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Ella Deloria: a biographical sketch and literary analysis

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ELLA DELORIA: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

AND LITERARY ANALYSIS

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This Dissertation submitted by Janette K. Murray in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of North Dakota is hereby approved by the Faculty Advisory Commitee under whom the work has been done.

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Title ELLA DELORIA: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH AND LITERARY ANALYSIS

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General Moses, director of the Institute of Indian Studies, University of South Dakota, provided personal assistance as well as access to

the unpublished manuscripts and letters of Ella Deloria. Copies of the letters between Ella Deloria and Franz Boas were provided by the American Philosophical Society Library of Philadelphia.

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ABSTRACT

Ella Deloria, a Dakota born on the Yankton Reservation in 1888, was a teacher, speaker, author, and researcher in linguistics and anthropology. One purpose of this study was to present a description of her family background, education, and career. Most of this information was gathered by interviews with her relatives, friends, former students, and professional acquaintances. A second purpose was to analyze her writings on the language and culture of the Dakota people and to determine her contributions to existing publications by others.

The ancestors of Ella Deloria played important roles in the history of South Dakota. Her great-grandfather, Philippe des Lauriers, a French explorer, established one of the first trading posts among the Yanktons in about 1822 near the present city of Fort Pierre. Francis Deloria, the son of Philippe des Lauriers and Siha Sapewin of the Blackfoot band, was a famous medicine man and spiritual leader among the Yanktons. He also traveled to Washington, D. C., and attempted to establish peace between the government and the Dakota tribes. His son, Philip Deloria, Ella Deloria's father, relinquished his tribal leadership position and, in the late 1880s, became an Episcopal Missionary to the Teton Dakotas near Wakpala, South Dakota, on the Standing Rock Reservation. Reverend Philip Deloria established the Mission School, St. Elizabeth's, which

Ella Deloria attended as a child. She grew up learning the language, legends, and customs of the Dakota people from her father and the many others who attended the church and school.

When she was fourteen, Ella Deloria attended All Saints School in Sioux Falls, South Dakota. After being awarded a scholarship for her academic achievement in 1911, she attended Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio, for two years. Leaving Oberlin, she went to Columbia University and received her B.A. in 1914. While she was at Columbia she taught Lakota language to students under the direction of Dr. Franz Boas of the Department of Anthropology. After teaching briefly at All Saints, she returned to St. Elizabeth's Mission at Wakpala. Then, from 1923 to 1928, Ella Deloria was a physical education instructor at Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas. While she was there, she was contacted by Boas who offered her a position as a research specialist in linguistics and ethnology with Columbia University. During the 1930s, 1940s, and early 1950s, she recorded and translated statements made by native speakers of three Siouan dialects: Lakota, Dakota, and Nakota. She also spent part of her time in New York translating manuscripts and serving as a consultant for the students and professors of anthropology at Columbia University. After the death of Boas in 1942, Ella Deloria continued her research and writing in the Dakotas and Minnesota.

From 1955 to 1958 Ella Deloria served as the director of St. Elizabeth's Mission School. The students attended school in nearby Wakpala, but Ella Deloria and her sister, Susie, were responsible for the food, lodging and care of the forty Indian students who lived there. In 1961

Ella Deloria was appointed research associate at the University of South Dakota in Vermillion. She continued her research in anthropology, but her main project was a dictionary of Lakota language begun about forty years earlier when she was still associated with Columbia University. She frequently accepted invitations to lecture at schools and attend workshops on Dakota history, values, and culture. Several times a year for nearly ten years she spoke or taught classes at St. Mary's Indian School for Girls at Springfield, South Dakota. Ella Deloria died at Tripp, South Dakota, at the age of eighty-three.

Ella Deloria's most significant works are Dakota Texts, published in 1932; Dakota Grammar, written with Franz Boas and published in 1941; and Speaking of Indians, published in 1944. Dakota Texts includes sixty-four tales in the original Dakota, Lakota and Nakota dialects. Each tale is accompanied by a free translation and a literal translation is also given for each of the first sixteen stories. Some of the selections were translations of manuscripts collected by others in the 1800s; others were recorded by Ella Deloria from native informants. This volume, which includes extensive linguistic and anthropological notes, is the most complete collection of Dakota literature. Dakota Grammar is a description of the language in recorded texts by idiomatic speakers in terms of its own syntax, phonology, and morphology. Speaking of Indians is an ethnohistory of the Dakota, their customs and ceremonies, and their adjustments to modern life. Ella Deloria's explanation of the traditional tiyoṡpaye (camp circle), kinship system, and Dakota values is a sensitive account based on experience as well as research. Other published works by Ella

Deloria are "The Sun Dance of the Oglala Sioux" in the Journal of American Linguistics (1929); "Notes on the Dakota, Teton Dialect," in the International Journal of American Linguistics (1933); "Dakota Treatment of Murderers" in the American Philosophical Society Proceedings (1944); "Short Dakota Texts, Including Conversations" in the International Journal of American Linguistics (1954); and four articles in the Museum News published at the University of South Dakota--"The Origin of the Courting Flute" (1961); "Easter Day at a Yankton Dakota Church" (1962); "Some Notes on the Yankton" (1967); and "Some Notes on the Santee" (1967). Collections of Ella Deloria's unpublished manuscripts are housed at the American Philosophical Society Library at Philadelphia and the Institute of Indian Studies at the University of South Dakota. Ella Deloria's Lakota dictionary manuscript is being prepared for publication. It consists of approximately 5,000 entries with definitions, dialectic variations, etymologies, and examples of usage.

Ella Deloria's works are frequently cited in publications by other authors. Among those who acknowledged her contributions to their work are Franz Boas, Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Ruth Bunzel, and Jeannette Mirsky--all of Columbia University. She is also cited in two more recent publications: The Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior Society by Royal B. Hassrick, and The Modern Sioux: Social Systems and Reservation Culture edited by Ethel Nurge. Her nephew, Vine Deloria, Jr., is the author of several books on contemporary problems such as Custer Died for Your Sins (1969); We Talk, You Listen (1970); and God is Red (1973).

Ella Deloria, in her speeches and writings, described the Dakota culture and social customs to promote a better understanding of the Dakota way of life. These works, based on personal experience and research, are a valuable source of information and explanation for the teachers, doctors, ministers and government employees who work with the Indian people today.

INTRODUCTION

The Purpose

The policies of the United States government since the first contact with the native Americans have ranged from total annihilation, to paternalism, to indifference. Other agencies, too, such as churches and educational institutions, have been uncertain in their contacts; sometimes pressing hard for assimilation and other times favoring the preservation of the traditional Indian ways. The history of the Indian and non-Indian relationships is one of distrust, distortion, misunderstanding, and frustration. With very few exceptions, it is a one-sided story told by non-Indians. Even today, though there has been some attempt to correct the more glaring examples of prejudice, the Indian story is seldom presented.

The American Indian constitutes less than one percent of the total United States population. He is often called the "invisible American" and the "vanishing American." He is on the bottom of the economic ladder and is politically insignificant. He is isolated on remote reservations and in city ghettos. In spite of thousands of studies, reports, programs, and policies, the "Indian problem" remains. He is poor, under-educated and the victim of mental and physical disease.

The causes of this situation are multiple and complex. The policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs which are intended to aid his development instead continue to rob him of his land and heritage, refuse him responsibility, and corrupt or destroy native leadership. Nearly the only policy concerning the Indian which has remained constant is that of the BIA: he must follow the path of assimilation and become a white man if he is to survive. Those who resist are labeled "militants" and "dissidants" and must struggle against the Bureau as well as the dominant white society.

Perhaps no other minority group has been the victim of such pervasive stereotyping as the American Indian. Movies, books and advertisements continue to spew forth contradictory images of the Noble Savage, the warrior, and the drunk--until even the Indian himself is confused. Anthropological studies, though more objective, have sometimes unintentionally contributed to the confusion by bias and overgeneralization. More accurate accounts written by Indians themselves are ignored or disputed because they do not fit "the Image." Those Indians who have tried to speak out have been thwarted. As late as 1964 many publishers thought, first, that Indians could not write books, and furthermore, that any book written by an Indian would be "biased" in favor of Indians.[1]

Indian individuals who are recognized for their achievements, such as the South Dakota artist Oscar Howe or Congressman Ben Reifel, also of South Dakota, are written about as though they succeeded in spite of their

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[1]Vine Deloria, Jr., God is Red (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1973), p. 41.

Indian background. Yet it is entirely possible that their "Indianess" is as much responsible for their artistical and intellectual development as the non-Indian influences. It is difficult for the non-Indian to recognize the strengths of Indian culture, especially when their cultural values conflict with the values of the dominant white society.

Most of the studies dealing with Indian people--whether they are economic, educational, or psychological--measure success or failure only in terms of the non-Indian values. Where are the tests, reports and statistics on the number who fail or succeed according to Indian standards? The subject of this study, Ella Deloria, a Yankton Dakota, had to make choices many times by weighing one value system against the other. For example, several times she had to postpone the opportunity to go to Columbia University in New York which she wanted to do with all her heart and soul. But she could not go because she knew that caring for her aging father and later, her sister, were stronger bonds: they could not be violated for mere personal gain.

Although we read about "living in two worlds" and "conflicts of cultural identity," they are, to those of us who never experience them, interesting abstractions. For Ella Deloria, and for thousands of others, they were not abstractions but every day choices which had to be made. Perhaps better than any other writer, Ella Deloria understood and felt deeply about the Dakota social organization, the kinship system, and the traditional Dakota values. She maintained her fundamental belief and pride in the Dakota way of life with an incredible strength of character

that is rare among any people. Yet she was always kind, tolerant, and humble in her dealings with others. Perhaps her attitude arose from another Dakota teaching and that is that one can choose only for himself, he can not choose what another will do. She offers neither blame nor criticism for those who choose to follow another way.

As she grew older, Ella Deloria accepted without complaint or question the family responsibilities which fell to her. But she eagerly sought, and gratefully accepted, the advice of her elders. She traveled a great deal during her eighty-three years of life doing her research and engaging in numerous speaking tours. At one point she carried all her possessions in her car. There were, however, two items she kept with her always. One was a picture of her father, the stern-looking, distinguished Reverend Philip Deloria; the other was a picture of the scholarly anthropologist and linguist Dr. Franz Boas of Columbia University. She never forgot what she had learned from both.

Her story, then, is certainly a triumph over adverse circumstances. It is the story of one who knew how to seek the best and follow it. Even during her own lifetime, many who met her realized her unusual abilities and accomplishments. Mary Sharp Francis, the first teacher at St. Elizabeth's Mission School where Ella learned to speak and read in English, inspired in her a desire for knowledge which she never lost. From Dr. Boas she learned the methods of scientific research and phonetic transcription she used to record and describe the language, legends, customs, and ceremonies of the Dakota people she had known from childhood.

Her writings provide not only an authentic description of the past of her people but also a sensitive guide to the causes of their problems today. Her linguistic writings compose more than half of the significant work done on Dakota language, including the language dialects spoken by the Santees, the Yanktons, and the Tetons. Her anthropological studies are important from two stand points. Some of the work she published under her own name, but much more of it was used by others who consulted her unpublished manuscripts. Those who credit at least part of their work to Ella Deloria include Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict, Ruth Bunzel, Margaret Mead, and Gladys Richard, all of Columbia University.

The influence of Ella Deloria will continue to be felt for quite some time. She will be remembered by former students, friends, and even those who only heard her speeches. Her writing, too, will continue to be a valuable source of information about the Indians of the Dakotas.

The first part of this study, Chapters I and II, is about the family life and early events in the life of Ella Deloria. I have devoted considerable attention to the ancestors of Ella Deloria for two reasons. First, by looking at one individual family, the Delorias, we have a description of events and relationships that were repeated many times in the early history of the Dakota Territory. White contact with the Yanktons resulted in a number of "mixed bloods" among the Yanktons, and Ella Deloria's grandfather, Francis Deloria, was their spokesman. Her father, Philip Deloria, was only one of many who were converted to Christianity. The point is not to explain the whole history of the

early white and Indian contact but to show, in the words of those who experienced it, the expectations, feelings, and beliefs which were passed from one generation to another in this remarkable family. In one way, the story of the Deloria family is representative because many other Indian families had similar experiences. In another way, the Delorias are not typical. Ella Deloria's grandfather and father were both outstanding leaders among their people. Francis Deloria was noteworthy for his great spiritual knowledge and healing powers. He was also known and recognized for his attempts to find peaceful solutions to the problems of the Indian and the white man. The Reverend Philip Deloria, too, was a respected and well-known Christian leader among all of the Dakota bands. Of her generation, Ella Deloria was one of a very few who spent most of her lifetime recording the rich culture of the Dakota people. In every way possible--in her speeches, writings, personal friendships--she promoted the understanding of the Dakota way of life among Indians and non-Indians.

The second reason for including the information about Ella Deloria's ancestors is that she would have known all about her grandparents and great-grandparents. In fact, at the time she was born, the kinship system was so strong that who a child's relatives were may have been the first and most important thing he learned. The stories about the past were told to provide not only information but also moral and ethical instruction. All her life she was proud of her people and their way of life. She was able to show that Indian behavior, which is sometimes

puzzling to the non-Indian, can be better understood by understanding the old way of life. The life of the buffalo hunting Dakota had already changed considerably by the time Ella Deloria was born; nevertheless, it was far from forgotten. Attitudes, customs, and beliefs among the Dakota today still reflect that glorious past.

Chapter III deals with Ella Deloria's education and her research work sponsored by Columbia University and the American Philosophical Society. The picture that emerges in this section is that of a dedicated scholar and recognized authority in her field. Ella Deloria was called upon to share her writings and experiences with Drs. Franz Boas, Margaret Mead, and Ruth Benedict while she lived in the East. During the period of most of her research and publication, she made significant contributions to three areas: linguistics, Dakota literature, and anthropology. She also contributed useful insights for Indian education, history, and social problems.

The purpose of Chapter IV, "Published Materials Related to the Study," is to show Ella Deloria's contributions to the body of material concerning Dakota culture in relation to those works published by others. Although there are thousands of books on the Dakota, relatively few are based on original research and even fewer are written by American Indians. Some of the books, especially the early histories, clearly exhibit a non-Indian bias; others tell stories from the Indian point of view.

Chapter V includes summaries of Ella Deloria's published and unpublished manuscripts. Her Dakota Texts is the best existing source of

original language Dakota tales and legends. The Dakota Grammar is the most scientific and analytic among the existing grammars of Dakota. Her book, Speaking of Indians, presents an ethno-history of the attitudes, customs, beliefs, and ideas of the Teton Dakota from pre-white contact to about World War II. It differs from other histories in being more concerned with the feelings and reactions of the Indian people than with the actual events. It differs from anthropological studies because she does not try to describe "objectively" the behavior of the Dakota. It is a personal and moving account of people who are human and real. The Lakota dictionary, though still unpublished, is a valuable study of such matters as idiomatic usage of Lakota words, etymologies, and dialect comparisons.

The interest in Indian Studies and native languages is increasing among students in high schools, colleges and universities. As this trend continues, the excellent work of Ella Deloria will be in even greater demand than it is today. The complete list of her published and unpublished works are given in the bibliography.

Method of the Study

The sources of information used in this study are of four types: (1) personal interviews with relatives, friends, students, and professional acquaintances of Ella Deloria; (2) letters to the researcher from personal acquaintances and representatives of institutions; (3) the files of correspondence between Ella Deloria and Franz Boas; and the correspondence between Ella Deloria and faculty members of the University

of South Dakota; and (4) references in material published by Ella Deloria and others.

Interviews

For the information on the Deloria family and other personal activities, I am indebted to Ella Deloria's brother, Reverend Vine Deloria, Sr., whom I interviewed at his home in Pierre, South Dakota. Mr. Kenyon Cull, director of St. Mary's School for Indian Girls at Springfield, South Dakota, provided most of the information about Ella Deloria's work at the school from about 1965 to 1971. Mrs. Sophie Manydeeds of McLaughlin, South Dakota, told of her acquaintance with Ella Deloria while Ella Deloria served as director of St. Elizabeth's School at Wakpala, South Dakota, and also as an instructor of Dakota language at the University of South Dakota. Theresa Martin, director of the Head Start program at Fort Yates, North Dakota, had known Ella Deloria quite well during the ten years Ella Deloria spent at the University of South Dakota. Mrs. Gabe, instructor at the Fort Yates Community College, was one of Ella Deloria's students at Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas, in 1927. Two other students I interviewed were Sharon Stone, a former student at St. Mary's School where Ella Deloria taught an Indian Culture Class in 1968, and Mrs. Noreen Crawford, a resident at St. Elizabeth's Mission where Ella Deloria was the director. I also had a telephone conversation with Mrs. Elizabeth O'Maynor of Pembroke, North Carolina. She was one of the participants in the pageant that Ella Deloria wrote in 1941.

Correspondence

In addition to many letters from the Reverend Vine Deloria, Sr., and Mr. Kenyon Cull, I also received letters from the following:

Vine Deloria, Jr., Ella Deloria's nephew, who now lives in Colorado, is the author of many books on current Indian problems. He provided a much needed insight into her views on Indian education.

Reverend Stanislaus Maudlin, Executive Director of Blue Cloud Abbey, Marvin, South Dakota, wrote to me concerning a workshop Miss Deloria participated in.

Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., Librarian of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, provided information concerning the research grants she received during the 1940s.

Rena McGhan, Acting Curator of the Sioux Indian Museum and Crafts Center in Rapid City, provided an explanation of the cataloguing material Ella Deloria wrote for them in 1959 and 1960.

From the American Philosophical Society Library I received copies of the letters between Ella Deloria and Franz Boas from 1926 to 1941. These 250 pages of material revealed quite clearly their relationship and method of research.

The Institute of Indian Studies provided the correspondence between Ella Deloria and various representatives of the University of South Dakota covering a period from 1960 to 1970 and concerning her work there as a researcher on the Lakota language project.

Published Works

Materials published by others relating to the life and times in which Ella Deloria lived and her contributions to the body of knowledge on the Dakota people are discussed in Chapter IV. The most important works by Ella Deloria examined in this study are the Dakota Grammar, written with Dr. Franz Boas and published in 1941; the Lakota Dictionary manuscript (unpublished); Dakota Texts (1932); and Speaking of Indians (1944). These writings as well as some others are discussed in Chapter V.

Limitations of the Study

There are inherent difficulties in any historical study, especially a biographical study. When the subject is an American Indian there are added problems. William T. Hagan, the author of three published books on Indians, describes two of the major problems. First, the sources are almost exclusively the product of white society. Their documents reflect the ethnocentricity one would expect. "Not only are these people unsympathetic to the Indian viewpoint--if not actually hostile--they also are often lamentably ignorant of what they are trying to describe. More than that, they represent variations of a white viewpoint. A soldier, a missionary, a trader, or a government official, viewing the same development, could come up with startling different interpretations." The Ghost Dance ritual of the Messiah religion of the 1890s is a prime example. In order to counteract the predominance of the white sources, some historians have sought to use oral history to collect information from Indian infor-

mants. According to Hagan, "This type of material is frequently disappointing, however, and is more useful as an index of how Indians currently view their past than as a source of hard information."[2]

In this study, materials written by early missionaries and historians are used. There are obvious biases, but there may be more subtle inferences which I may have missed. By relying on Ella Deloria's own writings and interviews with Indian people, I intended to establish a reasonably accurate account of the two views. Concerning Ella Deloria herself I found that the Indians tended to think of her as "one of them." Her professional acquaintances wrote about her devotion to scholarship and her academic achievements. I also found during the interviews that people told me more about themselves than they did about Ella Deloria; however, even this information usually turned out to be valuable.

One will not find anything critical (in the sense of negative criticism) in the biographical section of this study. No information or comments have been withheld. Ella Deloria was an outstanding individual--kind, sympathetic, and understanding. She had a great sense of humor and was always able to bring out the best in other people. It may be that she had faults, but if so, no one mentioned them.

The biographical material is necessarily incomplete. She traveled a great deal of the time and wrote practically nothing about herself specifically. Also many of the people who knew her well died before I began this study. Her sister, Susan, who was her constant companion

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[2]William T. Hagan, "On Writing the History of the American Indian," The Journal of Inter-disciplinary History, 2 (Summer, 1971), 149.

died in 1963. Her two closest associates at Columbia University, Dr. Franz Boas and Dr. Ruth Benedict, died many years ago.

The listing and description of her published and unpublished materials is as complete as it is possible to make at this time. The manuscripts at the University of South Dakota are still being catalogued and some loose pages could not be positively identified. It was not possible to examine the manuscript material in the American Philosophical Library which is several hundreds of pages. A large portion of this material was recorded by others and contains only Ella Deloria's corrections and notes. Some of it is, of course, the original field research notes which she later reorganized for publication. It is unfortunate, too, that her lectures and speeches were not recorded. According to the accounts of those who heard her, she was a particularly intriging public speaker.

Terminology

The name "Sioux" was composed by the French by putting together two words from the Algonquin nadowe (snake) and sioux (little). The singular form is nadowesioux and the plural nadowessie. It was applied by the Ojibway to the Dakota people, whom they considered enemies.[3] The term, Siouan family, is applied to a large group of languages which are considered to have cognate forms.[4] The group includes Dakota but

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[3]Leo P. Gilroy, "The Sioux," Lakota-English Dictionary, Reverend Eugene Buechel (Pine Ridge, South Dakota: Holy Rosary Mission, 1970), p. 3; and J. W. Powell, "Note by Director," A Dakota-English Dictionary, Stephen Return Riggs (Washington, D. C.: North American Ethnology, 1890), p. v.

[4]J. W. Powell, "Indian Linguistic Families of America North of

also many others, for example, Assiniboin, Winnebago, Mandan, and Crow.[5]

Today many Indian people refer to themselves as "Sioux" simply because the term has such a widespread common usage. It was not the word which Ella Deloria preferred. In her writings she generally used "Dakota" to refer to the entire group of people, including, for example, the Teton, the Yankton, and the Santee. Her preference was based, in part, on the explanation that the word carries a connotation of peace. Odakota is a state or condition of peace.[6] The usage is not precisely clear because a speaker of the l dialect, Lakota, may use "Lakota" to refer to himself and the entire group. In this paper, Ella Deloria's choice is followed. "Dakota" is used to refer to the entire group generally called "Sioux." "Sioux," of course, can not be avoided where it occurs in direct quotations or titles. When "Dakota" is used to refer only to the d dialect, thus excluding Lakota and Nakota, I have used the term "Dakota dialect." Lakota and Nakota are used only as language terms and not as referring to groups of people. There are not great differences between the three dialects--the most prominent feature is the change in certain consonants. Thus the word for "friend" in the Dakota dialect is koda and in Lakota dialect, kola. Ella Deloria's linguistic work involved all three dialects. When writing about customs

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Mexico, American Indian Languages (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), p. 87, 188.

[5]Ibid., pp. 191-192.

[6]Ella Deloria, Speaking of Indians (New York: Friendship Press, 1944b), p. 33.

and history she used the term "Dakota" or the specific band name such as Oglala. She interviewed people on the three reservations in the western Dakotas and reservations in eastern Minnesota.

tiyoṡpaye

Another term which is essential in describing the traditional Dakota way of life is tiyoṡpaye (camp circle). Ella Deloria explains the meaning of this term in Speaking of Indians.

> Tiyoṡpaye denotes a group of families, bound together by blood and marriage ties, that lived side by side in the camp circle. There was perfect freedom of movement. Any family for reasons valid to itself could depart at any time to visit relatives or sojourn for longer or shorter periods in some other Dakota camp circle. There was no power to hold them back. . . . Those camp circles were peripatetic villages, periodically on the move over the vast Dakota domain. . . . All the families of a tiyoṡpaye operated as a single unit in practically all activities. Men often hunted in company; women did their work, especially fancy-work, in pleasant circles; the tiyoṡpaye horses were kept in a common herd off on some grassy spot, tended by the youth under adult supervision. Every two or three families used the same outdoor cooking fire; and any woman was happy and ready to include in her family whoever happened by. It was that informal, harmonious, and natural, since they were all closely related. Whenever a child was born or someone died, or if one of the members was undergoing a special ceremony, the inevitable gift-giving was the kinship obligation and privilege of as many as could cooperate to make it a creditable affair.[7]

waṡicu

The term the Dakota gave to the white men was waṡicu. It is important to understand what they meant by it. They saw the waṡicu as curious, strange people who had laughable ways. "But those were their

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[7]Ibid., pp. 40-41.

ways, so let them be," they said. "Ingenious, clever, cunning, supernaturally efficient these newcomers were--hence their name wašicu. The name carries no connotation of 'white.' It . . . is simply a transfer of the name for one's helper in the Spirit World, one's mentor, peculiarly capable of impossible feats through his superhuman cleverness and insight, with a dash of trickery in it, legitimate for him, though not for man."[8]

Migration and Present Locations of Dakota Divisions

It is not within the scope of this paper to describe the entire history of the Dakota people. Indeed, it may not be possible to do so on the basis of existing sources. Too much of the story is missing. Only recently has there been widespread interest in the history of individual tribes told from their own point of view. The information which is available, generally non-Indian sources, is limited to what was learned by the white contacts. White contact with the Dakota was not general until about 1700 when French trappers and traders began to establish themselves along the Missouri River and its tributaries. Obviously there was a history before this time and the Dakotas had not always been in the same areas the white men found them.

The generally accepted belief is that the Indian people originally came from Asia crossing to this continent by way of the Bering Strait and gradually moving south. Recent evidence shows that the Indian people

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[8]Ibid., p. 77.

have been in the Americas much longer than was supposed when that explanation was proposed. These discoveries have raised some serious questions, ~~and~~ Other theories hold that the migrations were made by boat and the eastern coasts of the Americas were the first areas settled.

Art Raymond, Director of Indian Studies at the University of North Dakota, has made a study of the migration patterns, particularly those of the Siouan speaking people. He has constructed a plausible story by using early historical accounts, descriptions of explorers, and also Indian sources such as legends and Winter Counts. According to one legend, the Dakota people originated on the Atlantic seaboard near the present state of North Carolina. There is a group of people there today who claim they are of Siouan origin. That claim has not been either firmly established or positively denied.

The groups of presumably Siouan speaking people began migrations to the west. These migrations were slow and certainly not uniform; that is, some groups of families moved on and others remained behind. These migrations took place over several generations and in different directions. Some peoples moved west and north; others nearly straight west; and still others south. They tended to follow the rivers where the food supply was most plentiful. The northern group went up through Wisconsin and Minnesota. The southern group followed the Mississippi to the area around Biloxi. The middle group moved along the Ohio River Valley.[9]

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[9]Interview with Art Raymond, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, North Dakota, 4 June 1974.

By 1700 Charles Le Sueur, a French trader, met the Dakota in central Minnesota near the Blue Earth River. He reported that even at that time, they hunted the buffalo on the prairie. In 1722, another French trader encountered them near the headwaters of the Minnesota River. The Verendrye brothers, in 1743, encountered a Dakota settlement along the Missouri River, fifty miles north of the present city of Pierre. The Dakotas continued their migrations along the Missouri and drove the Arikaras north between the Grand River and the Cannonball River. In 1804 Lewis and Clark found camps of Dakotas on both sides of the Missouri River. The next year the Dakotas succeeded in overcoming the Kiowas and Cheyenne near the Black Hills. No one knows exactly when the western bands of Dakota first acquired horses from the tribes to the south, but it was probably around 1750. Their skilled horsemanship allowed them to become a superior fighting force. They also began to receive fire-arms from traders in the area. By 1823 they had defeated the Crows and took over the territory as far as the North Platte River in Wyoming. It had taken them about a hundred years to overcome the Omahas, Poncas, Arikara, Cheyennes, and Kiowas and Crows.[10]

By the late 1700s the divisions among the bands had appeared. The Tetons were the furthest west. Behind them were the Yanktons in the area southwest of the James River and the Yanktonai southeast of the James. Further to the east, around the Minnesota River, were the

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[10]Royal B. Hassrick, The Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior Society (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), pp. 59-67.

Santees.[11]

By 1850 the Tetons were the nearly undisputed rulers of the plains. They hunted the vast buffalo herds which wandered from the Rocky Mountains to the Missouri and north to Canada and south to the Arkansas River. The buffalo provided them not only with meat which was dried and stored in catches dug in the earth, but also with their shelter in the form of tepees constructed of wooden poles and skins. The bones of the buffalo were made into tools and the sinew used as thread. It is easy to see why the buffalo and the buffalo hunt occupied such a significant place in their beliefs and customs.

With the disappearance of the buffalo and the coming of the settlements on reservations in the late 1890s, the Dakota people were forced to settle in more permanent homes. There have been many changes since that time. Members of various bands have intermarried or moved to other areas and some tribal distinctions have been lost. The following outline, then, represents only the general locations of the divisions and the dialects spoken today. (The Canadian groups are not included.)

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[11]Interview with Art Raymond.

SANTEE (EASTERN) DIVISION

Dialect: Dakota

1. Mdewakantonwan (Spirit Lake People)	Lower Sioux Reservation - Morton, Minn.
	Upper Sioux Reservation - Granite Falls, Minn.
	Prairie Island Settlement - Red Wing, Minn.
	Prior Lake Reservation - Minn.
	Flandreau Reservation - S. Dak.
	Santee Reservation - Nebr.
2. Wahpekute (Shooters Among the Leaves)	Santee Reservation - Nebr.
	Ft. Peck Reservation - Mont.
3. Sisitonwan (Sisseton) (People of the Ridged Fish Scales)	Sisseton Reservation - S. Dak.
	Ft. Totten Reservation - N. Dak.
	Upper Sioux Community - Minn.
4. Wahpetonwan (Wahpeton)	Ft. Totten Reservation - N. Dak.
	Flandreau Reservation - S. Dak.
	Sisseton (Lake Traverse) Reservation - S. Dak.

YANKTON (MIDDLE) DIVISION

Dialect: Nakota

5. Ihanktonwan (Yankton) (Dwellers at the end)	Yankton Reservation - S. Dak.
6. Ihanktonwana (Yanktonai) (Little dwellers at the end)	Standing Rock Reservation - N. Dak.

6.	Ihanktonwana--Continued	Ft. Totten Reservation - N. Dak.
		Lower Crow Creek Reservation - S. Dak.
		Ft. Peck Reservation - Mont.

TETON (WESTERN) DIVISION

Dialect: Lakota

7.	Titonwan (Teton) (Dwellers on the Plains)	
	a. Hunkpapa (Campers-at-the horn, or end of camp circle)	Standing Rock Reservation - N. Dak. and S. Dak.
	b. Minneconjou (Planters beside the water)	Cheyenne River Reservation - S. Dak.
	c. Sihasapa (Blackfoot)	Cheyenne River Reservation - S. Dak.
		Standing Rock Reservation - N. Dak. and S. Dak.
	d. Oohenonpa (Two-kettle)	Cheyenne River Reservation - S. Dak.
	e. (Sicargu) Brule Upper Brule (Burnt Thighs)	Rosebud Reservation - S. Dak.
		Pine Ridge Reservation - S. Dak.
	Lower Brule	Lower Brule Reservation - S. Dak.
	f. Sansarc (Those without bows)	Cheyenne River Reservation - S. Dak.
	g. Oglala (They scatter their own)	Pine Ridge Reservation - S. Dak.
		Rosebud Reservation - S. Dak.[12]

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[12]Ethel Nurge, "Preface," The Modern Sioux: Social Systems and Reservation Culture (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), pp. xii-xiii.

Chronology

1888	Ella Deloria born at the White Swan Community near the Greenwood Agency on the Yankton Reservation.
1896	Sister, Susan, born at St. Elizabeth's Mission, Wakpala, South Dakota.
1901	Brother, Vine, born at St. Elizabeth's Mission.
1902-1908	Attended All Saints School, Sioux Falls, South Dakota.
1911-1913	Attended Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.
1913-1914	Attended Columbia University, New York.
1914-1916	Taught at All Saint's School, Sioux Falls.
1923-1928	Taught at Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas.
1928	Indian Progress (pageant at Haskell).
1929	Appointed research specialist in ethnology and linguistics at the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University.
1929	"The Sun Dance of the Oglala Sioux" published in Journal of American Linguistics.
1932	Dakota Texts published.
1933	"Notes on the Dakota, Teton Dialect" published in the International Journal of American Linguistics.
1939	Served on the Navajo Inquiry Party, Phelps-Stokes Fund, Navajo Reservation.
1939	"Dakota Grammar" presented to the National Academy of Science.
1941	"The Life Story of a People" (pageant) presented at Pembroke State College, Pembroke, North Carolina.
1941	Dakota Grammar published.
1943	Received grant from Penrose Fund, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

1944 "Dakota Treatment of Murderers" presented to the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia.

1944 Speaking of Indians published.

1948 Received grant from Viking Fund of Wenner Gren Foundation.

1954 "Short Dakota Texts, Including Conversations" published in the International Journal of American Linguistics.

1955-1958 Director of St. Elizabeth's Mission at Wakpala, South Dakota.

1960 Word study project for the Sioux Indian Museum, Rapid City.

1961 Appointed research associate at the University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota.

1961 "The Origin of the Courting Flute" published in Museum News, University of South Dakota.

1962-1968 Lectures at St. Mary's School, Springfield, South Dakota.

1962 "Easter Day at a Yankton Dakota Church" published in Museum News, University of South Dakota.

1967 "Some Notes on the Yankton" published in Museum News, University of South Dakota.

1967 "Some Notes on the Santee" published in Museum News, University of South Dakota.

1971 Died at Tripp, South Dakota.

CHAPTER I

THE ANCESTORS OF ELLA DELORIA (1800-1890)

The story of the Deloria family is a microcosmic history of the Dakota people. Ella Deloria's great grandfather was one of the first French traders to establish himself among the Dakotas living around Fort Pierre in the 1820s. Her grandfather was a leader of the Yanktons in the 1850s and her father was one of the first Christian missionaries to the Hunkpapas at Standing Rock.

Everyone is interested in his own ancestors, but this kind of information is particularly important to the Dakotas. It was not enough to know merely what the ancestors did and where they lived; one also needed to know what kind of people they were. This information was given in the form of stories. It was a way of reaffirming values and behaviors as well as providing instruction for the young. Thus, a Dakota child's "models" were not only his living relatives but also those who had lived generations before them. In her book, Speaking of Indians, Ella Deloria wrote about the kinship system and its accompanying set of customs. She knew first hand the values and beliefs which were passed from one generation to the next. Nearly all of the information about Ella Deloria's ancestors was told, very dramatically, by her

brother, Vine Deloria, Sr. Even today among Dakota people the kinship system is a strong force in their culture. If two Dakotas meet for the first time, the information accompanying the introduction is not, "What do you do?" or "Where do you work?" but "Where are you from?" and "To what family do you belong?" One's identity is established through his relatives.

Philippe des Lauriers

Ella Deloria's great grandfather, Philippe des Lauriers, was born in France. His parents were French Huguenots who were beheaded by the Catholics when Philippe was still a young boy. Philippe and his brother, François, were put in the charge of a governess and sent to America by their friends. Like other adventurous young men of that time, they decided to go West. François went only as far as Syracuse, but Philippe went on alone to the unexplored territories of Canada. When he came to the Canadian Rockies, he stopped. He was afraid to attempt to cross them. Somehow he reached the Missouri River, and, reasoning that it flowed east and south, he made a raft and set out to reach a place where people lived. Unfortunately he became very ill with a fever and lost consciousness. He lay delirious on a sand bar near the river. Presently, he was found by a young Indian girl of about fourteen years of age. By the use of signs and gestures, she tried to make him understand that she would get help for him. When Philippe awoke, he found himself in a tipi surrounded by four medicine men. He had been brought to a Yankton camp. After he regained his health, Philippe remained with them and four

years later married the young girl who helped him.[1]

According to Charles E. De Land, an early historian, Philippe des Lauriers (Deloria) built "Fort Tecumsah" in 1882 about a mile south and east of the present Fort Pierre. It was the principle trading establishment of the Columbia Fur Company. In about 1827, it was sold to the American Fur Company. When Philippe and his wife had a son, they named him François after the brother who had stayed in the East.[2]

Francis Deloria (Saswe)

This son, François, married a woman of the Blackfoot band. One day, when he was on the Crow Creek Reservation, an old woman brought him a young girl, whom he also married. Still later he went to Rosebud and another old woman presented him with a young orphan girl. So he had three wives. During most of his life, François des Lauriers (Francis Deloria), Ella Deloria's grandfather, was known among the Yanktons as "Saswe" which was their pronunciation of François. He built three log houses, one for each of his wives, in the White Swan area. His family increased to twenty-four children--ten boys and fourteen girls.[3]

Although Saswe (Francis Deloria) had a French father, he was raised as a Yankton. When he was still a young man, he received a very powerful vision, in which he was shown the use of many medicines. Philip Deloria

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[1]Interview with Vine Deloria, Sr., Pierre, South Dakota, 11-12 March 1974.

[2]Charles E. De Land, "Editorial Notes on Old Fort Pierre and It's Neighbors," South Dakota Historical Collections, I, (1903), 329.

[3]Interview with Vine Deloria, Sr.

gave a brief account of the vision in an article published in the "Spirit of Missions" in 1915. It is reprinted in The People of Tipi Sapa written by Sarah Olden, one of the teachers at St. Elizabeth's Mission School. Philip Deloria is quoted by Olden as saying:

> I write what I know to be true, and what I gathered from my people. I know full well that some of you who read this will smile at a simple people's simple beliefs. I beg you to remember that the Dakotas saw quite as far as it was given them to see in their time and on that plane of their development. Perhaps time was when the whites saw no further and did no better.[4]

The following account of the vision is from the Reverend Vine Deloria, Sr. It does not differ greatly from the description in The People of Tipi Sapa.

> The Yanktons were camped in the bluffs near the Missouri River. Late one moonlit night, the young Saswe was about to enter his tipi, when he heard a strange sound. He could not identify it as bird, animal, or human. The next year about the same time, he heard the same sound. The third year he waited and watched the moon in anticipation--the sound came to him again. This time he went away to a high bluff where he fasted for three days and three nights and awaited his vision. And it came to him. He saw a black lodge (tipi sapa) and was taught the use of medicines.

Vine Deloria said that later his father went with his grandfather many times to heal people. Saswe knew many songs and had great powers.[5]

He added another account but was not sure if the event occurred at the same time as his vision or at another time:

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[4]Sarah Emila Olden, The People of Tipi Sapa (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1918), pp. 153-154.

[5]Interview with Vine Deloria, Sr.

> Saswe, leaving his mother, one of her sisters, and Brown Bear in camp went up alone to one of the high buttes. He was gone for three days, and then, since they couldn't see him any longer, they became concerned about him. Brown Bear went up on horseback to investigate. When he got to the top he couldn't go near because there were thousands of rattlesnakes. The horse wouldn't go near that place. He came back down, crying and saying, 'They ate up my cousin, Saswe--those thousands of rattlesnakes.' So they all cried. Then just before sundown--there he stood. He came down to them and they asked, 'What about all those snakes? What did they do?' And he said, 'What snakes?' 'But,' Brown Bear said, 'The snakes were all over you.' 'Oh,' said Saswe, 'when I came to there was nothing.' They went up there and there wasn't a sign of them. But Brown Bear, himself, had seen them.[6]

Saswe had great healing powers but he had other powers as well. Olden also relates another story. Once the Yanktons were in camp in a large piece of timberland just beyond the Missouri River. The people had nothing to eat, so they sought out Saswe and begged him to help them. He went into his tipi and sang:

> Tohand pteatan sau cauhan aliyeya ecee kin dee,
> Waukankiya hoye waya can,
> Nari k'sapa e wakidowan ye,
> Wakidowan cauhan tiyata hiye,
> Na taku wau waein kin he hosi hi ecer
>
> When I send my voice upward
> Telling the Good Spirit to come,
> He comes to my dwelling place

Then he called the people and said to them: "There are two hills near a place named Eureka, with a lake lying south of them. There will be two herds of buffalo there, coming down between the hills. If you

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[6]Olden also makes reference to the fact that at one time people thought that Saswe must have been killed by rattlesnakes because they were crawling all over him (Olden, p. 7).

want to get them, start right away, for in the afternoon a big blizzard will come up and seven men beyond that point will be frozen to death." The men went off at once, and exactly, according to the words of Saswe, found the two herds of buffalo. They killed them and brought back the meat. At Cheyenne Creek, off to the south, another party was hunting these same buffalo, and seven men in it were frozen to death.[7]

Saswe was highly respected among the Yanktons. Many years later when Ella Deloria was interviewing an old man named Antelope, she questioned him about one of the customs her grandfather had told her father. He replied, "Your [Ella's] grandfather had a keen mind; and he was a leader. All men flocked to him. He was always surrounded by older men who knew and related these things. It is entirely likely that your father heard things of the dim past that I never heard. If your father told you this, it was undoubtedly so."[8]

Vine Deloria narrated other stories about his grandfather. There can be no doubt that he was a man of courage and wisdom. There are a few stories about Ella Deloria's grandfather in her materials as well. Kenyon Cull, the headmaster at St. Mary's School where she was a frequent speaker, said that she knew hundreds of stories and legends. Even though she spent a lifetime writing she could not have recorded them all. She did, however, tell one story about a Yankton woman in which her grand-

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[7]Olden, pp. 98-99.

[8]Ella Deloria, "Some Notes on the Yanktons," Museum News, University of South Dakota, vol. 28, nos. 3-4, (1967b), p. 10.

father is mentioned. The story was recorded by someone else who was with her. It was told January 3, 1967, at Marty Mission, South Dakota, and is among the unpublished materials at the University of South Dakota. This incident involved two paha wakan or Medicine Knolls. One of these is near the present Blunt, South Dakota. This is the same place that Vine Deloria said his grandfather went for his visions. The other is across the Missouri near Reliance, South Dakota. The story states that one time a woman had a dream, and in this dream she was standing on the Medicine Knoll near Reliance. In her dream she imagined that she could see across to the other Medicine Knoll near Blunt. A famous shaman (Ella's grandfather) was standing on this butte. As she looked at this shaman, three crows flew past. Projecting her thoughts across the miles, she asked the shaman if this meant she would be in danger in three days time, and he answered her in the affirmative. Three days later, as this woman was sitting in her tipi, an old woman came and asked her to go picking rose hips with her. She claimed to be out of sorts, but the old woman chided her and insisted that she go along.

Finally against her better judgment, she took her pail and went down near the Missouri with the old woman. When they were near the Missouri the old woman insisted on going down to it to secure some of the river water, as the Yankton had been camping away from the river for some time, and had been drinking slightly alkaline water. The woman begged the old lady to hurry, as she had a premonition of danger, but the old lady, talking ceaselessly, loitered near the bank.

Suddenly three enemy warriors sprang from the brush at the water's edge. The two women started to flee, but the warriors managed to catch the old woman. The younger woman ran as fast as she could. When she got a little ahead of the three warriors, she grabbed a handful of sand, and when they were about to catch up with her, she threw it back over her shoulder. This created a mist, and the warrior could not see her. She finally arrived, breathless, at the Yankton camp and alerted it. The Yankton warriors started in pursuit but the three enemies had vanished with the older woman. All the Yankton found was an abandoned bullboat. From this, they concluded that the enemy were Miwatani (Mandan) or Padoni (Arikara).

Vine Deloria, Sr., told me this story also. But he added something at the end. He said that years later after the Yanktons and Mandans were no longer enemies, the story was told where members of both tribes were present. One of the Yanktons asked, "Were the warriors blinded by the sand?" But the Mandan replied, "No, the sand flew over their heads, but when they looked ahead, the girl had vanished."[9]

Philip Deloria's mother (Ella Deloria's grandmother) was the daughter of Bear Foot, a noted leader of the Blackfoot. Her name was Sihá Sapewin (Black Foot Woman) and she was held in great honor by her tribe. Saswe gave many horses when they were married. She was a noble woman--pure, truthful, upright, intelligent and possessing great ability.

> She excelled in kindness, especially in her care for the neglected little ones of other people, and brought up

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[9]Interview with Vine Deloria, Sr.

> three or four children that were left in camp. She cooked nice food and was given to hospitality. When she was about to hold a feast, she sent a crier around to invite a great many women; but the invitation was for those women only who had but one husband, and who intended to keep themselves without another until death. Then a ceremony was held to determine which women were truthful in this respect. Out of the several invited, five or six women, perhaps, could remain for the feast! This was the only kind of meeting that Siha Sapewin enjoyed, and she made all the arrangements for them herself. She did not care to belong to any societies.[10]

The first three children of Siha Sapewin and Saswe were girls.

> She made a prayer and a vow to the Great Spirit. The result of this prayer was a baby boy to gladden the mother's heart, and the happy woman fulfilled her vow by a performance of the Thanksgiving Ceremony. An offering was made and the feast given. At the conclusion of the feast, she lighted a pipe of peace, presented it in turn to heaven, to the four winds, and to the earth and said: 'Great Spirit, I asked thee for a boy. Thou has given him to me. I am happy. I pray thee to accept my thanks and these gifts which I have prepared and am offering to thee. May my son grow up. May he be useful. May he observe faithfully those laws and those customs which we have observed, and our fathers before us.'[11]

The son, of course, was Tipi Sapa (Philip Deloria) who was Ella Deloria's father. Later he said about his mother Siha Sapewin:

> Out of all her lessons, I remember three things she emphasized:
> (1. Never forget the Great Spirit and you will be able to do all you attempt.
> (2. To hunt and obtain food to sustain life is your duty. The Great Spirit can help you in this.
> (3. In your tribe, do not think evil things. Say nothing wrong. Be kind to the poor and to the orphans. In time

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[10]Olden, pp. 1-2. Ella Deloria gives an account of this ceremony called "One Husband Fire" in the unpublished material labeled "Yankton Data."

[11]Olden, pp. 2-3.

> of war, be brave and accomplish those things which a man should accomplish. Thus will the tribe think well of you and you will become a great chief.[12]

Although Tipi Sapa did become a great man as his mother had hoped, he had to do so in ways far different from his ancestors. As the white settlers pushed farther and farther west, they brought with them the seeds of their civilization and the traditional way of life for which he had prepared himself was no longer possible.

By 1850, the trickle of white people into the plains had amounted to a flood. Fortune seekers, anxious to get to the gold fields of California, pushed across the prairies. Increasingly, the cry came back to Washington that control had to be exerted over the "hostiles" to provide the whites with some degree of safety while crossing over the Indian Territory. The federal government was not eager to begin a total war against the Indians, but, on the other hand, it could not ignor the demands of its citizens. Then, too, there was pressure from missionaries and other humanitarians to "civilize" the Indian. The policy which evolved was to make treaties with various tribes.

The treaty system which operated from about 1850 to 1890 is complex. On one hand, by making the treaties the United States government seemed to be acknowledging the sovereignty of the tribes and to be recognizing that they had rights over their lands and people. On the other hand, the treaties became a method of gaining the land in exchange for promises which were seldom kept. Thus, the lands were secured for settlement and

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[12] Ibid., p. 4.

the missionaries granted the permission to carry on their policy of civilization.

The program for civilizing the Indians centered upon the Civilization Fund, an annual sum first appropriated by Congress in 1819. Shortly after the War of 1812 private groups had secured permission to work among the southern tribes. Their success led to the creation of a fund of 10,000 dollars to be expended annually on civilizing the Indians. As no administrative machinery existed for the task, the government invited churches and benevolent societies to seek subsidies from the fund for the schools which they would operate. This approach was quite successful. By the late 1840s the government was still appropriating only the 10,000 dollars annually, but private groups and the tribesmen themselves were pouring over 150,000 dollars into schools which had sprung up in all the tribes that would accept them. The treaties also carried provisions for training and education.[13]

Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851

The first of a series of treaties between the government and the Dakota was signed at Fort Laramie in 1851. The leaders of the Tetons and other western tribes were given lavish presents and offered more food and annuities later in exchange for part of their land. The southern boundary was set at the North Platte River, thus securing safe passage for the whites by the Platte River Valley route to the Pacific. The

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[13]William T. Hagan, American Indians (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 88.

western boundary was the Rocky Mountains; the northern and eastern boundaries were roughly set at the Missouri River.[14] The precise boundaries as well as the other provisions are still in dispute today.

In the fall of 1866, the United States Government invited some of the Dakota chiefs and leaders to Washington. Ella Deloria's grandfather was among them. The government hoped to make a treaty with the Yanktons to divide their reservation into individual allotments for farming. The idea of individual ownership of the land and personal wealth did not appeal to the leaders. Nor was Francis Deloria (Saswe) entirely pleased with what he saw in Washington. He was given some spending money and told to buy whatever he wished. Afterwards he was asked what he saw and what he thought of the city. He answered, "I went about your great city and saw many people. Some had fine clothes and diamonds; others were barefoot and ragged. No money to get something to eat. They are beggars, and need your help more than the Indian does. I gave them the money you gave me. All people are alike among the Indians. We feed our poor."[15]

The government officials talked with them about peace and tried to come to terms with them but they reached no conclusive agreement. No doubt there was a great deal of misunderstanding on both sides. But

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[14]Robert M. Utley, The Last Days of the Sioux Nation (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), p. 40.

[15]DeLorme W. Robinson, "Editorial Notes on Historical Sketch of North and South Dakota," South Dakota Historical Collections, I, (1903), 154.

Francis Deloria understood that the peace must be maintained. When the Yankton leaders returned home in the spring of 1867, he called a big meeting in camp. He suggested that bags of tobacco mixed with kinnickinnick (red willow bark tobacco) and packed in small bags be sent to the different bands of Dakotas with the request that they should stop fighting with the white people. Messengers with the bags strung around their necks were sent out. They went first to the Hunkpapas (Sitting Bull's people), but met with no favor. The runners, shaking off the dust of this tribe from their feet, passed on to Minneconjous (Planting-near-the-water), who were in Montana along the Powder River. They accepted the tobacco and agreed to return to their reservation near Fort Bennett. As a pledge of good faith White Swan would come in the following spring as the representative of his tribe to renew the pact with the Yanktons. He did and was received most cordially by the Yankton leaders. He was urged to remain faithful to the most solemn oath which it was possible for an Indian to take: the oath sworn over the pipe of peace.[16]

Francis Deloria did not confine his peace making efforts solely to preventing open warfare. About 1866-1867, the Yankton Reservation was definitely divided into three feuding religious groups: the Roman Catholics who were still held by promises made for them by Father De Smet many years earlier; an unwieldly group who wanted no mission at all; and another who had had contact with the Santee Mission and wanted

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[16]Olden, pp. 139-143.

Episcopal services. Francis Deloria made frequent visits to Mr. Hinman, an Episcopal missionary to the Santees, to request that a mission be established among the Yanktons. Not long afterward, it was.[17]

Philip Deloria (Tipi Sapa)

Ella Deloria's father, Philip Deloria (Tipi Sapa), was born in 1858,[18] the son of Francis Deloria and Siha Sapewin, about nine years before his father went to Washington. The boy was taken by his proud father to have his ears pierced by an old man in the band. "That is the first thing done in honoring a son. He is to wear earrings." One needs to remember that to be born of such parents among the Dakotas was a great honor but also meant a life-long obligation and responsibility. Tipi Sapa grew up learning from his father and mother and all his relatives the way of life to follow. Vine Deloria, Sr., said that among the many sons born to Saswe, Tipi Sapa was the one he protected most, the one he worried about when he was sick. "So carefully had all these beliefs and customs been taught to Tipi Sapa, that they were fixed in his heart firmly and he thought no power on earth could move them."[19]

When he was seventeen, however, he went to live at the Episcopal Mission on the Yankton Reservation. Mr. Cook, director of the Mission,

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[17]Brent K. Woodruff, "Episcopal Missions to the Dakotas," South Dakota Historical Collections, XVII, 1934, 561.

[18]"Census of Yankton Sioux," Indian Census Rolls (Yankton Agency, June 30, 1917).

[19]Olden.

conceived the idea of taking into the Mission family some Dakota boys in order to afford them the advantages of living among white people and being educated among them. Tipi Sapa was one of the first to do so at the request of his father. "His coming into the Mission proved a tremendous personal advantage to him and an ultimate source of great service to his people."[20]

This was not an easy decision for him to make. He wrote the following account in "Spirit of Missions" for August, 1915.

"One day at the request of one of my companions, I, with my face painted, my hair in long braids, clad in the blanket and leggings of my rank, entered the little log chapel and sat me down." He heard the hymn "Guide me, O Thou Great Jehovah." He said, "It caught and held me like a rope around a bronco. I have felt wild many times since, but never could get away from those words. From that day on I attended the services with regularity, hoping to learn other things as beautiful as that hymn." Mr Cook, noticing him, asked him repeatedly to cut his hair, dress like a white man, and go to school. Each time he replied, very decidedly, "No." Weeks passed by. He stood outside the church on three successive Sundays, but the song was not sung. On the fourth Sunday, however, "I was happy to hear the hymn I had longed for. I caught the words of the first verse and learned them by heart. When I left that church, able to carry the tune and sing the first verse of the Dakota translation of 'Guide Me, O Thou Great Jehovah' I felt that I was

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[20] Ibid.

possessor of a great treasure.. Going to Mr. Cook I gave myself up, had my long hair cut off, and assumed the dress of the white man. It was far from easy to go back and face my people, many of who were disappointed and jeered at me. 'Coward, he fears warfare. See he chooses an easy life,' and many similar taunts were flung at me."[21]

At Christmas in 1870 Philip Deloria was baptized and in 1871 he was confirmed by Bishop Clarkson.[22] He attended Shattuck School at Fairbault, Minnesota, and Nebraska College for two years.[23]

In 1874 he returned to his people, equipped with the knowledge of reading, writing, and figuring which he had acquired. "Almost immediately I became a lay-reader in the church, and at the same time assumed my duties as chief in place of my father, having been given by the Indian Department a medal signifying my authority. . . . When I saw my way a little clearer, I decided to lay aside my Chieftainship and work for the spiritual uplift of my people."[24]

Treaty of 1868

These events in Philip Deloria's life have an even greater significance if one considers what else was occurring about this same time. About the time that Francis Deloria and the other head men of the tribes

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[21]Quoted in Olden, pp. 9-12.

[22]Ibid., p. 12.

[23]Woodruff, p. 564.

[24]Olden, pp. 13-14.

were in Washington, there were others--white men--who thought they could bring about a quicker solution to the Indian problem. One of these was General Patrik Connor with a garrison of troops. In July, 1865, he announced that the Indians north of the Platte "must be hunted like wolves" and he began organizing three columns of soldiers for an invasion of the Powder River Country. He warned his officers to accept no overtures of peace from the Indians and ordered bluntly: "Attack and kill every male Indian over twelve years of age."[25] Even if Francis Deloria's peace mission had succeeded among the Dakotas, there still would have been the United States Government to contend with. The Army was determined to open a road through the Powder River Country even though it violated the Laramie Treaty of 1851. Red Cloud, Sitting Bull, Gall, Hump, and Crazy Horse were equally determined that their hunting grounds should not be lost.[26]

The troops were turned back from the Powder River Country. It looked like a victory for Red Cloud and his followers--the government gave up the Bozeman Trail forts and guaranteed the Powder River Country as hunting grounds. They were also assured of their rights to the Black Hills. The treaty also provided for educational benefits, free rations and annuities. But the treaty also outlined the boundaries of the Great Sioux Reservation. Although few of the Indian leaders understood it,

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[25]Dee Brown, Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970), pp. 104-105.

[26]Ibid., pp. 129-132.

they had agreed to settle within the reservation. While the eastern boundary remained the Missouri River, the western boundary was moved to the present border of South Dakota and the southern boundary from the North Platte River to the Niobrara River.[27]

The Black Hills (Paha Sapa) were particularly important because they were considered by the Dakotas to be the center of the world, the place of gods and holy mountains, where warriors went to speak with the Great Spirit and await visions. In 1868, officials in Washington considered the hills worthless and gave them to the Indians forever by treaty.[28] Forever was to be about six years. In 1874, the year Philip Deloria returned home to begin his ministry, gold was discovered in the Black Hills. Doane Robinson in the History of South Dakota treats the matter rather lightly. "The discovery of gold . . . soon made it apparent that it would be necessary to secure from the Indians a relinquishment of that part of their country. This was accomplished and the Black Hills were thrown open to settlement."[29]

Sporadic fighting continued for about three years with the cavalry chasing the Indians up and down the country. Although many of the Indian leaders were weary of the constant threat of soldiers, they were reluctant to sign any more "treaties" because they realized that marking

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[27]Utley, p. 41.

[28]Brown, p. 276.

[29]Doane Robinson, History of South Dakota, Vol. I (B. F. Bowen & Co., 1904), p. 582.

the paper resulted in greater land losses.

In 1875 the government ordered the Dakota to vacate the Powder River hunting grounds and withdraw to the Great Sioux Reservation and fought the war of 1876 to enfore the order. At the same time, the discovery of gold in the Black Hills impelled the government to further reduce the reservation by purchasing the Black Hills. Those leaders who had not joined the fight for the Powder River Country were promised rations and annunities if they signed and were also threatened by possible military reprisals if they did not. Enough signatures were secured and they gave up the triangle of land formed by the forks of the Cheyenne River.[30]

The treaty of 1868, as amended by the agreement of 1876, promised each Indian beef, bacon, flour, coffee and clothing until such time as he could take care of himself. Provisions for education were also included.[31] The architects of Indian policy conceived the ration system as a bridge between savagery and civilization. The ultimate purpose of the reservation system did not become clear to the Indian until it was too late for him to continue his traditional way of life.

Missionaries to the Dakotas

Somehow the theft of thousands of acres of land from starving Indians had to be explained. It was. In exchange for their Dakota way of life,

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[30]Utley, p. 41.

[31]Ibid., p. 23.

they would receive "civilization." The missions, which were fairly well established along the southern Missouri on the Yankton Reservation, were prepared to send missionaries to the western Teton tribes. A report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1878 explains the benefits of the missionary services: "The effect on the life of the individual Indian was marked. The missionaries found the Indians saucy in manner, heathen, uneducated, wild and blanketed, painted and armed. The natives were filthy in their habits of dress and eating. War parties, participation in savage ceremonies and dances were common. However after the missions were established, the Indians became friendly, clean, educated, religious; arms disappeared and dances became less frequent."[32]

There were some missionaries who were kind, understanding, intelligent men. In some cases there was great respect on both sides. Bishop Hobart Hare, who became the Missionary Bishop to the Dakota Indians in 1883, was highly regarded by the native clergy and the Dakota people. He recognized the spirituality of their ways. In a speech in which he described vision-seeking, he said, "I say these people are an intensely religious people. You must not hand them over to mere civilization."[33]

It was also true that the missionary often brought more than his Bible. "Blessed with the gun, the printing press, the iron kettle, and

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[32]Norman E. Graves, "The History of the Episcopal Church in South Dakota to Statehood," (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of South Dakota, 1939), pp. 43-44.

[33]M. A. DeWolfe Howe, The Life and Labors of Bishop Hare: Apostle to the Sioux (New York: Sturgis & Walton, 1914), pp. 81-82.

whiskey, it was obvious to many Indians that the white man's god took pretty good care of his people. Since there were no distinctions made between religion and life's other activities by the Indian people, the natural tendency was to adopt the white religion of recitation and forego the rigors of fasting, sacrifice and prayer."[34] But the Indians soon learned that they were not free to adopt only those things they admired. They had to take it all.

The missionary also brought his manner of dress, his language, and his social customs--all of which he expected the Indian to adopt regardless of how little sense it made. "Churches struggled to make the Indians cut their hair because they felt that wearing one's hair short was the civilized Christian thing to do. After the tribal elders had been fully sheared, they were ushered into a church meeting, given pictures of Jesus and the Disciples, and told to follow these Holy Men. Looking down at the pictures, the ex-warriors were stunned to discover the Holy Dozen in shoulder-length hair."[35]

The government was anxious to have the missionary work continue. The reasons are obvious. During the uprising of the Santees in Minnesota, the Christian Indians did not move against the whites. In fact, some of them warned the missionaries and their families and helped them escape to safety. Then, too, when it became apparent that the Indians could no

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[34]Vine Deloria, Jr., Custer Died for Your Sins (London: The MacMillan Co., 1969), p. 105.

[35]Ibid., p. 93.

longer support themselves with all the buffalo and game gone, the Indian advisors suggested that they learn to farm or raise cattle, in short, become "civilized." The missions were expected not only to provide spiritual guidance but also education by teaching the English language, arithmetic, and practical domestic and vocational skills.

Even the great Sitting Bull was expected to change. He and some of his people had fled to Canada to get away from the troops who, everywhere across the Plains, were trying to round them up like cattle and put them on reservations. The winter of 1880 was severe and Sitting Bull received no assistance from the Canadian government. In July, 1881, Sitting Bull and his people, near starvation, crossed the border and he was taken to Fort Randall as a prisoner. He was held there for nearly two years. After his release he went to live along the Grand River,[36] only a short distance from St. Elizabeth's Mission where Reverend Philip Deloria was the missionary in charge. Sitting Bull was told rather bluntly, "The government feeds and clothes you and educates your children now, and desires to teach you to become farmers, and to civilize you, and make you a white man."[37] It would be difficult to imagine a greater insult which could be given to the brilliant Hunkpapa leader. There could have been nothing he could have seen of the white man's behavior that he would wish to emulate.

Sitting Bull did build a log cabin, but he showed no other inclina-

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[36]Brown, p. 423.

[37]Ibid., p. 426.

tion to adopt the white man's way of life. He was considered an important and respected man not only by his own Hunkpapa band but by the other Dakotas--many of whom knew he had signed no treaties. Perhaps surprisingly, he was also a popular attraction for the white people. In 1883 he was asked to come to Bismarck to deliver a speech at a celebration of the completion of the transcontinental railroad. He sat on the speaker's platform. When his turn came, he rose and spoke in Lakota, saying: "I hate all the white people, you are thieves and liars. You have taken away our land and made us outcasts." Knowing that of the hundreds of people there only the army officer who had been asked to translate could understand what he was saying, Sitting Bull paused occasionally for applause; he bowed, smiled and then uttered a few more insults. At last he sat down, and the bewildered interpreter took his place. The officer had only a short translation written out but by adding a few friendly phrases and several well worn Indian metaphors, he brought the audience to its feet with a standing ovation for Sitting Bull. The Hunkpapa leader was so popular that the railroad officials took him to St. Paul for another ceremony.[38]

The same year that Sitting Bull was entertaining crowds with his oratory, Philip Deloria was made a deacon by Bishop Hare. "While I was in deacon's orders Bishop Hare would say, 'Pack up and go to such and such a place.' I would go each time, and do the work I found there to be done. When in two or three years the work progressed, quite unexpectedly

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[38]Ibid., pp. 426-427.

he would ask me to gl elsewhere."[39] He was sent to Standing Rock to establish a mission in August, 1885. It was St. Elizabeth's on a hill near Wakpala (Oak Creek), about forty miles from Sitting Bull's camp. Philip Deloria reported, "At that time the few Indians who were at all friendly towards the whites were either Roman Catholic converts, or members of the Congregational body. Here and there an individual or a family showed an interest in my efforts. But Sitting Bull and his people had very recently been brought in from wild life and their hostility and influence were strong. My work was therefore a difficult one."[40]

But the work did progress in spite of some very discouraging circumstances. In 1886 St. Elizabeth's School was founded by Bishop Hare and Philip Deloria.[41] It is fairly obvious that though the directors of the Indian Bureau encouraged the work of the missionaries, they had little concept of the situations that actually existed out on the newly formed reservations. The Dakota, especially of the western tribes, showed little interest in trading his traditional way of life for a plot of ground and his horses for plows and seeds, nor was peace firmly established.

On December 14, 1886, the Indian Bureau sent out an order: "In all schools conducted by missionary organizations it is required that all instruction shall be given in the English language. Instruction in

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[39] Olden.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

the Dakota language will not be permitted. Nor will daily religious services in Dakota be allowed."[42] Had this ridiculous order been enforced, St. Elizabeth's Mission would have had difficulties indeed! Although Mr. Deloria had known English for several years, it is not likely that he would have found many English speakers among the Hunkpapas or other bands--certainly not enough to form a congregation. The impatience of the Indian Bureau seems quite absurd when one stops to realize that today, eighty-eight years later, one still hears the hymns sung in Dakota in many reservation churches. Fortunately, Reverend Williamson, who had written a Dakota-English dictionary to aid him in his work at the mission schools of the Cheyenne River Reservation, went to Washington and persuaded the Indian Bureau to drop the matter.[43] The language issue would be pushed many times in the future with varying degrees of intensity.

The land issue was still not forgotten either. Officials in Washington believed that one way to accelerate the "civilizing" process was to divide the land into individual plots. This action would not only make the Indians into farmers, it would also help to break up the tribal leadership.

General Allotment Act of 1888

In 1880, delegate Richard F. Pettigrew sponsored a bill to provide

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[42]Winifred Barton, John P. Williamson: A Brother of the Sioux (New York: Reuell, 1919), p. 154.

[43]Ibid., pp. 154-155.

for a commission to go to Dakota to learn if the Indians cared to cede about half the Great Sioux Reservation to the United States and accept in return clear title to five separate reservations. A former governor of Dakota Territory and a master at negotiating with Indians, Newton Edmunds, who was appointed to head the delegation, went beyond the intent of the law. Instead of asking how the Indians reacted to the proposal, he set out to secure the signatures. The Indians were not so easily fooled this time. Although Edmunds brought tremendous pressures on them and deliberately misrepresented the terms of the treaty only 384 leaders signed. He returned to Washington and announced that the agreement had been accepted.[44]

The Indians protested that they had been victimized and they had. The document bore only the 384 signatures, not three-fourths of the adult males as had been agreed upon by the Treaty of 1868. The government did not give up, of course, but merely tried another tactic. In 1887, Senator Henry L. Dawes, sponsored the General Allotment Act. The intent of the act was to divide the land into individual allotments. Each family head could apply for 160 acres, others would receive smaller amounts. When all the Indians on a particular reservation had accepted allotments, or sooner, if the President decided, the government might negotiate with the tribe for its surplus land. This land would then be thrown open to settlement under the Homestead Law.[45]

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[44]Utley, p. 42.

[45]Ibid., pp. 43-44.

The Great Sioux Reservation contained nearly twice the land needed for allotments. This surplus land was to be purchased at about fifty cents an acre and restored to the public domain. Proceeds from the sale of the land, after reimbursing the government for expenses, would go into a permanent Sioux fund whose interest at five percent, would be spent on educational programs. Furthermore, each family head was to receive two cows, a pair of oxen, farming tools, a two-year supply of seeds for five acres and twenty dollars in cash. Another commission was sent out to receive the necessary three-fourths of the adult male signatures.[46]

The Indian opposition to the agreement was great. But even though the Indians were nearly united in their opposition at first, they were no match for the skillful General Cook who guided the commission. He was able by careful manuevering to put leaders against each other and then move behind the scenes to get them more timid to sign encouraging them to believe that if they did not all the benefits would go to others. Intense arguments exploded over the matter of rations. The Indians feared that the government would cut rations once the land had been obtained. The commissioners promised over and over again that the land agreement would in no way influence the amount of food issued. In fact, plans to reduce rations were already being made in Washington. Technically, the two legal agreements were separate documents, but shortly after the land agreements were signed, the rations were reduced.[47]

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[46] Ibid., p. 45.

[47] Ibid., pp. 50-55.

The Commissioners went from tribe to tribe attempting to secure signatures for the General Allotment Act by making promises to provide rations or threats to withhold rations, whichever seemed to work. This was not looked upon as swindling by the whites involved. In fact, James McLaughlin, the Standing Rock agent, in his book, My Friend, the Indian, rather brags about his ability to negotiate treaties favorable to the United States Government. One by one the Indians signed. Only Sitting Bull refused. James McLaughlin was called to convince individual Indians that the government would take their land away if they refused to sell. (It does make one wonder about the appropriateness of the title of his book.) Sitting Bull still refused. His reason: why should the Indians sell their land in order to save the United States Government the embarrassment of breaking a treaty to get it. McLaughlin and the others managed to hold a secret meeting with those leaders who believed that they should sign and the treaty was signed before Sitting Bull could prevent it.[48]

An Indian delegation went to Washington in December of 1889. They wished to obtain more concessions because they knew the pressure to sign could not be resisted forever. Some minor concessions were obtained, but the more important requests required Congressional action, and action on them was delayed.[49]

In the meantime, the Cook Commission continued its work among

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[48]Brown, p. 430.

[49]Utley, p. 56.

various tribes. Even though some of the Indian agents realized that the terms of the act were unfair, they urged the Indians to sign fearing that delay would mean fewer rather than more benefits.[50]

Even the usually perceptive Bishop Hare thought that the act would benefit them in the long run. Bishop Hare supported consolidation of the tribes because he thought of the success of the Santee, Sisseton, and Flandreau Indians who lived near white settlements. "It was thought the lessons of industry and self-reliance could be more easily taught if the Indians were to compete with neighboring white farmers."[51] It was not industry and self-reliance which the Indians lacked, it was the concept of competition to accumulate material goods. The policy of individual ownership and competition rather than tribal ownership and cooperation which was urged was completely contrary to their way of life.

On February 10, 1890, President Harrison announced the acceptance of the land agreement and threw the ceded territory open to settlement. The promises made by the Cook Commission had not been kept. No surveys had been made to determine the precise boundaries of the new reservations. No provisions had been made for Indians living on the ceded lands to take allotments.[52] The result of the Dawes Act was that the Indians lost half of their reservation land.

In another action Washington cut their rations. The Indian Appro-

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[50] Ibid.

[51] Graves, p. 43.

[52] Utley, p. 57.

priation Act for 1891 was not passed until August 19, 1890--too late for clothing and annuity goods to reach the agencies until winter was well advanced. The amount of money even then was not sufficient to allow for full rations.[53]

Angry and frustrated over the way they had been cheated, the Indians realized with great despair that they would never regain what they had lost. For several more years they were harrassed by the troops of cavalry who attempted to confine them within reservation boundaries which were only lines on a map. The once vast land holdings became smaller and smaller, and each time it was the best land which was sold. In the thirty years from 1860 to 1890 the proud, self-sufficient Dakota were reduced to almost total dependence on the ration system.

Philip Deloria had been at St. Elizabeth's Mission only a few years before the Allotment Act was passed. He encouraged peace and cooperation among his people. Even though he and Sitting Bull did not agree on the policies which should be followed, there were others, such as Gall, who appreciated his efforts. In 1888, Philip's wife went back to the White Swan district of the Yankton Reservation to be among her people when her first child, Ella, was to be born. Another daughter, Susan, and a son, Vine, were born at Standing Rock.[54]

In addition to the political differences between those who were persuaded to support the Allotment Act and those who refused to, there

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[53] Ibid., p. 59.

[54] Interview with Vine Deloria, Sr.

were also religious differences. A Catholic mission had been established some time earlier at Fort Yates. Sitting Bull's people, camped along the Grand River, held to the traditional Dakota beliefs. In 1890, a third religion came to Standing Rock from the tribes to the south.

In October, 1890, Kicking Bear (a Minneconjous of the Cheyenne River) came to Standing Rock to report the visions of the Paiute Messiah, Wovoka. Although the Messiah religion was quite complex, two features predominated. According to Wovoka, if all the Indians would perform the Ghost Dance which had been taught to him, the white people would disappear and the buffalo and also all the dead relatives would return. Soon the Dance spread from tribe to tribe "like a prairie fire in a high wind." There was no Indian who had not lost a husband, a brother, or an uncle in the recent battles--all were desperate to believe that their old life could be restored. To those who faced the coming winter without food and buffalo robes, the promise of the return of the great buffalo was irresistible. Sitting Bull appeared to be skeptical of what Kicking Bear said but he did nothing to prevent them from dancing.[55] All over the reservation even all through the night, the drums could be heard.

In her book, Speaking of Indians, Ella Deloria included an account of the Ghost Dance which was told to her in Lakota by a man sixty years old. This is her translation.

> It was over fifty years ago. A big new government school had been put up at Pine Ridge, and we were kept there, boys and girls together--an unheard of thing. We

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[55]Brown, pp. 431, 434.

wore wasicu [white man's] clothes, which neither fitted nor felt right on us. In fact, we looked terrible in them, but we had to wear them or be punished.

The rumor got about: 'The dead are to return. The buffalo are to return. The Dakota people will get back their own way of life. The white people will soon go away, and that will mean happier times for us once more!'

That part about the dead returning was what appealed to me. To think I should see my dear mother, grandmother, brothers and sisters again! But, boylike, I soon forgot about it, until one night when I was rudely wakened in the dormitory. 'Get up, put on your clothes and slip downstairs, we are running away,' a boy was hissing into my ear.

Soon fifty of us, little boys about eight to ten, started out across country over hills and valleys, running all night. I know now that we ran almost thirty miles. There on the Porcupine Creek thousands of Dakota people were in camp, all hurrying about very purposefully. In a long sweat lodge with openings at both ends, people were being purified in great companies for the holy dance, men by themselves and women by themselves, of course.

A woman quickly spied us and came weeping toward us. 'These also shall take part,' she was saying of us. So a man called out, 'You runaway boys, come here.' They stripped our ugly clothes from us and sent us inside. When we were well purified, they sent us out at the other end and placed sacred shirts on us. They were white muslin with a crow, a fish, stars and other symbols painted on. I never learned what they meant. Everyone wore one magpie and one eagle feather in his hair, but in our case there was nothing to tie them to. The school had promptly ruined us by shaving off our long hair till our scalps showed lighter than our faces!

The people, wearing the sacred shirts and feathers, now formed a ring. We were in it. All joined hands. Everyone was respectful and quiet, expecting something wonderful to happen. It was not a glad time, though. All walked cautiously and in awe, feeling their dead were close at hand.

The leaders beat time and sang as the people danced,

going round to the left in a sidewise step. They danced without rest, on and on, and they got out of breath but still they kept going as long as possible. Occasionally someone, thoroughly exhausted and dizzy, fell unconscious into the center and lay there 'dead.' Quickly those on each side of him closed the gap and went right on. After a while, many lay about in that condition. They were now 'dead' and seeing their dear ones. As each one came to, she or he, slowly sat up and looked about, bewildered, and then began wailing inconsolably.

One of the leaders, a medicine man, asked a young girl, 'My kinswoman, why do you weep?' Then she told him tearfully what she had just seen, and he in turn proclaimed it to the people. Then all wailed with her. It was very dismal.

I remember two of the songs:

Mother, hand me my sharp knife,
Mother, hand me my sharp knife,
Here come the buffalo returning--
Mother, hand me my sharp knife.

Mother, do come back!
Mother, do come back!
My little brother is crying for you--
My father says so!

The visions varied at the start, but they ended the same way, like a chorus describing a great encampment of all the Dakotas who had ever died, where all were related and therefore understood each other, where the buffalo came eagerly to feed them, and there was no sorrow but only joy, where relatives thronged out with happy laughter to greet the newcomer. That was the best of all!

Waking to the drab and wretched present after such a glowing vision, it was little wonder that they wailed as if their poor hearts would break in two with disillusionment. But at least they had seen! The people went on and on and could not stop, day or night, hoping perhaps to get a vision of their own dead, or at least to hear of the visions of others. They preferred that to rest or food or sleep. And so I suppose the authorities did think they were crazy--

but they weren't. They were only terribly unhappy.[56]

Philip Deloria commented that not all the people were for the teachings of the "messiah religion." "Those Indians who were Christians came and camped about this mission for protection. Through the entire trouble, the work here grew steadily."[57] While all this was going on, the first teacher arrived at St. Elizabeth's. She was Miss Mary Francis, "a slight little woman of gentleness, patience, good education and superb courage who had made her way out to Indian country from Staten Island, New York, because she wanted to be a missionary." She stayed in the field for 27 years, 17 of them on the Standing Rock Reservation.[58]

The dancing continued into the winter with the dancers pounding their weary feet into the snow. The new boarding schools were practically empty. The government agents grew more and more nervous as the frenzy continued. Miss Francis wrote a letter about her experiences:

> It was about this time that the Ghost Dance craze was at its height in the neighboring territory. We were preparing for our Christmas feast, the mince pies were arranged for, when instructions came that all the people in our vicinity were to camp within our barb-wire enclosure with their families and animals.
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> The men thought their supply of ammunition was not sufficient, so the chiefs and other leaders asked Mr. Deloria to interpret for them, requesting me to write for them to the agent, Mr. McLaughlin.

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[56]Ella Deloria, Speaking of Indians (New York: Friendship Press, 1944b), pp. 80-83.

[57]Olden, p. 157.

[58]William Chapman, Remember the Wind: A Prairie Memoir (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1965), p. 203.

William Chapman reports that at one point Gall who had quarrelled with Sitting Bull and become a member of St. Elizabeth's church, offered to lead Miss Francis and the children up to the Fort Yates Agency but she refused to be frightened and stayed at the mission all through the climax of the Ghost Dance troubles.[59]

Whether or not there was reason to be frightened is a matter of conjecture. The Ghost Dance itself was not a war dance; in fact, though few of the agents, including Mr. McLaughlin, recognized it, most of the elements were essentially Christian. Preaching non-violence and brotherly love, the doctrine called for no action by the Indians except to dance and sing. The Messiah would bring the resurrection.[60]

At least one agent, Dr. Valentine McGillycuddy, suggested that no action be taken. "I should let the dance continue. The coming of the troops has frightened the Indians. If the Seventh-Day Adventists prepare their ascension robes for the second coming of the Savior, the United States Army is not put in motion to prevent them. Why should not the Indians have the same privilege? If the troops remain, trouble is sure to come."[61] Trouble did come. Eventually a list of "fomenters of disturbances" was telegraphed to Washington. Sitting Bull's name appeared on the list. Major McLaughlin no doubt wished to be free of Sitting Bull--his mere presence was a thorn in McLaughlin's side. He

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[59]Ibid., pp. 210-211

[60]Brown, p. 435.

[61]Ibid., p. 437.

realized, however, that to have him arrested might cause even greater trouble.[62]

Orders were received for Sitting Bull's arrest in Fort Yates on December 12, 1890. On December 15, forty-three Indian police surrounded Sitting Bull's log cabin. Lieutenant Bull Head and Sergeant Red Tomahawk went to make the arrest. At first Sitting Bull appeared to be prepared to go with the men peacefully, but then a scuffle occurred. Several Indian police and Sitting Bull were killed.[63]

Terror spread throughout the Indian communities. More soldiers were sent for and the eventual result was the massacre at Wounded Knee on December 29, 1890. Even those Indians who had had no part in the Ghost Dance or what followed could not excuse the senseless slaughter of a helpless band of half-starved Indians, mostly women and children.

Again Ella Deloria, who was only two years old at the time, recorded comments made by others years afterwards. "I once heard old Teton and Yankton men talking about the incident together, ruefully in these words: 'It [the Ghost Dance] was hopeless and fantastic, from the start. Poor and desperate even though we all were, it was foolish to fall for it. They did not have to be slaughtered like cattle and turned into a common grave for that!"[64]

After the Wounded Knee Massacre the torn and bleeding bodies were

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[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid., pp. 437-438.

[64] Deloria, p. ~~80~~. Speaking of Indians, p. 86.

carried into the Episcopal Church at Pine Ridge. Across the chancel front above the pulpit was strung a crudely lettered banner: "PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD WILL TO MEN.[65]

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[65]Brown, p. 445.

CHAPTER II

THE RESERVATION LIFE 1890-1905

On the morning of January 30, 1888, during a howling blizzard, Ella Deloria was born. With characteristic Dakota humor, she was called "Anpetu Waśte Win" (Beautiful Day). Although her father, the Reverend Philip Deloria, was then serving at the Episcopal Mission Church near Wakpala, South Dakota, her mother had returned to her own people, the Yanktons, for the birth of her child. It could not have been an easy journey. First, Mrs. Deloria had to cross the Missouri River and travel by buggy to Bowdle, South Dakota. There she boarded the train to Armour. From there it was another thirty miles to the White Swan district which was about twenty-five miles west of the Greenwood Agency on the Yankton Reservation. The land held by the Yanktons was about seventy miles long and twenty-five miles wide along the northern side of the Missouri River. Not too far from Ella Deloria's birthplace, Lewis and Clark had first met with the Yanktons. Ella's grandfather, Francis Deloria, was among those who signed the Treaty of 1858.[1]

Ella and her mother returned to St. Elizabeth's not too long after

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[1]Interview with Vine Deloria, Sr., Pierre, South Dakota, 11-12 March 1974.

she was born. The people had just begun to make the adjustments to reservation life. Ella grew up hearing the stories of the older people around the mission. She knew that many of them had suffered horribly in the years before 1890. Political divisions and religious differences split friends and relatives. More than ever leaders like her father were called upon to help their neighbors.[2]

The school had been established in 1890. The people began coming to the school, adults as well as children, to learn the skills of reading and writing. There were frequent visitors, Dakota friends and relatives as well as the church officials.

As soon as she was old enough Ella Deloria, too, attended the school. Her teacher was Mary Francis, who taught at St. Elizabeth's from 1890 to 1907. According to Vine Deloria, Sr., she was a teacher of the best kind.

Adjustments to the Reservation Life

Years later Ella Deloria, who had heard the older people talk about what had happened to them, wrote about the coming of the new way of life for the Dakota. "It gathered its forces out of sight, and it sneaked up on the people in a surprise attack that caught them entirely unprepared. Suddenly it struck. It struck hard--in the mass slaughter of the buffalo, in the Custer fight, in the killing of Sitting Bull, and finally, in that ghastly incident at Wounded Knee in 1890, when innocent men, women, and children were massacred. Those were the decisive blows, the death-dealing

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[2]Ibid.

shafts hurled in Teton-Dakota life, the final reason for change."[3]

For Philip Deloria, trying to put together the scattered pieces and the shattered dreams of the once proud Dakotas, it was a monumental task. From St. Elizabeth's, he wrote to his friend Bishop Hare for advice and received this reply: "I cannot advise you. I am a poor mortal like you, and can see no better. The One who can best counsel you is right beside you. Go to the Holy Spirit."[4]

Although Philip Deloria may have had doubts about many things, his spiritual nature never wavered. As a man of sixty years of age, he said, "I have followed that suggestion from that day to this."[5]

Slowly the people settled down and began to adjust to the reservation life. It could not have been easy for them, but there was no other choice. Some began attending the services at the Mission at St. Elizabeth's. According to Ella Deloria, people all too often assume that Indians had only a Christian veneer and that their religious beliefs were only superficial. Nothing could be more false. Dakotas are a spiritual people who are serious about their religion. As an example she tells of the conversion of Gall, the adopted son of Sitting Bull and brilliant war leader in the Battle of the Little Big Horn. Although she does not say so directly, the "young clergyman" mentioned is assuredly

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[3]Ella Deloria, Speaking of Indians (New York: Friendship Press, 1944b), p. 79.

[4]Sarah Emila Olden, The People of Tipi Sapa (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1918), p. 14.

[5]Ibid.

her father.

At first Gall came into the church, saying nothing, but listening intently to all that the missionary said. The young clergyman knew that Gall was weighing everything he said carefully and that he would make his decision with great deliberation.

> But in the end, he [Gall] made a great feast with the clergyman as his honor guest. When all had eaten and smoked the pipe together, he spoke to him, in a public oration, calling him misun 'my younger brother'--a social kinship term certainly, since Gall was a Teton of the Tetons, while the clergyman was a prince of the Yanktons, another division [of the Dakota].
>
> 'Misun, for many moons I have sat at your wihuta (the seat by the doorway; a term denoting the hunblest space in a tipi) and listened with critical attention to all you say. And now I have some conclusions. What you tell us this man Jesus (pronounced Jes-zoos) says we must do unto others, I already know. Be kind to your neighbor, feed him, be better to him than to yourself, he says. All are brothers, he says. But that's an old story to me. Of course! Aren't we all Dakotas? Members one of another, he says. Misun, do you know any cluster of Dakota people who are not linked together in kinship? If anyone wants you to escort him part way, take him to his very tipi door. If he asks for your shirt, by all means give him your blanket also, he says. Well, all that I have always done, and I know it is good. But now he says, Love your enemies, for they are your brothers. And he says, if someone strikes one cheek, let him strike the other, too. That I have never done. That I have to learn, hard as it sounds.
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> What is entirely new to me is that the wakan [holy spirit] is actually the Father of all men and so he loves even me and wants me to be safe. This man you talk about has made wakantanka [great spirit] very plain to me, whom I only groped for once--in fear. Whereas I once looked about me on a mere level with my eyes and saw only my fellow man to do him good, now I know how to look up and see God, my Father, too. It is waśte [good].' Gall was baptized and confirmed.

> All his days he received special instructions from time to time, calling the missionary in to have things clarified. He was not just grabbing at externals. He was a student of Christ's teachings and a man of tremendous influence. He inspired many others to become Christians.[6]

Miss Francis, who arrived at St. Elizabeth's in 1890, said in a newspaper interview that Gall was very dignified in his manners and appearance.[7] Vine Deloria, Sr., said that Gall always wore a white shirt, a tie and a nice suit, but he never traded his mocassins for shoes. Again according to Miss Francis, "He took great interest in our school, which was attended by several of his grandchildren. He constituted himself a kind of superintendent. He tried to influence parents to send their children to school and brought back pupils who ran away."[8]

On September 4, 1892, Philip Deloria was ordained priest.[9] Two years later, Gall, one of the great supporters of his church, died. Gall is buried at St. Elizabeth's.

Part III of Ella Deloria's Speaking of Indians describes the "years of transition" and the adaptation to reservation life (1890-1940). This chapter explains the joys and pains of the Teton Dakota--the families and friends around St. Elizabeth's Mission where Ella lived for her first

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[6]Deloria, pp. 100-101.

[7]William Chapman, Remember the Wind: A Prairie Memoir (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1965), p. 211.

[8]Ibid., pp. 211-212.

[9]Olden, p. 14.

thirteen years. By way of introduction to the chapter she writes, "All my material is factual, taken from my own observation or from what others have told me out of their knowledge. . . . Reservation life is a moving picture--moving to those who watch it thoughtfully and sympathetically and who are naturally sensitive to the struggles of men against heavy odds. It moves me. I wishfully hope it will move you."[10]

In the early years after the Wounded Knee Massacre, the people were shocked and a little dazed--the changes came very fast. But, Ella Deloria writes, the Dakota "made a brave, and, on the whole, a cheerful try at adopting themselves to the new ways, haphazard as their methods were. Being naturally stoical and realistic, they saw that since there were no more buffalo it was nonsensical to continue hunting; and that since free food was proffered them, they might as well sit down and eat it. . . . So they settled here and there, in tiyóspaye clusters along the wooded streams--with nothing to do." Then "with pathetic optimism" they started putting up their first log houses which they patterned after those of the white man. These houses were small, one-room affairs, low and dark--and dank because of the dirt floors. "Compared with the well constructed tepees with their manageable windflaps for ample ventilating, the cabins were hot and stuffy. Germs lurked everywhere, causing general sickness, and the death rate increased."[11]

But inadequate and strange as the houses were, the women worked

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[10]Deloria, pp. 85-86.

[11]Ibid., pp. 90-91.

hard to clean them and improve them. Gall, for example, who had begun farming along the Oak Creek, had a fairly large lodge with a wooden floor. One day Ella went with her mother to call on Nancy, Gall's daughter. They found her vigorously scrubbing her pine floor to a brilliant yellow. "I promised the tiwahewanyake [guardian of the family] to do this every Floorwashing Day (Saturday), and I have never missed yet!" she explained rising from her knees to greet them.[12]

But the adjustments were difficult to make. Many times the Dakota gave up customs, celebrations, ceremonies and there was nothing to replace them. They had to abandon the practice of scaffold burials because of looters, and the funeral ceremonies had to be changed. War dances were no longer done because there was no longer any point to them after intertribal warfare was forbidden. "When the Sun Dance, their greatest corporate ceremony, was stopped by the authorities because of the self-torture essential to it, the people gave it up. It would be pointless without the sacrifice."[13]

After the land was broken up into individual allotments, the traditional way of life received another shattering blow. In early days the Dakota culture was organized around a very elaborate kinship system, which Ella Deloria describes in fascinating detail in her book, Speaking of Indians. "First, the Dakota said, 'Be a good relative. That is of paramount importance!' And then, 'Be related--somehow, to everyone you

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[12]Ibid., p. 94.

[13]Ibid., p. 89.

know; make him important to you; he is also a man.' Then the Dakota said, 'Be generous.' (How unnecessary! Would anyone withhold that which is good from his very own?) 'Be hospitable!' (Why not? Should a man eat while his brother starves?) The kinship ties were so important that blood connections were traced and remembered, no matter how far back, if not they could be definitely established. . . . However distant a relative might seem according to the white man's method of reckoning, he would be claimed by the Dakotas." Obeying the kinship rules was the ultimate aim of the Dakota life. Every other consideration was secondary--property, personal ambition, glory, good times, life itself. Without the aim of being a good relative and the constant struggle to attain it, "The people would no longer be Dakotas, in truth. They would no longer even be human." This manner of behavior was not easy to learn. "It is not instinctive to be unselfish, kind, and sincere towards others, and therefore courteous." These traits needed to be learned by scrupulous repetition until they became automatic responses. In the case of the Dakota, "the very uttering of a kinship term at once brought the whole process into synchronic play--kinship term, attitude, behavior--like a chord that is harmonious."[14]

The Dakotas were accustomed to living in the tiyošpaye (the camp circle). Though they moved frequently the unity of the circle was never broken. Each person had a role to play. A child was surrounded by all kinds of adults, his mother and her sisters who were also considered

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[14] Ibid., pp. 27-47, passim.

mothers; his grandmother and her sisters; his father, his father's brother's and so on. There was always a great deal of chattering and activity around the camp. But there was privacy too. Children learned to lower their eyes and confine themselves to their own activities so as not to disturb the wishes of others.

All of the customs, ceremonies and practices were deeply involved with the kinship system. Almost any occasion was used for the exchange of presents. "The formal 'give away' was a bonafide Dakota institution. Naturally it followed that things changed hands with readiness when the occasion demanded, since the best teaching said things were less important than people; that pride lay in honoring relatives rather than amassing goods for oneself; that a man who failed to participate in the giving customs was a suspicious character, something less than a human being."[15]

But the government divided the land into little plots, each with a small house and perhaps a cow, some seed and a plow. It was wrong from the very beginning. In the first place, the Indian did not believe the land could be "owned." The white man had it all backwards. The people belonged to the Mother Earth, not the other way around. In the second place, whereas the accumulation of land and the increase of a herd of cattle were a matter of pride to the white man--the signs of his success, the Indian viewed the whole procedure as contemptible. Neither race understood the values of the other.

For example, when Sitting Bull joined Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show

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[15] Ibid., p. 68.

touring Canada and the United States, he was beseiged by autograph seekers. They often gave him money for copies of his signed photograph. Most of the money he gave away to the band of hungry, ragged boys who surrounded him wherever he went. He once told Annie Oakley, he could not understand how white men could be so unmindful of their own poor. "The white man knows how to make everything," he said, "but he does not know how to distribute it."[16]

For their part, the government agents and white missionaries were often just as bewildered by the actions of the Indians. A family who had achieved a certain amount of self-sufficiency by having a farm, garden, and a few tools would give it all away, even the bed they slept on, if one of their children died. It was at least a comfort to them to know that the child had been properly honored.

The Indian was not happy on his small farmstead, sometimes miles away from the nearest neighbor. "Enduring frightful loneliness and working at unfamiliar tasks just to put himself ahead financially were outside the average Dakota's ken. For him there were other values. The people naturally loved to foregather, and now the merest excuse for doing so became doubly precious. For any sort of gathering it was the easiest thing to abandon the small garden, leave the stock to fend for themselves, and go away for four weeks. On returning, they might find the place a wreck. That was too bad; but to miss getting together with

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[16]Dee Brown, Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970), p. 427.

some other Dakota was far worse."[17] It was the men who suffered the most. "It was their life primarily that was wrecked; it was their exclusive occupation that was abruptly ended." For the women, the roles did not change as dramatically. They went on bearing and rearing children, cooking for their families, and doing embroidery work.[18] Nor did they think there was any reason why they should not accept what the government gave them. "It was right that Uncle Sam should help the Indians. They were poor, made poor through circumstances they could not control. It was Uncle Sam's duty to show himself a man in that way."[19]

Not only did their social and economic life change, but their spiritual life did too. The traditional religious ceremonies, the vision seeking--the source of their wisdom and power--became impossible. Ella Deloria relates an incident told to her by an old man. Before he told the story he said, "Waśicu [white men] sometimes mean well. But whether with bad or good intent, they cannot help but interfere with our way, because they cannot comprehend it. So we may as well adopt theirs. We cannot live according to our way in their midst, that is plain."[20]

The story is about a man who tried to fast to receive a vision in the early days of the reservation.

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[17]Deloria, pp. 92-93.

[18]Ibid., p. 95.

[19]Ibid., p. 137.

[20]Ibid., p. 89.

> This man was so distraught by the new conditions and so in need of a great immediate revelation that he made himself suffer extraordinarily, in order to be sure of getting it. He passed a rope across his bare chest and under his arms, then he tied the ends fast to a tree stump growing on the rim of a precipice, and let himself down. It was very painful to dangle there, the sun burned him all day and the night air chilled him. Moreover, he had even deprived himself of the permissible pipe. But it was the way he wanted it to be. And now he was almost losing consciousness. Very soon he would have his vision of the 'Grandfathers.' Then faintly and as if far away, he heard talking. Coming to quickly, he looked up and saw over the edge of the cliff a bearded white man whose blue eyes flashed with righteous indignation. Shaking his head in abhorrence, he struggled until he had pulled the praying man up. The intruder's language was unintelligible, but his manner and gestures were plain. 'Who has done this horrible thing to you? Tell me and I will kill him with my gun!'[21]

And so, many of the Dakota people accepted the new religion--Christianity. But they did not forget the essential spirituality of their former life or the reverence for the Great Spirit and all the creatures of the earth. According to Ella Deloria, the Dakotas "talked about the belief of their forefathers with a tender reverence that was beautiful. Obviously it was not for them; yet neither was it therefore something to treat lightly, to be amused at, or to conceal with shame."[22] Her father, the Reverend Philip Deloria said, "When the Bible came to the Dakotas, it seemed most strange to them that neither their medicine men nor their other wise men could any longer control evil spirits, or the spirit of the buffalo; the deer or the flies. They

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[21] Ibid., pp. 89-90.

[22] Ibid., p. 50.

believe now that those spirits are subservient to the Holy Spirit. My people are an essentially religious people. When once they understand the Christian teaching, they prove to be devoted and faithful followers."[23]

Formerly the Dakotas had educated their children by daily reminders of the proper behavior and the goals of life. There were also formal ceremonies marking the change from child to adult. The girls learned to tan hides, sew clothes and leather bags and to do bead work. The boys learned horsemanship, hunting and the skills of war. With the coming of the reservation life and the missions, the informal instruction within the tribe continued, but the child also was made to attend a more formal school.

The White Man's Education

At first the people were amazed at the process of reading and writing. The most promising and eager men and women came to the mission centers and were systematically taught. They in turn taught others--wherever they were. Men might be riding horseback when one would ask the other if he could write. If he could not but showed an interest in learning, they would be likely to stop anywhere. They would drop the reins of the horses and let them graze, while, belly to the ground, they drew in the dust with sticks. One would hear it said of someone "He can write," or "He can't." It got to be a mark of differentiation, though without any reproach. Some simply hadn't tried, that was all.[24]

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[23]Olden, pp. 154-155.

[24]Deloria, pp. 110-111.

The new education spread throughout the tribe. The people benefitted by being able to read God's word for themselves in their own language. They were able to communicate with other relatives across long distances. "But having gone that far, the new accomplishment seemed to stall. Further uses for it did not generally appear."[25] One might think that the Dakotas might enjoy reading in the long winters when contacts with others were infrequent. There are probably two main reasons why this did not occur. Although the Dakotas loved stories and every person knew some stories, legends, and songs, it would not be the same to read them. Just as there were some men who were superior horsemen or excellent hunters, there were those who were great story tellers. The very language of the traditional Dakota story differs from ordinary conversational language. Some stories were to be narrated only after sundown. There were certain principles to be observed in story-telling; in other words, how the story was told was as important as what it was about. Obviously, all these traits could not be transferred to the printed page. Even though a Dakota learned to write, he would not, under ordinary circumstances, write down the stories he knew.

A second reason that reading did not develop to any great extent was that there were few Dakota texts available. The main ones were the Bible, the hymnal and The Book of Common Prayers. Ella Deloria says that from her childhood she recalls the King's Highway and "another which I faintly recall hearing read, and judge now it to have been adapted from

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[25] Ibid., p. 112.

Pilgrim's Progress." These books were distributed among Dakota missions of all denominations for them to use. ~~Miss~~ Ella Deloria comments that they were of great value to her father's work.[26]

Even though the missionaries in the field, such as the Reverend Stephen Return Riggs, Reverend John Williamson, and Reverend Philip Deloria, recognized the great value of the people learning to read and write their native language, it did not impress those impatient church officials in the East. Their point of view was that the Indian was to be made into a white man as soon as possible--and the language of the white man was English.

Bishop Hare, a man of rare understanding and respect for the Dakota people, was constantly questioned about the progress of "civilizing" the Indian. No doubt he grew weary trying to explain to church boards in New York City or to government officials in Washington, D. C., that the ways of the Dakota should not, and could not, be changed overnight. He seemed to understand that the essential business of the missions was to serve the needs of the Indian people and to help the two races grow to understand each other. He recognized the great achievements of the native clergymen in accomplishing those goals. When he died, Philip Deloria was among those Dakota Christians who served as a pallbearer.

In a speech, probably given in defense of using the Dakota hymnal and Dakota Bible, Bishop Hare said, "Our work is not the building up of a native Indian Church with a national liturgy in the Indian tongue. . . .

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[26] Ibid., p. 110.

I pressed the study of the English language, and its conversational use in the schools, and however imperfect our efforts, the aim of them has been to break down the middle wall of partition between whites and Indians, and to seek, not the welfare of one class or race, but the common good."[27]

In connection with this topic, I came across two sentences in The History of the Episcopal Church in South Dakota to Statehood which seem rather incredible. The first is, "The purpose of the missions was to civilize the Indians." The interpretation given to "civilize" usually included everything from table manners to choice of footwear and sexual morality. No wonder that the Dakotas, who were themselves a spiritual and well-mannered people, were puzzled at the strange behaviors dictated by the waśicu God. The second statement is, "It was not easy for the Indians to learn English, but the missionaries were able to learn the Indian language with comparative ease."[28] Either those white missionaires were extremely brilliant people or they were bluffing somebody, and it probably was not the Indians! It is true that some missionaries did learn the Dakota language, but many had to rely on native interpreters. One missionary who was new to the reservation was puzzled that the interpretation given by the native lay reader

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[27]Doane Robinson, History of South Dakota, Vol. I (B. F. Bowen & Co., 1904), p. 584.

[28]Norman Graves, "The History of the Episcopal Church in South Dakota to Statehood" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of South Dakota, 1939), p. 39.

always took so much longer than the time he had taken to say his words. So he finally asked for an explanation. The interpreter said, "It's just that first I have to tell them what you said, and then I have to tell them what you mean."[29]

When I discussed this with Vine Deloria, Sr., I thought he would agree that the whites had a hard time learning Dakota. He did not. And he explained why. "Lakota is a simple, logical language. It is an older language than English. Originally there were long phrases in Lakota, because there were new things they were trying to describe, but the longer they used them, the more contracted they became. It became a root word, such as peta (fire) which used to be a longer phrase. The languages which have been in use longest are shortest, most logical, more direct and simple. Now, newer languages, by primitive peoples, such as the European--they are really complicated. They are a mixture of everything!"[30]

Although the teachers at the missions and those in the government schools were sincere in their efforts to teach the English language and there were many young Dakotas eager to learn, this work did not progress as rapidly as some people thought it should, and they wanted to hurry it along. Doane Robinson, in 1904, wrote in a History of the Dakota or

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[29]Chapman, p. 93.

[30]Vine Deloria, Sr., did not mean this as a linguistic explanation but as an expression of his own observation. He learned Lakota as a child more than seventy years ago. He spoke it almost exclusively until he went away to school.

Sioux Indians:

> For the benefit of the Dakotas the government has established extensive schools for higher education at Flandreau, Chamberlain, Pierre, and Rapid City, South Dakota; while elementary schools exist at every convenient point throughout the reservations.[31] In addition to this there are denominational schools under the control of the Catholics, Congregationalists, Episcopals and Presbyterians upon the various reservations and under the existent policies under the departments encouraging education among the Indians and absolutely refusing to issue rations to children of school age anywhere, except at the schools where they belong, is having the effect of disseminating education among the bands.[32]

The government agents, having learned during the treaty-making era that withholding rations was a persuasive tool were apparently not going to let the Indian go his own way even though he no longer constituted a physical threat to the rest of the American people. Robinson goes on to give a further progress report on the social and economic conditions of the Dakota during this period.

> While many of the old heathen Indians of the old regime remain, they have lost their influence, and the younger generations are essentially Christian. All have accepted the white man's dress and there is not a blanket Indian remaining in all the bands. While many of the old men still live in polygamy, the custom has been entirely abandoned by the younger generation, and is not likely to be revived, since the government will not recognize an Indian in polygamous marriage. Naturally averse to industry, one of the difficult problems has been to induce them to engage in gainful avocations, but more

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[31]The use of the word "convenient" may be questionable here. Even today elementary school children travel as far as forty miles daily to attend reservation schools.

[32]Doane Robinson, A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, 1956), p. 508.

and more they become industrious and self-sustaining.[33]

Education at St. Elizabeth's Mission School

At St. Elizabeth's school the children were encouraged to learn to read and write English as well as many other things but one cannot imagine that they were "starved" if they did not choose to do so. Quite the opposite, the students, Ella Deloria among them, "bloomed" under the instruction of Mary Francis. In Speaking of Indians, Ella Deloria writes,

> On my table lie many letters and English exercises, on aging paper but written in readable and often perfect script. Variously dated from 1892 to 1910 [Miss Francis was there from 1890 to 1907]. They are the work of Dakota children. They reflect the best kind of teaching, with great emphasis on fundamentals, and the best kind of response on the part of the children. And they are little short of miraculous when we realize that hardly ten years prior to 1892, the parents of those particular children were only then trickling in from among the 'hostiles' to the newly defined reservation limits, there reluctantly to settle down, for good and all, in a different way.
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> These papers indicate happy, eager children, alert to whatever subject was introduced to them. The exercises reflect thorough teaching in geography, grammar, arithmetic. The compositions speak of good times: gathering spring crocuses, visiting parents in camp, the weekly 'playnight' when boys and girls played together. 'The lovely Easter will soon be here,' says one, 'and we are getting new Easter dresses.' 'Our teachers are so kind,' says another.
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> They speak, too, of bread and cake-making, of hemstitching, mending, and cleaning--all quite naturally. They write up the weekly Bible lesson, putting into English what the clergyman said in Dakota at church.
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> They have to give orally each day a detailed account

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[33]Robinson, A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians, pp. 507-508.

> of their morning's activities, as a means of acquiring ease in speaking English, so they write out samples of these: 'Before my prayers I opened my bed; after breakfast I made my bed. Then I helped to clear off the children's tables, pared potatoes, and got ready for school.'[34]

Not very exciting, perhaps, but it sounds like a cheerful, active, pleasant school. Much of the credit for the success of St. Elizabeth's school must go to Miss Mary Sharp Francis, the first teacher who was mentioned in connection with the Ghost Dance. Like her brother, Vine, Ella Deloria greatly respected Miss Francis. She came to the Dakota country in 1880, two years before Bishop Hare, and worked among the Santees and Yanktons on the Dakota-Nebraska border, and also at Pine Ridge Reservation and on the Rosebud.[35] By the time she arrived at St. Elizabeth's she well knew what living and working among the Dakotas was like.

According to Vine Deloria, Sr., "Miss Mary Francis was a tiny woman--she weighed only about 98 pounds." But she was a brave and courageous lady. "One winter day when it was about 30° below zero, my father saw her getting into the wagon to go with the boys down to the well to get the water. It was several miles and he tried to persuade her not to go. She showed him that she had dressed warmly and even had buffalo robes and blankets. She had brought a lunch too, so they went. She didn't want the boys to go alone for fear something might happen to

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[34]Deloria, pp. 113-114.

[35]Chapman, p. 203.

them."[36]

By various circumstances, she sometimes found herself running the school almost by herself. "She taught all the classes at these times and, on occasions, had a sick child on a cot beside her desk to watch over."[37] According to Vine Deloria, Sr., "You could tell when Miss Francis came in and when she went out by the kind of people who were there: Sam Cadotte, Samuel Red Bird, Samuel Iron Horn, Philip Iron Cloud, Anne Tiger, Gertrude Lookinghorse, Elma Swiftcloud, Louise and Jenney Tokaktelasla (Kills Enemy). Those were really brilliant kids. I'll bet those kids could have gone through college easily. They were Christians, but they were still molded by their Indian culture. And they had that wonderful influence from Miss Francis."[38]

In 1907, Miss Francis decided to return east after seventeen years of teaching at St. Elizabeth's. Vine Deloria, Sr., describes her leaving St. Elizabeth's:

> I was a little boy at St. Elizabeth's when Miss Francis left us. Her trunks had been taken down the hill below the school in a wagon drawn by a team of horses, for the train was making a special stop to take her aboard.
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> There was a great crowd gathered to see her off, including many Indians who did not belong to our mission. I remember the thrilling sound of the first far off whistle of the approaching eastbound train. I remember the trunks going in the baggage car and the frail figure being helped abroad the train. The train started to move

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[36]Interview with Vine Deloria, Sr.

[37]Chapman, p. 212.

[38]Inverview with Vine Deloria, Sr.

very slowly, and suddenly she appeared in the door
at the end of the train, small, smiling, and serene,
waving gently to us.

The Indian women cried and all the boys and girls started running down the track after the train. "Good-bye, Miss Francis!" they cried, "good-bye, Miss Francis!" The train pulled away giving a couple of farewell toots of the whistle.[39]

But the students at St. Elizabeth's did not forget her. Later they wrote letters of condolence to her relatives because her father had died. One girl with more candor than judgment wrote, "Of course he was very old. It was time for him to die. We all have to die." But the other letters, though just as sincere, are more tactful. One says, "My father is dead, so I know how it is." Ella Deloria knew one of the students in later life and said he appeared not to have had any schooling at all. "I should not have guessed that he once expressed so beautifully, in English, sentiments so characteristically Dakota. 'And often for each other, flows the sympathizing tear.'" Ella Deloria adds a personal comment, "Dakota children hardly out of barbarism, comforting and sympathizing with friends of another race, whom they never hoped to meet! To me that is quite beautiful."[40]

Ella Deloria's book, Speaking of Indians, carries this inscription:

dedicated to the memory of
Mary Sharp Francis
a beloved teacher and a great missionary.

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[39]Chapman, pp. 213-214.

[40]Deloria, p. 115.

No doubt the excellent teaching of Miss Francis influenced Ella Deloria in her later scholarly achievements and belief in sound educational practices. But there were other influences as well. Philip Deloria was often called to help people on other reservations, to attend church meetings and to serve as an advisor. Sometimes his wife would accompany him. Vine Deloria, Sr., said that then his grandmother, Brown Elk, and other old people would come and pitch their tipi in the yard. She would say to Vine's mother, "I don't know how to keep house like a white woman. I know how in my tipi. And," Vine Deloria added, "she did too."[41]

~~I am sure that~~ St. Elizabeth's has changed a great deal since that time, but even today it is a beautiful place. The church is located on a rather flat bluff and you can see it for many miles before you reach it. Standing in front of the church facing south, one can see the Missouri River far in the distance. To the east there are a few small trees and down the hill behind the church and buildings is the small Oak Creek and the village of Wakpala. The hill is high enough and there are so few trees that one has an unobstructed view of the whole countryside. On a warm, clear summer night with a slight breeze, it would be a truly peaceful and lovely sight. Perhaps there were many nights like this when grandmother Brown Elk would cook a big meal outside near a large fire.

After the meal, according to Vine Deloria, Sr., "the old men would

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[41]Interview with Vine Deloria, Sr.

sit there and tell stories and sing, while the women went to the back of the tipi to wash dishes." One can imagine the twinkling stars, clear and bright in the immense prairie sky--the only sounds those of the people talking, laughing, a drum beating softly and perhaps an owl in the distance. Perhaps that is why Vine Deloria said, "You don't have to be afraid of losing your Indianess--I've never been able to shake it."[42] Vine Deloria, Sr., has a drum and he knows many Dakota songs.

Ella was living at the school dormitory with the other girls in 1901 when her brother Vine was born. ~~His mother had a dream about what was to happen~~ Vine Deloria told me about a dream his mother had at that time. She dreamt that there were several women sitting on the porch, just talking, maybe sewing.

> She saw a white feather slowly fall to the ground. There were two angels there and their white stiff wings touched the ground so there were puffs of dust rising. Then they parted and a little boy about three years old in a grey suit, with golden hair, stood there. This little boy started to run towards the women. One of them said, I wonder which of us he is coming to? And he laughingly jumped in my mother's lap. My brother, Philip, was standing there too and she turned to him and said, Look, Philip, the angels brought you a little brother. He smiled at her, but his face slowly faded and was gone. And so, my mother thought they were going to lose Philip when I was born. After I was born, he became ill and died. My parents really grieved over him. So Miss Francis told Ella to take me over to the school. She thought that that might make them think of Vine. But they were afraid to love me--lest I die. So Ella and the other girls took care of me and played with me. They teased me too--they gave me pickles and mustard to eat and watched me skirm! They got a kick out of that!

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[42] Ibid.

> Ella didn't know anything about my mother's dream. One day she got me dressed up in a grey suit. My hair then was light and curly. So I ran home. My mother stood on the porch and cried.[43]

He described other activities at the mission.

> There was always a lot of activity at the school. The older children went to school in the afternoon and the younger ones in the morning. All morning the older children worked. The boys cared for the cows, pigs, chickens, and horses. They cut the hay and stacked it. They had an ice house, a carpenter shop, a coal house, a blacksmith shop. These big boys would set up the heavy logs on saw horses and mark them off at certain distances. Then the little boys would cut them with the saws.[44]

The wood cutting and hauling water were nearly endless jobs. There was a wood burning furnace and a wood burning cooking stove. Water was hauled in barrels from the Missouri River.[45]

The girls helped with the cooking and washing. The washing was done in big tubs with a handle that swished back and forth. There was also a garden down below the school.[46] There were few conveniences: light was provided by kerosene lamps and candles. The chief means of transportation was by horse or wagon. Materials brought in had to be ferried across the Missouri River.[47] Once a large bell was being brought to St. Elizabeth's for the bell tower. It was put on a barge to cross

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[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Chapman, p. 213.

[46] Interview with Vine Deloria, Sr.

[47] Chapman, p. 213.

the river, but it slipped and plunged to the bottom in the murky waters. Two years later it was retrieved, but when they got it up to the church they realized it was much too large for the tower. They built a tower out of rough timbers and the bell was finally mounted. It was rung one hour before services began and could be heard for a distance of fourteen miles.[48]

In addition to helping with the domestic chores, the older girls also helped the younger ones to learn English. Her brother said that Ella was having a terrible time with one little boy named Frank who was only six years old at the time. He came to her and said in Lakota, "Aunty Ella, I can recite the Lord's Prayer now." She said, "All right, Frank, "I'll hear it." So he started off pretty good but instead of saying, "thy kingdom come, thy will be done," he said it in Lakota and then went on in English. Ella said that she could hardly keep from bursting with laughter, but she let him finish it. Later she told him what he had done and taught him the right words." Even though she was young herself at the time, she was careful not to ridicule or criticize her young "pupil."[49]

Vine reported that, "Later Ella said her desire for reading was begun by the teachers at St. Elizabeth's. All the girls liked to read. Many times during the winter, especially on Fridays, the girls who had graduated from the sixth grade would come back to the school to read, or

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[48]Interview with Vine Deloria, Sr.

[49]Ibid.

to sing together."[50]

Vine Deloria, Sr., said that Ella spoiled him. When he was about ten years old he was given a horse. One day a woman about forty years old who had just gotten married to Vine's uncle came over to him and said:

> Vine, you know I am your aunt now, I'm going to live over here on the Grand River with your Uncle Joe. In a few days my horses are going to be taken there. Tell your father and mother to bring you to my new place the next day.
>
> So one morning Ella came into the room, 'Vine, get up,' she said. 'What,' I said, 'it's early in the morning.'
>
> 'Aunt Claymore's horses are taken.'
>
> I jumped up and looked out the window--there were 80 horses! (You see how well off our people were with horses and cattle. Uncle Joe had about 300 horses.)
>
> So I wanted to go over right away and Ella said, 'No, Aunt Claymore said tommorrow--the day after.'
>
> I had to wait. Oh, it was the longest 24 hours. But, then, they took me over there. She had a big dinner ready for us. There was a corral and she had the men put the horses in there--only the two year old horses. So, she said to me, 'Which one do you like?' I said, 'Oh, aunty, you'll have to pick.' (I didn't know too much about horses. They were all pretty.) She picked a grey horse--a little fella about shoulder high. Oh, he was beautiful! Built like a brick military academy. He had a long wavy tail that came to a point and just barely touched the ground, little face, and little curved ears, kind of black at the ends and a long mane. The wind would blow his mane in front of his eyes. He'd flip his head to throw it back--and then strand by strand it would fall forward again. He held his head high when he walked. 'That's the one,'

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[50] Ibid.

> she said. Mr. Yellow broke him for me. He was a non-Indian, and good with horses. My horse never bucked. He hunched his back a little, but that was all.
>
> Ella bought me a saddle. Then I wanted boots, so she bought them. I wanted spurs, so she bought them. Then I wanted a hard twist rope, so she bought it.[51]

They saw many things too. Ella Deloria wrote that once when she was a child she saw a Sun Dance at Fort Yates. The description is too long to give here, but her comment was, "I have never lost the picture. It was pageantry in the raw."[52]

The Deloria family also attended the triennial Convocations of the Episcopal Church. They attended one at White Swan in the summer of 1905. Families came from all over to be reunited with their relatives. Most camped outdoors and there were many celebrations as well as the services.[53]

Ella's father traveled a great deal. He was often a delegate to the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in New York. He addressed audiences in Philadelphia, Boston, and other cities. He went to Washington to give advice to government and church officials on matters concerning his people.[54]

Vine said his father spoke English with a French accent, though

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[51] Ibid.

[52] Deloria, p. 56.

[53] M. A. DeWolfe Howe, The Life and Labors of Bishop Hare: Apostle to the Sioux (New York: Sturgis & Walton, 1914), p. 290.

[54] Olden, p. 17.

he did not know French. Those who heard him speak were deeply impressed. Sarah Olden, one of the teachers at St. Elizabeth's wrote, "As a preacher Mr. Deloria is most dramatic in gesture, remarkable in vigor and fluency of language, and full of inspiration. Those who hear him are impressed at once with his deep spirituality. His sermons abound in striking story, allegory, and vivid illustration."[55] He was a great reader too. Among his many books was an edition of Shakespeare which he enjoyed greatly. Vine Deloria said his father would write in the margins of the book his own definitions and explanations.

Philip Deloria had chosen the way of peace and the way of the church. And, as his mother and father had hoped, he was a great man among his own people and others as well. Reverend Cook of the Episcopal Church wrote, "He is a man of large ability and commanding influence among his people, of high character, and universally respected by both races."[56] A carved figure of Reverend Philip Deloria is part of the "ter sanctus" reredos back of the Great Altar in Washington Cathedral, Washington, D. C.[57]

He was never a bitter man but there were times he regretted the passing of the old life. When he was an old man he looked back and remembered his father, the proud and holy Saswe. He remembered the

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[55]Ibid., p. 19.

[56]Brent K. Woodruff, "Episcopal Missions to the Dakotas," South Dakota Historical Collections, 1934 XVII, 565.

[57]Marion Gridley, ed., Indians of Today, 4th ed. (Chicago: Towertown Press, 1971), p. 60.

excitement and exhilaration of the buffalo hunt and the great feasts of buffalo meat, and he said: "I have a terrible longing for it. You white people have come and have taken it all away from us, and expect us to follow your ways. It is very hard for a people to change their whole mode of life. Now, we just sit around in camp and talk back and forth. There is nothing to do in the way of amusement, and no fun for anybody."[58]

Ella Deloria spoke of her father and said that he had been very strict and tried to eliminate old Indian ways as fast as he could--ceremonies, dances, dress and languages. She felt that perhaps he had been in too much of a hurry but he was a truly spiritual man who sought happiness in a very turbulent world.

Not everything had changed. The Indian had still not become a white man. In spite of the impatience of the government agents, the teachers, the clergy, the Lakota language had not been eradicated. When William Chapman went to St. Elizabeth's in 1958, the hymn that was being sung was "Guide Me, O Thou Great Jehovah."[59] It was sung in Lakota. Nor is there today an educated person who believes the language of the Dakota "too primitive, too inadequate" for their own uses. Many of the stories were lost--but not all. Much of the credit for their preservation must go to Ella Deloria.

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[58]Olden, p. 103.

[59]Chapman, p. 57.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION AND CAREER

Early Education and Teaching

After she left St. Elizabeth's at the age of fourteen, Ella Deloria went to school in Sioux Falls at All Saints School which had been founded by Bishop Hare. While she was at All Saints, she had an excellent English teacher. Vine said that after she attended All Saints, she often tried to help him with his English but he never "caught on." She also learned German and French. Later Margaret Mead, who was a classmate of Ella Deloria's at Columbia University, wrote an introduction for a manuscript Ella Deloria was preparing for publication in which she said about her education at All Saints: "The classics were tough and you could not skip them and the standards were fiercely high."[1]

When she was in her last year of high school at All Saints, Ella Deloria wrote an essay which won a contest. As a result of her efforts, she was granted a scholarship by Mrs. Dexter of Philadelphia. She enrolled at Oberlin College in Ohio in 1911. Again her excellent abilities as a scholar were recognized and one of her professors suggested that because she had such a scientific mind she would gain more by studying at Columbia

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[1]Margaret Mead, "Introduction," The Dakota Way of Life (Ella Deloria's unpublished manuscript, Institute of Indian Studies, University of South Dakota), p. 2.

University.[2] She enrolled in Columbia and stayed for two years. While she was there she spent some of her time working with students who were interested in the Dakota language which she had spoken since her childhood. Later she commented in a letter that the money she earned there was her first paycheck.[3] She also gave speeches on Dakota culture and customs to various church groups, and sometimes she demonstrated Indian dances as well.[4] In 1914 she received her B. A. degree from Teacher's College, of Columbia University.[5]

After her graduation, she returned to Sioux Falls where she taught at her old school, All Saints. Her sister, Susie, was also attending All Saints at that time. After Susie's graduation in 1916, both girls returned home to Wakpala, South Dakota because their mother was ill and they were needed at home. While she was at home, Ella Deloria also assisted in teaching at St. Elizabeth's School. Her mother died in 1916, and since Vine was away attending the Military Academy at Kearney, Nebraska, she remained at St. Elizabeth's to help her father with his many duties.[6]

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[2]Interview with Vine Deloria, Sr., Pierre, South Dakota, 11-12 March 1974.

[3]Ella Deloria, letter to Miss Beckwith, 11 November 1926.

[4]Ella Deloria, letter to Franz Boas,
the letters between Deloria and Boas were obtained from the American Philosophical Society Library in Philadelphia.

[5]Interview with Vine Deloria, Sr.

[6]Ibid.

In 1923 at the age of thirty-five, Ella Deloria went to Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, where she taught physical education. She also coached girl's basketball and volleyball, and taught dancing. She had an office at the end of the gymnasium and served as an unofficial "dean of women" for the many girls who came there from all parts of the United States. She was frequently called upon to teach academic subjects as well as be a substitute.[7] Evelyn Gabe, who now lives at Fort Yates, was a seventh-grade student at Haskell in 1927, and she enjoyed very much what she learned from Ella Deloria.

> As a school child of that age, the very first thing that I noticed about Ella Deloria was her kind human understanding. She never pressured us into a heavy work load--everything came at a nice easy pace. The way that she coped with each and every one of us was short of miraculous. She always had a happy attitude. The one thing I learned from her was the ability to laugh. Even though we did have some great problems in school, she would always find time to sit and joke and laugh with us.[8]

Ella Deloria was involved in many activities while she was at Haskell. In the summers she served as a counselor at a summer camp near there for the girls at the school. Another of her achievements was the writing and directing of a pageant which was performed in 1928.[9]

While she was at Haskell she received a letter from Miss Beckwith, then employed by Dr. Franz Boas of Columbia University, inquiring whether she was the same student with whom Dr. Boas' students had done some work

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[7]Ibid.

[8]Interview with Evelyn Gabe, Fort Yates, North Dakota, 31 January 1974.

[9]Interview with Vine Deloria, Sr.

on the Dakota language. In a letter dated November 11, 1926, she replied that she was. "I enjoyed working under him and shall always remember him as a keen, admirable intellect. Also I remember him because he was the cause of my earning my first sizable check--eighteen dollars a month of which I was justly proud."[10]

It was not until the next year that she heard from him again. He wrote that he intended to go west and wished to meet with her to discuss the possibility of her doing more work on the Dakota language.[11] The arrangements were made and she began work on the Bushotter texts on June 17, 1927. These texts had been collected by George Bushotter and John Bruyier in 1887 and 1888 in the Teton dialect for James Owen Dorsey of the Bureau of American Ethnology. They consist of over a thousand pages of folklore, ethnology, and the autobiography of Bushotter.[12] She continued to work on translating and correcting the materials all that summer. At the end of August she wrote to Boas requesting more material. She said she did enjoy the work and needed the money rather desperately because her sister, Susie, was ill and needed $300 for an operation.[13]

Boas was in Victoria and did not return until September. He offered her $50 to write out some of her own material and also to correct the account of the Sun Dance which he had left with her the previous

[10]Deloria, letter to Beckwith, 11 November 1926.

[11]Franz Boas, letter to Ella Deloria, 6 April 1927.

[12]John F. Freeman and Murphy D. Smith, A Guide to Manuscripts Relating to the American Indian in the Library of the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1966), p. 121.

[13]Deloria, letter to Boas, 25 August 1927.

June.[14] She completed the first set of materials, but by November she still had not earned the necessary money for the operation, and it had to be postponed.[15]

She then proposed to Boas that she leave Haskell and devote full time to the language work. Her position at Haskell was not entirely satisfactory. She had spent most of the fall writing, directing, and staging a pageant. Apparently the pageant had been a success and she hoped she might be able to go into some similar type of work.

> The pageant cleared for the PowWow expenses, a round thousand dollars. . . . I still get the same salary. I am not complaining, and indeed nobody has heard me say this, besides, I knew when I started writing it, the ways of the Indian Service, but it shows me what I can do. If I had a way of being sure of a steady income, till I got established, I know I could do much better.[16]

Another problem was that the building of the gymnasium in which she was to hold her classes was delayed. "That means if I stay, I shall be used as a substitute teacher in the school rooms. I do not care for that kind of teaching and am considering resigning or else asking for a long time leave of absence until the gymnasium work is again established and, as Mr. Blair hopes, the teacher can be carried on the government payroll at a salary appropriate for a 'special' teacher." Her salary at Haskell was $125 per month. Often she had to put up with "constant physical exertion and almost over-exertion until I feel I cannot continue it."[17]

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[14]Boas, letter to Deloria, 21 September 1927.

[15]Deloria, letter to Boas, 17 November 1927.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Deloria, letter to Boas, 28 November 1927.

She was thirty-nine years old at the time.

Throughout that fall, Dr. Boas continued to send her material which she worked on and mailed back to him. He advised her not to resign her position until he was able to offer her something more substantial.[18] She finally informed him that she would be resigning on January 1, 1928, in order to find some other kind of work. She wrote to Boas that she had had to take her classes to various places and at uncertain times and, as it was not systematic anyway, she had "no scruples about leaving."[19]

She had spent more time on the Dakota work than anything else that year and it was what she preferred to do. Many of the legends were from her father and she believed they were as accurate as it was possible to get them from older Indians. By December she was devoting full time to the writing and not teaching at all. She sent to Boas the Sun Dance material with a new free translation, a revision of the "Ikto" story, twenty original tales, and notes of conversations.[20] Dr. Boas then proposed that she spend half of the year in New York working on translations and the other half in the Dakotas collecting original stories. Ella Deloria suggested that she be paid $200 per month for this work. "I ought to be able to take care of myself both in New York and in the Indian country. In New York it would take all of that to live and dress suitably, in the Indian country, the actual living would be less, but

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[18]Boas, letter to Deloria, 25 December 1927.

[19]Deloria, letter to Boas, 25 December 1927.

[20]Ibid.

there would still be the item of expense in traveling about to get material, paying for the stories whenever I needed to, and all that. I do not know. I should hate to put it too low and then to find that I ran short."[21]

She also proposed that when she was in New York she should be free to accept speaking engagements whenever the opportunity arose. As a student there she had given speeches and demonstrations of dances as frequently as two to three times a month, and it was a source of extra income.[22]

On January 11, 1928, Dr. Boas responded that he was not able to provide the $200 per month, but he suggested instead that she come and stay at his house as a guest until other arrangements could be made. He would provide her railroad expenses and $100 per month with the probability of support for field work in the summer in the Dakotas.[23] Ella Deloria did not accept the offer immediately but continued to work on the materials he sent her. She did a revision of the Riggs dictionary substituting the Teton forms for the Santee forms as well as answering incidental questions. For example, in a letter dated January 18, 1928, Dr. Boas closed with "Would you be good enough to tell me the word for Indian corn?"[24]

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[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Boas, letter to Deloria, 11 January 1928.

[24] Boas, letter to Deloria, 18 January 1928.

Research for Columbia University

Finally at the end of January, Boas offered her occupation for a year and a half at $200 a month and money for field expenses for a specific work. The work was to be a psychological study. "The primary object of the investigation is a critical study of the psychological tests by which it has been claimed racial differences can be established. In our opinion, it seems not unlikely that the cultural conditions under which the individual grows up and lives have a far reaching effect upon any kind of test that may be made." He asked her to come to New York and remain until June when the field work was to be done.[25]

The letter reached her at Lake Andes where she had gone to be with her father who had suffered a stroke and was quite ill. She wrote that she would be able to come as soon as her brother arrived to be with her father. She also requested money for the fare East.[26] Dr. Boas sent her a personal check for the fare.

This pattern of collecting Dakota language materials and ethnological information in the field and then returning to New York was to continue until about 1938. Since there are no letters referring to the work, it is difficult to tell precisely what function Ella Deloria performed in New York. I can give only a general description of Boas' methods and activities as described by his other students.

Franz Boas was born in Germany in 1858. He came to New York in

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[25]Boas, letter to Deloria, 26 January 1928.

[26]Deloria, letter to Boas, 2 February 1928.

1895 from the Field Museum in Chicago as Curator of Ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History and Lecturer in Physical Anthropology at Columbia University.[27] In 1917 he founded the International Journal of American Linguistics which he edited and maintained until his death in 1942. In addition to a heavy teaching load he also did much field work on his own and arranged for work by his students in linguistics and anthropology. He published a great deal of material himself and helped his students to find ways of publishing their research.[28] His students felt him to be unique in his approach. According to Margaret Mead, "In spite of the intolerable load of teaching which he combined with the direction of great bodies of research in folklore and linguistics, Boas always prepared each lecture as if it were to be given for an audience of a hundred of his peers. Nevertheless, for a whole field of anthropology, such as primitive art or primitive religion, the student might have one or two lectures on 'method' and that was all."[29] There was no special allowance made for those who were beginners or those with a defective background. "Linguistics, after a brief general course in the science of language, meant plunging directly into the analysis of difficult

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[27]Ruth Bunzel, "Introduction to Building a Science of Man in America: The Classical Period in American Anthropology, 1900-1920," The Golden Age of American Anthropology, ed. by Margaret Mead and Ruth Bunzel (New York: George Braziller, 1960b), p. 400.

[28]A. L. Kroeber, ed., "Franz Boas: The Man," Franz Boas, 1858-1942, Memoir Series of the American Anthropological Association, no. 16 (1943), p. 18.

[29]Margaret Mead, An Anthropologist at Work: Writings of Ruth Benedict (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, Co., 1959a), p. 10.

American Indian languages."[30] His method was inductive and empirical. He set before the students a text of the language and proceeded to analyze it in terms of its own structure. His students found this method "exceedingly stimulating." It was also to influence greatly the subsequent developments in linguistics for some time to come. In fact, "when Boas retired, everyone, almost without exception, who was productive in the field of American languages, had been trained either by himself or by Sapir, who in turn had got his inductive training from Boas."[31] His approach to anthropological study was much the same. There was a minimum of theoretical training and a premium put on field experience. In the early work Boas had used data from native informants analyzed by trained anthropologists. But as anthropology became an increasingly important university subject, students were encouraged more and more to go into the field. Ella Deloria was well suited for the work because in addition to being a member of the group she studied, she brought to her research "the full training of the anthropologist."[32]

Although his students had great respect for Dr. Boas and his novel approach, he was not an easy man to work with. According to Ruth Bunzel, who was at Columbia at the same time as Ella Deloria and worked closely with her, Boas could be "prickly, unbending, often intolerant." He was

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[30] Ibid.

[31] Kroeber, p. 15.

[32] Marian W. Smith, "Boas' Natural History Approach to Field Method," The Anthropology of Franz Boas, ed. by Walter Goldsmith, Memoir Series of the American Anthropological Association, no. 89 (1959), p. 56.

scornful of disagreements and stupidity. He valued his own autonomy greatly but was often high-handed with his students. "He was deeply concerned about his students' lives and careers, but in terms of what he thought was best for them. He arranged field trips for them without consulting them; he schemed and maneuvered to get them positions and was deeply hurt when they refused to accept his arrangements. But he never wavered in his loyalty to them, even when he disapproved of them."[33]

He did an incredible amount of work himself and had high expectations of those who worked for him. The languages for which he did essentially complete treatments include Chinook, Kathlamet, Tsimshian, Dwakiutl, Tlingit, Kutenai, Keresan, Bella Bella, Dakota, as well as others he knew nearly as well such as Coos, Siuslaw, and Chukchi. Then too, the study of languages was only one of his fields of endeavor.[34]

The relationship between Dr. Boas and Ella Deloria began as teacher and student but developed into a close friendship over the fourteen years they worked together. Ella Deloria was not given any more training than Margaret Mead or Ruth Benedict in research methods, and like them she was able to develop her own method of working in the field. She was dependent on Dr. Boas to make the financial arrangements for her work. Money for field research was difficult to find and not very reliable. For the first several years it appeared that Dr. Boas had little concept of the difficulties in transportation and mail service in the Dakotas. In several

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[33]Ruth Bunzel, "Franz Boas," The Golden Age of American Anthropology, ed. by Margaret Mead and Ruth Bunzel (New York: George Braziller, 1960a), p. 404.

[34]Kroeber, pp. 16-26.

letters Ella Deloria reported that her checks did not arrive or that they had been sent to the wrong place. Without resources of her own to draw on and the conditions of poverty that existed throughout the reservations in the thirties she was often left stranded and the work had to be delayed. There were the added difficulties of blizzards in the winter and impassable roads in the spring, car repairs, and of course, the incredible distances between locations. Gradually, however, Boas became more accepting of her judgments and more understanding concerning the circumstances under which she worked. Although many of the projects were undertaken on the basis of her suggestion, she continued to look to him for advice and direction in personal as well as professional matters.

The fact that Ella Deloria was of the Dakota people was certainly an asset to her work. She did not arouse the suspicion and distrust so often encountered by non-Indians. She knew the customs and the appropriate behavior and conducted herself as a well-mannered person among them. In August of 1928, she returned from New York and went to the Rosebud Reservation to gather information from old informants on customs and ceremonies, particularly the Sun Dance Ceremony. Her assignment was to verify the account of the Sun Dance recorded by J. R. Walker and housed in the collection of Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of National History. She was also to document the material written by George Sword, a native informant. She found two members of the Oglala band who were well acquainted with the ceremony. One of them, Fred Hair, was famous because he was able to find lost articles through his gods working for him.

He was a truly spiritual man who resisted strongly the teachings of the white man. Ella Deloria reported that she may not be able to gather information from him.

> He is my uncle--my father's half-brother. My father is the only son of my grandfather's real wife, the one he bought with horses. This man is the son of my grandmother's cousin. Her people gave her to my grandfather to take as a second wife. This uncle hates my father because he considers him disloyal to the teachings and practices of his father. Some say he will not tell me anything. Others that he might because of my relationship to him. I am, you see, his daughter [according to the Dakota kinship system].[35]

The other man, One-Feather, was the father-in-law of Ella Deloria's half-sister.

> That makes me also his daughter-in-law and of course he is obliging enough to talk to us. But his son, my sister's husband, is our medium, for he is an old time Indian and does not speak to me directly.[36]

He did not speak to her directly because of the avoidance custom. Close relatives of the opposite sex did not speak to each other directly because it was considered bad manners.

After finishing her interviewing and translating of the Sun Dance material, Ella Deloria made plans to return East for the winter to continue her work as they had agreed. She shipped her materials and clothes in a trunk from the Rosebud Reservation but heard that they were held up because of an expressman's strike. She herself took a stage to Wagner to cross the Missouri. However, she was not able to complete the journey because

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[35]Deloria, letter to Boas, 21 August 1928.

[36]Ibid.

her father, who was living at Lake Andes, had become critically ill. She sent Dr. Boas a telegram informing him of the situation. He responded that he was sorry to learn of her absence, but "I feel very greatly worried on account of our work and I want to hear from you right away. Since you have undertaken this work I, of course, expect you back here this winter."[37]

On November 6, 1928, Ella Deloria wrote to Dr. Boas to give him a more complete explanation.

> My father was in such a critical state and there was nobody else to care for him and give him his medicines correctly so I was both occupied and on a fence about writing till things should seem to be a bit brighter. The only danger now is to guard against pneumonia, while he is still in bed. He can not speak, and writes all his wants, but it is an effort to do that. Only I can decipher his writing.
>
> I can not say at the present writing that he will be all right. But in a few days, say a week, if he continues to improve, I will make some arrangements for his care, and come back. There are plenty of women willing and glad to do the cooking, washing, etc., but there is nobody right here to take charge and carry out the doctor's orders.
>
> Just about every old-time Indian from this, Rosebud, and the other reservations has been here to see him, some staying in tents for a week, so I have been writing down all I have got hold of. I am eager to come in and will certainly do so as soon as I can get away, but today I can not tell just how soon that may be. I thought many times that he was going, but he rallied each time and has been picking up the last three days.
>
> I will be only too glad to continue after my term is up, and give, without pay, next fall what time I am losing now. A month, or two, as it works out. But I certainly hope to be in your office by the last of November, ready

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[37]Boas, letter to Deloria, 3 November 1928.

> to start there December first, at the latest; by all means sooner if possible.
>
> There has been a very heavy storm, with deep snow, on November first and the road to town which was graded with gumbo and then never gravelled is absolutely impassable now. I do not know when it will be opened but will send this letter the first chance I have. I am sorry I did not call you and talk with you but I was so rushed to make my train that I wrote out the telegram and my friend sent it for me.[38]

Her father did not recover, and there was nothing she could do but remain with him. All that winter she continued to do what work she could and mail it in to Dr. Boas. Near the end of January, however, she became ill herself with flu and bronchial pneumonia because she had been going without sleep and she had no resistance to it.[39] Dr. Boas sent his sympathies and asked if it would be possible for her to come to New York by the end of March because he was to go to Europe on May 18.[40]

Again, though she sorely wanted to go, she was not able to leave her father because there was no one to care for him. Even though she had earned no money for the five months she spent caring for her father, she continued her work collecting information from Yanktons and Tetons who came to visit. She included two pages of explanations on incantations and other religious practices. She asked that she be allowed to receive a hundred dollars a month to continue collecting material until her sister who was caring for the farm and ranch could come in September when she would return to New York. The letter closes with "I would come

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[38]Deloria, letter to Boas, 6 November 1928.

[39]Deloria, letter to Boas, 25 January 1929.

[40]Boas, letter to Deloria, 28 January 1929.

back tomorrow if I could find it in my heart to do so, but I don't."[41]

There is no response from Dr. Boas, but apparently arrangements were made for her to continue her work. The next letter to Boas, dated May 9, 1929, is from Tripp, South Dakota, where her father was receiving further treatments from the doctor. She was still working on the Sun Dance material and asked some questions concerning the diacritical marks to be used on the manuscript. In addition she also sent the stories and legends which she had gathered.[42]

Before Dr. Boas left for Europe he made arrangements for Ella Deloria to say in Dakota country and work with Dr. Klineberg, a psychologist from Columbia who wished to study the activities of Indian children and their attitudes towards school work and other related questions. She was to assist him and then return in the fall.[43]

In October Dr. Boas returned from Europe, but Ella Deloria had to write him again and say that she was not able to come at that time. Her father was still ill and she was still trying to make arrangements for him. Vine had returned home, and they hoped to be able to take their father to Wakpala where he had many friends and would be nearer to doctors and the highway.[44]

In the meantime she had been collecting material throughout the

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[41]Deloria, letter to Boas, 7 March 1929.

[42]Deloria, letter to Boas, 9 May 1929.

[43]Boas, letter to Deloria, 17 May 1929.

[44]Deloria, letter to Boas, 4 October 1929.

entire year and had also completed a revision of the Sun Dance requested by Dr. Ruth Benedict. She also suggested that Dr. Klineberg come to Standing Rock in February where she could assist him with his study. Though she made many suggestions, she knew that Dr. Boas would make the final decision. She explained her situation and then could only await his reply.

> I do not see how I could come all this month, and even November I should hate to promise to come because I have already put off coming too much. But as I see it, this matter of making a comfortable home for my father looks like my immediate duty which would go undone or ill-done if I should leave it to come in now. Shall I come December first to work till February when I come out with Dr. Klineberg? Or do you have anything especial for me now? Which if I pass up would be fatal? I like the work and hope always to come back, but I have been unable to. I know white people leave their parents and go off, but we are not trained that way, and I can't bring myself to do it, till I have things arranged as I plan and am working on.[45]

Dr. Boas responded immediately. "It does not suit me very well that you are not coming here but I presume I have to put up with it. I trust you will go on with the work that you are doing now as energetically as possible." He was apparently intending the Sun Dance material for publication because he made this request: "Will you please be good enough to look at the Sun Dance manuscript over very carefully, and particularly answer all the question marks in the margins. There are a good many discrepancies between nasalized and unnasalized vowels, and quite often there may be mistakes in the aspirations. Of course, you are responsible for the accuracy and you want to introduce yourself in

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[45] Ibid.

a way that gives credit to yourself." He also asked her to do a free translation of the work and return it to Dr. Benedict.[46] She completed the work, and the article on "The Sun Dance of the Oglala Sioux" appeared in the Journal of American Folklore later that year, 1929.

In October of 1929 Dr. Boas wrote to inform her that Dr. Klineberg intended to come to Dakota in February and she should prepare for his visit by finding all she could on sign language and women who have done beadwork all their lives. The purpose of Klineberg's study was to show how motor habits in different races are established by social habits. Other correspondence during this time indicates that they had begun to collect words for the dictionary beginning with the forms used by Riggs but also collecting other words.[47]

Communication was poor. Dr. Boas sent Ella Deloria two or three telegrams and finally a letter inquiring why she had not responded. Her reply indicates the frustrating circumstances she had to endure.

> Here are some telegrams to show why I did not answer them. The service in these small towns is certainly far from ideal. It seems that when my brother was going east, the depot agent heard me say I was going back there soon too. That of course should be no reason for not trying to deliver telegrams, but you can see his note at the end of the last message. It was not till your letter came, wondering why I did not wire, that I investigated, and then he mailed me these two messages. I have tried to impress it on him that he should try to get a message to its destination, or report back to the sender, even though he might be under the impression that the one addressed was

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[46]Boas, letter to Deloria, 18 October 1929.

[47]Boas, letter to Deloria, 21 October 1929.

away.

> I in turn sent you a wire, collect, because I was very low on money and had to get word to you to send my check here instead of Wakpala, because as things have worked out, I can not make that trip till I have money to make it with. . . .
>
> We are both at a decided disadvantage, working this way. Of course you must wait till you get my work, and on the other hand, I am always held up the first ten days at least of every month because I can not get anywhere and get any material or find an informant without money to do it with.[48]

These same difficulties continued throughout the next ten years of their working relationship in spite of efforts by both persons to make improvements.

By December Ella Deloria was established at Mobridge, which is near Wakpala, and was continuing the work on the work lists and sending in additional tales. This time Dr. Boas seemed pleased and wrote that he was "very much interested in the batch of tales."[49] The correspondence indicates that she also worked on materials for Dr. Ruth Benedict throughout the winter as well as the other work that Dr. Boas had given her. Dr. Klineberg's trip was delayed for some reason, and he did not arrive in South Dakota until April. Ella Deloria then met him and arranged for him to work at St. Elizabeth's Mission which is not far from Mobridge. Dr. Klineberg and Ella Deloria worked together through the summer, and he left early in July. She did about five-hundred tests for him with high school girls in the Standing Rock area. In September she was also

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[48]Deloria, letter to Boas, 10 November 1929.

[49]Boas, letter to Deloria, 9 December 1929.

to give tests to be used for comparison to white high school girls in Sioux Falls.

Dr. Boas returned from Europe in September of 1930 and asked her to get some information on the vision quest. He also inquired about a woman named Rose Whipper living at Fort Thompson saying she was "in great distress."[50] She had stayed with Dr. Boas some time earlier. Ella Deloria responded that she would like to help Rose, but "It is [a] considerable distance from here and I don't think writing to the agent or missionary helps alot."[51]

Ella Deloria then went to Rosebud to attempt to gather the information Dr. Boas desired on the vision quest. She also began to collect various healing herbs and describe their properties. On the way she was able to stop at Crow Creek Reservation to inquire into the affairs of Miss Whipper and report to Dr. Boas. "I do not see what you can do at such a distance to help her. What she wants is work. I heard before I left Rosebud that there were several vacancies at the agency, and if that is the case, maybe I can land something for her there, though of course she lives on the Crow Creek Reservation."[52]

In November Ella Deloria wrote to Boas that she had been able to make arrangements for her step-mother's adopted daughter to stay with her father. "I can and should have more to do now than what I am doing.

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[50]Boas, letter to Deloria, 25 September 1930.

[51]Deloria, letter to Boas, 25 October 1930.

[52]Deloria, letter to Boas, 6 November 1930.

I need to make more money and can give all my time to my work from now on. I was in the Rosebud country for ten days getting material . . . but it takes all my salary to move about." She proposed that she go back to Rosebud and also to Pine Ridge where she could record the songs of the Sun Dance. She also suggested that another possibility would be to go to Haskell and get "every language I find there."

> Couldn't I make comparative charts of verb forms and other language peculiarities and record them? I may be badly mistaken but I feel as though I could do something valuable in that respect. And if I come out very well, I can go on with other languages--not simply Dakota. There are always not less than sixty tribes represented at Haskell, and out of that number, maybe I could find thirty or more students who really know their language so well as to make good informants. . . . This is the thing I would like to do most, until March first when I come east.[53]

Dr. Boas made a trip to British Columbia about that time, but he seems not to have approved her plan or provided her with any money. In January she was in Kansas and intended to go to Haskell. But she wrote to Miss Bryan, Dr. Boas' secretary, "I am crazy to see if I can record another language and am going to try, though I am doing it entirely on my own."[54]

On February 8, 1931, Dr. Boas, who had just returned from his trip sent this letter to Ella Deloria, "I expected to see you yesterday. When are you coming?"[55] He sent two more letters and a telegram. Ella

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[53]Deloria, letter to Boas, 14 November 1930.

[54]Deloria, letter to Miss Bryan, 1 January 1931.

[55]Boas, letter to Deloria, 3 February 1931.

Deloria replied on February 29, 1931, that she was starting out for New York. She had been delayed giving the tests that Dr. Klineberg wanted because it was difficult to find girls' clubs who had enough time to take the tests. She also stopped to visit her father who had suffered another stroke. She closed her letter with:

> I know I have been preoccupied and worried and perhaps have been slow at times to write and may have done other things you don't like. But please don't scold me when I come. I will work as hard as I can while I am there.[56]

Ella Deloria then went to New York for the remainder of that year and perhaps the next year as well. While she was there she worked on translations of manuscripts collected by others. She also spent time translating the materials she had recorded in her field work.

In spite of all the difficulties and delays in her work, Dr. Boas was anxious to have her continue it. He wrote to Dr. Benedict, who supervised the students in the field when he was not available.

> Please ask Ruth Bryan for Ella Deloria's letter of November 14. I cannot afford to lose her services just now. There are $1000 in the University which are to hand for her linguistic work this year. I think it would be best to pay her for these coming two months $100 each month extra with the understanding that she is to use full time for the Dakota work.[57]

In an introduction which she prepared for a manuscript Ella Deloria had written, Margaret Mead described the role Ella Deloria played at Columbia.

> In addition to the research with Professor Boas in which Miss Deloria combined the roles of informant,

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[56]Deloria, letter to Boas, 8 February 1931.

[57]Mead, Ruth Benedict, p. 406.

> field worker and collaborator, she began to work also with Professor Ruth Benedict in the same unique triple capacity--as one who knew much who was extraordinarily favorably placed for further investigation, and who became steadily more sophisicated in the methods and standards of anthropological work.

Many others at Columbia also benefited from the work she did.

> During her years at Columbia, through her unpublished manuscripts and her generosity in helping other students Miss Deloria assumed a new role, a sort of parallel teaching role to the other graduate students approaching for the first time the complexities of comparative culture which to her were part of the very fibre of her being, informing every perception, qualifying every judgment.[58]

By July of 1932 Ella Deloria was back in the Dakotas collecting more material for what was to become her book, Dakota Texts, published later that year. She was to be working with Ruth Benedict that summer. This was a situation that she did not find very satisfactory. There was a dispute about the amount of money she was to be paid. She understood Dr. Boas to say that she was to receive $200 per month in the field to cover travel expenses and provide meat and presents to those she used as informants. However, Mrs. Benedict told her she was to have only $100 per month.

> She told me that she and anyone else who went in the field did it at their own expense, and made me feel very uncomfortable. I think if she and Gladys and others do go out on their own, it is because they wish to. I thought my coming out was a sort of commission, and I know Dr. Klineberg had a salary and travel fund, because I was with him. I can see how some people, who are trying to raise their standards as anthropologists, might be willing to go out at their own expenses for their own advancement. But I do not like the way she made me feel; I resent it, and would like

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[58]Mead, Introduction, p. 2-3.

very much to "Waciko"

Ella Deloria recognized that without Dr. Boas she was in a very insecure position, and she requested that he write a statement setting forth "what you think of my knowledge of things Dakota."[60] She needed the statement because she knew that Boas was likely to move on to the study of other things and she would have to find other employment. She was already forty-four years old and realized that she could not depend on Boas forever.

In the same letter she tried to explain how important it was for her to have enough money available to her.

> I can not tell you how essential it is for me to take beef or some food each time I go to an informant--the moment I don't, I take myself right out of the Dakota side and class myself with outsiders. If I go, bearing a gift, and gladden the hearts of my informants, and eat with them, and call them by the correct social kinship terms, then later I can go back, and ask them all sorts of questions, and get my information, as one would get favors from a relative. It is hard to explain, but it is the only way I can work. To go at it like a white man, for me an Indian, is to throw up an immediate barrier between myself and the people.[61]

She continued, throughout that summer and fall, to work for Ruth Benedict collecting information on geneologies, band affiliations, medicine powers, societies, and marriages. She returned to New York at the end of October. She spent her time organizing, translating, and writing descriptive notes on the legends and tales she had been collecting

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[59]Deloria, letter to Boas, 11 July 1932.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Ibid.

for the past four years. These were published in the book Dakota Texts in 1932.

The next summer she was again in the field, this time investigating Assiniboine dialects. Some of this research was carried on at the Belknap agency in Montana. By October she had worked her way back to Greenwood, South Dakota. She had been doing further research on the ceremonies.

> I am certainly having a busy and grand time checking ceremonial details for the different bands. It is interesting because each band has some variation. I have been concentrating till this summer on the Oglala but now I am finding out that while in general the principles back of the ceremonies are essentially one, the details differ. 'That's their way' says one band of the next, and takes it for that.
>
> In general the more west I go the more elaborate and detailed the ceremonies; they are plainer among the Yankton and still plainer among the Santee. I have not succeeded yet in finding the one old man recommended for the Lower Brule and for the Yanktonnais. But I shall try.[62]

Again Ella Deloria went to spend part of the year in New York to work on the materials she had collected and to share them with others. ("Notes on the Dakota, Teton Dialect," appeared in The International Journal of American Linguistics that year.) Much of the information she collected on ceremonies is included in the unpublished manuscript, The Dakota Way of Life now at the University of South Dakota.

The next summer, 1934, she went to collect materials among the Santees who lived in the area near the Minnesota River and Flandreau,

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[62]Deloria, letter to Boas, 1 October 1933.

South Dakota. She reported that she had enough material for another book like Dakota Texts. There were about three-hundred pages of text, literal translations, free translations, and many linguistic notes. She was also learning to play the Santee flute and was quite thrilled about it. "It has five notes, and practically any Dakota melody can be played on it--if one knows how--and it sounds more like Indian music than anything else, even when produced on the piano or violin."[63] In the fall she took the Santee material to New York, but none of it was published at that time.

The next year, 1935, she did essentially the same thing, but began to be concerned about finding a more permanent kind of position. It was clear that the research she had been doing would not be funded indefinitely. She wrote to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, the wife of the President, asking from some type of appointment, but she received no response. She had heard that she was being considered for the principalship of a mission school. It was not something she wanted to do. "I didn't like it much, as I would be in a town quite remote from the reservations, and the school takes a class of girls who are almost entirely weaned away from all things Indian. It is the purpose of the school to make standardized Americans out of the pupils as the best way out for them." She wanted to find a job of some kind and looked to Dr. Boas to advise her. She suggested that she might do some more work on the Bushotter texts. "Should I write directly there [to the American Philosophical Society]

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[63]Deloria, letter to Boas, 25 October 1934.

asking if I might do that? Or is that out of the question too? You know best what the status of that board is just at present, and I don't. I do not want to do anything that would be embarrassing. And should I write to Washington for a special appointment? Someone was saying I could enter the service as an Indian, on a non-competitive basis, with comparative ease. I wish I knew what to do."[64]

In the same letter she also reported on a meeting that was held at Pine Ridge to discuss the new Oglala constitution as proposed under the Wheeler-Howard Act.

> It was in Dakota; and it was very interesting to contrast the formal Dakota when each got up to speak, and then the comments in colloquial Dakota when each matter was discussed among the women themselves. They had a better grasp of the matter than I, and all complained that their husbands liked to eat too well, and to debate, and that the council meetings, at which women are excluded, were too pleasant for the men to come to any hurried agreement. Now, if you let us manage it, they said in effect, we can talk it out, and agree on it because we shall be thinking what is best for our children, instead of how pleasant to meet, and to eat the government food; and we can persuade our men to see it our way. We are the bosses in our homes anyway, what power have the men?
>
> Most of the questions arose from a misunderstanding, due I imagine, to faulty interpreting, or carelessness. For instance, in cooperative marketing, they understand that if women raised turkeys, they could pool them and send them to market together, thus saving on transportation and the proceeds would be evenly distributed among them. It was not until this special women's meeting when Dr. Cohen was asked this, and he explained the real meaning, with, fortunately, a good interpreter that it was clear to them. If by zealous work I raise ten turkeys and my lazy neighbor who likes to leave her home to attend all the rodeos, succeeds in raising just

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[64]Deloria, letter to Boas, 25 August 1935.

> one, I do not think it fair that the returns should be divided evenly in proportion to the number of turkeys each women marketed, [one said]. There are many such obscurities in this matter. I still don't know whether the bill will be accepted; but I do think it a pity that the people are not thoroughly informed about all the points before they have to choose. Of course there were only a few women there, in proportion; but if they are index, I should say the women are more concerned over the bill than the men.[65]

There is no letter from Boas in response to this one, but he apparently was able again to find funds for her to continue her work. On September 4, 1935, she wrote that she would start in translating and writing explanations. "You can't guess to what extent you saved my life today!"[66] But by October she was again out of money and wondering what to do. She had a number of ideas. One was to go visit a man named Pte-he at Wamblee. He was reported to have incredible powers through his Dakota gods, and all sorts of miracles were being attributed to him. She wanted to visit him but could not do so without more money since she had nothing left. Even so she was recording the conversations she heard. She asked Boas if she should continue with it. "Will you please let me know if I am doing all right to be taking down more Dakota, since I don't have to go anywhere to get it, and am under no further expense than the item of having the people in to a cup of coffee and a bite, once in a while."[67]

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[65] Ibid.

[66] Deloria, letter to Boas, 4 September 1935.

[67] Deloria, letter to Boas, 6 October 1935.

Dr. Boas replied that he hoped to see Dr. Keppel of the Carnegie Foundation soon. He also sent her his personal check for $50 and said that he was glad she was still working on colloquial Dakota.[68] At the end of October he was able to offer her $100 per month for two months to continue to send in material.[69] She wrote back the next month that she had received permission to attend one of the mystery acts to be performed by the diviner she had told him about previously. One of the provisions was, however, that she must believe in his powers. If anyone in attendance entertained a doubt, even for an instant, something gave him a stunning blow on the shoulder or back. "I don't want that to happen to me. I have the testimony of one who sat through one of these."[70]

In the meantime, Boas was trying to secure a position for her through a Dr. Strong who was the contact officer between the Bureau of Ethnology and the Indian office.

She was not able to visit the diviner as planned because it was fifty-six miles to his home over the Bad Lands country, and she did not want to start out unless she was well prepared for emergencies. She also made some additional comments.

> Mr. Collier has been out here to speak, and I was very favorably impressed with his sincerity. I believe he is a real friend. The trouble with us is that we have had so many who looked like friends and acted as such in the past, and turned out otherwise, that we are all suspicious of everybody that comes from Washington.

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[68]Boas, letter to Deloria, 12 October 1935.

[69]Boas, letter to Deloria, 29 October 1935.

[70]Deloria, letter to Boas, 11 November 1935.

> Vine felt as I did. But we were not so fortunate as to meet him. He was terribly busy, and surrounded by government employees anyway; it would have been impossible to get any words in with him.[71]

Vine Deloria, Sr., in an interview, gave a more complete explanation of what happened on the reservations after Collier's program was put into operation.

> During John Collier's era, they sent white experts, to be the extension agents and to be the nurses. But they didn't communicate well. Although they might have had the knowledge, they just couldn't make it with so many of our Indians. There were Indian people who could have done those jobs and done them well too. Why didn't they employ them? Our Indians at that time were still living on their reservations and trying to make a go of it and they could have. But they sent in these 'experts.' It was ridiculous!
>
> I remember that when I lived at Martin which is close to Pine Ridge, all these government employees had automobiles and a brick club building. These experts would come in with briefcases and look important. Then they would disappear--supposedly to teach the Indians all over the reservation.
>
> Do you know that Collier's program ran for 12 years, as long as Roosevelt was in office, and I do not remember ever seeing those experts, who were supposed to be improving the reservation by teaching the Indians, out on the reservation! But I did run into them eating lunch and settling the world affairs in Hot Springs and Chadron, Nebraska. Maybe it's just coincidence that I never saw them anywhere else, but I think they just went out and hid all day.
>
> Ella believed, too, that there ought to be Indian people in those jobs on the reservation. There were many who could qualify. Ruth Robins, for example, was a nurse. She had had practical experience in surgery as well. People like that should have been hired because they care for their people--they really care.[73]

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[71]Deloria, letter to Boas, 29 November 1935.

[72]Interview with Vine Deloria, Sr.

Certainly better use could have been made of Ella Deloria at this time. She knew the people well and also knew what kinds of programs and policies would help them. She also could have been very useful in interpreting for them. It seems strange that she was not asked to do some work of that type. Her time was not wasted, however, and much of what she observed about Indian and government relations at this time later went into her book Speaking of Indians. Again in December of 1935, Ella Deloria began to feel that she should try to find a more permanent position. She wrote to Dr. Boas and explained her concerns, one of which was again, money. She was not able to send her manuscript because she did not have the money to pay the postage and could not borrow from anyone.

> When I have all my material in, and if nothing more develops for me, I shall have to try getting into something permanent aside from anthropology, much as I like it. I suppose I should have enrolled [at Columbia] and taken a bit at a time, so as to have a degree after my name--it counts for so much. But I could never quite make it with all the demands upon me. If I had that, I think it might have been easier for you to find someone to finance my work. I did not think of that in time.
>
> I got one of those blanks to fill in, for the new catalogue of 'Anthropologists' which the Research Council is putting out. It was rather amusing, for I am not eligible, and certainly do not consider myself as such. I wonder what made them send it to me.[73]

Dr. Boas wrote only that he had no more news for her. Efforts by Ruth Benedict to secure the Pond manuscripts from the Minnesota

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[73]Deloria, letter to Boas, 5 December 1935.

Historical Society for translation also failed.[74]

On January 3, 1936, Dr. Boas wrote that he was able to obtain additional money. He wished her to continue her collection of colloquial Teton and to visit the medicine man she had spoken of earlier. Unfortunately, he was able to offer her only $100 a month until the end of the year 1936. As much as she enjoyed the work and wanted to continue, Ella Deloria felt there were problems she had to solve. She wrote the following rather dismal letter on February 7, 1936, from Martin, South Dakota.

Dear Dr. Boas,

> I do not know when this will reach you, as the blizzard and storm has already lasted nearly three weeks; but I can mail this anyway. The other day I had someone mail you my manuscript of Teton text collected during January. Needless to say I have not been to see my medicine man, as the roads are all blocked. Car travel is very unsure, because if anything happens, one is left standing on the open prairie to wait for a chance traveler; but there are no chance travelers right now. Everyone sits at home.
>
> The temperature this minute is 32 below, they say. No place is comfortable except right by the fire. We hope every day there will be a break, but it hasn't happened yet. With two persons very very sick, and the poor out of fuel, it is all quite dismal just now in Martin.
>
> Now, as regards my returning to New York. I have never told this, but besides my nieces and nephews for whom I am guardian, I am responsible for providing the roof for my sister as well as for me. She has never had the advantages I've had; and though she has a small income to feed and clothe her, I can not just leave her and go off. That would not be right; besides we have no home at all. I live in my car, virtually; all our things are in it. And if I go anywhere, I find it

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[74]Boas, letter to Deloria, 11 December 1935.

cheapest to go in my car; and take my sister with me. I love her, I can not do otherwise than give her a home of sorts.

The niece who finished high school last year has not yet got into hospital training; she was under age and that barred her from the recent class, the one entering in September. Now she may perhaps enter this spring; but that is not certain. A cousin of hers on her mother's mother's side, has offered to give her a home for her room and board; but I still have her clothes and other expenses to worry over.

If I were alone in the world, I might risk it; but with things as they stand, I am afraid to return to New York, so far from the reservation, for so little money. I have always felt that people who stayed in New York for only that much pay might perhaps do better in a smaller place where rents etc. are not so high. At any rate, I am afraid to come for that little money. The reason I waited so long was because I thought I could get a Church job on weekends and Sundays, and certain evenings a week, which would make up the difference in my salary so that I could dare to come, and really feel that I was bettering my condition by coming. But the clergyman who was trying to arrange it for me is no longer in New York; and someone else, already at hand, got the job. So, unless you could double up what you have for me, and let me come for a shorter time, not a year--say till September, then I would come the first of March--if traveling by car was safe by then. But I would bring my sister with me then.

Since you can offer me only half what I got so far, I think I must not try it. If you can still let me collect material I can do that, out here; but even then, I can't collect material forever, without following it up, I know. There is something out here that I can do, which the town people are asking for. It would require starting slowly; but in time I think it would pay me. If I might be allowed to collect material for say another two or three months; and then stop, by then I could better myself, I am quite sure. I used to be satisfied to go from year to year, taking a chance; but I guess I have grown up at last. I see everyone else trying to better themselves; and I think I should too. And I do not think it safe to try returning to New York for one hundred dollars a month, with all I have on my mind to do. Isn't it too bad Mrs.

> Roosevelt never even acknowledged my letter? If she had, it would all have been so nice, for I do love working with you on Dakota. . . .
>
> Please do not think I am ungrateful; I can never tell you what your kindness has meant to me. I am just afraid to be in New York for so little pay, under such precarious circumstances as there always are, for people away from their home-base. And my delay has been while I was negotiating about the Church job which didn't materialize. I was afraid it wouldn't. It is difficult to get a job at long distance, with so many on hand to step in.[75]

Dr. Boas responded with the suggestion that she continue in Dakota until May at the rate of $100 per month and then come to New York for the second half of May, and stay through June, July and August at $200 per month. Still he could give no assurance beyond that time. "So far as I can see now, it would be unwise to assume that it will be possible to make any arrangements after the summer. You know how much I should like to have you here but there are limits to what we can do."[76]

Ella Deloria replied that those arrangements would make it possible for her to continue her work. She also spoke of finding many new informants. In April she again mailed in her texts and made plans for the trip to New York. She was still trying to find other employment without much success.

> There is some talk of my teaching Dakota in some 'Institute' to be attended by government employees of the Sioux country. They approached me about it, and also suggested maybe I could direct Dakota-speaking teachers in the Service to teach, if I can manage to do it by mail. I told them I had nothing to say at this time and for them

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[75]Deloria, letter to Boas, 7 February 1936.

[76]Boas, letter to Deloria, 18 February 1936.

> to write to you, and see whether you would suggest me; or perhaps some other student of Dakota you may know. I want to 'stall' on this, because they are doing so many irratic things to people in the Service, switching them from important posts to local places without warning, and then letting them out if they object. I don't want to get caught in anything that is uncertain. I think if Dr. Beatty, the new head of education in Washinton, should take it up with you it might lead to something at least temporarily good. But I am promising nothing nor taking anything seriously until I talk with you. Please wait till I can discuss this before you answer them, in case they write. Frankly, if there is any money in this, I want to get it. If it is going to peter out, I don't want to get into it. But there is a burning thirst for Dakota in the educational part of the state's work with Indians. There have been attempts to get Indians to teach the White employees, but they leave out what is basic, phonetics; and the result is failure, as before. They teach it like the Riggs material.[77]

Ella Deloria then went to New York and did more work on the Bushotter texts. Dr. Boas was away much of the time vacationing in Cornwall Bridge, Connecticut. On July 7, 1937, he complied with her request made earlier to write a letter of recommendation concerning her abilities.

> TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN
>
> This is to certify that Miss Ella Deloria has been working with me for many years on the language of the Dakota. She has a thorough grasp of the grammar and spirit of the language. We have written together a grammar of the Dakota, of the Teton, Yankton, and Assinboine dialects and she is thoroughly conversant not only with the forms but also with the very intricate psychological background.
>
> Miss Deloria has also collected a large amount of ethnological and folkloristic material, a part of which has been published by the American Ethnological Society under the title "Dakota Texts." She has also published

[77]Deloria, letter to Boas, 24 April 1936.

with me "A Preliminary Note on the Dakota Language" in the International Journal of American Linguistics. She has also translated and edited a valuable series of texts in the Minnesota Historical Society, collected in 1837 - 1840 by Rev. Pond. Her knowledge of the subject is unique.

FB:B Franz Boas

During this time Ella Deloria not only provided research materials but also was available to others at Columbia for consultation on their publications. For example, Jeanette Mirsky's article, "The Dakota," which appeared in Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples, edited by Margaret Mead, relies heavily on her observations and her published and unpublished manuscripts. Franz Boas wrote a short article in Language on "Some Traits of the Dakota Language." In his letters he asked Ella Deloria to clarify certain points which went into this discussion. Ruth Bunzel also consulted Ella Deloria for her article, "The Economic Organization of Primitive Peoples," which appeared in General Anthropology, edited by Boas, in 1938. She also cited Ella Deloria's manuscripts on Dakota Ethnology as a major source of descriptions of ceremonies such as the "child-beloved" ceremony.

At the end of the summer 1937, Ella Deloria returned to South Dakota. Apparently funds had been found somewhere for her to continue for a few more months. In September Ella Deloria reported that she had been collecting information mostly on customs and had over a hundred pages of material to send in. She had written an account of the Minnesota Massacre which was given to her by a man who was ten years old at the time.

She had also written to Father Buechel of St. Francis Mission on Pine Ridge in order to arrange a visit and discuss the Lakota language work he had been doing. He responded by letter, and she commented, "I am surprised at the sentimental way he writes about Indians; I thought his interest was a bit more academic than that. . . . Since he seems cordial to a visit I think I shall drop by some day. I am sure if we got to talking, he would let me see his vocabulary, even if his grammatical findings are such a secret. I wonder what he has that we haven't found?"[78] Dr. Boas replied that he too was curious about the Buechel grammar and urged her to make the visit. He also requested that she begin work on the Walker manuscripts which he had sent her to verify and correct the mythological content. He was able to promise her only fifty dollars a month to work on the Walker materials until December. Dr. Luke Walker had apparently used many informants, but it was not likely that any of them were still alive when Ella Deloria began to check the materials. She was able to locate Edgar Fire Thunder, who had been well acquainted with Sword, one of Walker's informants. In January she sent in her final report on these materials. After she had gone through all of the material with Fire Thunder, whom she considered "remarkably intelligent and painstaking," he made a conservative statement which she took down and he signed. In that statement, he expressed as diplomatically as possible his doubts on the accuracy of Walker's material. In her letter, Ella Deloria explains that she shares his skepticism.

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[78]Deloria, letter to Boas, 23 September 1937.

> It was as I always thought; and I have finished a paper, with detailed comments on the whole manuscript in which I have tried to include everybody's criticism as I can recall it, and from my notes taken at the various sittings with different ones, Fire Thunder's being the most valuable and conclusive. . . . It is principally about the so-called 'Holy Men's Society.' Walker seems to have understood it as a very exclusive club; according to these informants, it was nothing of the sort. It was highly individual, the only occasion for their coming together being when they massed their medicines, at a ritual which he gave me in detail.
>
> I am coming to think that we have been reading much more into the organization of these clubs than actually existed. We have been making a finished, united and exclusive thing of them, and giving them a good deal more formality than they deserved. I mean by deserved, due them, I mean the members were not asking for the kind of attention we give them.
>
> Nobody ever heard of a closed language, terms that nobody else used; had there been such a thing, even such a rumor as this: 'The Holy Men have a private Language would have got around; nothing like it ever did--because there wasn't any. . . .' Fire Thunder said, 'If they wanted a completely private language, they would not have mutilated words already in use, and abbreviated them in that silly way. They would have used figurative language or borrowed from neighboring tongues, not the way this material says.'[79]

Dr. Boas "was not quite satisfied" with her comments on the manuscript and asked her to do more checking.[80] It is not difficult to understand his concern, for the Walker manuscripts, which are several hundred pages, had been used by a number of writers and anthropologists in the Bureau of Ethnology since the 1900s as the basis of descriptions of the Dakota. In February, Ella Deloria wrote that her sister Susie was ill with pneumonia, and it was necessary for her to care for her as

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[79]Deloria, letter to Boas, 6 January 1938.

[80]Boas, letter to Deloria, 3 February 1938.

well as trying to do more work.[81] A job that she had been counting on getting for the rest of that year turned out not to be available after all, and she was again in the position of trying to find a job or more money for her research.

Dr. Boas sent more of the Walker material and commented, "I hope you will try to get as much information as possible in regard to these matters. I do not think it likely that Walker invented the whole mythology but I can well imagine that it was the interpretation of one particular individual rather than a general belief. Still there must be something behind it." He sent her more money but was not able to say how much more she could count on.[82]

Susie improved somewhat towards the middle of February and Ella Deloria was able to work more easily. She sent Boas a copy of a report which she had been asked to translate with this explanation.

> I am making a translation of the report which those three Indians made who went to Washington on their own initiative to kick against the Indian 'New Deal.' They are the 'Illegal Committee' so called because they are the opposition faction on the Pine Ridge, and their leader, Ben American Horse was arrested and fined fifty dollars for opposing Mr. Collier's program.
>
> I will send you both text and copy so you can see what it is. The Dakota oratorical style, and the unusual use of words, are the interesting features in this text. The contents may not be particularly revealing for ethnological use; and indeed it might be wise to not pass it around generally, because it is not particularly for the public. I send it to you

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[81]Deloria, letter to Boas, 5 February 1938.

[82]Boas, letter to Deloria, 10 February 1938.

for what you may find in the text only.

Ella Deloria continued her search for verification of the Walker mythology which Boas was very anxious to have. She found only a suggestion here and there but "no conscious knowledge of the tales Walker tells about origins of things in nature. If there was such a substantial body of such lore, I am not very hopeful of finding it now." She had also been reading manuscripts for a publishing house. "I enjoy it very much, but it is amazing what people write about Indians. I have criticised both quite unfavorably; but I had to, they were so trashy, I should not like to be thought to pass on them."[83]

Dr. Boas wrote in May and again in June that he was not pleased with what she had sent in. Referring again to the Walker material he said, "I do not know how serious an effort you have made to get the material I want." Ella Deloria responded that she had been doing all that she could, but the circumstances were difficult.

> I have known all along that you couldn't be satisfied, I am not either. But when I can not find any of it, what can I do? I could only keep trying at every chance I had; and that is what I did. Of course I could not take long trips without much money, and went to other reservations only when I could get a ride there; and then the item of board and room was always something to consider. The Indians are all very poor, and the hospitality so long maintained is soon going to be a thing of the past from necessity.[84]

In addition to the extensive notes she sent Dr. Boas on the Walker materials, she made other comments in her letters. One story that Walker

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[83]Deloria, letter to Boas, 12 February 1938.

[84]Deloria, letter to Boas, 28 June 1938.

recorded was changed very much from what Ella Deloria's informant told her and she believed the reason for the change was that it had some rather vulgar connotations that the interpreter must have changed so as not to offend him. She was quite sure that the material about Waziya, which Walker translated as "the wizard," was incorrect. She said that he had confused Waziya with another figure. Waziya, far from teaching anything, was malevolent, bringing cold and suffering.

> As the investigation stands today, I have this to say: the material from pages 152 to 163 is for the most part doctrinal, and concerning it there is always an attitude of reserve, a cautiousness, a willingness to believe it if possible, but a disinclination to say it is so. 'Maybe so--but one never hears anything like that now.' 'I never heard this, but perhaps . . .' etc. Of course there are things contained in this section which are current knowledge: Why the pipe was used as a rite; use of sage and incense; the use of red as a holy color. But the 'Why' of all these things seems to have gone with the medicine-man. . . .
>
> The material from 163 and ending top of 181 strikes no responsive chord anywhere. 'That must be from another tribe' 'That may be from the Bible' 'Somebody made that up according to his fancy' 'That's not Dakota!' Not once, so far, has anybody said of this part that 'Maybe it was so believed in the past. . . .'
>
> It is the section where the elements, like people, live out a drama as in Greek mythology, for example, and [are independent of the Dakotas] that the present day Indian seems to find it unfamiliar. One man said, 'I always knew there were four winds; but not that they were like people, nor how they came to be. That they are messengers sounds all right, but I never heard that before. . . .'
>
> I have tried to investigate this as seriously as I could, within my limitations. With more latitude and money, I could have seen more people, but I can not say what the results might have been in that case.[85]

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[85] Ibid.

At the end of June, Ella Deloria wrote that she was in Flandreau, South Dakota, to teach a six weeks course to adult Santees in how to write Dakota. She intended to use the phonetics used in their materials and hoped that there would be enought interest in it to continue it other places as well. But it was not to turn out that way. In December, she reported to Dr. Boas what had happened.

> I was teaching phonetical writing of Dakota at Flandreau this summer and had such excellent response that the local superintendent was sure I was a great asset to the government; and then Dr. Beatty, the progressive education man, came along and he discounted phonetics, saying if one knew the language, as they should, all the diacritical marks were unnecessary and only cluttered up the print; and that he had weeded out all such marks for the Navajo, and they were printing it without.
>
> I was so confused then, and now I can not go on teaching it, because he stepped on it; and I can't get any federal work, because I have the reputation of being so educated! And there I am. The school I thought I was to run is not needing a new head after all, and so that's out.
>
> Meantime I have some friends who are interested in my preparing a detailed account of the old Dakota ceremonials of the past; forms, songs, kinds of costuming; positions of the actors etc. And they are trying to get some money for me to do that; but I am not to expect it for at least two months more.[86]

In January of 1939, the following year, she wrote that she was in Arizona as a member of the Phelps-Stokes Fund party to study Navajo Affairs. She was thrilled about the opportunity and thought that the study was interesting. She also reported that Rose Whipper, the woman he had inquired about years earlier, was at Fort Wingate. She had married and

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[86]Deloria, letter to Boas,

was in better circumstances. Dr. Boas thanked her for the letter and said, "I hope my own financial affairs for scientific work will be straightened out within a few weeks and if there is anything I can do for you I shall be only too glad to do it."[87]

Meanwhile another acquaintance of Ella Deloria's, J. B. Reuter of Casper, Wyoming, was also trying to secure some financial support for the investigation which Ella Deloria described in the letter above.[88] She was also receiving correspondence from John Harrington of the Bureau of American Ethnology. He had written her earlier always asking her to translate certain terms for him. In a letter of May 6, 1939, he said it was of greatest importance to secure her services for philological and place-name work. But, oddly enough, he wrote, "Please don't say anything about having received this letter from me or about our plans to any living soul. I know an Indian can keep a secret, and we moderns can do as well."[89] Ella Deloria thought the letter rather strange and sent it to Dr. Boas.

In May she wrote Boas from Fort Defiance, Arizona, that she still had no definite plans but that she wished to write the book on the ceremonies if she could find someone to sponsor the work. She also gave her final opinion on the Walker materials.

> If an investigator were to find those versions in the way Walker has them, and especially that scheme of

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[87]Deloria, letter to Boas, 23 January 1939.

[88]J. B. Reuter, letter to Boas, 8 March 1939.

[89]John P. Harrington, letter to Deloria, 6 May 1939.

> fours, the gods arranged in classes and hierarchies, which I personally still strongly feel to be the work of a systematic European mind, I should be most interested and surprised. But I should still suspect that, even if they reached such an investigator by some other route, it was from the same source, the Dakota who invented those tales, and Walker, who classified the gods in that scheme. One cautious informant who is careful not to discount anything, said, 'Doubtless those stories were our people's folk-tales before the white man appeared; and our people believed in them in those early days.'
>
> But it does not seem probable or possible that, if they were ever told about in the tribe, currently as are our Iktomi tales even yet, they should disappear so completely from the repertoires of all tribal storytellers, save one! That is still my opinion.[90]

In July, Ella Deloria returned to Flandreau, South Dakota, to plan the community program for the new community house recently completed. She had also had more correspondence from Dr. Harrington.

> Dr. Harrington must be an odd fellow. I have had numerous requests for information about accents, pronunciations etc. of place names, for the last two springs, always with the prize dangling before me that very shortly I was to be sent out for locating ancient names to places in this region and Wyoming. But when June arrived, each spring, he suddenly stopped writing altogether. Now he has told me that he has asked for me to assist him in Washington in preparing the Dakota grammar for the Indian Service. He is the one to do it. Does he know as much Sioux as you do? . . . Anyway, I am not setting any hopes on his promises any more. So I shan't be hurt when this latest does not work out, as I am sure it won't. Father Buechel of St. Francis, S.D., has his grammar out now, so he will probably be the one to be asked.

She commented that she had looked through the Lakota Grammar by Buechel. "It has a lot of mistakes, though it also has some good

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[90]Deloria, letter to Boas, 12 May 1939.

points. . . ."[91]

In September she went back to Martin to stay at Vine's. His house and the other buildings at the Crow Creek Mission had been nearly totally destroyed by a tornado. She had no further plans but suggested to Dr. Boas that it might be well to go to Canada and do some research on the Santee there. He agreed that it would be a worthwhile project and said he would try to find the money for it. He also asked her to look over what Buechel said about vowel length in his grammar. She did and said she found it impossible to agree with. It did not seem to her that there was the great distinction between long and short vowels that he was making.[92]

Dr. Boas, at eighty-one years of age, was engaging in less work than he had in the past. In December he wrote to Ruth Benedict that he was "feeling old and tired" and bemoaned the fact that the Dakota Grammar "is slumbering in the Government Printing Office."[93]

In January, 1940, Ella Deloria went to Silver Creek, New York, to do some writing for the Episcopal Church. Dr. Boas also wished her to read the proofs of the Dakota Grammar. She completed the church work and stayed in New York from March until late summer. She worked on the Dakota materials again and also on a copy of the Pond manuscript from the Minnesota Historical Collections. She had been asked to go to North

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[91]Deloria, letter to Boas, 17 July 1939.

[92]Deloria, letter to Boas, 17 September 1939 and 9 October 1939.

[93]Mead, Ruth Benedict, p. 416.

Carolina to study the life of the mixed group down there and work up a community pageant and farmer's fair under the aspices of the Farm Security Administration. She arrived at Pembroke, North Carolina, on July 31, 1940, and wrote a very interesting report to Dr. Boas on what she found there.

> These people are the supposed 'Croatans' who call themselves Indians but are very much mixed up. A study sponsored by the Indian Office some time ago and conducted by some physical anthropologist from Harvard--Dr. Carl Selzer, I think--showed only ten out of every hundred as showing more than half Indian blood, or half Indian blood. How they arrived at this I don't know. They took blood tests, though I don't see how that would prove race, and cephalic indexes, and also they studied the hair for its straight or curly properties. It is true that they are largely mixed with negro blood, because some show it undeniably; but also there are as many that are so white, with blue eyes and blond hair and with very fine features, that I should not guess were Indian, except for their reticent manner.
>
> There is no trace of language among them except English. Isn't that quite extraordinary? They want to be Indians so much; but can't produce a single bit of folklore or tradition or a word of Indian speech. Might that be due to some time in their history when all the mothers were non-Indian? I notice that in the Sioux country, children of white men and Indian mothers are steeped in folklore and language, but children of white mothers and Indian fathers are often completely cut off from the tribal folk-ways. If every Dakota woman disappeared today, and all the men took white wives, then the language and customs would die, but otherwise I do not see how they would. I am asked to make up a dramatic sort of program, a pageant, based on what, if anything, can be salvaged in the way of artistic and dramatic material there is to be found. I doubt very much if I can find anything; the Washington office doubts it too; but quite consciously they want me to produce something, imaginary if necessary, which will give these people a chance to cooperate on something that would draw attention to them in a better light than they have been in for sometime. . . .

> But because of the evident negro blood in many, the name Croatan has come to be used with a contemptuous meaning by local white people, so the Indians got it changed to Cherokee, because they read somewhere that some theory gives the idea that they stemmed from the Cherokees of North Carolina. But when that did not do the trick, they again read a paper by Swanton saying they were probably Cheraws, a Siouan group. So in recent years they have been working to get a bill passed calling them the 'Souans.' 'Su-ons' is the local pronunciation. But some want to remain Cherokee. So there are two factions, the Cherokees and the Su-ons, and the resulting minor feud makes any cooperative enterprise a bit complicated. I probably will have some trouble there; maybe that will be my stumbling block. I don't know.[94]

She wrote again in September more about the people.

> They are very gentle, quiet people and most cordial and friendly to visitors. They certainly have been nice to me. But they are most pathetic in that they are discriminated against by the white people in the county and they feel hurt, and have been for generations. The whites resent them because of their negro strain which they can't lose if they try, because it is against the law in Carolina for them to marry any but their own people. But some of their young people are now going to other colleges outside Carolina where they are excluded, and coming home with white wives, who marry them because they think they are Indians. Then when they get here the local white people shut them out of their homes. It is a sorry mess, and there seems no way out for them.[95]

She wrote in December that the pageant had been a huge success. The people were able to bank $300 for future pageants. According to Mrs. Elizabeth O'Maynard with whom I spoke by telephone, the people appreciated greatly the help Ella Deloria had given them with their pageant. They wished that she and Susie would have remained with them. The pageant was performed again the next year, but gradually the interest

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[94]Deloria, letter to Boas, 7 August 1940.

[95]Deloria, letter to Boas, 9 September 1940.

in it faded.[96]

The following June, 1941, Ella Deloria was back in New York. She visited with Dr. Boas and then wrote to him before she left hoping to find some financial support for her plan to investigate the Santees in Canada. She wrote again from Brookings, South Dakota, in July. She had been giving some lectures on Indian culture: one series at Oberlin College and another at Brookings. The talks were well received and she was pleased with the audiences' responses. She was also working on some material for Ruth Benedict throughout the summer.[97] Dr. Boas was at his summer place in Cornwall Bridge, Connecticut. The work she did under the direction of Benedict included the transcribing of forty-one ethnographic and folkloristic texts recorded by Gideon Pond. The Teton versions were added to the Santee by Ella Deloria. The last letters from Dr. Boas were written in November of 1942. He died shortly after that on December 21. Ella Deloria continued her work after that but she missed his help and guidance very much.

Ella Deloria received two grants from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society in 1943 and 1944 for research. During these years she investigated Dakota ethnology. She explained her purpose in her report to the Society.

> Not only what a people do, but how they <u>think</u> and <u>feel</u> to make them do it, are important to an understanding of their culture as a whole. For those inner workings one must go to the people themselves. This account of Dakota

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[96]Elizabeth O'Maynard, telephone conversation, 16 April 1974.

[97]Deloria, letter to Boas, 15 July 1941.

> life, as it was experienced by those inside it and told frankly in their own language to one of their number, who in turn can interpret ambiguities and supply illustrations from personal experience and observation as a participant of the life, will, it is hoped, be of a certain value because of its first-hand character to subsequent studies of communities.[98]

Her recommenders for the grants in 1943 were Ruth Benedict, Gene Weltfish, Gladys Richard, (all of Columbia University), and Scudder Mekeel (of the University of Wisconsin), and Dr. Edward Kennard (anthropologist for the Indian Bureau). Her recommenders in 1944 were the same with the exception of Dr. Kennard.[99] On April 22, 1944, Ella Deloria read her paper "Dakota Treatment of Murderers" to the American Philosophical Society.

Ella Deloria used the grant funds to support her investigation of early ceremonies and beliefs. Margaret Mead wrote an introduction for this manuscript entitled, The Dakota Way of Life. "It is a unique account of the functioning of family life among the Dakota in days that are gone, informed by a conscious blending of disciplined scientific inquiry and warm human appreciation of the survival among present-day Dakota of many of the attitudes that accompanied life in the tipi. With literary abilities unfortunately only too rare among ethnographers, and a generous willingness to draw upon her own personal experiences, Ella Deloria has produced a volume which supplements, in

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[98]American Philosophical Society Yearbook (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1944), p. 221.

[99]Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., librarian of the American Philosophical Society, letter, 5 April 1974.

cadence and image, the formal descriptions with the introspective psychological reality."[100] Unfortunately, the manuscript was not published. It is now at the Institute for Indian Studies at the University of South Dakota.

In May of 1944 her book on the social organization of the Dakota, Speaking of Indians, was sponsored by the Missionary Education Movement, and published by Friendship Press.

In December of 1948, Ella Deloria received another grant to continue her research. She was given $600 by the Viking Fund administered by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Her article, "Short Dakota Texts, Including Conversations," which appeared in the International Journal of American Linguistics in 1954 was among the work subsidized by the Wenner-Gren Foundation. Her last report to the American Philosophical Society was made in 1952.[101]

St. Elizabeth's School

In 1955, Ella Deloria was asked by Bishop Gesner, director of Episcopal Missions, to assume the directorship of the Mission school near Wakpala, South Dakota, where she had first attended school and where her father had served as priest for so many years. It appeared that no research funds would be forthcoming, and she, accompanied by her sister, agreed to take the responsibility temporarily until someone else could be found. They stayed for three years.

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[100]Mead, Introduction.

[101]Bell, letter, 5 April 1974.

St. Elizabeth's Mission had changed somewhat since her childhood. From the time of its founding in 1890 until the mid-depression years, St. Elizabeth's taught all of its children in its own buildings, but some of these were destroyed by fires and the Church was reluctant to put more money into its rebuilding. It was difficult to find qualified teachers who were willing to go to such a remote area for the little money available. Then, too, a school district was established at Wakpala only a short distance away. The children lived in dormitories at the Mission but were taken by bus down to Wakpala and back daily for their instruction.[102]

The school at Wakpala had several disadvantages. "The curriculum down in the village," said Ella Deloria to William Chapman, who became her replacement, "is geared so low that almost anyone can pass, and practically everyone gets passed anyway. In the old days when teaching was done at St. Elizabeth's, the children got a better education."[103] There was considerable rivalry between the children of the Mission and the townspeople. According to Mrs. Noreen Crawford who was a student there at the time, the friction often resulted from a "town" boy dating a Mission girl or vice versa. There was also some vandalism--perhaps only the result of youngsters who had little else to do. Ella Deloria complained that boys from the village came up late at night and "tore around" the yard in their cars. There were the usual problems of the

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[102]William Chapman, Remember the Wind: A Prairie Memoir (New York: J. B. Lippincott, Co., 1965), pp. 39, 56.

[103]Ibid.

boarding school children running away to go home or elsewhere.[104] Even so, a good many parents preferred to send their children there than to the government boarding schools because they felt they received better care and they were able to visit them more often and have them at home for weekends and holidays. The school housed about forty-five children, about an equal number of boys and girls.

Sophie Manydeeds, a resident of McLaughlin, South Dakota, first knew Ella Deloria when Ella Deloria was the principal at St. Elizabeth's school. Mrs. Manydeeds sent her adopted daughter to live there. She said, "Miss Deloria was a very conscientious person. She tried in every way she could to help all the students there and the parents as well. We would always visit together, speaking the Lakota language, of course."[105]

Ella Deloria and her sister, Susie, lived in the main building in a small apartment where there was also a small office. On one side was the older girls' dormitory with a housemother's room in the front of the building. Upstairs were two rooms for the matrons and double bunks for sixteen little boys on the west side and twenty-two little girls on the east side. The fire escape, the cylindrical kind that you slide down, was padlocked. Ella Deloria explained that it had to be or the older girls would use it to go downtown after the lights were out.[106]

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[104] Ibid.

[105] Interview with Sophie Manydeeds, McLaughlin, South Dakota, 31 January 1974.

[106] Chapman, p. 60.

In the basement was the dining room which could seat about seventy people and the kitchen. The facilities were not the best--consisting of a gas range, a porcelain sink, and a huge grey cooler. Although the cooler kept things a little cool, it did not make ice. In addition, off the back of the kitchen was an area which served as a laundry and contained an old electric washer and dryer and some slate tubs. There was also a locked room which contained miscellaneous rummage sent to the school from all over the country. There was also a small chapel and a lounge. In the evenings Ella Deloria read the prayers and played hymns on the piano. Mr. Chapman commented that she played extremely well.[107]

In addition to the main building there was the director's house which the Deloria's did not use, the main church, and the rectory. The Mission also maintained a herd of about forty-five cattle.

Drinking water still had to be hauled from Wakpala in milk cans as the water produced by the well was inadequate for drinking. Because the salaries were so low, it was difficult to get many people who would stay for any length of time, and there were also problems with maintenance, since most of the buildings were in need of repair.

When Chapman first met Ella Deloria, he commented that he was surprised to find a woman of such style and refinement. He did not get to know Susie Deloria well because she generally stayed within the house and seldom spoke to visitors although the children enjoyed her very much.[108]

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[107] Ibid., p. 78.

[108] Ibid., p. 57.

It is apparent that Chapman knew very little about Indian children and the Indian community in general. Ella and Susie Deloria stayed on for a few days to help acquaint him with the situation.

> Miss Deloria had thoughtfully worked out a complete list of all the children in the school--there were 45 at the time: where they were from, what their backgrounds were like, who was responsible for them, who would and could pay the $100 yearly tuition. It cost about $600 a year for each child; the difference was made up by the Home Missions department of the Episcopal Church in New York and by private contributions. Miss Deloria had been running the place on a budget of about $30,000 a year, including salaries. . . . Other help came in the form of supplies from Church headquarters in New York: bedding, dresses, blue jeans, underwear, gloves, hats, medical supplies, and other things, all first rate.[109]

Ella Deloria met with Mr. and Mrs. Chapman in her office and explained to them as well as she could in a brief time about the children and their families.

> They don't all come from Standing Rock. They also come from Cheyenne River, Rosebud, Pine Ridge, and some of them come from smaller reservations like Lower Brule and Crow Creek. They come in all ages, from 6 to 19 or 20, boys and girls. Some will come from remote parts of the big reservations and hardly know any English at all. Others from places like Flandreau and Sisseton will know little Dakota, and some of the older boys and girls will know more than they should about many things. But, heaven knows, they all need help. Maybe now more than ever.
>
> I'll try to explain that, she went on. In the old days, the Dakota people were about as permissive with their children as any people anywhere. Discipline was slight and physical punishment practically unheard of. Children were loved and pampered. At the age of puberty, they were prepared for adulthood through

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[109] Ibid., p. 75.

training, fasting, and other ceremonies.

> Indian parents are still permissive, but when the children arrive at the point where the tribal disciplines of entering into adulthood formerly took over, there is now nothing to take its place, and many children find themselves in a world of anarchy.
>
> We have more of it now around here than we used to. Boys from the village come tearing through the grounds at night, racing their automobiles around the buildings. Nothing like this ever used to happen. That is why I say that schools like St. Elizabeth's are needed now more than ever.[110]

Later Chapman reported that he was appalled to find that there were no individual files kept on the children in the school. He seemed not to have realized that the kind of information Ella Deloria gave him was of a greater value for understanding the Indian community than what he would find in official school reports. He read her book, Speaking of Indians, but even so he reports being puzzled by Indian behavior. For example, he writes, "I spent a long time trying to get boys to 'look me in the eye' before I learned that the rudest thing a young boy can do to an elder is just that. He must stand with his head bent, looking quietly down."[111]

Although Ella Deloria was not employed as a teacher she did have a great influence on the children. When I asked Mrs. Crawford, a former resident of St. Elizabeth's, what she remembered most about Ella Deloria, she said, "She always told us 'Be proud you're an Indian!" She liked to

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[110] Ibid., pp. 75-76.

[111] Ibid., pp. 114-115.

tell them stories, play the piano for them, and teach them to sing songs. On Saturday nights when the weather was good she used to take them to Mobridge to the movies. Religious instruction, too, was an important part of her work there.

Ella and Susie Deloria left St. Elizabeth's in 1958. Ella Deloria wanted to devote more time to her writing and found it impossible to do with the many responsibilities at the Mission. In 1959 and 1960 she was employed at the Sioux Indian Museum and Crafts Center in Rapid City, South Dakota. She translated some of the Catalogue of the museum holdings into Dakota and also wrote an informal commentary on Dakota tribal organization and dialects.[112]

University of South Dakota

In the fall of 1960, Ella Deloria continued to work on the translations for the Rapid City Museum and also traveled to Kansas City, Dallas and Tuscon giving a series of talks under the auspices of the Episcopal Church. During this period of time, she also continued working on The Dakota Way of Life manuscript. Robert Hall, who was then director of the Institute for Indian Studies at the University of South Dakota in Vermillion, began a search for grant money which would allow Ella Deloria to become associated with the University in the capacity of field research.[113] Ella Deloria remained in Tuscon until January of 1961 when

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[112]Rena McGhan, Acting Curator of Museum, letter, 1 May 1974.

[113]Robert Hall, letter to Deloria, 29 November 1960.

she wrote to Hall that she was occupied with two appointments at that time. She was Chairman of the Committee on Indian Education and also a board member of the Association on American Indian Affairs. She was planning a trip to Denver for about five days to serve on a committee of three who were to pass on the requests for scholarship aid for Indian students.[114]

Hall wrote again later that he had been able to locate some of her materials on Dakota word stems, Dakota word lists, as well as the legends she had recorded from Santee informants. The materials had been donated to the American Philosophical Society by Dr. Ernst P. Boas.[115] She replied on January 17, "I am delighted to have some of my material localized. I was not in New York when Dr. Boas' papers were disposed of and even Columbia did not know because they were his own material though mine was included for his reference."[116] In February, 1961, Ella Deloria went to the University of South Dakota in the capacity of Assistant Director of the W. H. Over Museum. She was to continue her linguistic and anthropological research particularly on the Lakota language materials. The University received 1,370 pages of verbal and nominal roots, analyzed and defined on small cards and some pages of completed text.[117] The funds from the University were to continue through

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[114]Deloria, letter to Hall, 6 January 1961.

[115]Hall, letter to Deloria, 11 January 1961.

[116]Deloria, letter to Hall, 17 January 1961.

[117]"Proposed Summer Research in Siouan Linguistics," Institute of Indian Studies, University of South Dakota.

August.

Ella Deloria went to Rapid City for July and August where she worked on manuscripts and also collected new data from native speakers. Museum News, the official publication of the W. H. Over Museum at the University, published the article, "The Origin of the Courting Flute," which was based in large part on the Santee materials Ella Deloria had collected earlier for Dr. Boas. Realizing that the Museum funds and the University funds would not be adequate to support the kind of work Ella Deloria was capable of, Hall began a broader search for financial support. Although she was still in excellent health and willing to continue her work, her age, seventy years old, was a decided disadvantage in trying to secure long-range support. She stayed in Rapid City until Christmas and then went to Pierre to look after Vine Deloria's property while he and his family went to Puerto Rico.

Finally a sponsor was found. The National Science Foundation awarded a grant of $15,500 to the Institute of Indian Studies. Ella Deloria was appointed principal researcher on February 1, 1962, and the grant was to run for two years. The objectives of the project were to complete the compilation of the exhaustive lexicon of root words in Lakota dialect, with basic meanings, supply a listing of important words derived from these roots, and include notes indicating archaic, local, and oratorical usages, as well as an English-Lakota index for purposes of cross-referencing the contents. In addition to the materials released by the American Philosophical Library new forms were to be added.[118]

[118]"Project Proposal: Preparation of Dictionary Materials in the

In addition to working on the dictionary materials, Ella Deloria was often asked to participate in various conferences on Indian education and make presentations on Indian culture. For example, in 1963 she made such a presentation, an Indian Leadership Seminar, at Eau Claire, Wisconsin.

Her work was interrupted by the illness and death of her beloved sister and lifelong companion. Susie became ill during the summer and had major surgery for cancer. She died August 29, 1963. Ella Deloria had to bear all of the expenses, but she wrote to General Moses at the University "that was as I wanted it to be." Nevertheless she was unable to continue the work until January of 1964.[119] The grant was continued without additional funds until 1966.

St. Mary's School

After that she had to accept various assignments for the money she needed to continue her research. One of these assignments was to lecture at St. Mary's Indian School for Girls at Springfield, South Dakota. St. Mary's is a private institution supported principally by the Episcopal Church, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the tuition that was paid by the girls who attended. It is a boarding school with approximately fifty students from grades five through high school. The headmaster, Mr. Kenyon Cull, was originally from England. After serving in

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Lakota Sioux Dialect," Institute of Indian Studies, University of South Dakota.

[119]Deloria, letter to General Moses, 18 August 1968.

the Missionary Service in Turkey, he came to St. Mary's in 1955. He first met Ella Deloria in the summer of 1957 at St. Elizabeth's. She told him at that time she would very much like to visit the school. Accompanied by Susie, she first went to St. Mary's to lecture in 1962. She was invited back many times and became a close friend of Mr. Cull and his wife. According to Mr. Cull:

> She came to about four workshops between 1963 and 1970 for members of the DAR who sponsor our school. Most of them were high ranking officers in the DAR who came to learn more about our school and our needs. . . . There were two things which were the highlights of the workshops. One was to hear Ella Deloria and the other was to go on a tour of the reservations. Ella would first give the background information on the culture and behavior. I remember one lady in particular from Greenwich Village--she was absolutely dressed to the nines and she didn't even bring a pair of relaxing shoes. She couldn't even take one of the trips because she hadn't got anything to wear. She couldn't leave New York behind even for this short time! But she listened absolutely rapt to Ella Deloria and then she said, 'But, Miss Deloria, this was a culture without competition!' and Miss Deloria said, 'How true it is. That is why there are problems today.' The New York woman could not envision a culture without competition. . . .
>
> She would have those ladies spellbound. The lecture began at 9:00 and at 11:30 they were asking for more. You know, it's an extraordinary and rare person who can do this. The ladies would ask questions and she'd come right back with the answers. She had this delightful way of almost convincing you that she'd lost the theme because the story was so long. But then she'd come back with the right idea. How she did this I don't know.

According to Mr. Cull she had an incredible fund of stories, each one more fascinating than the one before. He regretted that he did not record any of them.[120]

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[120]Interview with Kenyon Cull, Springfield, South Dakota, 15 March 1974.

He did recall, however, some of what she said in one lecture. "Our heritage is rich and good; therein were the roots of our forebears. Use it, respect it, and be sympathetic with those who still live entirely by it. Rooted plants thrive and grow. Cut flowers wither and die. Which shall it be?"

She was also fond of quoting from Western Star by Stephen Vincent Benet:

> They were neither yelling demon nor Noble Savage,
> They were a people . . . A people not yet fused,
> Made one into a whole nation, but beginning
> As the Gauls began, or the Britons that Caesar found,
> As the Greeks began, in their time.
>
> They were a people, beginning--with beliefs,
> Ornaments, language, fables, love of children
> (You will find that spoken of in all the books)
> And a scheme of life that worked.[121]

Ella Deloria also spent much of her time with the students at St. Mary's. Sharon Stone from Pine Ridge was a student there from 1964 until she graduated in 1968. This is her description of the meetings.

> Ella Deloria came frequently during the four years I was at St. Mary's. She would stop in and visit with Libby Cadotte who was from California. Ella was her grand aunt. During the religious instruction in the mornings, she would take the upper class of junior and seniors. She talked to us about Indian legends and feelings about people and what we thought. She always got us to participate in the discussion. It was quite interesting because she was a very firey person. Just having her in the room made us feel tickled and happy. Of course, in the school we were fairly isolated from relatives and home. We only went home for Christmas vacation. We spent Thanksgiving and Easter at the school. When someone like Ella Deloria came in and

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[121] Ibid.

> spent some time, it was almost like having your grandmother come to visit you. She never taught us the academic subjects, like math and science, but as far as giving us a cultural view of the Indian, she was the best! She would often relate a lesson through a story or legend and it would stick in your mind. For example, some of the girls were having a hard time studying and so she told us a story about a bear who didn't pack away his goods and didn't follow instructions of his fellow bear leaders. Because of that he wasn't ready for winter and he froze. I think this was a story to tell us that if we didn't prepare ourselves we wouldn't be able to survive the future.[122]

In the evenings after dinner Ella Deloria would come over to the school to the study halls or the school building and see how everybody was doing. She would talk to everybody and hug the little girls who were so often homesick. "She'd make them feel like she was their grandmother and everything was going to be all right. A lot of the kids got really attached to her." All of the girls felt bad when she left but she always came back again. In 1968 she spent two months at the school meeting with the juniors and seniors every day. Of the five girls in the class only one spoke Lakota. Even though the others either did not know their language or were from different parts of the country, Ella Deloria encouraged them to learn their own languages while they were at home.

> When she'd tell the legends, she would tell them first in Lakota, and then in English. I remember that Emma Featherman, who was the only girl who knew the language in our class, would always be laughing very hard at some of the stories. When Ella would translate them, she'd say they were not as funny in English. Emma agreed with her, but they were funny in English too.

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[122]Interview with Sharon Stone, Vermillion, South Dakota, 13 March 1974.

> She often said, 'Now, you see, girls, in order to appreciate these legends even more, you should try to learn to speak your own languages.'[123]

At the end of the course, which included other speakers in addition to Ella Deloria, the girls were asked to write their opinions of the experience. Exerpts of these comments were printed in the school paper, The Bugle in March, 1966.

> I enjoyed the course and wish everyone would take it. If they did, they would understand us Indians better. If someone of a different race asked me something about my people, now I would be able to explain it to them.
>
> -Janice Chapman

> I learned in this course that as Indians we have a great heritage to be proud of. I know now that not all the people look down on Indians, and I'm proud to be one. Others are trying to help us, and we should do as much as we can for others too.
>
> -Alice Goodhouse

> My first impression of the course was, 'Do I have to learn all the things I already know?' Well, I came in and received the shock of my life. I hadn't known half of the things I learned this year. I'm sure there are many things yet to be learned, but since our time was limited, they couldn't be taught.
>
> -Alice Mound

> The main thing I have learned is that the Sioux weren't the only Indians. I have learned to appreciate all Indian tribes and appreciate even more my own Dakota culture. I didn't realize that there were other chiefs besides Crazy Horse, Sitting Bull, etc. One that I admire is Osceola, and I never heard of him before this course. Tecumseh is perhaps the greatest, but I had only heard the name in a satirical poem and so thought it was made up. Too many people are ignorant of the

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[123] Ibid.

> Indian and his present problems, including those of us who are Indians.
>
> -Wanda Janis[124]

Another reason that Ella Deloria was so appreciated by the girls was that she had a tremendous sense of humor and would joke about her self to put others at ease. According to Sharon Stone:

> She was a heavy set lady about average height. She seemed very tall to me then, but when I think back now, maybe it was just because I thought of her as being so wonderful in her attitudes about life that it made her seem taller. She wore her hair in a bun. She wore glasses some of the times. She used to tease about her glasses. She used to sit in the classroom and start reading a paper. Then, all of a sudden, she'd remember that she had to wear them and put them on, and say something like, 'I don't think this is really necessary, but I guess my mind says it is so.' I don't think there was a girl in the school who ever said any mean words about her because she was so friendly and always had a smile on her face for everybody. She was a warm-hearted person who reached out to everyone.[125]

She always made a point of encouraging them in everyway she could.

> Even if she knew many of the girls had had problems and perhaps misbehaved, she would always say something like, 'You girls are doing so fine. I'm really happy about you. I like to be here and I hope that I'll always be welcome.'

Every year she told them that they had made great progress and that they had each helped to make the school better. Sharon commented that the speeches were always a praise and encouragement. "Even though you knew in your heart you had done something wrong, you would say to your-

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[124] The Bugle, vol. X, no. 1 (March, 1966), pp. 2, 6.

[125] Interview with Sharon Stone.

self, if she thinks I'm so good, I've got to try harder. She never ever bawled us out."[126]

Even though she was very knowledgeable and well educated, she was always quick to give credit to the others who had helped her and to do everything thoroughly and well. Mr. Cull commented that she would preface her very excellent lectures by saying that she had learned much from Dr. Boas of Columbia University. "This was real humility, not just a kind gesture." He went on to say that she was very meticulous in everything that she did. At one time the girls at St. Mary's wished to put out a yearbook for the school and they wanted to use Indian symbols throughout the book to show the progress through school to graduation. They wanted the correct Dakota word to express the idea. Mr. Cull wrote to Ella Deloria and received an eight-page letter in reply in which she carefully explained four different words which conveyed the meaning. The one they choose meant a path going over a hill indicating that one had already achieved something by getting to the top of the hill and was then ready for the life on the other side. Alvin Josephy, the editor of the American Heritage books, also came to the school to lecture, and he commented to Mr. Cull that Ella Deloria's authority could always be counted on without further checking.[127]

Ella Deloria's research grant for the Lakota dictionary was again extended in 1966 and she continued other work as well. For example,

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[126] Ibid.

[127] Interview with Kenyon Cull.

Sophie Manydeeds was sent to Vermillion in 1966 to learn from Ella Deloria how to conduct a language class. She thought she learned a good deal from her and enjoyed very much being able to talk with her. Later, when Mrs. Manydeeds assisted with the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Lakota language classes at the University of North Dakota, she would always think of Ella Deloria. "If some of the students asked a question, I tried as well as I could to answer them as Miss Deloria would have. I did the best I could to follow in her footsteps. She was truly an outstanding Indian woman."[128]

In the spring of 1967, the Museum News published her article, "Some Notes on the Yankton," which contained data she had collected earlier. In the May-June issue, "Some Notes on the Santee," was published. In addition to preparing these works for publication, she also gave her lectures at St. Mary's School. The following year she taught for the Nebraska Teacher Corps and put in six months of time writing on the Yankton claims report. Even though she was eighty years old, she still liked to travel and visit with her friends. Unfortunately, her health was not as good as it had been.

She participated in a summer workshop at Blue Cloud Abbey near Marvin, South Dakota. According to Father Stanislaus Maudlin, the director of the abbey, she did not give a formal lecture. She preferred to hold informal discussions. Her spontaneous humor and comments were immensely appreciated. "She inspired the Indian people; she delighted

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[128]Interview with Sophie Manydeeds.

and opened up the non-Indian ones."[129]

According to her nephew, Vine Deloria, Jr., who has been a recognized spokesman for the Indians during the last decade, Ella Deloria was delighted with the interest in Indian culture and felt quite at home dealing with Indian cultural values and philosophies. He commented also that "She pointed out factual mistakes in Custer Died for Your Sins and she was in a position to know. I think at times she was embarrassed when I would make a particularly militant speech and I attribute this to an age difference because she was probably 50 years older than I."[130]

A number of the people interviewed said that she never pushed any particular point of view. She always urged people to do the best at what they believed to be right. As many others are, she was critical of the government bureaucracies, church organizations and educational programs which are proposed by those who are too far removed from the reservation situation to understand the needs of the Indian people and to make use of their abilities, especially in leadership roles.

A close friend of Ella Deloria's, during the last years of her life, was Theresa Martin from Fort Yates who was a student at the University of South Dakota. Whenever they would get together for a visit, they always spoke in their native language. According to Miss Martin, Ella Deloria missed her sister, Susie, a great deal and often spoke of their childhood days. Even though she had a number of speaking

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[129]Father Stanislaus Maudlin, letter, 10 April 1974.

[130]Vine Deloria, Jr., letter, 23 April 1974.

engagements and conferences to attend, she appreciated greatly having someone to talk with about various people on the reservation. She was humble and kind and concerned about other people, helping them whenever she could.[131]

She became very ill in 1970 when she was at Springfield. Mr. Cull and his wife insisted on calling a doctor for her. They wanted her to remain with them at St. Mary's, but she was not well enough to do so. She went to a nursing home in Tripp, South Dakota. A little before Christmas, in 1971 Mr. Cull and others of the Deloria family went to visit her. Some of the girls of St. Mary's came to sing carols. She enjoyed their visit and singing. According to Mr. Cull, she was a great Dakota and a great Christian. "There was no deviation with her. She was a truly dedicated individual."[132] In February of that year, at the age of eighty-three, she died. She was buried next to her sister at Phillip the Deacon Church near Lake Andes, South Dakota.

It is unfortunate that Ella Deloria was not able to complete the work on the Lakota dictionary. The manuscript is an invaluable contribution to Lakota language study; but she did express the wish that her materials be turned over to the Institute of Indian Studies at the University of South Dakota. These materials were presented to the University by her brother, Vine Deloria, Sr. They are now being catalogued, and further plans for publication of the materials are being made.

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[131]Interview with Theresa Martin, Fort Yates, 31 January 1974.

[132]Interview with Kenyon Cull.

Each year at commencement at St. Mary's School a scholarship is awarded to the senior girl who best exemplifies the Indian way of life as portrayed by Ella Deloria. Last year, during the centenial celebration of the school, a special Ella Deloria Day was held and about five-hundred people attended. A picture of Ella Deloria is mounted at the front of the main dining hall of the school. The girls of the Indian Dance Club at St. Mary's chose to call their club "Anpetu Waste" in her honor.[133]

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[133] Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

PUBLISHED MATERIAL RELATED TO THE STUDY

Many books and articles have been written about the American Indian; few have been written by them. The purpose of this chapter is to review briefly the published materials about Ella Deloria and the time in which she lived and the contributions she made to the study of the Dakota culture--past and present. Specific references to the life of Ella Deloria are few: these are given in the section labeled "Biographical." The historical section contains representative histories of the Dakotas from 1850 to the present and biographical studies of Indians of the plains. There are numerous anthropological studies; I have selected only those which are directly related to the subject of this paper. Of the literature written in the Dakota language, there is no other work as authentic and complete as Ella Deloria's Dakota Texts. Although there are other grammars of Dakota, which I have discussed here, Ella Deloria's differs from them in being a description of the Dakota language structure rather than an application of Latinate or English grammars to the language. Of the dictionaries, Father Eugene Buechel's is the most complete and most contemporary. Ella Deloria's dictionary manuscript is yet unpublished but contains features, such as etymologies

and dialect comparisons, not included in that by Buechel. Ella Deloria did not write on the contemporary problems of the Dakota Indian, but her works, especially Speaking of Indians, provide meaningful background information to the current publications in which her contributions are generally acknowledged.

Biographical

Little biographical information about Ella Deloria exists in published form. The earliest references are found in Sarah Emelia Olden, The People of Tipi Sapa (1918). Olden was a teacher at St. Elizabeth's Mission near Wakpala, South Dakota, in 1915 and 1916. The book contains a biographical sketch of Ella Deloria's father, the Reverend Philip J. Deloria (Tipi Sapa). A brief biographical statement about Ella Deloria's professional achievements up to about 1945 appears in Marion Gridley, Indians of Today (1971). In 1958, William Chapman took over the administration duties of St. Elizabeth's School when Ella Deloria resigned that position. His accounts of meeting her appear in his book Remember the Wind: A Prairie Memoir (1965).

Historical

Numerous histories and biographies of the Dakota Indians and the non-Indians who had contact with them have been published. None of the studies listed here mention Ella Deloria specifically but they do reveal much pertinent information about the people and times in which she lived. They are I ~~have~~ divided ~~them~~ into ~~in~~ the following groups: histories of the Episcopal Church in South Dakota; biographies of Episcopal clergymen; accounts of

the native Dakota religion; biographies of Dakota leaders; and general historical references.

Sources on the early work of the Episcopal missions among the Dakota Indians in South Dakota are Doane Robinson, The History of South Dakota, Vol. I (1904); and an unpublished master's thesis by Norman E. Graves, The History of the Episcopal Church in South Dakota to Statehood (1939). These sources were useful in checking dates and events. They do, however, present their information and interpretations from the non-Indian point of view.

Two biographies on early missionaries contained references to Francis Deloria and Philip Deloria. They are M. A. DeWolfe Howe, The Life and Labors of Bishop Hare (1914) and Winifred Barton, John P. Williamson: A Brother of the Sioux (1919). It was Bishop Hare who sent Deloria to the St. Elizabeth's Mission among the Teton Dakotas. He also was responsible for the establishment of the school at St. Elizabeth's. Reverend Williamson, missionary to the southern Dakota tribes, was responsible for the publication of the Dakota Hymnal and an English-Dakota dictionary.

The beliefs and religious practices among the non-Christian Dakota people are reported by several sources. The following books are generally regarded by Indian scholars as authentic and comprehensive. James Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," in the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Pt. 2 (1896), gives a detailed description of the Messiah religion which spread from tribe to tribe across the plains in the 1890s. Joseph Epes Brown, The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux

(1953), gathered his information from a holy man who sought to preserve the sacred teachings of his ancestors. Black Elk is also the source of John Neihardt's book, Black Elk Speaks (1961). Neihardt gives a biographical account of the spiritual leader as well as descriptions of the rituals. John Fire, Lame Deer, Seeker of Visions (1972) presents a more contemporary account of the practices of the native Dakota religion.

There are many biographical studies of Dakota leaders. They are valuable contributions to history because they represent the Indian perspective on life and events. Charles A. Eastman of the Santee Dakota was a child when the Sioux uprising occurred in Minnesota in 1862-1863. His books include legends and stories of the Santee. Two of them have recently been reprinted: Indian Boyhood (1902) and The Soul of the Indian (1911).

Luther Standing Bear, in My People, the Sioux (1928), relates his experiences growing up among the Teton Dakota. The next four biographies are of the Indian wars of the plains: Stanley Vestal, Sitting Bull: Champion of the Sioux (1932, reprinted in 1957); George Hyde, Red Cloud's Folk: The Oglala Sioux Indians (1937) and Spotted Tail's Folk: A History of the Brule Sioux (1961); and Mari Sandoz, Crazy Horse, the Strange Man of the Oglalas (1945).

The following general histories are useful for providing summaries of the major events affecting the Dakota Indians. Doane Robinson, A History of the Dakota, or Sioux Indians (1904, reprinted in 1956) contains some useful information. Unfortunately, Robinson had little sympathy for the "hostiles" who resisted the white infringements on their land and way

of life. James McLaughlin, in My Friend, the Indian (1910), related his experiences as the Sioux Indian Agent on the Standing Rock Reservation. McLaughlin was responsible for the negotiation of several treaties which were not fulfilled by the U.S. Government. The South Dakota Department of History Report and Historical Collections in 36 volumes, compiled by the South Dakota State Historical Society, contains numerous articles on the Dakota Indian.

Two recent histories, which attempt to present the Indian view of the events from approximately 1850 to 1890 involving the Plains Indians, are Robert Utley, The Last Days of the Sioux Nation (1963), and Dee Brown, Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee (1970).

Anthropological

A complete bibliography of the anthropological studies of the Dakota Indians would run several pages. Only the Navaho tribe of the Southwest has been the subject of more studies. The following books and articles on Dakota Indians have been selected because they are directly related to the work of Ella Deloria. They are divided into the following groups: works collected before Ella Deloria began her studies but edited or translated by her; published materials by her associates at Columbia University; and two fairly recent publications to which she made contributions.

The material for "A Study of Siouan Cults," Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1891), was gathered and translated by James Owen Dorsey from a Dakota informant, George Bushotter, in 1887-

1888. Ella Deloria made corrections and additions on the texts and also provided literal translations and notes.[1] The Bushotter legends are included in her book Dakota Texts (1932). Although Ella Deloria collected most of the material for her article "The Sun Dance of the Oglala Sioux" from Sword, an Oglala informant, she also consulted an early publication by J. R. Walker, "The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVI, Pt. II (1917). Ella Deloria translated and corrected some of the materials collected by Frances Densmore, Teton Sioux Music (1918).[2]

Dr. Franz Boas, as Chairman of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University, dominated the research in American Indian languages and American anthropology from the early 1900s to the 1940s. He was an active field researcher himself and also expected his students to do as much first-hand research as possible. Numerous publications and manuscripts resulted from this work. He preferred that his students publish their own materials. He often reworked and improved the efforts of his students without claiming acknowledgement. However, in the case of Ella Deloria, he did agree to a co-authorship which publicized their collaboration.[3] The works which were published with co-authorship labels

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[1]John F. Freeman and Murphy D. Smith, A Guide to Manuscripts Relating to the American Indian in the Library of the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1966), item 830, p. 119.

[2]Ibid., item 840, p. 120.

[3]A. L. Kroeber, ed.,"Franz Boas: The Man," Franz Boas, 1858-1942, Memoir Series of the American Anthropological Association, no. 16 (1943), p. 26.

are discussed in the chapters under Ella Deloria's materials. In other cases, however, Dr. Boas included her contributions in his own work. In anthropology, these works include Anthropology and Modern Life (1932) and Race, Language, and Culture (1940).

Ruth Benedict published an article "The Vision in the Plains Culture" in American Anthropology (1922) seven years before Ella Deloria came to Columbia. Her later publications, however, were no doubt influenced by Ella Deloria [Ruth Benedict's Patterns in Culture was published in 1934]. Margaret Mead in an introduction to one of Ella Deloria's works indicates that they worked together. Her work is also mentioned in a letter from Dr. Boas to Dr. Benedict in 1930.[4]

Ruth Bunzel writing on "The Economic Organization of Primitive Peoples" in General Anthropology edited by Franz Boas (1938) credits Ella Deloria for supplying unpublished an manuscript on Dakota Ethnology dealing with the "child-beloved" ceremony.[5] Margaret Mead and Jeannette Mirsky, also students at Columbia, made use of the Deloria research materials. "The Dakota" by Mirsky in Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples (1937) is based nearly entirely on Ella Deloria's published and unpublished materials. Although it is difficult to establish how much of Ella Deloria's material later became incorporated into that of Boas, Benedict, Mead, and Mirsky, it is clear that they considered her

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[4]Margaret Mead, An Anthropologist of Work: Writings of Ruth Benedict (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1959a), p. 406.

[5]Ruth Bunzel, "The Economic Organization of Primitive Peoples," General Anthropology, ed. by Franz Boas (New York: D. C. Health & Co., 1938), p. 338.

the best authority on the Dakota people during the 1930s and 1940s.

Ella Deloria is also cited as a source of information in two more recent anthropological studies: Royal B. Hassrick, The Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior Society (1964); and Ethel Nurge (ed.), The Modern Sioux: Social Systems and Reservation Culture (1970).

Language and Literature

Before Ella Deloria began her work, there were not many stories written in the Dakota language or systematic descriptions of it. In the "Introduction" to the International Journal of American Linguistics, which Dr. Boas founded in 1917, he wrote, "We have vocabularies, but excepting the old missionary grammars, there is very little systematic work. Even where we have grammars, we have no bodies of aboriginal texts."[6]

The earliest record of a Siouan langauge was recorded by Father Hennepin in 1680. The earliest printed vocabularly of Naudowessie (Dakota) was in Carver's Travers (1778). The next significant work in the Dakota language was done by Congregational and Presbyterian missionaries.[7] Ella Deloria gives an interesting account of this work. It began with the Pond brothers who came to the Santee-Dakota, then living in the area around the Minnesota River Valley in 1834. They

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[6]Franz Boas, Race, Language, and Culture (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1940), p. 199.

[7]J. W. Powell, "Note by Director," A Dakota-English Dictionary, Stephen Return Riggs (Washington, D. C.: North American Ethnology, 1890), p. v.

began transcribing the language phonetically almost immediately. This work later came into the hands of Dr. Stephen Return Riggs and Dr. Thomas Williamson. In the log house of the fur trader, Renville, who was of French and Dakota descent, they began their work.

> In a bare room with flickering candlelight he [Renville] sits hour on hour of an evening after a hard day of manual work. Dr. Riggs and his helpers are across the table from him. They are working on translations. . . . One of them [Riggs or Williamson] reads a verse--in Hebrew, if it is from the Old Testament and, or in Greek, if from the New. He ponders its essence, stripped of idiom, and then he gives it in French. Renville, receiving it thus in his father's civilized language, now thinks it through very carefully and at length turns it out again, this time in his mother's primitive tongue. Slowly and patiently he repeats it as often as needed while Dr. Riggs and the others write it down in the Dakota phonetics already devised by the Pond brothers.[8]

The New Testament had been translated by 1865 and the whole Bible was ready by 1879.[9] At the same time Riggs was also working on a dictionary and a grammar of Dakota. The dictionary was published in 1852. Riggs died in 1883.[10] His work was continued by James Owen Dorsey of the North American Ethnology Department. The Riggs dictionary, edited by Dorsey, appeared in 1890 and was reprinted in 1968. It contains only brief definitions and few illustrating sentences or explanations of use. The Riggs' Dakota Grammar, Texts and Ethnography edited by Dorsey appeared in 1893. The grammar consists applying the English grammar to the Dakota

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[8]Ella Deloria, Speaking of Indians (New York: Friendship Press, 1944b), p. 103.

[9]Ibid., p. 102.

[10]James Owen Dorsey, ed., "Preface," Dakota Grammar, Texts and Ethnology, Stephen Return Riggs (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1893), p. XI.

language, that is, explanations are made on the basis of parts of speech of the Latinate grammar. As one might expect, there are some inadequacies connected with this approach. The texts consist of one story by Michel Renville with a word by word translation and others by David Grey Cloud and Walking Elk. There are also two translations of Biblical stories into Santee Dakota. The "notes" supplied by Riggs show that he had a very superficial understanding of the language and the techniques of story telling. For example, he writes that the eya ending "seems superflous. But it serves to close up and finish off the expression."[11] As Ella Deloria points out in her Dakota Texts, the keyapi ending which in Lakota dialect corresponds to eya means that the story teller is referring to something he has heard from others. It is not to be attributed specifically to any one person. It is a clear indication of the story text as distinguished from a direct quotation or reported conversation.

Reverend Riggs definitely believed that the Indian would be much better off if he would adopt the beliefs, language, and life style of the white man. "Let a well-arranged severalty bill be enacted into a law, and Indians be guaranteed civil rights as other men, and they will soon cease to be Indians. The Indian tribes of our continent may become extinct as such; but if this extinction is brought about by introducing them into civilization and Christianity and merging them into our great nation, which is receiving accretions from all others, who will deplore the result? Rather let us labor for it, realizing that if by our efforts

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[11]Stephen Return Riggs, Dakota Grammar, Texts and Ethnology, ed. by James Owen Dorsey (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1893), p. 89.

they cease to be Indians and become fellow citizens it will be our glory and joy."[12] Riggs also published two other books in the Dakota dialect. Since they do not contain English translations, it is assumed they were intended for use only by the Indians and the Dakota speaking missionaries. They are the Pilgrim's Progress, from the English original by John Bunyan, (1858); and ABC Wowapi, a spelling book with simple Biblical stories. Reverend John P. Williamson published English-Dakota dictionaries in 1868, 1886, and 1902. Together, Riggs and Williamson produced Odowan (Dakota Hymns) in the Dakota dialect in 1893. There are 167 hymns and selections from the Psalms with no music or English translations. St. Joseph Okalakeceye and Taolowan (Roman Hymnal) by Benjamin White and John C. Blaine appeared in 1919. There are 125 hymns with music, but no English translations. Useful as these books were in the work of the church, they are of limited use to the language scholar. They were all written by non-Indians who had to elicit meanings from native speakers. The grammars are based on the notion that categories of words in Dakota function the same as they do in English.

A Grammar of Lakota by Reverend Eugene Buechel (1939) represents an advance over the earlier works. Although Buechel was not a native speaker, he learned the language thoroughly. There are, however, some limitations in his book as pointed out by Dr. Boas:

> The analysis of Dakota in Buechel's Grammar is based on the theory that every syllable has a meaning. The arrangement is that of an English Grammar with Dakota equivalents. Since much of the material is based on

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[12] Ibid., p. 167.

> Bible translations and prayers, many unidiomatic forms occur. Still, it contains much valuable material in an improved orthography. The distinctions between medials and aspirates have been made properly, except for c and c^c, which are not regularly distinguished. Accents are not always reliable.[13]

Beuchel, who came to South Dakota from Germany in 1902, began collecting words for his dictionary in 1910. He served as priest at St. Francis Mission until his death in 1954. His notes were collected and edited by Reverend Paul Manhart and the Lakota-English Dictionary appeared in print in 1970.[14] Reverend Buechel relied heavily on the Dakota Grammar and Dakota Texts by Ella Deloria. Even though the English-to-Lakota section is incomplete, the dictionary is the most useful of those available.

In 1937 Dr. Franz Boas published "Some Traits of the Dakota Language" in Language. This article is a preview of the more complete grammar which Boas and Ella Deloria published in 1939.

Other than Ella Deloria's Dakota Texts and those materials mentioned above, there is little literature in the Dakota language available today. Frances Densmore, mentioned previously, collected several hundred songs in the original language as well as recording the music. One finds a few speeches and songs in various historical texts such as the works of Charles Eastman and Sarah Olden's The People of Tipi Sapa. There are

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[13]Franz Boas and Ella Deloria, "Dakota Grammar," Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences, XXIII, Second Memoir (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1941), vii.

[14]Joseph Karol, "Life of Father Eugene Buechel," Lakota Dictionary, Eugene Buechel (Pine Ridge, South Dakota: Holy Rosary Mission, 1970), pp. 1-2.

collections of legends written in English. Two of these are Mary Eastman, Dahcotah: Life and Legends of the Sioux Around Fort Snelling (1949, reprinted in 1962) and Marie McLaughlin, Myths and Legends of the Sioux (1916). The American Indian Prose and Poetry: An Anthology edited by Margot Astrov (1946, reprinted in 1962) contains eleven selections of Dakota origin. Most of these are English translations taken from Ella Deloria's Dakota Texts.

Contemporary Problems

In a very real sense the problems of the American Indian today are the same as they were in the past--poverty, unemployment, too little education or the wrong kind of education, and cultural clashes with the dominant society. Numerous statistical studies have defined, described, and measured these problems in every possible way. After wading through mires of this collected data, one is inclined to agree with Vine Deloria, Jr., that if all the money that has gone into "studies" had been given to the Indians, there would not be a problem left to study! Ella Deloria wrote little about political issues, perhaps because she considered herself a scholar in language and culture. In Speaking of Indians she did explain what she believed to be the causes of some of the difficulties faced by Indian people. Her works are quoted in several books. Others in this section are included because the authors present views similar to those of Ella Deloria on contemporary issues concerning the American Indian.

Ella Deloria believed that at least part of the difficulty encountered

by Indian children in schools was caused by cultural conflicts. This theory finds support in an article by Erik Erickson, "Some Observations on Sioux Education," in the Journal of Psychology (1939). In a recent and more comprehensive study, John Bryde, The Indian Student: A Study of Scholastic Failure and Personality Conflict (1970), concluded that cultural conflicts seem to be the cause of a lack of high scholastic achievement among Indian children after the seventh grade.

Some educators believed that the introduction of materials more "relevant" to the cultural heritage of the American Indian Student may help him to improve his self-image and, therefore, his academic achievement. Dr. Edward Kennard, a professor at Columbia University whom Ella Deloria quotes in Speaking of Indians, advocated this approach in "The Use of Native Languages and Culture in Indian Education" (1942). A number of articles have been written by Vernon Malan of the Department of Rural Sociology, South Dakota State University, in which he refers to the work of Ella Deloria. They are "The Value System of the Dakota Indians" (1963); "The Dakota Indian Community" (1961) and others. Another source is The Modern Sioux: Social Systems and Reservation Culture edited by Ethel Nurge (1970). Ella Deloria was among the anthropologists who met in Chicago in 1954 to collect their works for publication in this book. References are made to her contributions as a participant and author.

Since about 1960 young Indian leaders, many of them college graduates, have been building organizations to represent the Indian people. They have consulted traditional leaders on the reservations, community center

leaders in the cities; they have been active in legal suits involving personal rights, treaty rights, restoration of Indian lands, and educational and job opportunities. Demonstrations, such as the occupation of the BIA offices in Washington 1972 and the village of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1973 have been held to protest the continuation of policies which subjugate and destroy the dignity and rights of the Native Americans. Too often the news media reports only the confrontations and acts of violence without a fair explanation of the issues. Documents explaining the position of the Indian activists are available for those who wish to read them. One of the spokesmen of the Dakota Indian point of view is the nephew of Ella Deloria, Vine Deloria, Jr. His publications include Custer Died for Your Sins (1969); We Talk; You Listen (1970); "This Country was a Lot Better Off When the Indians Were Running It" in Red Power: The American Indian's Fight for Freedom (1971); The Red Man in New World Dramas (1971); Of Utmost Good Faith (1971); and God is Red (1973).

Bibliographical

Two useful bibliographical guides to manuscript materials are John L. Freeman and Murphy D. Smith, A Guide to Manuscripts Relating to the American Indian in the Library of the American Philosophical Society (1966) and Raymond J. DeMallie, Jr., "A Partial Bibliography of Archival Manuscript Materials Relating to the Dakota Indians" in The Modern Sioux: Social Systems and Reservation Culture (1970).

CHAPTER V

PUBLISHED WORKS AND MANUSCRIPT MATERIALS BY ELLA DELORIA

In her childhood, Ella Deloria was deeply immersed in the language, legends, customs, and rituals of the Dakota people. The Indians of the plains are a very sociable people who dearly love a gathering of any kind. The birth of a child, a marriage, traditional tribal holidays, and now Christian holidays--all are celebrated with great feasts and "give away" ceremonies. It is a culture rich with music and story-telling. St. Elizabeth's Mission, where her father was an Episcopal priest for about 50 years, was a site of frequent meetings and sociable occasions. This Dakota heritage learned when she was a child had a great effect on Ella Deloria. In reviewing her writings, one finds many stories from this past, but no doubt there were many more that she did not write down. Her friends said that she was never at a loss for words and could always find the right story to illustrate any point she wished to make.

Some of the material for her writing must have come from memory, but how much is not known. Beginning in 1929, when she was appointed research specialist under Dr. Franz Boas at Columbia University, she began the scientific and systematic interviewing and recording of the Dakota language and customs of her people. She continued this work with

the aid of several grants until her illness and death in 1971. In two fields, linguistics and anthropology, her research represents more than half of what is known about the Dakota people. Her careful explanations of Dakota values and their conflicts with modern life do much to show why the behavior of the Indian people is often misunderstood and misrepresented by white observers. In reviewing her major published an unpublished works, I shall describe how these materials have contributed significantly to the literature on the Dakota people in four categories: linguistics, anthropology and sociology, traditional values and customs, and value conflicts in education and economy.

Linguistics

Ella Deloria learned thoroughly the linguistic methods used by Dr. Franz Boas at Columbia Universtiy. She was a tireless field researcher for more than fifty years. All of the materials she wrote on the Dakota language reveal her careful attention to accuracy and her dedication to the preservation and scientific analysis of her native language.

Dakota Grammar

"Notes on the Dakota, Teton Dialect" was published in the International Journal of Linguistics in 1933. Dr. Franz Boas founded the Journal in 1917 and served as editor until 1939.[1] In a headnote to the article, Dr. Boas states: "The following notes are the result of a joint

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[1]A. L. Kroeber, ed., "Franz Boas: The Man," Franz Boas, 1858-1942, Memoir Series of the American Anthropological Association, (July-September, 1943), p. 18.

study by the authors. Ella Deloria speaks Oglala [Lakota dialect] as her mother tongue. The data were all collected and assembled by her as the problems developed in discussion."[2] Included in the article are explanations and examples of the following: phonetics, verbal stems, sound changes, sound symbolism, instrumental prefixes, the future, the imperative, possession of object and indirect object, noun-verb compounds, the independent personal pronoun, the end of the sentence, and the plural. An example page of this work will be found in Appendix A.

This article is an excellent summary of the more detailed information contained in Dakota Grammar. Because it explains the fundamental grammatical properties of the Dakota language, as spoken by the Teton band, it would be very useful both for teaching the language and for analyzing textual material.

Dakota Grammar, also the joint work of Dr. Franz Boas and Ella Deloria, was presented to the National Academy of Sciences Annual Meeting in 1939. It was published in the Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences in 1941.

In the "Preface" Dr. Boas writes about Ella Deloria,

> It is due to her quick grasp of the importance of minute details and her perfect control of idiomatic usage and of an extensive vocabulary that the many apparent irregularities, the significance of the minute accentual peculiarities, and the emotional tone connected with particles could be at least partly presented, although many details may have escaped us. Where there was any doubt in regard to special points, Miss Deloria corroborated them by

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[2]Franz Boas and Ella Deloria, "Notes on the Dakota, Teton Dialect," International Journal of American Linguistics, VIII, (1933), p. 97.

questioning other Tetons.[3]

There are 175 pages of grammatical analysis in the categories of phonetics, morphology, and syntax. The most important feature of the grammar is that it is an attempt to describe Dakota language in terms of its own structure and function. Other grammars, such as those by Riggs and Buechel, are based on the notion that Dakota language can be explained on the basis of how the words operate in English or Latin. Distinctions such as those given in item 2 below which are not made in English were given little or no attention. According to the theories of contemporary linguistics, notably those of transformationalists, understanding a language in the deepest sense means being able to respond to nuances in phonetics and syntax which are not readily apparent to the non-native speaker. It is a complex procedure involving apprehension of the circumstances in which the utterance is made, realizing the cultural implications of the utterance, and grasping the logic of forms which on the surface may appear to be quite illogical. For example, as presented in item 4 below, there is no particular morpheme in Dakota for "he, she and it." But this feature presents no difficulty for the speaker of Dakota--case, gender, and number distinctions are understood by implications or made in other ways. The following list presents some of the more distinctive features of the language explained in detail in Dakota Grammar.

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[3]Franz Boas and Ella Deloria, "Dakota Grammar," Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences, XXIII, Second Memoir (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1941), vii.

(1) There is a fundamental distinction between verbs expressing states and those expressing actions. The two groups may be designated as neutral and active. Most verbs fall into the first category, which includes all of our adjectives. Verbs expressing action include terms that relate to the activities of animate beings, such as going and coming.

(2) The meanings of many verbal stems are very specific--distinctions are made as to the physical properties and forms of objects being described. Other terms are specialized according to the visual or acoustic effect of the condition. Sound symbolism is used to indicate grades of intensity.

(3) The most frequent type of stem has the form consonant-vowel-consonant. A second, less frequent type of stem has the form consonant-vowel.

(4) There are three distinct forms of the personal pronoun: "I, thou, and thou and I." There is no third person pronoun. The active subjects "I" and "thou" differ from the objective forms, but the dual "thou and I" is the same.

(5) The possessive pronoun is strictly differentiated between inseparable and separable forms. Usually, however, possession by the subject is expressed by a verbal element.

(6) Demonstratives express three positions: here, there, and there visible (can be pointed at).

(7) Verbal stems are built up into more complex themes by means of two classes of prefixes, locatives (meaning "against"), and instrumentals (expressing movements of the body, such as "pulling").

(8) Nouns are conceived as classified according to form; the form finds expression in accompanying verbs of position indicating things which lie, stand or sit.

(9) In contrast to the prefixes which refer to the content of the verb, enclitics without accent express situational relations, modalities that do not affect the meaning of the stem complex. Included in this group are the declarative, future, negative, customary, imperative, interrogative, and quotative. Most characteristic is the differentiation of these terms in speech of men and women.

(10) Articles nominalize phrases, and the noun itself has no marking of case.

(11) The general syntactic structure is the subject followed by all its qualifiers, which opens the sentence, and followed by the verb preceded by all its qualifiers, which closes the sentence. The verb may be followed by modal enclitics. The nominal object is one of the qualifiers of the verbal theme and stands near it. Subordinate clauses should be considered as nominalized, the "conjunction" standing at the end of the complex.

(12) A peculiar feature of the language is its tendency to express approval, disapproval, or indifference by three forms of the dative.[4]

The texts included are "The Stingy Hunter," "The Friendship Song" and "The Twin Spirits" from Ella Deloria, Dakota Texts, with literal translations; "The Skeptic," a Santee text from a manuscript written by Samuel Pond in 1839 (Minnesota Historical Society Library) with a literal translation and a free translation; a Santee text from Stephen Return Riggs, Grammar, Texts and Ethnography with a literal translation; and "The Red Fox" in Assiniboin and Teton dialects recorded by Ella Deloria with a literal translation.

The Dakota Grammar by Dr. Boas and Ella Deloria is useful as a reference in learning the spoken language and for understanding the written materials. It is a description of the language in recorded texts by idiomatic speakers in terms of its own syntax, phonology and morphology. In contrast, Dr. Boas comments that the Buechel grammar is based on the theory that every syllable has a meaning and is arranged as an English grammar with Dakota equivalents. "Since much of the material is based

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[4]Ibid., pp. 1-3.

on Bible translations and prayers, many unidiomatic forms occur."[5] An example page from the grammar will be found in Appendix A.

Lakota Dictionary

The Lakota Dictionary consists of approximately 2,000 cards and 1,400 pages of completed text. Ella Deloria began to collect the data while she was employed as a specialist in Dakota language by the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University under the direction of Dr. Franz Boas in 1929. These materials were released for use in the project by the library of the American Philosophical Society. In August, 1962, she was awarded a grant of 15,500 dollars by the National Science Foundation to continue the work. The grant was to cover two more years of research and computation. The purpose of the project was to determine the value of using linguistic data in studying and describing certain non-material aspects of Dakota life and culture. There was to be compiled an exhaustive lexicon of root words in the Dakota language, transcribed in an orthography developed for the Teton dialect, accompanied by their basic meanings; a listing of important words derived from these roots; notes indicating archaic, local, and oratorical usages, and an English-Dakota index for purposes of cross-referencing the contents.[6]

Although there were many interruptions, Ella Deloria continued to

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[5]Ibid., p. vii.

[6]"Ella Deloria Research Materials," The University of South Dakota Bulletin: Institute of Indian Studies, LXXIII (November, 1973), 1.

work on the project for the next nine years. It was an enormous undertaking, and unfortunately she was not able to complete it. An example of one completed page of the dictionary is included in Appendix A.

Among the papers and manuscripts in the Ella Deloria Collection at the Institute for Indian Studies at the University of South Dakota are the following items related to her linguistic work. "Stems in Dakota" is a manuscript of approximately 100 pages of verb stems that were probably part of the data used in the Lakota Dictionary. "Monosyllabic Terms" is composed of 16 pages of materials, with some pages missing, of similar extraction. "100 Item Test List" actually contains 200 items in 17 pages. It was apparently used to establish similarity and dissimilarity of various dialects. Miss Deloria explained her method in a note at the beginning of the material. "Words that show the compiler no possible trace of similarity in origin will be enclosed in parenthesis. Words that are so enclosed, which have a different meaning in Dakota, will be starred and explained in the accompanying notes at the end." Words of five dialects are compared. "Osage, Biloxi, and Ofo are derived from Dorsey's lists; Mandan from the list given in The Mandans by Will and Spinden, checked with some words in 'Mandan Grammar' by Dr. Edward Kennard. The resulting list has been checked with two Mandan informants, mostly for pronunciation and accent. They are David Little Swallow of Newton, North Dakota, and Sally Mary Sage of Halliday, North Dakota."[7]

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[7]Ella Deloria, "100 Item Test List" (unpublished manuscript, Institute of Indian Studies, University of South Dakota), p. 1.

The example below is one of the list.

	English	Dakota	Osage	Mandan	Biloxi	Ofo
52.	heart	cą́té	nó-dse thǫ́-dse	nąátka	yandi	it́canti

The Lakota Dictionary manuscript by Ella Deloria differs from the published dictionaries discussed in Chapter IV. Her data is more consistent in diacritical markings and provides more information than a one or two word definition. The part of speech of the word is given as described in the Dakota Grammar; sometimes comments are made in the entry where the grammatical distinctions are particularly important. In addition to the definition, the situation in which the word can be used is also described. Indications of word origins and dialects in which the word occurs are given.

Lloyd Moses, Director of the Institute of Indian Studies, has directed further work on the dictionary materials and intends to ready them for publication. The Institute has received several requests for the dictionary, some coming from as far away as California and Virginia.

Dakota Texts

Dakota Texts by Ella Deloria first appeared in the American Ethnological Society Publications edited by Franz Boas. It was published in book form in 1932 by G. E. Stechert and Company.

According to the introduction, there are 64 Teton Dakota tales from the Standing Rock, Pine Ridge, and Rosebud Reservations. All were narrated and recorded (in the native language) by Ella Deloria directly from the

story-tellers. Each tale is accompanied by a free translation and by notes on the grammar and customs. In addition, she made a literal translation for the first sixteen tales.

The stories are arranged according to Dakota categories, in two parts, each of which is further divided into two parts, giving four groups in all. The first 39 tales are "intended to amuse and entertain, but not to be believed. All such stories end with the conventional hehą́yelaowihąkę́--'that is all; that is the end.' They may be narrated only after sunset." Of this group the first 28 are best known, oftenest repeated, and furthest removed from the events of the every day life of the Dakota people. "To our minds, they are sort of hang-over, so to speak, from a very, very remote past, from a different age, even from an order of beings different from ourselves." These tales include some mythological characters--Iktomi is one of these. In everyday speech, constant allusion is made to them. For example, "He is playing Iktomi" is understood to mean that a person is posing as a very agreeable fellow simply to get what he wants.

Stories numbered 29 to 39 are not as well known and are of the "novelistic type." "The gods have stepped out of the picture; and while miraculous things continue to take place, they are accepted as something that might have been possible, at least a long while ago, among a people not so different from us."

The stories of the second part (40-64) are regarded as true. The conventional ohukata ending disappears and instead, each tale closes with

ske, "it is said"; and keyapi, "they say." The first group, numbers 40 to 54, are "stories which are accepted as having happened to our people in comparatively recent times, perhaps in the lifetime of the aged narrator's grandfather or great-grandfather." Some are legends of localities. While the miraculous still runs through many of them, they are regarded as occurrences that may happen to someone aided by supernatural powers. The Standing Rock legend from this group appears in Appendix A.

The last group, 55 to 64, includes accounts of events that took place in the local band, and are told to recall the past or to entertain. While all bands have these stories, the ones presented here belong to the Pine Ridge people who told them to Ella Deloria on her first visit in 1931. Most of the others were obtained on the Rosebud Reservation, but number 30 was told in the Yankton dialect by Ella Deloria's father, Philip Deloria.[8]

Ella Deloria then presents a two to five sentence English synopses of each of the 64 tales.

This publication is of great significance for several reasons. First, there is no other single work which contains as much material recorded accurately by a native speaker. Ella Deloria's voluminous notes explain nuances in language and custom that the non-Indian would be likely to miss. She was careful in her selection of informants, and as a result the stories carry an assurance of authenticity. Second, the

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[8]Ella Deloria, Dakota Texts (New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1932), pp. viii-x, passim.

texts provide resource materials for work in syntax and grammatical analysis. The stories which have a word-by-word English translation are especially useful. References to particular tales are made in the Dakota Grammar. In addition, Ella Deloria has included notes on unusual structures, or literary devices, such as the characteristic ske ending. Third, she was an excellent translator. The English versions of the tales are written with careful attention to the style, mood, and idiomatic expressions of the originals. Even a reader with no knowledge of the Lakota language can appreciate the variety and beauty of the legends. There are myths and legends from the distant past. There are stories of love, greed, fear, and war. Taken all together they portray the panorama of Dakota history and culture. This book, better than any other collection, reveals the fully developed art of the Lakota story-teller.

"Short Dakota Texts, Including Conversations," was published in the International Journal of Linguistics in 1954. The editor's note reads: "The following texts are a small fraction of the riches found in the Franz Boas Collection and deposited in the Library of the American Philosophical Society . . . we are indebted to Ella Deloria who not only gave us permission to publish these texts but who also supplied us with addenda and carrigenda for the final version; these were adapted for the paper as it now stands by Beatrice Medicine Garner, a Dakota-speaking graduate student at the 1953 Linguistics Institute."[9]

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[9]Ella Deloria, "Short Dakota Texts, Including Conversations," International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. XX, no. 1 (1954), p. 17.

The article is composed of a number of short statements with free translations and explanatory notes. There are four sections: newly recorded expressions in Dakota; odd words and sayings; a Dakota greeting; and a Dakota proverb. It is probably not necessary to present a summary of each of the sayings, but I would like to quote one of Ella Deloria's comments on a short conversation between her and a woman named Alice. Alice asks where Vine (Ella's brother) is and receives the reply that he is in Washington to give a speech. She says then, "Oh, poor thing! Now why didn't I think to write a speech for him to take along? How thoughtless of me to neglect it! As it is, I can just see how pitifully he will grope about for something to say."

Ella Deloria's comment:

> Alice calls Vine brother-in-law because her husband called Vine, Brother. Or he might have, but they did not know each other. But her husband was a Yankton and as the kinship is figured out from other kinships that still stand, it is logical for Alice's deceased husband whom Vine never knew, to have been Vine's elder brother--and mine. On that basis, Alice jokes with Vine as a brother-in-law, and me as a sister-in-law, and Vine and I joke back. The amusing thing about these remarks of Alice's from the Dakota standpoint, is that obviously, as everyone knows, Vine is really better gifted to speak. It is his line; he has been taught and he does it much better than she ever could. But here she pretends to a higher ability, discounting all the knowledge that Vine has along that line. It does not sound funny in English, but this sort of joshing, about a brother, made to the sister who is expected to fight back for him is the usual style of joking between these two relationships.[10]

This type of an explanation is one that few anthropologists would

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[10] Ibid., p. 19.

be able to give without a thorough understanding of the kinship system and the type of behavior appropriate for the various relationships.

Another comment deals with traditional beliefs as well as linguistic data. The free translation of the statement is, "She better look out, lest the ghosts pull her mouth awry."

Ella Deloria's comment:

> It is believed that when one offends the ghosts by any of the various ways ghosts pull the face of that one into a crooked expression. Strokes resulting in such a thing were of course thought to be the work of malicious ghosts.[11]

This work is an example of Ella Deloria's talent for combining linguistic data and the explanation of behavior and custom.

Anthropology and Sociology

Some of the articles in this section are not very different from those in the Linguistics Category; that is, they also contain textual material in the Dakota language. However, they are placed here because greater attention is given to such matters as behavior, ceremonies, and customs and less attention to matters of language and grammar. Ella Deloria, of course, drew on her own experiences of Dakota culture as a participant, but she was also a trained observer and researcher.

Even though she is scientific in her method, there is little use of the sociological terminology that tends to rob the people of their essential humanity. In her descriptions there is never a suggestion of

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[11] Ibid., p. 20

the "quaintness," smugness or disapproval that one sometimes finds in studies of Indian culture. She maintained a deep respect for her people and their ways--past and present. Even though she was a devoted Christian all her life, she understood, just as her father had, that the spirituality and religious rites of the Dakotas deserved to be treated as sacred. Perhaps that is why her account of the Sun Dance for example, is at the same time more comprehensive and more comprehendable than those written by other anthropologists who were as well trained academically.

Stories of the Santees

"The Origin of the Courting Flute" was translated by Ella Deloria and Jay Brandon and published by Museum News in June, 1961, at the University of South Dakota. This legend in the Santee dialect was secured from Mr. Zenlas Graham of Flandreau, South Dakota, by Ella Deloria in 1941 while she was collecting linguistic material for Dr. Franz Boas.[12]

The story is presented in Santee Dakota with a literal translation and a free translation. The story is about a young boy who fell in love with the daughter of a chief. He wished to marry her, but he was very poor and the maiden scorned him. He went off in the woods to kill himself. He shot an arrow northwards and followed it. Later he found

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[12]Ella Deloria and Jay Brandon, "The Origin of the Courting Flute," Museum News, University of South Dakota, vol. XXII, nos. 6-7 (1961), p. 7.

that the arrow had killed a fat deer, so he roasted it and ate it. He did this for four days in a row, and he began to feel better. On the fourth evening he was approached by two young men. They gave him a wonderful flute and told him to return home and play. When he did so, all the young women would follow him. The two men turned around, and he saw two elk disappear into the trees.

He went home and played the flute. Just as the men said, all the women came and followed him, even the chief's daughter. One girl sat quietly at her lodge and did not join the throng. She was the one he married.

Ella Deloria explains that the elk is "symbolic of masculine beauty, virility, virtue and charm."[13] The article also contains one page of explanatory notes of a linguistic nature.

"Some Notes on the Santee" was published in Museum News in the May-June issue, 1967. The editor's note to this article states, "This material was collected by Miss Deloria from Santee informants of Prairie Island Community, near Red Wing, Minnesota, several years ago."[14]

There are several stories included in the article. All are given in English but there are notes explaining the original Dakota words.

The first story in "Santee Dakota Suicides" is about a young girl who is sought after by a man she does not want to marry even though he has given many gifts for her. Instead of going to war, he continues his

[13]Ibid., p. 6.

[14]Ella Deloria, "Some Notes on the Santee," Museum News, University of South Dakota, vol. XXIII, nos. 5-6 (1967a), p. 1.

persistent pursuit; this behavior makes her despise him even more because she thinks he is a coward. She decides to go to war herself, even though her relatives try to dissuade her. The man follows and finally she can bear it no longer. She sings a song and throws herself from a high cliff. All the bones in her body are broken many times.

Another Dakota woman hanged herself because her husband had criticized and scolded her. Another because she had been scolded by her brothers.

"Santee Dakota Dugout Canoes" is a one paragraph description of how a dugout canoe is made from a log. The concluding sentence is "Now-a-days nobody makes boats; there would be no place to go in them, anyway."

"A Wakan Waćipi Initiation" explains that there were men, the holy men, who had visions and received supernatural powers. Now these occurrences do not happen, and there are none of these people any longer. One woman remembered a ceremony, but she did not recall the songs.

"A Giant Fish" is a story of what happened during a Sun Dance. A young man had a puzzling vision. The thongs were released from his chest, and he staggered to the water. The people followed, and there they found a huge fish. They hauled him ashore. The distance between his eyes measured 21 feet. The fish was dying because he had swallowed whole an elk whose antlers had poked through the fish's body.

In "A Man Changes to a Fish" two friends caught some fish. One did not wish to eat any, but his friend insisted, so he did. Later he

became so thirsty he could not be satisfied until his friend carried him to the lake's edge. The next morning he was gone. He had changed into a fish.

In "Social Customs" the informant tells of the practice of having two wives, a custom no longer followed. The Celibates' Fire is similar to that of the Yanktons. Other ceremonies were also practiced but in far simpler versions than among the Tetons.

"Names" explains that each child who was born was given a name to indicate whether he was the first born, the second born and so on. The word for second born was the same for both boys and girls but the others were different. Later, of course, the individual took another name--more personal and more serious--perhaps indicating something in a vision or a great ancestor.

"Wild Rice Gathering" describes the practice of gathering wild rice. It is no longer gathered because the rice does not grow in the area where the Santees now live. The people went in families with boats. They camped near the rice fields with the older people caring for the children.

"Santee Dakota Marriage Custom" is a story about a marriage practice. The young woman was not allowed even to speak to a young man before her marriage. The marriage was arranged by the family. Of course the girl or her family could refuse. In that case, the proposed marriage probably would not advance to the stage of sending presents. If the plan was agreeable, then a horse ladden with presents was sent to the tipi of

the young girl. Her parents in return sent two horses and more presents to the other family. This giving was the official recognition of betrothal by the entire tribe. Then the two families approached each other formally. A signal was given and all of the men ran toward the girl, and one of them picked her up and she was carried back to her husband. Ella Deloria noted that this custom differs in several ways among other Dakota bands.

"The Monster Child" tells about a young woman who gave birth to a child who appeared to be normal. Later, however, all kinds of noises--people shouting, singing and so on--came from the child. The tribal leaders decided that the child was really a giant and the woman must abandon it. She did not want to do this but was tricked into leaving it when the tribe crossed the river. That night they heard and saw a giant man in the place where the child had been left. As he tried to swim across, the warriors killed him with arrows, clubs, and spears. He sank in the water and disappeared. Downstream there appeared great bubbles of blood and all sorts of trinkets. The women wanted the trinkets, but the men forbade it.

"The Abandoned Children" is a rather long story about a woman with two children. Her husband disappeared and no doubt met with some misfortune. She continued to care for them until a handsome young man, a leader's son, persuaded her to leave them. The children, with the help of an old grandmother, eventually destroyed the entire tribe.

Stories of the Yankton

"Some Notes on the Yanktons" was published in Museum News in the March-April issue of 1967. The editor says, "This short monograph consists of an expansion of notes which Miss Deloria secured from a man named Nigesan (Simon Antelope), a member of the Yankton band of the Dakota tribe, about 1936." At the time Antelope lived about five miles southwest of Ravinia, South Dakota. He was well into his seventies and was considered a man of standing in the tribe. He was also a Presbyterian elder.[15]

The Yanktons are Ella Deloria's own tribe. Both her father and grandfather were well-known and important men. When she questioned Antelope on a particular point in the treatment of murderers, he said that he did not know. He had learned much from his grandfather, but not from his father, who was "a forgetful man, one who did not talk much, and did not retain what he heard; he did not repeat such things." But he says, "If your father told you this, it was undoubtedly so. Your grandfather had a keen mind; and he was a leader. All men flocked to him. He was always surrounded by older men who knew and related these things. It is entirely likely that your father heard things of the dim past that I never heard."[16]

The material in this paper is not centered on a single topic but simply presents the recollections of earlier times among the Yanktons.

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[15]Ella Deloria, "Some Notes on the Yanktons," Museum News, University of South Dakota, vol. XXVIII, nos. 3-4 (1967b), p. 1.

[16]Ibid., p. 10.

For example, Antelope describes the method of preparing meat for storage, but he says, "The process is entirely outmoded and has been now for so long that nobody under fifty has ever seen it done." First the meat was cut carefully. "The muscle or meat which belonged together in one unit was spread or leveled into an extensive thin sheet by means of lateral cutting." This took skill and practice because it had to be uniform thickness. The pieces were hung on racks in the sun and the wind to dry. After a day the meat was spread on elm branches which had been laid on the ground. A second layer of branches covered the meat. A skin was laid over that and then someone tread on it to flatten it and press out the moisture. It was hung to dry again. It could then be kept for two or more years.

Antelope reported four different ways of handling murderers among the Yankton. This material Ella Deloria used in her presentation, "The Dakota Treatment of Murderers," to the American Philosophical Society.

Antelope related some of his boyhood experiences. He was born at a Yankton encampment between Owáwicášeča and Wansákoyukoe (near Blunt, South Dakota). He joined the Grass Dancers, a social dancing group. He married a woman of the Santee tribe. Four times he had a very vivid dream about a horse. Because of the dream, he thought he should fast to see if he would receive a vision. He fasted but did not receive the vision. Once, with six other young men, he decided to go on a war party to the Arikara camp. They were stopped by soldiers of the cavalry, and so they had to promise they would go to the Arikara camp as peacemakers.

He gave a description of the scalp dance, which was held after a successful war expedition. There was much feasting, singing, dancing and giving away of goods. He also explained the ceremony of the "Celibates Fire," for young men who had not married or courted a girl.

Antelope told two stories about holy men. One was able to call a herd of buffalo to the camp when the people had been without food for a long time; another predicted the coming of a stranger and the location of a beautiful horse.

Antelope told more about the preparation and preservation of food. He explained how caches, large chambers, dug in the earth for food storage, were made. Corn and meat could be stored for two years in them. Meat was boiled in the paunch of the buffalo which was supported by four sticks forked at the top. It was filled with water, and hot rocks were thrown in to make the water boil. After the meat was cooked, the juices from the meat and water were distributed to the people who no longer had enough teeth to chew. Then the paunch, by now well cooked, was also eaten. Antelope remarked, "And when we were all through with the feast there was literally nothing left except the four sticks and the rocks used to heat the water."

The Yanktons procured and processed their own salt. Sugar was obtained from the Santee who were taught by the Ojibwa to make it from maple and box elder trees.

"Dakota Treatment of Murderers" was presented by Ella Deloria to the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia in November, 1944.

It is a report of research supported by a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society. She reported on the treatment of murderers among the Yankton and Teton Dakotas. She pointed out, first of all, that among the Dakotas, there was "a clear distinction between the killing of outsiders and the killing of a fellow tribesman. In the one case it was regarded as a legitimate part of warfare while in the other it was murder, and therefore a crime against society and liable to punishment. . . . I find three distinct methods of dealing with murderers."[17] First, immediate reprisal killing of the murderer by a male relative of the slain with peacemaking optional; second trial by ordeal; and third adoption of the murderer in place of his victim by the latter's relatives.

In some cases the murderer was killed by a member of the victim's family and that was the end of it. However, sometimes there might be "bad feeling for the one who did the reprisal killing." Then the tribal council would intervene or mediate. The speaker of the council handed each a pipe of peace saying, "Take this pipe to our unhappy brother. . . . Ask him to accept it . . . while there is bad feeling in our midst our children cannot be safe, our women cannot be at ease in their hearts. . . . It is every Dakota's responsibility to maintain peace, for peace is our heritage; it is our name."

The second, trial by ordeal, was resorted to if nobody from the injured family took prompt vengeance. They might not do so if all the

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[17]Ella Deloria, "Dakota Treatment of Murderers," Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society Proceedings, vol. LXXX, no. 5 (1944a), p. 368.

male relatives were pacifists or if they were cowardly and turned the matter over to the council. One ordeal, which was told to Ella Deloria in Lakota, required the murderer to jump four hurdles at a level comparable to the man's height. If the man failed to pass over the bar, all the relatives of the slain were required to shoot their arrows at him at the same time so no one of them was to blame. If he succeeded, it was taken as an indication of supernatural help and the man was set free to come and go among the people as formerly.

In another form of the trial by ordeal the murderer had to ride a spirited horse which had never been ridden bareback and without reins. It was generally thought that this form of the trial was even harder than the hurdles.

Occasionally another feature was added to the ordeal. The murderer was required to enter the tipi where the councilmen sat around the body of the one he had killed. He had to lie down on top of the cold naked body, eat food which was placed on the dead man's lips and smoke the pipe which had also been placed there. But, Ella Deloria points out that this part of the procedure happened so long ago that none of the informants could say "my great-grandfather said his grandfather saw it."

The third method of treatment Ella Deloria quotes from Antelope, a Yankton Dakota whom she regarded as "a most reliable informant." In his opinion it was the finest of all but "it took great self-mastery and generosity, and so it was rarely used, since those are rare qualities." If there was a man among the group of relatives of the murderer one who

had supreme influence and was brave and generous and had a commanding personality, he would, through a very careful persuasive speech, convince them to adopt the murderer in the place of his victim.

He was then given gifts before the leading men in the council tipi and the speaker announced, "Smoke now, with these your new kinsmen, for they decided to take you to themselves in place of one-who-is-not here. Those goods stocked yonder are for you. Take them, for a token of their purpose to regard you always as they regarded him." Ella Deloria says that a few others among the Tetons had heard of the custom, but it may have been of Yankton origin.

"Easter Day at a Yankton Dakota Church" was published in Museum News, April-May issue, 1962. Ella Deloria wrote this brief description of contemporary Yankton people to show how the customs have changed since the 1930s.

Early in the day the families arrived to decorate the graves with artificial flowers. In the past, one would have heard wailing aloud or a dirge being sung. Now, she commented, there was only some quiet weeping for one who passed away recently. "Formerly," she wrote, "even at Christian cemeteries, there used to be placed a large amount of food and other items like yards of new calico, an occasional new shawl, draped over the headstone or spread over the grave. Such gifts had to be new; used items were never and still not acceptable as worthy on this serious occasion." Food was also placed on the graves because "the dead are very real to the Yanktons [and] one must be quiet and respectful at the

grave as in the room with a corpse. This is traditional behavior that still persists."[18]

The church service began at eleven o'clock in the morning. Everyone was well dressed. All the members, except one white man who was a guest of the young people, were Indian. The priest, a full blood, said that the spoken parts of the service were in English because so few young people understood Dakota. "But all the hymns and chants were in Dakota, very heartily sung."

Then there was the inevitable feast in the church basement, the food having been brought by many families. The main dish was green corn, wild turnip and beef boiled together. "This was happily eaten as a kind of ceremony in remembrance of old-time feasts." The other foods were pies, cakes, and casseroles.

Ella Deloria missed the wasna, a rich cake of ground parched corn or of pemmican mixed with wild fruit. But she said, "Even so, it was a typical Dakota feast in spirit and atmosphere--a social hour now that the solemn part of the ceremony was over."

Though the young people talked together in English, the majority of the visitors conversed in Dakota, "The still preferred, natural vehicle of communication."

At the end of the day, the women were careful to adhere to the custom of carrying away wateca, the surplus food. It would be a great insult to return it to the one who brought it. Other items were also

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[18]Ella Deloria, "Easter Day at a Yankton Dakota Church," Museum News, University of South Dakota, vol. XXIII, nos. 4-5 (1962), p. 1.

brought to be left behind for those who wanted them. Ella Deloria was careful to see what would happen to these dishes of food and gifts placed in the cemetery. They were gathered up by the warden and lay officers of the church and given to the priest to be used by a small home for orphan children near Greenwood.

The Episcopal Church cemetery in the White Swan district near Lake Andes, South Dakota, described here is the place where Ella Deloria is buried.

Although Ella Deloria was born on the Yankton Reservation of Yankton parents, she grew up among the Tetons at the Standing Rock Reservation. She also knew many friends and relatives on the Pine Ridge and on the Rosebud Reservations. These western tribes were reluctant to give up their traditions for those of the white man.

Stories of the Tetons

The article, "The Sun Dance of the Oglala Sioux," appeared in the Journal of American Folklore in 1929, the same year that Ella Deloria began her work under Dr. Boas at Columbia. Her note reads, "The following text account of the Oglala Sioux was originally written by Sword, an Oglala, and accompanied by Dr. Walker's manuscript. Since the orthography used by the Dakota is inadequate and the manuscript obscure in some places, I revised it with the help of several old people and give it here. Its interest, aside from the linguistic value, lies in the importance given to various phases of the ceremony by an old Dakota,

and in the prayers and songs."[19]

The text is presented in Lakota with a literal translation and a free translation. It is, no doubt, one of the most complete accounts of the ceremony. Ella Deloria had seen the Sun Dance at least twice--once on the Rosebud the summer before the article was written, and once when she was a child at Standing Rock. She had included all of the preliminary rituals which are just as significant, though not as spectacular, as the chest piercing. Women did not participate in the ceremony, but they did honor their men by singing their praises. Also the women could share in "flesh cutting." According to the account, "If a sun dancer is to have his flesh cut, small bits, 'the size of a large louse' are cut out. These are then counted and used for sacrifice. If he has a female relative, she shares his suffering by also having small pieces of her flesh cut along the shoulders and down the outer arm." Ella Deloria adds in a footnote: "I saw an old Indian woman with a row of scars running down the ridge of her shoulder and arm to the elbow. She said that fifty pieces had been cut off her and buried at the foot of the sacred pole when her brother was dancing the Sun Dance. She had this done because she wanted to suffer with him, and the bits of flesh were buried as a sacrifice."[20]

In a bibliography, Ella Deloria made the entry "Concepts and Practices of the Old Dakota Religion" (manuscript in preparation). There

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[19]Ella Deloria, "The Sun Dance of the Oglala Sioux," Journal of American Folklore, 42 (1929), 354.

[20]Ibid., p. 407.

are at least 247 pages of this material labeled "Rites and Ceremonials of the Teton" at the Institute of Indian Studies. Some pages are missing, but still there is a wealth of information contained in the pages available.

In the "Preface," Ella Deloria states: "In all [bands], I found the following rites and ceremonies in my investigation. They seem to be pretty general among all the Tetons, regardless of band; and to agree in essentials, although differing more or less in detail--I refer to the first eight. The others are local or long extinct."[21]

This is the list she presents: (1) The Sun-gazing Dance, (2) the Huká (child blessing), (3) the Buffalo Ceremony, (4) Ghost-keeping, (5) the Virgin's Fire, (6) Hey'oka-wocepi (anti-natural feast), (7) the Double-woman Ceremony, (8) the Peace-pipe Ceremony, (9) Killing the Fox, (10) Ritual Before Butchering, (11) Sitting Down Omaha-Style, (12) Throwing the Challenge Sticks, (13) Warrior Training for Young Boys, (14) Fasting Routine, (15) Sweat-lodge Routine, (16) Killing a Spider; throwing food to ghosts; Smoking rites, etc., gradually shading into little individual practices and unofficial customs and superstitions.

In the second section, entitled "Women's Rites," are twelve short descriptions of ceremonies and customs--all complete in 33 pages. They are: (1) the Virgin's Fire, (2) One-Hundred Fire, (3) Waka in Women, (4) Visions from Dreams, (5) Superlore for Child, (6) Bought Wives, (7) Ihoyeya (sole-painting of a hunter), (8) Affinal Etiquette, (9) Marks

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[21]Ella Deloria, "Rites and Ceremonials of the Teton" (unpublished manuscript, Institute of Indian Studies, University of South Dakota), p. 1.

of beauty, (10) Medicine and Blood of Women, (11) The Fast Girl.

Another section is "About Children: Pregnancy, Birth and Infancy." There are 80 pages, but several pages are missing.

There are other manuscript materials which Ella Deloria had not orgnized into particular sections, but they appear to be related. "Ghost Story" by Little Soldier is 15 pages of Yankton-English text; "Wanapiskaya" (example of trickery) is 13 pages; "Oye's Red Fish Dream," 10 pages, incomplete; "Wah'pe'ṡa" (Red Leaf Story) handwritten manuscript, 22 pages, incomplete; "Societies are Predestined in the Animal World: A Legend to Explain Dakota Societies," 3 pages; "Hump and Songs of the Sun Dance," 5 pages; "Kinship, Marriage, Iktomi," 2 pages; "Stories of Scouts," 3 pages; "Standing Elk," 2 pages, and "Ghost Painting," 4 pages. Ella Deloria probably used some of these materials in other publications. Few of the manuscripts contain any explanation of where or when the stories were obtained. None of the material is dated.

Traditional Values and Customs

Speaking of Indians, published in 1944, is certainly the best known of Ella Deloria's books. Many of the people I interviewed said that they would like copies of the work because it is one of the best explanations of Dakota customs and attitudes. Unfortunately it is out of print and there are few copies available. Vine Deloria, Sr., said that she had been asked to republish it, but she wanted to revise the final chapters before she did so. The first two sections are the best existing source of the kinds of material she used in her speeches and lectures. Present

writers, most of them non-Indian, tend to write about the wars and treaty-violation, or about well-known leaders such as Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse. While these historical accounts and biographies are significant, there was, and is, another side to Dakota life which is equally important. It is the kinship system, which Ella Deloria knew as a participant as well as a trained observer. It is unfortunate, indeed, that the many non-Indians who work among the Dakota as teachers, nurses and doctors, ministers, and counselors do not take advantage of the information presented so marvelously in this book.

It is true that many of the ceremonies and customs are no longer practiced, but it is also true that the attitudes toward raising children, for example, are still very much in evidence today. Too often a teacher may conclude that the Indian child who does not speak out and "look him in the eye" is shy, withdrawn, or even dull. The child may, in fact, believe that his attitude conveys respect. For that is the way he has been taught to regard his elders. Among traditional Indian families, the avoidance between brothers and sisters is still maintained. To the uninformed teacher, this attitude may appear to be indifference.

Part I of Speaking of Indians, "This Man Called Indian," deals with the early history of the Indian--the probable migration from Asia and gradual settlement of the American continent. Her purpose is not to write merely a historical account of the Dakota, but to "see life from their peculiar point of view." "In order to do that," she wrote, "we must learn what goes on in their spiritual culture area." By this term

she means what remains after the tangible and visible part is cleared away.

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

She admits that it is "an elusive area" and yet it is the "realist" part of a people, just as it is "the inner life of an individual."[22]

Ella Deloria was well aware that the approach she used in this book was an unorthodox one but she also believed that her way was right.

> What can I do, then, to help you understand the Indians? I could try to entertain you by skipping from tribe to tribe and giving you a surface picture of them all. I could give statistics and records and tell you about a 'quaint custom,' now and then, whenever I despair of holding your interest to the end. But I don't believe that is where my contribution lies. Instead of trying to cover the whole Indian scene, which many others can do ever so much better than I, I shall concentrate on the one people that I know intimately and whose language is also mine.[23]

Part II, "A Scheme of Life That Worked," is primarily about the kinship system. Although this material is based on the life that the Dakotas had before white contact, it is still in evidence today. Many of the "Indian experts," past as well as present, never are able to grasp the reasons for Indian behavior. Yet, as Ella Deloria says, there are

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[22]Ella Deloria, Speaking of Indians (New York: Friendship Press, 1944b), pp. 18-19.

[23]Ibid., p. 20.

reasons, if one will only take the time to understand them.

"By kinship all Dakota peoples were held together in a great relationship that was theoretically all-inclusive and co-extensive with the Dakota domain." One was taught throughout his whole life to be a good relative. Sociologists have described the exterior of this relationship, but there is much more to it than just the fact that everyone is somehow related by blood or marriage. "Everyone had his part to play and played it for the sake of his honor, all kinship duties, obligations, privileges, and honorings being reciprocal. One got as well as gave." Social pressure was powerful and was used to promote harmony and good will within the group. "Peace is implied by the very name of the people, Odakota, a state or condition of peace."[24]

The many families, bound together by blood and marriage ties, lived side by side in the camp-circle, the tiyóspaye. They operated as a single unit. Men often hunted in company; women did their work in pleasant circles; the horses were kept in a common herd. But while tasks and meat were freely shared, it did not mean that there were no personal possessions. "Instead, as long as something was in a person's possession, it was his sole right to give or withhold it; there was no individual or agency with authority to compel his surrendering it against his wishes. Kinship alone could do that, impelling him. It made him ready and happy at all times to give up everything whenever a situation developed challenging him to rise to his full stature as a relative." Child raising

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[24]Ibid., pp. 25-33, passim.

responsibilities were shared. If a mother had to leave, she did not ask her sister to care for her child while she was gone; it was simply assumed. Small children rapidly learned their social duties since they were taught by all adults within the tiyošpaye. "Grandparents were especially zealous in admonishing the children because they had little else to do."[25]

Within the tipi privacy was effected by mental attitude. One kept his eyes averted from the activities of others and did not interfere. There could be times of hilarious entertainment, but they were planned. Children were taught to be restrained in the company of adults, but they too were allowed to be as merry and noisy as they liked when they were away somewhere.

The book also describes the Dakota religion. Although Ella Deloria knew very few who were not Christians, she heard others talk about the religion of their ancestors. Her attitude was, "Who am I to question what was once very real and solemn to others?" The Dakotas had various names for the Power greater than themselves. They called him Wakan (Holy, Mysterious, Magical, Inscrutable); Taku'wakan (Something Holy); Taku-škanškan (Something-in-Movement); Wakantanka (Great Holy); and Wahupa, "an untranslatable term in the sacred language of the esoteric." It was a Dakota trait to be always subconsciously aware of the Supernatural Power. Before it they felt helpless and humble. The Dakotas feared one medium of the Wakan, "the thunders," because they were so

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[25]Ibid., pp. 41-45, passim.

whimsical and unpredictable. "All other forms of Wakan revelation--a flowing river, a growing plant, the warming sun, and even fire--were benevolent and reliable."[26] In the remainder of this section, Ella Deloria describes the Sun Dance ceremony and the Vision Quest.

The education of the children was an important part of the camp-circle, but like religion, it was an intimate and continuous part of the daily life. The purpose of the training and ceremonies was to help the child grow to be a responsible member of the tribe--to obey the kinship rules and fulfill his obligations.

The Hunka ceremony was performed on the happy occasion of blessing little children. A great feast was given, many presents were given in the child's honor, and singers praised him or her in songs. "But the whole core of the matter was that, by the child's very presence as the center of attention and acclaim, he or she was henceforth a 'Child-beloved,' and was committed as a matter of honor to the practice of generosity, even if at times it might involve great personal sacrifice." During the ceremony, the child was offered water and food but not allowed to eat or drink until the significance was made clear to him. He was told, "Wherever you sit down to eat, there may perhaps be someone waiting near, hungry for a swallow of your food. At such a time, you shall remember what you are [a hunka]. And though you were even then lifting meat to your mouth, yet you shall stop midway. You shall forbear to eat it all alone. But only what might fill one cheek, that you shall

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[26] Ibid., pp. 30-51, passim.

eat. And with the rest, you shall show mercy."

The Ghost Feast brought home to the young girls the idea of hospitality, and giving food and comfort to one's guests. "It was nicely calculated to touch the impressionable adolescent girl and it did exactly that." The Buffalo Ceremony was performed at a time when a girl passed into womanhood. The occasion was used to impress upon her the duties she should assume. She should be virtuous, soft-spoken, modest, hospitable and skillful in the womanly arts. She must not shame her husband or neglect her children.

Manual education was taught by doing. "Children were generally not given menial tasks to discourage them . . . they were given new materials to start on, so as to sustain their interest." The grandmothers provided fuel and water so not to make life irksome for children at the start.[27]

The formal "give-away" represented the value of sharing and giving to others. "The pride lay in honoring relatives rather than in amassing goods for oneself; a man who failed to participate in the giving customs was a suspicious character, something less than a human being." When someone was born or died the relatives "threw away" property--everything belonging to the deceased and anything else the relatives had that they deemed worth giving. They did not remain empty-handed for long, for soon others would bring them gifts.

At the conclusion to this section Ella Deloria writes,

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[27]Ibid., pp. 63-68, passim.

> Reflecting on the past, people will naturally talk of the ideal . . . that does not mean that there wasn't a seamy side here as elsewhere. Of course there were those who cared naught for their reputation, who broke kinship laws, who habitually lived on the lowest plane. But they were not representative, so why must I waste wordage on them? If a visitor from Mars asked me about the American way of life, should I show him city slums . . . or describe gangsterism because there are such things? No, I should show him our churches, schools and colleges, and museums, and such theatre as I could be proud of.[28]

Unfortunately this attitude is heard too seldom today. How many countless speeches, books, and films have been made about the poverty, alcoholism, and decadence on the Indian reservations? Yet there is a beauty and pride of the Indian people, a side that is seldom seen by the non-Indian. Perhaps, this attitude is changing. Recently I saw a film made by the Indian people at Fort Yates. It did not show ragged, dirty kids playing in junked cars, but happy, healthy kids going to school and playing on a playground. There were scenes of buffalo, birds, and beautiful horses. There are problems but there are also reasons why hundreds of Indians, having been trained and educated in large cities, choose to go home to their people and a way of life they find worthwhile.

In Ella Deloria's writings one begins to see that the values and qualities of the Dakota people, though not always apparent on the surface, have been misunderstood. This is not to say that one can return to the previous century, nor did Ella Deloria intend that to be so. "All that which lies hidden in the remote past is interesting, to be sure, but not so important as the present and future. The vital concern is not where

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[28]Ibid., p. 74.

a people came from, physically, but where they are going, spiritually."[29]

Part III, "The Reservation Picture," has already been quoted extensively in the biographical section. In this chapter, Ella Deloria explained why, because of the kinship system, the tiyośpaye, changes to the white man's way were difficult. After her discussion of the Ghost Dance and its terrible consequences, she writes, "It is long past. Both those who did the injuries and those who bore them are gone. This is no useless tirade against former injustices. I speak of the things that brought on the change and hurried the people into reservation life only because they help in understanding subsequent developments."[30]

Part IV, "The Present Crises" deals with the problems of the Indian in the 1940s. The picture has not changed a great deal.

The Dakota Way of Life, an unpublished manuscript, was written sometime after Speaking of Indians. In a letter accompanying her "Introduction," Margaret Mead has written, "I have gone over the manuscript with care and have paid special attention to the problem of more idiomatic English that still conveys the Dakota manner and meaning. . . . I would suggest that no further changes in idiom be made. The manuscript is written with a very rare feeling for Dakota life and style."[31] In the "Introduction" she writes about the manuscript,

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[29]Ibid., p. 2.

[30]Ibid., p. 79.

[31]Margaret Mead, letter to chairman, Publications Committee, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, n.d. This letter and introduction were given to me by Vine Deloria, Sr.

> It is a unique account of the functioning of family life among the Dakota in days that are gone, informed by a conscious blending of disciplined scientific inquiry and warm human appreciation of the survival among present-day Dakota of many of the attitudes that accompanied life in the tipi. With literary abilities unfortunately only too rare among ethnographers, and a generous willingness to draw upon her own personal experience, Miss Deloria has produced a volume which supplements, in cadence and image, the formal descriptions with the introspective psychological reality.[32]

Ella Deloria also wrote her own introduction in which she explained that most of the research was done with the Tetons principally in mind. Much of the material, however, is true of the Yanktons and Santees to varying degrees. Of her informants she said, "Without exception they gave conscientiously only what they had personally known; nothing second-hand, nothing from hearsay. And if they must illustrate with a myth or legend, they carefully added the indefinite quotative: Keyapi (they say, i.e., It is said)."[33]

The manuscript is approximately 400 pages. Part I is entitled "Social Patterns" and covers material such as the camp-circle, law and order, the family, the home, courtship and marriage, wedded life, death and burial. Part II is "The Kinship System" and includes: relatives of marriage, relatives of birth, and relatives of social kinship. Part III, "The Child Grows Up" deals with birth and infancy, pre-adolescence, and adolescence.

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[32]Margaret Mead, "Introduction," The Dakota Way of Life (Ella Deloria's unpublished manuscript, Institute of Indian Studies, University of South Dakota), p. 1.

[33]Ella Deloria, The Dakota Way of Life.

There is also an Appendix which lists the following items: (1) Marriage by Capture: Legendary; (2) the Kola Relationship; (3) Dakota Names; (4) Steps in erecting a tipi.

It is obvious that some of the material is similar to that in Speaking of Indians, but it is more detailed and includes more information on the family and the role of women. There are few anthropological studies of the Dakota which comment on the role of women yet they were important. Perhaps the manuscript could be published. It seems clear that Ella Deloria intended it to be. It would be of great interest to those interested in the social organization of the Dakotas in the past.

"Transvestitism" is an eight page manuscript about men who choose the female role in Dakota society in earlier times. According to Ella Deloria, it was not an easy subject to research. "A man afflicted with this abnormality was called a wíkté; a subject so distasteful to men informants that they would not discuss it with a woman, however objectively. Even the usually helpful old man called Fast Whirlwind shook his head and waved it aside, explaining gently, 'No, grandchild, that is one thing not fit to be mentioned . . . it is evil.' But I was able to glean something about it from women informants and I give it here."[34]

Because the earliest ethnographers speak of wíkté by the French term berdache, Ella Deloria assumes that such persons were found among other American Indian tribes as well.

From her informants, she learned that the most famous wíkté in

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[34]Ella Deloria, "Transvestitism" (unpublished manuscript, Institute of Indian Studies, University of South Dakota), p. 1.

relatively modern times was called wicite waśtela. He was also the last. In frame, carriage and facial features he was a man; but in attire and speech a woman. He was particularly fastidious and good at handicrafts. Although such persons did not marry or partake in ceremonies, they were not mistreated either. They were simply accepted as being different and unusual.

Among Ella Deloria's papers at the Institute of Indian Studies are various interviews and incomplete manuscripts. There are five pages of "Dakota Names with English Translations." These may be the notes to part of the Dakota Way of Life. The first two pages give a Dakota name with a literal translation and a free translation or explanation. For example,

Dakota	literal	free
wakiyan-tawa	owns-the-thunder	He owns the mystery that governs the thunder, lightning and other elements.

The next two pages give fifty-five Dakota names with English translations such as "Mato-wanahtaka" (Voice Bull) but no explanation. The last page has only some English translations written in.

Ella Deloria was particularly sensitive to the lack of understanding displayed by non-Indians concerning Dakota names. She writes that descriptive names such as "Walks-under-the-Ground" are not humorous to the people who bore them but "such students cannot stand up to recite in public schools and colleges without the class snickering impolitely. What do you think the effect of that is on them, even if they know all

the answers?"[35]

She explains that in previous times they were not names as we think of them at all. In Dakota, you do not say, if you are idiomatically correct, "What is your name?" but "In what manner do they say of you?" That means, "According to what deed are you known?" This deed was suggested in a few words and the listener could fill in the rest or he could ask to be told the story. Such names were provocative of gifts and fresh glory for a past deed. In fact, one did not speak them casually without giving a gift. Kinship terms were used instead. (Among her own people, Ella Deloria followed these practices. One of the people I interviewed said Ella Deloria called her "My younger cousin,"--in Dakota, of course. She was called "Aunty Ella" by many who knew her.)

She continues to explain that when the government was assuming the direction of Indian affairs, the interpreters, having no knowledge of all this background for Indian names, made inadequate and clumsy translations of the terms. Some were not even accurate. And, more importantly, they were never intended as surnames; they are references to be borne individually.

She recalls the incident of a brave young man who, during the war, volunteered for the first commando raid on France. "Yet the publicity he received was not primarily because he was a brave American but because his Indian name, One Skunk, was humorous, not to say ludicrous." She did not know the origin of the name but assumed that the animal played

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[35]Ella Deloria, Speaking, p. 153.

a part in some religious ancestor's vision experience. "But," she says, "who in a fast-moving army can stop to learn the reference and allow for it? The titter at daily roll call can well be imagined."[36]

The educators and ministers have failed to sense the psychological effects of such experiences on the young. "I have detected the semblance of a smile on even such kindly persons as missionaries when they repeated certain names for city audiences."[37]

Other materials among the Ella Deloria Collection are presented in Appendix B.

Ella Deloria's materials, both published and unpublished, were also used by other anthropologists. Her work was well-known at Columbia by Dr. Boas' students. Jeannette Mirsky writing on "The Dakota" in Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples, edited by Margaret Mead, quotes from two published works "Dakota Texts" and "The Sun Dance of the Oglala Sioux" and from an unpublished manuscript.[38] Margaret Mead comments in the "Preface": "Miss Ella Deloria's unpublished manuscript and detailed material on special points provided the basis for the study of the Dakota."[39] Margot Astrov, editor of the well-known anthology, American Indian Prose and Poetry, writes, "How fortunate the

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[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid., pp. 154-155.

[38]Jeannette Mirsky, "The Dakota," Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples, ed. by Margaret Mead (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937), pp. 382-427.

[39]Margaret Mead, ed., Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937, p. viii.

method may be of having aboriginal texts not only recorded but also translated by gifted and trained natives themselves--a procedure recommended repeatedly the most emphatically by Franz Boas--is demonstrated by a number of aboriginal anthropologists, for instance . . . by Ella Deloria (Dakota).[40] Ruth Bunzel in The Golden Age of American Anthropology gives credit to Ella Deloria for her description of the "child-beloved" ceremony.[41]

Although Ella Deloria was not a historian, there are examples in her writings to show that she did contribute to this field as well.

Marshall Montgomery, writing on "the Protestant Espicopal Church" in the History of South Dakota, explained the difficulties and discouragements which beset the missionaries among the Sioux in the 1890s.

> It was in connection with the former trouble [the Custer Massacre and the fight on Wounded Knee] that the Rev. R. Arthur B. Ffennell, of the Cheyenne River mission, was killed by a hostile Sioux, September 27, 1896. Mr. Ffennell was a young and most enthusiastic missionary giving up his life to the welfare of the Sioux, but they were excited by the invasion of the Black Hills by the gold hunters and inflamed by the Custer fight. Some of the young men had been confined in the guard house at the agency and a bloodthirsty relative vowed he would, in retaliation, kill the first white man he saw. Mr. Ffennell therefore fell his victim.[42]

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[40]Margot Astrov, ed., American Indian Prose and Poetry: An Anthology (New York: Capricorn Books, 1962), p. 16.

[41]Ruth Bunzel, "Introduction to Building a Science of Man in America: The Classical Period in American Anthropology 1900-1920," The Golden Age of American Anthropology, ed. by Margaret Mead and Ruth Bunzel (New York: George Braziller, 1960b), p. 338.

[42]Marshall R. Montgomery, "The Protestant Episcopal Church," History of South Dakota, vol. I, comp. by Doane Robinson (B. F. Bowen & Co., 1904), pp. 581-582.

Woodruff recounts the same incident, adding, that after the murder, "The Indian boasted of his ruthless deed in the camp of his friends; he was well-known as the man who killed Mr. Ffennell, and yet he was never arrested or punished, so weak and timorous was the military arm of the government in the Indian Country."[43]

Ella Deloria writing about this same time in history explains that the Indian people were very confused about the new reservation life. They did things that seemed irrational even from their own viewpoint. Standing Elk, an old man living at Rapid City, told her this story about his father's death and the Indian account of the missionary's death.

> During the time our people were kept camping at the agency and watched closely lest they get into the wild country and perhaps make war again, my aged father died. [He named a famous chief.] So his nephews requested leave to take his body out into the wilds for the burial rites, which they still adhered to. Certainly in his case it was the only choice. They had spent four days out there, mourning under the scaffold on which they had bound the body, when two men from the agency came to take them back. They had overstayed their pass.
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> The eldest nephew tried to explain why, but one of the messengers struck him an insulting blow and told him to stop talking and start back. A fight ensued, with the result that the two eldest nephews were put in prison. This time they were rudely thrown into close confinement. There they sang their war songs, feeling sorrowful and angry and deeply offended by the violence to their dignity and their given word. And they vowed that when they got out they would kill the first white man they met. And therein lay the tragedy.
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> Meantime the other relatives went to the new

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[43]Brent K. Woodruff, "Episcopal Missions to the Dakotas," South Dakota Historical Collections, XVII, 1934, 583.

> missionary, who was different from the usual type of white man. Would he help them? Of course! So this missionary immediately drove to the agency, explained the situation and effected the men's release. Riding home that eveing, happy no doubt over having befriended the injured, he came down a lonely hill, crossed the stream and started slowly up the next hill.
>
> The two men who had been released that afternoon waited in ambush. Yes, it was a white man all right, driving in a little black buggy. They fired at him from behind, killing him instantly. Imagine how they felt when they learned that they had killed their own benefactor! They sacrified themselves till the blood flowed free, and mourned many days. They were never truly happy again.[44]

At the present time, there is perhaps a more honest effort to understand events as they actually happened. Ella Deloria devoted her whole life to promoting understanding between races. She was a teacher to all who would listen, and many did. There is still much that can be learned from her work.

Value Conflicts in Education and Economy

Ella Deloria felt that it was important for the Dakota people to know the Dakota language and legends. Among her papers were two pages of materials on the sounds of Dakota vowels and consonants. The lessons were simple and exact (See Appendix A).

She also presented numerous lectures and workshops. There is a twelve page mimeographed sheet that was evidently an outline for a lecture. It is entitled "Cultural Insights for Education of Indian Children." The main theme of the presentation is that the "kinship system

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[44]Ella Deloria, Speaking, pp. 87-88.

is the heart of Dakota life and governs the whole culture." She says, "The language, too, ties in with kinship." Names are sacred and reflect family history and reinforce the kinship system. The power and behavior dictates of kinship are inculcated by rigid training of children early in their lives. She discusses also the relationships between relatives and the behavior expected of these relationships. Racial intermarriage does not affect the child adversely, because as long as the child is part Indian, he will be accepted within the system. All persons, even those who are mentally inadequate, are made to fit into the system and find a place in the social structure of the community. Even those who have made offenses against society are quietly ignored with the hope that they will improve their conduct. If they do, then they are forgiven and reaccepted.

Knowing the language helps one because idiom expresses so much of the delicacy and insight of kinship.

She believed that one should study the Dakota culture, but it demands objectivity and not measurement against previous standards. Cultures are varied and they also change. These changes cannot be avoided, but they should not be pushed.

Ella Deloria then goes on to discuss some elements of the cultural heritage: the camp-circle, law and order, the family, the life in the tipi, death and burial, the yuwipi (holy man), and the Sun Dance.

Another shorter paper, "Cultural Insights for Ministry to Indian People" contains much of the same material.

In June, 1963, Ella Deloria attended a conference at Eau Claire, Wisconsin, on "Midwest Indian Youth Leadership Seminar." A typed outline of her presentation begins with "The Great Obligation: to succeed in an all-around development, physical, mental and spiritual. One should belong with the best of mankind in order to be of the greatest use in the world." She lists many reasons for achievement: to encourage other young people to work for a good education because 'we made it'; to better our communities; to show that we are a credit to our tribes and to our race. "Some day people won't say, 'He is an American Indian, but look where he has got.' They will say instead, 'He is an American who has made his life count.'" She added, "We can do this--and we've got to."

After the years Ella Deloria spent at Haskell Institute, she did not do a great deal of formal teaching. She did, however, write down in Speaking of Indians, some theories about what makes education difficult for the Indian child and what ought to be done about it.

Language difficulties often caused problems. For example, a teacher might say to a Dakota child, "You won't do that again, will you?" "Yes," said the child each time the question was repeated. Perhaps the teacher thinks the child is being deliberately perverse. The trouble is that in Dakota you say "yes" to a question like that, when in English you say "no." The Dakota means, "Yes, you are right, I will not."[45]

The greatest interference with education, however, from Ella Deloria's point of view, is the kinship system. Children, hearing that

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[45]Ibid., pp. 117-118.

someone in their family is ill, will run away from school to be home. She gives the example of a young man who was about to take his final college examinations when he learned that his father was dying. The school authorities would not excuse him but he left anyway, knowing they thought him a fool. To him, it was of more importance to make his father's last days happy than what he might gain for himself.[46]

An example similar to the one above happened recently in Fargo. A teacher in one of the junior high schools had a student teacher from one of the reservations in North Dakota. He was just completing his work at Valley City State College. About midway through the quarter, he asked to be excused to attend the funeral of his uncle. He returned a week later. The cooperating teacher was very disappointed that he had been gone so long and told him so. She did not believe that an uncle could be a very close relative or that a funeral could last a whole week.

Ella Deloria felt that Indian children and college students would get along better if there were a general understanding of Indian values and social customs. She did not believe, however, that the Indian should be given a different education. "The idea of a special course of study set up for Indians alone shows up a bit negatively as a kind of race discrimination. What is right and necessary for the majority of American school children and is made available to them ought not to be denied to other American children. It is a challenge, moreover, to

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[46]Ibid., p. 118.

be expected to measure up, the same as anyone else, rather than to have allowances continually made on the basis of race."[47]

In 1939, Ella Deloria was asked to join an Inquiry Committee whose purpose was to investigate the problem of the Indian people living on the Navajo Reservation. The other members were Thomas Jesse Jones, Harold B. Allen, and Charles T. Loram. The study was sponsored by the Phelps-Stokes Fund. From the time the inquiry began on January 1, 1939, to June, 1939, she interviewed many people on the reservation. According to the editors, Ella Deloria "was given full responsibility for the study of the Navajo women and Navajo tribal customs."[48] In addition the editors felt that her participation "guaranteed that the interpretations and views of the Indians themselves are sincerely recognized in the conclusions presented."[49]

In fact, I can find little or no evidence of Ella Deloria's ideas, opinions or attitudes in the report. It includes only brief, general statements about tribal customs and reports no interview with Navajos. The whole approach contrasts greatly with that that Ella Deloria used in her other works.

The first seventy-six pages are composed of statistical information on agriculture and education. The following is an example.

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[47] Ibid., p. 144.

[48] Phelps-Stokes Inquiry Committee, The Navajo Indian Problem (New York: Phelps-Stokes, 1939), p. 5.

[49] Ibid., p. ix.

Report July 1 to December 16, 1938 for the Day Schools

Shop production: 48 baby cribs, 55 chairs, 42 coffins, 10 door frames.

. . . .

General: 311 community meetings, 2,538 horses shod, 93,815 livestock watered, 256 pounds of flour ground, 1,132 persons attending educational movies, 7,090 barrels of water supplied.

Personal: 12,788 adult baths, 3,926 hair washings, 2,150 letters written, 3,099 first aid, 3,434 man hours work and 6,684 women hours work provided.[50]

Chapter VI, entitled "Health, Hogan, and Heritage" is nine pages long. One paragraph is devoted to "heritage." It refers to the "medicine men," "elaborate ceremonials," "impressive sand paintings," and "unique use of the Navajo language." The paragraph concludes with this sentence: "The mere listing of these elements of the Navajo heritage seems sufficient to establish the intimate and vital relationships of Indian heritage to health and social welfare."[51]

The concluding statements on health include, "The members are convinced that the prevention of the spread of disease can be accomplished only through educational services that <u>will transform every phase of Navajo life</u>,"[52] [Italics mine]. This statement does not sound like one Ella Deloria would make or concur with. While she did support education, I can find no other indication in her writings or in comments by her acquaintances that she believed any Indian's life ought to be "transformed."

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[50] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 43.

[51] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 85.

[52] <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 114-115.

Perhaps these eminent scholars were sincere in their efforts to aid the Navajo people, but the book is more illuminating on their purposes than it is on the problems of the Navajo. This purpose is stated clearly in the conclusion. ". . . the inspiring fact remains that the United States of America is demonstrating an idealism in services for the Navajo Indians that may in time save the self-respect of the American People in their relationships to the uniquely important minority of our nation."[53]

In the final chapter of Speaking of Indians, Ella Deloria pointed out what she felt were the primary causes of social and economic problems of the Dakota people. Although the book was written in 1944, these problems still exist today. She does not present the statistical side of the problems, but she does explain very well the feelings and attitudes of those involved.

"Life on the reservation," she writes, "has always been seemingly inactive. The people have rarely had very much, sometimes nothing, and many homes are dismal and the life in them is listless by contrast with the homes of the white settlers." Those who see the poverty and shabbiness of existence criticize and condemn those who live on the reservation. They call them beggars who accept charity without shame. But they do not take the time to understand why such conditions exist. "There are reasons why. . . . The American people need to understand why, so that they will not blame the people unduly, as if there was something congenitally wrong

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[53]Ibid., p. 121.

with them, but will understand the causes."[54]

In the past the Dakotas honored each other by giving and taking pride in the belief that all would be cared for. The sharing worked well because everyone knew what was expected of him, and he did not fail to meet his obligations. Now, according to Ella Deloria, the conditions have changed, but the attitudes have not. For example, a young Indian man, who was a Hampton graduate, came home and bought out the local trader. His uncle came in the store, and the boy, remembering his uncle's great regard for his mother who is now dead said, "But, Uncle, you need not pay." Other relatives came in and soon he realized that his store was failing, so he gave it up and lived like the rest. "He knows exactly why he has failed. But he does not want to think about it. It is all right in any case. His relatives come first, always. . . . He derives a certain satisfaction in not betraying the way of his people."[55]

These attitudes sometimes carry over to situations outside of the reservation as well. Ella Deloria reports that during World War II, the Dakotas of Pine Ridge turned over a vast territory to the government to be used as a bombing range. They even moved their homes and asked nothing. "Will they be paid what the land is worth to the army? Or will they be forgotten again when the war is over?"[56] The land was not paid for and was not returned. In 1970 protest demonstrations were held at

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[54]Ella Deloria, Speaking, pp. 137, 151.

[55]Ibid., pp. 121-131, passim.

[56]Ibid., p. 55.

Sheep Mountain in the Badlands and at Mount Rushmore in the Black Hills to provoke restoration of the lands.[57]

According to Ella Deloria, many of the people on the reservation are inexperienced and confused by legal transactions involving large sums of money and land use. They are easily taken advantage of by the neighboring white ranchers and farmers who have legal advice available to them.[58]

Ella Deloria also presents some answers to questions that are often heard today. If there is so much poverty and unemployment, why do the Indian people remain on the reservation, or, an even more puzzling question, why do those who have been educated and trained in the non-Indian world return to the reservation? She writes, "Partly it is that pull toward home and family, a universal human need but peculiarly accentuated in the Indian nature from centuries of close family and tiyóspaye life." But there is more than that, they do not feel at home in American society. "If one is not familiar with the allusions and casual references that pepper the conversation of a particular group, one is bound to feel left out. Indian people are by nature reticent and retiring; when they feel a lack of social ease and self-confidence, they want to run away from the crowd, knowing they are ill-prepared to hold

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[57]Vine Deloria, Jr., God is Red (New York: Grosset & Dunlop, 1973), p. 22.

[58]Ella Deloria, Speaking, p. 134.

their own. It is not enough to be a good mechanic or a well-trained stenographer at such times."[59]

In spite of these economic and social disadvantages, Ella Deloria believed that there were positive actions which could be taken to make improvements. First, strong native adult leadership should be encouraged. She gives the example of what happened in the church but it applies to other institutions as well.

> Years ago, strong native ministers held key positions with marked success. But then gradually white supervision was extended over their fields until now very few such native leaders are found. The explanation? 'It was all right in the old days, when they were all Indians; now that there are so many whites in the Indian country we have to put in men who can deal with both.'

She rejects this reasoning. Instead of keeping Indian leaders forever in subordinating positions, they should be educated and assume those responsibilities commensurate with their abilities.[60]

This neglect of adult ability is evident in many ways. It is based on the assumption that Indians cannot advance. Each time programs are begun anew with each generation, thus offsetting what previous workers have done. On the other hand, "Children who see their parents also doing things and assuming leadership get a new respect for them, take pride in them, and are inspired to try all the harder themselves."[61]

Ella Deloria believed that the best of two cultures should be

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[59] Ibid., pp. 143-144.

[60] Ibid., pp. 158-159.

[61] Ibid., p. 157.

sought. The Dakota language, legends, and kinship system needed to be continued as a source of pride, community, and well-being. But the Indian should not stand by idly and watch the rest of the world go by. Native leadership in religion, economics, and education should be encouraged because such people can provide workable solutions as well as inspiration and hope for their children. Ella Deloria was certainly one of those leaders, yet with characteristic Dakota modesty she did not overestimate her own achievements. "I have been talking on about Indians through many pages, and some of the things I have said will doubtless be forgotten. If they are, it will be because they have not been put vividly enough to be retained; therefore, they deserve to be forgotten."[62]

I wrote to Vine Deloria, Jr., the nephew of Ella Deloria and author of several books on Indian problems, and asked him if her views on education had changed since 1944 when she wrote Speaking of Indians. He replied in a letter dated 23 April:

> In Speaking of Indians which was written during World War II, Ella was afraid that the government would continue its policies of vocational training for Indians rather than expand into academic fields. You probably realize that for decades the idea was that Indians could not achieve a college education because they were "good with their hands." The type of education that she was talking about was the traditional federal education where Indians were not considered capable of doing anything except manual labor. When Indian Studies programs came along in the late 1960's, she was delighted and participated in a number of them and felt quite at home in dealing with Indian cultural values and philosophies in

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[62] Ibid., p. 151.

that context.[63]

But, he added, Ella Deloria also realized that the cultural studies may have undesirable results. She felt that some aspects of Sioux culture should not be continued "because the younger generation did not appreciate them and she preferred that they not be popularized by a generation that did not have the same type of experiences."[64]

I also asked him what she would have changed if she had revised the book. It is his opinion that because the book was written for a church press it was "oriented toward communicating with the viewpoints of the church people who had very strongly held beliefs on what Indians were. I believe that she would have reoriented the whole book more towards cultural renewal and tribal histories and particularly toward tribal social customs and kinship responsibilities had she revised it."[65]

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[63]Vine Deloria, Jr., Letter (23 April 1974).

[64]Ibid.

[65]Ibid.

CONCLUSION

Today the pull of the modern way of life away from the traditional Indian way results in the same conflicts as in the early reservation days. From the time of early white contact, the Dakota people adopted the tools and methods of the cultures they met and still retained some traditional modes of behavior and belief. Ella Deloria understood the changes in Indian life and the causes of those changes, and she did not deplore the fact that some changes occurred. Throughout her life she sought education not only for herself but also for others as well. She encouraged students to learn as much as they could from both the Dakota culture and the non-Indian schools and universities. Ella Deloria understood that there were values and beliefs native to the Dakota people which ought not be abandoned. For example, she believed that the kinship system with its obligations to one's relatives was one of the strengths of the Dakota way of life. In her books and talks she tried to explain to non-Indians this system of interdependence of relatives.

It is not possible for one person to have another's experiences, but it is possible to learn from them. Ella Deloria learned from her friends and relatives in the Dakotas and she learned from her associates at Columbia. At every opportunity she wrote and spoke about what she had learned. Always humble, she prefaced her talks and articles by giving

credit to those who had served as her guides and informants. She spoke to many different types of audiences--wealthy eastern benefactors of schools and churches, university professors, high school groups--and each time she touched their hearts and minds. At her request these speeches were not recorded. A university professor, regretting he could not tape her speech, said he hoped her message would not be lost. An Indian listener who heard the remark said, "But you heard her, didn't you?" "Yes," said the professor. "Well, then," replied the old man, "it is not lost."

The writings of Ella Deloria are significant for the specific stories they tell about people who lived on the lands of the plains in a way far different from those today. Her ethnological writings are neither sentimental nor coldly objective. They are the products of a sensitive, analytic individual. By her writings and personal advice, Ella Deloria helped anthropologists, psychologists, and teachers with their work. Today these explanations of Dakota behavior are of great value for educators, doctors, and government workers. Her linguistic works, especially Dakota Texts and the Dakota Grammar, constitute the most significant works published to date on Dakota language and legends by a single author.

Recommendations for Further Study

This study is a general overview of Ella Deloria and her works, but there are further studies which could be done. First, the biographical material could be expanded by further interviews and investigations.

Second, linguistic studies could be conducted by comparing the language of the older legends such as those in the Dakota Texts to legends as they are told today. Dialect comparison, such as that which Ella Deloria did in the Lakota dictionary manuscript, would provide more information on the relationships of the dialects. And finally, her letters and notes in the manuscripts at the University of South Dakota and in the American Philosophical Society Library contain many interesting analytical comments on government programs for the Indians on the reservations. They would be valuable in a study of Indian reactions to government policies from 1930 to 1970.

APPENDIX A

EXAMPLES OF ELLA DELORIA'S LINGUISTIC WORK

Notes on the Dakota, Teton Dialect

—*śu'ża* a bad bruise; bone and flesh crushed together
—*ku'ga* to fracture a hard round shell, as an egg shell, a skull

—*sni'za* to collapse slowly through a small leak
**śni'ża* to wither, plants or a paralyzed limb

(—)*ksi'za* to bend near the end; to sprain an ankle; figuratively a crank, a mean person
**ksi'ża* to bend on a joint, in the middle, as the elbow, a penknife, double doors folded back.

—*sle'ca* to split small things easily split; to slice meat, bread
—*śle'ca* to split larger things, logs, bones, boards
—*kle'ca* to split, rend (with emphasis on the sound produced)

(—)*sta'ka* to be listless, generally owing to causes beyond the individual's control
kasta'ka to pour out mud, mush, jelly-like substances
—*śta'ka* to cause to be jelly-like (*waśta'kyapi* jelly = something caused to be jelly-like)

—*slų'ta* to slide out as a long thing through a narrow opening
—*ślų'ta* to slip through in the same way, but being wet; also to slip on a slippery surface

—*ska'pa* to strike forcibly, to slap with one flat surface against another
—*śka'pa* the same for wet surfaces (one or both)

(—)*ske'pa* to drain out, as water
—*śke'pa* the same with emphasis on wetness

—*ski'ca* to compress tightly, as hay, paper by a heavy weight
—*śki'ca* to press moisture out; to wring

(—)*so'ta* clear; to empty so that container is clean; to use up completely
**śo'ta* not clear; muddy; smoky; hazy

(—)*sa'pa* black
(—)*śa'pa* soiled, muddy

izu'za whetstone (see *zuze'ca* snake = kind of rough)
igu'ga sandstone

(—)*sku'* to peel off a tightly adhering skin (apple, potato)
(—)*śku'* to take off kernels of ripe corn

—*spa* to dent a thin sheet
—*śpa* to break off something soft, easy to break, like dough, clay

ųzi'tka musk bag (referring to its round form)
ųżi'żitka rose (referring to the many round fruits in masses)

(—)*sli* to squeeze out water, a thin liquid; *sli'-hig.la* sound of a distant high-pitched clap
(—)*śli* to squeeze out thick, semi-liquid matter; *śliyc'la* sound of trickling water

(—)*smi* to trim off (as branches)
śmiśmi'ś'c'e it is (like) baro

**spą* (snow) is wet; *spą ś'e* dark complexioned
**śpą* to be "burnt" by heat or cold (i. e. cooked meat, frozen limbs)

o'śmaka hollow (*-ka* kind of)
śma deep (as snow, water, weeds)
yu-śma' to cause to be deep by making a dam)

į'śko as big as this
į'śkola as small as (*-la* diminutive)

osđo'hą to slide (Santee) *oslo'hą* (Teton) (neutral: to be the thing that is sliding)
ośđo'hą to come off (Santee)

When talking to children it is customary to pronounce instead of *s* and *z*, the corresponding *ś* and *ż*, but with half closed teeth.

Instrumental Prefixes.

Riggs enumerates the instrumental prefixes *ya-* with the mouth, *wa-* with a knife, *wo-* with a point, *ka-* by striking; *yu-* by pulling; with the hands, *pa-* by pushing, *na-* with the foot. All of these form active verbs.

There is another prefix, *na-* of its own accord, which forms neutral verbs. There is nothing to indicate whether the two prefixes *na-* are etymologically identical or distinct.

Examples are the following:

naho'm.ni to revolve. *nawa'hom.ni* I turn it with the foot;
nama'hom.ni I turn of my own accord
nag.la' to become untwisted, unbraided. *nawa'g.la* I cause moccasin ties to open with the foot; *osų' nama'g.la* a braid of hair becomes unbraided to me (i. e. my braid etc.)

Sound Symbolism.

The vocabulary of Dakota shows clear traces of a sound symbolism. It is not a live process, but it may be illustrated by a considerable number of examples. The three stages *z*, *ż* and *ġ* to which in some cases *h'* may be added express so many stages of intensity. Parallel to these are the stages *s*, *ṡ* and *ġ*.

The following examples have been found:

—*pluża* to crack small pieces without breaking them off from the object
—*pluġa* to crack off small pieces so that they fall from the object
wo'pluli'a crumbs, particles, refuse

(—)*m.nų'za* the crunching sound of snow or something easily broken
(—)*m.nų'ża* the same with more resistance, the sound of crunching cartilage
(—)*m.nų'ġa* the same with hard objects, egg shells, bone, hard corn as chewed by horses
wam.nų'li'a thin shells for decorating clothing

(—)*pi'za* to squeak, as a mouse; the noise of small bubbles in boiling grease
(—)*pi'ża* soft and wrinkled
**pi'ġa* forceful boiling; to bubble with force
**pili'a; mat'a'pili'a* or *mak'a'pili'a* toad; also used to describe the Badlands; perhaps meaning "rough, wrinkled as by forceful boiling"

—*b.la'za* to tear in one straight line
—*b.la'ża* to force apart so as to cause a strain, p. e. to spread the legs of a person apart. Compare *ża'ka* to spread apart by pulling; *iśta' ża'ka* to be pop-eyed, to have strain in the corners of the eyes
—*b.la'ġa* to tear recklessly in all directions
b.la'h'a (doubtful whether belonging to this series) anything shaped spherically, like baskets, pots, kettles, stout persons

—*wį'ża* to bend without breaking, in curves, as a twig, wire *maza'wįšwįżahela* pliable iron
—*wį'ġa* to bend in a sharp angle

(—)*g.le'za* striped with narrow, indistinct lines (as a grey cat). Compare *gweza* rippled, ridged
(—)*g.le'ġa* striped with wide, strongly contrasting colors; also contrasting colors, as in *g.le'g.leja* eyes with sharply contrasting white cornea and dark iris; *śina' g.le'g.leja* Navajo blankets

—*m.ni'za* curled, contracted, wrinkled, but so that it may be smoothed again
—*m.ni'ġa* to shrink, so as to remain shrunk permanently

**nų'za* to be soft and moveable, like an enlarged gland under the skin
**nų'ża* the same, but harder, as cartilage
**nų'ġa* hard, like a callus formed after fracture of a bone; gnarls on trees

(—)*t'a'ża* to form waves on water
(—)*t'a'ġa* to churn up water so as to form foam (*t'aġe'* saliva)

(—)*kį'za* a single high pitched tone
(—)*kį'ża* the same with several such tones blended; to moan; the wailing cry of an infant

(—)*t'į'za* solid, hard, compact
**t'į'ġa* to be solid all over; to strain the body

(—)*k'o'za* to smooth a surface, p. e. to dance until the ground is level and hard; said of material tightly woven so that the surface is smooth (but not used for silk); also *k'eza* which is seldom used, to polish stone, hard wood
—*k'o'ġa* to scrape the outer layer of hard material, as a board, bone, hard bread, and leave marks or groves; to scratch so as to leave dents (*k'e'ġa* has the same meaning, but refers to material not quite so hard)

(—)*p'ą'ża* porous and soft, such as cotton, hay, down
**p'ą'ġa* porous but not soft, pithy (*p'aġi'* the wild artichoke)

—*pą'za* a thin-skinned swelling, to form a blister
—*pą'ża* a thicker, larger, soft swelling
**(pą'ġa* great, awful, extreme)

—*wa'za* to stroke, paw with a single movement
—*wa'ża* to stir up all the time, mixed up, lawless; *waża'że* a band of the *Og.la'la*; *wo'žapi* a stew made of many ingredients stirred up

**ża'ta* to be forked, spread apart, pronged; used for a division into two parts only
(—)*ġa'ta* branching at numerous angles

—*za'pa* to rip off easily, as the skin of a chicken
—*ġa'pa* to skin by pulling and cutting

**zi'pa* very thin, almost transparent; now used only as **zizi'pela*
—*ži'pa* to shave off thin layers, as in planing; to shave to a point

—*su'za* a slight, single bruise; a single crack in a bone

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PHONETICS

§ 12. COMPOUNDS

In stereotyped compounds of stems ending in a consonant followed by a word beginning with a vowel the initial weak glottal stop of the second word is liable to disappear and the two words form a firm unit. These forms occur when a stem of the type cvc is followed immediately by another with initial vowel. Generally these are compounds of noun and verb. Examples are:

napo'klą bracelet (*nap-* hand, *o-* in, and *-klą* to be bent);—*napo'ilekiyapi* fluffy seed hair used as tinder with fire drill or for cauterizing (*nap-* hand, *o-* in, *'ile'* to burn, *-kiya* to make one's own, *-pi* plural);—*napo'c'okaya* second finger;—*napo'g.na* handful (*nap-* *'og.na'* in);—*napi'yų* by the hand only, without tools (*nap-* hand, *-i* by means of, *y* glide, *ų* to use);—*napo'kaške* wrist (*nap-* , *o-* in , *ka* instrumental, *śka* to be tied);—*napo'yaśpuyaya* the hand itches (*o-* in; *yaśpu'yaya* to itch);—*hąpi'śka* ankle piece of moccasin (*hąp-* moccasin, *iśka'hu* ankle bone);—*hą'pap'a'-'ec'ų'pi* moccasin game (here *hąp-* and *'ap'a'* to strike retain their accents, *'ec'ų'* to do, *-pi* plural);—*hąpo'kiha* to put on moccasins (*hąp-*, *o-* in, *ki-* own, *hą* to stand);—*hupi'yų* only by the wings (*hup-* wing, *i-* by means of, *y* glide *'ų* to use);—*loli'h'q* to work food; i. e., to cook (*lol-* food *i-* in reference to, *h'q* to act);—*loli'p'ila* to deny food to someone (*lol -'ip'i'la* to deny);—*p'eli'cag.la* by the fireside (*p'et* fire, *'ica'g.la* by the side of);—*p'eli'icu* fireshovel (*'ii'cu* means of taking);—*t'at'q'kiyo'take* Sitting Bull (name) (*t'at'q'k-* buffalo bull, *'i'yotaka* to sit), (in another name *t'at'q'k-'ehą'ni* Ancient Bull, there is no fusion);—*mak'o'b.laye* flat land;—*mak'i'naśpe* spade (*-śpa* to be broken off);—*wali'lop'e* oars (*wat-* boat, *i-* instrument, *'op'a'* to follow[11];—*t'api'yuk'ape* implement for catching ball (*t'ap* ball, *i-*instrument *yuk'a'pa* to catch);—*śųgi'yop'eyapi* they exchanged it for a horse (Yankton) (*śųk-* horse, *'iyo'p'eya* to barter, exchange);—*śųgo'nażį* barn (Yankton), *śųk-'o'nażį* (Teton)

Very few cases have been found in which the first part is a verb.

śkali'cakiśya suffering for want of play, but more commonly *śkal-'i'cakiśya*

§ 13. DOUBLED CONSONANTS

When in consequence of the terminal change *p* comes into contact with a following *p* or *p'*; or *k* with a following *k*, *k'* or *k'*; *s*, *ś*, *h* with following *s*, *ś*, *h*, the consonant becomes long. There is no release of the first sound. The stop or spirant is held. When followed by a medial, the stop is long; when followed by an aspirate the stop is held and followed by the aspiration, when followed by a glottalized *k* the glottalization begins in the middle of the stop.

hąp'a'hi (<*hą'p-pahi'*) to collect moccasins;—*hąp''a'hta* (<*hą'p-p'ahta'*) to tie moccasins in a bundle;—*c'ap·'a'ta* (<*c'ap-p'ata'*) to butcher beavers;—*śųk·a'śtaka* (<*śųk-kaśla'ka*) to whip a horse;—*'i'yotak·'i'ya* (<*'i'yotak-k'iya*) to make sit down;—*t'ok·'u'* to give over a (captive) enemy of somebody;—*'owį'śi* he orders him to spread the quilts

§§ 14–18. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE *k* AND *c* SERIES.

§ 14. COMPARATIVE NOTES

There is clear evidence in Teton and in all the other Dakota dialects of a tendency to a forward movement of *k* after the vowels *e*, *i*, *į*. This results in a change of *k*, *k'*, *k'*, to *c*, *c'*, *c'*. A comparison of verbs ending in *ka* and *ca* in Dakota and other dialects is proof of this tendency.

	Teton	Mandan	Winnebago	Osage
to be stiff and hard	*sa'ka*	*sak*	——	——
badger	*hoka'*	——	*ǧok'*	*ho'ga*
ground	*mak'a'*	*ma'ka*	*mą*	*mųį'k'a*
to be thick	*so'ka*	——	*soga*	*soga'*
to be new	*t'e'ca*	——	*c'ek'*	*tse'ga*
to snort	*ǧį'ca*	——	*ǧoc'*	——
to be bad	*śi'ca*	*hika*	*śi'śik'*	——
to be squeezed out	*-śkica*	*skįka*	——	——
elastic	*zikzi'ca*	*cį'kcįk*	——	——
to sniffle	*żį'kżįca*	*icį'kcika*	*horazį'zįk*	——
to be without	*wani'ca*	*na·'mika*	——	——
beans	*'om.ni'ca*	*o'minik*	*hųnįk*	——

[11] The derivation is not clear.

Lakota Dictionary Manuscript

B

ba (Y and S equivalent of wa). Instrumental prefix meaning "with a knife or saw," that is, with a sawing motion, as in cutting: waksá, Teton; baksá, Yankton and Santee dialects.
Note: All the instrumental prefixes and their meanings and uses are discussed in detail, Part II, Section which see.

ba, v.a. To blame. This simple CV verb (consonant-vowel) neither reduplicates nor changes terminal A to E ever. wabá, I blame him; mabá, he blames me. Mayába, you blame me; cibá, I blame you.
wóba, n. Blame; censure; criticism. <wa--thing, unexpressed; + o--in; within; + ba--blame. Note: Contracted, waóba becomes wóba, which puts accent on first syllable.
Hé wóba ikóyake, That one/blame/ attaches to, or That one is under accusation (Legal), see under koyáka.

bahá, n. Old man; old woman (but this latter is rare). bahá, adj. Old age. N. and adj. may be strictly Santee terms according to Riggs dictionary. But not now and perhaps never, a Yankton or Teton term Analysis doubtful.

-be (always with locative prefix, o). Obé, N. and adj. Class, group or like things or persons; kind, sort, and in Riggs dictionary, litter and brood, also. Obé is a Yankton and Santee term, and occasionally Teton. But the exclusively Teton term is owé. Owé óta, many kinds, said of, for instance, all beads, but differing as to colors, shapes, etc.

-beya (always with locative prefix a). adv. Ábeya. Scattering in various directions. Ábebeya, for emphasis. With instrumental prefix ka, by striking, kaábeya, kaábebeya is idiomatic, implying "as though wind-driven." iyabeya, iyabebeya, adv. <i--from; + y (a glide, inserted for euphony only) + abeya. This form is also used, interchangeably with kaábeya.

Bešdéké, proper name for the Fox tribe, used by Santees and Yanktons but not found in the Teton dialect now. (Teton would be Bešléké). But for countless years the Tetons in the far west had no dealings with the Foxes so far to the east and possibly there was no need of a name for them. In any case, Bešdéké defies analysis and could have been a borrowed term, not Dakota (or Lakota).

bo (Y and S equivalent of wo). Instrumental prefix meaning "from a distance" as with an arrow or sling or shell; or a long pole. Examples: Wohpá, to knock down from a distance, as a bird in flight; wobléca, to break, as a windown by shooting.

"Standing Rock Legend" from Dakota Texts

45. Standing Rock Legend.

1. The rock that stands upright became so in the following manner. In the early beginnings of the people, a certain young man wanted a beautiful young girl for his wife. But she did not care for him, and so she wept continually over the matter. After a time, the young man becoming discouraged, got together practically all the horses there were, and offered them for the girl. 2. The young girl's male relatives, (i. e., cousins and brothers), wished very much to own the horses and they all joined together in urging her to accept the man. So, because of deference towards her male relatives, the girl at last declared her willingness to marry the man. So everyone was very happy. 3. But some days, shortly before the date of the marriage, the girl disappeared; so they all looked for her but she was absolutely gone. Her relatives and all the riders in the tribe joined together in looking for her. The mother of the missing girl

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wicʿaʼśa kį heʼ waniʼyetu oʻta niʼ śkʿeʾe. Ho kʾeʼyaś hįhąʼ kį ehąʼniʼ heyaʼpiʾ[1]: — Iniʼkaǧapi kį etąʼ heyaʼp ecʿųʼ[1] woʻ, — eyaʼpe śą wanaʼ wicʿaʼlicala kʾųhąʼ heʼcʿa wą eʼl tʿimaʼ iʿ ną, — Etąʼś heʼ ehąʼnihicį heyaʼpi kʾų, — ecʿįʼ tkʿaʼś kaʼkʿel-okʿaʾte cį ektaʼ tʿinaʼ iʼyotake cį heʼcʿena iśtaʼ nupʿįʼ napʿoʼpa cʿąkeʼ hetąʼhą tųweʼśni ną ecʿeʼl tʾaʼ śkʿeʾe. Leʼ woʻwicakʿe ye loʻ!

45.

1. Iʼyą wosląʼl heʼ cį heʼ leʼcʿel ųʼ heʼcʿeca śkʿeʾe. Ehąʼni wicʿaʼni kʾų heʼhąʼ kʿoškaʼlaka wą wicʿįʼcala wą liʼla wįʼyą waśteʼ cʿa yuʼza cʿįʼ keʾe. Kʾeʼyaś iyeʼ wicaʼlaśni ną cʿeʼyahą keʾe. Hąkeʼya wicʿaʼśa kį wacʿiʼ yeyeʼśni[2] kį ųʼ śųʼkakʿąʼ wicʿaʼyuha kį iyuʼha wiʼtaya iwiʼcʿacu nąʼ ųʼ wicʿįʼcala kį opʿeʼtʿų śkʿeʾe. 2. Yųkʿąʼ wicʿįʼcala kį tʿiblo'ku nąʼiś śicʾeʼśiłku kį henaʼ śųʼkakʿąʼ kį wicʿaʼyuhapikta cʿįʼpi kį uʼ hįg.naʼyeśi iʼyopaśtakapi keʾe. Henaʼ ohoʻwicʿakila kį ųʼ iyoʻwįicʾiya cʿąkeʼ iyuʼha cʿąteʼ waśteʼpi śkʿeʾe. 3. Wanaʼ yuʼzįkta ikʿiʼyela yųkʿąʼ wicʿįʼcala kį toʻkel iyaʼya cʿąkeʼ liʼla oleʼpi kʾeʼyaś aʼtayaś toʻkʿahʾą śkʿeʾe. Tʿiʼtakuye nąeyaʼ wicʿoʼtʿi kį eʼl toʻna śųk-ʾaʼkąyąkaʾpi kį henaʼ

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[1] *heyaʼp ecʿųʼ*, do, away from here; stay away; get out; don't come here, or go there.

[2] *wacʿį*, mind; *yeya'*, to send. This is generally in the negative, as in the text, and means, "to become discouraged; lose hope in." *wacʿįʼ yewaʼyeśni*, I can no longer stand it.

was especially diligent in her search and often would be gone days at a time, during which she roamed weeping over the land. 4. One day when she was again walking about, when the sun was low, she looked towards the west and saw, outlined against the sunset, a small hill on top of which sat a woman, in the correct sitting posture for a woman[1]. The light in her eyes was so bright that it was difficult for her to see. Yet for all that, she knew at once that that woman was her daughter. And, sitting beside her, was the little puppy also facing the same direction. 5. The woman wept and stroked her daughter's head and shoulders in affection, and then she invited her to go home with her. But when the girl tried to stand, she could not move; so her mother felt of her legs, and already they were turned into rock. There the woman sat, holding her daughter in her arms, and wept continually, and felt of her body from time to time. Each time she found that more and more it was turning into stone. 6. At last both the girl and her little pet were turned into rock, they say. This happened a very long time ago, in fact before anyone's memory. It was only recently, yesterday you might say, that the stone was brought into the agency and set up at the fort[1] and the government disbursing station took its name from the image, and became Standing Rock. Even today, anyone who goes there may see the stone.

iyu'ha ole'pi ke'e. Tuwa' iyo'tą li'la wic'į'cala kį ole' k'ų he' iye' hų'ku kį he e' šk'e'e. To'nac'ąc'ą g.li'śni c'e'ya oma'ni ke'e. 4. Ak'e' wana' he'c'el c'e'ya oma'niha yųk'ą' wi' k'u'ciyela hą'l wiyo'kpe-yatakiya e'tųwą yųk'ą' wi' ai'yopteya paha' wą aką'l wį'yą wą wį'yą-nawį`h[2] yąka' ke'e. K'e'yaś iśta' kį wi' iyo'śniża c'ąke' tą-wą'ya-keśni'[3]. He'c'eca k'e'yaś wana' he' c'ųwį'tku k'ų e' c'a slolye'e. Śų'kala wą yuha' yųk'ą' he e' c'a isa'k'ip i'ś-'eya' ak'o'ketkiya e'tųwą yąke'la'[a3]. 5. E'l i' ną c'e'yaya c'ųwį'tku kį p'a' ną hįye'te k'o' yusto'sto ną g.le-a'p'e c'ąke' wana' ina'żįkta yųk'ą' oki'hiśni c'ąke' hų'ku kį hu' kį oyu'ta yųk'ą' wana'ś hehą'yą a'taya į'yą-ic'aġe'e. C'ąke' e'na c'ųwį'tku kį p'o'skil g.lu's yąkį' ną c'e'yahį ną ak'e'śna hu' kį yuta' c'ą są'p wąka'takiya į'yą-ic'ali a'ye'e. 6. O'hąketa wic'į'cala k'ų he' śųlipa'lala wą g.luha' i' k'ų kic'i' a'taya į'yąpi ke'ya'pi'[4]. Le' į'śe' li'la ehą'ni he'c'etu c'a lehą'l ni' ų'pi kį tuwe'ni he' slolya'pišni šk'e'e. Lec'a'la, lita'l ehą'kel[4] į'yą k'ų he' owo'wic'ak'uta[5] ak'i'pi ną he'l aki'c'ita he'hą' t'i'pi c'a ik'i'yela į'yąśa'-zizi[6] ų' ag.le'-hą` wą ki'caġapi ną ekta' aką'l e'g.lepi'e. Owo'wic'ak'u ki he' eta'ha c'ą'ś'-t'ų'pi c'a Į'yą Wosla'l Hą' eci'yapi'[4]. Lehą'tu kį tuwa' c'į' hą'tąhąś ekta' yį' ną į'yą kį he' iśta' ų' wąya'ka oki'hi'[4].

[1] The correct posture of a woman is to sit with both legs flexed to the right. No woman ever sits cross-legged. Even little girls are corrected, if they do.

[2] *wį'yą-nawįh; wį'yą*, woman; *na*, with the foot; *wįh*, from *wį'ġa*, bent sharply. This means assuming a woman's sitting posture.

[3] *yąke'la*, it, the little thing, also sat, (looking the other way); *la*, indicates the puppy is likeable.

[4] *lita'l-ehą'*, yesterday; *kel*, in a manner of speaking, as it were.

[5] *owo'wic'ak'uta*, at the agency; in the place where they give out food.

[6] *į'yąśa'-zizi*, tan brick; *i'yą*, stone; *śa*, red. All brick is called *į'yąśa'*. But if it is tan brick, it is further described as *zizi'*, yellow; yellow red-stone.

"Dakota Vowels and Consonants" from Learning Dakota

Learning Dakota

Basics to learn completely first.

1. Dakota differences from English: Each vowel is important; each vowel (with or without one or more consonants) constitutes a syllable and must be clearly pronounced. Example: ilé, to burn; yu-í-le, to make (it) burn. Yu-í-le, that is three syllables. One must know the Dakota vowels and the consonants and their exact sounds.

2. Dakota sounds:

Vowels. a, e, i, o, u.

a, as in father

e, as in they

i, as in police

o, as in go

u, as in rule

In certain words, the vowel is nasalized. Always it is one of three. They are a, i, u. In linguistic recording, the nasalized vowel is written thus: ą and į and ų, (in Riggs and other records these vowels are followed by the letter n, but of course it is not a full n, simply a nasal quality). The pure vowels, these, are a, e, i, o, u. Out of these, the trhee sometimes nasalized are, ą, į, ų, with the subscript like a little "tail." These few facts must become fixed in the learner's mind.

Consonants.

b, c, d, g, h, j, k, l, m, n, p, s, t, w, y, z.

(No f, q, r, v, x in Dakota, but actually the alphabet is still longer than the English, because certain letters have more than one the one simple sound, and those must also be mastered.)

c always has the ch-sound.

c (medial); c^{c} (aspirate); c° (glottalized).

k ("); k^{c} ("); k° (").

t ("); t^{c} ("); t° (").

p ("); p^{c} ("); p° (").

Notice that each of these three degrees of sound of each letter has a special term.

s and z have two sounds.

S is the plain or pure sound, as in sun, stew, steak, Mississippi.

$\dot{S}$ (with a mark over it) has the sound of sh, as in show, sheep, shut.

h and g have two sounds. They are the plain h and g,

Help, hurry, home and gone, good gold.

But $\dot{h}$ (dotted) is a rough sound in the throat, $\dot{h}a$, $\dot{h}lo$, $\dot{h}o\acute{p}eca$.

And $\dot{g}$ (also dotted) is a low rough sound, as in $\dot{g}opa$, $\dot{g}a$, $\dot{g}i$.

(No English equivalent, and must be learned.)

(Next: The instrumental prefixes. But get the alphabet FIRST!)

APPENDIX B

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL BY ELLA DELORIA

"Dakota Ethnography and Linguistics." American Philosophical Society Library of Manuscripts. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, (items 882-852).

-Correspondence with Franz Boas (1927-1934), 71 letters.
-Dakota notes on gestures and sleeping arrangements of full-blooded Dakotas (1932 -), 16 pages.
-Legends of the Oglala Sioux, Reverend Luke Walker collections, (1937), 70 pages.
-Dakota Texts (n.d.) with Franz Boas, 55 pages.
-Dakota word lists (1936) with Boas, 554 pages.
-Dakota autobiographies (1937), 382 pages.
-Dakota commentary on Walker's texts (1937), 40 pages.
-Dakota dictionary (1935), 5,000 items.
-Dakota idioms (1932 and after), 64 pages.
-Dakota informational texts and conversations (1937), 273 pages.
-Dakota lexicon (1933), 13 cards.
-Dakota song texts (1937), 160 pages.
-Dakota stems, grammatically treated, 800 slips.
-Dakota tales (1937), 105 pages.
-Dakota texts from the Minnesota manuscripts (1839-1941), 45 pages.
-Dakota texts from the Sword manuscript (1876-1909; 1938), 382 pages.
-Legends in Santee Dakota (1934), 358 pages.
-Old Dakota legends (1937?), 358 pages.
-A study of Osage consonant shifts (1935), 66 pages.
-Teton forms to Riggs dictionary (1810-1936), 665 pages.
-Teton myths (1887-1888; 1937), 1,178 pages.

"Ella C. Deloria Manuscript Collection." Institute of Indian Studies. University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota.

Interviews

-Peter Le Claire, "History of Ponca-Yankton Relationship." Herrick, South Dakota, December 27, 1966.
-William O'Connor, "Yankton Tribal History" and "Battles of Yankton and Arikara." Lake Andes, South Dakota, December 31, 1966.
-Clarence Forman, Lake Andes, South Dakota, December 26, 1966.
-Paul Picotte, Lake Andes, South Dakota, December 26, 1966.

Statements

-White Eyes (Ista-ska), Cheyenne River Sioux, Cheyenne Agency, South Dakota, Age 80.
-Young Eagle (Wambli-cincala), Hunkpapa, Fort Yates, North Dakota, Age 79.
-Good Bear (Mato-waste), Hunkpapa, Now deceased.
-Little Soldier (Akicita-sincala), Hunkpapa, Fort Yates, North Dakota, Age 77.

Miscellaneous Stories and Information

-"Names of Birds and Turtles Found in South Dakota," (William W. Jordan to Ella Deloria, 2 pages.

-"Origin Story of Peyote," 2 pages.

-"Story about Ella's Father in Cheyenne Country," 7 pages (incomplete).

-"Medical Terms," Dakota terms and English translations, 200 items (missing 119 to 174).

-"Hump," 1 page (incomplete); "Standing Elk," 2 pages; "Ghost Painting," 4 pages; "Scouting Stories," 4 pages; "Standing Bull's Vision"; "George Schmidt Dreams"; "Customs"; "Paul Long Bull."

-Other materials include a diagram and description of a style of work on a Teton pillow; a map showing the location of major Dakota bands; and a list of Yankton chiefs who made the treaty of 1858, evidently for a monument.

"Study: Sioux Indian Exhibit and Crafts Center." Sioux Indian Museum and Craft Center, Rapid City, South Dakota. This study, commissioned by the Indian Arts and Crafts Board in Washington, D. C., in 1960, includes Lakol- wacazeyatapi- wa (a glossary of names for items of material culture in the Dakota language) and an informal commentary on Dakota tribal organization and dialects.

Water-Lily (Mni-Hcahca). Manuscript. Fictionalized life of a Teton Dakota girl from birth to marriage and motherhood. Not available.

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Unpublished Materials by Ella Deloria

All of the following unpublished manuscripts were written by Ella Deloria and are housed in the Institute of Indian Studies where they are being catalogued.

"Courtship and Marriage," typed, 2 pages.

"Cultural Insights for Education of Indian Children," mimeographed, 12 pages.

"Cultural Insights for Ministry to the Indian People," mimeographed, 5 pages.

"Dakota Names With English Translations," typed, 2 pages.

"Dakota Names With English Translations," typed, 2 pages.

"Dakota Names With English Translations," typed, 1 page.

The Dakota Way of Life, typed, 392 pages.

Lakota Dictionary, approximately 2,000 microfilm cards and 50 typed pages.

"Learning Dakota," typed, 2 pages.

"Major Groupings of the Dakota Sioux Peoples," typed, 2 pages.

"The Man Who Came to Teach and Die," typed, 3 pages (incomplete).

Map Showing the Locations of Indian Bands in Dakotas.

"Medical Terms," typed, 200 items, 5 pages (incomplete).

"Midwest Indian Youth Leadership Seminar," Eau Claire, Wisconsin, June 16-28, 1963, typed, 6 pages.

"Monosyllabic Terms," typed, 16 pages (incomplete).

"100 Item Test List," typed, 17 pages.

"Origin Story of Peyote," typed, 2 pages.

"Preparations of the Bride," typed, 2 pages.

"Rites and Ceremonials of the Teton," typed, 247 pages (incomplete).

"The Santee Sun Dance," typed, 3 pages (incomplete).

"Societies are Predestined in the Animal World: A Legend to Explain Dakota Societies," typed, 3 pages.

"Stems in Dakota," typed, 100 pages.

"Story about Ella Deloria's Father in Cheyenne Country," typed, 8 pages (incomplete).

"Story of Paha Wakan," typed, 1 page.

"Style of Work on Teton Pillow," (diagram and description), 1 page.

"Ti' you ṡpaye" (Social Kinship), typed, 1 page.

"Transvestitism," typed, 8 pages.

"Yankton Monument," typed, 2 pages.

Interviews

Crawford, Noreen. Grand Forks, North Dakota. 13 April 1974. Mrs. Crawford, the daughter of Mrs. Manydeeds, lived at St. Elizabeth's School when Ella Deloria was there in 1958. She currently lives with her husband and children in Wahpeton, North Dakota.

Cull, Kenyon. Springfield, South Dakota. 15 March 1974. Mr. Cull, who has been Headmaster of St. Mary's Episcopal School for Indian Girls since 1955, knew Ella Deloria well for the last fifteen years of her life. He has had many eminent Indian scholars come to the school to lecture to the students on their cultural heritage.

Deloria, Vine, Sr. Pierre, South Dakota. 11-12 March 1974. Reverend Deloria, the brother of Ella Deloria, is a retired Arch-Deacon of the Episcopal Church of South Dakota. He has served on many national councils of the Episcopal Church as well as acted as an advisor on Indian policies. A very accomplished speaker (both in English and Lakota) and a recognized authority on Dakota culture, he is often asked to lecture at various institutions.

Gabe, Evelyn. Fort Yates, North Dakota. 31 January 1974. Mrs. Gabe is the Director of the AFCDP at Fort Yates and an instructor in Dakota Culture at the Fort Yates Community College. She knew Ella Deloria at Haskell Institute and also when Ella Deloria served as resident director at St. Elizabeth's Mission.

Manydeeds, Sophie. McLaughlin, South Dakota. 31 January 1974. Mrs. Manydeeds, who studied with Ella Deloria at the University of South Dakota, has been a Dakota language resource colleague at the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of North Dakota.

Martin, Theresa. Fort Yates, North Dakota. 31 January 1974. Miss Martin, Director of the Head Start Program at Fort Yates, was a close friend of Ella Deloria's in the 1960s. Miss Martin, then a student at the University of South Dakota, often visited with Ella Deloria at her home in Vermillion.

Raymond, Art. Grand Forks, North Dakota. 4 June 1974. Mr. Raymond is the Director of Indian Studies at the University of North Dakota. He is a recognized scholar in Indian history.

Stone, Sharon. Vermillion, South Dakota. 13 March 1974. Ms. Stone attended St. Mary's School from 1964 to 1968, when she attended the Indian Cultural classes taught by Ella Deloria. She is currently completing her B.A. degree at the University of South Dakota.

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