, with daily practical lessons in agriculture on the school farm, while the girls are being instructed in the mysteries of the sewing machine, housekeeping, culinary art, and other womanly attainments. More schools like Hampton and Carlisle are needed, the children to remain till their habits are formed, and they are competent to teach others.

MISSIONARY WORK.

Under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, and the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions religious instruction has been dispensed for some years with good effect, and the good people who have devoted their lives to this work, can feel that their words and examples have not been unavailing, as the results seen and unseen are marked in the life and dispositions of many Indians.

SANITARY.

The agency physician reports average number of Indians entitled to treatment 1,921; number treated, 1,936; recovered, 1,874; death from all causes, 62; of these 85 per cent. were of chronic incurable diseases. The deaths were males 34, females 28. During the fall of 1880 scarlet fever appeared in a severe, and in some cases, malignant, form, mostly among the whites, with few cases at Saint Paul School. No deaths resulted.

In the winter and early spring measles appeared as an epidemic. In some 500 cases there was but one death, that from the sequel, congestion of the lungs. The severe winter increased the deaths among the consumptives and scrofulous. The births were 87—males 25, females 62, exceeding deaths, 25.

Dr. Smith says: "I am of the opinion that of the 15 per cent. who died of other than chronic disease, fully one-half would have recovered had they been treated in hospital, and I would once more earnestly urge the erection of such a building on this agency, plans and estimates for which have already been submitted."

AGRICULTURE.

The unparalleled cold and snow of the past winter, with its deleterious effects on horses and cattle, together with the subsequent flooding of the Missouri bottoms, very materially impeded progress in this the main or only industry of the Yanktons. Notwithstanding these obstacles, with the remnants of their teams they have seeded and cultivated the past season, as follows:

	Bushels.
519 acres wheat; estimated yield	2,595
40 acres oats; estimated yield	800
1,006 acres corn; estimated yield	20,120
5 acres barley; estimated yield	50
10 acres potatoes; estimated yield	250

1,580 acres.

Some 500 acres of bottom land tilled last year was ruined by this spring's flood, and abandoned.

They have broken this year 150 acres. Were they provided with teams, all they could cultivate would be broken in a short time, adding greatly to their support. This year the wheat crop is almost a total failure. Rye or barley should be substituted therefor, both being nearly a sure crop, yielding a good supply of nutritious food.

Several have planted cottonwood trees on their prairie claims, making an effort to raise their fuel, obviating one great hinderance to their moving back from the river. Reapers and mowers purchased for us this year have not yet arrived. This is causing serious delay and expense in harvesting.

THE AGENCY FARM.

I have in crop as follows:

	Bushels.
170 acres wheat; estimated yield	850
70 acres oats; estimated yield	2,100
75 acres corn; estimated yield	2,250

FRUIT.

The orchard set last year looks well, the loss this far being about 5 per cent. Nearly all the trees issued to the Indians are alive and growing nicely. All delight in showing and talking about them. A small sum, say \$150 per annum, should be used in purchasing trees and small fruit for cultivation.

STOCK RAISING.

It seems very desirable that assistance and extra inducements should be given this people to raise cattle; \$35,000 to \$40,000 are annually required to supply them with beef; 25 per cent. additional provided for in contracts, expended for heifers, in a very few years would obviate the necessity of further expenditure for beef, and save nearly, if not quite, 50 per cent. of all the money expended for the Yanktons.

THE MILLS AND SHOPS

In the immediate care and direction of Chief Engineer Gordon comprise a flour-mill, saw-mill, blacksmith shop, carpenter shop, and tin-shop, where nearly all work of above descriptions is performed by Indians and mixed bloods, Messrs. Gordon & Dales being the only whites employed therein.

THE BUILDINGS

with the exception of the issue-house, stable, and warehouse, are old, some entirely, others nearly, worthless, part condemned but of necessity compelled to still be occupied from lack of funds to build anew. The urgent need of new flour-mill and elevator has been presented to you. The necessity of these, with new residences for employes and agent, and a mess-house, is so apparent as to attract remark from those inspecting same, and should induce the department to obtain a special appropriation for that purpose. It certainly cannot be presumed it is the intent of the government to obtain capable men in the Indian service, with insufficient remuneration, then compel its employes to live in fifth or sixth rate or condemned houses. I earnestly request some action to be taken to provide this agency with new buildings, as they are not only necessary but indispensable.

INDIAN HOUSES

are built mostly by themselves excepting doors and windows. An appropriation should be made to supply them with shingles for roofs and boards for floors. The expense would be light and add hundreds of per cent. to their health, comfort, and cleanliness. Thirteen houses only have been built, as the Missouri floods carried away all the logs and timber cut, rendered the bottoms impenetrable so far even as to prevent the Indians getting out poles for their fences.

In my letter of April 23, I informed you of the destruction by flood of their houses, loss of stock and property, asking for assistance to rebuild houses, &c. May 27 I forwarded a detailed statement of the losses, including 138 houses and stables, 228 cows, 69 calves, 2 oxen, 104 ponies, with heavy losses in other property, for list of which I would respectfully refer to above letters. Nothing so far has been done to relieve these people, who are comparatively helpless, with absolutely nothing to protect them from the intense cold of the coming winter. Immediate action in the purchase of lumber and building material is necessary to prevent suffering from exposure.

THE AGENCY EMPLOYEES

deserve special mention for strict attention to their various duties, their cheerful, willing response to calls for extra duty, at any time, at all hours; pleasant, friendly intercourse, sobriety, and general good conduct.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. D. E. ANDRUS,
United States Indian Agent

THE COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

FORT HALL AGENCY, IDAHO, September 3, 1881.

SIR: I have the honor to submit for your consideration the annual report of this agency.

The reservation is situated in Onida County, and lies in the Snake River Valley, and extends some 50 miles north and south immediately along the river, and is in width in the centre about 39 miles, and contains, it is said, 1,232,329 acres. The finest and most extensive hay-fields in the Territory are said to be embraced within the limits of this reserve, as also thousands of acres of as good farming lands as are to be found anywhere in the West. Spring-wheat, oats, barley, potatoes, and vegetables generally, grow here to perfection, and produce crops such as are unknown to farmers in the Eastern or Middle States.

Some of the Indians, unknown to my predecessor or any of the employes, sowed a part of their wheat last fall, and the result was an increased yield and better quality than where it was sown in the spring; thus demonstrating that winter as well as spring-wheat can be successfully raised on the reservation.

INDIANS.

The Indians on the reservation are the Shoshones, numbering 1,128, and Bannacks, numbering 502. While both possess the prominent characteristics common to all North American Indians, the difference between them in language and disposition is very marked. It is impossible for them to understand each other until after long and intimate association together, and the Bannack language is so complicated and difficult that the Shoshones rarely master it.

The Bannacks are naturally a turbulent and rebellious people; and the fact that the "Bannack war" of 1878 left them poor in horses and money alone prevents them from causing serious disturbances. The Shoshones are, and always have been, of a quiet and peaceful disposition; the Bannacks are idle and improvident, and not inclined to engage in civilized pursuits. The number of the Shoshones who are engaged in agricultural pursuits is steadily increasing; and the day is not far distant when all of this tribe, with proper encouragement, will be engaged in civilized pursuits.

EDUCATION.

From the reports of my predecessors I learn that a day school was opened here in February, 1879, and continued for five and one-half months; and that in February, 1880, a boarding school was opened, which has been continued to date save the usual vacations. Notwithstanding the fact that this school is costing the government some \$1,700 per annum for teacher and employes, in addition to food and clothing for the pupils, the fact still remains that not one single Indian on the reservation can read a word. This is certainly not a very favorable showing, and strongly suggests some radical change.

Before any permanent good can be accomplished in the line of education, a good, commodious, and comfortable school building should be erected, and the children (who are the only hope of the race) taken and kept away from their parents, and given, at least, a common-school education, and at the same time taught how to work, in order that they may, in the near future, become self-sustaining. In my opinion a boarding school under the old program is a perfect farce, and continual source of annoyance to all concerned, and an actual waste of money, with no advantage to the Indians save that the children who attend get full, instead of half, rations, and wear better clothes, all at the cost of the government.

RELIGIOUS TRAINING.

Of revealed religion, their ideas are about as crude as they are of letters, save what they have learned of their brother polygamists, the Mormons, who have quite a following among them.

AGRICULTURE.

There were about 500 acres of land cultivated, and 100 acres of new land sowed. The Shoshones raised 3,000 bushels of wheat, 3,000 bushels of oats, 180 bushels of barley, 2,000 bushels of potatoes, 600 bushels of vegetables, including beets, turnips, ruta-bagas, pease, onions, carrots, and parsnips, and cut 550 tons of hay. The Bannacks raised 888 bushels of wheat, 200 bushels of oats, 375 bushels of potatoes, 80 bushels of vegetables, and cut 50 tons hay. The Shoshones own 2,500 horses, and 870 cattle. The Bannacks own 725 horses, and 133 cattle; an increase over last year of 33 per cent.

SANITARY.

There can be said to be no prevailing disease among these Indians of a dangerous kind. They are afflicted with about the same ills that white flesh is heir to, and have their periodical seasons for colds, intermittent fever, &c. While consumption is not com-

STATEMENT of the SALARIES and INCIDENTAL EXPENSES paid at each AGENCY in the INDIAN SERVICE, &c.—Continued.

Names of agencies.	Number of Indians at each agency.	Appropriations from which salaries of employes and incidental expenses of agencies have been paid.	Incidental expenses.				Total of incidental expenses.	Pay of employes.		Total pay of employes.
			Traveling expenses of agents.	Office rent, fuel, light, and stationery.	Forage and stable expenses.	Miscellaneous.		Regular.	Temporary.	
Los Pinos—Continued.		Support of Tabeguache, Muache, Capote, Weeminuche, Yampa, Grand River, and Uintah bands of Utes, 1881.					\$445 00	\$4,427 55		\$5,167 55
Southern Ute.	1,100	do						3,906 51	\$82 12	3,988 63
DAKOTA.		Contingencies Indian Department, 1881	\$231 60	\$2 75			234 35			
Choyenne River	1,901	Contingencies Indian Department, 1881	209 05				209 05	6,439 49	22 00	6,461 49
Crow Creek	1,081	Support of Sioux of different tribes, including Santee Sioux of Nebraska, 1881.						9,594 93	392 50	9,987 43
Devil's Lake*	1,066	Contingencies Indian Department, 1881	318 95				318 95			
		Incidental expenses Indian service in Dakota, 1881.		14 50			14 50			
		do		29 00			29 00	1,250 00	1,000 00	2,250 00
		Fulfilling treaty with Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux and Santee Sioux of Lake Traverse and Devil's Lake.								
Fort Berthold	1,346	Contingencies Indian Department, 1881	150 00				150 00			2,210 00
		do	47 01				47 01	6,246 13	232 00	6,478 13
		Support of Arickarees, Gros Ventres, and Mandans, 1881.		45 71			45 71	7,644 49	322 35	7,966 84
Lower Brulé	1,509	Incidental expenses Indian service in Dakota, 1881								
		Support of Sioux of different tribes, including Santee Sioux of Nebraska, 1881.								
		Contingencies Indian Department, 1881	206 00				206 00	9,841 81		10,047 81
Pine Ridge	7,202	do	125 00				125 00			
		Support of Sioux of different tribes, including Santee Sioux of Nebraska, 1881.								
		Incidental expenses Indian service in Dakota, 1881.		78 00	\$82 39		156 39	7,545 54		7,701 93
Rosebud	7,688	Support of Sioux of different tribes, including Santee Sioux of Nebraska, 1881.								
		Contingencies Indian Department, 1881	211 37				211 37			7,545 54
Sisseton	1,500	do					172 35			7,545 54

Salaries and incidental expenses at Indian Agencies

Standing Rock	5,450	Fulfilling treaty with Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux and Santee Sioux of Lake Traverse and Devil's Lake.						5,030 26	37 50	5,067 76
		Incidental expenses Indian service in Dakota, 1881.		17 00			17 00	8,677 10	1,008 00	9,685 16
Yankton	1,998	Support of Sioux of different tribes, including Santee Sioux of Nebraska, 1881.								
		Contingencies Indian Department, 1881	226 25				226 25	3,657 74		3,883 99
		do	183 75				183 75	2,692 75		6,576 74
		Fulfilling treaty with Sioux, Yankton tribe						900 00		7,476 74
		Support of Sioux, Yankton tribe, 1881.								
		Incidental expenses Indian service in Dakota, 1881.								
IDAHO.										
Fort Hall	1,630	Support of Indians in Idaho, 1881		46 60			46 60	200 00		246 60
		Support of Shoshones and Bannacks, 1881						4,370 45		4,617 05
		Contingencies Indian Department, 1881	210 00				210 00			4,827 05
Lemhi	717	Incidental expenses Indian service in Idaho, 1881	38 25				38 25	294 85		333 10
		do							32 00	365 10
		Support of mixed Shoshones, Bannacks, and Sheepeaters, 1881.						2,454 46	103 00	2,557 46
Nez Percé *	1,236	Contingencies Indian Department, 1881	167 90				167 90			2,725 36
		do	96 25				96 25	3,924 13		4,020 38
		Support of Nez Percés, 1881							107 50	4,127 88
		Incidental expenses Indian service in Idaho, 1881.		29 50			29 50			4,157 38
INDIAN TERRITORY.										
Cheyenne and Arapaho	6,455	Fulfilling treaty with Cheyennes and Arapahoes.		65 00			65 00	718 57	57 50	776 07
		Support of Cheyennes and Arapahoes, 1881.						6,495 90		7,271 97
		Support of Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Apaches, Kiowa, Comanches, and Wichitas, 1881.						1,896 43		9,168 40
		Contingencies Indian Department, 1881	131 37				131 37			9,300 00
		do	46 00	15 20			61 20			9,361 20
Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita.	4,157	Support of Wichitas and other affiliated bands, 1881.		27 50			27 50	4,945 16		5,012 66
		Support of Apaches, Kiowa, and Comanches, 1881.						4,830 00		9,842 66
		Fulfilling treaty with Apaches, Kiowas, and Comanches.						170 00		10,012 66
Kaw	397	Support of Kansas Indians, 1881						1,066 92	102 50	1,169 42
		Fulfilling treaty with Kansas Indians.		19 50			19 50	933 05		1,052 55
Oakland	344	Support of Nez Percés of Joseph's band, 1881.						1,050 00		2,102 55
Oauge	2,002	Contingencies Indian Department, 1881	301 90				301 90			2,404 45
Ponca	499	do	374 27				374 27			2,778 72
		Support of Poncas, 1881						3,456 07		3,830 79
		Fulfilling treaty with Poncas.		49 47			49 47	913 22	262 50	4,052 98
Pawnee	1,306	Support of Pawnees, 1881						5,203 88		5,253 38
		Contingencies Indian Department, 1881	34 25	56 76			91 01			5,344 39
		do	341 50				341 50			5,685 89
Quapaw	1,066	Support of Indians of Central Superintendency, 1881.						4,116 80		4,116 80
		Fulfilling treaty with Senecas.						470 33		4,587 13

SALARIES AND INCIDENTAL EXPENSES AT INDIAN AGENCIES. 255



Photo by John Willis

The Heartbeat of Wounded Knee: Native America from 1890 to the Present

Reviewed by Annie Wenger-Nabigon, Ph.D.

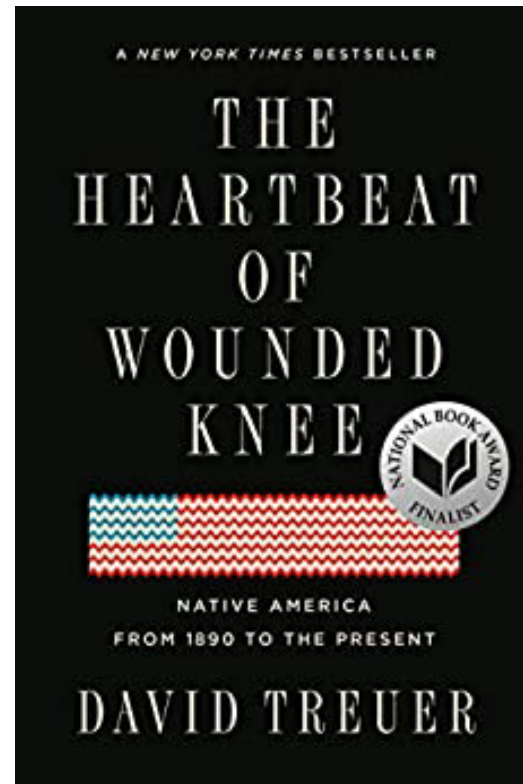
The Heartbeat of Wounded Knee (David Treuer, 2019) is a book for all people everywhere. It tells a story increasingly universal – a story of the horrors of displacement, disruption, and destruction, and ultimately the story of a journey to recouping of place, identity and strength. From my position as a white, North American woman I have come to believe that the people who need this book the most are the non-indigenous population of this continent, Turtle Island, a name which conveys multiple different meanings than the term “terra nullis,” imposed centuries ago, which laid open a wound still seeping and raw.

I first started reading the book as soon as it came out, having pre-ordered it and received it prior to a trip to Pine Ridge, S.D. in 2019. Only a portion of the way into the second section of the book by the time I arrived at the site of the Wounded Knee Massacre, I set it aside, letting experience soak into my awareness over time, absorbing again (it was my 3rd trip to Wounded Knee) the impact of the realities of 1890.

Last year I picked up Treuer’s book again, this time to seriously engage with his extensive testament of a continental history which is not past. In the words of Faulkner, “The past is never dead. It’s not even past.” Treuer brings that truth to light in a powerful way, much in the style of an Elder’s “winter count,” reminding us of what has happened over the course of time and where we have arrived. He skillfully brings forward stories of eternal strength of the indigenous spirit of the land, and of the original peoples who continuously had sustainable civilizations here for millennia before Europeans and others made their so-called “discovery.”

This book is not an archival recounting of dry historical realities. It is imbued with living spirit. I experienced Treuer’s resounding narrative as a rebuttal to a common mythology imposed by dominating forces which still promote a racial terrorist campaign, relentlessly ratcheting down the ugly lid of intentional “disappearance” in an ongoing campaign to impose American government and culture on the land and original peoples. The level of trauma has stretched continuously from over 500 years ago through the present era and has almost irreparably altered the land, flora and fauna, and the civilizations of the original peoples. Languages, medicines, ways of life, deep knowledge and wisdom have been lost forever, yet the spirit of the land and all that lives here has not been destroyed – memory is in the blood of the land.

The recounting of Treuer’s return to Leech Lake Reservation after graduate school illustrates a key point which echoes throughout the book, which is that of relationship



with the land being central for connection to identity and culture. On pp.400-401 he writes:

“If any of the rest of life’s efforts was going to make any sense or mean anything at all, it had to, for me, make sense in relation to my tribe and my culture. I moved home and began working for a non-profit dedicated to strengthening Ojibwe language and culture. I wrote education grants to fund language immersion programs with an eye toward establishing an Ojibwe language immersion school at White Earth Reservation to the west of Leech Lake...When a community is whole language grows out of the web of relationships that make that community; it is a by-product of intergenerational togetherness...language has a special role as a carrier of culture. More than that: our Ojibwe religion is vested in the language. It cannot be practiced in English. The death of our language would likely be the death of us, certainly the death of our ceremonial life.”

Again and again, Treuer’s passion for the revitalization of identity in “Indian country” is apparent throughout the book along with a robust belief that not only is this possible, it is already happening coast to coast to coast in Native communities everywhere as “a new generation of activists were turning their attention and energy inward and working hard to strengthen their communities from the inside.” (p.402) Treuer contextualizes current challenges in “Indian country” with meaningful background illustrations of the root causes of dysfunctions, all while steadfastly focusing his view on the determination to survive. The U.S. govern-

ment has worked for hundreds of years to make “the Indian problem” go away, and the result has been the evidence of gathering strength and growing capacity, as the spotlight slowly turns to reveal what has been true all along – the core “Settler Problem.” Newcomers’ failures to function as “Treaty People” in relationship with sovereign peoples is the root cause of primary troubles in this hemisphere.

Treuer creates multifaceted, complexly layered viewpoints, creating a background theme in counterpoint to the lines of textured writing as he paints the count of the narrative from time immemorial to the present, and projects on into the future some words of hope. Only recently has America’s colonial view of the continent and its original people started to shift away from dominant stories of triumphant conquest toward a look at the wholesale genocide which created the American landscape and identity. This kind of work is an uphill climb. Resistance to giving up old dominant stories is strong. People do not want to lose their favorite myths, but the land itself demands change. Life on the planet cannot be sustained without a path away from fear, hatred, dominance and retribution, and onto a path of restoration. Without the healing of the indigenous spirit of this land we all perish. People choose their ignorance at the peril of all of life and it is in the interests of all of us together – indigenous and non-indigenous – to relinquish illusions of knowledge and seek indigenous wisdom. Stubborn ignorance is like a rusted steel trap, jaws clenched.

One of the core themes in this book is how place-based relationships are at the heart of indigenous identity. Knowledge has its own spirit which will not allow any of us to dwell in an idealized story of the past. We absolutely must be able to share stories of the life that has been stolen from the land in order to regain a sense of responsibility for place and relationships. Indigenous peoples have always known that, but newcomers, immigrants, descendants of settlers, colonized minds and governing powers have either forgotten or have been intentionally ignorant as a justification of the shameful treatment of the earth and Her people. Modern Americans must come to understand and accept that the story of continuous indigenous sovereignty is a crucial key to the planetary survival of life itself. Indigenous identity is sacred and the land is sacred, which can no longer be denied although many resist this knowing.

The stories of people Treuer knows, including his own story and his father’s, which he has used to connectively weave together the sections of the book, help create a narrative of resistance and resilience. Resilience is not a characteristic that individuals possess outside of the networks which sustain relationships in intricate fashion. Resilience is a function of connectedness and relationship. It is an ever-unfolding process. The seven parts of the book illustrate this seamlessly. They are linked together with personal accounts, and bring into focus the themes of the work. This is Treuer’s vision, and may not be how other historians or

writers would approach the span of the indigenous experience in “North America” from 10,000 BCE to 2018, but I found it an effective way of bringing forward key parts of truth.

Discussions of treaties run through the book like a thread of lightning, providing stark relief of light in a dark story. There were treaties to begin with at the time of first contact, which meant one thing to the Indigenous peoples from their understandings of the roles and functions of treaties in relationships. Treaties meant something entirely different to the capricious and rapacious newcomers. Truer tells the story of treaties made, violated, discarded and distorted. In his accounting of the American Indian Movement’s (AIM) 1972 take-over of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) following their procession of the “Trail of Broken Treaties,” he documents their 20-point memo, which began with a demand for treaty-making authority to be restored, and for a treaty commission to be established to renew the making of new treaties with the sovereign indigenous nations. He writes:

“The government might have been pressured to recommit to, and to privilege, the treaty agreements it so rarely honored...[yet AIM] “leadership,” after all, had not been elected or otherwise officially appointed, so they were hardly in a position to reaffirm a government-to-government relationship between tribes and the federal government.” (p.305)

It might have been interesting to see Treuer drill deeper into the underlying “legal codes” that pertain to the justification of land appropriation, particularly the Supreme Court decision in 2005 (<https://thewire.in/world/ruth-bader-ginsburg-sherrill-v-oneida>) that has seemingly carved in stone an impenetrable reality which asserts that even though evidence may exist that land has been “stolen,” taken illegally, it cannot be considered sovereign territory even if bought back by the tribe to which it originally belonged. Ruth Bader Ginsberg wrote that majority opinion in 2005, which stands to this day reasserting that the law is the law even if it is illegal because the conqueror is always right. My opinion may be seen by some as extreme, but the current reality irritates my soul as badly as a pebble in a shoe. Knowing the history of the “Doctrine of Discovery,” (DoD) arising out of multiple Papal Bulls from the 15th century (and prior), could perhaps help readers understand how appallingly the whole history of treaties has unfolded in the Americas (and Africa), and how far-reaching the roots of this DoD are even in contemporary times. If the “Notorious RBG” could not see a clearer path to set right this injustice, hope seems sparse for much improvement given the contemporary political climate. I would have liked to see the author address this and speak to the need to completely dismantle the DoD and its consequences.

The book is considered a corrective to Dee Brown’s work, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (1970) and yet it is more

a counterpoint. It is a work of deeper enlightenment into a story dominant America has failed to see and understand. Native America has always had the long view, the power of Natural Law, and the strength of survival moving towards more than survival. There is hope for ascendancy through new iterations of treaty law, pertaining mostly to land and relationships where resilience is more than an expected bouncing back. There is transformation which has been moving continuously toward realities waiting to be fully seen. The young and the old are dancing the assertions of their sovereignty into full existence in the present time. This is shaking the needy world of conquest into an awakening that has yet to be fully dreamed. Time does not wait or pass – it is present, always now, always becoming.

As a trauma therapist, I am particularly interested in the impact of trauma on the development of human identity and society. The book does not shy away from trauma accounts, whether historical or more contemporary. Treuer describes his own feelings about the dysfunction and violence evident in some aspects of life in Native American communities and families. Yet he always contrasts this with a greater view point.

“When I was a kid on the reservation, who was or wasn’t authentically Indian was determined largely in those endless clashes over how dark you were, whether you were enrolled, whether you came up hard, how much damage you could do to yourself and others and still keep on living. This is no longer true. To be Indian today seems to be more a matter of action. I hear it all around me – at powwows and ceremony and online ... Less and less do we define ourselves by what we have lost, what we have suffered, what we’ve endured.” (p.442)

My work as a trauma therapist, more recently working and living in mainly Canadian indigenous contexts, has been influenced by Dr. Cynthia Wesley-Esquimaux’s (Anishnaabe) work on historical trauma. She writes:

“What we’re really doing is Indigenizing. We’re taking Indigenous Knowledge and Indigenous thought, philosophy, history, and we’re lifting it into places that we feel it’s important for it to be.” (https://www.utoronto.ca/alumni/first-person-dr-cynthia-wesley-esquimaux-truth-and-reconciliation-historic-trauma-and-value-mentors)

Treuer’s book is one of the most significant books to be published in the past few years that is doing the heavy lifting. It has the potential to reach a vast array of peoples from many directions and promote the construction of Traditional Indigenous Knowledge to lift the level of truth and healing across the board. Another indigenous scholar who has influenced my work is Dr. Eduardo Duran, whose most recent book, *Healing the Soul Wound: Trauma Informed*

Counseling for Indigenous Communities, 2 ed. (2019), reflects many of the truths Treuer illustrates in his book.

Treuer’s statement about the personal story behind his motivation to write this account resonated with me:

“All I had was the small hot point of hope that I mattered, that where I was from mattered—and that I someday would be able to explain – to myself and to others – why.” (p.11)

The determination to provide a counternarrative to the dominator’s story about “the Indian” has resulted in a gift to all people who strive to understand where they came from and what happened, settler and Indian alike. It is a story that resonates with me, as well. Even though I am not indigenous to this land, it is my home. It is the land which has taught me love and sorrow, where I have experienced both nurturing relationships and wounding ones. This is the land where I am learning how to live as “family,” sharing in responsibilities to heal and not destroy. In this place I learn about my responsibilities as a “Treaty Person.” From my perspective it is the non-indigenous population of this land which has the furthest path to walk in attempting to learn how to do that. We need to accept and acknowledge that it is indigenous peoples to this continent who are our teachers. We settler descendants cannot remain in an illusion of safety and comfort where we get to choose to not know what we don’t know. Rather, we are morally required to drill down and learn as many dimensions of historical truth as possible in order that we might listen with our souls to the wisdom of the indigenous world. The future of the earth depends on our doing the work, not on staying safe and untroubled in our ignorance.

I want to end this review with a short personal story of my own. Back in the late 1980s I was at a historical Rendezvous on the banks of the Mississippi River in Ft. Madison, IA. Late at night, wandering among the campfires, I chanced upon a conversation in passing. Two men, one of whom I had been informed was a veteran and a descendant of Chief Sitting Bull, were deep in conversation. I paraphrase here what I heard as he and his companion walked past me:

“We have educated ourselves in the ways of the white man, we fought in his wars, and studied in his universities, we learned his laws, and become doctors and lawyers and soldiers. We know his ways and now we will use his knowledge to take back our land.”

The “winter counts” are not lost. The spirit of reflection and re-remembering (bringing the parts together again) is still alive, and has the power of intention. Dr. David Treuer has given a gift with this book, a springboard onto future paths, and there can be as much hope for reconciliation as there is for restoration and recovery. This wisdom linked with the will of the people has potential for deep healing in this needful time.



Available from Latitude 46 Publishing: <https://store.latitude46publishing.com/products/enough-light-for-the-next-step-a-memoir-of-love-loss-and-spirit>
The book can also be ordered from Barnes and Noble, Ingram, Baker and Taylor, and Amazon.com

Annie Wenger-Nabigon, Ph.D., is a retired therapist and social work educator. She was born in mountainous southern territory of the Osage Peoples (northcentral Arkansas), the oldest child of Mennonite medical missionaries, and spent most of her childhood years in a Mennonite community in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the traditional territory of the Susquehannock Peoples. Between the beginning of her story and the current time, she has traveled across many territories, borders and boundaries, always learning, always finding the Light. She is a dual citizen of Canada and the United States, honouring her family on all sides of the borders. She currently resides in Urbana, Illinois.



Enough Light for the Next Step tells the story of Annie Wenger-Nabigon and her husband Herb Nabigon, an Oji-Cree Anishinabe elder. In this powerful and moving tribute to her late husband, the beliefs and teachings he shared with her, Annie Wenger-Nabigon shares the Oji-Cree teachings Herb wanted to pass on.

“A profound love suffuses Annie’s eloquent memoir of the path - hers starting from the southern mountain forests of the United States and his from the northern shores of Lake Superior -- that converged to the life she and her late partner were destined to share in his last ten years. Her struggle to gain “a wisdom that opens the heart to gratitude and joy” through the teachings imparted by Elders as she grapples with her grief is inspiring to anyone who has lost their partner.”

--Mary Ann Corbiere, Professor Emerita, University of Sudbury

“When Herb and Annie returned to Biigtigong Nishnaabeg (Pic River First Nation) they invited Pearl and I, strangers, into their home for a meal of moose and genuine hospitality. Annie, ever a student and a teacher of the ways of the heart and of healing, invites readers into her spiritual home. In *Enough Light for the Next Step: A Memoir of Love, Loss, and Spirit* Annie shares herself, and her enduring love for Herb Nabigon, whose wisdom, kindness and stories she has inherited and has woven with her own. The result is a sumptuous feast with a dear friend you may have just met.”

--David Giuliano author, *The Undertaking of Billy Buffone*



WHAT IS LIFE?

“It is the flash of a firefly in the night. It is the breath of a buffalo in the wintertime. It is the little shadow which runs across the grass and loses itself in the sunset. The True Peace.”

- *Black Elk*

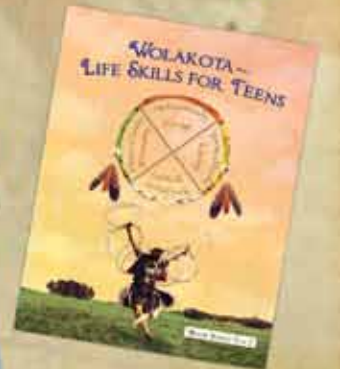
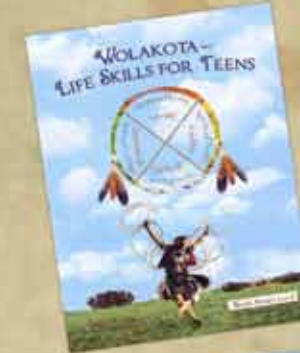
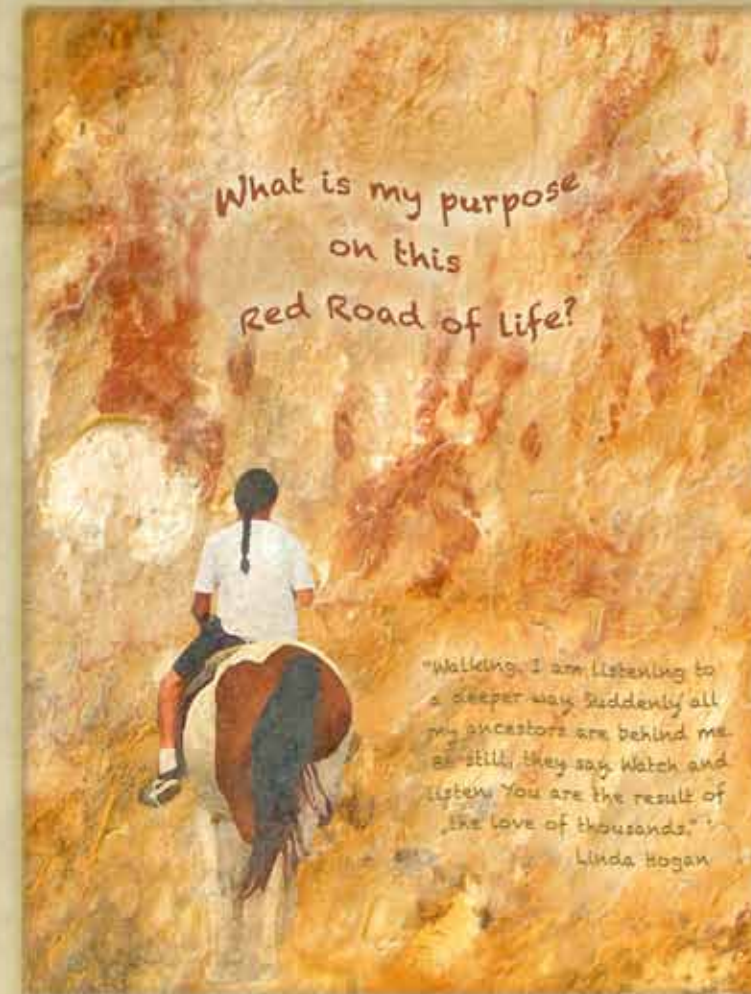


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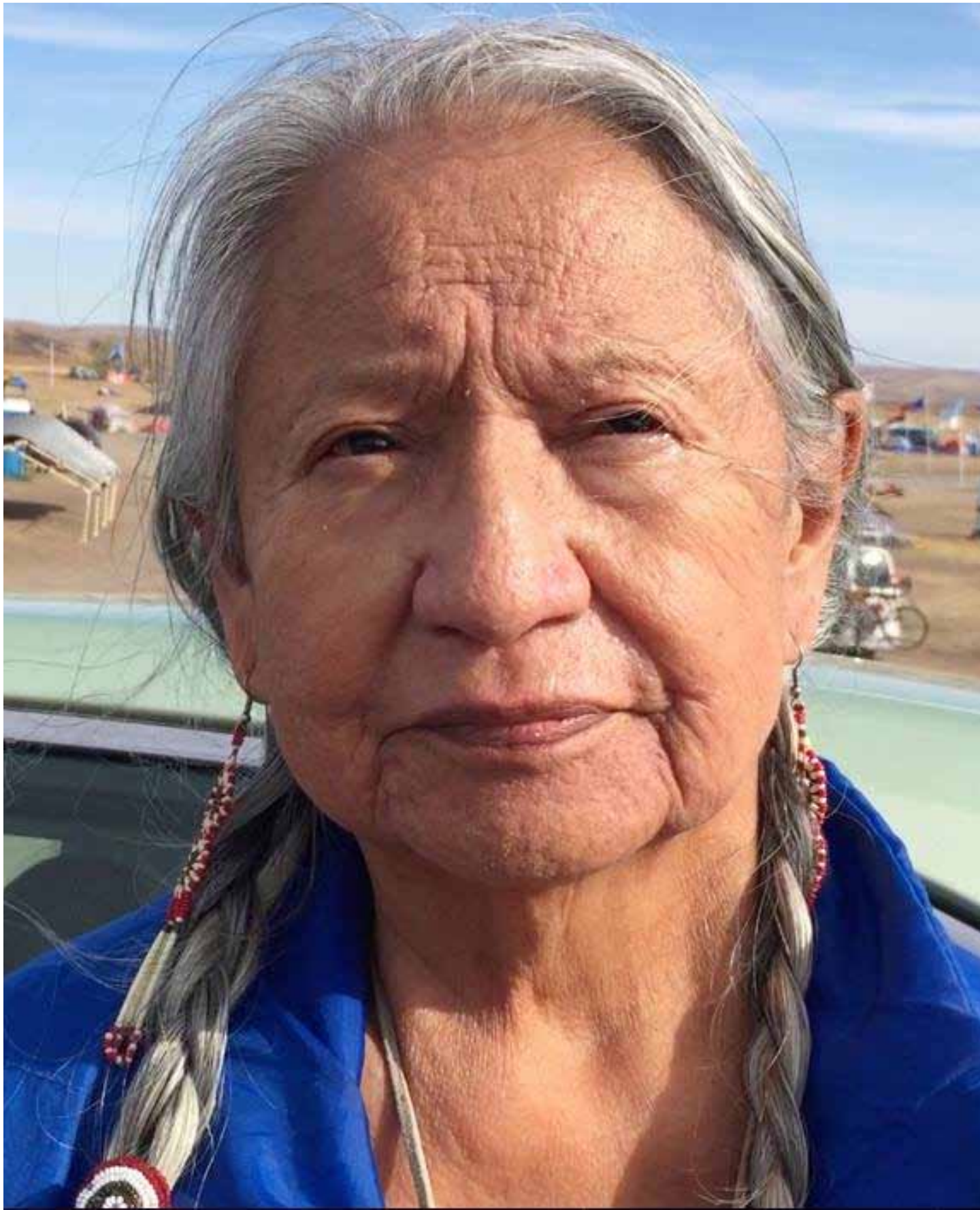
DEDICATED TO HELPING OUR LAKOTA CHILDREN AND YOUTH CREATE A BRIGHT FUTURE



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We create culturally-based, life skills curriculum for students in grades K-12 for the prevention of addiction and suicide, the preservation of the culture and language, and healing of the people. It is currently being used by thousands of students in 17 reservation schools in South Dakota. Your support will help it grow to reach more of our children who are at risk and in need. Wopila!



Lula Mae Red Cloud-Burk
October 29, 1946 - October 23, 2022

NATIVE-LED

Grass-roots nonprofit



PINE RIDGE RESERVATION, SD

RED CLOUD RENEWABLE

Get to know us. We'd love to get to know you.
Join our tiospaye*!

*extended family and relates to kinship within that ex- tended family



Learn

Learn about our upcoming Weatherization Program awarded to us by the DOE



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Eileen Janis (January 12, 1961 - November 19, 2022) and Tony De Cory



THE BEAR PROJECT

PINE RIDGE RESERVATION



WHAT IS THE BEAR PROJECT?

The BEAR Project is a 501c3 Non-Profit that runs Community Events & Suicide Prevention Programs for the youth in the Pine Ridge community and beyond.



OUR FOCUS

With a youth suicide rate on the reservation of 5x the national average, our focus is providing training, tools and resources to prevent suicides.



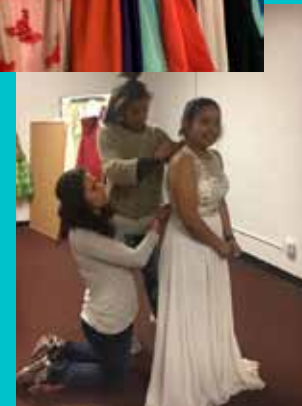
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WHAT WE DO

- Provide emergency suicide intervention services
- Supply food, clothing, and household supplies to youth and their families
- Collect formal wear for local proms
- Equip youth with life skills and job readiness



CHECK OUT THIS VIDEO TRAILER!

<https://youtu.be/8a9dFIVzqB8>

CONTACT US

<https://bearproject.net/>



Yvonne DeCory, Director
 (605) 454-0518
 BEAR Project
 Box 415
 Pine Ridge, SD 57770



CURRENT FUNDING NEEDS

- ability to hire a full-time staff member
- building materials for our new youth center and crisis housing buildings
- snacks and food for our emergency pantry



<https://bearproject.net/>



Adopt an Artist Program

THE ADOPT AN ARTIST PROGRAM

Background

The Adopt an Artist Program is a new organization created and produced by Mia Feroletto, the originator of ARTWALK NY and other groundbreaking events in the New York City contemporary art world. Feroletto has now conceived of the creation of the Fresh Art Fund for artists. Creator of The Adopt An Artist Program, Mia Feroletto, was trained as a painter and holds an MA in lithography. She feels that her art education was the most important gift of her life in that it taught her to create from nothing each and every day. Whether it be working on a blank piece of canvas or envisioning a project such as ARTWALK NY, or The Adopt An Artist Program, the same principles apply in terms of combining the seeds of creativity with the practical needs of developing a project in the world. The Adopt An Artist Program re-configures the present-day art world and brings it home to the daily lives of all of us. It holds the possibility of supporting creativity in each and every one of us.

Objective

Stimulate creativity and create a catalyst for the growth of the art industry.

Strategy

Create a domestic and international exchange program for artists and the public.

For more information contact Mia Feroletto at mia.feroletto@gmail.com

The Four Values of the Lakota

Generosity (Wacantognaka)

Generosity is something that any real Lakota person has. They learn to provide for their family members and relatives, as well as the needy ones in the community. Therefore a person is looked up to not for their ability to provide food, clothing and shelter, but also for the ability to give generously and not count the cost. It is better to give a lot than to have a lot and keep it for yourself. To be called “stingy” is the worst insult. When an important occasion comes along, people honor one another with a “giveaway” or *otuhan*. During this giveaway, the giver gives much of what he has to other people. Sometimes everything is given away.

Courage (Woohitika)

Taking care of others means that a person needs to have bravery or courage. It means having to face hard and difficult things for the sake of others. Therefore a person is taught by example and stories how to have great courage. They learn to face danger without running away, and how to face even death with dignity. (In the old days, counting coup was a way of proving you had courage.) Today, a person has to have great courage to face bad thoughts and desires within himself. It takes courage to make changes instead of running away from problems. Any person who does something dangerous to help another is worthy of honor and respect.

Respect (Wowacintanka)

In order for people to live together in peace, they have to respect one another. The old are respected for their wisdom and the young because they are the future of the people. This attitude also means a reverence for all other living things in the world. Everything was put on this “island” earth by the Great Spirit. All people and things are relatives. Everything is one, the holy men tell us. This reverence is expressed in daily prayers and by the way we act. The outcome of this respect is peace in families, among tribes and other people. “Although I die I continue living in everything that is...each thing is everything forever,” an old Indian once said. We are all one.

Wisdom (Woksape)

The knowledge and wisdom of the old people is very important for the well-being of the people. They know how to give “good advice” to others because they have seen many things happen and change. This kind of wisdom helps people get along and understand the world around them. This wisdom helps us see that people are more valuable than things or money. The real way to judge a person is nothing without the power of God. Being humble, and caring for others is the wisest power of all. Wisdom is like the sun who rises at dawn—we see things the way they are then. This is why traditional people face the dawn each day to pray and ask God to make them wise.

From the book *Lakota Life*, by Ron Zeilinger, pp. 23-25 Copyright 1986 St. Joseph's Indian School, Second Edition, Second Printing, 1994. All rights reserved. Manufactured in the United States of America by Tipi Press Printing, St Joseph's Indian School, Chamberlain, South Dakota 57326 ISBN 1-877976-07-5



Descendants of the survivors of Wounded Knee, taken on the anniversary of Wounded Knee, December 29, 2022.

CONTRIBUTORS' BIOS

Peter Champoux is the author of *Gaia Matrix* and other works on spiritual geography that he sees as foundational to a sustainable future. Over this past year he has been collaboratively working on the 'return' of the Wounded Knee looted artifacts from Massachusetts to the Ancestors of South Dakota.

Peter's discovery of the EarthRing phenomena gives form and function to a living earth. His research suggests EarthRings hold potential to heal societal and environmental imbalance. His earth healing focus of late has centered on Eastern European conflict resolutions, the restoration of watersheds, and the spiritual cultivation of sacred sites for world maintenance.

peter.champoux@gmail.com www.geometryofplace.com

Mitch Epstein (born 1952, Holyoke, Massachusetts) is a photographer who helped pioneer fine-art color photography in the 1970s. His photographs are in numerous major museum collections, including New York's Museum of Modern Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Whitney Museum of American Art; The J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles; the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art; and the Tate Modern in London.

In 2022, he exhibited his photographs and films (*Salaam Bombay!* and *India Cabaret*) at Les Rencontres d'Arles in the 12th century Abbey of Montmajour, Arles, France. In 2020-21, he had an exhibition of his series *Property Rights* at the Amon Carter Museum of American Art in Fort Worth, Texas; it was also exhibited at Sikkema Jenkins & Co., New York and Galerie Thomas Zander, Cologne (2019).

Epstein's seventeen books include *Silver + Chrome* (Steidl 2022); *Recreation* (Steidl 2022); *Property Rights* (Steidl, 2021); *In India* (Steidl, 2021); *Sunshine Hotel* (Steidl/PPP Editions, 2019); *Rocks and Clouds* (Steidl 2017); *New York Arbor* (Steidl 2013); *Berlin* (Steidl/The American Academy in Berlin 2011); *American Power* (Steidl

2009); *Family Business* (Steidl 2003), winner of the 2004 Kraszna-Krausz Photography Book Award.

Epstein has worked as a director, cinematographer, and production designer on several films, including *Dad*, *Mississippi Masala*, and *Salaam Bombay!*. He lives with his family in New York City.

Mia Feroletto has used her spiritual life as a means to guide her work since childhood. Even in grammar school, Feroletto wrote letters to the editors of the local newspapers on key topics such as poverty and animal abuse that were published. Her lifelong commitment is to be part of the solution. She has been known to ruffle a few feathers in the process.

Feroletto is a well-known art advisor, activist and artist who divides her time between Vermont and South Dakota. She was the creator of A SHELTER FROM THE STORM: ARTISTS FOR THE HOMELESS OF NEW YORK and ART-WALK NY, an annual event for Coalition for the Homeless that has been copied all around the country since beginning in 1995. Feroletto has organized numerous benefit auctions and large-scale special events at major auction houses such as Sotheby's and Christie's and has served on the board of directors of such organizations as Dance Theater Workshop and Sculpture Center. She most recently joined the board of directors of the Tatanka Ska Institute, the Indigenous school being founded by Paula Looking Horse, wife of Chief Arvol Looking Horse, the keeper of the sacred White Buffalo Calf Woman Pipe. She is the publisher of *New Observations Magazine*, the producer/creator of *HEMP NY CITY*, a partner in the founding of the Thunderheart Center for the Arts in Wasta, South Dakota and the creator and producer of the *Consciousness and Contact* conferences that have received world-wide recognition. She is the host of the *New Observations* podcast on *Unknown Country*, the channel for all things Whitley Strieber.

Feroletto is a committed animal

rights and animal welfare activist.

She is determined to maximize visibility for the arts and our cultural world and is currently developing the Adopt An Artist Program to send artists to destinations around the globe in order to create and develop their art.

She can be reached at mia.feroletto@gmail.com.

Elaine Goodale taught at the Indian Department of Hampton Institute, started a day school on a Dakota reservation in 1886, and was appointed as Superintendent of Indian Education for the Two Dakotas by 1890. She married Dr. Charles Eastman (also known as Ohiye S'a), a Santee Sioux who was the first Native American to graduate from medical school and become a physician. They lived with their growing family in the West for several years. Goodale collaborated with him in writing about his childhood and Sioux culture; his nine books were popular and made him a featured speaker on a public lecture circuit. She also continued her own writing, publishing her last book of poetry in 1930, and a biography and last novel in 1935.

David Grua is an historian and documentary editor for the Joseph Smith Papers in Salt Lake City, Utah. His scholarly interests include Native American/Western history, Mormon history, and collective memory. He received a Ph.D. in American history from Texas Christian University in 2013.

Grua's book, *Surviving Wounded Knee: The Lakotas and the Politics of Memory*, (Oxford University Press, 2016), examines a much-remembered incident of white-Indian violence during the nineteenth century. During the century and more since the 1890 massacre, the Lakota survivors and their descendants have struggled with non-Natives to define the meaning of the deaths that occurred at Wounded Knee by erecting competing memorials, recording and disseminating conflicting accounts, and debating the broader question of historical responsibility and justice before the United

States Congress. *Surviving Wounded Knee* was named a Choice Outstanding Academic Title and was awarded the Robert M. Utley Prize by the Western History Association.

His publications have appeared in the *Western Historical Quarterly*, *Federal History*, the *Journal of Mormon History*, and other peer-reviewed venues. He has also presented papers at the annual meetings of the Western History Association, the Mormon History Association, and other professional venues.

Kevin Killer (Oglala Sioux) (born May 4, 1979) is an activist, Native American politician, and former president of the Oglala Sioux Tribe. He previously served as a Democratic member of the South Dakota House of Representatives from 2009 to 2017 and the South Dakota Senate from 2017 to 2019, representing the 27th district. He lives in Pine Ridge, South Dakota. In November 2020, he was elected tribal president of the Oglala Sioux Tribe. He was defeated during his 2022 re-election bid by Frank Star Comes Out. As President of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, he played a significant role in the return of the Wounded Knee artifacts.

Owen Luck is an American photographer known for his photography of Native American and First Nation Canadian life and history. In 1973, after serving two tours as a combat medic in Vietnam, Luck travelled to Pine Ridge, South Dakota to provide medical support during the occupation of Wounded Knee by the American Indian Movement (AIM). He also carried a camera and created an extensive record of the confrontation between AIM and the United States Marshals Service, Federal Bureau of Investigation agents, and other law enforcement agencies. His account of that experience, "A Witness at Wounded Knee 1973," was published in *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* in 2006. In 1975 Luck documented the Menominee Warrior Society's occupation of the abandoned Alexian Brothers Novitiate in Gresham, Wisconsin,

near the Menominee Indian Reservation. Since 2004 he has worked among indigenous communities of the Pacific Northwest. Luck has donated photographs to Oglala Lakota College in Pine Ridge, to the Haida Gwaii Museum in Skidegate, and to the Makah Museum in Neah Bay. Significant collections of his work are held by Princeton University Library and the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library.

Alessandro Martire was born in Florence on 11/7/1960, he is the last direct living descendant of Pietro Martire D'Anghiera - historian, diplomat at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and Grand Master of the Order of Knights, as well as author of the *De Orbe Novo* - 1516, written on the direct reports learned from his friend Christopher Columbus about the "alleged" discovery of America; Pietro Martire D'Anghiera will be the first historian in the world, even before Bartolomeo de Las Casas, to denounce the massacres and genocides perpetrated by the Spaniards against the Amerindian peoples - Arawak-Taino. Alessandro Martire in 1982, completed a University's thesis and came into contact with the Lakota Sioux nation of Pine Ridge and Rosebud Sioux Tribe. The interest towards the Lakota's culture and spirituality was present since his youthness, and in 1982 this unique experience definitively linked Alessandro Martire to the Lakota Oyate. In those years Alessandro has been accepted to participate to the sacred ceremonies (sun dance) and he will pass from the Christian religion, with which he grew up, to the spirituality of the Lakota. Between the years 1983-1990 he goes several times a year to the Rosebud and Pine Ridge, where he gets to know the suffering, fear, poverty, desperation of a people who are still fighting for their Human rights, and their future. In 1990 he returned to live permanently in Italy, he enrolled at the University of Law of Siena and obtained a degree in Administrative Law, followed by a specialization in "international law". Since 1995, he has been collaborating

as a free lecturer with the University of Florence, with Prof. Brunetto Chiarelli at the Institute of Anthropology, holding courses and seminars on the culture of Native American peoples, as well as international law with particular reference to the First Nations of Turtle Island. Proposes and signs with the University of Florence - Institute of Anthropology the first Italian international agreement between the University of Florence and the Rosebud Sioux Tribe. In 2001 Alessandro Martire was appointed academic-scientific manager of all the study sessions on poor peoples, within the XVth ICAES_ World Congress of Anthropology and Ethnology which takes place in Florence.

Alessandro Martire will serve as an international lawyer - pro bono - the Rosebud Sioux Tribe and, in July 2000 at the High Commissioner of Human Rights in Geneva, for the work of the world constitution for Indigenous peoples.

In August 2009, the SENATE of the United States of America, with an act signed by US Senator Tim Johnson, thanked Alessandro Martire for the international legal work carried out for over 23 years (always pro bono) and officially recognized the international legal acts promoted and implemented by the Italian Government in favor of the American Indians Lakota Sioux.

Alessandro Martire is Honorary Member of the Lakota Sicangu Nation of Rosebud, official delegate in Italy of the Lakota Sicangu of Rosebud and Pine Ridge, sun dancer and custodian of the "sacred Ca' Nunpa" since 1982. Adopted in 1994, by Leonard Crow Dog Senior as "Hunka" son, and in 2012 by the Brings Plenty Tiospaye.

Alessandro has already written 12 books on the history, culture, spirituality of Native American peoples as well as 5 scientific publications edited by the Institute of Anthropology of Florence for the University of Florence (publications on: Human evolution, Global Bioethics, and I 'International journal of anthropology).

He has collaborated as a teacher with the University of Florence, Siena,

Palermo, Siena and “Alma Mater of Bologna” for the university preparation of numerous Italian students about the culture, spirituality and history of the Lakota Sioux, carrying out scientific support for the aforementioned Universities in partnership with the Rosebud Sioux Tribe.

In 1996 he founded, at the behest of the Lakota Sicangu nation of Rosebud, the cultural association E.T.S. – NGO called “Wambli Gleska”, of which he is President, which carries out cultural and scientific activities for the dissemination of the traditional culture of the Indigenous peoples of North America. Every year it organizes ethnographic events, museum exhibitions concerning the material culture of the Amerindian peoples of North America.

In October 2019 he will be present in Rome for the Synod called by the Vatican “Laudato si” called by Pope Francis for the Indigenous Nations of the Americas, and together with the past-president, Mr. Rodney Bordeaux and two members of the Tribal Council, he will collaborate in the drafting of the acts presented to the Pope for the abolition of the historic Papal Bulls called “Bulla Inter caetera” and “Pontifex Deus”, as well as presenting a formal legal complaint for the atrocities committed in Christian Boarding Schools of Canada and in the United States; this work will lead Pope Francis in 2022 to formally ask for forgiveness from the peoples of Turtle Island both in Italy in April and in July 2022 in Canada.

Alessandro Martire Brings Plenty, promoted with the Italian Government and the Tuscany Governmental’s Region, for the first time in history of Italy, the abolishment of the celebrations for the “Columbus day” in October, rather he promoted with the Tuscany Region’s Government the «Remembrance day for all American Indians and the Lakota»; the international act was signed on October 4th 2021 in Florence, Italy with the signature of the delegate of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe, with Mr Moses Brings Plenty and with the signature of the UNESCO Italy,

the Municipality of Berceto and the United States’ Counselor, of the Florence Consulate, Mrs. Ragini Gupta.

Alessandro Martire Ota Au, continues his work today in defense of the rights of the Lakota and with his association Wambli Gleska, carries out humanitarian services in favor of some members of the Oglala Sioux Tribe in serious situations of need.

Aaron Miller is a freelance Repatriation Consultant and the Associate Curator of Visual and Material Culture & Head of Cultural Repatriation at the Mount Holyoke College Art Museum in South Hadley, Massachusetts. With a background in anthropology and history, he holds a PhD in post-medieval archaeology from Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada. Miller’s scholarly work focuses on material culture, the afterlives of objects, histories of collecting, and representations of Indigeneity (both past and present) in museums. Miller is actively working to help museums and Native communities create pathways to repatriation.

Madeline McCullough teaches creative problem-solving at Wichita State University at the Elliott School of Communication. She helps prepare students by teaching critical thinking and learning to tell the story of a person, place or brand in an engaging way. Madelaine combines her knowledge from earning a BFA in art history and an MA in communication with her experiences as a copywriter, features writer, commercial photographer, brand manager and public relations manager to help students develop their skills and find their own path in the communication field. Students are encouraged to discover their own creative best practices and use them to solve problems, including creating advertising that people want to see. Along the way we talk about inner peace, inner strength, lifestyle choices, sticky wickets, and the miracle of a good mentor.

Laurent Olivier is Top Curator at the French National Museum of Archaeol-

ogy in Saint-Germain-en-Laye. His work is focused on the archaeology of ethnocide and resistance to colonization. Olivier’s research interests include history and theory of the archaeological discipline, as well as the archaeology of the Contemporary Past, as an archaeology of material memory. His present work is devoted to the study of the impact of the Anthropocene on the archaeological practice and understanding of the historical and archaeological time.

Keri Pickett is a producer, director and photographer. She is the Co-Director and Directory of Photography for FINDING HER BEAT (88 minutes, 2022), a film following a group of Pan-Asian women finding their power in taiko drumming, which premieres in the fall of 2022. Pickett is the Producer/Director/DP for FIRST DAUGHTER AND THE BLACK SNAKE, (94 minutes, 2017) was selected by the Marfa Film Festival, the Native Women in Film and Red Nation Film Festival, and the Portland Eco Film Festival winning “Best MN Made Documentary Feature” from the Minneapolis St. Paul International Film Festival, a Red Nation Film Festival Courage Award, the Portland EcoFilm Festival Best Feature Film Award and the Frozen River Film Festival Minnesota Documentary Award. It is distributed by Virgil Films & Entertainment. THE FABULOUS ICE AGE, (72 minutes, 2013), a “Netflix Original” distributed in 10 languages for 5 years was her fist film. Pickett also directs short films and music videos including NO MORE PIPELINE BLUES (ON THIS LAND WHERE WE BELONG.) (5 minutes, 2020) Pickett is a member of Film Fatales.

Pickett is an acclaimed photographer and the author of the award winning books LOVE IN THE 90s, (Warner Books, 1995) which won the Best Photo Book award from American Photography and it had a first printing of 150,000 copies and had a Japanese edition. FAERIES (Aperture, 2000) was awarded the Lambda Literary Award, Best Art Book, 2000) and SAVING BODY & SOUL (Shaw Books, 2004)

Chief Henry Red Cloud is the direct 5th generation descendant of Chief Red Cloud, one of the last Lakota war chiefs and one of the most famous Native Americans in history. Henry was born and raised on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, home of the Oglala Lakota Nation, where living conditions are extremely difficult.

For more than a decade, Henry has devoted himself to developing his expertise with renewable energy applications that are environmentally sound, economically beneficial, and culturally appropriate. Today, Henry is a twenty-first century Lakota Warrior, bringing green technology and employment to Native American communities. He reminds tribes that they can live sustainably and shows them that by embracing clean, renewable energy applications there is a way to get back to a traditional relationship with Mother Earth. As Henry says, “This is a new way to honor the old ways.”

Jaime Royal “Robbie” Robertson, OC (born July 5, 1943), is a Canadian musician. He is best known for his work as lead guitarist and songwriter for the Band, and for his career as a solo recording artist. With the deaths of Richard Manuel in 1986, Rick Danko in 1999, and Levon Helm in 2012, Robertson is one of only two living original members of the Band, with the other being Garth Hudson.

Robertson’s work with the Band was instrumental in creating the Americana music genre. Robertson has been inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and the Canadian Music Hall of Fame as a member of the Band, and has been inducted to Canada’s Walk of Fame, both with the Band and on his own. He is ranked 59th in Rolling Stone magazine’s list of the 100 greatest guitarists. As a songwriter, Robertson is credited for writing “The Weight”, “The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down”, “Up on Cripple Creek” with the Band, and had solo hits with “Broken Arrow” and “Somewhere Down the Crazy River”, and many others. He has been inducted into the Canadian Songwriters

Hall of Fame, and received a Lifetime Achievement Award from the National Academy of Songwriters.

As a film soundtrack producer and composer, Robertson is known for his collaborations with director Martin Scorsese, which began with the rockumentary film *The Last Waltz* (1978), and continued through a number of dramatic films, including *Raging Bull* (1980), *The King of Comedy* (1983), *Casino* (1995), *The Departed* (2006), *The Wolf of Wall Street* (2013) and *The Irishman* (2019). He has worked on many other soundtracks for film and television.

Annie Wenger-Nabigon, Ph.D., is a retired therapist and social work educator. She was born in mountainous southern territory of the Osage Peoples (north central Arkansas), the oldest child of Mennonite medical missionaries, and spent most of her childhood years in a Mennonite community in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the traditional territory of the Susquehannock Peoples. Between the beginning of her story and the current time, she has traveled across many territories, borders and boundaries, always learning, always finding the Light. She is a dual citizen of Canada and the United States, honoring her family on all sides of the borders. Recently remarried, she now divides her time between her home in Urbana, Illinois, and Canada. Annie is an active volunteer with the Dismantling the Doctrine of Discovery Coalition, DismantleDiscovery.org.

John Willis is a photographer whose personal work and teaching typically fall within the social documentary genre, engaging the communities he works within. He considers volunteer and service community engagement work an essential part of his life. Willis is the recipient of a John Simon Guggenheim Fellowship 2010 and an Open Society Institute Community Engagement Grant, among other awards. His photographs are in numerous permanent collections, among them the Library of Congress, Museum of Fine

Arts, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, National Gallery of Art, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, Bibliotheque Nationale de France, Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography and Whitney Museum of American Art. Willis’ books include *Mni Wiconi/Water Is Life: Honoring the Water Protectors at Standing Rock* and *Everywhere in the Ongoing Struggle for Indigenous Sovereignty, Views from the Reservation, Recycled Realities* (with Tom Young), and *Requiem for the Innocent, El Paso and Beyond*, a collaboration with writer Robin Behn and composer Matan Rubenstein. The project has also become a short experimental film designed for an art installation. His work with First Nations people began in 1990 when he was introduced to Eugene Reddest Comes Out First, an Oglala Lakota elder. His ongoing appreciation for the Lakota and other tribes and their beautiful living traditions stems partly from the fact that his family immigrated to the US in the early 20th century to escape persecution, leaving him feeling void of many cultural traditions.

Wendell Yellow Bull is the great-great-grandson of Lakota legend Chief Red Cloud. On the other side of his family, he is the great-great-grandson of Joseph Horn Cloud, who survived the Wounded Knee Massacre as a 17 year old man and went on to build the Wounded Knee Memorial which still stands today. In addition, Wendell is the pipe carrier of the sacred chanupa of Chief Red Cloud. He is currently one of the leaders in the return of the artifacts and remains from the Wounded Knee Massacre that have been housed in a small museum/library in Massachusetts for the past 130 years. Highly educated, Wendell has served as the Chief of the Tribal Police on the Pine Ridge Reservation as well as Executive Director of the Oglala Sioux Tribe. Currently, he is organizing the stories of all the survivor families of the Wounded Knee Massacre.



CONTRIBUTORS

Peter Champoux

Mitch Epstein

Mia Feroletto

Aaron Fitzgerald Miller

Elaine Goodale Eastman

David Grua

Kevin Killer

Owen Luck

Alessandro Martire

Madeline McCullough

Laurent Olivier

Chief Henry Red Cloud

Robbie Robertson

Annie Wenger-Nabigon

Keri Pickett

Alex White Plume

John Willis

Wendell Yellow Bull

Darien and Lane Young Man